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T H E   U R B A N   S Q U A T T E R   Q U E S T I O N :  
S Q U A T T I N G , H O U S I N G A N D U R B A N I Z A T I O N I N S U V A , F I J I

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## ABSTRACT

The proliferation and apparent intransience of urban squatter settlements in Third World countries have produced numerous explanations of their cause, nature and solution. In Fiji, it is estimated that nearly one-fifth of the population of the Suva Urban Area were squatters in 1976 and that squatter numbers, in recent years, have increased by over 10 percent annually. These increases have occurred despite development plan objectives which aim to reduce regional and class disparities and a public housing programme which has housed about one-fifth of the urban area's population since the late 1950s.

In the early 1960s many scholars supported the view that squatters were 'marginal' to the life of the city and this view is still held by many administrators, in Fiji and elsewhere. Studies commencing in the mid 1960s, however, have led to a revision of opinions on squatter marginality and the emergence of two major schools of thought among scholars. The Dependency School considers squatting a product of the type of urbanization experienced by Third World countries and sees no solution short of major changes to the 'system'; the Progressive Development (or Progressive Housing) School, on the other hand, sees squatting as a housing problem caused by the rate of Third World urbanization and inappropriate public housing programmes. The latter School advocates the encouragement of self-help activities among the poor to close the gap between housing supply and demand. The public housing programme in Fiji has been influenced by such arguments and during recent years there has been some official support for site and service, squatter upgrading and core housing schemes.

The present work proceeds from a statement of major theoretical questions derived from the literature, and a description of urbanization and the housing situation in Fiji, to test the assumptions of the Marginality, Dependency and Progressive Development Schools. Data were obtained on urbanization and housing in Fiji, and sample surveys were conducted among Fijian and Indian squatters and other low-income households in Suva City and Urban Area in 1976. The data were used to consider six propositions which were tested via 36 hypotheses; comparisons were made between ethnic, squatter and other low-income, and city and urban area households. The propositions were found to be substantially correct. Squatter behaviour was shown to be as modern and as urban as the behaviour of other low-income people, and households with 'modern' attributes tended to be more 'successful' in the city. Modern and traditional behaviour,

however, were not found to be antithetical and, at least among Fijians, the households which were the most traditional tended to be those which were most 'successful.' Squatters were also shown to make a positive contribution to the economy of the city and to be no more an obstacle to rational urban land use than many other land users. The views of the Marginality School were therefore found wanting.

Squatters were shown to participate in self-help activities which led to increasing adequacy in housing. The squatter residential environment was found to permit greater all round flexibility than official public housing and was therefore considered more appropriate for poor households which relied heavily on the use of the residential environment for supplementary informal economic activities and kinship networks. In particular, squatting was found to allow Fijians and Indians to adopt strategies of survival and improvement based on their respective cultural mores. Some support was therefore provided for the views of the Progressive Development School.

The levels of improvement, however, were found to be generally insufficient and to involve too few households to accept these views without reservation. Improvements occurred among more modern households, among owner-occupiers and those with some security of tenure as claimed by the Progressive Development School, but income was found to be the most critical variable. Income increased among Fijians by accretions of kin and among Indians by accretions of time, but few households had sufficient income to permit them to alter significantly their position in society or to ensure minimally adequate housing. The views of the Dependency School that squatting is a residential manifestation of poverty, and not a housing problem as such, were therefore accepted.

In accepting this explanation of the causes and nature of squatting, however, the writer maintained that practical measures advanced by the Progressive Development School could lead, if not to the solution of the problem, at least to its improvement. At the macro level, the solution to the urban squatter question in Fiji was seen to lie in the implementation of the egalitarian proposals of the VIth Development Plan, a change in Fiji's relations with other countries, and a reassessment of the position of the urban poor. At the micro level, much improvement can be achieved by the formulation of a housing policy which gives close attention to the needs and aspirations of squatters indicated in the present study. The distinction between macro and micro level 'solutions' is seen to offer a compromise position between the viewpoints of the two most prominent schools of thought on the urban squatter question.



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More generally, few ideas in the present work are entirely original. Knowledge is cumulative, and the work of many scholars is freely and gratefully acknowledged.

All of these people and many more have influenced the present work, but responsibility for the final product - the approach adopted, the views expressed, findings reached and all imperfections - is solely mine.

Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,  
or what's a Heaven for?

A.C.W.

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## CONVENTIONS, GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

### CONVENTIONS

All tables and figures are prefaced by their chapter number.

All currency is in Fiji dollars. At 28 July, 1978, \$F1 = \$NZ1.12 = \$US1.17. The exchange rate has shown little change since 1976.

All lineal and areal measures are expressed in metrics.

To facilitate ease of typing, chi square is shown as  $\chi^2$  and  $p \leq 0.05$  etc. as  $p = 0.05$ , etc.

Spearman's rank correlation is shown as  $r_s$  and Kendall's  $r$  (tau) as  $r$ .

### GLOSSARY

The first occasion local words are used in the text they are preceded by an asterisk (\*).

Bure	Traditional Fijian dwelling.
Masi	Tapa cloth.
Mataqali	Group of related extended families with landholding rights.
Qasi-ni-lotu	Church leader.
Roti	Indian pancake often filled with curried meats, fish or vegetables.
Soqosoqo-ni-vakamarama	Women's organization usually associated with a church.
Turaga-ni-koro	Community leader, village leader.
Vakalolo	Fijian pudding.
Yaqona	The kava of Polynesia. A drink made from the dried roots of <u>piper methysticum</u> . Colloquially called 'grog'.

### ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used for areas studied:

<u>Squatter areas</u>	<u>Other Low-income areas (Control)</u>
CV City Villager	TV Traditional Villagers
CI City Indian	NAB Nabua
FR Fijian Renters	FK Fijians at Kinoya
FUA Fijians in the Urban Area	IK Indians at Kinoya
IUA Indians in the Urban Area	FFS Fijians in four-storey flats
	IFS Indians in four-storey flats
	TRK Toorak (Fijians)

These areas are collectively known as squatter and control ethno-areas.

## Other abbreviations :

CES Current Economic Statistics  
CLS Cash Loan Scheme  
DPVI Development Plan VI  
DPVII Development Plan VII  
ED Enumeration District

GDP Gross Domestic Product  
G.S.U.S.P. Greater Suva Urban  
Structure Plan  
HART Housing Assistance Relief  
Trust  
HPP Home Purchase Plan  
NLTB Native Land Trust Board  
RFS Rental Flat Scheme

## PART I

### INTRODUCTION

The illegal settlements of the urban poor - variously known in the literature as shanty towns, mushroom slums, marginal or spontaneous settlements and squatter areas - are a distinctive feature of the Third World urban landscape. Squatter areas differ in their status, form and location from the slums which characterised urbanization in the West. They also differ in their genesis for Third World urbanization is taking place under different historical circumstances than Western urbanization and the product is more than a difference in degree : it is a difference in kind. Urban squatting is a major problem facing Third World cities. It accounts for from between 10 and 50 percent of urban populations, it is the fastest growing type of residential area and it is seen as a major obstacle to urban planning, modernization and development. It has defied remedial measures by the authorities and, since the mid 1960s, it has attracted the research attention of many social scientists.

Four attributes of present day urban social geography enable geographers to make a special contribution to the study of urban squatting. Firstly, most pioneer work has been undertaken by sociologists and anthropologists who were concerned with aspects of the squatter condition; the more holistic approach of geography facilitates a more integrated approach.

Secondly, geographers are especially concerned with interrelationships, patterns and systems. Social geography has been described (Pahl, 1965, 81) as a study of 'the processes and patterns involved in an understanding of socially defined populations in their spatial setting.' Urban geography, it is claimed, 'bring[s] into clear focus the concepts of location, interaction, circulation, and accessibility, as well as distribution and movements of population' (Broek, 1965, 43). Questions of squatter modernity, marginality, social and geographic mobility, self-help and prospects for improvement (which have been major areas of research concern) cannot be adequately resolved without considering squatting as part of the larger society to which it belongs, and this requires an analysis of interrelationships at various spatial levels. The focus in the present study is on squatting as a social-spatial system in itself, and as a subsystem within the wider urban and national setting.



Thirdly, the 'Quantitative Revolution' in geography in the late 1950s and early 1960s has made geography a more precise science, and the reaction against quantification and abstract research strategies as ends in themselves in the late 1960s has resulted in a growing concern for social relevance in geographic enquiry. Both developments are welcome. Morrill (1973, 1), commenting on the belated interest by geographers in social issues, observed: 'It is incredible that geography is only just "discovering" such striking features of the landscape [as] poverty, injustice, discrimination, hunger, disease, pollution and overcrowding.' The present study uses quantitative methods to explore some of these issues. It is primarily concerned with one form of urban settlement, squatting, the reasons for its growth and apparent intransience, and its resistance to piecemeal 'practical' solutions. Given the extent of squatting in most Third World cities, it is very definitely a study of social relevance.

Finally, squatting probably provides the most visible evidence of poverty and inequalities in the distribution of wealth and access to resources in Third World cities. The emergence of welfare geography (e.g. Morrill and Wohlenberg, 1971; Rose, 1971; Smith, 1973 and 1977) which has raised questions of 'territorial social justice' (Harvey, 1973) is the fourth reason why geographers can make a special contribution to research on urban squatting. It would be presumptuous to claim that geography is alone in the social sciences in its concern with interrelationships, quantification, relevance and welfare, but it does 'offer a broad, synoptic view of spatial relationships in human affairs, transcending the conventional subdivisions into "economic", "social", "political" and so on' (Smith, 1978, 237). These attributes, evident in contemporary urban social geography, have guided and shaped the present work.

The writer has been closely associated with the islands of the South Pacific for the past sixteen years. Five years residence in Tonga (1962 - 1966) provided an opportunity for research on migration and urbanization (e.g. Walsh, 1969, 1970). Visits to other Pacific Islands (the Cook Islands, Western and American Samoa, and Niue) also made it possible to study related questions (e.g. Walsh and Trlin, 1973), and brief visits to South Korea, Hong Kong and Malaysia awakened an interest in the wider problems of Third World urbanization. In New Zealand the writer has been concerned with problems of Maori and Pacific Islander urbanization. It was this background that led to his appointment to the University of the South Pacific in 1974 which, in turn, permitted work on urbanization in Fiji (Walsh, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1977) and the special interest in

squatting.

Expatriate researchers have sometimes been criticised by Pacific Islanders for passing acquaintance with the problems they study and for their apparent lack of concern for the viewpoints and aspirations of local people. Similarly, what passes as objectivity among Western scholars who have studied in the Third World has been seen, by non-Western people, to be strongly influenced by Western middle class value judgments. The weight of these arguments lends support for the view, recognized by an increasing number of Western scholars, that no study of the human condition is completely free of value judgments. The writer has approached the present study with the benefit of a geographic training, prolonged acquaintance with the Pacific Islands and a deep concern for their people. A combination of objectivity, knowledge and sensitivity, wisely used, should enhance the value of an enquiry into the human condition.

Fiji in 1976 was a particularly good locale for a study of urban squatting for several reasons :

- 1) In comparison with many Third World countries which lack data on urbanization and squatting, official data were available in Fiji which covered a reasonably long period of time. In addition, access to the 1976 Census household schedules made it possible to compare the research survey with the official census, and to extend the enquiry to other low-income areas for comparative purposes. It was therefore possible to place squatters in a more precise time, place and social framework than has been the case in most studies limited to survey techniques alone.
- 2) The relative recency and limited scale of urbanization in Fiji, the restricted areal extent of squatter settlements and the reasonably complete aerial photographic coverage of the Suva Urban Area facilitated extensive field work covering a wide range of squatter settlement types.
- 3) The residential structure of Suva displays most of the residential types typical of contemporary colonial port cities (McGee, 1967, 128). These include comprehensive areas of low and high density public housing, embryonic slum conditions in the inner city, old colonial and new elite suburbs, together with squatter settlements characterised by different levels of tenure security (Walsh, 1977).

The present study compares high and low-income areas with respect to density and planning objectives, and several types of low-income areas with respect to their demographic, social and economic characteristics.

4) Finally, Fiji is a plural society which became independent in 1970. Housing policy can therefore be compared in both colonial and post-colonial eras, and comparison can also be made between two ethnic groups in similar economic circumstances. The responses of members of two dissimilar cultures in a similar milieu are not known to have been previously studied in the context of squatter housing.

The writer was especially fortunate in working at the University of the South Pacific from 1974 to 1976, and in acting as a consultant on urban boundaries in preparation for the 1976 Census. The background, insights, contacts and access to data obtained from these experiences were most valuable in conducting the squatter survey in mid 1976, and in considering the data collected.

The present work is primarily concerned with squatting in Fiji: its causes, location, form, relations with the urban system, quality of life, contribution to the economy, land use, and a number of variables related to ethnicity, security of tenure, distance from town and work and other characteristics. It considers how these characteristics differ between squatter areas, and between squatter areas and other low-income areas in Suva. No comparable study has been conducted in Fiji, and while many of the questions raised have been considered in several other Third World countries, there are no generally accepted answers to most of them. More specifically, this study is concerned with the questions of whether urban squatters can be considered 'modern, urban' people who seek house improvement and a better material life; whether squatter settlements provide environments conducive to improvement and social mobility; and with the place of squatting in the urban and national systems.

These questions have been explored in other Third World countries by scholars representing a wide range of theoretical and philosophical beliefs, the polar extremes of which are represented by an 'elemental' and a 'systems' approach.<sup>1</sup> Prior to instigating enquiries the writer was influenced by both approaches. Sympathy with the former approach, for example, is evident in early chapters in the attention given to the ideas of the 'Progressive Development School,' and in the formulation of several of the hypotheses examined in later chapters.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent to analysis, however, the writer became progressively

disenchanted with some of the claims of the Progressive Development School. This is most apparent in considering the relationship of squatting and urban poverty to the processes of development and urbanization in Fiji, and in later chapters in considering the limitations for improvement imposed on squatters by their place in the socio-economic system. The work is not doctrinaire, and although it finally comes down more in favour of the 'systems' approach of the Dependency School, the writer is not unaware of the positive suggestions for the improvement of squatter conditions advanced by those who seek partial solutions to the housing problem. The final chapter offers a compromise position which is optimistically considered both practical and possible given the realities of the present day Fiji political scene.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into five parts. Part I includes the present introduction and a statement of the aims, hypotheses and methods used in the thesis.

Parts II and III provide the wider setting. Part II (Urbanization, Housing, and Squatting in the Third World) is essentially a review of the literature. It considers major questions, findings and opinions on the nature of non-Western urbanization, housing policy, the characteristics of squatters and the urban poor, and their capacity for improved housing and upward mobility.

Part III (Urbanization and Housing in Fiji) attempts to identify the main features in Fiji development and urbanization which have bearings on the distribution of wealth and access to resources. It traces the development of housing policy and the multiplicity of factors which have produced a 'housing problem' in Suva, and concludes with a description and assessment of housing policy in action.

Part IV (Squatters in Suva) is largely descriptive and comparative with a modicum of analysis. Five types of squatter settlements (based on ethnic and locational characteristics) are compared with each other and with other low-income areas. This part concludes with an assessment of the contribution of squatters to the urban economy and their supposedly 'marginal' status in the city.

Part V (Squatting : a Satisfactory State?) is mainly concerned with hypothesis-testing and analysis. The first four chapters of this

section deal with specific hypotheses concerned with different facets of propositions derived from Third World literature. These propositions are that squatting permits the poor to maximize economic opportunities; that it provides a satisfactory social environment; that it assists modernization; and that it facilitates migrant integration. One chapter is devoted to the supposed antithesis of traditional and modern behaviour, and another chapter examines the correlates and limitations of improvement. The concluding chapter summarises findings and discusses their importance in the light of the literature considered in Part II.

Photographs have been placed within the text to assist recognition of the situations described. Photographs which refer to specific situations have been placed close to the relevant text, but some photographs refer to more than one situation and others defied specific placement. The photographs therefore should be treated at least as much as a separate photographic essay as a visual commentary on a particular part of the text.

## FOOTNOTES

1 The 'elemental' and 'systems' approaches are considered in detail in subsequent chapters. Briefly, advocates of the former approach hold that housing conditions can be remedied by adjustments to 'elements' in supply and demand. Advocates of the latter approach hold that more fundamental changes to the 'system' are needed to solve the housing problem. The 'elemental' approach is broadly synonymous with 'Neo-classicism' and 'Structuralism'; the 'systems' approach with the 'Dependency School.'

2 The best known advocate of Progressive Development in housing is J.F.C. Turner whose views are discussed in some detail in subsequent chapters. Briefly, Turner maintains that the poor 'progressively' improve their houses through 'self-help' activities, and that such improvement would be hastened if the authorities relaxed building standards and provided squatters with security of tenure.

## CHAPTER 1

### AIMS, HYPOTHESES AND METHODS

The present study has three broad aims:

To establish the place of squatting, as an urban subsystem, in the Fiji situation; to test, in the Suva situation, assertions related to the 'efficiency' of squatting which arise from Third World research; and to determine whether the public housing programme in Fiji could usefully incorporate certain features of the squatter residential environment.

- 1) In Parts II and III broad causal influences are considered in some detail to establish the place of squatting, as an urban subsystem, in the Fiji situation. In Part IV the salient characteristics of a representative section of squatters in Suva are considered and compared, where data permit, with people living in traditional village, Housing Authority, slum and other areas in which low-income people reside. The broad questions here are: Who are the squatters, and how do they compare with other low-income households in Suva, and presumably in Fiji? Observations are related to overseas findings to determine how squatting in Suva compares with the general locational, physical, demographic, economic and social characteristics of squatting in other • Third World countries.

One shortcoming of most case studies is that they are time, place and culture bound. The present work goes part of the way to meeting this problem. First, by selecting squatters from fifteen areas and categorising them according to location and ethnicity, the idiosyncratic characteristics of single areas will be subdued. This approach permits conclusions more typical of squatters and squatter areas in Suva as a whole, but blurs individual settlement characteristics which would need to be known for detailed urban planning. Second, by comparing two culturally dissimilar populations, Fijians and Indians, in broadly similar situations, characteristics typical of both may be considered typical of squatting in Fiji, and perhaps elsewhere. On the other hand, dissimilarities between the two populations must be attributed to differences in cultural characteristics, historical experience and differential access to the resources of the city and society.

2) The second aim is to test, in the Suva situation, a number of the main assertions related to the 'efficiency' of squatting as an urban form which arise from Third World research, and to consider whether the Suva findings merit their modification. These assertions are considered in Part V. Squatting 'efficiency' is taken for the present to embrace notions which suggest that squatter settlements, given the residential choices open to the poor, provide a satisfactory environment for them to gain better access to the resources of the city. Resources, in this sense, are taken to include housing, education and employment; in short, all means for achieving social mobility which, in Turner's (1971a and 1972) thinking, illustrate the squatters' capacity for self-help.

This concept of 'efficiency' is based on bold assumptions. For one thing it imposes middle class goals on the poor that they may not share, and measures their relative 'success' or 'failure' against them. But these goals are assumed and unquestioned in much of the writings on the urban poor (e.g. Beyer, 1967; Germani, 1967) and among those advocating 'progressive' housing (e.g. Turner, 1970a; Mangin, 1970). The extent to which they prove well founded will undoubtedly influence planners and administrators with regard to acceptance or rejection of controlled squatter-type development. Thus, if squatters or groups of squatters measure up well against these goals, evidence in support of the Progressive Development School will have been provided; if they do not measure up well, the ideas of the School would be found wanting, either because they have misread squatter motivations or the opportunities for social mobility in Third World cities. In the present work, different indices of this concept of 'efficiency' (employment status, incomes, housing and 'modern' behaviour) comprise dependent variables against which 'success' or 'failure' of squatters are measured.

For example, in Chapter 13 the concept of 'efficiency' is manifest in the proposition that squatting enables people to maximise their economic opportunities (Mangin, 1967; Turner, 1970a and 1972) and in Chapters 14 - 17 that varying mixes of 'rural' and 'urban' behaviour do not impede 'modern' behaviour seen as essential to integration into, as well as adaptation to, the city (cf. Germani, 1967). In Chapter 18 an attempt is made to determine the extent of self-help and improvement. The characteristics of squatters are also examined to determine their correlation with 'efficiency,' measured in terms of house improvement, housing conditions, economic performance and socio-economic aspirations.



The conceptual arrogance of such an approach is recognized; it would be even more arrogant, however, for an outsider to claim to know what the urban poor really think and feel and want. This danger is avoided by admitting that 'Western' middle class goals are assumed, and used in the main to test the validity of the findings of other middle class researchers.

3) Finally, the third major aim is to determine whether the public housing programme in Fiji can usefully incorporate features of squatting. The basic question here is: can more people be housed more cheaply in a better physical, economic and social environment than the instant public housing so far supplied?

#### QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Part IV aims to establish the extent to which squatters and squatter areas in Suva:

- 1) Differ from each other.
- 2) Compare with other low-income (control) areas.
- 3) Contribute, both positively and negatively, to the city.
- 4) Compare with squatters in other Third World countries.

Since the aims are to describe more than to analyse, non-directional questions are posed rather than hypotheses.<sup>1</sup>

1) In considering differences between areas the main questions relate to the importance of location and ethnicity:

i) In what respects are Fijian and Indian squatter settlements different?

ii) Are Fijian Renters different from Fijian City Villagers?

iii) How do city settlements compare with those in the urban area?

Ethnicity and location are the independent variables and housing, family structure, migrancy, residential and other preferences, employment, incomes, and educational levels are the main dependent variables.

2) In comparing squatters with people living in other low-income areas, the main questions are:

i) Are squatters similar in demographic characteristics (age and sex, family structure, migrancy, age of marriage and number of live births) to other low-income people ?

ii) Are they better or worse off with respect to socio-economic status?

Such information should indicate the extent to which squatters are committed to urban residence, and the extent to which they have been 'successful' by comparison with other groups with which they may be properly compared.

3) In considering possible negative contributions to the city, some attention is given to land use, layout and densities, housing standards and services in the five areas as compared with non-squatter areas. The main questions are:

i) To what extent is squatter housing sufficient to meet minimal standards of shelter, space and health?

ii) To what extent does squatting present an obstacle to the rational use of urban land?

Possibly positive contributions are examined by considering employment, incomes, use of otherwise undeveloped land, and informal economic activities. The main questions are:

iii) To what extent do squatters generate wealth and contribute to the economy of the city?

iv) On balance, are they 'cancers' affecting the healthy growth of the city or 'catalysts' of change and development?

### A Satisfactory Economic Environment

Part V tests several propositions concerning the supposed 'efficiency' of squatting.

PROPOSITION 1. Chapter 13 tests the proposition that squatter areas provide a satisfactory economic environment for the urban poor because they permit people to maximise their limited economic opportunities, a claim made by several writers (e.g. Mangin, 1967, and Turner, 1967, 1970a). Much of the data do not permit this proposition to be tested by comparing squatters with other low-income people, and there is of course no way of knowing how squatters would behave if they did not live in squatter areas.

One can, however, ask whether many squatters would have any economic opportunity if they did not live in squatter areas. One can also measure levels of economic activity and identify the 'maximisers.' If squatter areas do offer opportunities beyond those of bare existence, one could also expect to find a greater proportion of 'maximisers' among those with longer (but not necessarily the longest) residence in the areas.

The proposition is tested in Chapter 13 via the following hypotheses (H1 - H8):

- H1. Many squatter households cannot afford alternative unsubsidised accommodation.
- H2. Proximity to work is especially important for the casually employed and those on the lowest incomes.
- H3. Increased household size results in an increase in household income due to the presence of additional workers, and an increase in per capita income.
- H4. Squatter households (having no external restrictions on household size) contain proportionately more workers than households in other low-income areas.
- H5. Supplementary economic activities make a critical contribution to the income of many squatter households.
- H6. (a) Squatters have high educational aspirations for their children;  
(b) squatter children have had more schooling than their parents; and  
(c) have had at least as much schooling as children in other low-income areas.
- H7. Maximisation of opportunity by squatting is especially important at critical stages in the family life cycle.
- H8. Fijian and Indian households display different means of maximising economic opportunities.

#### A Satisfactory Social Environment

Opinion is divided on the extent to which squatter areas facilitate the integration of migrants and the urban poor into the life of the city, although the retention and modification of traditional and rural behaviour is generally recognized as a useful short-term strategy

for migrants (e.g. United Nations, 1971). Some writers see slums and squatter areas as 'staging points' from which the poor gain the resources necessary for upward mobility (e.g. Leeds and Leeds, 1970; United Nations, 1971) or as areas which improve because of the upward mobility of their residents (e.g. Turner, 1971a and 1972). Others have questioned the extent to which social mobility is possible in Third World cities. Of these, some doubt whether the economy of the city is capable of providing many opportunities for upward mobility (Epstein, 1972; Friedmann and Wulff, 1975; McGee, 1971); while others doubt whether the cultural attributes of the poor (Germani, 1967; Lewis, 1966b) and/or the physical and social environment of the slum and squatter area (Beyer, 1967; Morse, 1972) permit residents to avail themselves of the opportunities which do exist. Most of these views suggest a polarised attitude: such areas are either 'slums of hope' or 'slums of despair,' though several of the writers would agree that squatting represents a wide spectrum of responses related to the reasons why people came to live in squatter areas. Over and above all these assertions is the claim that the critical factor in gauging whether squatter areas may be said to provide a satisfactory environment lies in the perception of the squatters themselves (Laquian, 1975b). Laquian also warns that the perceptions of most researchers are likely to be ethnocentric. This raises the question as to whether the terms 'traditional' and 'rural' can be equated. If all traditional traits disappear in the city, even among the upper classes, what is the urban culture which results? Is modernization the same as Westernization? These questions are examined in the remaining chapters of Part V.

Chapters 14 - 17 examine residential perceptions and preferences of squatters, and several facets of the proposition that squatter areas provide a satisfactory social environment for the urban poor because they facilitate their integration in the city.

The term 'integration' is often used synonymously with 'urbanism' and 'modernization,' terms which are usually not precisely defined. They are, however, generally taken to mean something which is not merely 'adaptation' or 'adjustment,' and which are antithetical to 'rural' and 'traditional' (Germani, 1967). Rogers (1969, 14 - 15), for instance, describes 'traditional' as 'Lifestyles, attitudes and values into which one is socialized...associated with rural villages from which migrants

come,' and 'modernization' as 'The process by which individuals change from traditional ways of life to a more complex, technologically advanced and rapidly changing lifestyle.'

Characteristics considered more urban and modern than rural and traditional include:

- 1) Nuclear families.
- 2) Participation in secondary groups.
- 3) Later age of marriage.
- 4) Smaller family size.
- 5) Acceptance of family planning.
- 6) Capacity to defer immediate gratification, as evidenced, for example, in savings and insurances.
- 7) Higher job and educational aspirations for one's children than one's present position.

Indices of these behavioural attributes are used as measures of modernization, together with indices of social mobility, to test the propositions concerned with 'integration.' It should be noted that the measures used are objective but the assumptions upon which they are based are not. Concepts such as modernization, as noted earlier, are prone to interpretations deriving from the culture of the researcher. The use of such concepts in this study does not presume that squatters should have these attributes; only that some scholars maintain that if they do not, they are not integrated in the city. Chapters in Part V test this assertion by considering the constraining effects of the urban built environment on the retention and evolution of Fijian traditional behaviour, and in determining the extent to which supposedly traditional and modern behaviour are antithetical.

PROPOSITION 2. Most squatters are satisfied with the residential environment in which they live. This proposition is tested in Chapter 14 via the following hypotheses (H9 - H13):

- H9. (a) Squatter areas display marked ethnic, place of birth and religious homogeneity, and  
(b) many squatters have chosen the area in which they live for these reasons.
- H10. Most squatters (a) show a strong preference to live close to kin and (b) maintain economic exchanges with their kinship group.

- H11. Most squatters perceive the area in which they live as an improvement on their previous place of residence.
- H12. Most squatters (a) wish to remain in the area in which they live, and (b) show a marked dislike of Housing Authority accommodation.
- H13. Levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the area of residence vary with (a) ethnicity and (b) urban experience.

PROPOSITION 3. Squatters exhibit patterns of behaviour which may be considered both urban and modern, and households which display such characteristics will also display evidence of success in the city.

This proposition is tested in Chapter 15 via the following hypotheses (H14 - H19) :

- H14. Squatters do not show evidence of lower levels of modernization than other low-income people.
- H15. Modernization is positively correlated with economic success.
- H16. There is a positive correlation between modernization and home improvement.
- H17. Most dissatisfaction with services in squatter areas is expressed by high modernizers.
- H18. Modern behaviour increases with urban experience.
- H19. Fijians and Indians show markedly different scores on separate indices of modernization.

PROPOSITION 4. Squatter areas provide a satisfactory environment for migrant integration. This proposition is tested in Chapter 16 via the following hypotheses (H20 - H27) :

- H20. There is no significant difference in the levels of migrant modernization or economic success attributable to the geographic (regional) source of migration.
- H21. Squatter migrants moving directly from the country are less modern than those previously resident in other parts of the city, irrespective of the length of residence in the city.
- H22. Households where both the husband and wife are migrants are less modern and less economically successful than households with only one migrant spouse.

- H23. Squatter migrants are no less modern than migrants in other low-income areas.
- H24. Squatter migrants are no more disadvantaged in employment than other low-income migrants.
- H25. Migrant squatters show more evidence of modernization and home improvement than city-born squatters.
- H26. The economic position of migrants improves with length of urban residence, and is not inferior to that of city-born squatters.
- H27. Fijian and Indian migrants display relatively different patterns of modernization and economic success.

PROPOSITION 5. Households displaying marked rural or traditional characteristics do not display less evidence of (a) modern urban behaviour, or (b) economic success than households with less traditional behaviour. Hypotheses 28 - 30 operationalise the concept 'traditional,' part (a) of the proposition is tested via H31 and part (b) via H32 - H35.

- H28. Extended households display more evidence of traditional behaviour than nuclear households.
- H29. (a) Nuclear household structure is related to young families and recent migrants, but (b) extended household structure is no more common among migrants than among the city-born.
- H30. Traditional behaviour (i.e. extended household structure) is more evident in squatter areas than in Housing Authority areas and the slum.
- H31. Extended households do not show lower levels of modern behaviour than nuclear households.
- H32. Extended households do not have lower per capita incomes than nuclear households.
- H33. Extended households do not have lower levels of housing than nuclear households.
- H34. Extended households do not have less floor space per capita than nuclear households.
- H35. Households with high levels of kinship exchange are no more economically disadvantaged than those with less or no kinship exchange involvement.

## Questions of Self-Help and Improvement

Chapter 18 deals with the central claim of those advocating progressive housing development, namely, that squatter areas permit residents to help themselves more effectively than instant housing. This claim is based on the assumption that with no or low rents to pay, squatters can order their priorities to better advance their social position and levels of comfort. As a consequence, some squatter areas are capable of becoming 'self-improving suburbs' (Turner, 1972, 516).

PROPOSITION 6. Income is the most important variable affecting the quality of squatter housing. The level of squatter incomes is such that unassisted self-help activities will not produce an overall improvement in housing (or in social mobility) for the majority of squatter households.

In operationalising the proposition, the quality of housing was represented by two scales. The first, house adequacy, gave an equal value to six items most frequently mentioned in the literature as essential to minimal housing adequacy. The second scale, home improvement, permitted consideration of past and intended improvements. The potential for social mobility was represented by three variables: income, occupational status, and education.

The proposition is first tested via hypothesis 36:

H36. Housing adequacy and home improvement are positively related to length of residence, age of household head, head's and household income, modern behaviour, security of tenure, and house ownership.

Hypothesis-testing is a well used method of analysis but it does not provide an overview of the interdependence of all the variables studied. To provide such an overview of housing and social mobility, multiple correlations are employed in the second part of Chapter 18. In addition, a step-wise progression is used to eliminate households which did not meet the various requirements of housing adequacy and social mobility. This method permits a statement on the proportion of households which may be considered adequately housed and socially mobile.



## DATA ACQUISITION

The study is based on two main sources of data: a household survey of squatter settlements conducted by the writer and household schedules collected during the 1976 Census of Population. Both sets of data provide information of five types of squatter environments based on location and ethnicity (ethno-areas), and the Census schedules provide information on seven other low-income areas (Figure 1.1).

Ethnicity in social area studies in the West has been shown to be related to different levels of socio-economic wellbeing.<sup>2</sup> Its choice as a major variable in a plural society such as Fiji where it is perhaps the single most important index of exposure, access to and use of urban resources and where residential segregation is so marked, needs little justification. It has been argued elsewhere (Walsh, 1976a) that information on the human condition which ignores ethnicity is meaningless in Fiji and this view is supported in much of the official and academic literature.<sup>3</sup>

The decision to use location as the second major variable is prompted by the attention given to its importance in Third World studies.<sup>4</sup> Although there is no generally accepted theory on locational differences with regards to squatting, it is evident from these studies that the characteristics of squatter households are considered to vary according to factors related to location. These factors include: age of settlement, social composition and security of tenure. In turn, these factors have been shown to be associated with the predominance of certain demographic, socio-economic and, possibly, motivational characteristics. The decision to study settlements in the city and in the Urban Area (Figure 1.1) was made with these considerations in mind.

Most squatter areas in the Suva area are ethnically homogeneous but the older Indian settlements in the city in particular have also attracted a significant number of Fijians and a small number of Rotumans, Part-Europeans and Other Pacific Islanders. Minor races were excluded from the study but the number of Fijians living in Indian areas, most of whom rent accommodation, were considered sufficiently important to treat as a separate category. Inter-marriage is not common in Fiji. Early Pacific Island immigrants such as Solomon Islanders have now been assimilated and for most purposes may be regarded as Fijian. In the few cases where recent inter-marriage occurred in the surveys, the ethnicity recorded was that of the household head. The

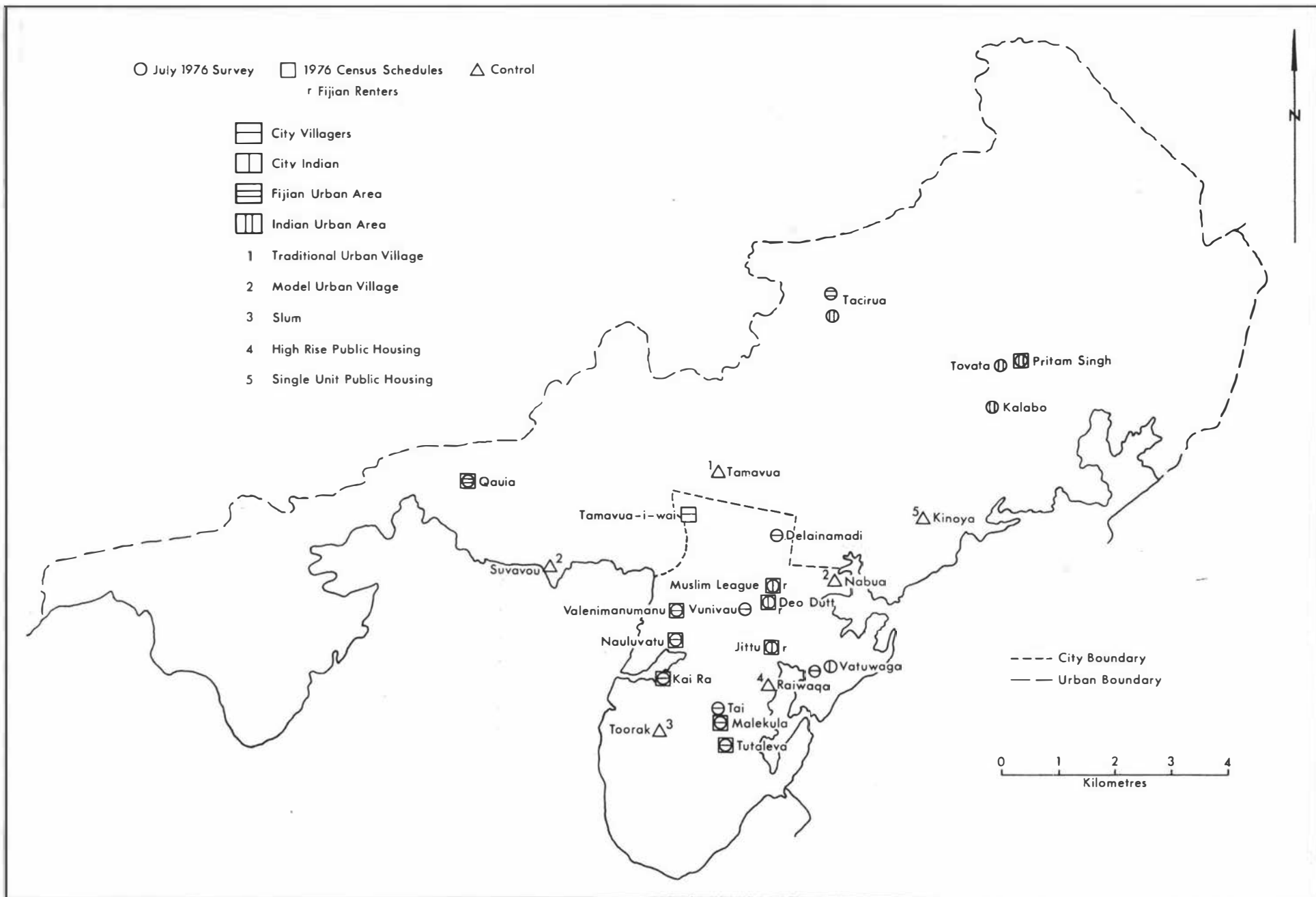


FIGURE 1.1 Squatter and Control Settlements Surveyed.

five categories of squatters classified by ethnicity and location (ethno-areas) are shown below:

- 1) Fijian squatter villages in the city (City Villagers, CV).
- 2) Fijians living in predominantly Indian areas in the city, most of whom are renting (Fijian Renters, FR).
- 3) Indian squatters living in the city (City Indians, CI).
- 4) Fijians in Fijian squatter settlements in the Urban Area (Fijian Urban Area, FUA).
- 5) Indians living in the Urban Area (Indian Urban Area, IUA).

Information was also obtained on five types of areas occupied by low-income households which were not squatters. They were selected to represent environments into which squatters could possibly have moved (or be expected to move) and in this sense they are alternative environments for the urban poor. Their importance to the study is to act as a series of 'controls' against which squatter characteristics can be compared. The control areas selected are shown below:

- 1) Traditional Fijian villages in the Urban Area (Tamavua, Suvavou).
- 2) A model Fijian village in the city (Nabua).
- 3) Subsidised high-rise Housing Authority flats in the city (Raiwaqa).
- 4) Single-unit owner-occupied Housing Authority housing (Kinoya).
- 5) The inner city slum (Toorak).

### The July 1976 Survey

This survey obtained information on the following squatter characteristics:

- 1) Demographic:

Ethnicity, sex and age.

Place of Birth, migration, and residential histories.

Household size and composition.

Marital status, religion.

- 2) Economic:

Employment type, occupational status, place of work,  
length of employment.

Unemployment, occupation of wife.

Income from wages, subsistence activities.

Expenditure on food, debts and insurances.

## 3) Housing:

Construction materials, house size, number of rooms.  
 Cooking, toilet, water and bathing facilities.  
 Single and multiple occupancy.  
 Age of house.  
 Who constructed the house, how it was acquired.  
 Renting of dwellings, land rent.  
 Costs of construction, purchase and renting.  
 Improvements to the dwelling.  
 Possessions.  
 Security of tenure.

## 4) Social:

Reasons for choice of area.  
 Perception of area.  
 Residential preferences and intentions.  
 Kinship exchanges.  
 Levels of education, educational and job aspirations  
 for children.  
 Urban participation (club membership, voting).  
 Family planning behaviour.

The survey was carried out by third year geography students at the University of the South Pacific and a paid assistant from late June to the end of July, 1976. The students involved were all enrolled in an Applied Geography of Population and Urbanization course conducted by the writer. Most had participated in a household survey at Nadi earlier in the year and all had completed a first year techniques and methods course in geography which dealt with sampling procedures, questionnaire design and interviewing techniques. The paid interviewer attended training sessions with the students and was later employed as an enumerator during the 1976 Census of Population. The selection and training of interviewers often present special problems in the Third World. The present study was fortunate in being able to call on highly literate interviewers with such a background of experience.

The questionnaire (Appendix A) comprised both closed and open questions. In addition space was provided at the end of each major section for additional comments by respondents and notes by the interviewers. Many of these later proved useful in obtaining a 'feel'

for the condition and attitudes of the squatters. The questionnaire was pre-tested for ambiguity and translation problems on university students, and the first five questionnaires completed by each interviewer were carefully checked and discussed prior to further interviewing.

The questionnaire was translated and administered in Fijian and Hindi. Every effort was made to ensure that the ethnicity of interviewers and respondents was matched. However, the class contained some students whose first language was neither Fijian nor Hindi. These students worked with a Fijian or Indian colleague and were responsible for completing details on housing and possessions which only required direct observation. Most students worked in pairs in order to divide the work, boost interviewer confidence and provide a check on the observations. Several students claimed that working in pairs also produced a more relaxed and efficient interview situation.

Questions were addressed to the wife of the household head, though in some situations the head and other adult members of the household were also present. This had the advantage of providing a check on some questions and the disadvantage that respondents may have been influenced, in voicing personal opinions, by the presence of others. To have insisted on only one person being present, however, could have destroyed interviewer - respondent rapport which was considered to be of utmost importance. Overall, interviewers recorded excellent reception. No household refused to complete the questionnaire and predetermined replacements were used where no one was at home.

Interviewing adult females, which has come into increasing use in household surveys, has the advantage of holding sex as an intervening variable constant, but it has the disadvantage that women are sometimes less able to supply economic information than male respondents, especially in societies where these matters are customarily considered the prerogative of the male. Accurate information on income is notoriously difficult to obtain in any situation. Indeed, some Indian women were reluctant to supply this information and some Fijian women did not know what their husbands earned. In most cases initial reluctance to supply information was overcome but interviewers were instructed not to press respondents for information they were not prepared to divulge. Information considered suspect by both interviewers was recorded as a

non-response. It was anticipated that some embarrassment could occur when male interviewers questioned female respondents about family planning. No interviewer reported any obvious signs of embarrassment. This was probably because of rigorous and open family planning publicity over the radio and in the press for many years.

Considerable stress was made of the confidentiality and non-official nature of the survey. Most squatters welcomed the interview as an opportunity to talk to concerned outsiders and the rapport established permitted many opportunities for cross-questioning and the verification of doubtful information. Average interview time was between 30 and 40 minutes, and there were no refusals.

### The July 1976 Survey Sample

Surveying presents special problems in countries such as Fiji, not least of which is the difficulty of establishing a sample frame. In the July Survey 360 households were interviewed in 15 squatter settlements purposively selected and grouped to represent the five ethno-areas (Figure 1.1).

Households interviewed in each of these settlements were randomly selected from aerial photographs or pre-survey (Appendix B). Provision for replacement was made and used for households who were not at home at the time of interview. Ten replacements were provided for each of the larger settlements and proportionately less for the smaller settlements. The maximum number of replacements needed in any one settlement was three. In the ethnically mixed settlement of Jittu equal numbers of Fijians and Indians were interviewed. Elsewhere Fijians were generally not interviewed in Indian areas or Indians in Fijian areas.<sup>5</sup>

Pre-surveys (Appendix B), conducted in 9 of the 15 areas, were found to be the preferable method to establish sample frames because aerial photographs did not show recent dwellings, some dwellings were partially concealed by trees and were difficult to distinguish from outbuildings, and the number of households sharing the same dwelling could not be determined.<sup>6</sup> The latter problem was partly resolved by allocating numbers to households sharing dwellings and selecting one at random for interviewing. It is still likely, however, that such households were underrepresented in the survey. In the pre-surveyed settlements this problem did not arise and all households had an equal

chance of selection for interview.

No attempt was made to establish sample sizes based on squatter universes because this was not possible in many of the areas selected for interviewing. Instead, a minimum of 30 households were interviewed in the larger settlements and proportionately less in the smaller settlements. This procedure has limitations but the object was not to obtain samples proportional to each settlement, but rather to obtain sufficient randomly selected households representative of each ethno-area to permit statistical analysis. N=30 was considered adequate for this purpose and was achieved in all but the Fijian Renters ethno-area.

Given the difficulties of defining population universes, it could be argued that the selection of one settlement (for which the universe was known) to represent each ethno-area would have been more statistically acceptable. Such a procedure, however, would have created another problem, more serious than sample size: a single settlement may have had unique characteristics atypical of the 'type' it was intended to represent. The 'case study' approach would not have revealed the broad spectrum of squatter characteristics achieved by the procedure adopted.

Sampling details of settlements and ethno-areas are shown in Table 1.1. Appendix D also provides information on selected settlements.

### The 1976 Census of Population Household Schedules

The second main source of information was obtained from the household schedules collected in the national 1976 Census of Population. The Census was conducted in mid-September, between six and ten weeks after the July 1976 Survey.

Information on the schedules was transferred on to contracted schedules prepared by the writer (Appendix C). Access to the schedules was conditional on not using the names of household heads, and limited information was obtained on fertility. With these two exceptions all information contained on the original schedules was transferred to the contracted schedules. In the subsequent processing, information on the household head and his wife was retained in full but information pertaining to other household members not considered of immediate value to the study was not processed. Household ethnicity and religion were

TABLE 1.1  
SAMPLING DETAILS OF THE JULY 1976 SURVEY AND THE 1976  
CENSUS SCHEDULES

	July 1976 Survey Households	%	1976 Census Households	Schedules %	Census Population
Kai Ra (Walu Bay)	14	53.8	26	100.0	26 <sup>a</sup>
Nauluvatu	30	54.5	55	100.0	55
Valenimanumanu	26	72.2	36	100.0	36 <sup>b</sup>
Malekula	20	31.3	64	100.0	64 <sup>b</sup>
Tai	6				
Tutaleva	11	44.0	25	100.0	25
Vunivau	8				
Tamavua-i-wai			30		
Total Fijian Villagers (CV)	115		236		
Jittu	15		86		457 <sup>c</sup>
Deo Dutt	30		97		) 412 <sup>d</sup>
Muslim League	30		139		
Delainamadi	10				
Vatuwaqa	26				
Other	3		13		
Total City Indian (CI)	114		335		
Jittu	15		68		457 <sup>c</sup>
Deo Dutt			37		) 412 <sup>d</sup>
Muslim League	1		35		
Delainamadi	7				
Vatuwaqa	4				
Total Fijian Renters (FR)	27		140		
Qauia	15	6.1	71	28.9	246
Tacirua	19				
Total Fijian Urban Area (FUA)	34		71		
Tovata	30		47		609
Kalabo	29				
Tacirua	10				
Qauia	1				
Total Indian Urban Area (IUA)	70		47		
GRAND TOTAL	360		829		

Notes: a Nair (1976) indicates that there were 40 dwellings at Kai Ra, but only 26 households were identified in the 1976 Census.

b Includes two Indian households in each settlement.

c Fijian and Indian samples comprised 6.6 percent (July) and 33.7 percent (Census) of the combined population at the time of the Census.

d Deo Dutt and Muslim League proved impossible to separate in the Census Schedules. Combined Fijian and Indian samples comprised 14.8 percent (July) and 74.8 percent (Census) of their combined population for both enumeration districts at the time of the Census.

Sources: July 1976 Survey; 1976 Census Schedules.



determined by the status of the household head, as in the July 1976 Survey.

Information was obtained on the following characteristics:

1) Demographic:

Ethnicity, sex and age.

Place of birth and previous address (as at October 10, 1970).

Household size and composition.

Marital status, religion.

Age of wife, age at birth of first child, number of live births.

2) Economic:

Employment type, occupational status, place of work, employer (for household head and next most senior male paid member of the household).

Unemployment, occupation of wife.

3) Social:

Marital status of adults other than the household head and his wife (to estimate the extent of unattached married, separated and divorced adults).

Education level of the head and the eldest offspring in the household.

Number of children at school.

The 1976 Census was carried out by paid enumerators who attended three training sessions. Many enumerators were school teachers. Households were visited twice. Schedules were completed on the first visit and checked on the second visit after Census night for changes which had occurred between the first visit and Census night. All household heads were obliged by law to answer Census questions and a sticker was placed on all dwellings visited to ensure a complete coverage. Despite these precautions, the final figures for Suva suggest a high level of under-enumeration.<sup>7</sup>

Census information was obtained for use in the study for three reasons:

1) To supplement data obtained from the July Survey.

2) To provide a check on the representativeness of the July Survey.

3) To provide information on other low-income areas to act as 'control' settlements for comparison with the squatters. These were purposively selected and are discussed more fully below.

Several problems arose in endeavouring to make direct comparison between the two sets of data. First, because access to the Census Schedules was conditional on not using the names of household heads, the original intention to match households from both sources could not be realised. Second, smaller settlements sampled in the July 1976 Survey could not be identified within the larger Census Enumeration Districts. They were replaced by areas assumed to be similar. Assumptions were based on extensive field observation, aerial reconnaissance, aerial photograph interpretation, and discussion with local officials during the writer's work in delineating enumeration districts within the Suva Urban Area in preparation for the 1976 Census (Bakker and Walsh, 1976). The location of settlements is shown in Figure 1.1 and sampling details in Table 1.1.

Table 1.2 indicates that, with three partial exceptions, the July 1976 Sample and the results obtained from the Census Schedules were not significantly different with regard to household size, age of household head, the number of dependent children and the major religion of settlements.

The difference in household size in the Indian Urban Area (IUA) is probably due to the inclusion of Kalabo in the July Survey. This area was chosen because the people were on Housing Authority land and were in immediate danger of eviction. Many were relatively recent arrivals and younger families who could be expected to have smaller household sizes. Tovata, which comprised the IUA from the Census Schedules, is a more stable community where household size could be expected to be larger.

The generally fewer number of dependent children in the Census Schedules, which is statistically significant for City Villagers, is probably accounted for in that the Census was conducted during the school holidays when children staying with urban kinsfolk may have been expected to return home. If this assumption is correct, the July 1976 Survey is more typical of the urban condition in this respect than the Census.

TABLE 1.2  
COMPARABILITY OF THE JULY 1976 SURVEY AND THE 1976 CENSUS  
SCHEDULES FOR SQUATTER HOUSEHOLDS

	July 1976 Survey					1976 Census Schedules				
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA
Household size ( $\bar{x}$ )	6.53	5.41	5.04	6.24	4.90*	6.29	5.60	4.96	6.07	5.36
Age house-hold head ( $\bar{x}$ )	43.47	39.17	35.94	43.13	35.96	42.26	40.38	36.10	39.50	37.22
Dependent children ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.32*	2.43	2.30	3.32	2.47	2.81	2.29	2.16	2.70	2.57
Major Religion <sup>a</sup>	42.8**	40.2	36.0	43.0	36.8	35.9	40.3	36.2	39.7	37.3
Number Households	115	114	27	34	70	236	335	140	71	47

Notes: \* Significant differences ( $\mu = \bar{x} \pm 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{s}{n}}$  at 0.05)

\*\* Significant differences ( $\chi^2$  p = 0.05. Chi square test for two independent samples. Siegel, 1956, 104-111).

a Methodist for Fijians; Hindu for Indians (percentages).

Sources: July 1976 Survey; 1976 Census Schedules.

TABLE 1.3  
MEAN HOUSEHOLD SIZE IN 1976 CENSUS SAMPLE AND 1976 CENSUS POPULATION  
(Selected Areas)

	Census Sample		Census Population		% Sample
	$\bar{x}$	No.	$\bar{x}$	No.	
Jittu	5.29	154	4.96	457	33.7
Deo Dutt/ Muslim League	5.30	308	5.56	412	74.8
Qauia	6.07	72	6.17	246	29.3
Tovata	5.36	47	5.64	609	7.7
Traditional Villages	6.70	66	6.70	146	45.2
Kinoya	5.79	68	5.86	204	33.3
Nabua	8.74	38	7.94	125	30.4
Four-storey flats	5.75	61	5.96	187	32.6
Toorak	5.29	35	5.28	209	16.7 <sup>a</sup>

Notes: a All Fijians in enumeration districts sampled.

Source : 1976 Census Schedules.

The lower incidence of Methodists in the Census Schedules is accounted for by the exclusion of the totally Methodist settlements of Vunivau and Tutalevu, and the inclusion of Tamavua-i-wai which had a more religiously mixed population. Overall, the similarity between the two sets of data is considered to be sufficiently close to enable them to be considered as representing single populations.

A third problem was that it had been intended to obtain information on the total squatter populations in the area studied from the Census Schedules. Pressure of work in the Census Office, however, did not permit this and random sampling procedures were used in some cases. The Census Schedules were bound into books in the order in which they were returned (and presumably collected) by enumerators. Some locational bias was therefore likely. Generally, one book comprised an enumeration district but in the more populous districts where more than one enumerator was employed, several books were used. In Jittu, for example, three enumerators were used and their books were labelled A, B and C. In cases such as this, sample size was approximately proportional to the number of households in each book. Thus, in Jittu, 56 households were selected from the household population of 116 in book A, and 47 households were selected from each of books B and C which had household populations of 144 and 150 respectively. A similar practice was used for Qauia which comprised two enumeration districts.

Pages within the books were not ordered sequentially, the only numbers used being those allocated to separate households. Several enumeration districts also included non-squatters. For these reasons it was decided not to select households by use of a random numbers table. Instead, households were selected at equal intervals to provide the number required for each settlement. This procedure seems justifiable in view of the limited time available. Selection at equal intervals would have countered any locational bias caused by the order in which the schedules were collected.

The Census Schedules' samples were compared for household size with total Census populations where information was available. In almost all cases the sample Census household size was slightly lower than the Census populations, the exceptions being Jittu and Nabua.

The Jittu difference was not caused, as was expected, by stratified sampling, for both Fijian and Indian households in the sample exceeded the Census population. A possible explanation is that non-squatter housing on Shalimar Crescent may have been included in the Census enumeration district thus lowering the mean, but this is not thought likely. No reason can be offered for the discrepancy at Nabua. With the exceptions noted, the differences in household size are either not significant or can be attributed to stratified sampling in the Census sample.

It is estimated, on information calculated from the 1976 Census that the July 1976 Survey and the 1976 Census Schedules sampled approximately 9 and 22 percent respectively of the estimated 3,845 squatter households in the Suva Urban Area.<sup>8</sup> Within the City, the proportions were 19 and 50 percent, and in the Urban Area outside the city the proportions were 4 and 5 percent.

### The Five Squatter Environments

#### 1) Fijian Villages in the City (CV)

Most of the eight settlements in this category are long established 'urban villages' in which the people are closely related by kinship ties and marriage. Two, and possibly three, are extensions from parent villages. Thus, Tai is an extension of Malekula, Walu Bay an extension of Nauluvatu, and Valenimanumanu may also be an extension of Nauluvatu.

Two of the villages are only partly squatter settlements. Valenimanumanu was in the process of having its land subdivided and people were being given separate titles. Some people, however, were still squatters, and squatting was a very recent experience for them all. Vunivau (which is only used in the July 1976 Survey data) is a small settlement (nine dwellings in 1976) on Methodist Church land where people have been assured tenure if they constructed concrete block houses within twelve years. Both settlements, in a sense, are 'improving squatter' areas. Their omission seemed less justifiable than their inclusion.

#### 2) City Indian Settlements (CI)

Almost all of this population was sampled from the three largest

and predominantly Indian settlements of Jittu, Deo Dutt and Muslim League. However, a small number of Indians living in Fijian areas, and the more dispersed and less ethnically stratified settlement at Vatuwaqa were also included in the July 1976 Survey.

### 3) Fijian Renters (FR)

These are Fijians living in predominantly Indian settlements in the city, most of whom rent accommodation. The Census Sample comprised Jittu, Deo Dutt and Muslim League; the July 1976 Survey also included Vatuwaqa.

### 4) Fijians in the Urban Area (FUA)

These are people in two settlements west and north of the city, Qauia and Tacirua. The latter should not be confused with the village of the same name. The Tacirua settlement proved unlocatable in the Census Schedules, and census data on FUA is therefore confined to Qauia.

### 5) Indians in the Urban area (IUA)

Most July 1976 Survey households in this category were selected from discrete parts of Kalabo and Tovata to represent varying degrees of security of tenure. Thus, squatters at Kalabo were threatened with almost immediate eviction, and many of those at Tovata were sub-tenants on agricultural leases with a probably greater degree of security. Both areas proved unlocatable in the Census Schedules. Census data are therefore a random selection of Indian households resident in Enumeration District (E.D.) 17 in the general area of Pritam Singh Road.

## The Control Areas

No social area analysis has been undertaken of the Suva area which would have allowed an 'objective' selection on low-income environments, but less rigorous observations by Whitelaw (1964, 1966) and Walsh (1976a, 1976b, 1977) indicate that ethnicity and social rank are the two most important constructs of areal social differentiation.<sup>9</sup> These observations find support in the work of Harré (1976) who used ethnicity and type of tenure as indices of social rank to classify low-income areas in the Suva area. The control areas used in this study are similar to those identified as low-income by Harré.<sup>10</sup> They were selected to represent the range of residential environments available to the poor, in addition to squatting.<sup>11</sup> Sampling details are shown in Table 1.3.

1) Traditional Villages (TV)

Suvavou and Tamavua villages (Rewa E.D. 8 and Naitasiri E.D. 32) are the two largest 'traditional' villages in the Suva area. Lami village was not selected because it was considered less traditional by reason of its relatively recent relocation and the number of squatters who lived there.

2) Nabua (Suva City, E.D. 64)

The original inhabitants of Nabua were mainly squatters whose dwellings were destroyed in the 1952 hurricane. They were resettled at Nabua with the intention of establishing a model Fijian urban village (Nayacakalou, 1976, 99). Most dwellings are solidly built, but some squatter dwellings are located adjacent to the city boundary. The Housing Authority has recently (1976) taken over responsibility for the area and redevelopment is likely.

3) Four-Storey Flats (Suva City, E.D.48)

These are people living in the five subsidised blocks of Housing Authority flats at Raiwaqa. Indian and Fijian tenants are considered separately (IFS, FFS).

4) Kinoya (Naitasiri E.D. 37, Sarosaro Place)

This is a predominantly single unit Housing Authority area which has been occupied since 1973. It is an upper low-income area in which most people were buying their houses. Indians and Fijians are considered separately (IK, FK).

5) Toorak (Suva City, E.D. 26 and 30)

This sample includes all the Fijians living in these enumeration districts. Most were rooming, and the area was chosen to represent the nearest Suva equivalent to the slum. Rooming in the Toorak area was of special concern to City Health authorities in the 1950s, a concern which led to the formation of the Housing Authority. It is, however, as Harré (1976, iv) observed, an area of extremes:

Because of its extreme variability on all scores the Toorak area is possibly the one least susceptible to survey type techniques. It is an area of extremes on almost all scores and the spread of characteristics is very great. This is partly brought about by the combination of poor tenement type housing on the one hand and its proximity to the predominantly Gujarati business area on the other.

The decision to confine observations in this area to Fijians was made because it was not possible to distinguish between the Indian poor and better-off Indian households in the Census Schedules.

## DATA ANALYSIS AND PROCESSING

Research exercises in the social sciences frequently obtain data for which parametric tests are inappropriate. In the present work parametric measures are used in considering population parameters such as age and income, but in all other cases the variables considered are at best discrete or continuous variables at the ordinal level of measurement (Roscoe, 1969, 5). Such variables are only amenable to nonparametric tests and measures of correlation (Siegel, 1956).

### The Statistical Tests

In tests of the null and alternative hypothesis, chi square tests for one-sample, two sample and k independent samples were considered the most appropriate (Siegel, 1956, 42-47, 104-111, 174-199). Chi square tests have been described (Roscoe, 1969, 203) as 'by far the most valuable of the nonparametric procedures available to the behavioral scientists.' Sample size was sufficient to produce expected frequencies exceeding five in more than 80 percent of the cells (Roscoe, 1969, 203), and in almost all cases the strategy of collapsing adjacent cells was not necessary. Two commonly noted abuses of chi-square as a measure of independence were therefore avoided.

Four possible measures of correlation were considered before deciding upon Kendall's Rank Correlation Coefficient (r or tau) as the most appropriate. Pearson's r was rejected because it is a parametric measure. The Phi Coefficient which is derived from chi square (and therefore in some ways most suitable) was rejected because the coefficient varies with table size. Thus, correlations obtained from 2 x 2 tables cannot be compared with those obtained from 3 x 4 tables. Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient ( $r_s$ ) was suitable but it has been described as less meaningful than Kendall's r (Nie, 1970, 289) where the data contains a large number of tied ranks.

Kendall's r requires data at an ordinal level of measurement and the data must be capable of being ranked. The data obtained met these requirements. The major shortcoming of Kendall's r is that it is not directly comparable with other measures of correlation because it tends to produce lower values for the correlation coefficient (Siegel, 1956,



219). It does, however, utilize the same amount of data as Spearman's  $r_s$ , and is as powerful in rejecting the null hypothesis. When used on data to which Pearson's  $r$  is applicable, it displays the same power efficiency as Spearman's  $r_s$ . Both tests are as sensitive a test of association between two variables with a sample size of one hundred as Pearson's  $r$  with a sample size of 91 (Siegel, 1956, 223).<sup>12</sup>

A major objective in the selection of tests was to use the minimum number appropriate to the task so that internal comparisons within the thesis could be made more readily. This procedure was adopted even though somewhat more powerful tests were possible in analysing some variables. Chi square and Kendall's  $r$  are suitable measures. They do not stretch the data beyond reliable levels of inference. They are useful and appropriate tools of analysis given the nature of the data and the objectives of the present work.

### Statistical Significance

Siegel (1956, 8) has noted that rigid adherence to arbitrary levels of significance has been rejected in some contemporary social science research and Webb and Clemente (n.d., 3) have commented on the importance of distinguishing between statistical and theoretical significance. The approach in the present work offers a compromise position. A level of 0.05 or less was deemed to identify statistically significant results. Results reaching this level are reported as 'significant,' and results reaching the 0.01 level or less are reported as 'highly significant.' Failure to reject the null hypothesis at the 0.05 level, however, did not preclude the author from discussing results between 0.05 and 0.10. Such results are termed 'suggestive.' The reasoning behind this approach is that 'rejection of the null hypothesis at any level of significance has very little to do with the theoretical or substantive importance of the data under examination' (Webb and Clemente, n.d., 3). Failure to discuss correlations found to be 'suggestive' but not 'significant' could lead to a loss of useful information.

### Item Scales

An original intention was to create scales composed of items representing concepts or phenomena assumed to be unidimensional.

If scales are satisfactorily constructed, they serve two purposes. Firstly, they reduce the number of separate variables (shown to be indices of a single phenomenon) to manageable proportions, and permit comparison between respondents on the basis of a single score upon the scale. Secondly, the indices combined may be taken to be a stronger indication of the scale concept than individual differences each one of which, taken alone, may be prone to irregularities which could be misleading.<sup>13</sup>

Two examples of scales used in this work may illustrate the types of difficulties encountered in scale construction and the means taken to meet these difficulties.

1) The House Adequacy scale comprises items such as size, materials, toilet and other facilities. The original intention was to reject items which did not show high correlations on an item-scale test and weight the remaining items according to their degree of correlation. Weighting of items, however, was abandoned because the piecemeal development of squatter housing and differences between Fijian and Indian populations resulted in items being given different priorities (depending on individual and cultural preferences) which could not be assumed to represent progressive degrees of adequacy or inadequacy. Instead, each item finally selected was assumed (on the basis of the literature on minimum housing requirements) to be of equal importance and each item was accordingly given an equal value in scale construction.

2) The Modernization scale concerned attitudes and behaviour and comprises items such as educational aspirations for children, participation in club activities, voting in national elections and attitudes towards family planning. Items which were shown to be highly correlated on the item-scale (but not necessarily the item-item) test were included in the scale and given equal weight. Items which were highly correlated on the item-scale but not the item-item tests were included because they measured 'an aspect of the criterion not adequately covered by the rest of the test' and such a procedure was considered by Anastasi (1954, 166) to be preferable to their exclusion. All such items, however, were positively correlated to each other.

### Dichotomised Variables

The procedures adopted cannot be claimed to be capable of measurements as fine as those of the Bogardus Scale (Trlin, 1971, 162),

but by adopting the further strategy of dichotomising items (variables) as close as possible to median scores two distinct groups emerged. Thus, on each item there were 'low' and 'high' scorers and the sum of their respective scores on each item became their scale score. In both housing scales, however, it was necessary to dichotomise items at different intervals for Fijians and Indians in order to obtain approximately equal numbers in both categories, and a similar procedure was adopted in the modernization scale where Indians had a much lower level of club participation than Fijians. Further details of procedures used in scale construction are given where the scale is discussed in the text.

### Discriminant Analysis

Consideration was also given to employing some method of discriminant analysis so that the relative importance of groups of variables could be ascertained. Factor analysis is a parametric technique generally unsuitable for use with the type of data obtained, although it can be argued that dichotomised variables can be treated as interval or even ratio levels of measurement (Nie, 1976, 3-4). The Guttman Scale was unsatisfactory because it is based on a cumulative procedure (Nie, 1970, 10) which had already been rejected in scale construction. Canonical correlation was also considered and rejected because it could not be assumed that the data would reveal a sufficient number of variables that could be considered 'theoretical sets' to compare with other 'theoretical sets' (Nie, 1970, 11).

All these methods would have produced 'results' but it was considered that the use of the data in this way would have given the impression of a degree of statistical precision that was not justified. Furthermore, their use could have resulted in the interpretation of derived factors which may have had no conceptual basis. The use of simple matrices of significant variables is another method of determining multiple relationships, and this was the method of analysis and presentation finally decided upon. The use of matrices was considered the most appropriate method given the nature of the data and they proved quite adequate in revealing the major variables affecting housing and social mobility.

### Sampling Error and Kendall's $\tau$

Estimates of the true population correlation coefficients are used in the knowledge that they contain sampling errors. However, in the correlation matrices, the total squatter sample of 186 Fijians and 184 Indians households (less 'not stated') is used, and samples of this size generally produce small sample errors. Nevertheless some small (and perhaps some large) differences between estimates will not be significant due to sample error. Correlation strengths are indicated in most diagrammatic matrices by broken, solid and double lines representing arbitrarily determined classes. These also ignore sample error.

### DATA PROCESSING

July 1976 Survey and 1976 Census sample data were coded on cards by household and processed on the Massey University B6700 computer using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSSV6) for analysis (Nie, 1970). All programming was undertaken by the writer with valuable assistance, especially in the early stages, from colleagues in the Department of Geography and the Computer Unit.

In addition, two separate counts were made of the Census data. Age and sex structures were compiled for individual and grouped settlements, and occupations of all adults in each household were compiled to provide more precise information than that coded for programming on the computer.

### CONCLUSIONS

Surveys and sampling in Third World countries, especially those concerned with the urban poor, frequently produce operational problems similar to those experienced in this study but even with the benefit of hindsight it is not clear how the major problems could have been avoided.

Official surveys, such as the 1973 Unemployment Survey (Kannangara, 1975), experienced considerable difficulty in establishing and identifying sample areas and in estimating the population universe.

Work on the 1976 Census, an undertaking which had considerable human and financial resources at its disposal, also experienced considerable operational difficulties, especially in the enumeration of squatter areas and in the allocation of accurate locality coding within enumeration districts. The difficulty experienced in tracing areas studied in the July 1976 Survey arise from such imprecise locality coding.

A major problem experienced in this study concerned difficulties in establishing sample size and comparability between the July 1976 Survey and 1976 Census data. The hazards of estimating population size from aerial photographs have been noted, and 1976 Census figures were not available until after the July 1976 Survey. Short of completing pre-surveys in all areas, a task for which human and financial resources were not available, the only practical conclusion was that attempts to interview populations proportionately was impossible. The aim, instead, was to interview as many households in each of the five squatter environments as resources permitted, ensuring that a minimum of at least 30 households were interviewed in each category. The July 1976 Survey has been shown, with minor exceptions, to be representative of the Census sample, and similar results were obtained with respect to the Census sample and the Census populations in those areas for which information was available. These tests lend weight to the contention that both samples may be treated as not untypical of the populations they represent.

## FOOTNOTES

1 Newman (1973, 22) reviewing the use of the term 'hypothesis' by geographers, claimed that while most would agree that a hypothesis is 'a statement of relationship between two or more phenomena, the statement being so worded that it is possible to test the nature of the relationship', many geographers have used the term more loosely, often equating it with the term 'proposition', 'question', 'explanation', 'contention' and 'model.' He concluded that the term had no 'standardized meaning and research function in geography' and asked whether, this being the case, the use of the term is justifiable unless 'it grounds a theory in measurable fact.'

In this study the term 'question' is used where the object is to obtain answers with no implication of direction, and no direct association with theory. The term 'proposition' is used as a general statement of implied direction, association or difference derived from theory (or empirical work suggestive of theory), but which is not so worded as to permit its testing. The term 'hypothesis' is used to operationalise propositions. That is, it is worded 'to test the nature of ... relationships' (Newman, 1973, 22). In most cases hypotheses are arranged in groups to test different aspects of a proposition.

2 Timms (1971) reviews the development of social area analysis in the West. Curson (1973) and Jackson (1976) have attempted factor analysis for urban ecological studies of Avarua and Papua New Guinea towns respectively. The writer is not aware of any other published work along these lines in the Pacific Islands.

3 Official reports which pay particular attention to ethnicity include Burns (1960), Spate (1959), and many government reports including population censuses. Fisk (1970), Ward (1971) and Ward (1965) provide examples of academics who have stressed the importance of ethnicity.

4 See Chapter 2.

5 Four cases of cross-interviewing, however, did occur. They are indicated in Table 1.1.

6 Pre-surveys were conducted in Nauluvatu, Malekula, Valenimanumanu, Tai, Kalabo, Vunivau, Tovata, Vatuwaqa and Delainamadi.

7 McArthur (1961) has noted the tendency in Pacific Island censuses to under-enumerate young children especially females among Indians, transient youths, and the old. Squatter and rooming house populations are notoriously difficult to enumerate accurately. Estimates in the U.S.A. (M.L. Bakker, pers. comm.) of 3 percent under-enumeration are likely to be considerably exceeded in Third World situations. The writer's calculations indicate that under-enumeration is likely to be at least 10 percent in the Suva Urban Area.

8 See Chapter 9, especially Table 9.3, for estimates of Suva's squatter population.

9 Four constructs have been identified by McElrath (1973) in a review of the earlier work of Shevsky and Bell (1955). His work is confirmed by other researchers in the West, and partly confirmed by some studies in the Third World (e.g. Abu-Lughod, 1972). The four constructs identified by McElrath are: social status (indicated by occupation and education), family status (indicated by fertility and women in the workforce), migrant status (birthplace and age-sex structure), and ethnic status (Timms, 1971, 132).

10 The classification of these areas, however, differs. See Walsh's introduction in Harré (1976, ii and xi).

11 HART housing for the destitute and near-destitute; 'emergency' squatter relocation housing at Newtown; and housegirl-type accommodation are also residential environments for sections of the urban poor.

12 'Kendall's tau is quite similar to  $r_s$  in that both are techniques for producing standardized coefficients based on the amount of agreement between two sets of ordinal rankings. While we arrive at  $r_s$  by manipulating (in order to standardize) the square of the differences in the two sets of rankings, Kendall's tau begins by computing a statistic called S. Given that the rankings of one variable are placed in their natural order (i.e. arranged by their ranks in order from 1 to N), S is computed by comparing the number of pairs of rankings of a second variable which are also arranged in their correct or natural order when they are sorted according to the natural order of the rankings of the first variable. S is then computed by beginning with the observation ranked 1 on the first variable and counting the number of ranks on the

second variable which are greater than the rank of that case on the second variable. Once this has been done, the number of ranks below this observation which are smaller than its rank on the second variable are subtracted from the first quantity. When this procedure is repeated for all ranks, the sum of these remainders is equal to the statistic  $S$ . The computed or actual  $S$  is then divided by the maximum possible  $S$  which could have been obtained with that number of rankings had the two sets of rankings been in total agreement. This number can be expressed as  $\frac{1}{2} N(N - 1)$ , where  $N$  is the number of observations or cases. The general formula for tau is then

$$r = \frac{S}{\frac{1}{2} N(N - 1)}$$

When the correction for tied ranks is introduced, the formula becomes

$$r = \frac{S}{\sqrt{\frac{1}{2} N(N-1) - T_x} \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} N(N-1) - T_y}}$$

where  $T_x = \frac{1}{2} \sum t(t - 1)$ ,  $t$  is the number of tied observations in each group of ties on the  $S$  variable, and  $T_y$  is the same quantity for the  $Y$  variable. The significance of tau is determined by comparing tau to a normal distribution with a standard deviation equal to

$$\left( \frac{4N + 10}{9N(N - 1)} \right)^{1/2} \quad (\text{Nie, 1970, 290})$$

13 The difficulties and shortcomings of attitudinal scale construction have been described by Allport (1954). These include: a priori judgments on the homogeneity or importance of scale items; the not infrequent dissimilarity of attitudes and behaviour; the ability to possess contradictory attitudes; and the reluctance of many people to reveal attitudes pertaining to moral life and social status.



## PART II

### URBANIZATION, HOUSING AND SQUATTING IN THE THIRD WORLD

Part II provides the theoretical frame against which developments in Fiji and squatting in Suva are examined in subsequent sections. It is essentially a review of the literature organised in four chapters. Chapter 2 considers the significance, location and cause of squatting; Chapter 3 the nature and direction of Third World urbanization; Chapter 4 considers housing policies, and Chapter 5 the capacity of the poor for self-improvement.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE SIGNIFICANCE, LOCATION AND CAUSES OF SQUATTING

During the last three to four decades most Third World countries have been experiencing exceptionally high annual urban growth rates. Typical figures range from 2.5 percent to 10 percent, but countries such as Mexico, Turkey, the Philippines and Peru have experienced even higher rates (Dwyer, 1975, 16; Palen, 1975, 341; Turner, 1970a, 3). By contrast, at the height of the nineteenth century urban-industrial revolution in the West, urban growth rates rarely exceeded 2 percent.<sup>1</sup>

The scale of urban growth and the vast numbers it affects indicate that much of the Third World is undergoing demographic changes of a magnitude, and in a time more compressed, than perhaps any other comparable change in human history. The nature of this growth and the circumstances in which it is occurring provide reasons for concern because, in much of the Third World, the most rapid growth is accounted for by high natural rates of population growth in the cities, high rates of rural to urban migration, and the proliferation and extension of urban squatter areas. Rural poverty is seen to be transferred to towns already incapable of providing work, housing and basic services for their city-born populations. Official figures on the extent of squatting are rarely available and often understated (Etherington, c. 1972), but unofficial counts show that between 10 and 50 percent of the population of most Third World cities are squatters (Table 2.1). 'The rates of growth [are] still accelerating in relation to rates of growth of the urban population as a whole' (Dwyer, 1975, 19), and this is true even for countries such as Hong Kong and Singapore which have massive public housing programmes. Squatting has become what Dwyer calls a 'major urban form,' as distinctive, persistent, and considerably more extensive than the slums of Western cities.

Broadly defined, urban squatting is the illegal or extra-legal occupation of land for residential purposes. Some writers (e.g. Clinard, 1966) have chosen not to distinguish between squatter areas and slums, encompassing all substandard housing under the semantic umbrella of 'slum.' The distinction, however, is an important one and failure to recognize differences may be a cause of the contrary findings reported by researchers of supposedly similar areas. Slum dwellings enjoy

TABLE 2.1  
WORLD COMPARISONS OF URBANIZATION, SLUMS AND SQUATTING  
(Selected Countries)

Country	City	Year	City Pop. (000)	Population in Slum and Squatter Areas	
				Number (000)	% of City Population
Tanzania	Dar-es-Salaam	1967	273	93	34
Zambia	Lusaka	1967	194	53	27
Brazil	Rio de Janiero	1947	2050	400	20
		1961	3326	900	27
	Brasilia	1962	148	60	41
Chile	Santiago	1964	2184	546	25
Mexico	Mexico City	1952	2372	330	14
		1966	3287	1500	46
India	Calcutta	1961	6700	2220	33
Malaysia	Kuala Lumpur	1961	400	100	25
Philippines	Manila	1968	3000	1100	35
Korea	Seoul	1970	440 d.u.	137 d.u.	30
Turkey	Ankara	1965	979	460	47
		1970	1250	750	60
Papua New Guinea	Port Moresby	1974	14 d.u.	4 d.u.	26
	Lae	1974	6 d.u.	2 d.u.	33

Notes: 'City' was generally taken to be 'urban agglomeration.'

d.u. = dwelling units.

Sources: Jackson (1977,26) for Papua New Guinea; United Nations (1971, 21-25).

legality of tenure though conditions may contravene regulations. They are generally dwellings which have known better times which by the process of invasion and succession are now occupied by low-income people, usually on a rental basis. Squatter areas, on the other hand, are illegal or extra-legal, with respect to tenure and conditions. They comprise dwellings mainly occupied by owner-occupiers, and most dwellings were constructed by the people occupying them, or at least by people of the same socio-economic class.<sup>2</sup>

Terms such as shanty town, mushroom slum, marginal area and squatter area have emotional connotations associated with legal implications prejudicial to solutions (Dwyer, 1975) and a number of other terms have been used by researchers. The most current such terms are uncontrolled, informal and spontaneous settlement. Many writers also use the local or indigenous name by which such settlements are commonly known. In Latin America spontaneous settlements are known as ranchos in Caracas, favelas in Rio, tugario in Bogota, barriadas in Lima, colonias prolerias in Montevideo and villas misarias in Buenos Aires. In Asia they are known as barong-barongs in Manila, bustees or hutments in India, kwettits in Rangoon and gecekondus in Istanbul. In Africa shantytown is the most common term in English-speaking countries, and bidonville in French-speaking countries. In Fiji Indians are usually termed squatters, and Fijians urban villagers, though generically they would be referred to as squatters.

Physical conditions vary considerably with local circumstances but most would agree with Bonilla (1970, 75) that they are on the 'wrong side of every standard index' for housing. The most prominent house forms consist of assortments of local scrap or material used in rural housing. Frequently they are poorly designed and constructed. Many are poorly ventilated and insulated. They are susceptible to fire, flood and hurricane, and afford only the minimum shelter for their inhabitants. Layout is frequently irregular and often chaotic; access is especially difficult in poor weather. Physical amenities such as water and toilets are absent or shared by large numbers of people.<sup>3</sup> Dwyer (1975, 36), for instance, points to one-half the occupants of a Calcutta area sharing water taps with between ten and one hundred other households, and less than 10 percent of the households sharing toilets with less than ten other households. Overall densities are high, given these conditions, and living space within houses is cramped.

Densities as high as 1,200 people a hectare and living space as little as three square metres per occupant is not at all uncommon in many Asian squatter areas (Dwyer, 1975, 36).

Several writers, however, have pointed out that these conditions, poor as they are, are frequently seen by their inhabitants as an improvement on rural conditions, and at least in terms of living space are probably better than slums in the same city (Beaujeu-Garnier, 1970, 273; Dwyer, 1975, 35; McGee, 1967, 156; Mangin, 1970, 53). Some squatter areas, notably those formed by invasion in Latin America, also display more regular layout, and better housing and physical amenities. Turner (1970b, 256-257) has called such settlements 'socially developing and physically improving suburbs rather than slums.' The extent to which such features are typical, the degree to which squatters are both willing and capable of self-improvement, and the conditions under which improvement takes place is a major question raised by many researchers, and a question of central concern to the present work. There is common agreement, however, that many of the physical conditions enjoyed by the typical squatter are well below those needed for a satisfactory urban environment - for the squatters and for the general health of the urban community.

#### LOCATION OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

There is less agreement about the patterns of location and the areal evolution of squatter settlements. Turner (1968, 358-360) proposes that location changes with different stages of city growth. He identifies three stages:

- 1) Early Transition where cities are small, migration and growth rates low (2 - 3 percent), and most of the poor are concentrated in the inner city slums.

- 2) Mid-Transition where migration is a major source of rapid urban growth and cities exceed one million inhabitants. At this stage the poor are still in the city centre, but slightly better established workers who can afford extra transport costs have established new squatter areas at the city periphery.

- 3) Late transition where urban growth and migration rates level off, the central business district expands making inner city housing

more expensive, and further city growth has engulfed the earlier peripheral squatter areas whose inhabitants move further outwards to establish new squatter areas. In turn, they are replaced by the newer poor from the inner city.

The model is essentially one of invasion and succession coupled with city growth.

Leeds (1969, 76) and Brett (1974, 184-187) agree with Turner that peripheral squatter areas are generally better than those near the inner city. However, Leeds considers that the state of the labour market and not location per se is the critical factor, and Brett notes that improving areas are 'encapsulated' by city expansion which arrests their further improvement. He considers classifications based on location are only useful in the early stages of city growth.

While the newer and larger squatter areas in most Latin American cities, upon which Turner based his model, are found at the city periphery, intensive cultivation in Asia has often inhibited peripheral squatting (McGee, 1967, 158). With Asian experience in mind, Dwyer sees no common location or 'generally accepted theory of spontaneous settlement location' (Dwyer, 1975, 32). He claims squatters are found throughout the city wherever their occupance is not effectively challenged, with a marked preference, where this is possible, for sites which are close to work, which afford tolerable relief, and possess a good water supply. His model is also one influenced by the process of invasion and succession where ideal locations are 'displaced centrifugally into areas of poorer relief and worse water supply as the city expands' (Dwyer, 1975, 32). Thus, early movers from the inner city are displaced by city growth from their ideal locations to peripheral locations lacking the 'ideal' attributes, and recent migrants to the city move into both the inner city and the newer, less advantaged peripheral areas.

One may perhaps conclude that location is a consequence of two major forces, the elements of which vary according to local circumstances. First is the desire of squatters to obtain land which affords them some security, an acceptable level of basic amenities and proximity to work opportunities.<sup>4</sup> Second is the ability of the city to obstruct such settlement, and its demands for the more 'ideal' sites as it expands. Squatters are likely to obtain maximum security, in the sense of being

left alone, on land which is marginal, which has little value for more regular urban uses, or which is owned by the state or the church which have been generally more tolerant towards squatters than private owners. Thus squatter settlements will be found on steep hillsides, swamps and river banks which would be difficult and expensive to develop for other urban uses, on land left undeveloped by speculators and on state or civic land such as railway land and reserves.

Mangin (1967, 44) claims that there are, however, many instances where squatters occupy land that might have been more rationally used. It seems likely, therefore, that these areas would be the ones from which squatters would be most prone to eviction. In such cases where areas are seen to be ideal by squatters and other urban land users, the latter's occupancy would only be a matter of time. But squatters are not alone in occupying land better used for other purposes. Caminos (1974, 294), Angel and Benjamin (1976, 23) and the United Nations (1971, 108) all comment on excessive misuse by the public sector and the rich.

The difficulty in formulating a generally accepted and dynamic theory of squatter location arises because the relative weight of the factors determining settlement are subject to wide variation. Such factors include the attitudes of the authorities, the type of land tenure, the extent and location of marginal land, social mobility and political organization among the squatters, rates of urban growth, city expansion, and possibly city size.

## CAUSES OF SQUATTING

According to Abrams (1966, 12 - 13) urban squatting was uncommon in Europe and America during their periods of rapid urbanization 'because law and property rights in cities were too firmly rooted.'<sup>5</sup> Similarly, earlier indigenous periurban settlements in Third World countries were qualitatively different from today's squatter areas.<sup>6</sup> If these views are accepted, it seems reasonable to accept Beaujeu-Garnier's contention (1970, 273) that squatter settlements as we know them today are a recent and Third World phenomenon.

There are two schools of thought on the subject of the causes of squatting. One view focuses on immediate causes associated with gaps between the supply and demand for housing. This is the Elemental School. The other view is that the causes lie in the nature of Third

World urbanization, squatting being only one manifestation of a total system of change. This is the Systems School.

### The Elemental School

In the view of this school squatting occurs under conditions of exceptionally rapid urbanization and is a 'product of the difference between popular demand for dwellings and those supplied by institutional society' (Turner, 1972, 511). For Mangin (1967, 85) it is a result of the imbalance between the number of people desiring dwellings and the availability of housing at prices and of the type they desire. Squatting is thus seen as a housing problem caused by a series of shortages: of land, capital in the form of money and materials, building skills and labour, and managerial skills among administrators. For such writers the solution to the problem lies in overcoming one or more of these shortages in order to meet the demand. It is necessary to examine briefly the nature of the assumed shortages.

#### 1) The Shortage of Urban Land

The most commonly stated causes for shortage of land revolve around questions of tenure, land values and sales, speculation, inflation, zoning practices, and the extent and limited use of crown or public land (Abrams, 1966, 29). From this it appears that there is generally little shortage of land as such, but rather a shortage of land at prices low-income people can afford. Indeed, a feature of most Third World cities is their uneven density (McGee, 1967, 128) and the misuse of land by the wealthy. In Latin America, for example, it has been estimated (United Nations, 1971, 107) that 40 percent of the area of the typical city is occupied by high-income families who comprise from 5 to 10 percent of the population. This has led Mangin (1967) to state that urban land reform and the imposition of taxes on unused urban land, however hard they may be to collect, is at least as important as rural land reform in Third World countries. Others see the cause to lie in the very nature of private ownership of land and have advocated acceptance of the principle that land should be a national resource. Laquian (1975b, 8), perhaps rather optimistically, has claimed that squatters have caused the Philippines government to accept land as 'a public resource to be used in accordance with the needs of economic development and social justice.'



## 2) The Shortage of Capital, Material and Money

The shortage of capital for housing the poor is in part a consequence of planning priorities which will be considered in examining government policies. It is generally accepted that private money is not lacking for housing the rich, or public money for creating what Dwyer (1975, 97) has called 'symbolic edifices' both in the form of public buildings and supposedly low-cost housing for low-income groups who invariably are not the very poor. Desai and Pillai (1972, 29) write:

The type of urbanization that is fostered in the underdeveloped countries today has given rise to striking contrasts in the big cities. Skyscrapers using the latest construction techniques and architectural designs erupt like rashes when a vast section of people are left to live in hutment colonies and streets. Posh tourist hotels are built, airports are beautified, [the] latest Jumbo jets are bought, while just a few minutes drive to the outskirts of any city will show you clusters of hutments where people are forced to live in sub-human conditions.

It is clear that where profit and the maintenance of privilege or 'national pride' are prime reasons for construction, money and skills for housing the poor will always be lacking. Indeed, urban renewal and relocation of slums and squatter areas have often been prompted as much for financial gain as from concern for the welfare of the poor (Abrams, 1967, 1039; Dwyer, 1975, 177; McGee, 1967, 159).

Yet, in these conditions of shortage, the poor have found the materials to construct their own dwellings by recycling building material and using local products. Such development should be welcomed by countries anxious to fully utilize their resources and reduce the need for imported materials.

## 3) The Shortage of Building Skills and Labour

It is ironic that this argument can still be advanced when research has shown that a significant number of the urban poor constitute the unskilled and skilled labour force upon which the 'official' construction industry depends, and when the skills so acquired are frequently used by these workers to assist fellow squatters to construct their houses. Etherington (c. 1972) and other community workers have also pointed to the relatively short time required to train carpenters and other construction workers to the level where they are able to build satisfactory houses.<sup>7</sup> This view is amply supported by layman participation in core house construction in the United States (Turner, 1970a, 19) and the extent

of do-it-yourself construction in countries such as New Zealand. Self-help community projects recorded in squatter areas include road alignment and construction, sewerage disposal, electric reticulation, church and community hall construction. Moreover, the many well constructed two-storey dwellings (observed by some researchers) indicates most clearly that building skills and labour are not lacking in at least some squatter areas. While technical assistance is undoubtedly needed by squatters to improve their houses, the supposed absence of basic skills and labour is the least convincing of the shortage arguments.

#### 4) The Shortage of Managerial Skills in Government

Several writers (e.g. Dwyer, 1975, 89; Hurley, 1963; McGee, 1967, 158) have pointed to the multiplicity of authorities responsible for housing and the jealous guardianship of particular sectional interests between and within many Third World government departments and civic bodies which cripple effective administration even where mechanisms exist for urban planning.

Only part of the reason for such inefficiency can be attributed to inexperience; the remainder must be sought in the type of vested interests existing in Third World countries. These include landholding interests often prominent in national and civic politics, architects, surveyors, planners whose status is seen to depend on expertise derived from Western education and departmental officers who may not be above using their positions to advance useful business relationships. It is these interests which have caused what Dwyer (1975, 90 - 97) has termed physical planning which too often becomes simply one of the many playthings of politics in the Third World; part of a system of patronage which produces paper plans and static land use exercises which ignore the resources of the country and the needs of the urban poor. The poor, in response to this situation, suffer from 'social isolation and alienation by their exclusion from power in urban society. They lack effective means of communication experience, they feel powerless to be heard, and apathy results' (Clinard, 1966, 309). In these circumstances they are not in a position to act, like their Western counterparts, as a check on the abuses of power.

Among others Turner has pointed to the inappropriateness of many building regulations in Third World cities. He claims (Turner, 1972, 511) that official insistence on impossibly high standards of

building construction, roading and sanitation 'have frequently contributed to the worsening of housing conditions and the precipitation of squatting and clandestine development.' He does not deny that higher standards are needed in squatter areas but believes that regulations should help people to help themselves and enable them to improve their housing as their circumstances permit. Similarly, insistence on zoning concepts derived from Western experience increases the costs of providing an adequate urban infrastructure, ignores the realities of Third World urban morphology, and tends to produce what Sternstein (1974, 234) called 'any mean city' in which local and indigenous characteristics have succumbed to Western notions of planning, and much of the 'street economy' upon which many of the poor rely is made unviable.

If these arguments are accepted, it appears that the inappropriateness of managerial skills (in terms of improving the housing conditions of the poor) is a more important factor than the shortage of such skills. Thus, this and the previous alleged shortages, must be seen as consequences of government policies which, in turn, can be traced to the power structures created by the urbanization process in Third World countries. It is appropriate at this point to turn to the views of the school which traces the causes of squatting to the wider setting of urbanization.

### The Systems School

In the view of this School, squatting is not essentially a housing problem. Rather it is only one manifestation of sharpening inequalities, imbalances, and the uneven allocation of resources caused by the nature and direction of urbanization in the Third World. To single out housing for special attention to the neglect of more pervasive evidence of poverty elevates symptoms to causes, describes without explanation, offers palliatives instead of solutions, and isolates squatting from the process of urbanization and societal change of which it is a part. Exponents of this view do not deny that there is a housing problem but question whether the primary causes can be attributed to an imbalance of supply and demand, and claim that the type of housing problem is a symptom of the type of urbanization.

Advocates of this school point specifically to the absence of overall national planning, and more generally to the underlying social and economic postulates of Third World countries with 'mixed' (part capitalist - part socialist) economies. McGee (1967, 156), for instance, writing of Southeast Asia, states:

The squatter settlements and slums of the Southeast Asian city are symptoms of much wider problems in the societies of Southeast Asia; problems for which the piecemeal provision of housing can be little more than a palliative measure; problems which are the result of the failure of the majority of the Southeast Asian nations to develop overall policies to facilitate a balance in the flow of investment and people between the rural and urban sectors.

Friedmann and Wulff (1975, 26) stress that migration (which is a reservoir for squatter settlements) is a 'derived phenomenon, a symptom of urbanization and not "the thing" itself.' 'The Thing' (sic) results from 'the major urbanization processes... the exercise of power, capital movement, and innovation diffusion.' They attribute the uneven and unequal distribution of resources in work opportunities, housing, and so forth to 'dependency in its various forms - economic, political, technological, and cultural' and claim that if this 'is not reduced, all spatial policies will merely counteract a set of structural conditions that continuously grinds out the very problems which the policy is intended to alleviate' (Friedmann and Wulff, 1975, 66). Thus, the creation of more urban jobs, the construction of a new highway and improved urban housing, if not undertaken as part of an overall policy of 'social reconstruction,' will merely accelerate migration to the city, and intensify rather than reduce its problems.

Starting as they do from different premises regarding the causes of squatting, the two schools arrive at very different solutions. The differences revealed appear to reflect more than an emphasis or focus of temporary academic interest; they appear to stem from basic differences in philosophy.<sup>8</sup> Both schools would concur with the main features of Third World urbanization in the discussion which follows (Chapter 3), but they would place different weight on the factors discussed and differ considerably about the extent to which they represent an interrelated phenomenon.

## FOOTNOTES

- 1 Third World : bloc of emergent nations. First World, the industrial nations of Euro-America and Japan; Second World, communist countries including Asian countries which have similar problems to the Third World. Analogous to underdeveloped, newly emergent, developing, newly developing nations. Also broadly analogous to peripheral capitalist countries. According to Davies (1972, 15), typical Third World urban growth rates exceeded 4 percent in the 1940s and 1950s; typical urban growth in the West during its period of most rapid expansion was 2.1 percent. See Davis (1972) and Dwyer (1974, 9 - 15) for Third World comparisons.
- 2 Definitions of squatting and types of squatters are considered in detail in Chapter 5 ('Classifying the Urban Poor').
- 3 Descriptions of conditions in particular squatter settlements are numerous, e.g. Abrams (1964, 1966), Clinard (1966), Desai and Pillai (1972), Dwyer (1971, 1975), Jackson (1977), Juppenplatz (1970), Laquian (1969), McGee (1967), Oram (1967).
- 4 The relative importance attached to location and other functions of housing by different strata of the urban poor is discussed below in considering Turner's (1972) views of shelter and amenities, access to employment, and tenure.
- 5 There are, however, bidonville outside Paris occupied by thousands of North African and Portuguese migrants, and the shanty town is apparently not unknown in the Soviet Union according to Palen (1975, 325).
- 6 Leeds and Leeds (1970) and Morse (1972) consider that Indian settlements adjacent to early Spanish colonial towns in Latin America could be considered antecedents to today's squatter areas with one important difference: the Indians were trying to 'escape' the town; today's squatters seek inclusion.
- 7 For example, F. Hay, a qualified New Zealand carpenter working with the Fiji Y.M.C.A., trained carpenters in basic building skills within a few months.
- 8 Doctor D. Wade, in a seminar to the Sociology Department at Massey University 'Paradigms and Parrot Times: Some Social Science Perspectives on Development' (17 July, 1977) identified four

philosophical approaches to developmental studies: neo-classicism, structuralism, dependency, and neo-Marxism. In the present study the Elemental School belongs to either of the two former schools, and the Systems School to either of the two latter.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE NATURE AND DIRECTION OF URBANIZATION IN THE THIRD WORLD

A complete analysis of the way of life of the deprived residents of the inner city cannot stop by indicating the influence of low income, lack of education, or family instability. These must be related to such conditions as the urban economy's 'need' for low-wage workers, and the housing market practices which restrict residential choice. The urban economy is in turn shaped by national economic and social systems (Gans, 1962, 299).

Many writers maintain that Third World urbanization is essentially the same process as that which occurred in the West, but a growing body of opinion indicates that it is qualitatively different, even though the elements are broadly similar. McGee, for instance, has challenged Reissman (1964, 167 - 168) who claimed that 'it is the same process although greatly separated in time and place.' He states (McGee, 1971, 31):

Although the form of the urbanization process in the Third World may appear to be the same as that which characterised the West, the different mix ... is of such importance that at least one element of Western theory [the city as the prime catalyst of change] should be discarded.

It has been customary to consider urbanization as an inter-related process involving three dimensions of change, demographic, structural, and behavioural, the latter being usually defined in terms of 'modern' as distinct from 'traditional' or 'rural' behaviour.<sup>1</sup> In the following discussion a fourth dimension, political change, is added for it has also contributed to the perpetuation of urban poverty and the growth of squatting.

#### DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

It has been observed that national and urban rates of population growth in Third World countries generally exceed those experienced in Western countries. High national rates, which provide the reservoir for urban growth, have occurred largely because of access to health care unknown in the earlier period of Western urbanization. Greater access to this care in the cities has produced much higher city population growth rates than occurred in the West, where urban mortality was higher than in rural areas (Berry, 1973, 74). Indeed, in some countries it has been claimed that cities have gained more from natural population increase (Goldstein, 1972) than migration. For most countries, however, the main cause of growth has been generated by high rates of rural to urban, and small town to city, migration. As a consequence, between

30 and 50 percent of the population of many Third World cities was not born there, and the age selectivity and supposedly high fertility of rural migrants is thought to result in high proportions of the younger age groups being the children of first generation migrants (Beaujeu-Garnier, 1970, 271). It is the continuously high rates of population growth, the extent of migration, the generally high fertility pattern of the city, and the absence of opportunities to emigrate overseas which have produced fundamental demographic differences between Western and Third World urbanization, and such profound consequences.<sup>2</sup> To these may be added the much more significant patterns of ethnic diversity caused by past migrations, especially notable in plural societies.

### STRUCTURAL CHANGES

Rural to urban migration in the West was initiated by agrarian change which so transformed the rural economy that many workers became superfluous. Agricultural production increased sharply and was later supplemented by food imports from the colonies (Davis, 1972, 11). In the Third World no such revolutionary changes have occurred. Food surpluses are often not produced, many countries rely on substantial food imports which drain resources, and many of these imports are luxury items or items now considered necessities because of changed dietary habits (McGee, 1975 b ).<sup>3</sup> Reliance on food imports adds to the economic dependence of many Third World countries. In such circumstances, rural migration is mainly a safety valve for rural poverty, not a corollary for rural or urban development.

In the West, agrarian change was contemporaneous with industrial change in the cities, and rural areas gained by diffusion from urban innovations. Few such 'spread effects' have occurred in the Third World (Friedmann and Wulff, 1975, 19 - 20). Indeed, regional and rural-urban inequalities appear, in many countries, to be increasing despite government efforts in support of rural development and decentralization. This increasing difference casts doubt on the assumptions of Linsky (1972), Mehta (1972) and others who consider that the parasitic relationship between town and country, and between primate city and the nation as a whole, is a necessary stage of development which will diminish with time.

Rural-urban inequalities are not confined to economic differences. Third World cities also provide a vastly superior range of services, and



improved transportation and communication have made rural dwellers acutely aware of this. As a consequence, both social and economic 'push' and 'pull' factors operate to maintain the migrant flow. In turn, the departure of young people, better educated and presumably more motivated than those left behind, further impedes prospects for rural development. In a number of countries legislation has been enacted in an attempt to reverse this flow. It has never been very successful, and has been criticized on two grounds. First, the existence of a large labour pool in the cities has been seen by some writers (e.g. Belshaw, 1963) as a precondition for industrialization. Second, and more convincing, 'migration to cities reflects merely a demographic adjustment in the spatial structure of economic and social opportunities' (Friedmann and Wulff, 1973, 26); that is, it is a consequence and not a cause of urbanization. Dwyer (1975, 86) has called government efforts to reverse migrant flows by legislation 'exercises in futility' and the United Nations (1971, 44) considered urban migration 'irreversible and inevitable.' This view seems justifiable both in economic terms and in view of the observation that migrants often consider urban life, poor as it might be, their only chance of leading a better life, if not for themselves then for their children.

Urbanization in the West was contemporaneous with industrialization; it was a process initiated by a growing class of indigenous entrepreneurs who utilized new resources in new ways, accumulated and invested capital at home and abroad and created expanding sources of employment in minor as well as major cities. The ultimate result was an increase in real incomes which affected a broad strata of the population. Third World urbanization, on the other hand, has not been accompanied by a significant expansion of industry: much existing industry is part-manufacturing and processing, capital intensive activities still controlled to a large degree by overseas interests. Profits either go overseas or into largely non-generative activities locally. Much the same comment can be made of locally-owned enterprises. Quick return investment rather than investment which will provide employment and generate balanced economic development is common. Tertiary activities, which generally followed the growth of manufacturing in the West, dominate the Third World city. Unemployment is rife. Real wages have not risen for the mass of people, and in most cities the poor rely on an extensive 'informal' sector consisting of underemployed street hawkers, bazaar

sellers, pedicab drivers, shoeshiners and other casual sources of employment.

Some writers have seen the informal sector, termed 'shared poverty' by Wertheim and 'subsistence urbanization' by Breese as evidence of a dual economy, but McGee (1971, 69) claims the capital-intensive and informal economies are interlaced, the latter being essential for the provision of services in Third World cities at this stage of development. In a later paper (McGee, 1976) he presents three possible development sequences for Third World cities. The first assumes massive industrialization and a very high rate of urban growth where most new employment will be provided in the capitalist sector, the second where slower rates occur, and the third where there is no growth. In these latter cases labour absorption would be shared equally by both capitalist and urban peasant (or informal) sectors. The important point about all these sequences is that the informal sector, never very important in the West, is seen to be a continuing feature of urbanization in at least parts of the Third World.

While urban primacy is not evident in all Third World countries and although it is disputed whether it necessarily impedes development (Berry, 1973; Linsky, 1972; Mehta, 1972) there is an increasing tendency towards concentration of economic activity and the provision of services in the larger cities. Plans to develop rural areas and smaller urban centres have had limited success. These factors have led some writers to claim that Third World cities are 'overurbanized' or represent a condition of 'pseudourbanization,' which produces economic expansion without economic growth (see McGee, 1971, 25; Sovani, 1972).

With regard to the economics of housing, the important difference is that in the West it was often seen as one of many avenues for profitable investment or a necessary adjunct to expanding industry. It is true that back-to-back company supplied mill houses, privately rented basement cellars and inner courtyard slums, such as those in mid-nineteenth century Manchester vividly described by Engels (1953), furnished living conditions as miserable as those of many contemporary slum and squatter areas in the Third World. But the fact remains that significantly more houses were built and rented for the poor because it was profitable and necessary (given Europe's climate) to do so.

The Western slum remains, but with rises in real wages, universal suffrage and social legislation demanding improved housing if only to protect the health of the general populace, a wide section of the Western working class has been able to rent or purchase adequate housing. In the Third World, however, housing for the poor offers fewer opportunities for profit and few firms are so dependent on their labour that they provide rental accommodation. Most houses constructed by the private sector cater for the upper or middle classes, while most public housing accommodates reasonably well off workers, a large number of whom are employees of government. As Bonilla (1970, 74) claims:

Archaic growth of the city is marked by large-scale profiteering and speculation in real estate and construction which takes no account of the housing needs of the large numbers in the city automatically eliminated from the housing market by their low incomes.

Much more than in the West, Third World cities are cities of extremes, the very rich, the very poor, and a not very numerous group in between.

#### BEHAVIOURAL CHANGES

The proposition (Wirth, 1938) that the size, density and heterogeneity of towns produce an 'urban way of life' distinct from rural ways is well known and has been debated by scholars drawn from many disciplines (e.g. Abu-Lughod, 1972; McElrath, 1973; Shevsky and Bell, 1955; Timms, 1971). So also is the proposition that the transition from rural to urban ways of life represent a continuum, with traditional, peasant and rural ways at one pole, and Western, modern, and urban capitalist or socialist ways at the other.<sup>4</sup> Given this view urban migrants are seen to be poised precariously somewhere along the continuum as if on a tightrope between conflicting lifestyles.

However, the work of Lewis (1960, 1966a, 1966b) in Mexico and Puerto Rico showed 'rural' and 'traditional' behaviour operating in urban settings and what appears to be satisfactory adjustments to town living are recorded in the work of researchers from many parts of the Third World.<sup>5</sup> Kin networks persist and are extended by the adoption of fictive kin; links are maintained with rural source areas, associations based on tribal or regional loyalties emerge in the city, and preference for residential, work and leisure time activities still tend to be with

people from the same local background. Thus, anomie, psychological and social breakdown, replacement of primary with secondary networks, and the disintegration of the extended family, assumed to be characteristic of urbanism, have often been found to be no more prevalent in urban than rural areas. Apparently the reason is the successful transference and adaptation of 'rural' values and behaviour into the towns. At the same time, families tend to be more nuclear in the town, kin reciprocity and links with rural areas tend to diminish with time, and more ambitious (upwardly mobile) migrants sometimes complain about excessive and non-reciprocal demands by kin. There is also evidence that urban migrants have 'modern' educational and career aspirations for their children, participate in urban associations such as trade unions and neighbourhood groups, and exercise their rights to vote in local and national elections.

Whether this accommodation of two supposedly opposing lifestyles represents a relatively permanent feature of Third World urbanization is not clear. The beneficial 'buffer' effects of these adaptive mechanisms has been demonstrated in many studies, but Germani (1967) asks whether the adaptation shown by many rural migrants is consistent with their assimilation to urban living. If it is shown that it is not, are all traditional values in conflict with those 'modern' values seen as necessary for urban life? Can a configuration of traditional or modern values and behaviour be identified with particular groups of people, and are these groups notably more or less successful in living in towns? These questions still require an answer. One serious problem is that much of the research has been conducted by Westerners who tend to equate modernization with westernization (See, for example, the criticisms of Crocombe, 1971, and Laquian, 1975a).

It has also been argued (Dwyer, 1975, 207 - 208) that the persistence of residential clusters based on common ethnicity or regional background may be detrimental to societal goals in plural societies, and may need to be counteracted by deliberate planning.<sup>6</sup> Ethnic or any other form of segregation often reduces information fields, thus presumably delaying diffusion of 'urban' or 'modern' ways of life, and reducing the heterogenetic role of the city. If these points are accepted, it is possible that the retention of 'traditional' values may be at once satisfactory for the individual and his assimilation in the town and detrimental to the larger societal goals.

Most of the preceeding arguments appear to place undue responsibility on the individual by overestimating the area of choice within which he operates. It could be argued that the individual maintains essentially traditional values as much from necessity as choice and that choice is limited by the relatively static economy and the low prospects for social mobility. In other words, Third World cities may be less generative, heterogenetic centres of change not because of the traditional and rural characteristics of their inhabitants, but because of the economy of these cities (McGee, 1973). Western peasants adopted urban ways of life because the economic growth of the cities permitted them to do so. Once again, there could be a danger of mistaking a symptom of urbanization for the cause.

#### POLITICAL CHANGES

The Western industrial revolution was preceded by major political changes resulting in the emergence and political dominance of a new class, the local bourgeoisie. In the process of industrialization a further class, a well organized industrial proletariat or working class, emerged.

Towns existed in many Third World countries, as they did in the West, before the industrial era, but they were essentially static centres of administration, religion, trade and small-scale craft industry. It was contact with the West, especially during the late nineteenth century which transformed existing towns and created new 'colonial' towns. The continuing economic dominance of expatriate influences has perpetuated the colonial nature of their economies, and inhibited the emergence of a numerically significant local bourgeoisie and proletariat. The class structure of Third World cities is typified by a bureaucratic and commercial elite, a small bourgeoisie and proletariat, and a large class of lumpen and protoproletariat who comprise the vast majority of the population.<sup>7</sup> This arrangement of classes produces a very different power structure and possibilities for political participation than existed in the West.

Several writers have commented on attitudes and motivations of the upper class in Third World situations compared to those which supposedly typified the Western bourgeoisie. Among these, Morse (1972, 498) writes:

Maximum economic growth can scarcely be expected in economies where private choice is still important, where conspicuous consumption motivates the upper classes, and where redistribution rather than augmentation of the social dividend motivates the middle.

He goes on to quote Echavarria (Morse, 1972, 498) who defined the Latin American middle class as 'climbers' and 'distributors' lacking the 'self control and discipline of the true creators of modern capitalism,' and claims the middle class 'look for accommodation within the upper-class clientage systems, or else, under certain pressure, they endorse and even formulate lower-class demands for social justice' (Morse, 1972, 503).

The small industrial working class is likewise different, often adopting the guild-type attitudes of earlier Western craft associations to protect their sectional interests against the unemployed and under-employed. Its leaders frequently appear less concerned with developing self-improving activities such as co-operative movements and education associations or in assuming class-orientated attitudes on the local or international scene. They have not 'generated grassroots leadership or seriously challenged the economic system as an urban "proletariat"' (Morse, 1972, 488). Safa (1974, 104) makes similar comments about the Puerto Rican working class:

The privileged working class composed largely of lower-level government bureaucrats and the skilled and steady employees of private enterprise ... acquire a stake in the system which makes them strong supporters of the status quo. They are increasingly differentiated from the unskilled, unemployed, and underemployed who still form the bulk of the urban labour force and the bulk of the shantytown residents.

She further comments (Safa, 1974, 108):

Unions and political parties ... are controlled by the elite and used as a means of garnering the support of the poor and of co-opting their most able leaders. Unions have been ridden by corruption, rivalry, and fragmentation.

The absence of political philosophy evident in the 'privileged' working class in many Third World countries led Fanon (1967, 103 - 109) to point to the potentially revolutionary role of the lowest stratum of urban society, the lumpenproletariat. Yet empirical evidence emerging from the slums and squatter areas of the Third World differs on the question of lower class political involvement. Dwyer (1972,

168), Mangin (1967), Needler (1970) and Nelson (1970) suggest that the daily needs of the very poor are too intense and their interests too parochial for them to be concerned with politics. They claim that political involvement is limited to issues directly and immediately related to housing and security. On the other hand, studies by researchers in some areas (e.g. Epstein, 1972; Leeds and Leeds, 1970; Safa, 1975) indicate high degrees of social cohesion and considerable interest in politics beyond the neighbourhood.

It seems that political involvement by the lower classes varies with local circumstances, being generally more evident in larger settlements, especially those formed by invasion, and where their occupancy is directly threatened (Epstein, 1972, 57). A failure to distinguish between types of political involvement at varying spatial levels may have led to researchers' differences of opinions, but it also seems probable, as many have stated, that the urban poor represent a potential threat rather than an actual source of political unrest in most Third World countries. McGee (1971, 64 - 94) offers an explanation of this apparently surprising low level of political activity based on the expansive capacity of the informal sector to absorb urban distress which could otherwise generate unrest. What seems apparent is that the economic situation has resulted in both bourgeoisie and proletariat performing roles different from those of their Western counterparts. This leaves the bureaucratic elite, about whom very little has been written, as the decisive agents of political change, at least for the time being.

Control of government is in the hands of a bureaucratic elite, often Western-educated and invariably Western-orientated, who have filled the power vacuum left by departing expatriates. They are a managerial class whose economic strength lies in their control of national purse strings. By and large they maintain themselves in power by not offending powerful local and overseas interests. They set societal goals and devise or approve development plans and urban regulations which will not jeopardise their position of power and privilege. In most Third World countries they are not a group bent on social reconstruction.

Thus, while adopting public housing measures, mainly modelled on the West, the bureaucratic elites have not - and probably cannot - risk

losing the support of powerful sectional interests which control land and capital. They view squatters as a potentially dangerous political force and make election promises, but they are reluctant to adopt measures to remove or ameliorate the conditions of squatter life. Only pressure by squatters, concern for international opinion (upon which the elite rely for aid programmes) or support from local voluntary groups such as the churches and, to a lesser extent the trade unions, oblige the elite to take action to ease the problems of squatters. Safa (1974, 109), in discussing the elite and development in Puerto Rico, summarised their role in most Third World countries:

We should have learned by now that economic development alone will not eradicate poverty and social inequality ... In a class-stratified, capitalistic, colonial society, like Puerto Rico, the benefits of modernization accrue mainly to the elite.

Several writers like Juppenplatz (1970, 3, 6), and Turner (1972, 511), have claimed that squatting indicates that national and civic authorities have lost control of urban development, and must ultimately find appropriate measures of controlling it or witness the weakening and possibly the destruction of the urban economic structure upon which their present political power resides. If this is the case, elites will, in future, need to heed the demands of the urban poor (increasingly important at the polls ) or risk the release of the political potential they now fear.

## CONCLUSIONS

This brief sketch of Third World urbanization may be considered unnecessarily partisan. It should be apparent that squatting, and many of the other less desirable features of Third World cities, are considered by the writer to be a consequence of the type of urbanization, rather than urbanization itself. Advocates of the Elemental School have separately acknowledged most of the conclusions drawn here (the importance of overseas interests, the role of the elite, the privileged position of the industrial working class, the lack of industry, unemployment, laissez faire attitudes towards housing the poor, the speculation and graft in city and national politics) but they have not recognized the elements they describe as part of a general system affecting all Third World countries, in varying degrees, at all spatial levels. To agree with the Systems School that major reconstruction is needed, however, one need not be committed to any



particular path of reconstruction. Nor is it necessary to oppose immediately practical action which may provide short term and incomplete solutions, at least to the housing problem.

To summarise, Western urbanization was caused by major changes in political and social organization and technology which resulted in an almost total rearrangement of society; no such major transformations have occurred in the Third World. There has been urban growth without significant economic expansion, political manipulation without any real change in access to power. Third World economies are still essentially dependent economies.<sup>8</sup> In these circumstances, it is not clear whether Third World cities are stimulating balanced national development, offering a divergent path of urbanization, or merely perpetuating a colonial heritage in which the gaps between the developed and the underdeveloped world, rural and urban areas, and rich and poor will continue to increase. If the latter is the case, the phoenix rising from the ashes of this abortive form of urbanization might well be the urban poor whose expectations have been raised with little chance of fulfilment and who so far have benefited least from the urbanization process.

## FOOTNOTES

1 e.g. Lampard (1965, 519) and Johnston (1973, 79 - 81).

2 Various models have been proposed relating stages of demographic growth to levels of economic development. See, for example, Pryor (1971, 1975) and Zelinsky (1971).

3 These comments are made despite the successes of the Green Revolution of the 1960s in which technological inputs sometimes produced revolutionary crop yields. Such 'successes' are now being reconsidered. See, for example, Havens and Flinn (1975) and Wharton (1969). The Green Revolution is an example of the application of structuralist philosophy. Its limited success should be a warning to those who expect that technological inputs will solve the squatter problem.

4 Timms (1971) provides a useful summary of discussion on the supposed characteristics of urbanism, and McGee (1971, 35 - 63) of the contending views on the rural-urban continuum debate. For a criticism of McGee, see McTaggart (1965).

5 For example, Abu-Lughod (1972) in Cairo, Oram (1967) in Papua New Guinea, Little (1965, 1974), and Mabogunje (1974) in West Africa, Bruner (1963, 1973) in Indonesia, McGee (1975a) in Malaysia, Walsh (1969) in Tonga, Nayacakalou (1963, 1973) in Fiji, Pitt (1970) in Western Samoa, Leeds and Leeds (1970) and Epstein (1969, 1972) in Latin America. Southall (1975, 3 - 14) provides a useful summary of views on urban adaptation, and contributions to Mangin (1970) provide many examples of migrant adjustment.

6 Oram (1970, 85), writing of Port Moresby, also questions the developmental value of clusters based on tribal or regional origin, but favours the movement en bloc of ethnically mixed settlements should they be relocated. By contrast, Rao (1974) favours the retention of ethnic, regional and caste clusters in India because it is assumed that this will assist community formation and development. The writer is unaware of any empirical research to support either viewpoint.

7 These terms are used by McGee (1973). McGee has paid more attention to the question of 'class' in Third World cities than most other writers.

8 Most writings on dependency have concerned Latin America. For an early example, see Frank (1966). Essays in de Kadt and Williams (1974) provide more refined examples from different parts of the world. Friedmann and Wulff (1975) review the development of dependency philosophy. See also Chapter 5, footnote 3, on the dual economy.

## CHAPTER 4

### HOUSING POLICIES

As in most of the world, housing in Third World countries has been considered as a social overhead distinct from the productive sector of the economy, and social development has not been fully integrated with notions of economic development (Dwyer, 1975, 113). However, expenditures on items such as health and education have been recognized as having an indirect or ultimate influence on economic development. Such services have been accepted as basic rights towards which most Third World countries are striving, but few countries have accepted the notion that it is the duty of government to provide access to housing for the masses of the people (Abrams, 1964, 271 - 275, 285).

Some writers (for example Grimes, 1976, 32 - 34; Wheaton and Wheaton, 1972) have maintained that housing has direct economic benefits, but most would agree with Lakshmanan (1976, 949) that the controversy remains as to 'whether subsidies to housing are justifiable on grounds of productivity.' One study by Burns and Tjioe (1968) in Korea found that new housing helped transmit social overhead costs to the productive sector by increasing occupational motivation and production and reducing absenteeism and sickness. It was estimated that a 16.3 percent annual return on investment in housing had been achieved, which compared very favourably with less than 10 percent on normal investment. However, the study was conducted in a community with regular employment and it may not be applicable in situations where the bulk of the urban poor are without regular employment. Similarly, while governments have probably underestimated the value of the housing construction industry in providing employment, contributing to capital formation and generating subsidiary industries (Cockburn, 1971), the bulk of the urban poor cannot afford construction by the formal construction industry and, in turn, this industry would have to accept smaller profits if it was to directly assist in the construction of unsubsidised housing for the poor. Indeed, most writers concerned with the squatter housing problem stress the importance of free sites, not houses, and many feel there should be no subsidies on housing itself (Oram, 1970, 76, 80; Turner, 1970a, 11 - 12). They claim that housing may have direct and indirect economic benefits but that these may be better achieved by the mobilization of the poor, the

improvement of existing houses and the provision of infrastructural needs such as land and sewerage. Others have argued that massive public housing schemes are inappropriate at the present developmental levels of many Third World countries, and that greater emphasis should be placed on the role of the private sector in producing low-cost housing for upper low-income families which would not be satisfied by site and service schemes (e.g. Drakakis-Smith, 1976).

A United Nations study (1968, 6) recommended that 8 to 10 dwellings be constructed per 1,000 inhabitants, and that 4 percent of the national income be devoted to housing during the 1960-1970 decade. The study revealed that in the 13 countries studied 'fixed capital formation ranged from 15 to 18 percent of the gross national product, and that capital formation in housing equalled 2 to 4 percent of the gross national product.' A later United Nations study (1973, 5) stated:

If a reasonable proportion of the housing needs in the developing world are to be met in 1970, developing countries would be investing in housing at a rate equal to 5 percent of GNP and/or 20 percent of gross fixed capital investment each year. Equivalently, a country should be building 10 dwellings per 1,000 inhabitants per year to solve current needs and reduce the backlog, rather than the 2 or 3 per 1,000 that many are currently building.

The report went on to claim that 'developing countries recognize the necessity of formulating a comprehensive housing policy and of integrating it into their plans for national economic development,' but the report admitted that 'few have actually implemented comprehensive housing programmes' (United Nations, 1973, 5 - 6 ).

In Asia, the efforts of Singapore and Hong Kong which, in recent years, have provided 13 new dwelling units per 1,000 inhabitants each year, are a product of their special economic advantages and their need to maintain high population densities in the face of commercial and industrial expansion. Such efforts are unlikely to be paralleled in other parts of the Third World. In Brazil, the National Housing Bank offers longer term housing loans at lower interest rates to the poor, and the government has invested 4 percent of gross national product in housing in recent years (Bell, 1974). Brazil, however, has been fortunate in having experienced significant annual increases in GNP and a declining rate of inflation (Bell, 1974, 29). More typically, the attitude of the government of Peru is likely to prevail.

Peru has stated quite equivocally that it cannot afford to divert money to housing away from its efforts in the economic field (Palen, 1975, 346).

The reality is that housing does not figure prominently in the development plans of most Third World countries, and much under the heading of 'building and construction' does little to relieve the housing needs of the urban poor. Wheaton and Wheaton (quoted by Dwyer, 1975, 97) assert that in developing countries three-quarters of total investment and construction resources are devoted to upper class housing, one-fifth to middle-income housing, and only token amounts to low-income families. In the United States, by contrast, the respective proportions were one-fifth, one-half, and nearly one-third. Wheaton and Wheaton claimed that the more even distribution in the United States reflects a compromise between the market power of the upper and middle classes, and the social and political power of those on low incomes. Dwyer (1975, 99) uses Malaysia and Thailand to illustrate that information on government building and construction can often be misleading. During the Second Malaysian Development Plan (1971 - 1975) \$90 million were spent on low-cost housing, \$30 million on housing for government employees, \$78 million on police housing, and a further \$43 million on housing for the armed forces. In Thailand, the major achievement of the Bangkok Urban Renewal Committee, according to Dwyer (1975, 101), has been the displacement of 10,000 squatters to make room for the SEATO headquarters.

A study by Lakshmanan (1976, 945) found that currently provided housing was beyond the financial means of 50 percent of the urban population of Ecuador, 40 percent of that of Kenya, and 30 to 70 percent of the urban populations of the Philippines, Indonesia, Tanzania, Costa Rica and the Honduras. He quoted a World Bank study which showed similar proportions for other Third World countries, and concluded (Lakshmanan, 1976, 943):

Housing conditions in a majority of countries are much worse than even the low incomes of the people warrant. [Most countries] are not tailoring housing programmes to the country's income level or the household's ability to pay. [The insistence on] inappropriately high standards of space, materials, and service levels [is] inequitable because it has provided superior housing services for the few and inferior services for a large segment of the urbanites.

This view confirms that of several other researchers and lends special support to Turner's (1970a) contention that government policies have often actually intensified the housing problem. It also supports the contention that the type of housing problem seen in Third World countries is a direct product of the type of policies and the type of political systems which give rise to these policies.

In a recent article Johnstone (1976) identified six strategies which have been adopted by Third World countries, some simultaneously, in attempting to solve their housing problems.<sup>1</sup>

1) Laissez faire : where housing is left to private developers who have ignored the needs of the urban poor.

2) Alarmism : where squatting is seen as anti-developmental because it impedes the efficient expansion of the city. This policy has led to evictions, eradications, relocation and sometimes resettlement of squatters at the urban periphery.

3) The Institutional Framework approach : which provides administrative and infrastructural facilities for housing such as bank finance, cooperative building societies and low interest loans. This strategy generally 'encourages the private construction industry to build houses for the middle and upper class families' (Johnstone, 1976, 155) although Bell (1974) claims otherwise for Brazil.

4) The Partial approach : where governments invest in housing primarily to meet the needs of their employees.

5) Total Action : where the intention ultimately is to provide low-cost housing for all sections of the population in need (e.g. in Hong Kong and Singapore).

6) The Progressive strategy : where progressive improvement is made to slums and site and service and similar schemes are provided on the assumption that they will progressively improve. This strategy, according to Johnstone (1976, 157), 'reinforces the positive developmental elements in the housing activities of the informal sector!'

In some countries several strategies can be - and have been - employed at the same time, but as Dwyer (1975, 85) claimed:

In general, the best that can be said of most official policies towards the problems of spontaneous settlement in the developing countries is that they are characterised by a neglect that is benign.

Laissez faire neglect, however, is being challenged by the increasing magnitude of the squatter problem. Governments are being forced to adopt some policy for the poor. The alarmist strategy insofar as it leads to the removal of existing housing stock and the transference of squatters to other areas is slowly being recognized as inadequate. The institutional framework and partial strategies clearly have no impact on the squatter problem and the total action strategy, as already indicated, is beyond the resources (given their present allocation) of most Third World countries. For these reasons, increasing attention is being given, by governments and researchers, to the progressive or self-help strategy first advocated by Abrams in the early 1960s and whose most well known advocate today is probably John Turner. Before examining the possibilities of this strategy in some detail, further comment is needed on strategies which still command support. Such strategies may, in any case, also represent solutions to housing the urban poor, if undertaken as part of an overall policy on housing and national development.

#### ATTEMPTS TO SLOW OR REVERSE RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION

At various times a number of countries have adopted legislative measures to restrict movement to cities or return unemployed or other 'undesirable' elements to the rural areas. Such measures have been undertaken, for example, in a number of Black African states, Indonesia (Dwyer, 1975, 86) and New Guinea (Oram, 1970) but none of these measures have been particularly successful.<sup>2</sup> Mangin (1967, 48) has seen these measures as evidence of a commonly held belief among planners and decision makers that he calls the 'festering sore (hard nosed) view': squatters must be returned to the countryside or established in agro-colonies away from the city. This approach ignores several important factors. Many squatters are not rural migrants and lack agricultural skills even should they wish to become rural dwellers; agro-colonies close to cities have difficulty attracting industrial activity, and many of those resettled return to the city because work opportunities are better there; and, most important, rural settlement is unlikely to succeed, even partially, unless preceded by regional and rural development and decentralisation. Even then it would not necessarily slow the rate of rural to urban migration. Indeed, there is considerable



evidence that economic and rural development programmes actually accelerate urban migration.<sup>3</sup> Piecemeal attempts to redirect the migration flow run counter to economic reality: economic opportunities, limited as they may be, are better in the city, and are so perceived by migrants.

#### SLUM CLEARANCE, EVICTION AND RELOCATION

One fiction in the West was that the problems of the low-income family could be solved by tearing down the inner city slums. The main beneficiaries according to Abrams (1965, 24) were usually city officials wanting new revenue from cleared inner city land, merchants with heavy fixed investment, and owners of real estate fearing slum encroachment. Unless accompanied by reasonably priced alternatives, slum clearance seldom helps the poor. It removes part of the housing stock available to the poor, and frequently destroys social networks important to survival in the urban environment. The slum is more than a physical environment and the provision of alternative reasonably priced dwellings does not necessarily remove what Clinard (1966, 3) has called the 'slum mentality' or what Gans (1962) identifies as class and ethnic deprivation.<sup>4</sup>

Johnstone (1976) and Dwyer (1975) among others have blamed the emphasis on slum and squatter clearance in the Third World on advice and aid received from the West. Aid agencies tend to prefer spectacular prestige projects such as slum clearance and the construction of new housing estates rather than less spectacular slum improvement.<sup>5</sup> Western planners, learning little from the experience of Western cities, have encouraged such action. It should not be overlooked, however, that the elites of the Third World, anxious to provide tangible evidence of development similar to the West and conscious of the role of the capital city as a symbol of nationalism and development, have not been reluctant to accept such advice. Epstein's (1969) account of Brasilia provides a classic example of elite priorities both in terms of the decision to construct the town (despite short capital resources) and in the plan itself. No provision was made for the poor. Within ten years of construction commencing, 15 percent of its population were illegal squatters and over 50 percent were living in 'satellite town whose legality, while

unquestioned, was granted in consequence of a last-ditch official effort to limit squatters to some degree' (Epstein, 1972, 55). That squatting can occur in new, planned towns is evidence that policy is a major contributing factor.

Squatter clearance, whether or not accompanied by resettlement, ignores squatter investment in property, their economic situation which often demands proximity to casual and other work in the inner city and the social and community spirit, often reinforced by proximity to kin, frequently found in slum and squatter areas. The failure of many resettlement schemes may be attributed to the neglect of these factors.

## PUBLIC HOUSING

Extensive public housing is found in many Third World countries. Most have much in common, having been modelled on similar projects in the West. Invariably they comprise discrete pockets or 'estates' of solidly constructed and similarly designed housing with high and middle-raise development predominating. They provide a distinct form of urban land use and the most visible evidence of the response of civic and national authorities to the housing problem. Whether they are a response, however, to the housing needs of the poor has been questioned. Both McGee (1967, 159) and Dwyer (1975, 177), for instance, have seen public housing as primarily motivated by attempts to reduce the hazards of fire in tenements and shanties, to maintain law and order assumed to be threatened by the existence of slums and squatting and to gain access for more profitable forms of land use in the city. Dwyer has also criticized the allocation of housing. While upper income levels have been stipulated as a condition for application, housing has been offered to applicants below this level regardless of need. As a consequence, many residents comprise the more affluent poor, those with regular employment, many of whom work for government.

Governments have been caught between the need to provide housing at rents the poor can afford and levels of housing acceptable to urban planners and the taxpayers who subsidise the housing. In societies witnessing sharp extremes of wealth (and this includes all Third World countries) the rich seem especially prone to blame the poor for their poverty and they are often reluctant to accept social

welfare provisions as part of their societal goals. In these circumstances, it is understandable that governments would also prefer to keep subsidies to a minimum and offer accommodation to that section of the poor which is most able and likely to meet regular rent and mortgage payments. Public housing, then, is more a compromise between the stringent demands of planners, the fanciful ideas of architects and the need for profit by building contractors on the one hand, and government, conscious of taxpayers' attitudes on the other, rather than a compromise between what is needed for the urban poor and what governments can afford. In terms of construction this has resulted in solid, well serviced units which afford minimal dwelling space per household, limited recreational and gardening space, and to low priority being attached to services such as shops, schools and community halls needed for community development and identity. In most instances, residents have been selected and housed with no regard to previous social ties and slum, squatter, ethnic and regional attachments have been disregarded. Furthermore, where public housing has been constructed on the city periphery, increased transport costs have removed casual workers from places of employment. Table 4.1 provides a summary of views on squatter areas vis-a-vis conventional public housing schemes.

#### PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT : SITE AND SERVICE AND SQUATTER UPGRADING SCHEMES

Site and service and similar squatter improvement schemes are based on the notion of supplying the minimum environmental requirements: a secure and properly laid out site, reticulated water, adequate sanitary facilities and sometimes a core house or a small loan to enable minimum house construction. It is assumed that such programmes will ultimately result in suburban improvements along the lines of those observed in some Latin American situations.

They have been criticized on the grounds that any reduction of standards will produce 'mushroom slums' which are likely to become a permanent feature of the urban landscape. This view was expressed in the following comment by Indian town planners (Dwyer, 1975, 102):

TABLE 4.1  
SQUATTER AREAS AND PUBLIC HOUSING: A SUMMARY OF VIEWS

Environmental Scale	Squatter Areas	Public Housing
National	People used as a resource. No demand on national resources. Recycled and local materials. Not inflationary. Encourages small builders and tradesmen. No hidden costs to occupiers. Illegal or extra-legal. Requires handling with political tact.	Housing considered social overhead. Diversion of national resources. Imported materials. High construction costs. Heavy borrowing and high interest rates. Inflationary. Needs high level of skills and capital. Favours big builders and contractors. Costs passed on to tenants or met by subsidies.
City	Obstructs rational planning. Non-permanent dwellings, but adverse effect on urban form if not controlled. Irregular layout and access. Health and fire hazard. Use of undeveloped and marginal land. Densities often not ideal. No payment of city rates. May permit landowner speculation. Cheap labour for city. Residences of 'bazaar sector' workers.	Conforms to urban planning regulations. Permanent buildings. Predetermines ultimate form of city. High layout, access and safety standards. High land costs result in high-rise development or use of marginal and peripheral urban land. Densities planned. Payment of rates. May limit speculation if sufficient cheap houses. Subsidisation of city's blue-collar labour force.
Neighbourhood	Ethnic and parochial clusters; economic 'mix'. Intimate, personal environment. Strong social networks. Resident-controls. Sense of community. Internal generation of employment. Subsistence gardening. Privacy.	More ethnic mixture but economic stratification. Impersonal environment. Fewer social networks. Outside control. Little sense of community. Internally generated employment proscribed. Gardening difficult.

Table 4.1 (cont'd)

Environmental Scale	Squatter Areas	Public Housing
Dwelling	Household establishes own priorities. Space expands with household needs and income. Space flexible. Minimal basic services. Low and progressive structural costs. Self-improving suburbs. Adapted to cultural and life cycle needs. Dwelling has use and exchange value, form of saving. Most owner-occupied, pride in ownership.	Priorities set by authorities. Limited, inflexible space.  Maximum basic services. High construction, maintenance and administrative costs. Not adapted to cultural or life cycle needs. No exchange value where rented. Few owner-occupiers. Less pride in dwellings and area.
Household	Permits household to maximise economic opportunities. Low rents or no rents. Proximity to employment. Accessible to most of the urban poor. Staging point for migrants, and greater savings permit social mobility. Steady movement in and out of areas.	Burdens household with rent and mortgage costs. Cannot maximise economic opportunities. Often not close to employment. Available mainly to high low-income earners. Recent migrants generally ineligible. Little savings, little social mobility. Areas stagnate.

The two-roomed house with adequate sanitation and other facilities [is] the barest minimum [to be accepted] if the normal aspirations of healthy living is to be achieved... These standards cannot be lowered, whatever the community, whatever the location and whatever the economic circumstances in the country. Sub-standard housing is but a step towards slums ... The basic standards must be adhered to at all costs.

Counter arguments have been advanced that insistence upon standards that cannot be met by the country and the individual benefit only the slum landlord and speculator and must lead to a reduction of standards outside the law, by slum overcrowding and the further growth of uncontrolled spontaneous settlement.

The provision of housing, even in countries with very comprehensive public housing policies, rarely appears to have solved the problem of housing the urban poor. Abidjan in the Ivory Coast, for instance, which Palen (1975, 367) claims is 'doing better than most,' is constructing 1,200 units a year, but 6,000 to 8,000 are needed, and in Hong Kong, where 1.6 million people (40 percent of the population) are government tenants, some 380,000 people are still squatters (Dwyer, 1971, 43). In the light of such observations, the views of those who believe in no lowering of standards seem totally unrealistic.

The most obvious benefit of site and service schemes for a country is that more people can be housed than by conventional public housing and that proportionately more of them are likely to include recent migrants and the very poor who have so far been largely excluded from public housing schemes. Such schemes, together with the upgrading of existing squatter areas, had become a major part of the housing policies of 27 countries by 1974 (Laquian, 1976, 950). Tanzania has perhaps the most vigorous programme. Grimes (1975, 29) claims that it uses the 'public sector as a catalyst for private influence.' Lacking capital and other resources, it calls for 'self-reliance in housing as in other sectors [and recognizes that] most of the housing effort must be generated by the private sector.' He concludes (Grimes, 1975, 29):

The most fruitful policies therefore have usually been directed towards encouraging self-help in an environment of secure land tenure, flexible building codes, credit through building material loans, and provision of public utilities and social services.

Many planners, however, would object to site and service schemes on three counts beside the immediate acceptance of lowered standards. First, it is often claimed that it is a less efficient use of urban land because it supports lower population densities than conventional public (and particularly high-rise public) housing. The priority given to density must of course vary with local circumstances but shortage of land does not appear to be a critical factor in most Third World cities. It should also be noted that site and service densities are considered satisfactory by some writers (e.g. Abrams quoted by Eldridge, 1967, 1028) and high-rise dwellings may be unacceptable or produce undesirable social consequences. See, for example, Porteous (1977, 294), though as Liu Thai Ker (1974, 45) observes, acceptance will depend on the culture and urban experience of the people housed.

Second, it is claimed that the ultimate upgrading of these areas will impose greater financial burdens on civic authorities than if all the basic amenities were provided upon settlement. This may well be the case, but if the basic infrastructural requirements are provided for in the original layout of settlement the only extra charge would come from inflation. Most authorities also work within limits imposed by annual budgeting. They may therefore be able to provide the infrastructure more rapidly if work could be undertaken over several years as opposed to completion within one budgetary period.

Third, and perhaps most important, many planners doubt whether these areas will ultimately be improved. This is dependent of the attitude of the authorities, and the response of settlers themselves.

#### LIMITATIONS OF THE PROGRESSIVE STRATEGY

Laquian (1976) makes a distinction between site and service schemes (the development of the site before occupants arrive) and the upgrading of existing squatter settlements. He claims that experience with site and service schemes has revealed four basic defects which have led to a modification of previous assumptions and policies:

- 1) Community participation has not been sustained for long range, routine, and commonplace activities such as the provision of sewerage and the clearing of communal toilets. As a consequence most governments now welcome self-help activities only in the provision and improvement of housing.

2) Locations away from jobs, entertainment and educational opportunities has led to high rates of abandonment, e.g. 80 percent of the households had left within two years in one Philippines relocation site!

3) Selection of squatters which produces 'spatial and social segregation' among the working classes makes life for the poorest stratum more difficult because the very poor depend on lower middle-income groups for economic and social advancement.

4) The high visibility of the schemes has been criticized by planners, many of whom now favour blending the schemes in with the total urban environment.

It is interesting that fewer problems have arisen with squatter upgrading schemes. Laquian argues that this is because they are already viable and strategically sited communities prior to upgrading.

Madavo and Haldane (1974, 288), also commenting on site and service schemes, stress that the provision of physical plant alone is inadequate to ensure their success. They see the schemes as 'a balanced strategy based on self help and progressive improvement, and geared to the total development of low-income communities.' Essential ingredients are: secure land, relaxed regulations, the presence of informal sector economic activities, employment generation, community services, the cooperation of the people, and the absence of paternalism.

Experience with progressive development strategies, which include site and service schemes and the upgrading of existing squatter settlements, is barely a decade old and has only been practised experimentally in most countries.<sup>6</sup> Instant public housing, with which there has been longer experience, has been shown not to be low-cost, many sections of the poor are excluded, the economic resources of occupants are often prescribed or overtaxed, and the resultant social environment is often not conducive to the development of modern urban behaviour.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, it is by no means clear, despite Laquian's assurance, that squatter settlements are capable of sustained improvement any more than site and service schemes. If, for instance, peripheral spontaneous settlements are not granted security of tenure, legal recognition, and access to basic services (or if they are 'encapsulated' by city growth) improvement appears to cease. They are invaded by the very poor, higher achieving early occupants move out and the area becomes another slum. Brett



(1974, 184) considers that progressive settlements stagnate from two causes:

1) Occupation by people with lower motivations or capacity for improvement than the original settlers results in areas being dominated by people who are unprepared or unable to invest in improvement.

2) Rising land values and other pressures which lead to increasing insecurity among the earlier residents result either in their becoming disillusioned and unprepared to continue housing improvement or in their moving out of the area. In the latter case, they rent their dwellings to poorer newcomers.

These factors raise doubts about whether the solution to the housing problem in the Third World can rest entirely on the initiative of squatters. To succeed, progressive development requires maximum understanding and support from the authorities.<sup>8</sup>

1 Angel and Benjamin (1976) provide a similar but more jaundiced review of policy. Crooke (1974) sees three historical stages: prebuilt low-cost housing typical of 15 to 20 years ago; aided self-help typical of the mid 1950s; and site and service schemes in the 1960s.

2 The People's Republic of China seems to have been moderately successful in reversing rural to urban migration (Palen, 1975, 403) and Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos appear to be following similar practices. Such action, however, requires a level of political control and commitment, and a level of overall national planning which is not evident in most Third World countries.

3 Ginsberg (1972, 276 - 277), for instance, states:

Policy makers must face the fact that rural migrants to cities are there to stay, and many more will be following. [As rural development proceeds] the cities will be inundated by migrants from rural areas. Nothing will keep them down on the farm - not better roads, nor higher literacy, not improved sanitation, not farmer cooperatives, not even higher incomes or other consequences of governmental welfare policies. All of these will stimulate, rather than retard, migration.

See also Brown (1967, 1017); Van Huyck (1967, 1024 - 1025).

4 Experience with public housing projects has, however, made it apparent that low densities, new buildings, or modern site plans do not eliminate anti-social or self-destructive behaviour ... deprivations of low socio-economic status and racial discrimination ... can be changed only through the removal of these deprivations. Gans (1962, 299 - 300).

5 The attitude of aid agencies appears to be changing. For example, the World Bank invested \$121 million in site and service and squatter improvement schemes in 9 countries between 1972 and 1974 (Laquian, 1976, 950 - 951).

6 Only Cuba and Zambia have had longer experience (Madavo and Haldane, 1974, 288).

7 Public housing, and especially high-rise buildings, are not low-cost according to estimates by Angel and Benjamin (1976); between 30 and 70 percent of the urban poor in many Third World countries are too poor to be accommodated (Lakshmanan, 1976); and poor social behaviour has been noted by several writers (e.g. Bryce-Laporte, 1969; Gans, 1962; Mitchell, 1971; Porteous, 1977, 294).

8 Morse (1972, 495) refers to work by Rogler in Latin America, and poses the interesting suggestion that support from authorities may cause stagnation: 'The social integration of "marginal" urban groups gathers momentum under adversity and hostility, and recedes before permissiveness and benevolence.' Permissiveness and benevolence, however, smack of paternalism and are not to be confused with mutual cooperation implied in the terms 'understanding' and 'support.'

## CHAPTER 5

### THE CAPACITY OF THE POOR FOR SELF-IMPROVEMENT

The capacity of people for self-improvement and their ability to create 'self improving suburbs' depends on two factors: the environment within which they live, and their response to it. Reference has already been made to the economic environment in most Third World countries and the limited opportunities it offers to the poor. In this chapter the views of social scientists on the extent to which the poor in Third World cities comprise an integral part of urban society are considered, for the position of the poor in relation to the wider society must influence their response to the opportunities of the city, however limited they may be.

### THE POOR AND THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

Studies in the early 1960s, notably those of Hoselitz and Moore (1963) and Hauser (1961) which were influenced by the ideas of Wirth (1938) on urbanism and Redfield (1961) on the peasantry, set the urban poor apart from urban society by reason of their poverty, and their supposedly rural and traditional orientation. They pointed to their occupational and social disadvantage, to their conflicting value systems which produced emotional stress evidenced in high rates of alcoholism, crime, drug addiction, family breakdown, and to their isolation from the social and political life of the city. The problem for such writers was how to integrate the poor into the life of the city, how to persuade peasants to adopt 'modern' ways. A logical extension of this view was that development was being held back in Third World cities because of the traditional behaviour of the poor (see Beyer, 1967, 329 and Germani, 1967, 180).

By the mid 1960s a number of writers began to challenge the view that the urban poor were disorientated, and claimed that their rural characteristics and problems of adjustment were overstated. Oscar Lewis (1966a, 1966b, 1973) saw the urban poor (whether living in slums, ghettos or squatter areas) to share a common 'culture of poverty' which protected them from the strains of city life and afforded a satisfactory adjustment. This culture persisted, according to Lewis, as a separate sub-culture within the city. Positively, it

reduced social disorientation and personal isolation, and kept family life (often matrilineal and with common law marriage evident) stable. The extended family, typical of rural life, was even more evident in the city. Less positively, people were seen to be orientated towards the present, incapable of delaying gratification, non-participants in the wider life of the city, and fatalistic and resigned to their deprived position in society. Such passivity lends no support to the idea of self-improvement, upon which the possibilities of success of 'progressive' housing depend.

Lewis, however, was challenged by a number of writers, and on different grounds. Mangin (1970, xxxiii, 27 - 28) for instance, points to evidence of social mobility, high aspirations, and the effectiveness of adaptations in the urban environment, but he does not question the notion of the persistence of rurality evident in Lewis's writings. Two questions are still matters of debate: first, the 'effectiveness' of the adaptation of rural or traditional values and behaviour; second, whether such adaptation can be considered rural or urban in character.

The 'Effectiveness' of Adaptation

There is ample evidence to indicate that modified traditional and rural lifestyles assist individual migrant adaptation in the city, and at least one study (Salisbury and Salisbury, 1972) which shows that even unchanged traditional values can be put to good entrepreneurial use in the city. However, adaptation might not be the same thing as assimilation and integration. Germani (1967, 180) puts this view:

The questions regarding the integration into modern urban culture, however, remain unanswered. Is this traditional adaptation, which in time will facilitate the rise of a modern industrial proletariat, or could it persist as a barrier, even under the impact of economic development.

Beyer (1967, 315) first blames housing and neighbourhoods for the non-integration of the poor: 'The type of housing and neighbourhood in which the migrants are forced to live ... hampers the functioning of the socially integrative mechanisms of the city.' And then attributes it to the migrants' traditionalism (Beyer, 1967, 328 - 329):

Efforts to help him should be made from the standpoint of his incipient role as a member of a modern society rather than in the form of palliatives to keep him bound to traditionalism ... the full effects of economic development now underway are being crippled by the continuance of traditional behaviour, not only among the marginal

populations but throughout the social order.

All this is rather confusing. Germani considers migrants' traditional adaptation may impede economic development even if it takes place; Beyer assumes that it is being crippled by traditional behaviour throughout the society.<sup>1</sup> If such behaviour is so prevalent, just what are the 'socially integrative mechanisms' and who operates them? Who offers the migrant palliatives to keep him tradition-bound? The assumption clearly is that most if not all existing cultural values and behaviour must be exchanged for modern ones. Apart from the fact that such views seek major behavioural changes prior to major economic changes, and especially from the section of urban society which has benefited least from the type of economic development that is taking place, it is not clear that traditional behaviour impedes modernization, and if it does, whether it is a major impediment. It is not even clear what is 'modern' from these writings, though the inference seems to be that it is 'Western.' Leeds and Leeds (1970, 230), in discussing work in Latin America concerned with the 'modernization' question, state: 'We must begin to think of qualitatively different forms of integration.'

Laquian (1975a, 41 - 55) takes up the same point. He sees Asian urbanization as different from that of the West and wonders whether, in the long run, the West may not prove to have been the historical variant.<sup>2</sup> The particularistic loyalties, typical of traditional, peasant and therefore presumably non-modern behaviour (in the Beyer sense) evident in all Third World cities, are seen by Laquian to lead to presumably modern political involvement at the local level, to a strong sense of neighbourhood, and a more viable political community. He sees the type of housing and neighbourhood deplored by Beyer to be one that can 'provide the new migrant with a familiar way of life while he is undergoing psycho-social and economic changes' (Laquian, 1972, 50), and considers 'it is the viewpoint of the people themselves which decides whether they live in "slums of hope" or "slums of despair"' (Laquian, 1972, 49). From the Pacific, Force (1975, 217) lends weight to the view that tradition and modern are not necessarily opposing forces: 'The nature of urbanism in Oceania is and will be interrelated with existing social structures.'

Scholars such as Beyer, Lewis, Mangin and Germani do not consider the poor, and particularly the migrant poor, as fully belonging to the city. They support the notion of 'dual behaviour'

and a 'dual economy.'<sup>3</sup> They see the supposed survival of traditional or rural ways at best as a stage to be passed through towards becoming urbanized; at worst, as an impediment to urban integration. This view is not shared by a number of recent writers.

### Urban, Not Rural Peasants

Many writers (e.g. Acaroglu, 1974; Beyer, 1967; Germani, 1967) concerned with adaptation assume that all or most of the urban poor are migrants, or that rural behaviour typifies the descendants of migrants.

McGee (1976) maintains that urban peasant and capitalist modes of production coexist and have been a long-standing and persistent feature of the Third World city. Moreover, he asserts at least in the most densely populated countries, the peasant sector will continue to grow because the capital intensive sector is unlikely to be able to absorb labour at the rate urban populations are growing. He sees the urban poor as part of the larger urban society, and comprising three strata based on their economic roles within that society. The regularly employed wage workers are classified as proletariat, those 'employed' in the bazaar or informal urban peasant sector as protoproletariat, and the unemployed and unemployable as lumpenproletariat. (McGee, 1973, 141).

Epstein (1973, 53) writing of Latin American squatters states:

There is little evidence that squatters are 'folk' unable or unwilling to become 'urban' or that they have failed to integrate into the society, and much more evidence that it is the form of their integration which has resulted in the spectacular contrast between their lifestyles and living conditions and those of their more affluent neighbours. It is not any lack of ties with the dominant sectors of the society that is the problem, but the kind of ties which exist.  
(Author's emphasis)

Leeds and Leeds (1970, 231) state that until studies are undertaken of the middle and upper classes in the Third World scholars will have no way of knowing what integration or modernization mean in Third World cities. Thus, squatter studies (Leeds and Leeds, 1970, 230):

'Cannot empirically or theoretically be understood unless they are looked at in detail as parts of a larger system, and as products of the operation of the system.' Their attitude on the place of the poor is clearly indicated in the title of their work: Brazil and the Myth of Urban Rurality (Leeds and Leeds, 1970).

It is possible that the rural-urban dichotomy has been overstated, or misstated, partly because of inadequate research methods. Leeds and Leeds (1970, 231 - 234) also take up this point, stating that questionnaires which typically ask respondents for their province of birth (to be merely coded 'rural' or 'urban') overlook the 'urban' socialization opportunities in the latifundia (a rural capitalist institution), small towns, and the regular movement between rural and smaller urban centres prior to movement to the city. They consider 'place of birth' information is less important than place of socialization for rural-born (but city-bred) people, and that many researchers have overlooked changes which have occurred in rural attitudes. On the basis of their intensive fieldwork in a Rio de Janeiro favela they conclude that 'no more than 5 percent of the population comprise "truly rural migrants" [and that] even new migrants to the city change some things (viz. standards, goals, interests, enjoyments) very rapidly' (Leeds and Leeds, 1970, 232, 234).

McGee illustrated the uneven mix of 'urban' and 'rural' characteristics by using holograms for individual Malay migrants to Kuala Lumpur, and observed (McGee 1975a, 145 and 170):

The majority of migrants retain attitudes which may be regarded as both urban and rural at the same time. Perhaps these attitudes will change after long periods of residence in the city, but it is dangerous to argue that they will necessarily change because of the influence of the city. We do tend to underestimate the considerable capacity of the individual to hold seemingly antithetical attitudes at the same time and the range of choice that individuals have in deciding these questions.

.... the individual, even the most marginally provided for, is far more flexible in taking what he wants out of the urban situation ... ultimately, the individual is the product of his society, not of his city.

A further cause of disagreement, however, may be that writers have been studying different dimensions of the same phenomenon. Lewis, for instance, was concerned with urban migrant lifestyles which he saw to be a reasonable adjustment to the external environment of the city, while McGee has been concerned with their economic role in the integrated economy of the city.



To summarize these opposing views, the 'holists' such as McGee see the urban poor as performing urban economic functions essential to the survival of the Third World urban economy, whereas the 'dualists' tend to see their activities as a rather unwelcome growth on the 'formal' sector. Holists see the urban poor's economic role (and the behaviour which stems from it) as a consequence of the type of urbanization. They claim the poor cannot behave in any other way given the economic environment within which they live. This is not quite the same as economic determinism, but it does recognize the connection between environmental opportunity and behavioural response.

Models and typologies of squatters and slum settlements, including those proposed by dualists, acknowledge the existence of 'strata' of the poor who have different access to resources (employment, security of tenure, and so forth) which produce different levels of social mobility and self-improvement. Whether or not traditional or rural migrants have fewer opportunities (or take less advantage of those offering) than the city born (or socialized) is not clear, but answers to these two questions would indicate whether traditional-rural values and behaviour are prejudicial to success in the city. Such answers would also go some way towards indicating whether behaviour or economic opportunity is the key factor, and would provide useful comment on the rural or urban peasant and adaptation-integration debates.

#### CLASSIFYING THE URBAN POOR

Research and policies towards the urban poor have been influenced by negative attitudes towards their assumed characteristics, and the belief that they represent a socially homogeneous phenomenon. Negative attitudes are reinforced by the emotive use of terms such as 'slum,' 'squatter,' 'marginality' and 'shantytown'; by the belief that physical conditions and moral attributes are related, and that the poor are responsible for their conditions. This moral underpinning, not too dissimilar from the religious 'justification' for slavery in an earlier era, is captured by Clinard (1966, 309):

Society reacts negatively to slum dwellers; the non-slum dweller often associates the physical conditions of the slum with the belief in a 'natural inferiority' of its inhabitants.

Mangin (1967, 66) sums up what he calls the 'standard myths' :

Squatter settlements are formed by rural people... coming directly from 'their' farms. They are chaotic and unorganized. They are slums, with accompanying crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, family breakdown, illegitimacy, etc. They represent an economic drain on the nation since unemployment is high and they are the lowest class economically; the hungriest and most poorly housed, and their labour might better be used back on the farms. They do not participate in the life of the city, illiteracy is high, and the education level low. They are rural peasant villages reconstituted in the cities. They are 'breeding grounds' for radical political activity, particularly communism, because of resentment, ignorance, and a longing to be led.

It is clear that none of these observations typify squatters as a whole, but each may be true of a particular situation. Despite earlier comments on the validity of research based on a priori judgments, the situation of conflicting opinions on almost every attribute of slum and squatter behaviour may in itself provide the best evidence that perception of behaviour differs, from individual to individual and area to area. Dwyer (1975, 67) goes so far as to state that generalisations, even within the same city, are likely to be misleading. The experiences of Turner (e.g. 1970a) and Mangin (1967) in the barriados of Lima and Laquian (1969) in Manila are clearly different from those of Carolina Maria de Jesus (1962) in Sao Paulo, Clinard (1966) in Delhi, and Desai and Pillai (1972) in Calcutta.<sup>4</sup> It is not possible to believe that the misery Carolina describes in her Sao Paulo favela represents the same phenomena which led Mangin (1967, 42) to state: 'I see the squatter settlements as a process of social construction through popular initiative.' This leads to the assumption that there must be 'slums of hope' and 'slums of despair.'

Work by Stokes and Seeley in Western slums has shown that inhabitants of the same areas differed considerably.<sup>5</sup> Seeley (1973, 237), for instance, distinguishes four types of slum dweller according to whether they are permanent or temporary, and resident in the slum because of necessity or opportunity. Differences of behaviour are implied from the categories established. Work by several writers in the Third World distinguishes between slums of the inner city and squatters. Mangin (1970: xxix) claimed that they are 'basically the

same kinds of people... but do not view the future in the same way,' slum dwellers exhibiting more depression and alienation. Behavioural differences are implied in McGee's (1973, 141) three-fold division of the urban poor. Juppenplatz (1970, 114 - 116) also infers types of behaviour in his five types of Philippines squatter areas, and Abrams (1966, 21 - 22) defines eleven categories of squatters based largely on their tenure, ownership and the payment or collection of rent. Some of these variables also have behavioural implications.<sup>6</sup>

The value of these studies is that they have demonstrated that earlier views which did not differentiate between the behaviour of the poor are invalid.

#### THE SELF-IMPROVING SUBURBS CONTENTION

John Turner, probably the best known advocate of the 'progressive' housing strategy, is of the firm opinion that many 'controlled squatter settlements' will result in 'self improving suburbs' (Turner, 1970a, 5) with infinitely more desirable features than 'instant' public housing (Turner, 1970a, 5). He has been criticized by Friedmann and Wulff (1976, 60) as :

A do-it-yourself advocate with an unbounded faith in the individual capacities of people to improve their conditions of life through their own effort.

They also criticized his failure to 'appreciate how this capacity may be constrained by an economic system in which the poor are basically regarded as a "reserve" army of labour, and an aesthetic nuisance.'

Self-improvement, however, is not seen by Turner and others of similar persuasion (Juppenplatz, 1971; Laquian, 1969 and 1971; Mangin, 1967; Rosser, 1971 and 1972) as the sole answer. They point specifically to the need for authorities to guarantee security of tenure, implement realistic building regulations, and provide basic services. Nevertheless, Dwyer, who has much sympathy with Turner's position, also considers that Turner might underestimate the magnitude of change needed in the attitudes of the land owning elites. Dwyer (1975, 201) notes that:

No modern state in the industrially advanced or in the developing countries has yet gone so far as to allow large groups of poor people to work out their own solutions to their major problems in defiance of previously established and generally recognized rights.

Whether or not the relative tolerance shown to squatters when they occupy public land would be maintained if substantial areas of private land were occupied is also questioned by Dwyer.

There is little doubt that Turner is at his weakest when expounding general ideas on the urbanization process. His hypothesis that 'uncontrolled urban settlement is a manifestation of normal urban growth processes under the exceptional conditions of rapid urbanization' (Turner, 1972, 508), for instance, would hardly satisfy those seeking more fundamental causes (e.g. Friedmann and Wulff, 1975). Likewise, Turner's tendency to gloss over the problems of providing infrastructural needs such as sewerage and water and his apparent lack of concern for the ultimate form of the city has drawn comment from others.<sup>7</sup> However, Turner has not totally overlooked these matters. He does recognize that a fundamental cause of squatting is poverty and the maldistribution of wealth (Turner, 1972, 526) and his insistence on controlling what he considers 'universal growth processes and not some marginal and passing peculiarity' (Turner, 1972, 515) indicates a concern for urban form if left uncontrolled, as he contends it is. Social mobility among the poor is central to his proposals and he could well overstate these possibilities as his critics maintain. He does, however, also recognize that self-improving spontaneous settlements are more evident in Latin America where 'urbanization is in full swing and where industrialization has made a significant start' (Turner, 1972, 516) than in Asia and Tropical Africa. It is also highly probable that the settlements he studied are not representative, but this will only be verified by further research. Turner has been criticized on many counts, but it is perhaps significant that his strongest support comes from those who have conducted intensive fieldwork within squatter settlements. Turner is a practical reformer, not a social revolutionary, and it is in this context that his work is best considered.

In Turner's view spontaneous housing, and the housing priorities of the urban poor, represent an important and decidedly urban response by the poor to the larger socio-economic realities of the Third World city. His main proposals, fundamental to the self-help or response question, are remarkably simple (Turner, 1970a):

1) Spontaneous squatter settlement, given present trends in Third World urbanization, will increase. It must be controlled by action that takes national and squatter resources into account. Most present building standards are too high (or simply unrealistic), have accentuated the squatter problem and thus contributed to the loss of development control by local authorities.

2) The urban poor are not homogeneous, but comprise households with varying capacities for social and economic mobility. Present policies inhibit this capacity.

3) The housing priorities of the poor vary according to their socio-economic attainment and different stages in the family life cycle.

4) The order of priorities for popular housing - in the wider sense - is the reverse of that required by official standards.

5) Spontaneous settlement meets the needs of the poor, permits them to maximize their opportunities, select their own priorities, and promotes greater social mobility.

6) The physical conditions of spontaneous settlements generally improve with security of tenure.

It is necessary to determine what evidence Turner has for these contentions, how much support he has from other field workers, and to identify the basic characteristics of squatters who improve their situation.

There is general agreement that inner city slums and squatter areas differ and that squatter settlements formed by invasion are different from those formed by accretion. Mangin, (1970, xxix), for example, recognizes this when he writes:

The differences in morale between squatter settlement dwellers and slum dwellers is impressive to even the casual visitors and seems to be largely due to the fact that the squatter settlements were formed by organized invasions, having internal community organization with elections, and reward talent, initiative and courage.

There is also agreement that the inner city slum includes a high proportion of recent migrants, those dependent on casual work in the inner city and that these people are less socially cohesive than most squatters. An association between type of area and type of people is also assumed, though as Morse (1972, 492) observes: 'There is probably a greater variety on this score within the categories than among the modal types for each category.'

Leeds and Leeds (1970, 234 - 235) proposed a 'kind of continuum' within the favelas they studied based on the factors which affected the selection of people who came to live in them:

1) Marginality where people 'operate effectively neither within the legal nor the extra or illegal (criminal) economy of the city, but are pushed out of all of these.'

2) Stress where 'situations resemble those producing true marginality, but in which the personnel involved are in better circumstances to deal with them or, on the other hand, to situations and events which are sudden and unpredictable... or involve a change of life circumstance.'

3) Economizing where people have chosen 'a place to live in order to economize.'

4) Taste where people live because 'they like it there.'

Their model, which is broadly similar to that proposed by Seeley (1965) for Western slums, indicates that people elect to live in squatter areas for a variety of reasons, and that for each household the area represents the best choice, given the individual circumstances. The model is useful in identifying the groups of people found in any given area, but it does not explain what particular characteristics of the area appeal to each group, whether these characteristics may be perceived differently if their circumstances improve, and how they respond with regards to house improvement. While it is recognized that those who are marginal or suffering from stress will be limited in their choices, it is important to know whether the other types, the economizers and those there by taste, support Turner's contention of squatter areas being 'self-improving suburbs.'

Turner (1970a) focuses on life cycle and socio-economic characteristics in the ordering of priorities and selection of settlement type.<sup>8</sup> He identifies (a) three basic functions of the dwelling environment-location, tenure, and amenities; and (b) three types of squatters - very low-income bridgeheaders, low-income consolidators, and middle-income status seekers. Their assumed rank order of priorities is shown below:

	Location	Tenure	Amenities
Bridgeheaders	1	2	3
Consolidators	2	1	3
Status Seekers	3	2	1

In another paper Turner (1972) proposes a typology based on security of tenure and physical improvements to the dwelling and neighbourhood, and argues that there is a positive correlation between security of tenure and physical improvements. The main thrust of his argument is similar in each paper. He claims that for the poorest section of the poor, often including the itinerant recent migrant, location is the most important consideration and physical improvement will be minimal. Blue-collared workers need security of tenure because their houses are an investment, and housing will improve as security increases. High income businessmen and professionals (who not infrequently comprise part of some squatter populations) will be less dependent on home ownership for security and status than the blue-collared worker, and will be more concerned with the conditions and standards of their dwelling.<sup>9</sup>

It is not clear whether Turner equates the very poor with bridgeheaders, blue-collar workers with consolidators, and those on high income with status seekers. This is unfortunate because the two typologies cannot be directly related. It would seem worthwhile to attempt to mould the models proposed by Turner (and that of Leeds and Leeds) into one composite model which takes account of the characteristics of people (with regard to their present position and prospects of self-improvement), their priorities, choice of settlement, degree of security of tenure and the degree of physical improvement seen with each combination of these variables.

There is ample evidence of self-improvement. What is still by no means clear, however, is whether or not self-improvement can be related to particular sets of circumstances and differently motivated people; whether the level of improvement that may be expected from the majority of the poor is sufficient to meet minimal acceptable standards of housing; and whether governments should fully support controlled spontaneous settlement (not simply because they lack the resources for 'instant' housing) but because it may provide a better form of development for a significant section of the urban poor. It will be a major task in the present work to explore these questions in the Fiji setting.

## FOOTNOTES

1 This view finds support among some Third World writers, as may be expected from earlier comments on the elite. Acaroglu, (1974, 48), for instance, claims that most Turkish migrants:

Cannot take part in the normal [sic] urban functions or adapt themselves [sic] to the urban life. Therefore they cannot add much to urban production, and stay in rather depressed small service jobs. These jobs slow up the modernization of the cities as well as obstructing their own assimilation.

Contrary to these views, studies of the economies of squatter areas (e.g. Laquian 1968 and 1971, 188 - 195; Leeds and Leeds, 1970; Mangin, 1967) indicate a substantial contribution to the city, and McGee (1973 and 1976) demonstrates the interdependence of the urban peasant (Acaroglu's 'small service jobs') and the modern capitalist sector. The logic of the Acaroglu argument is that migrants unable to find 'useful' work in the city should return to unemployment in the countryside; the logic of the contrary view is that until Third World urbanization is accompanied by significant industrialization, the 'informal sector' will continue to perform economic functions demanded by the type of urban economy of which it is a part. Frankenhoff (1967) has proposed a model for the study of slum and squatter economies, but he gives no indication that it has been used. Quantification of the economic relationship of the 'informal' and 'modern' sectors are still needed.

2 The same question is raised for African towns by Little (1974, 97).

3 The term 'dual economy' was coined by Broeke (1953) to describe the peasant - plantation economy in Indonesia. It is also commonly used in the Pacific (Anderson, 1974; Brookfield, 1971). The underlying assumption is a dichotomy which if accepted minimises peasant-plantation (or informal urban peasant - urban modern capitalist sector) linkages, and their place in the world economy. These views contrast sharply with the satellite-metropole orientation of the Dependency School. See also Chapter 3, footnote 8.

4 Leeds and Leeds (1970, 264) warn that Carolina's story was closely edited by a journalist. They consider her story uncharacteristic, and think that 'the whole book was not, in fact, written by Carolina.'

5 Stokes (1962) first proposed the idea of slums of hope and slums of despair. He identified four types of slums:



- A. Slums of hope with escalator classes.
- B. Slums of despair with escalator classes.
- C. Slums of hope with non-escalator classes.
- D. Slums of despair with non-escalator classes.

Clinard (1966, 44) considered that A and C 'serve necessary purposes, and are self-eliminating if society has the time to wait. The other two, however, do not pass away with economic growth.' For other classifications, see Laquian (1971, 185 - 188) and footnote 6.

6 Abrams (1966) identified eleven squatter types in Asia:

Street sleepers: mobile squatters with no home.

Owner squatters: who own their shack but not the land.

Squatter tenants: who rent dwellings from other squatters.

Squatter holdovers: who have ceased paying rent, and whom the landowner fears to evict.

Squatter landlords: who rent rooms or shacks.

Speculator squatters: professionals who anticipate payment to move on.

Store squatters or occupational squatters: who have a business in the squatter area.

Semi-squatters: who have built without the landowner's permission but have come to terms with him

Floating squatters: who live in junks and other marine craft.

Squatter cooperators: a group from the same region or tribe who protect their holdings against intruders, whether public or private.

7 It has also been argued that public housing, constructed as it usually is of permanent materials, exercises an undue influence on the future form of the city before this form has had adequate time to evolve. Abrams (1966), in particular, is in favour of 'planned slums' and against permanent low-cost structures precisely because most squatter dwellings are not permanent.

8 Brett (1974) provides a comprehensive review and critique of most of Turner's work, some of which is unpublished.

9 Research on squatter service priorities, roughly comparable with Turner's 'amenities' in Lima, is provided in Andrews and Phillips (1971). The relative importance of Turner's three variables, however, does not appear to have been tested by other researchers.

## CONCLUSIONS

Two main points of contention emerge from a review of the literature on Third World urbanization and squatting.

The first concerns the relationship of squatting and squatters to the urbanization process. Is squatting merely the result of a gap between housing supply and demand which can be remedied by appropriate adjustments? Are squatters rurally-orientated people largely excluded from the modernizing influences of the city, and perhaps a barrier to its modernization? Or is squatting only one manifestation of the dependency and unbalanced urbanization which appear to be an essential characteristic of the Third World, and squatting a positive, modern and urban response to this situation?

The second contention overlaps the first, and is concerned with the extent to which a progressive housing strategy may provide a solution to the housing problem. The limitations of public housing, slum clearance and squatter relocation are now generally recognized, but opinion is divided on progressive housing. The Turner school maintains that a reordering of priorities will permit the poor to achieve housing improvement and social mobility. Others doubt that the poor have either the motivation or the financial resources to effect improvement. Germani (1967) and Beyer (1967), for example, have strong reservations about the self-improving capacity of the poor; Clinard (1966) and Laquian (1969) point to the need for housing to be seen as only one component in community development; Angel and Benjamin (1976) and Madavo and Haldane (1974) warn against paternalism; and others have stressed the importance of external constraints on squatter improvement. Thus, Brett (1974) fears that encapsulation caused by city growth could result in the stagnation of development; Leeds (1969) points to the importance of expanding job opportunities; and Safa (1974), Friedmann and Wulff (1975) and other advocates of the Dependency School refuse to accept squatting essentially as a housing problem. Burgess (1977), for example, sees squatter housing as a 'dependent' part of the 'dominant' capitalist housing and construction industry, and self-help activities by squatters and small, informal entrepreneurs, admired by Turner, as 'small and beautiful capitalism.' To such writers, squatting is tolerated because it is economically profitable and politically expedient to do so. They see no prospect

of major improvement in (or solution to) the housing situation without major social and economic changes in Third World countries and in their relations with the Developed World.

## PART III

### URBANIZATION AND HOUSING IN FIJI

It has been argued in Part II that squatting is not simply a consequence of an imbalance between the rate of urbanization and the capacity of the city to provide services, or, more specifically, an imbalance between the demand for housing and its supply.

Squatting has been seen to be a product of the nature of the urbanization process in the Third World, a process which generates regional imbalance giving rise to migration and unbalanced urban economies and, frequently, to heightened socio-economic inequalities. Squatting is the illegal (or extra-legal) occupance of land. It arises because a large part of the urban population does not possess the resources to acquire land of their own, or are denied legal access to institutional or public land. It is a product of a system based on notions of private ownership.

If this view is pursued, it is clear that squatting, as one manifestation of the urbanization process, cannot be adequately described, or understood, by 'case study' approaches which too frequently fail to consider such variables as land tenure, political and economic power, city size, economic functions, stage of technological development, and rate of demographic growth (Friedmann and Wulff, 1975, 38). Even more important, such variables pertaining to single cities need to be placed in national and international perspective. Leeds (1969) distinguishes between three levels or orders of variables, different combinations of which have caused variations in the characteristics of squatter settlements in the Third World. Part III is concerned with what Leeds (1969) identifies as primary (international, national, inter-city) and secondary (city and intra-city) variables.

In Chapter 6, Economic and Demographic Changes, attention is given to the Fiji economy, especially those aspects concerned with economic changes which affect the standard of living of the poor and their place in the housing market. It proceeds to a discussion of demographic changes, the rate of urbanization, internal migration, primacy, and intra-urban movement in Suva, and concludes with a review of colonial influences and subsequent developments which have shaped Suva's residential form and acted as constraints on housing policy. Chapter 7, Background to the Housing Policy, traces the evolution of housing policy and Chapter 8, Housing Policy in Action, considers how effective housing policy has been in meeting the needs of the urban

poor. Chapter 8 concludes with a review of government and City Council policy towards squatters, and squatter reactions to the threat of eviction.

## CHAPTER 6

### ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

A hundred years of British rule left Fiji, independent in 1970, with a colonial heritage similar to many other parts of the Third World, although by Third World standards it cannot be regarded as a poor country. The economy was heavily dependent on the export of sugar, copra and coconut products and the import of capital, consumer goods and services. Most commercial enterprises were owned by overseas interests, little manufacturing existed, and most paid employment was in the tertiary sector, approximately one-third provided by government and local authorities (Department of Statistics, 1971)<sup>1</sup>.

#### ECONOMIC CHANGES

Development such as had occurred produced what Fisk (1970, 33) called 'The Three Fijis': one, comprising Fijians (most of whom were rural dwellers in a declining state of 'subsistence affluence' but with a growing number included among the urban poor); another, comprising Indians (short term rural tenants on leased Fijian land, urban wage workers, and middlemen in the towns); and the third, the highly commercial and capital intensive urban sector controlled mainly by Europeans, both local and expatriate. Each economy represented different facets of the same system, and each ethnic component had different access to resources (land, capital, paid labour), social and environmental services, and political power.

Since World War II major changes have occurred in the Fiji economic and political situation, the long term implications of which are by no means clear. These changes have been advanced by development plans since Independence in 1970. The broad objectives of Development Plan VI 1971 - 1976 (DPVI, 18 - 20) and Development Plan VII 1976 - 1980 (DPVII, iii, 5 - 8) were to:

- \* Develop Fiji's physical and human resources, the former being mainly agricultural, the latter mainly through improved education.
- \* Provide more employment.
- \* Build a multi-racial society.
- \* Integrate the geographically dispersed parts of the country.
- \* Moderate increasing disparities of income (highlighted as the most important single objective of both plans).
- \* Attack the problems of urbanization by improving incentives in

rural areas, and by providing employment and housing (especially for low-income groups) in the towns.

- \* Develop the role of Fiji in the Pacific region; and
- \* Achieve a 'safe balance between progress and stability.'

Central to the achievement of these objectives has been the development of an economy in which the import of capital has been given more emphasis than the expansion of exports. This emphasis has been seriously criticized by Ashok Desai (1975), Professor of Economics at the University of the South Pacific from 1973 to 1976, on the grounds that it reduces options, is subject to sharp fluctuations, and has resulted in the increased control of the Fiji economy by foreign firms.

Desai (1975, 40) argued that 'Fiji's capacity to increase output and employment depends, not so much on the import of capital or the production of import substitution as on exports of goods and services. The first priority of [Fijian] industrial policy should be to encourage exports.'

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TABLE 6.1  
EXTERNAL TRADE AND GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT, 1966 - 1976

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
GDP <sup>a</sup>	644	694	767	832	1000	1094	1365	1780	2368	2818	3146
Imports	558	622	756	861	1000	1233	1454	1930	2423	2450	2630
Local Exports	655	695	797	884	1000	992	1051	1063	1936	2354	1816
Total exports <sup>b</sup>	624	685	788	854	1000	991	1052	1200	1986	2284	1966
Trade deficit <sup>c</sup>	413	483	684	875	1000	1768	2375	3544	3390	2790	4097

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Notes: Index 1000 = 1970.

a Gross Domestic Product at current factor cost. 1976 figure is provisional.

b Includes re-exports.

c All years showed a trade deficit: \$11,631,000 in 1966; \$28,195,000 in 1970; \$115,517,000 in 1976.

Sources: CES, October, 1970; July, 1977.

From 1966 to 1976 Fiji's trade deficit increased by nearly 900 percent (Table 6.1) and in recent years (1971 - 1974 and 1976) the

trade deficit actually exceeded the total value of domestic exports. Some part of this deficit would have been met from invisible exports, but the dependency of the Fiji economy on the vagaries of the international market had increased. Measured in terms of Gross Domestic Product (which makes no adjustment for inflation), considerable economic growth appears to have occurred in recent years, but the distribution of benefits from this growth and its impact on the self-sustaining capacity of Fiji for development are by no means clear.

Looked at by industry (Table 6.2) the main areas of growth have been in the tertiary sector, especially that directly associated with tourism. The primary sector, responsible for 93.7 percent of Fiji's domestic exports in 1975 (CES, January, 1977), has shown a decline.

TABLE 6.2

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT BY SELECTED INDUSTRIAL SECTORS, 1968 - 1976<sup>a</sup>

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	995	917	1000	960	952	1013	977	982	1020
Mining and Quarrying	1034	862	1000	828	793	759	655	655	621
Building and Construction	910	962	1000	1115	1244	1449	1269	1115	1064
Manufacturing	1262	1012	1000	1054	1101	1137	1179	1185	1286
Distribution (incl. tourism)	685	809	1000	1148	1285	1483	1513	1426	1426
Transport and Communication	771	875	1000	1156	1313	1510	1635	1719	1760
Finance and Insurance	892	933	1000	1051	1221	1415	1528	1641	1687
Other (incl. government services)			1000	1086	1199	1430	1589	1649	1657

Note: Index 1000 = 1970.

a GDP, factor cost at constant 1968 prices.

b 1976 figures are provisional.

Source: CES, July, 1977.

The lack of success in promoting exports (attested to by the lack of growth in the primary sector), the sharp fluctuations in growth, and the increasing importance of imports and overseas interests lend support to Desai's predictions, and indicate that the broad objectives



of Development Plans VI and VII may not be on the road to achievement.

To assess the likely impact on the distribution of benefits from this growth and on the self-sustaining capacity of Fiji for development, three aspects of development will be considered in more detail: the importance of foreign investment; employment, wages and prices; and the building and construction industry. The effects on population redistribution and housing for the poor will be considered in later sections.

### The Importance of Foreign Investment

Since Independence in 1970, overseas loans have increased in importance and in 1974 and 1975 they accounted for about 80 percent of government capital expenditure (DPVII, 3). Government sources are not altogether helpful about the extent of private investment by foreigners in Fiji, and for this reason some data were gathered from unofficial, and largely radical, sources.<sup>2</sup>

Between 1970 and 1975 the number of registered companies, most of them foreign controlled, increased from 984 to 2,139, an increase of 217 percent (CES, January, 1977). Of the total paid up share capital of companies in 1970, 76 percent was in Australian companies, 16 percent in United Kingdom companies, and 3 percent in New Zealand companies (Annear, 1973, 43).<sup>3</sup> In 1973, something in excess of 75 percent of gross fixed capital formation in all industrial sectors was organised by overseas firms, and locally owned firms, 90 percent of which employed under five people, accounted for only 10 percent of total capital formation (Slatter, 1973, 24).

Among the long established Australian owned firms to benefit from the economic boom which Fiji has experienced are Burns Philp Limited and the several firms of the Carpenter Group, the best known of which is Morris Hedstrom Ltd. According to Annear (1973) these two giants own or lease 7,695 hectares of Fiji land, control 49 fields of business activity, and in 1973 they employed nearly 10 percent of Fiji's paid labour force. The profit reported by Burns Philp after taxation increased by 157 percent between 1969 and 1972. Carpenters made \$35.5 million profit after tax between 1963 and 1973, and have been paying annual dividends to shareholders of 20 percent since 1969.

Forty percent of all Carpenter Group profits in Australia and the Pacific come from Fiji (Annears, 1973, 49).

Since 1970 the inflow of New Zealand capital has been almost equal to the inflow of Australian capital. In 1970 there were only 10 New Zealand companies in Fiji; in 1974 this number had increased to 96, the most important being Carter Holt Holdings Ltd, General Foods Corporation Ltd, Trans Holdings Ltd and Fletcher Holdings Ltd and its associates (Livesey and Prakash, 1974).

The ramifications of foreign firms, both within Fiji and with multinationals, gives them a virtual monopoly of large sectors of Fiji's economy. Some, prompted by government lending policies which favour firms with local shareholdings, have recently offered a limited number of shares to Fiji citizens, but control remains firmly in the hands of overseas interests.

Government policy has encouraged overseas investment by tax holidays, discretionary depreciation allowances, low tariffs, freedom to repatriate profits, and by providing ancilliary and infrastructural services. In effect, this policy subsidises foreign investment and strengthens monopoly interests to the detriment of local businesses.<sup>4</sup>

Distortions induced in the economy by investment which is only prepared to enter areas where profits are high and certain, especially when such investment is supported by government and trading bank loans diverted from other developmental areas, are readily apparent. In 1972, for example, 62 percent of Development Bank loans went to firms that were predominantly overseas owned; and in 1973 only 2 percent of trading bank loans went to local firms (Howie, 1973, 61).

The effect of large overseas firms on local entrepreneurs is not confined, however, to differential access to loan finance; it impinges on already established trading. This is attested to by the increasing number of lost franchises, breakdowns in supply directly related to 'pressure' being exerted by foreign firms, and by the number of business takeovers (Howie, 1973, 66 - 67). The effect on the buying public, especially the rural and urban poor, is demonstrated by escalating costs of imported food and other consumer items in an economy where 50 percent of inflation has been attributed to import costs passed on to consumers by overseas firms.

Government has recognized 'the danger of allowing foreigners to acquire too large a stake in Fiji's future growth' (DPVII, 3), but it has not yet established controls on overseas interests consistent with Fiji's stated economic and social goals.

### Employment, Wages and Prices

Government's stated policy to create more employment appears, on first impression, to have been moderately successful and increases in wages (though lagging behind increases in GDP per capita) have matched increases in consumer and food price increases (Table 6.3).

TABLE 6.3  
EMPLOYMENT, WAGES AND PRICES, 1966 - 1976

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976 <sup>a</sup>
GDP per capita <sup>b</sup>	708	748	806	855	1000	1071	1311	1680	2197	2575	2828
Workers <sup>c</sup>	842	906	982	898	1000	1279	1311	1397	1431	1359	1274
Wages	794	814	891	939	1000	1101	1247	1611	1984	2417	2704
Prices: consumer	950	963	1000	962	1000	1065	1161	1292	1479	1672	1855
Food	950	950	1000	959	1000	1091	1218	1464	1693	1902	1972

Notes : Index 1000 = 1970.

a 1976 figures are provisional.

b At current factor cost.

c Number of manual workers regularly employed. Excluded dock workers before 1970.

Source : CES, July, 1977.

Table 6.3, however, gives no indication of the proportion of the potential labour force which was not regularly employed, or the extent to which newly created jobs met demands by young people entering the labour force. Excluding the Fijian subsistence sector and Indian underemployment in rural areas, at least 26 percent of the potential labour force were without regular full and paid employment in 1973.<sup>5</sup>

If estimates of school leavers are accurate (Table 6.4), the average annual increase of 3,500 new jobs between 1970 and 1975 would have met only about 30 percent of the new demand.

Government distinguishes between those likely to be 'employed' in the subsistence and modern sectors in the Development Plan Review (DPR, 36) :

Those who leave school with the maximum [sic] education up to Class 8 are more likely to enter the subsistence than the modern labour force because they will find it more difficult to find wage and salary employment, and those leaving school after completing Form IV or any higher form will be the potential supplies to the modern sector labour force.

Thus, in the period 1970-75 (Table 6.4), it is likely that over 5,000 school leavers would have entered the subsistence sector each year, and an average of 5,600 would have sought work in the modern sector (DPR estimates). Twelve thousand of these (or 2,000 a year) would not have found work, given the anticipated rate of expansion of urban work opportunities.

TABLE 6.4

SCHOOL LEAVERS BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND LIKELY EMPLOYMENT SECTOR,  
1970 - 1975

	1970*	1971*	1972	1973	1974	1975
School leavers:						
To Class 8/F.III	(6,048) 6,078	(5,611) 5,570	(6,067) 5,460	(6,371) 5,200	(6,442) 5,100	(5,733) 5,000
To Form IV	1,092	1,260	2,030	2,200	2,600	3,000
To Form V	1,850	2,250	2,300	2,600	2,800	3,000
To Form VI	905	980	1,100	1,200	1,400	1,500
Total Modern Sector	(4,270) 3,847	(4,872) 4,490	(5,914) 5,430	(6,607) 6,000	(7,683) 6,800	(7,978) 7,500
Grand Total	(10,318) 9,925	(10,483) 10,260	(11,981) 10,890	(12,978) 11,200	(14,125) 11,900	(13,711) 12,500

\* Actual figures. 1972 - 1975 are projections.

Sources: based on DPR, 1974, 36. The figures in parenthesis were supplied by the Development Section, Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (23 June, 1977).

Table 6.3 indicates that the term 'regularly employed' is limited to manual workers only, yet identical figures from the ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1976, indicated that 11,834 of the 24,600 positions (or 48.1 percent) were salaried positions. This suggests that a very high proportion of the new jobs went to the small section of the Fiji labour force with higher secondary education.

Official estimates of employment differ widely, possibly due to different sampling procedures and definitions of unemployment.<sup>6</sup> The 1972 Income and Expenditure Survey (Bureau of Statistics, 1972a), for instance, gave unemployment figures for Suva and Lautoka as 6.9 and 9.3 percent respectively, while a year later the Unemployment Survey (Kannangara, 1975) found 5.1 and 5.2 percent unemployed in these towns. Table 6.5 gives some indication of what the term 'unemployment' excludes in most official calculations.

TABLE 6.5  
LEVELS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, SUVA AND FIJI, 1973  
(Percentages)

	A. Official Unemployment	B. Underemployment			Total A and B
		Part-time work <sup>a</sup>	Part-time work prefer, more	Work under 15 hours a week	
Greater Suva	5.1	4.4	0.2	1.5	11.2
Fiji <sup>b</sup>	6.7	12.1	1.7	6.1	26.6

Note: a It is recognised that 'part-time work' may be all that is preferred by some people.

b 7.2 percent rural; 5.9 percent urban.

Source: Kannangara, 1975.

The 1973 survey found greater unemployment in rural areas, the smaller urban centres, and among the young and less educated. Among the urban unemployed, for instance, 47.9 percent were aged from 14 to 19 years, and a further 26.4 percent were aged from 20 to 24 years. Only 2.7 percent of those aged 14 to 19 years with better than Form V education were unemployed.

In the period 1970 to 1975, new jobs increased at an annual average rate of 7.2 percent while the number of new companies registered increased by 23.4 percent. Expressed somewhat differently, 1,155 new companies generated a maximum (it is assumed for argument that existing companies created no new jobs) of 12,167 jobs, or 10 per company (CES, January, 1977). The type of company being attracted to Fiji appears to be capital, and not labour intensive. Desai (1973, 81) provides both illustration and comment on this situation :

Roads, irrigation and drainage works, which are major generators of employment in some countries, are constructed with highly capital-intensive techniques in Fiji... The economics of using more labour in these works needs at least to be investigated.

The effect on manual employment of an employment policy which relies on the continued expansion of highly sensitive activities such as building and construction is indicated in the following calculations by Desai (1973, 22). He claimed that 'a change of \$1 million in foreign investment can lead to a change in the [Fijian] national product of over \$3 million' and that a reduction of this magnitude in 1973 'threw about 10,000 to 15,000 people out of employment and reduced incomes by \$F30 to 40 million'. Ten thousand people represented nearly one-fifth of the total employed labour force in 1973!

It has not been possible to obtain reliable figures on distribution of incomes which permit a comparison over time. The 1972 Income and Expenditure Survey (Bureau of Statistics 1972a), however, found that 71 percent of households earned 41 percent of the incomes, and 29 percent of households earned 59 percent. It concluded that this represented a 'moderate degree of inequality.' These figures take no account of income by racial group.<sup>7</sup> If this is also considered, considerable income inequality is seen to exist (Table 6.6).

TABLE 6.6  
ANNUAL INCOME OF URBAN EMPLOYEES BY RACE, 1972  
(Fiji dollars)

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Median	Mode
Fijian	1059	833	845	759
Indian	1242	896	987	821
All	1249	1183	973	1301

Note : a All includes Europeans, Chinese and other minor groups.

Source: Bureau of Statistics, 1972a.

In sum, most new investment is capital and not labour intensive; a high proportion of new jobs have gone to the highly educated; minor fluctuations in investment cause considerable unemployment among manual

workers; and a large proportion of Fiji's population is at various levels of unemployment. Development has put more money into circulation, but the burden of escalating prices falls more heavily on the poor. Fiji appears to be developing a class of 'newly rich' who have benefited from development and the government policy of rapid job localisation. Most people in Fiji, however, have not benefited from recent development. There is evidence that the gaps between rural and urban areas, and between the local rich and poor have increased in recent years.

### The Private Building and Construction Industry

Michael Ward (1971, 72 - 73) attributed economic growth in Fiji during the 1960s to five factors: a substantial increase in government spending; considerable expansion of the tourist industry; expansion of private building activities, especially in hotel construction; an increased level of private dwelling construction; and the maintenance of high outputs in the sugar industry. Growth has accelerated in government spending, tourism and the building industry and, associated with these increases, building costs in 1976 had doubled since 1970. Building construction, however, has fluctuated and since 1973 there has been a marked downturn in building activity. This is directly related to the downturn of tourism. Changes in these related activities are shown in Table 6.7.

The close association of building and construction with tourism, and the increased importance of the tourist industry (now Fiji's second money earner) make special mention of the tourist industry essential.

Government's high hopes for tourism in the 1960s were moderated in the 1973 Review of Development Plan VI (DPR). Finance Minister Stinson, who called it 'the most important element of structural change in the economy' (DPR, 107), added (DPR, 112):

Since 1971 indications are strong that tourism is growing so fast that it is causing an imbalance in the economy. Pressure on building and construction, infrastructure, and agricultural employment are in large part due to tourism and to urbanization resulting from growth in the tourist industry.

Development Plan VI (DPVI, 179 - 188) had set high targets for growth in tourism and forecast many benefits. It was on this basis that government offered numerous direct concessions to help establish the new industry and undertook major infrastructural work.<sup>8</sup>

By 1973 (and the downturn in tourism has continued) Stinson found earnings from tourism disappointing (DPR, 111); and infrastructural costs, and 'leakage' (into imports, repatriation of dividends and expatriate salaries) higher than expected (DPR, 33, 112). 'The shortfall of tourist receipts compared with DPVI targets was seen to have serious implications for the balance of payments situation' (DPR, 112). The trade situation improved a little after 1973, mainly due to successive devaluations, but the 1975 trade deficit of nearly \$80 million must be considered high (CES, January, 1977).

TABLE 6.7

GOVERNMENT REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, TOURISM AND THE BUILDING INDUSTRY,  
1966 - 1976

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Government Revenue	594	674	768	893	1000	1259	1404	1722	1922	2692	2852
Government Expenditure	632	729	771	864	1000	1174	1423	1766	1982	2721	3186
Tourism <sup>a</sup>	405	509	604	774	1000	1383	1505	1693	1648	1470	1533
Private building and construction <sup>b</sup>	585	1005	981	1068	1000	1484	2359	3122	3173	2362	1690
Private Dwellings <sup>b</sup>	474	638	879	830	1000	1329	1252	1963	1671	2069	1455
Suva: Private building and construction <sup>b</sup>	409	1124	1103	723	1000	1392	1863	2571	2436	1587	1965
Suva: Private dwellings											
Building Material Prices					1000	1048	1101	1206	1598	1873	2165

Notes: Index 1000 = 1970.

a Tourist arrivals for stays exceeding 24 hours.

b The estimated value of building permits issued. Housing Authority construction is not included.

Sources: CES, October, 1970, January, 1977; Suva City Council annual Mayoral reports.

It has been estimated that barely 10 percent of the gross revenue from tourism provides incomes for locals.<sup>9</sup> If one adds the extent to which tourism has only really been developed along part of the coast of



only one island between Lautoka and Suva, Fiji's two most prosperous nodes, it is clear that the expansion of tourism has been a major factor in increasing ethnic, class and regional inequality.<sup>10</sup> It also seems reasonable to suggest that internal migration, loss of labour in the primary sector, diversion of capital and skilled labour, and bottlenecks in supply have increased due to tourist development. Most tourist concerns are linked to major international interests. Their wealth in Fiji and their overseas connections make them a very powerful pressure group in Fiji politics.<sup>11</sup>

Increased government spending and larger amounts of money in circulation, together with a high rate of inflation that makes land and property among the safest of investments, has also resulted in the rapid expansion of private dwelling construction which has shown similar fluctuations and recent downturn to other building construction (Table 6.7).

One further related development has been the extent to which overseas land developers have appeared in Fiji in recent years with a consequent skyrocketing of land values. Most prominent in this field in the Suva area is the Hooker Corporation of Australia, which commenced operation in Fiji in 1969. They provide a good example of how overseas firms require a relatively small investment to gain access to large local loans. This firm, with approximately \$A15 million ordinary share capital at its disposal in Australia, bought the \$365,000 Delainamadi/Tamavua Heights property in Suva from the New Zealand firm of Roadbuilders Ltd with a deposit of \$100,000. In 1972 they brought a further 83 hectares, also mainly from Roadbuilders, with the assistance of a loan from the First National City Bank of \$1 million. An early director in the Fiji firm was John Falvey, the Attorney General. He possessed the only local share. The other 19,999 shares were owned by the parent company in Australia (Noones, 1973, 72). Homes built on Hooker land were selling for more than \$40,000 in 1976. They are being bought by the 'new rich' made wealthy by the tourist-related boom.

Despite DPVII claims that a policy will be established to prevent undesirable channelling of resources away from areas of social need, demands on building supplies and skilled labour by tourism and the construction of high class homes has caused government to cut back its own building programme, and inflated costs for public housing constructed by the Housing Authority. Government claims it has adequate legislation to prevent land speculation by overseas interests.

The Roadbuilders/Hooker development, and earlier reference to the amount of land owned by Morris Hedstrom (a subsidiary of Carpenters), much of which in Suva is undeveloped, seem to indicate loopholes in the legislation. Housing Authority efforts to procure land for development, which shall be referred to more fully below, have also been frustrated by local land speculators.

#### DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Fiji's limited land area (11,351 sq. km) and small population (585,000 in 1976) create special problems and opportunities. Among other effects, smallness places limits on resource utilisation, facilitates the rapid diffusion of new technology and values, permits greater (government and overseas) control, and allows relatively small inputs to effect impressive results, both beneficial and disadvantageous.<sup>12</sup> It also makes comparisons with larger Third World countries difficult, and sometimes tenuous.

One important difficulty in comparison lies in the definition of the term 'urban'. In the South Pacific context urban settlements are those which are significantly larger or more densely populated than other areas, where a larger proportion of the labour force is employed in non-agricultural activities, and where there is a distinctive municipal administration.<sup>13</sup> Given this definition, 'urban' is a vaguely quantifiable phenomenon which is not 'rural', whatever that may be in any given territory. Features of this definition of 'urban' are evident in Fiji.

Since 1966 four forms of settlement have been recognized as 'urban' for census purposes: cities (settlements with municipal governments and populations exceeding 20,000), incorporated towns (defined by their form of government only), unincorporated townships (generally regional centres of administration) and 'urban areas', defined as relatively built up areas adjacent to towns where a significant proportion of the population is engaged in non-agricultural activities (Bakker and Walsh, 1976; Bloomfield, 1967). The term 'urban area' may be used to describe the area outside the town, or it may also include the town.<sup>14</sup>

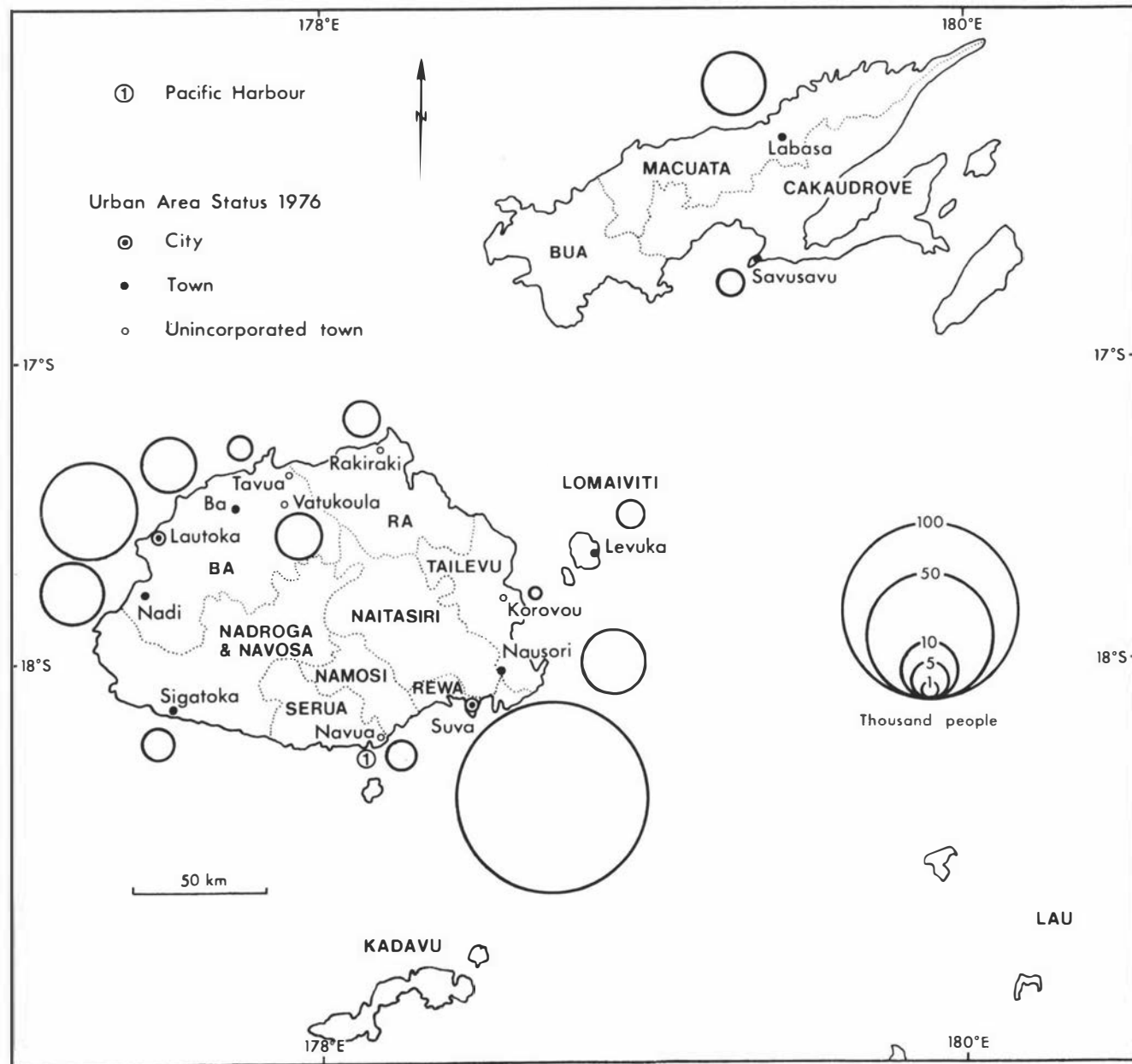
In 1976, 37 percent of Fiji's population were classified as urban, meaning that they lived within the 14 urban areas (Figure 6.1).<sup>15</sup> Suva, the capital and largest settlement, had a population of 63,622 (total urban area 117,821); the smallest settlement, Korovou, had a population of 290, and the mean town size (excluding Suva) was 5,020 (urban areas 7,744). Only five towns and seven urban areas had populations exceeding 5,000. By world standards, these settlements would normally not be considered urban.

By South Pacific Island standards, however, Fiji has a high degree of urbanization. It has one-quarter of the region's settlements exceeding 5,000, more of its local people (Fijians, Rotumans, Indians) are committed to permanent urban residence than in any other South Pacific Island country, and Suva is by far the largest city (McTaggart, 1972). Suva also manifests problems of employment and squatting on a scale greater than any other South Pacific urban settlement. In this, at least, it is decidedly a Third World city. Squatting occurs in all major towns, but is most significant in Suva and Lautoka. An unofficial count in 1976 indicated that squatters accounted for about one-sixth of the population of the Suva urban area, and that this figure had been increasing by about 20 percent a year in recent years.<sup>16</sup> These increases are indicative of major social and economic changes in Fiji society, producing a redistribution of population. They are also indicative of the failure of government to accommodate these changes, as in other Third World countries.

The last two census periods (1956 - 66, 1966 - 76) have witnessed major changes in the distribution and representation of the main ethnic groups in Fiji. A highly successful family planning programme, especially among Indians, has reduced crude birthrates from 39.95 per 1,000 in 1960 to 28 per 1,000 in 1975 (Family Planning Association of Fiji, August, 1976) and this, together with considerable emigration, also mainly by Indians,<sup>17</sup> has reduced annual growth rates from 3.79 percent (1956 - 66) to 2.27 percent (1966 - 76).

### Internal Migration

At the same time, there has been considerable movement to the towns, especially by Fijians. Information permitting direct calculation of internal migration is not available for 1976, but in 1966 about one-third of Fijians over the age of fifteen, and about one-fifth of Indians were not resident in their province of birth.<sup>18</sup>



**FIGURE 6.1** Urban Places in Fiji, 1976. Rotuma and Lau have no urban places. Sources: Based on Bakker and Walsh (1976) and unpublished 1976 Census data.

Broadly speaking, Fijian movement was from the outer islands to the main islands, and from them and within the main islands from rural areas to urban areas, the urban provinces of Ba and Rewa being the most affected. Indian movement, on the other hand, was primarily short distance rural to rural movement. These differences in movement support the contentions of Lee and others who state that the volume, composition and direction of movement is influenced by real and perceived opportunities at source and destination, and that differences in culture produce different migration streams.<sup>19</sup>

The historical experience of both Fijians and Indians has, in different ways, been discriminatory.<sup>20</sup> It is probable that Indian movement is primarily prompted by actual population pressure and insecurity in the rural areas. Most Indian farmers are tenants with questionable security of tenure and underemployment has been calculated at 25 percent of the Indian rural work force (Desai, 1973). Fijian movement, on the other hand, is probably prompted not so much by actual land shortage as by limited opportunities to earn regular money, by the restrictions of the *\*mataqali* and chiefly system which has been fossilised by legislation, and by social changes resulting in increased expectations which cannot be met in rural areas. Both movements are a consequence of negative institutional factors grounded in colonialism, and developments in contemporary Fiji which appear to be widening the gap between rural and urban opportunities despite government efforts to make rural areas more attractive.

The composition of the two movements is different. Fijian movement involves proportionately more young unmarried and unattached males and females, while Indian movement involves proportionately more married couples and families. Relatively few Indian women migrate by themselves. Age and sex imbalance is therefore more typical of Fijian movement, and this is more likely to cause greater problems for both Fijian source and destination areas than occurs from Indian movement.

### Urban Growth

Urban growth rates for intercensal periods since 1946 have decreased, from 5.4 percent a year (1946 - 1956) to 4.3 percent (1956 - 1966), to 3.7 percent (1966 - 1976). However, urban boundary changes make comparisons prior to 1966 tenuous, and since 1966 the

lower rate is probably accounted for by: slower rates of national population growth; lower urban birth rates;<sup>21</sup> the stagnation of the smaller towns; movement to non-urban tourist areas on the Coral Coast; and by significant emigration, especially by Indians, Europeans and Chinese from urban areas.<sup>22</sup> While urban growth rates in Fiji are lower than many Third World countries, growth from migration is probably as significant as it was in the past. Urban growth rates between 1966 - 1976 were two and one-half times higher than rural growth rates in this period (3.72 percent compared to 1.54 percent). For the period 1956 - 1966 the comparative figures were 4.19 percent and 3.70 percent. The differences between urban and rural growth rates (Table 6.8) provide indirect evidence that migration has not declined in importance in producing urban growth.

TABLE 6.8

## RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION CHANGES, 1966 - 1976

Urban Areas	1966	1976	Number Change	Percentage
Suva	80,269	117,821	37,553	46.8
Lautoka	21,221	28,847	7,626	35.9
Incorporated towns	46,195	56,639	10,444	22.6
Unincorporated towns	11,574	15,182	3,608	31.2 <sup>a</sup>
Total Urban	159,259	218,489	59,230	37.2
Rural Riji	317,468	366,511	49,043	15.4
FIJI	476,727	585,000 <sup>b</sup>	108,273	22.7

Notes: a Boundary changes are likely to have inflated this figure.

b Rounded. Exact figure not available.

Sources: 1966 Census; provisional results 1976 Census.

### The Growing Importance of the Suva Urban Area

The importance of Suva, with an intercensal growth rate of 46.8 percent, has increased in relation to other towns. In 1966 it had 50.4 percent of the urban population and 53.9 percent in 1976. A major factor has been the high rate of Fijian in-movement. In 1966, Suva was the destination of 21 percent of all Fijian movement (Indian

18.0 percent), and slightly over one-third was from the outer islands of Kadavu, Lau and Lomaiviti. This trend appears to have continued with the Fijian population of Suva increasing by 82.8 percent in the 1966 - 1976 intercensal period (Table 6.9). Three-fifths of the Fijian urban population lived in Suva in 1976 (compared with 46.0 percent of Indians), and their representation in the urban area increased from 32.9 percent to 41 percent. Suva and, to a lesser extent, Lautoka are the main destinations for urban migrants. Of the other 12 urban areas, 10 grew at rates comparable to the national average, and 2 lost population.<sup>23</sup>

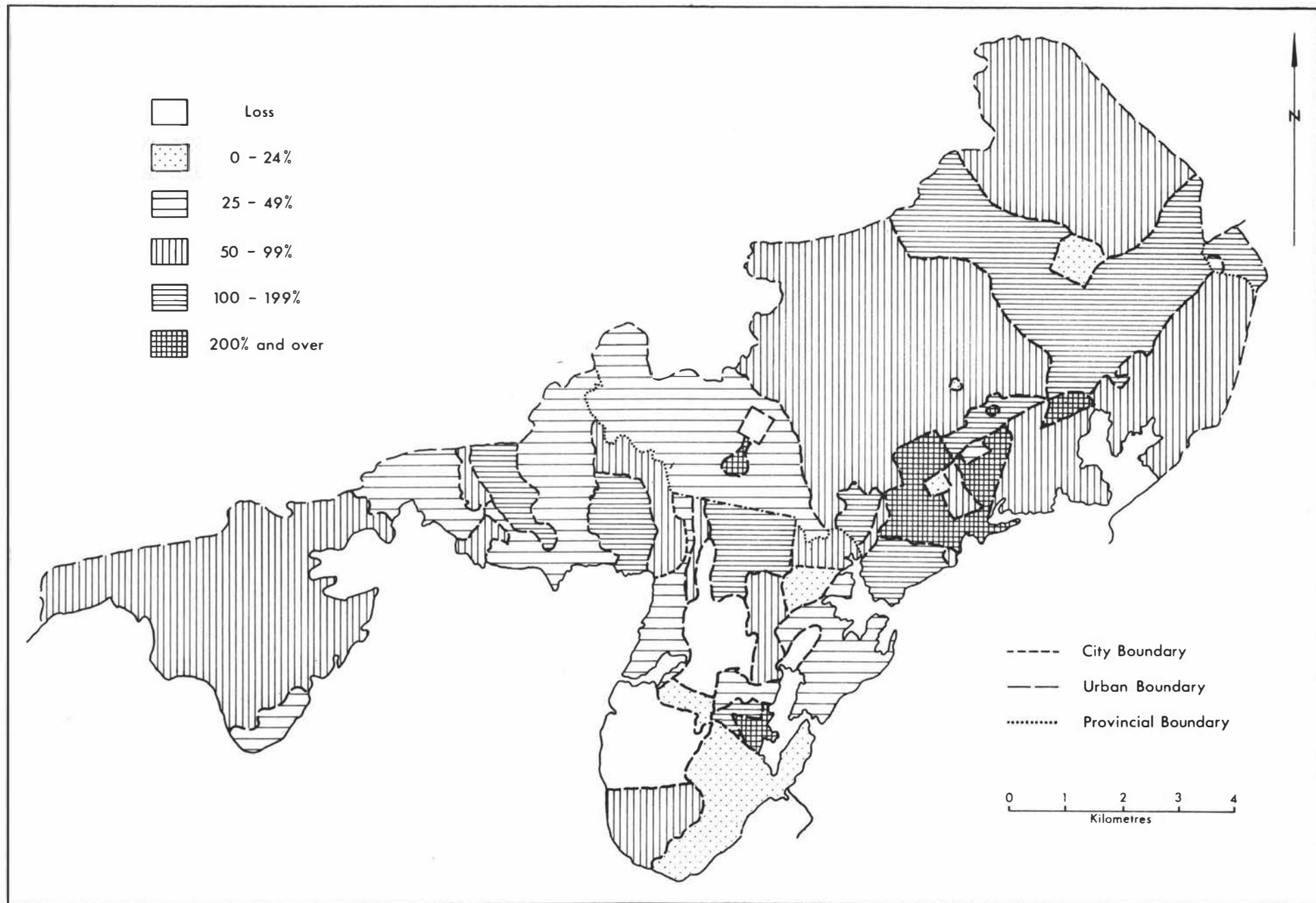
TABLE 6.9

## URBAN POPULATIONS BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1966 AND 1976

	<u>Fijian</u>				<u>Indian</u>			
	1966	1976	No.	Change %	1966	1976	No.	Change %
Suva	26,422	48,303	21,881	82.8	40,219	53,191	12,972	32.3
Lautoka	5,204	8,051	2,847	54.7	13,768	18,597	4,829	35.1
Other	18,103	23,081	4,978	27.5	37,431	42,000	4,569	12.1
Total Urban	49,729	79,435	29,706	59.7	91,418	113,788	22,370	24.5

Source: Table 3, 1976 Census (provisional results).

It is apparent that government plans to reduce the primacy of Suva and develop secondary urban centres have so far produced little result. Similarly, rural development in Fijian areas and government plans to 'integrate' the outer islands in the wider economy (DPVI, 19) have also not shown any appreciable effect on migration by Fijians. It seems probable that the rural Fijians, especially those from the outer islands, could be at a considerable disadvantage in competing for urban employment and housing, and that such a disadvantage, when identified with a particular ethnic group, could have serious consequences for racial harmony and development in Fiji.



**FIGURE 6.2** Population Changes in the Suva Urban Area, 1966 – 1976. Sources: Unpublished 1966 and 1976 Census data.



### Intra-City Movement

Considerable redistribution of population occurred within the Suva Urban Area from 1966 to 1976 (Figure 6.2), though the contribution of migration from outside the area cannot be determined from the data presently available.

Two predominantly Indian areas - the inner city and Samabula - lost population, and increases in excess of 100 percent occurred in public housing, high class housing, and largely Indian squatter areas within the city, and in almost all parts of the urban area outside the city. The loss of one-fifth of the population of the inner city, 10 percent of the older residential parts of Samabula, and gains elsewhere exceeding 100 percent which together involved perhaps one-half of the population of Suva as it was in 1966, are indicative of major economic changes which occurred in the relatively short period of ten years. They are also indicative of major social changes, not least of which has been increasing recognition of the magnitude of the housing problem and the development of a policy on urban housing.

## FOOTNOTES

1 Burns (1960), Spate (1959), Ward, R.G. (1965) provide comprehensive reviews of the economic situation about 1960; Fisk, (1970) and Ward, M. (1971) of the situation at Independence in 1970; and Ward R.G. (1977), Development Plans VI (1971-75) and VII (1976-80), the Review of the Sixth Development Plan (1974), and the Department of Statistics' Current Economic Statistics of the situation since 1969. The latter, and the Department's Monthly Review prior to 1969, allow temporal comparisons.

2 Similar criticisms can be made of researchers, for there has been almost no published work on production, marketing, banking and investment or shipping in order to assess the likely impact of overseas investment on Island economies. There has, however, been abundant research on the response (or otherwise) of Pacific Island peoples to (unknown) economic opportunities. The 'radical' sources of reference were commissioned by the New Zealand CORSO (Livesey and Prakash, 1974), and International Development Action, Australia (Noones et al. (1973).

3 An overseas company is defined as one in which the majority of voting shares are controlled by non-Fiji citizens.

4 Ward, M. (1971, 279) reviews government policy towards overseas investment, and Fairbairn (1975) provides precise details.

5 According to the 1973 Unemployment Survey. (Kannangara, 1975, 51), 43 percent of the labour force were self employed or family workers. Many of these must be considered unemployed or underemployed. If the 26 percent 'unemployed' is added to this figure, it would not be unrealistic to state that at least 60 percent of the potential labour force was without regular paid employment.

6 The 1972 Income and Expenditure Survey (Bureau of Statistics, 1972a) and the 1973 Unemployment Survey (Kannangara, 1975) used different sampling procedures. The former used a sample based on electricity subscribers (assumed to represent higher income workers) and squatters in urban areas only; the latter was a 25 percent sample of all households in Fiji, but the method of sampling was not made clear in the report. The 1972 survey gives no definition of employment; the 1973 survey used the ILO definition, that is, people fourteen years

and over who:

were available for employment or whose contract of employment had been terminated or suspended, and who were without a job, and all of whom were seeking work for pay or profit (Kannangara, 1975, 52).

Desai (1973, 57) observes that India, with a known labour surplus, rarely produces unemployment figures in excess of 4 percent from sample surveys. He claimed that, among other things, people are not prepared to accept unskilled work at a subsistence wage, and prefer unemployment. Berry (1975) reaches similar conclusions in Colombia. Such unemployment, however, is a drain on household resources. The ILO definition which does not classify 'extra' household help by young women, and 'resting' (a frequent response in the 1976 Fiji Census) as unemployed is considered to misrepresent the employment situation in Fiji. For instance, DPVII, 24, uses labour figures based on 15, 14 and 10 years or over for the three years, 1966, 1973 and 1975.

7 Ward, M. (1971, iii) shows gross income by race for 1967. Four percent of Fijians, 16 percent of Indians and 38 percent of Europeans were in the top income group (\$5,000 and over). Calculations from these figures indicate that 57 percent of the population earned 25 percent of incomes. In 1970 (Department of Statistics, 1971) 79 percent of the urban workforce earned 52 percent of incomes. Direct comparison is difficult, but the impression is that from 1967 to 1972 the distribution of urban incomes for those regularly employed had not significantly changed. Walsh (1975, 176) uses 1966 Census data showing employment status by industry and race in 1966. 1976 information is not available.

8 Infrastructural costs to government include major highway construction, airport upgrading and construction, water, sewerage, scenic area development, most of the cost of running the Fiji Visitors' Bureau, and overseas advertising. The government borrowed \$20 million from the World Bank, Australia and New Zealand to pay for the Nadi-Suva highway. With the tourist downturn, plans to complete the highway have been delayed, priority being given to the stretches connecting tourist resorts with the Nadi and Suva nodes.

9 Slatter (1973, 21). This estimate appears to tally with figures provided by the UNDP/IBRD team report, Tourist Development for Fiji (Government of Fiji, 1973). The official estimate (DPVII, 169) is: 55 percent of tourist spending lost to the economy in the form of imports and the repatriation of profit, and only 30 percent of tourist spendings remaining as a contribution to the volume of Fiji's foreign exchange.

10 Ninety percent of hotel beds in 1972 were in hotels situated between Lautoka and Suva. Samy (1975, 111), in a case study of one large hotel, found that 73 percent of the administration (and higher paid) positions were occupied by Europeans. Forty-two percent of Fijians and 60 percent of Indians occupied the most menial and poorly paid positions. Le Fevre (1975) also comments on the unequal benefits of tourism in Fiji.

11 One such firm is South Pacific Properties. In 1973 shareholders included Slater Walker and the P. and O. Shipping Line of the United Kingdom, and Jardin Matheson of Hong Kong. Japanese investors have more recently obtained share interests. This group owns a controlling interest in Travelodge (Australia) Ltd., and the tourist resort of Pacific Harbour, a 3,038 hectare freehold property 48 kilometres from Suva that was to have had a population of 80,000 in 1980, prior to the downturn of tourism. Another example is QANTAS which has substantial shares in four of the major tourist hotels, and in Air Pacific. Their possibilities of package tourist tours are limitless.

12 Thus, the dynamism of population change: decimation of the indigenous people due to lack of disease immunity, rapid recovery due to improved health care, and the recent drop in birth rates largely due to the widespread acceptance of family planning. The rapid penetration of overseas control in the tourist industry also provides an example of the relationship between geographic scale, inputs, and results.

13 Definition suggested for the South Pacific (South Pacific Commission, 1962).

14 Precise urban area boundaries have only existed since 1966. Changes in town boundaries between 1966 and 1976 make town comparisons difficult. The following discussion is therefore limited to total urban areas (inclusive of towns) from 1966 only. The location of

most Fijian urban villages and many squatter areas in the periurban area also makes the use of urban areas, and not towns, a more meaningful unit of study.

15 All Fiji figures in the subsequent discussion are from unpublished tables from the 1966 Census, and provisional results of the 1976 Census.

16 Work by B. Nair, Town and Country Planning Department, Suva (Nair, 1976), on the basis of aerial photograph interpretation and an assumed mean dwelling size of six. These figures are considered to be an under-estimate (See Chapter 9).

17 Jones (1976, Appendix A, Table 1) produces official figures indicating that Fiji lost 20,664 people by emigration between 1966 and 1974, 83 percent of the emigration occurring from 1970 on. Indians comprised one-third of emigrants from 1966 - 1969 and over one-half from 1970 to 1975. DPVII, 26, anticipates a lower rate of emigration between 1976 and 1980. The anticipated yearly loss is 1,572.

18 The discussion on internal migration is based on Walsh (1976a). Migration is defined as net movement across provincial boundaries. Unfortunately, the extent of urban movement in Ba province, which has five urban areas, cannot be determined from this census definition of migration.

19 Lee (1966) and, for example, Wolpert (1965) and Pryor (1975).

20 See Anderson (1974), Mayer (1963) and Gillion (1962) for historical data on Indians, and Roth (1953), Watters (1969), Belshaw (1964) and Nayacakalou (1963, 1973, 1976) for Fijians.

21 Yee and Narain (1976) and Walsh (1976b). Yee and Narain indicated that urban women preferred smaller families; Walsh showed later age of marriage and fewer live births for all urban, but especially Suva, women. He used unpublished tables from the 1966 Census.

22 Jones (1976) calculated that 59.6 percent of emigrants in 1975 originated in the Suva urban area, and a further 16.7 percent from other urban areas. Indians comprised 53 percent and Europeans 23 percent of total emigrants.

23 Levuka and Korovou experienced losses in population from 1966 to 1976; Tavua, Savasavu, Nadi and Ba grew at rates less than the national average, and all other increases (outside Suva and Lautoka)

would be at least partially accounted for by boundary changes (Bakker and Walsh, 1976). Walsh (1977) considers primacy in Fiji, and Suva in some detail.

## CHAPTER 7

### BACKGROUND TO THE HOUSING POLICY

The problems of overcrowding and insanitary housing conditions in Suva have been the subject of field surveys, health officer and mayoral annual reports since the 1940s when wartime labour requirements accelerated migration to Suva. Whitelaw (1966, 7), for instance, quotes a survey which claimed to have found one-half of the tenement houses and one-quarter of all rooms in tenement buildings overcrowded in 1944.<sup>1</sup>

Acute problems of housing were recognized in three types of settlement: rented rooms and tenements, squatter areas, and 'unofficial' Fijian villages, the latter being in effect a form of squatting.<sup>2</sup> Early reports most frequently referred to overcrowding, particularly in rented accommodation, in the Toorak area. This suggests that rooming, and not squatting, was the most common form of housing for the urban poor in the immediate post-war years. Increased rents and further rural to urban migration during the 1950s seems to have been a major factor leading to the increase of squatting.<sup>3</sup>

When Suva attained city status in 1952 its boundaries were extended, and for a while a more rigorous policy of demolition and eviction was practised. During the 1950s, however, it appears to have been recognized that action against illegal overcrowding was intensifying the other form of illegality - squatting. Increased migration was overtaking the city's existing building stock, and low wage levels and increasing land and building costs placed more people in a position where they were unable to provide their own housing by legal means.

The Suva City Council lacked both the resources and the powers to meet the problem, and in 1955 Government passed the Housing Ordinance (Legislative Council, 1955). This led, in 1958, to the formation of the Housing Authority which, henceforth, became government's 'agency for housing low income urban workers' (DPVI, 224). By 1973 the Authority had constructed 1,800 units housing over 10,000 people in the Suva Urban Area.

However, a number of problems had emerged which indicated that a new policy direction involving emphasis on site and service schemes and support for the 'progressive development' approach was needed, for

at least double the population housed by the Authority were still squatters. Thus, within a period of thirty years, from the mid 1940s to 1976, government and local authority policy has passed from a laissez faire approach to alarmism, from alarmism to 'total action', and from total action to a partial acceptance of the progressive development strategy, a route followed by most other Third World countries.

'The long term objective of Government', according to Development Plan VII (DPVII, 128), 'is to ensure that all families desiring to live in a decent home should be able to do so at a cost a family [can] afford, and as far as possible to enable families to own the houses they live in.' To achieve this objective government recognizes three categories of demand (DPVII, 128):

- 1) Those on upper incomes who may obtain housing loans from private banks and the Home Finance Company, a subsidiary of the Fiji Development Company;
- 2) Medium to low income workers whose needs would be met by the Housing Authority; and
- 3) Destitutes and near destitutes whose needs are to be met by voluntary organisations such as the Housing Assistance and Relief Trust (HART).

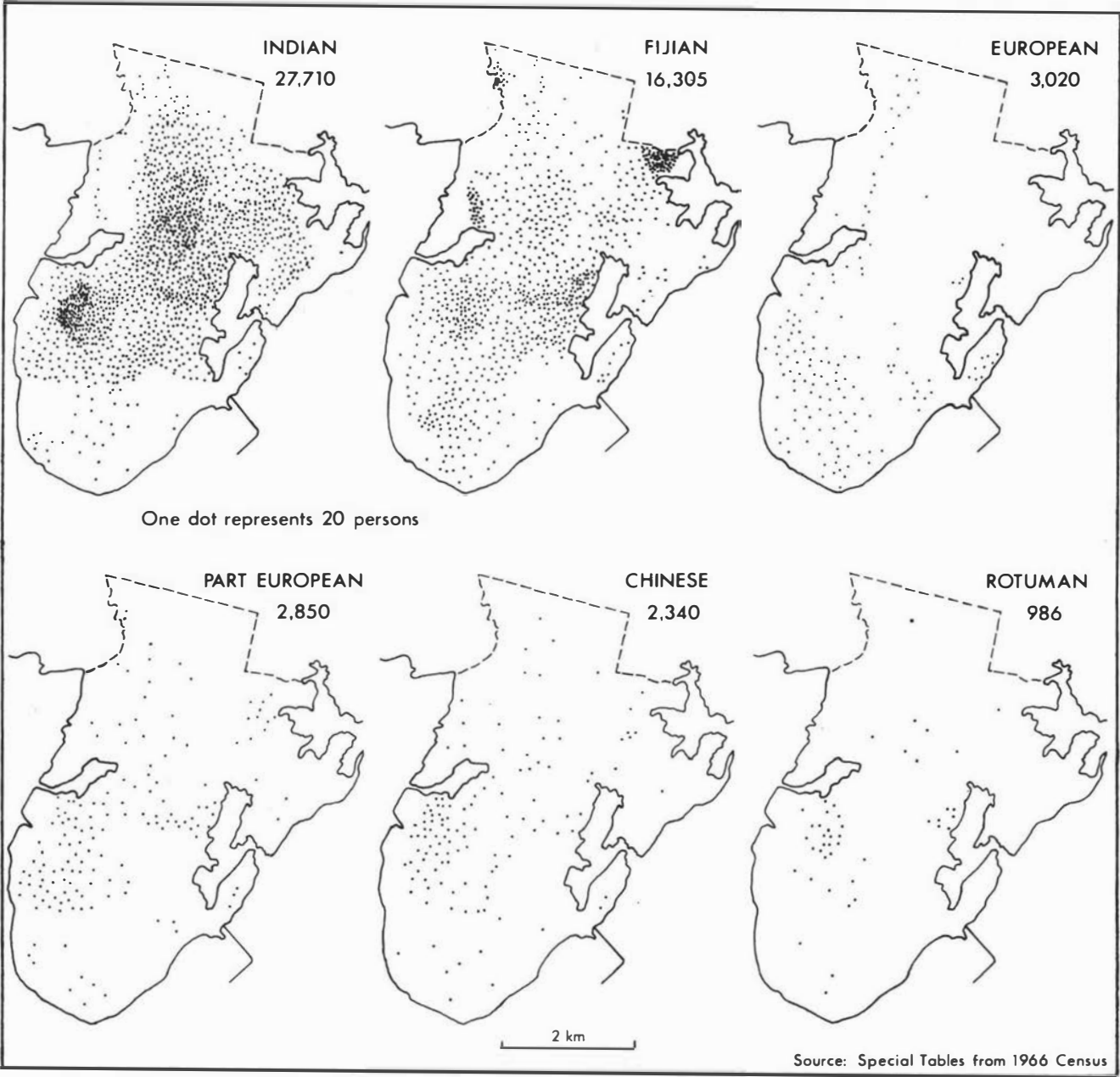
To trace factors causing the evolution of this policy one needs to consider colonial influences, and the conflicting interests involved in the housing question.

#### A EUROPEAN TOWN?

Early towns in Fiji were the preserve of expatriate Europeans. Indians were tolerated - at a distance - and Fijians were regarded as only temporary residents.<sup>4</sup> This early attitude continued to influence the town's development well into the post-war years. Suva, as a consequence, has a marked degree of both ethnic (Figure 7.1) and class segregation which land tenure and values, building and health regulations, and zoning have tended to reinforce.

Truly indigenous settlement forms only had a tenuous hold in the city. Fijian squatter settlements provide signs of quasicommunal organisation and design but these have never been recognized as official villages, and the policy has been to relocate them outside





**FIGURE 7.1** Distribution of Ethnic Groups, Suva City, 1966. 1976 figures were not available at the time of writing. Source: Unpublished 1966 Census data.

the city boundary. The possible need for the retention and modification of indigenous dwelling design and arrangement, or the provision of a built environment that would encourage the communalism of the village among urban Fijians, has only been recognized in one instance: the relocation of Fijian squatters at Nabua following the destruction of their homes by hurricane in 1952. In public housing no consideration has been given to Fijian customary observances which may require a more flexible use of space than that provided in the Authority's houses and flats.

In the 1920s, Foster (1928, 206 - 207) described the predominantly Indian area of Toorak in the following words:

It was a dim and smelly region of narrow streets, thronged by many types of humanity - a scattering of Fijians in a milling horde of scrawny Hindus, bearded Sikhs, turbaned Mohammedans solemnly intent upon their eternal work ... Indians everywhere, and eternally occupied, the tailors clinking away at their sewing machines, the cobblers pounding at their shoes, the barbers spreading white lather over shiny black faces.

Few of these 'Indian' features remain today. House-shop arrangements, extended and joint Indian families, and the existence of an informal economic sector based on family labour resident at the workplace, a street economy, and small scale backyard industry are fast disappearing from the Suva scene. Social change in the Indian community and cheap imports which compete with the products of small, local manufacturers have probably been factors in this change, but so also have regulations which considered such activities unbecoming in a modern city.

Devoid of its inhabitants, most parts of Suva could now pass for almost any European city of comparable size, and little in the present built environment or in housing design seems to have taken cognizance of the possibility that different cultures, given a choice, may prefer different housing and urban forms.<sup>5</sup> This observation is important because the built environment influences social interaction and behaviour. Indeed, freedom of design without restriction may be a factor causing some people to prefer squatting to other alternatives available to them.<sup>6</sup> Conversely, the officially approved built environment may be important as a cause behind a decline in traditional family patterns which in terms of development can only be justified if

such traditional practices impede modernization and integration into the life of the city. Furthermore, the officially approved built environment may be a factor causing some of the social problems of the city, especially those concerning migrants.

Lip service has been given to understanding the 'ideals, aspirations, and the ethnic and cultural characteristics valued by the people' (Department of Lands, Mines and Survey, 1963). Development Plan VII (DPVII, 128) mentioned 'taking proper consideration of social, cultural and hygienic [sic] factors' into account in the provision of housing, but there have been few tangible signs of such good intentions.

#### LAND TENURE

There have been three types of land tenure in Fiji from the time of Cession in 1874. Today, Crown land accounts for 7 percent, Native land (including reserves and lease land) for 83 percent, and freehold land for 10 percent of Fiji's total land area (1.8 million hectares, excluding Rotuma). The approximate proportions for Suva are shown in Table 7.1, and their location in Figure 7.2.

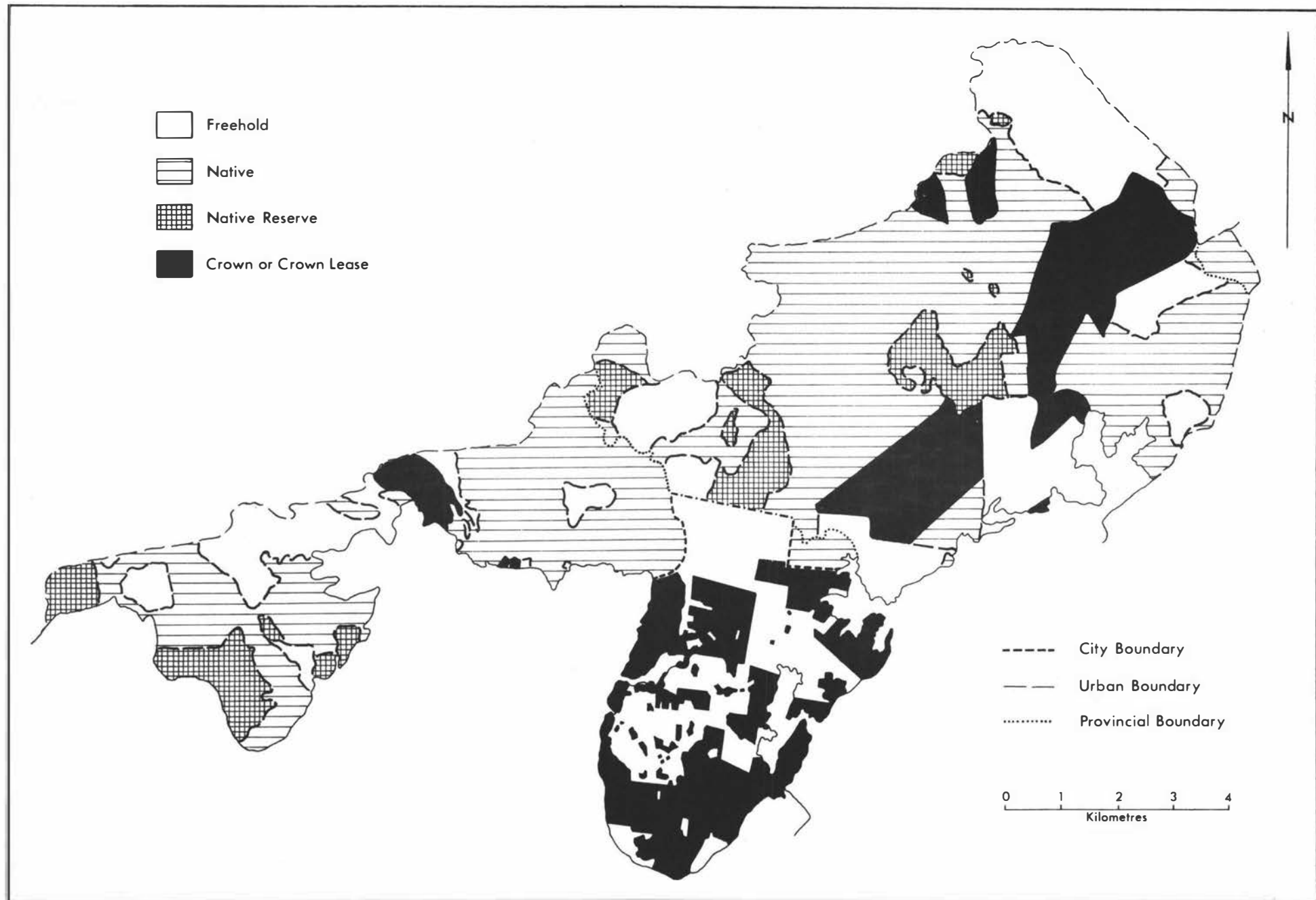
TABLE 7.1  
LAND TENURE TYPES, SUVA URBAN AREA  
(Percentages)

	City	Periurban area	Total Urban area
Crown <sup>a</sup>	52.3	13.8	21.1
Native <sup>b</sup>		64.1	51.9
Freehold	47.7	22.1	27.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Hectares (approx.)	2,050	8,760	10,810

Notes: a Includes Crown lease in Urban Area, almost all of which is Native land.

b Includes Native reserves.

Source: Based on Department of Lands, Mines and Survey maps.



**FIGURE 7.2** Land Tenure, Suva Urban Area, 1976.

Source: Based on unpublished maps held by the Department of Town and Country Planning, Suva.

City and periurban area population densities in 1976 of 4.82 and 0.97 a hectare respectively do not support the view that there is a shortage of land for housing (Figure 7.3). However, the pre-emption of the best Crown land in the city for low density and high class government dwellings and institutions has meant that public housing, dependent largely on gifts of Crown land, has been limited to low lying land, which has increased the costs of providing sewerage, or steep slopes requiring costly development and servicing. The availability of Crown lease land beyond the city has produced a discontinuous strip of public housing extending almost to the Nausori boundary fourteen kilometers from Suva workplaces.

Native land is by far the largest area (5,600 hectares) beyond the city. This is administered by the Native Land Trust Board (NLTB). A small portion (790 hectares) is native reserve occupied by local mataqali; most is unoccupied, and some is in agricultural or other lease. Most Fijian squatting outside the city is located on Native land obtained by the presentation of \*tabua to the owners. This traditional practice, however, is not recognized by the NLTB as a legal arrangement, and the occupants could be subject to eviction. The policy of the NLTB is to develop native land for the benefit of the owners. While this includes residential development, efforts by the Housing Authority to lease significant areas of land for low-income housing had been unsuccessful up to 1976. At this date NLTB plans were for high class residential development which would bring higher returns to the owners. The presence of an almost autonomous body such as the NLTB in possession of most of the land suitable for residential development outside the city presents a special problem for comprehensive urban planning. Land, more than any other issue, is a major point of dissension between Fiji's major races, and this makes approaches for a more comprehensive use of such land an especially delicate matter.

The limited amount of Crown and Native land available for private residential development has been a contributing factor in inflating the value of the limited amount of freehold land. In turn, this has placed freehold land beyond the financial reach of the Housing Authority which on at least four occasions since 1969 has tried to purchase freehold land offered for sale. In these instances the lack of success led to the development of land deemed less suitable for

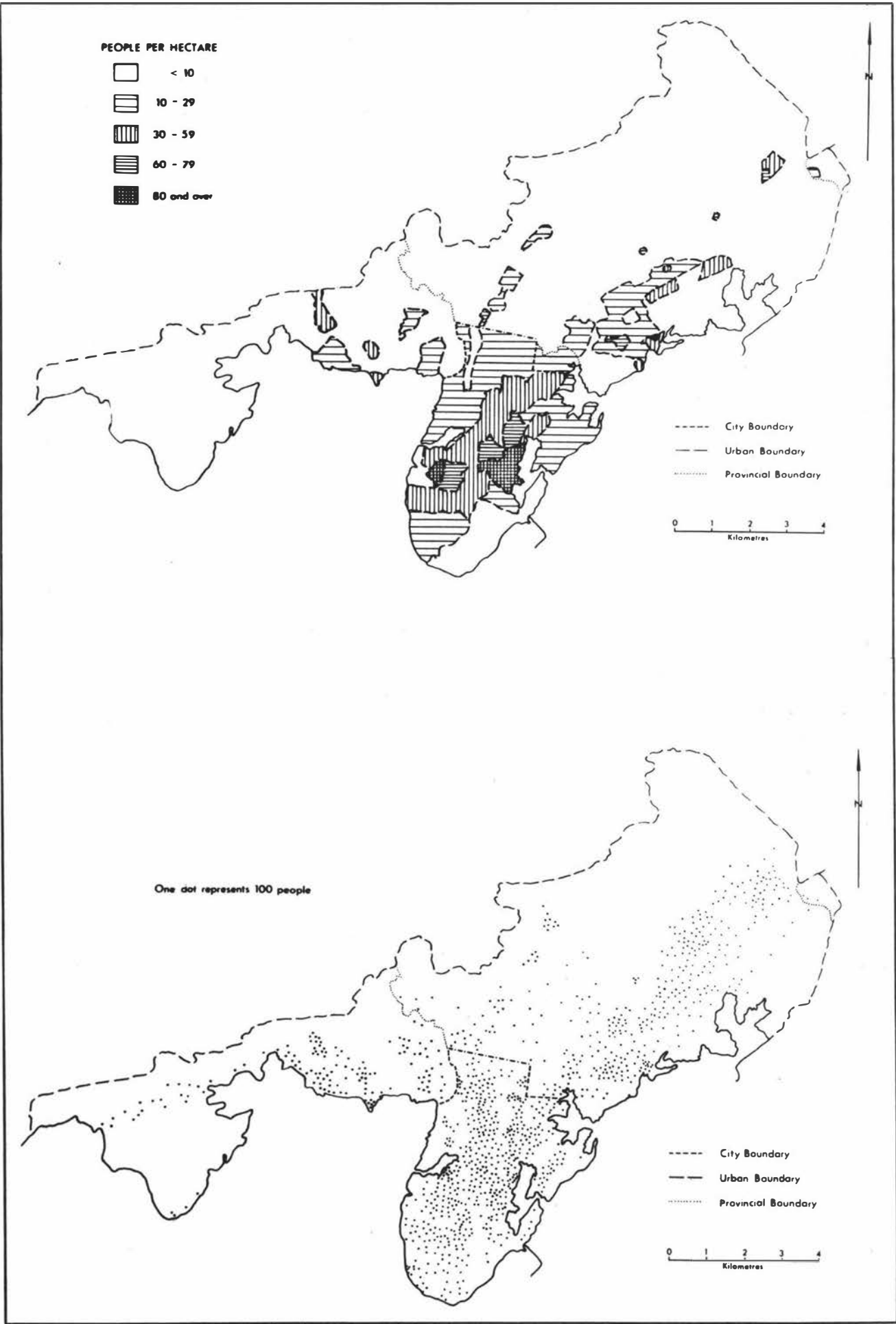


FIGURE 7.3 Population Densities and Distribution, Suva Urban Area, 1976.

Source: Unpublished 1976 Census data.

housing. The overall effect has been described by the Suva City Council (n.d.) in these words:

This invidious position has arisen primarily through the effects of the wave of land speculation which started about the mid-1960s, when a good deal of undeveloped land tracts in the City were sold at inflated prices to overseas interests by owners who could not afford to develop them themselves.

#### SOCIAL WELFARE AND THE PROTESTANT ETHIC

Although provision for housing has been a feature of both Development Plans VI and VII, housing for those on low incomes has never been considered to be of direct benefit to economic development. Yet, as Desai (1975, 77) has pointed out, such building activity could be handled by small local builders excluded from major contracts requiring large capital outlays and a higher order of skills, and add considerably to employment opportunities for the unskilled and semi-skilled.<sup>7</sup> The exclusion of small builders from the housing market also minimises open competition, thereby increasing costs. Public housing has been undertaken solely on the grounds that government has some responsibility for social welfare, and housing, urban affairs and social welfare comprise one ministry. The largely negative approach to both urbanization and urban housing is seen in the following statement (Bureau of Statistics, 1972, 6):

If more jobs are created in towns, the more people come to the towns in search of jobs - and the more we shall burden our budget with the expenditure needed to prevent crime, epidemics and so on ... [yet] how far can government deliberately neglect the welfare of the existing urban population, in the interest of discouraging further migration to the towns?

Thus, while accepting some responsibility, government has not felt itself to be totally responsible for housing the poor. It has encouraged voluntary groups, particularly HART and the churches, to cater for the destitute and, with respect to public housing, has adopted a 'user-must-pay' policy, even for basic infrastructural costs such as roads and sewerage. These three elements - some government responsibility, complemented by the work of voluntary groups, and the 'user-must-pay' policy - seem to epitomise the protestant ethic of the mixed economy system inherited by Fiji and other former British colonies.

## STANDARDS AND REGULATIONS

Also inherited from the colonial administration are regulations which have been criticized as requiring standards that are much too high given the resources of Fiji. In the early 1960s Father Dermot Hurley (1963), later to become Chairman of the Housing Authority and Secretary of the Housing Assistance and Relief Trust (HART), spoke out sharply against a government having 'no right to enforce legislation setting out standards which are unattainable by a body of its citizens... unless it is prepared by some system of subsidies to enable them to reach the legal standards.' He continued, in words that could have been written by John Turner (Hurley, 1963):

Legal standards become restrictive when they are so high as to, in effect, forbid some of the citizens from having 'legal' houses. Such conditions make the housing condition of many of the citizens worse than if there were no standards. It leads to abuses and exploitation by unscrupulous individuals, who will supply 'illegal' dwellings at high rents, because they alone can afford the initial gamble of breaking the law. A government can know if its housing legislation is restrictive, or setting too high standards, by examining how much 'illegal' dwelling or occupation exists.

At various times during the 1950s and 1960s several authorities (the Subdivision of Lands Board, the Town Planning Board and the Central Board of Health) recommended a reduction and a relaxing of 'the Australian-styled standards' laid down in Fiji's land development legislation. These recommendations were not heeded (Department of Lands, Mines and Survey, 1963).

In 1969 the Housing Authority continued 'to deplore the higher standards of subdivision which are being demanded, by both Local Authorities and the Subdivision of Lands Board' (Housing Authority Annual Report, 1969, 2). The Authority was continuing its efforts to have the Public Health regulations amended so that its experimental core houses could be approved in all local government areas. It found the opposition of the Suva Rural Local Authority, which controls the Suva area beyond the city, difficult to understand 'when squatters' shacks constructed of identical material [corrugated iron] were tacitly overlooked.'

HART in its 1975 report also complained that its programme to provide housing for the destitute (those who cannot afford the cheapest



Housing Authority rentals) was being impeded by regulations requiring high standards.<sup>8</sup>

For well over ten years, then, those most directly concerned with providing housing for the poor have expressed serious misgivings about unnecessarily high standards. Yet (apart from minor modifications for the Housing Authority and HART) most regulations concerning housing remain at least as stringent as they were forty years earlier.<sup>9</sup> City and other authorities claim they cannot lower standards because temporary concessions are likely to become permanent. They also claim that it is cheaper in the long run, with many costs increasing by 20 percent annually, to install complete services prior to occupancy.

Those supporting 'progressive' development object mainly to blanket regulations requiring high standards of roading and access in all areas, the immediate connection to reticulated sewerage, stormwater drainage, and the high 'finish' demanded of the house itself. These include rainwater gutters, approved exterior walling, the spacing of studs, windows rather than shutters, interior partitions, and ceilings.

Official attitudes, however, are changing. In 1972 the then Minister of Urban Development, Housing and Social Welfare tentatively proposed that 'rather than let squatters settle "all over", the government should set aside land for them, provide them with such basic services as water and let them build whatever they could afford' (Fiji Times, 9 June, 1972). In 1975 the Town and Country Planning Department proposed that temporary housing should be brought 'under a form of elementary control so that some housing standards, however low, can be provided on the basis of a planned investment programme' (Town and Country Planning Department, 1975, 4). This new outlook expressed in some official circles seems to indicate that modifications to regulations can be expected, at least outside the city boundary (DPVII, 131 - 2). It is the outcome of pressure exerted by the Housing Authority and HART, and the persistence of squatting. It could also be evidence that local officials, responsible since Independence for creating their own regulations, may be prepared to make regulations better suited to Fiji than expatriate officers, ever conscious of overseas standards.

## A MULTIPLICITY OF AUTHORITIES

The path from purchase of land for residential purposes in Suva to the first stage of house construction requires compliance with up to twenty regulations (Appendix E) administered by at least three government departments and either of two local authorities, each of which also has its own departments. The minimum time required to proceed from purchase to the start of construction is two years (Housing Authority Annual Report, 1969).

Calls for a unified government department which would combine every function and duty carried out by the different agencies concerned with housing have not yet been accepted by government partly, one suspects, because of the number of vested interests. Government's intention to set up 'a high level coordinating committee comprising Government departments' (DPVII, 132) is unlikely to diminish the number of interests involved. Something of the practical problems involved from such a multiplicity of interests is described by Hurley (1963) :

With many of these agencies, housing is but one of many activities, and sufficient time or interest cannot be given to the problem by all of these at the same time. ... If four of the agencies concerned say 'Yes' to a scheme or proposal, the 'No' of the fifth will be sufficient to reject it, and the work of the others will go for nought.

Hurley (1963) also asked that the administration of building regulations be taken out of the hands of the local authorities because :

Their members will certainly be far removed from the interests of the labouring class, who in the absence of any kind of a strong Labour movement, will have no representation on such boards. Anyone capable of acting efficiently on such a board will not be of the labouring class... in effect, the few, often with vested interests in housing, administer and sponsor legislation for the many, whose basic interests are often completely different.

## SOCIO-POLITICAL INFLUENCES ON HOUSING

Some mention has been made of the main groups with 'vested interests' in the land and housing question. Controlling access to land are the Native Land Trust Board (NLTB), the Crown, and private owners, speculators and developers, some of them being overseas firms such as Hooker and Morris Hedstrom. Controlling the utilisation of

land are the various departments of government, the Suva City Council and the Suva Rural Local Authority in the Suva area, and other Local Authorities elsewhere. Controlling access to finance are government lending agencies - the Fiji Development Bank and the Fiji National Provident Fund - and the private banks and lending firms, all overseas controlled but restricted by government in their lending policy. Since Independence, banks, insurance companies and the larger overseas firms with widespread investment in Fiji have been particularly conscious of the need to maintain the goodwill of government, and have lent comparatively large sums to the Housing Authority.

Associated with these interest groups are local and expatriate 'experts': planners, master builders, senior health officers, sanitary engineers, surveyors, architects, accountants and economists. Most are known to each other on a personal basis. They also know and are known to many senior administrators, heads of business firms and banks. Such groups exist in Western cities, but Suva's small population, the absence of a large middle class, and the discreteness of its social areas, push these people into closer proximity than would generally be the case in the West. Local citizens belonging to this group usually owe their expertise to overseas training which some apply uncritically to the local situation. Others, such as the architects, are also overseas orientated, for their prestige and reputation rests much less on providing cheap, practical housing in Fiji than in impressing large companies and architectural colleagues elsewhere. Master builders have little interest in seeking changes in building regulations which, because of their exacting requirements, keep out smaller competitors who cannot afford to employ the specialists needed for their implementation. Similarly, the relative ease with which larger firms can obtain loan money exacerbates the tendency to produce expensive buildings (Hay, 1972).

In such a situation the mediating influence of parliament could be especially important, for the moral influence of the churches is limited, and the political power of organised labour is too recently acquired to ensure the protection of the less privileged. Unlike those in Western parliaments, however, Fiji's two leading parties differ more in the racial groups they represent than in matters of political philosophy or class interest. Alliance, the government party, is supported by most Fijians and the minor ethnic groups; the opposition

National Federation Party on the other hand is supported by most Indians. Most 'undeveloped' land is associated with Fijians, and high class land development with Indians and expatriates. Thus when residence and location are so closely associated with ethnicity, parliamentary comment on almost any housing issue is rarely accepted as ethnically impartial. The overall effect is to neutralise parliamentary and local council action, both ameliorative and repressive.

## FOOTNOTES

1 Most reports were unpublished. Reports by the Health Officer are the most valuable, but others also have references to housing. These include: Vunivalu and Verrier (1960), O'Loughlin and Holmes (1954), Ratcliffe and Revans (c. 1965), and several reports arising from work led by Harré (1970-1976).

2 An official village (one recognized by government) comprises people of a common descent group, residing on their traditional lands under the leadership of an accepted \*turanga-ni-koro or chief. Unofficial villages, being formed by migrants, do not meet all these requirements (Town Planning Officer to City Engineer, 19/5/64).

3 The Council's Health Officer found 76 percent of rents charged in 1961 in excess of the terms of the Fair Rents Ordinance 1954. He observed that even a fair rent could be more than many tenants could afford to pay.

4 See especially Whitelaw (1964 and 1966) for earlier, and Mamak (1974) for more recent evidence of residential pluralism in Suva. Anderson (1974, 20) provides an example of European attitudes in 1885. He quoted an official to say: 'It was considered desirable by some authorities to remove their settlements to a point more distant from the residences of the white population.' This was the origin of Indian settlements at Vatuwaqa and Samabula, on the outskirts of the town as it was then. Bakker and Walsh (1976, 11) criticize the still current practice of excluding Fijian urban villages, especially when town boundaries are extended to all but envelop them.

5 Johnston (1974, 57), for instance, states that social networks are influenced by four environments: physical, social-cultural, built, and spatial. The built environment was defined as: 'the complex arrangement of man-made features.'

6 cf. Leeds and Leeds (1970) who found some people residing in squatter areas by 'taste.'

7 DPVII, 127 recognized the 'low capital-labour ratio' in the building industry, and claimed that 40 percent of building and construction was controlled by the informal sector. It is difficult to reconcile the official and Desai statements.

8 It withdrew its application to build in Lautoka to concentrate on areas 'where the local authorities showed more practical appreciation of what HART is trying to do for their citizens' (HART, 1975, 8).

9 The NLTB has also complained about high standards impeding its development plans. Roothing standards (and rooding accounts for one-third of development costs) are higher than the former (Tetzner) standards.

## CHAPTER 8

### HOUSING POLICY IN ACTION

#### THE HOUSING AUTHORITY

The Hon. J. N. Falvey appears to have anticipated a government motion along similar lines when he moved (September, 1955) that 'in view of the acute shortage of housing in Suva and elsewhere' a housing authority be established to cater for the housing needs of 'wage earners and low income groups in the industrial areas.'<sup>1</sup> He believed the shortage to have been caused by: the increase in Suva's transient population, speculation in housing, and the Council's policy of demolition of 'unsafe and unsanitary houses.'<sup>2</sup>

He proposed the creation of a housing authority, able to acquire land compulsorily and to borrow capital to build houses on a rent or rental purchase basis. He also asked for a relaxation 'in appropriate cases of regulations' to permit the authority to carry out its plans. In the debates that followed all speakers supported the idea in principle, but minor objections were illuminating and foreshadowed some of the later problems of the Authority. One speaker in particular said that those eligible for selection should be regular workers 'engaged in some useful industry.'<sup>3</sup> He also hoped that the houses would 'expand towards the outer areas of the city [and] not destroy the value of land which has acquired a measure of social worth -snob value, you may say.' From its inception the Authority was to concentrate on helping those who could meet regular mortgage payments, thus enabling it to be largely self supporting, and most housing is provided in estates well removed from areas of 'social worth.' Others were concerned about the powers of compulsory purchase. The Authority was never given this power, though it could ask government to use the Crown Acquisition of Land Ordinance on its behalf. Similarly, for many years regulations could not be relaxed by the Authority without special permission from the appropriate local authority.

The Housing Ordinance (Legislative Council, 1955) was the culmination of these debates, and the broad lines of the Authority's policies. There have, however, been a number of minor modifications:

a) The original £12.0.0 upper weekly income limit in the definition of the term 'worker' was increased in 1970 to \$70 in recognition of the effects of inflation.

b) Ministerial decree and the Housing Authority (Loans to Cane Growers) Act of 1972 extended the Authority's area of operation, previously limited to urban areas, to include all Fiji;

c) The Housing Amendment Ordinance (No. 4 of 1972) permitted it to proceed with experimental houses without the prior permission of the local authorities;

d) A further amendment to the Housing Ordinance in 1973 enabled the Authority, with ministerial approval, to undertake functions additional to supplying houses.

Perry (1970, 22) has claimed that 'with the establishment of the Housing Authority, the government, practically, has ceased its interest in the problem of housing in Suva.' This overstates the case with respect to government assistance to the Authority, which has been considerable, but it does highlight one reason for the establishment of an authority independent of government. The Fiji Development Co. Ltd., briefly managers of Housing Authority affairs, stated that poor housing creates 'public health and social problems.. to be followed, in due course, if appropriate action is not taken, by political repercussions.' The Company went on to explain (Fiji Development Co. Ltd., 1963):

At some stage or another unpleasant eviction action will no doubt be necessary... If the Authority is seen and known to be independent from Government such unpleasant and unpopular action can normally be undertaken without political repercussion.

Government has not ceased to be interested in housing, but it has shifted the brunt of direct responsibility to the Authority, to counterbalance conflicting forces, and so attempted to defuse political implications of what is essentially its housing policy. The Authority's access to land and finance, and the regulations and broad policy within which it works are still determined by government. The chairman and all members of the Authority are appointed by the Minister of Urban Development, Housing and Social Welfare, and his approval is required in all substantial matters. The Authority's independence is strictly limited. It stands at the end of a long line of other authorities and vested interests - departments of government, the Native Land Trust Board, the local authorities, 'experts', landowners and developers, sitting tenants and squatters<sup>4</sup> - each and all of whom may pass their problems on to the Authority which, in turn, given the restraints within which it works, must pass some of them back. It is not the single authority envisaged by Hurley in the early 1960s.



The Authority was charged under Chapter 240 of the 1955 Ordinance and its amendments to provide housing accommodation for urban workers. To achieve this end it has developed four basic schemes: <sup>5</sup>

1) The Home Purchase Plan (HPP). The Authority builds, usually in estates, a variety of house types with floor areas ranging from 40.9 to 59.5 square metres which potential owners first occupy on a two year probationary tenancy (Figures 8.1, 8.2). If they meet payments regularly, the house is sold to them on a twenty to thirty year mortgage, the probationary rentals being credited towards mortgage repayments. About \$100, comprising deposit and other expenses, was required (in 1976) prior to taking up occupancy. The land is sub-leased to the purchaser, usually for about a 90 year period. Since 1973, a purchaser wishing to resell must give first option to the Authority so that 'built in subsidies' are recovered by the Authority.<sup>6</sup> About 10 percent of HPP houses had changed hands up to 1973. Ideally, no more than 25 percent of the householder's income may be used for mortgage payment, but if others in the household are employed this may be increased to 45 percent.

2) The Cash Loans Scheme (CLS). This scheme permits people with unencumbered freehold or leasehold property to obtain loans for construction, additions and repairs. The terms are similar to the HPP scheme.

3) The Rental Flat Scheme (RFS). This scheme was introduced to provide accommodation for the large proportion of applicants whose incomes were too low to qualify for the HPP scheme. The units comprise three or four storey buildings with flats of one or two bedrooms (Figures 8.3, 8.4). Total floor space ranges from 30.9 to 39 square metres. They are rented for about 40 percent below economic costs and subsidised by government to this extent. Rentals are fixed at not more than 15 percent of incomes. Some houses have also been added to the rental pool. At occupancy, limits are set on household size, but these are usually later increased without the Authority's permission.

4) The Site Provision Scheme (SPS). The Authority subleases, for about 90 years, four types of sites:

a) Residential A: These are choice sites (in Lautoka) which sold for \$4,000 - \$8,000, considerably above development costs in 1976.

Figure 8.1. Core Housing at Nepani. The Housing Authority has experimented with a limited number of core houses at Nepani. Tenants provide their own interior partitions, guttering and other 'refinements.' The Housing Authority Research Officer (Housing Authority, 1976b) considered the experiment moderately successful, but the houses are too expensive for most people who are squatting.

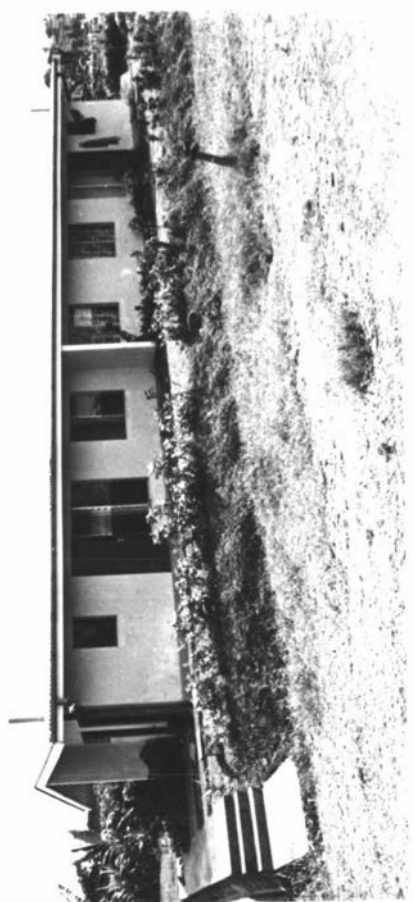
Photo: R. Thaman, June, 1978.

Figure 8.2. HPP Housing at Nepani. Recently built Housing Authority units at Nepani which may be purchased under the Home Purchase Plan.

Photo: R. Thaman, June, 1978.

Figure 8.3 and 8.4. Four-Storey Flats at Raiwaqa. These forty dwelling unit flats were built to increase residential densities in the city. Most tenants are Fijians whose rents are heavily subsidised by government. The original intention was that such accommodation should provide temporary accommodation prior to purchase of other Housing Authority accommodation, but tenant turn-over has been slow. The Housing Authority Research Officer (Housing Authority, 1976a) considered that the flats may provide an unsatisfactory environment for Fijians, and the press has claimed that such accommodation appears to be deteriorating into slums.

Photos: R. Thaman, June, 1978.



b) Residential B: These are also choice sites of 0.08 and 0.10 hectares. The profits from the sale of Residential A and B sites are used to subsidise residential D lots. Both are put up for tender and the only restrictions are that the purchasers must not own other property, and house construction must commence within ten years. In 1976, Residential B lots were developed for \$2,000 - \$3,000 and sold for between \$2,500 and \$6,000.

c) Intermediate Residential C: These are lots of between 0.04 and 0.08 hectares which sell for about the cost of development. Preference is given to sitting tenants, and surplus lots are put up for auction. Lots in 1976 sold for up to \$3,000.

d) Residential D: These are heavily subsidised lots of 270 square metres which are allocated to sitting tenants unable to purchase Residential C lots. The balance, after allocation, is used for the Authority's own building programme. Payment must be met fully within ten years, and housing construction must commence within two years. Many purchasers have been unable to meet these requirements.<sup>7</sup>

The terms for purchase are usually 15 percent of the premium in cash, the balance to be paid in ten years at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to  $9\frac{3}{4}$  percent interest (1976 rates). If purchasers of any type of SPS earn less than \$70 a week, they may also apply for the case loan scheme to build their houses. Many of those allocated Residential D lots are too poor to borrow from the CLS.

For nearly two decades the Housing Authority and squatters have been the biggest builders in Fiji. In the Suva area, where the problem of housing was most intense, approximately one-sixth of the population (19,600 people) were Housing Authority tenants in September, 1976. Yet despite this not inconsiderable effort, at least as many people again remained inadequately or illegally housed. From 1959 to 1976 the area's population increase (45,000) was more than double the number housed by the Authority during the same period.

Two main questions arise from a reading of the literature and discussions about housing the poor in Fiji. Firstly, are the resources presently allocated to housing the poor adequate, and do present policies cater for the physical and economic needs of those housed?

Second, is the social environment provided by Housing Authority Estates conducive to community formation, self-help and social mobility. One is led to believe that the answer to each question is likely to be in the negative for a significant proportion of those seeking housing.

#### WHY THE HOUSING AUTHORITY CANNOT HELP THE VERY POOR

The Authority's aims since inception have been: to 'build the maximum number of housing units to the best possible standards within the financial means of those for whom it caters to the extent that this can be done within the limitations set by availability and cost of land, capital and services' (Housing Authority Annual Report, 1973).

Problems have arisen due to limited resources and overstringent regulations. The original \$1 million grant from the government was soon spent, and the high interest rates charged to the Authority on loan money has been a source of constant comment.<sup>8</sup> Since the late 1960s, however, successive government grants, subsidies on the rental flats, and commercial loans guaranteed by government, have reduced immediate financial problems, although interest rates remain high. Land has never been a charge against the Authority. Crown land has been given to the Authority, and government has met all expenses incurred by the lease of native or the purchase of freehold land. Over-stringent regulations have delayed Authority plans, and placed limits on the types of housing it could offer, but regulations have not completely prevented innovations with cheaper designs and services. A lack of resources, then, is not the main reason why the Authority has failed to meet the needs of the poor. This must be sought in the phrase: 'within the financial means of those for whom it caters.'

While upper income limits were set to define the term 'worker', lower limits were more loosely defined, the criterion for eligibility being the ability to meet payments. The Authority has constantly endeavoured to reduce costs to make its houses available to those on lower incomes.<sup>9</sup> Despite these efforts, less than one-fifth of its 1973 applicants could afford to purchase the cheapest HPP house (Table 8.1).

The 1973 report showed that 25 percent of a \$40 weekly wage could finance a house costing \$5,200 over twenty years, and \$6,000 over 30 years. This was just sufficient to enable those on such incomes to

purchase the cheapest (type A22) house: a single 39.1 square metres fully serviced unit. As four-fifths of the applicants could not meet these repayments, it was proposed to expand the Site Provision Scheme, and core housing. By 1976, however, core houses had increased in price to cost as much as A22 houses in 1973. Whatever the Authority does, given its present terms of reference, it cannot meet the housing needs of many of the urban poor without massive subsidisation by government.

TABLE 8.1

## INCOMES OF HOUSING AUTHORITY APPLICANTS, 1973

Under	Weekly Income (dollars)							Total	Total %
	-9	-15	-20	-30	-40	-50	-70		
Suva	27	97	250	392	116	41	27	950	74
Other	5	46	86	134	38	11	12	332	26
Total	32	143	336	526	154	52	39	1882	100
Total %	3	11	26	41	12	4	3	100	

Source: Housing Authority Annual Report, 1973, 8.

The problem lies in the concept of the Authority. It had to be self supporting, and therefore had to build permanent structures which would outlast the period of mortgage repayment. It had to borrow at high interest rates for a public authority and these rates, plus one percent, were passed on to its clients, as were basic infrastructural costs such as sewerage and roading which benefit people besides those living in the Authority Estates (Browning, 1966). At the outset its houses were intended for workers on regular incomes engaged in 'useful industries', and direct subsidy to tenants has been accepted only recently, and then with much hesitation, by government. It was assumed that Authority housing would release rooming houses and other structures which would be occupied by those too poor to be eligible for Authority housing (McMullon, 1963), although most such dwellings were condemned and illegal in 1955 and their condition is likely to be worse today. Renting, outside squatter areas, is still too costly for the very poor.

Problems have also arisen among those who qualify for Authority assistance. Many Residential C and D site provision applicants have been unable to build houses, even though they qualify for CLS loans, and sitting tenants offered sites have been similarly placed. Arrears of payments have also been a constant problem even, and perhaps especially, in the heavily subsidised rental units. Many tenants have only been able to meet payments by relying on more than one income, by inviting relations and friends to stay to share the costs, and by subletting. This has increased overcrowding, reduced privacy and caused trouble with neighbours, among other social problems. In such circumstances, it can be doubted whether the economic conditions of many tenants are any better than those of many squatters.

One Authority official (who shall remain anonymous) has claimed that the problem is with the type of people in the Estate. 'Squatters', he said, 'are quite a different kind of people. They have initiative. If our tenants didn't spend money on housing, they'd spend it on beer.' It is, of course, possible that a different type of person is attracted to the Estate, but it is equally possible that the Estate produced this type of person, because of its unsuitable built and social environment and the financial demands it makes on some tenants. What cannot be disputed is that many tenants are experiencing repayment and rent problems, for economic reasons or because of their spending habits. A payment of 25 - 33 percent of income (45 percent if others in the household are working) expected from unsubsidised tenants is high when compared with public housing schemes outside Fiji.

It is significant that earlier statements (Department of Lands, Mines and Survey, 1963) considered 25 percent the maximum low-income workers could afford. This has become the minimum. Racki, et al. (1974, 284), reviewing several Third World situations, found that 25 percent was the maximum upper low-income workers could afford, and that as incomes decreased the proportion available for rent also decreased. Insistence on economic rentals and high standards excluded 80 percent of those requiring housing in a recent Papua New Guinea study (Papua New Guinea Housing Commission, 1975), a proportion almost identical to that on the Housing Authority waiting list. If a comparison may be made with New Zealand, 25 percent of the income of a worker on \$7,000 would demand rents or mortgage repayments of \$34 a week for a house half the size of the typical New Zealand home. In

1976 minimum repayments on the HPP scheme amounted to \$55 a month, approximately \$15 higher than the basic wage. Perhaps this is why DPVII states that the Housing Authority caters for low and middle income workers. All previous statements referred to low-income workers only.

The high import content of most consumer goods in Fiji results in high prices for most food and other essential items. Many poorer families spend close to one-half of their income on food alone.<sup>10</sup> On a wage of \$40 a week, from which food and housing has taken \$30, most families would be struggling to meet other essential and recurring costs. In such circumstances, the provision of unsubsidised housing 'at the best standards possible' assists only upper low-income workers, and adds greatly to the burdens of the poor.

A study by the Authority's Research Officer in 1976 (Housing Authority, 1976a) showed that the real incomes of many tenants, notably those in subsidised rental flats, had not risen, and revealed also the very considerable degree to which most tenants rely on incomes additional to those of the household head (Table 8.2 ). Many of those who were HPP tenants of less than five years standing would not qualify for a similar house at the 1976 price. The Report also commented on the wide range of incomes. Some tenants in rental flats had incomes less than \$10 a week while others, in HPP houses, had household incomes exceeding \$200 a week. With no rise in real incomes, especially among those in rental flats, tenancy turnover in what is supposed to be temporary accommodation has not been as rapid as expected, thus depriving others in need of subsidised housing. Indeed, many rental tenants give every indication of permanency. The extremely high incomes recorded in some HPP households also suggest that some people are fully able to obtain housing within the private sector. Thus, with over one thousand people on its waiting list in recent years, it seems that Authority selection procedures may need to be reconsidered.

The ethnic composition of people applying for different types of accommodation is revealing (Table 8.3). Indians showed a marked preference for schemes which permitted greater financial flexibility and more opportunities for self-help, though this could also be a reflection of higher mean incomes. Rental flats were especially unpopular.



TABLE 8.2

MEAN INCOMES OF FLAT AND HPP TENANT HOUSEHOLDS AT  
RAIWAQA - RAIWAI, 1976  
(dollars)

	Income on Application	Income at March, 1976	% Change
Raiwaqa Rental Flats			
Tenant	12.53	22.50	79.6
Others in household	7.18	29.93	316.9
Total	19.71	52.53	166.5
% Others of Total	36.4	57.0	
Raiwai Rental Flats			
Tenant	12.00	28.55	119.6
Others in household	4.79	11.48	139.7
Total	17.79	40.03	124.8
% Others of Total	26.9	28.7	
HPP: Occupance over eleven years			
Tenant	16.66	50.88	205.4
Others in household	4.75	31.22	557.3
Total	21.41	82.10	283.4
% Others of Total	22.2	38.0	
HPP: Occupance under five years			
Tenant	22.60	43.00	90.3
Others in household	12.66	42.53	235.9
Total	35.26	85.53	142.6
% Others of Total	35.9	49.7	

Note: The study was based on a sample of 200 households. The mean period of tenancy was 7.2 years. During approximately the same period (1969 - 1976) consumer prices in Fiji rose by 193 percent and food prices by 206 percent (Table 6.3). Mean household incomes in the sample had increased by 200 percent, but mean household size had increased by 26 percent. This indicates that there could have been a drop in real per capita incomes.

Source: Housing Authority, 1976a.

Fijians, on the other hand, favoured the complete units, even though many would only qualify for subsidised rentals. Differences between Fijian and Indian income levels and housing preferences are clearly important variables in considering the Authority's achievements and future plans.

TABLE 8.3

ETHNICITY AND HOUSING TYPE PREFERENCES :  
HOUSING AUTHORITY APPLICANTS, 1975

	Fijian		Indian		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
HPP	112	50.7	105	24.8	46	70.8
RFS	67	30.3	35	8.3	12	18.5
CLS	30	13.6	121	28.6	6	9.2
Sites	12	5.4	162	38.3	1	1.5
Total	221	100.0	423	100.0	65	100.0

Note: The difference is significant for all three racial groups  
 $p = 0.01$

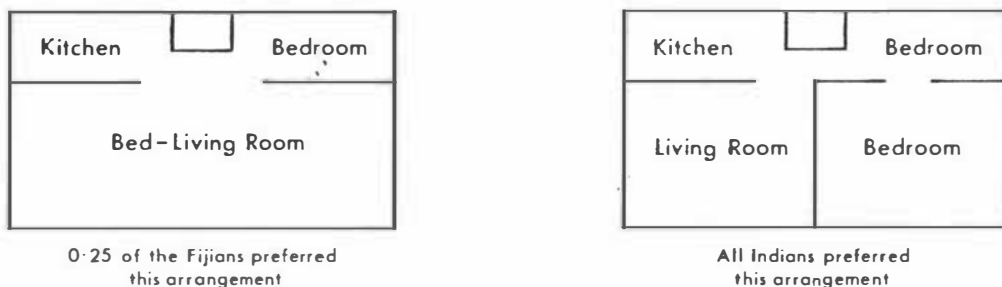
Source: Housing Authority, personal communication.

The downturn in Suva applicants in 1976 (from over 1,250 annually between 1971 and 1975 to 485 in 1976) has been attributed to the availability of the site and service scheme and core housing (Housing Authority, 1976b). It is also possible that the downturn has occurred because Authority housing is too expensive and many potential tenants have turned to squatting instead. This observation apart, the core housing scheme deserves comment because it comes close to the objectives of 'progressive' housing.

A limited number of experimental core houses have been built (Figure 8.1). House size of the core housing designs (A20 and B20) is 38.5 square metres, and is basically similar in size and overall design to the cheapest fully finished A22 design. Core houses are not internally partitioned, and the provision of ceilings, painting and other minor jobs have been left to occupants. A study by the Authority's Research Officer in 1976 (Housing Authority, 1976b) of the fourteen core houses as Nadera found that, despite misunderstandings and tenant objection to a three year probationary period, all but one of the tenants were satisfied with the house. He described the compounds as neat and tidy, showing obvious signs of pride in ownership. In the one year they had been resident all fourteen tenants had made improvements to their property at costs, excluding family labour, ranging from \$30 to \$498. In a number of cases 'soft loans' from

relations had been obtained to effect these improvements, but all money had been repaid. In all but one case new materials had been used in improvements, and all households had plans for future improvements.

One observation is particularly important with regard to the way Fijian and Indian households choose different internal arrangements, an opportunity lacking in all other Housing Authority houses. Indians preferred more partitioning and smaller rooms, giving greater privacy, while some of the Fijians preferred greater internal flexibility (Figure 8.5).



**FIGURE 8.5** Fijian and Indian Preferences in Interior House Design: Housing Authority Core Housing. Source: Based on Housing Authority (1976b).

The Research Officer tentatively concluded that the experiment was a success, and in commending the cautious expansion of the scheme he recommended: a shorter probationary period; more scope for self-help in future designs; and extensive advertising to sell the idea to people, especially those on the Authority's waiting list whose expectations demanded HPP housing while their incomes only qualified them for rental flats. Site and service and core housing schemes offer some hope that the Authority may be moving in a direction which will enable it to cater for a larger section of the urban poor.

## RAIWAQA : THE WRONG SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT?

An early and recurring theme associated with the Housing Authority was that better housing would encourage the closer integration of those housed into the life of the city.<sup>11</sup> In other words, housing was to be a vehicle of modernization. With home ownership, it was argued, people would learn to budget, take pride in their possessions, and seek to improve their lot. It was for these reasons that early Raiwaqa tenants attended obligatory courses on living in the city, relations with the Authority, and citizenship, and also why perfunctory official support was given to the formation of a tenants' association and cooperative stores (Housing Authority Annual Report, 1959, 5).

By the early 1970s, however, Mamak (1973, 52 - 57) reported that the Tenants' Association was virtually defunct and the cooperative stores were struggling. The only associations which thrived were those with wider affiliations - based on ethnicity, provincial ties and women's church groups. No association concerned with the Estate as such existed. There was also growing public and official concern about the condition of the Estate, and deteriorating social behaviour. This was probably a factor which led to the appointment of a research officer in 1976, sixteen years after the first houses were built.

In a socio-economic survey conducted in 1976 (Housing Authority, 1976a) this officer found substantial evidence of bootlegging and drunkenness, vandalism, intimidation of neighbours suspected of being informants, youth gangs, petrol sniffing among teenagers, and a high level of truancy and school dropouts. Litter and household rubbish were left lying around, and social amenities such as children's parks were overgrown with long grass and had become the repository for wrecked cars and other discarded items. The Estate offers a concentration of social amenities found nowhere else in the city, yet the officer found many of these amenities little used or poorly cared for. He recommended the subdivision of the Estate into smaller discrete areas with their own name, a more positive role for the Estate supervisor who normally visited tenants only when he had a complaint about them, the appointment of a welfare officer, and greater concern for space and privacy in unit design. What had gone wrong?

The officer attributed most problems to overcrowding, the lack of privacy, and an absence of community feeling. Overcrowding, as has been shown, is partly attributable to subletting and the practice of sharing living costs. It is also a consequence among Fijians of an attempt by tenants (and/or their relations) to perpetuate traditional visiting and extended family practices in the restricted and non-flexible space provided in a 31 square metre room up to four storeys above ground level (Housing Authority, 1976a; Mamak 1973). The Authority's restriction on household numbers has been found to be impossible to monitor.<sup>12</sup> The assumption that people will simply discard previous lifestyles (aspects of which they presumably consider sufficiently important to warrant putting up with the physical conditions which result) on occupation of small and well serviced units has been proved inaccurate, which is not at all surprising.<sup>13</sup> Traditional practices contrary to Estate regulations are also pursued by Indians, for unauthorised 'ugly structures' added to houses or erected in gardens are not just places to drink grog, as the research officer assumed. They also comprise small workplaces necessary for the perpetuation of informal economic activities. The Estate is recognized as an ideal locale for hawkers, yet the structures needed for these activities are seen as 'ugly' and 'illegal' (Housing Authority, 1976a). There is much in the built environment of the Estate which inhibits the perpetuation of valued and valuable cultural practices, and the pursuit of informal economic activities needed to supplement some household incomes.

In effect, the Estate was built with costs and standards as the main factors influencing construction. Little or no account was taken of people's lifestyles or housing preferences. The result was a cut-down version of what the administrators and architects, all expatriate in the early days, preferred to live in themselves. At no stage, in construction and design, the provision and location of social amenities, or in the management of the Estate, had the tenants been invited to participate. Visiting welfare and community development advisers (e.g. Fox, 1976) have remarked negatively on both the absence of a tenants' advisory committee, and on the control of the Estate being left entirely in the hands of agents, such as the police and the Estate manager, who are seen to be external to the Estate itself.

The initial fault (if fault is the correct word) was that the authorities thought they knew what was needed for the poor, and believed that everything they would provide would be better than what the poor already knew. Existing community and loyalty structures were therefore generally ignored both in the selection of tenants and in the allocation of housing units. Tenants were selected according to a number of criteria: regularity of employment, income, age, health, attitudes, family size and present housing conditions. Successful applicants were picked out of existing communities and allocated houses which permitted 'reasonable proximity' with people of the same ethnic and community group so long as this did not result in ethnic 'pocketing' (Housing Authority' Annual Report, 1969, 5). Thus people of quite dissimilar backgrounds found themselves as neighbours who were supposed to develop a sense of community.

Until the late 1960s, the Estate mainly comprised single unit and two-room terrace unit dwellings with small gardens attached. Rising costs, difficulties in obtaining land in Suva, and the large proportion of applicants unable to meet HPP requirements, resulted in the construction of two groups of four-storey rental flats in the Estate.

Experience has shown that multi-storey flats are an unsuitable form of dwelling for low-income families in Fiji, and their construction has now ceased for such families. Perry (1970, 19 - 20), for instance, found almost universal condemnation of the Authority's flats among squatters. They saw them as too crowded, and those from rural areas wanted a garden. Fijian squatters did not like cooking in the same area as that in which they lived and slept, and Indian squatters were concerned about the lack of privacy and possible trouble with neighbours. Harré (1970a), Fox (1976), Mamak (1973), and the Authority's Research Officer (Housing Authority, 1976a) also considered the flats undesirable. Experience overseas indicates that high rise structures are often at least as costly to construct and maintain as high density ground level dwellings (Angel and Benjamin, 1976) and are likely to produce high social costs when the occupants are unaccustomed to urban living. In Singapore and Hong Kong shortage of land is the main reason for their construction (e.g. Drakakis-Smith, 1972). Fiji has adequate land, if it is made available, to support moderate to high density low rise dwellings.

While many of the social problems experienced with the flats may be attributed to their height, lack of space and inflexibility of design,

it is, however, probable that lack of ownership has contributed to their neglect, for many Estate houses occupied by owner-purchasers show abundant evidence of pride and care. A possible further cause of neglect, and attendant social problems, is the subsidisation of rentals, and in this respect it is perhaps significant that most subsidised tenants are Fijians. The obvious ethnic stratification which results is unlikely to foster ethnic harmony or modernization in the Estate. Subsidisation in this context perpetuates the paternal relations which have marked administrative attitudes and policies towards Fijian society since Cession. Paternalism fosters dependence, and by definition inhibits people's capacity to help themselves. Subsidies are best provided in the form of infrastructure and basic services which the poor cannot afford. Experience with the Raiwaqa four-storey subsidised rental flats has clearly shown that this form of housing is not a vehicle of modernization, and experience in the Estate as a whole has raised doubts about the type of social environment created.

It is significant also that the Authority's Research Officer recommended that tenants be given control over public places within the Estate, and that small 'neighbourhood zones of influence' be created to establish feelings of territoriality (Housing Authority, 1976a). Belated and incomplete as such suggestions may be, taken together with the Authority's growing emphasis on site and service and core housing, they seem to indicate a major change in Authority policy. Those to be housed are being encouraged to participate in the creation of the built and social environment in which they will live, a privilege previously reserved for the very rich and squatters.

#### THE HOUSING ASSISTANCE AND RELIEF TRUST (HART)

HART is a charitable trust formed in 1970 by the Fiji Council of Churches for urban families too poor to qualify for the cheapest subsidised Housing Authority flat, or to acquire the cheapest site provided by the Lands Department. It was established because no public or private body existed to cater for people in this category.

Most HART tenants are destitutes or near-destitutes selected because of their poverty, the urgency of their housing situation, and special circumstances such as physical or mental sickness, marital

separation, and the death of a breadwinner. Some are recipients of small government allowances, typically \$6.00 a week in 1976. Most are Indian (75 percent in 1974), Part-Europeans and other minor ethnic groups. This ethnic overrepresentation is probably an accurate reflection of the degree of destitution in Fiji because most Fijians in similar circumstances would be cared for by their families. This observation should be recalled when comments are made on the number of 'hangers on' found in many Fijian households. Fijian culture may produce overcrowding, but it does not produce public destitutes.

Houses built by HART have minimum cooking and toilet facilities, ceilings are usually omitted and electricity is not supplied. Structural standards, however, are not sacrificed. Floor areas of 28 to 38 square metres are slightly smaller than Housing Authority units but covered space approaches 56 square metres. They are considered adequate for families of six to eight.<sup>14</sup> Typical units are semi-detached, and comprise a combined living-sleeping area, open verandah with an enclosed washroom and open cooking area under a curved roof, and separate latrines served by a communal septic tank. (Figure 11.13).

Construction costs are kept low, under \$5.00 a square metre (which included overheads and site development in 1975) which compared favourably with those of the Housing Authority (\$12 to \$13 for contractor building costs only. HART, 1975, 6). Low costs are attributed mainly to the economy and functionalism of the design and the omission of expensive finishings (HART, 1974), but the use of second hand materials also assisted.

A further reason for deliberately limited standards is to deter tenants from staying when their financial position improves. HART tenant turnover in recent years has been about 10 percent annually. Rents of \$1 - \$2 a week are charged those who can afford it, and are increased as the household's income improves. This also serves to deter overstayers.

Between 1970 and the end of 1975 HART built 142 units which accommodated approximately 700 people. Most building activity was in the Suva urban area. Government recognizes HART's role in meeting the housing needs of the destitute and near destitute, and has indicated that it 'will continue to give financial assistance and land as and when necessary' (DPVII, 34). This claim, however, is not verified by the constant appeals by HART to government for more land and money.



Earlier reports stressed HART's role in providing permanent housing at costs significantly less than the Housing Authority, and its small demands relative to other government spending. In 1973, for instance, the report drew attention to the cost of one executive-type house which would suffice the whole HART 1974 programme, providing fifty dwellings for 300 people (HART, 1973, 6). In 1975 the report pointed to the anomaly of the government subsidy to Housing Authority rental flats, stating that the subsidy needed to house 140 Authority tenants for one year was more than the amount given to HART by government in the previous three years, a sum of money which would house the same number of people for an indefinite number of years. Government grants between 1973 and 1976 increased from \$18,400 to \$20,460 (11.2 percent), while government spending during the same period increased from \$97 million to \$127 million, an increase of 30 percent. The result was that the amount given in 1976 could build 'little more than half the 1973 grant built' (HART, 1975, 10).

A further anomaly has arisen in the relations between HART and the Housing Authority. HART's upper income limit of eligibility is fixed by the government basic wage for unskilled labour. In 1970 this was less than that required to obtain a subsidised rental flat. The basic wage in 1975, however, was \$36.50, and the Housing Authority had not changed its lower eligibility level. As a consequence, people on incomes between \$9.50, and \$36.50 have become eligible for both HART and Housing Authority assistance. In 1976 HART was considering lowering its level of eligibility to \$9.50. Although HART's overall contribution to Suva's housing problem is small, such a change will put more pressure on the Housing Authority to provide subsidised housing, and deprive HART of its better-off tenants whose rents it needs to meet recurring expenses.

The anomalies, and the overall relationship between government and these two bodies, indicate that government considers its (fluctuating) contributions of land and money to be an adequate substitute for a comprehensive housing policy to meet the needs of the poor. The solution, on paper, is simple. Government must either accept heavy direct subsidies to housing or it must provide, through the Authority, infrastructural support in the form of land and basic services and so enable the poor to help themselves at minimum standards consistent with urban planning. Short of a major adjustment in the distribution of wealth in Fiji, these appear to be the only solutions whereby government can retain control of development.

## POLICY TOWARDS SQUATTERS

Although the term 'squatter' is customarily used in the press and in casual conversation, most households so classified or described have, or have had, some sort of permission to reside on the land occupied. Such 'traditional' practices are common throughout the Pacific. For example, Curson (1973) on Avarua, Langmore and Oram (1970) on Port Moresby and Walsh (1969) on Nuku'alofa.

Most Fijian squatters on native land outside the city have obtained permission from local mataqali on the presentation of tabua and other gifts. Few would consider themselves squatters. Indians outside the city frequently occupy land on which agricultural leases have expired, and these leases have sometimes been replaced by tenancies-at-will. The tenancies or licences, which may or may not be legally drawn up, grant short period occupance (six months to a year) of usually ill-defined, small tracts of land, and they are usually renewed until the land is required by the owner. A small rent is collected for which a receipt may be given. In many cases, present squatters are descendents or sub-tenants of those who hold, or held, agricultural leases or tenancies-at-will.

Inside the city, squatters on freehold land comprise tenants, sub-tenants, people renting dwellings from tenants or sub-tenants, and people with no permission at all. In a number of cases, in anticipation of initiating eviction procedure, tenancies have been withdrawn and rents are no longer collected. Most Fijian squatters in the city occupy Crown land and trace original occupance to some semi-traditional arrangement supposedly approved by a now deceased Fijian leader or colonial authority. Insistence on such claims has sometimes resulted in the granting of tenancies-at-will to at least some households in city Fijian settlements.

Fijian settlements are considered unofficial villages; similar Indian settlements are more generally called squatter settlements. These historical differences have apparently produced somewhat different sets of attitudes and policies towards Fijian and Indian squatter settlements. In addition to these settlements, there are numerous small clusters of squatter dwellings throughout the city and the urban area.

All buildings in such settlements are illegal in that one or other of the various local authorities or landowners have not granted

permission for their construction. The official terms for such buildings are 'unauthorised erections' (sic) and 'illegal structures or dwellings.' All households living in the areas described are therefore illegal on one or two counts. All lack security of tenure, their houses may be demolished and the inhabitants may be evicted without compensation or the provision of alternative residence (Figure 8.6).

In practice, however, demolition and eviction is not easily achieved. To demolish a squatter dwelling in the city normally takes five sets of orders (or notices) to be issued, and a 'reasonable' time must be allowed to elapse between their presentation. Reference has already been made (Footnote 2) to the reversal of Council decisions to demolish 988 dwellings during the 1960s. Policy during the 1970s has also been marked by considerable vacillation. It has been shown that it is one thing to issue demolition and eviction orders, and quite another thing to have them carried out unless alternative accommodation is found for those to be evicted.

There have been many occasions where public and official sympathy for squatters has made the application of the law most difficult.<sup>15</sup> In such circumstances many landowners prefer to offer squatters a monetary payment (usually \$200 - \$300) to quit, but there is no guarantee that squatters will comply. With sharp increases in city rents in recent years (typically 80 to 100 percent between 1974 and 1976) and the very considerable profits to be obtained from subdivision (typically six-times the value of unsubdivided land) more landowners will be pressured to evict squatters in one way or another.<sup>16</sup>

Occasionally the Council has refused to supply water to or collect rubbish from squatter settlements, realising that the supply of these services condones squatting and provides the squatters with a degree of legal approval which they may later use to resist eviction. In almost every case the Council has succumbed to pressures to supply these services.<sup>17</sup> Appendix D provides brief notes of selected squatter areas which illustrate the ad hoc nature of decisions on squatting in the Suva area.

Since the early 1950s, when the squatting problem was first seen to be becoming acute, there has been a shift in the general direction of policy. In the years before Independence, the Council alternated from years of excessive zeal when many eviction orders were issued to

Figure 8.6. Housing and the Media.

Housing and squatter issues have had prominence in the local press for many years. This selection (from 1972 to 1977) illustrates:

- Press 'sympathy' for the plight of individual squatters whose houses are demolished.
- Appeals to the public 'conscience' for the work by HART (Housing Assistance and Relief Trust) for the destitute.
- Concern about the social environment in some Housing Authority areas. 'Trouble with cheap housing' and 'Housing body pledges prevention of slum flats.'
- Government ambivalence towards squatters. 'Squatter areas should be set aside' [1972]; 'Squatters face blitz' and 'Squatters can expect little from me' [1977].
- The availability (and oversupply) of land, loan finance and housing for the rich. 'Come to terms with Hooker's....'

# DOWN COMES THEIR HOUSE!

**FIJI Sun**  
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1978  
FINAL EDITION  
Sun  
ESTABLISHED 1912

**HUMANITY** gave down the drain? A Bane couple and their young son yesterday lost their home because the Housing Authority needs the land on which it stood.

**Exclusive**  
— cane transport report  
... page 4



Mr. Bane and his family were forced to leave their home in the early hours of the morning. The Housing Authority has decided to demolish the house to make way for a new development. The family is now homeless and is looking for a place to stay.



DINESH KUMAR, 8, wonders where his family will go as his parents, Mr and Mrs K, look on helplessly.

## Sheriff pulls man's house down

A sheriff's officer and two village men pulled down the house of an Indian family because the land on which it stood was needed for a new development. The family is now homeless and is looking for a place to stay.



The family is now homeless and is looking for a place to stay. The Housing Authority has decided to demolish the house to make way for a new development. The family is now homeless and is looking for a place to stay.



JANEI and her two sons, Harold (4, left) and Harold (10) play with their pet dog Rex and her pupper outside their tiny, hand-built house.

## The setting is the only bright spot

As the sun sets on a hillside, the only bright spot is the tiny, hand-built house of Janei and her two sons. The house is made of corrugated metal and is surrounded by a fence. The family is now homeless and is looking for a place to stay.

## SQUATTERS FACE BLITZ

SUVIA Rural Local Authority will tighten its measures against squatters because of health and hurricane risk problems.

## Wanted: \$50,000 to house 300

It takes money, money, money to house 300 people. The Housing Authority is looking for \$50,000 to build 300 houses for the homeless.

## TROUBLE WITH CHEAP HOUSING

People who want cheap housing are in trouble. The Housing Authority is looking for \$50,000 to build 300 houses for the homeless. The family is now homeless and is looking for a place to stay.

## THE HOUSES HART BUILT

The Housing Authority says it will allow its staff to build houses in the future and is working to reduce the density of slums in the future.



## Squatters and water

The Housing Authority says it will allow its staff to build houses in the future and is working to reduce the density of slums in the future.

## Housing body pledges prevention of slum flats

The Housing Authority says it will allow its staff to build houses in the future and is working to reduce the density of slums in the future.

## SQUATTER AREAS SHOULD BE SET ASIDE: MINISTER

Special housing reserves for squatters are needed by the Minister for Urban Development, Housing and Social Welfare, Mr. Vili Vili.

The Minister said that the Housing Authority should set aside special housing reserves for squatters. He said that the Housing Authority should set aside special housing reserves for squatters.

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## Come to terms with Hooker's Namadi and Tamavua Heights.

10% deposit. Balance over 7 years at 10%.

**HOOKER'S LIMITED**  
SOLD  
\$75,000  
\$15,000 down  
\$60,000 over 7 years at 10%

## HOUSING: IT'S OUR BIGGEST HEADACHE

Housing is a big problem. The Housing Authority is looking for \$50,000 to build 300 houses for the homeless. The family is now homeless and is looking for a place to stay.



Mr. and Mrs. Vili Vili work on the frame of a new flat house at Namadi.

## Squatters can expect little from me - Mavoa

Squatters can expect little from me. The Housing Authority is looking for \$50,000 to build 300 houses for the homeless. The family is now homeless and is looking for a place to stay.

years when nothing seemed to happen. During this period, and earlier, government and the churches assumed responsibility for the resettlement of Fijian and Island squatter settlements, most of which were relocated as functioning communities outside the city.<sup>18</sup> Government assumed no responsibility for the resettlement of Indians, most of whom were on freehold land.

Since Independence, the more obvious differences in policy between resettlement of Fijians and Indians has narrowed, for almost all decision-making bodies now contain Indians. Differences in outlook, however, remain and these continue to influence squatter attitudes.

#### SQUATTER REACTIONS TO THE EVICTION THREAT

Fijian squatters in the city and the periurban area admit to having nowhere else to go, and some acknowledge that their position is insecure. The reaction of most Fijians, however, is that it is their government and their country, and the authorities will do something for them - as indeed they usually have. Resistance to Fijian eviction has usually been led by officials or church leaders. Indian squatters, on the other hand, admit to much greater insecurity, and are less hopeful that officials will intervene on their behalf (Reddy, 1976).

Ethnic divisions among squatters, the dispersed location and relatively small size of the settlements, and the irregularity of official action against them appear to have militated against organised resistance to eviction, or demands for land. Action against squatters resulting in eviction has usually been accompanied by assistance in relocation except in the case of individual households. Early in 1977, for example, the Suva Rural Local Authority determined to 'toughen its measures against squatters' (on unused Native land and the high class Laucala Beach Estate) supposedly 'because of the health and hurricane problems' (Fiji Sun, 26 March, 1977). This move resulted in action against three families and nineteen further cases were pending. Those threatened represented individual households too weak to offer effective resistance. Such action maintains the feeling of insecurity without inviting organised reaction; it also encourages squatting, for action against so few is unlikely to be a deterrent to further squatting. A not untypical view is reported by Reddy (1976, 39) :

Nand too was served with an eviction notice by the Lands Department. But he said that he ignored the notice and will keep on ignoring it in the future.

'If the government pushes me out of here then it will have to push the other residents out too. There are so many of us out here and I cannot see how all of us could be pushed out.'

The odds against eviction appear very much in the squatters' favour.

The only partially verified evidence of organised squatter-initiated resistance to threatened eviction is from one of the larger, older and predominantly Indian squatter areas in the city, the Jittu Estate. In the early 1970s the tenants heard that the owners intended to sell the land to an American for \$250,000. The squatters dissuaded the American from purchasing the land, and offered to buy the Estate themselves. This plan was apparently abandoned when the direct threat of outside purchase was removed, and the owners increased their price to \$500,000.<sup>19</sup>

#### WHY THE 'DOUBLE BIND'?

Government looks to the Housing Authority to accommodate squatters who have to be evicted from land needed for development, or whose homes have been destroyed by hurricanes. The Authority has also assumed responsibility for former government low-cost housing, and the upgrading of some Fijian squatter settlements or relocated squatters in the city.<sup>20</sup>

In 1971 a Cabinet decision pronounced that sitting tenants had to be accounted for on any land being developed, and landowners are now held responsible for the resettlement of squatters. This resulted in a situation where the Housing Authority, for instance, had to make temporary provision for sitting tenants. In some areas this could result in half of the land being made available having to be allocated to sitting tenants.<sup>21</sup> The Authority has accepted these decisions with reluctance. Its 1970 Report (Housing Authority Annual Report, 1970, 8) stated:<sup>22</sup>

There is obviously something wrong with a system where those who flout the law are placed in a position of priority and receive subsidy denied to law-abiding citizens - a system in addition whereby many 'squatters' can justifiably claim they were forced to flout the law in order to get a place to live.

Privatelandowners have also reacted sharply to Government's decision that they are responsible for their ex-tenants.

Despite these measures, the expansion of public housing and spasmodic demolition of squatter dwellings, the number of squatters continues to increase. The basic problems of squatting appear unlikely to be resolved by government shifting responsibility to the Authority and private landowners. Ad hoc government interference on behalf of particular groups of squatters (Housing Authority Annual Report, 1969) suggests that government has no real policy towards squatters. The collapse of combined government committees on squatter housing was due to lack of departmental interest according to one informant. The same informant (who shall remain anonymous) said that the whole issue was too political. 'No one,' he said 'will bring up the question of squatters because it all comes back to the same question - land.' Specifically, this means freehold and Native land.

The government has claimed that it will not allow speculation in land, but on the one occasion it was directly asked to invoke the Crown Acquisition of Land Act by the Housing Authority it declined to do so, and a clear case of speculation resulted. In 1967 the Authority rejected the offer of a piece of land at Kinoya claiming that the price of \$50,000 was too high. Barely two years later the price had risen to \$250,000 (Housing Authority Annual Report, 1969). More recently in Suva, the Authority offered to purchase the Jittu Estate but negotiations collapsed because the owners were asking twice the market value (footnote 19). Failure of the government to take action in such cases has led the Authority to ask government to repeal the Act unless it intends to use it so that they can more accurately assess their position with regard to land availability. Similarly, government has put no pressure on the NLTB, trustees for the extensive areas of Native land beyond the city, to make more of this land available for Authority use.

No landowner has been prosecuted for permitting the construction of illegal dwellings, taking rents from their occupants, retaining land for speculative purposes, or selling land at excessive profit, and relatively few squatters have been evicted despite numerous decisions favouring demolition and eviction. Left without basic services, squatter areas may constitute a health hazard; yet the provision of these services by the Council affords them a measure of legal acceptance.



Increased city rates on unimproved capital value may put pressure on private landowners to release undeveloped land for housing. It may also encourage landowners to accept more 'tenant squatters' to help them meet rates payment (see Appendix D) or oblige them to sell to overseas interests. Land free of squatters sells for higher prices but government holds landowners responsible for providing their 'tenants' with alternative places of residence before evicting them. This, many do not have the resources to do. Action against squatters inside the city increases the squatter problem outside the city, and failure to take action legitimises further squatting. This is the official dilemma. Each compromise between conflicting class and ethnic interests (represented by regulations, authorities, overseas developers, local landowners, voluntary groups, experts, and 'tenants') creates further problems.

Government and Council action has tended to be ad hoc and inconsistent, and government has been unwilling to use the powers vested in it for fear of offending any one of the sectional groups upon whose support it relies. It has been a classical case of what Angel and Benjamin (1976, 26) have called the 'double bind':

On the one hand, they cannot alienate the powerful... on the other hand, they recognize that squatters have a problem and cannot be thrown out wholesale without generating some public wrath and perhaps organized resistance. This is the typical double bind situation, in which the best course of action is no action.

## FOOTNOTES

1 Falvey in Legislative Council Debates, (1955, 197 - 204). Falvey, then European member for the Southern Division, later became first chairman of the Housing Authority, Attorney-General, the only local shareholder in the Hooker [land] Development Company, and a benefactor of the Raiwaqa Estate. He donated \$20,000 towards the cost of a filtered swimming pool.

2 Falvey (ibid) claimed 269 dwellings were to be demolished in Suva between 1951 and 1954. They accommodated 488 families or 2,340 people. In the ten year period (1955-65) the City Council anticipated the further demolition of 995 dwellings, accommodating 1,250 families or 8,032 people. In addition, a further 150 families would need to leave overcrowded and unsanitary premises. Thus, according to Falvey, homes for 1,400 families would be needed before 1966. This excluded the needs of perhaps a further 400 families in the periurban area. According to Perry(1970) few of the 995 dwellings were actually demolished due to increased concern with overcrowding.

3 Hon. W. G. Johnson (Legislative Council Debates, 1955, 365). During the same debate the Hon. H. B. Gibson considered: 'Building regulations are ridiculously demanding in that they produced European style houses in areas where Europeans would not want to live.' He quoted a case of a 'European' house in Samabula occupied by an Indian tenant and a large number of Fijian sub-tenants.

4 Sitting tenants are those with some legitimate right of occupance. For most intents and purposes, however, the distinction between such tenants and squatters is very slight. This will be discussed more fully below.

5 Government sent K.R. Bain to the West Indies in 1958 to study their housing programme. He found their standards much lower than those acceptable to authorities in Fiji, and recommended a minimum house of 40.2 square metres with additional space for shower, toilet and laundry (McMullon, 1963). These were the original guidelines for the HPP design. Other schemes were introduced or became more important later.

6 This permits those reselling only to recover and charge interest on principal. While such an arrangement appears just, it contrasts sharply with practices in the private sector where the sale of land and property is allowed to accrue values added, for example, by government construction of roads and provision of other services. In these cases, built-in subsidies are added to 'legitimate profit.'

7 Residential C and D lots were selling for \$1,500 in 1976. The deposit required was generally over \$200, an amount most found difficulty in obtaining.

8 Housing Authority reports (1968 to 1970) repeatedly claimed that interest rates were too high. It is 'doubtful whether any housing scheme for low income workers have (sic) ever been mounted with interest rates as high as those this Authority has to pass on to its borrowers.' This comment appeared in all three reports. Government could well consider significantly lower interest rates for housing the poor if it could contain inflation (cf. Bell, 1974, on Brazil).

9 Methods used to reduce costs include: estate-type development, high rise buildings, eased standards, the sale of property to subsidise other parts of the estate, and improved design. None has proved effective in bringing costs within reach of the typical low-income worker. Teh (1966) claimed that building costs in Fiji were higher than in all other developing countries. He attributed part of the difference to high costs of materials; the balance of the difference he found 'most puzzling.' Housing Authority construction costs in 1966 were about \$3.80 a square foot (0.093 square metres); in 1975 this had risen to \$13.00.

10 The Income and Expenditure Survey (Bureau of Statistics, 1972a) found that food and beverages accounted for 36 percent of Indian and 40 percent of Fijian household expenditure. The proportion for low-income families would be significantly higher.

11 Much of the following discussion is limited to the largest and oldest Authority estate at Raiwaqa-Raiwai (Figure 9.6). No Authority estate has been adequately covered by social surveys, but there have been some studies of Raiwaqa-Raiwai. These include Harré (1976), Housing Authority (1976a), Mamak (1973, and 1974 en passant) and Perry (1970).

12 Household size is limited to five for one-room and eight for two-room flats at application only. Harré (1976, 46) showed 46 percent of Fijian Raiwaqa households comprised extended families. Figures from the 1976 Census (unpublished) showed 67.6 percent were extended, and 23.5 percent of households were larger than the regulation maximum for two-room flats on application.

13 Mamak (1973, 50) argues that exceeding regulation household size 'tends to slow down the rate of economic advance and change' but concedes to Harré and McGrath (1970) that 'an extended family as such does not produce a lower per capita income.' No evidence was provided for either argument.

14 In size they compare most favourably with a Housing Authority 'crash' programme to resettle squatters at Newtown near Suva. Houses there ranged from 22.3 to 29.8 square metres.

15 Samy (1973, 65 - 70) discusses similar problems with 1,100 squatters on former C.S.R. land at Lautoka taken over by the Housing Authority. Since Samy's study, pressure by the Sugar Workers Union has obliged the Authority to provide relatively superior accommodation for many of the squatters which they would normally not have qualified for. This appears to be the only example of Union activity on behalf of the squatters, although Suva City Council workmen have, on occasion, refused to demolish squatter dwellings.

16 Examples of increased rates on city freehold land occupied by squatters includes: Deo Dutt area (1974-76) up 81 percent; Muslim League area (1974-76) up 100 percent; Jittu area (1974-75) up 82 percent. An example of the increased value of land after subdivision is the Hooker development at Delainamadi. Before subdivision in 1974, the value per hectare was \$403; after subdivision the value per hectare was \$2,354. The Jittu area has been valued at \$284 per hectare with squatters in occupance, and \$2,025 with no squatters prior to subdivision.

17 Ethnicity is a factor influencing sympathies on most matters in Fiji, as the following case may illustrate:

In August 1976 the Ministry of Urban Development, Housing and Social Welfare (an Indian minister) requested the Council (multi-ethnic) to grant access for a water pipeline to about 30 Indian squatters in the Lovoni Road area, and said that government would meet the cost of installation. Council replied that the water issue could not be

separated from the squatter issue, and referred the matter to their solicitor, an Indian. In his reply, the solicitor said that the area was not really suitable for development (an unsolicited response), that squatters provided a significant proportion of the city's labour force, eviction would add to the housing shortage (squatters 'decrease the increase of housing shortage in this country as well as keeping the national expenses down') and that eviction would 'make the innocent children suffer both mentally and educationally which suffering could leave a clear mark for a substantial period in the span of their respective lives.' Nevertheless, he reluctantly concluded that they could be evicted.

Appendix D provides similar examples of sympathies favouring Fijians.

18 The history and evolution of squatter settlements in the Suva area is briefly discussed in Chapter 9.

19 The informant was Suttlej Harigyen Samalia, a curious figure, born en route from India, one of the few Indians in the Fiji army in Malaysia, one time carpenter at the RNZAF Laucala Bay base, founder of a welfare society, organiser of several Girmit (Indentured Labourer) festivals, market vendor and agent for the landowners at Jittu. He claimed to have organised this action. Samalia rents rooms in the estate, has a small grocery store, and conducts other 'business' in the estate. It is understood that the owners have again offered to sell to the tenants, this time for \$4,860 a hectare. The market value of the estate with no squatters in occupance, is under half this amount (see footnote 16).

20 Valenimanumanu and parts of Nauluvatu have been upgraded; Nabua is the only relocated squatter settlement in the city; and the government houses are at Tubou Street.

21 To facilitate the development of Housing Authority lands, and ease the lot of squatters who cannot afford to purchase Authority lands, the Department of Social Welfare makes ex gratia payments of up to \$25.00 (sic) for 'genuinely deserving people' (DPVI, 226).

22 The report was published in 1971, after the Cabinet decision was made known.

## PART IV

### SQUATTING IN SUVA

The primary aim of this section is to describe salient characteristics and responses of squatter households grouped according to ethnicity and location (ethno-areas), and to compare them, where data permit, with households in other low-income (control) areas in the city and Urban Area.

Ethnicity, associated with most 'social area' studies in the West, has been shown to be related to different levels of socio-economic well-being. Its choice as a major variable in a plural society such as Fiji, where it is perhaps the most important single index of exposure to, access to, and use of urban resources, needs little justification. Although there is no generally accepted theory on locational differences with regard to squatting, it is evident from the literature that the characteristics of squatters are considered to vary according to factors related to location. These include age of settlement, social composition and security of tenure. In turn, these factors have been assumed to be associated with the preponderance of certain demographic, socio-economic and, possibly, motivational characteristics. The decision to study city as distinct from Urban Area locations (detailed in Chapter 1) seems justified on these counts. It is recognized, however, that group behaviour is a multiple of individual behaviour, and that the grouping of households according to arbitrary criteria such as ethnicity and location may conceal differences within areas. Such differences are the concern of later chapters. For the present, this approach provides a starting point from which one may move to the exploration of specific individual household characteristics in later chapters.

Chapter 9 provides a brief history of squatter settlement in Suva and an assessment of growth and locational changes in recent years (1958 - 1976). Official policy is shown to have been unable to contain the growth of squatting, even within the city boundary. The remainder of the chapter is concerned with a description of the demographic characteristics, and Chapter 10 with the economic characteristics, of squatting. Where data permit comparison, squatters are shown to have broadly similar characteristics to other low-income people. Chapter 11 provides a description of housing and housing adequacy. Chapter 12

considers two claims of the marginality theorists : namely, squatting is a misuse of urban space, and squatters are an economically negative and socially anti-developmental force in the city. The chapters in Part IV provide factual and largely descriptive information as a basis for hypothesis testing and analysis in succeeding chapters.

## CHAPTER 9

### DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

#### Early Squatter Settlements in Suva<sup>1</sup>

The earliest squatter settlements in the area now comprising Suva City appear to have been established by Other Pacific Islanders, and possibly by Indians. Until World War II most urban Fijians were temporary visitors to the city who rented accommodation in the inner city or were provided with accommodation by their employers.

Most Other Pacific Islanders had come to Fiji as indentured labourers. During the 1940s and 1950s some of their earlier settlements were relocated under the direction of the churches or the District Officer at sites some distance outside the city area. This was the origin of:

a) Wailoku, also called Patterson Settlement, a Church of England settlement established in 1941 by Solomon Islanders who were living in near-slum conditions in the city;

b) Kalekana, a Solomon Islander settlement in a Toorak gully which was moved to Lami in 1952;

c) Vila Star at Nasinu, a Gilbertese and New Hebridean settlement at Nasese until 1955 when the land was taken for residential development, and,

d) Kaunikuila, a Solomon Islander settlement at Flagstaff which was moved to Nasinu Newtown after the 1952 hurricane (Figure 9.3).

The main reasons for relocation were: official and church concern for living conditions, the land being needed for development, hurricanes which destroyed the flimsy, \*bure-type shelters, and the extension of the city boundary. All these settlements, with the exception of Kalekana, were located outside the pre-1952 boundary of the city.

Some Islander settlements have, however, remained within the post-1952 city boundary. The first settler at Malekula, for instance, was a Solomon Islander who arranged with his employers, Morris Hedstrom Ltd., to settle there, and Tamavua-i-Wai was also originally a Solomon Islander settlement. Today, however, as a consequence of intermarriage, all such settlements within the city are essentially Fijian.



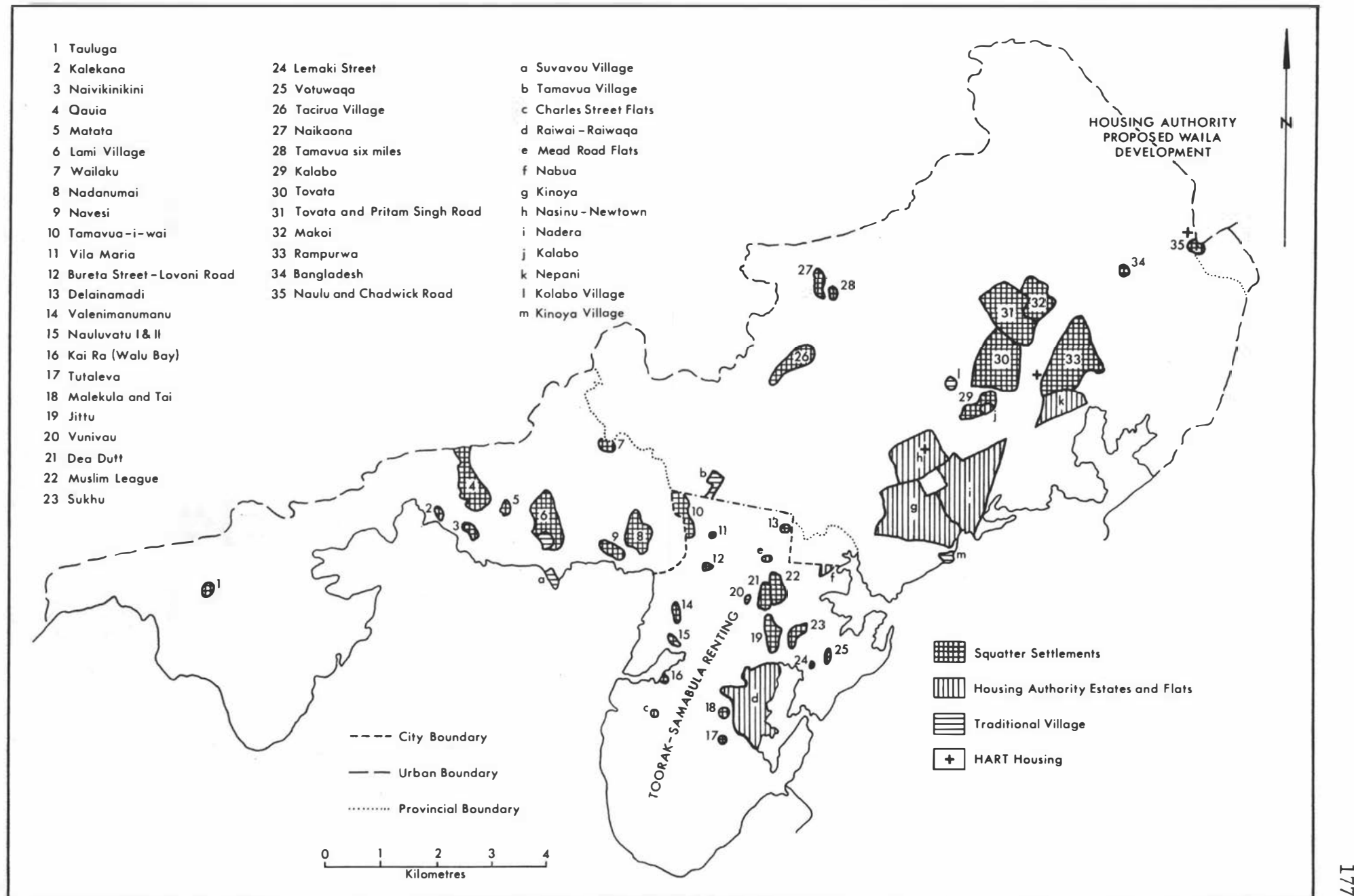
Information is lacking on Indian squatter settlements but it seems reasonably clear that the first such settlements were at Vatuwaqa and Samabula, both outside the pre-1952 city boundary. Freehold tenure or Crown lease land were soon obtained in both areas (Anderson, 1974, 20, 44). Indian squatter areas today are almost exclusively on freehold land to the north and northeast of the city and all original households in these areas appear to have paid land rent to the owners.

The oldest Fijian (as distinct from Islander-Fijian) squatter area appears to be Valenimanumanu, 'acquired' in 1910, but not occupied by many people until World War II. Nauluvatu (1941) and Walu Bay (1952) were essentially extensions of Valenimanumanu. All three settlements were established by migrants from Ra province and all are on Crown (or Council) land. Three other Fijian settlements (Tai-o-Lomaiviti, Tai-o-Kadavu, Tai-o-Noco) collectively known as Raiwai were established on Tetzner (later Morris Hedstrom) land in the late 1940s (Harré and McGrath, 1970). This area now comprises part of the Raiwai-Raiwaqa Housing Authority Estate. Most former inhabitants have been relocated at Raiwaqa and Newtown by the Authority but some settled nearby at the squatter settlement of Tutaleva.

Of settlements remaining within the post-1952 boundary, Valenimanumanu and Nauluvatu are situated on narrow areas of land under the Tamavua ridge, Tamavua-i-Wai and Kai Ra are on flood prone land adjacent to mangrove swamp and Malekula, Deo Dutt, Muslim League and Jittu are sited on former guava scrub land which at the time of settlement lacked direct road access. When first established these squatters did not compete with other land users. Indeed, most were retroactively recognized by the owners as tenants. Private owners accepted rents from the squatters and government charged a token land rent. This situation changed as the demand for residential land increased.

### City Changes, 1958 - 1976<sup>2</sup>

Despite a public housing programme which in 1976 accommodated 19,614 people (9,576 of them in the city according to unpublished census information), despite action against squatters by the Council and pressure from developers, despite the upgrading of Valenimanumanu and the sizeable increase in squatting beyond the city (Figure 9.1), squatting



**FIGURE 9.1** Squatter Settlements and Other Low-income Housing, Suva Urban Area, 1976.

Sources: Bakker and Walsh (1976); Nair (1976); field survey, 1976.

within the city had increased by an estimated 38 percent between 1958 and 1976. Almost all of this growth has occurred in recent years.

TABLE 9.1  
CITY SQUATTER POPULATION ESTIMATES BY ZONES, 1958 - 1976<sup>a</sup>

Zone	Middle City East A	North B	Outer-middle City C	Outer City D	Other <sup>b</sup> E	Total city
1958	2,330	116	1,880	971	822	6,119
%	(38.1)	(1.9)	(30.7)	(15.9)	(13.4)	(100.0)
1960	2,819	216	2,634	1,199	761	7,629
%	(37.0)	(2.8)	(34.5)	(15.7)	(10.0)	(100.0)
1964	2,420	384	2,744	1,590	500	7,638
%	(31.7)	(5.0)	(35.9)	(20.8)	(6.6)	(100.0)
1967	1,986	468	2,550	1,404	456	6,864
%	(28.9)	(6.8)	(37.2)	(20.5)	(6.6)	(100.0)
1971	1,008	588	2,976	1,644	444	6,660
%	(15.1)	(8.8)	(44.7)	(24.7)	(6.7)	(100.0)
1972	805	562	4,154	1,787	339	7,647
%	(10.5)	(7.4)	(54.3)	(23.4)	(4.4)	(100.0)
1976	650	576	5,569	1,362	280	8,437
%	(7.7)	(6.8)	(66.0)	(16.2)	(3.3)	(100.0)
% change 1958-1976	-72.1	39.7	196.2	40.3	-65.9	37.9

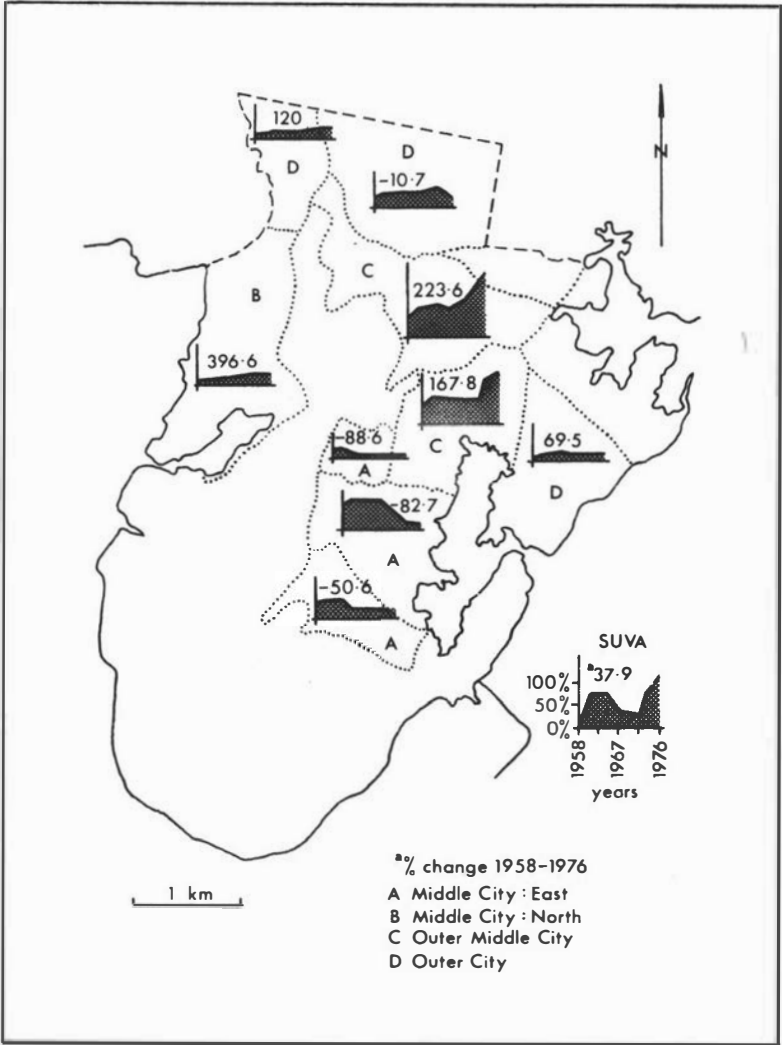
Notes: a All figures are based on an assumed household size of six. The 1976 Census indicated that this figure over-estimated middle city household size by 0.2, and the Jittu Estate in the Outer-Middle City by 1.0. No adjustment, however, is made for multiple dwelling occupancy.

Sources: City Council Health Department surveys, 1958 - 1972. 1967 figures are based on a Health Department survey and aerial photograph interpretation by B. Nair of the Town and Country Planning Department. 1976 figures are based on Nair's estimates for late 1975 and 1976 Census information (unpublished) where this was available for squatter locations.

In 1958, Zones A and C (Figure 9.2) accounted for 69 percent of Suva's squatters. By 1976, Zone C alone accounted for 66 percent. Zone B increased steadily during the 1960s but stabilized in the 1970s. Zone D had irregular growth and appears to have declined since 1972. Zones A and E (which includes Nabua) have shown sharp declines. Pressure by the Council and developers appears to have been successful in the Middle City Zone (A) and the Outer-City (D). Pressure in Zone A has come mainly from the Housing Authority; Outer-City pressure from private developers catering for high-income households. Pressure appears to have been least effective in the Middle City (B), on Crown land occupied almost exclusively by Fijians and in the Outer-Middle City (D) which contains the large private estates of Jittu, Deo Dutt and Muslim League. Overseas residence by some of the owners, unrealistic selling prices, and the presence of a large number of squatters has complicated sales and delayed development in these areas. In the long run, however, one may anticipate squatter eviction from the more favourable locations within these settlements for they now constitute the largest areas of 'undeveloped' land in the city (Figures 9.3 - 9.8 ).

Table 9.2 demonstrates that the closure of squatter dwellings in any one part of the city is not a solution to the squatter problem. The very nature of squatting suggests that evicted households will seek dwelling sites elsewhere, preferably close to the areas from which they have been evicted. This has occurred in at least two cases. Malekula families evicted from subdivided land adjacent to Nailuva Road re-established themselves at another location in Malekula, and families evicted from Morris Hedstrom land at Tutaleva moved their settlement on to Council land a few hundred metres away (Figure 12.2) It is thought to be highly probable that the sharp increases in the Outer-Middle Zone (C) were a direct result of evictions in other areas.

The main 'success' in the years since 1958 seems to have been in the improvement of squatter dwellings and the provision of basic services, both directly attributable to the work of the Council's Health Department. The most obvious sign of such improvement is the disappearance of the semi-traditional bure which dominated some Fijian settlements as late as 1968.



**FIGURE 9.2** City Squatter Population Changes, 1959 – 1976. Sources: Based on Nair (1976); Suva City Council Health Department files; unpublished 1976 Census data.

TABLE 9.2  
URBAN AREA SQUATTER POPULATION ESTIMATES BY ZONES<sup>a</sup>, 1967 and 1975

	East	North	West	Total
1967	1,548	294	2,016	3,858
1975	5,892	894	3,942	10,428
% change	280.6	204.1	80.7	170.3

Note: a East comprised areas adjacent to King's Road; North areas adjacent to Prince's Road; and West all the Urban Area to the west of the Tamavua River.

Source: Calculated from Nair (1976).

#### Urban Area Changes, 1967 - 1975

Much less is known about squatter settlements in the Urban Area (Figures 9.10 - 9.16) than settlements within the city although figures by Nair (1970) provide a basis for discussion (Table 9.2).

Table 9.2 indicates that the squatter population in the Urban Area increased by about 21.3 percent a year between 1967 and 1975, the greatest increases being in the east (35.1 percent) and the north (25.5 percent). The majority of the population in these areas is Indian. The area to the west, mainly populated by Fijians, grew by 10.1 percent a year in the same period (Figures 9.9 - 9.16).

These figures, however, probably under-estimate the situation in the Urban Area. A revised estimate for the Urban Area and the city is provided in Table 9.3.

Estimation of populations from aerial photographs is prone to significant error, especially in areas where sample surveys have not been conducted. Estimates calculated by methods described in footnotes to Table 9.3 are also likely to be prone to significant error. The squatter population has been estimated to have increased between 1967 and 1975/76 by between 62.8 and 115.2 percent to comprise between 13.5 and 19.7 percent of the population of the total Suva Urban Area. Such details, however, are less important than the fact that squatting has increased considerably in recent years despite concerted efforts by the Housing Authority to provide housing for the urban poor. Short of major changes in the economy of Fiji or a drastic reallocation of present resources, squatter-type settlements are likely to remain an important part of the Suva urban landscape. It is therefore important to determine the salient characteristics of their inhabitants.

Figure 9.3 Suva City Locations.

- 1 Tamavua Hospital
  - 2 Tamavua Heights (site)
  - 3 Tamavua Village
  - 4 Queen Elizabeth Barracks
  - 5 Nabua
  - 6 Mangrove. Cleared area once occupied by squatters.
  - 7 Toorak gully. Former site of Kalekana squatter settlement.
  - 8 Flagstaff area.
  - 9 Governor's residence. Site of old Suva village
  - 10 Nasese. Former site of Villa Star squatter settlement
- 
- A Tamavua
  - B Samabula
  - C Walu Bay
  - D Vatuwaqa
  - E Raiwaqa
  - F Raiwai. Fijian squatter villages now removed.
  - G Malekula squatter settlement.
  - H Toorak
  - I Central Business District
  - J Domain
  - K Laucala Bay

Altitude : 12,000 feet (approx. 3,658 metres).

Photo: Department of Lands, Mines and Surveys, Suva.  
2 September, 1972.

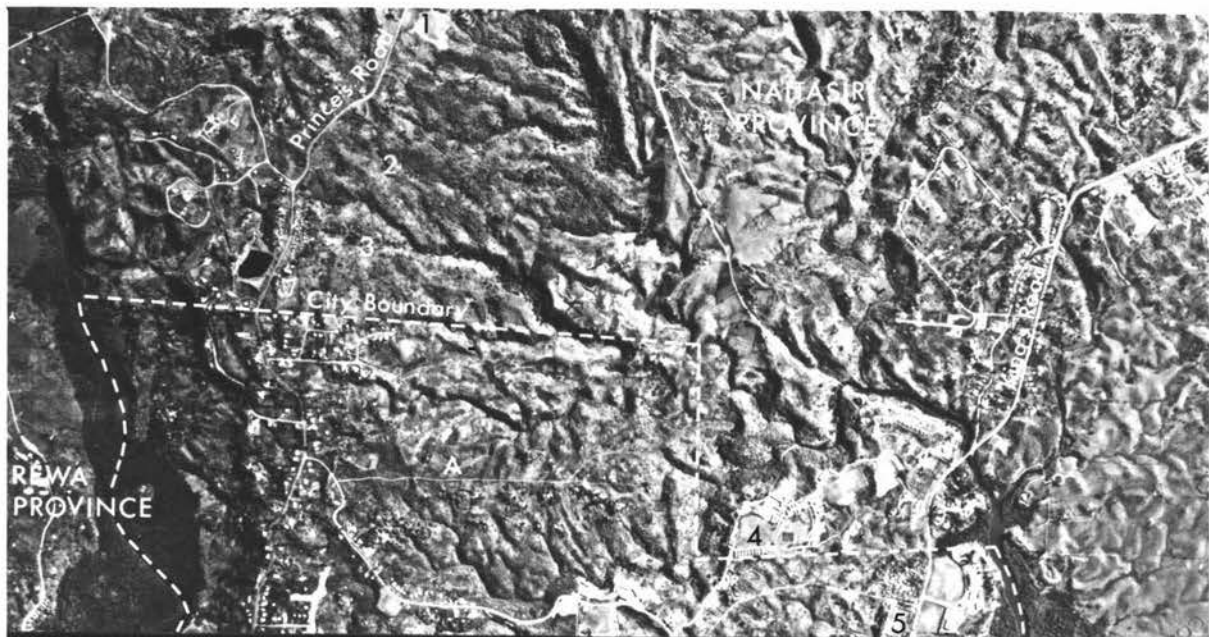




Figure 9.4. Fijian Squatter Settlements on the Inner City Fringe.

Four Fijian squatter settlements encircle the Walu Bay Industrial Area. Valenimanumanu (A) is in the process of being upgraded; parts of Nauluvatu I (B) and II (C) may be upgraded, and Walu Bay or Kai Ra (D), which is located in an area zoned 'visual amenities park,' has so far defied attempts at relocation.

Locational and environmental factors which, in part, account for the continued presence of these squatter settlements include: excessive shade from the Tamavua Ridge; two cemeteries (a, b); St Giles' Mental Hospital (c); oil storage tanks (d), and mangrove swamp (f).

The area is attractive to squatters for several reasons. These include: opportunities for gardening (e); mangrove food and fuel resources (f); proximity to work in the Walu Bay industrial area (g), the wharf complex and Central Business District (h), and Toorak (i).

Altitude : 4,000 feet (approx. 1,219m.)

Photo: Department of Lands, Mines and Surveys, Suva.  
31 December, 1973.

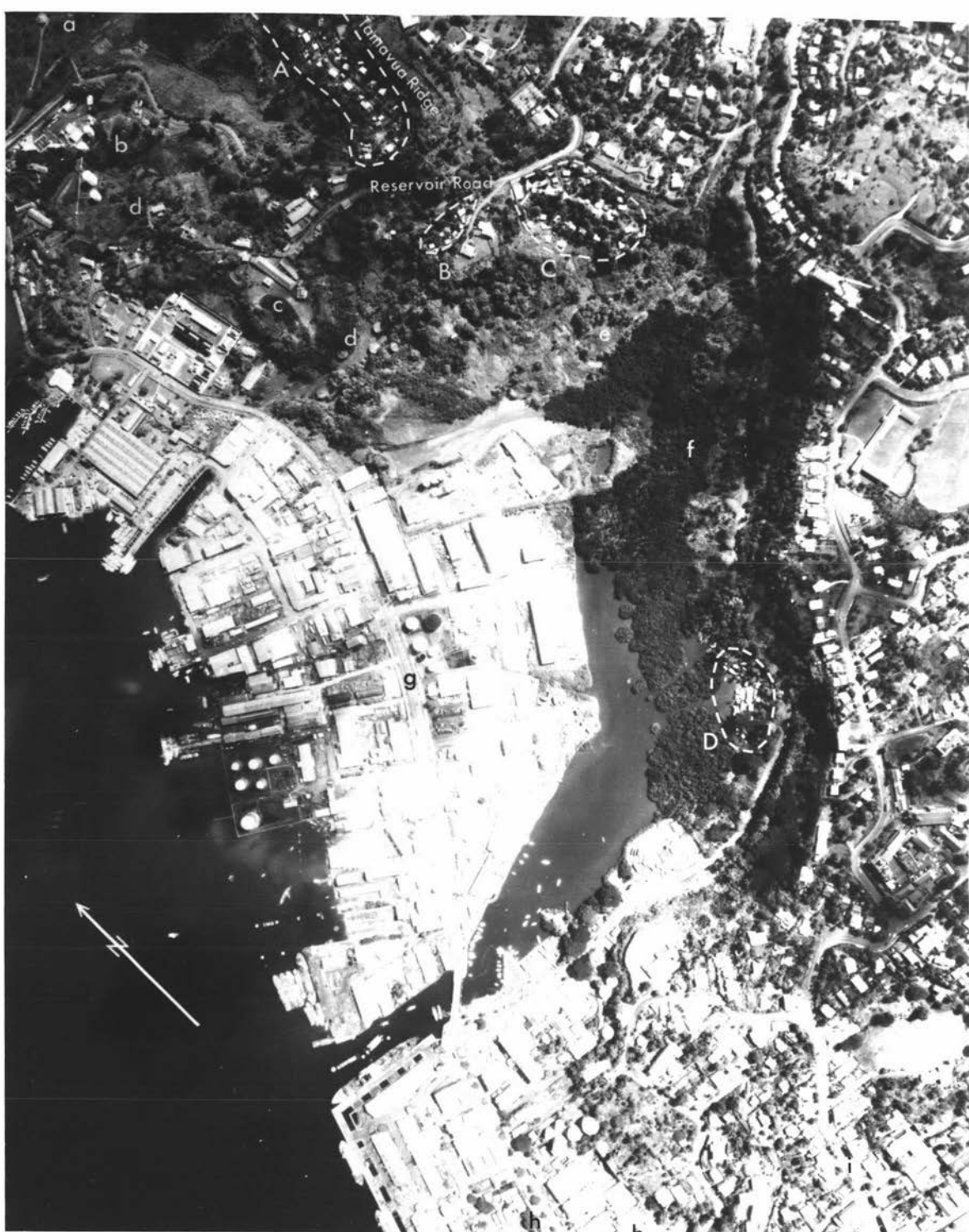


Figure 9.5. Squatter Settlements Threatened by Middle City Developments.

Upper middle class housing development on Morris Hedstrom land forced people at E to move to Korovou (A) and Tutaleva (B), two settlements on Suva City Council land zoned a 'passive' recreational area. Part of this development includes provision for a zoo. Malekula (C) is on Morris Hedstrom land required for high class housing development (See Figure 12.2).

Previous squatter settlements in the area include: three Fijian 'villages' at Raiwai (w) now occupied by Housing Authority dwellings; Kaunikuila (x) in a still undeveloped Toorak gully; Viti Madarasi (y) on the proposed park; and on former Morris Hedstrom land (z) now zoned industrial.

Other squatter settlements include Tai (D), and scattered Indian dwellings (F).

Altitude: 4,000 ft. (approx. 1,219m).

Photo: Department of Lands, Mines and Surveys, Suva.  
13 December, 1973.



Figure 9.6. The Raiwai-Raiwaqa Housing Authority Estate and Adjacent Areas.

The Housing Authority Estate (A, broken line) comprises three basic types of housing in broadly discrete areas. Housing types are: Four-storey flats at Raiwaqa (a) and three-storey at Raiwai (b); single unit houses (c), and two-storey duplex units (d). The Estate also includes a market and shopping centre (e), an administration area (f) and a police compound (g). Recreational areas are limited (h).

Adjacent areas belonging to the Authority include: sewerage plant and theatre (B) and land leased at market prices for upper middle class housing (C).

Squatter awareness of boundaries is indicated by the sharp break in housing between the squatter settlement of Jittu (E) and Hooker's upper class housing development (D). Other squatter areas (broken lines) include : Deo Dutt (F); Muslim League (G); Sukhu (H), and Lemaki Street (J), both of which are zoned industrial; the area behind Kaunitoni Street (I), part of which is zoned residential; Malekula (K) and Tai (L).

Altitude : 4,750 ft. (approx. 1,448m.).

Photo: Department of Lands, Mines and Surveys, Suva.  
5 February, 1971.



Figure 9.7. Outer-middle City Squatter Settlements.

Deo Dutt (A) and Muslim League (B) squatter settlements have so far avoided 'development' due to indecision by land owners, and 'development' at Jittu (C) has been delayed by an unrealistic selling price.

Vunivau (D) is on Methodist Church land and provides an example of induced self-help. Residents will acquire secure titles if they construct concrete block houses within ten years.

All squatter settlements are close to work opportunities at the Tip Top (E) and Lysaght (F) factories, the P.W.D. (G) and Samabula (H). Ratu Mara Road is the main road into the city from the east.

The siting of dwellings within settlements is not haphazard. The photograph illustrates the importance of boundaries, access, water and shade.

The Housing Authority's three-storey flats at Mead Road are shown at (I).

Altitude: 4,750 ft. (Approx. 1,448m.).

Photo: Department of Lands, Mines and Surveys, Suva.  
9 November, 1971.







Figure 9.8. Outer City Developments.

Pockets of small squatter settlements remain at the city's northern boundary. Their future is uncertain with the development of extensive areas of low density upper class housing such as Namadi Heights shown in this photograph. Namadi Heights is being developed by Hooker (Fiji) Ltd., a branch of the large Melbourne firm (\$15,000,000 ordinary share capital). It purchased the \$365,000 property with a deposit of \$100,000. The balance was borrowed within Fiji. Most squatter settlements in the outer city are predominantly Indian. They include: Delainamadi (A), Lovoni Road (B) and Bureta Road (C). Deo Dutt (D) and Muslim League (E) are shown to the south of the photograph.

Other landmarks in this area include: the Housing Authority Mead Road flats (F), Nabua Fijian School (G), Geological Survey (H), and part of the Queen Elizabeth Army Barracks (I).

Altitude: 4,000 ft. (Approx. 1.219m).

Photo: Department of Lands, Mines and Surveys, Suva.  
31 December, 1973.



Figure 9.9. Beyond the Northern City Boundary.

Broken terrain is only one reason for the slow development of this area controlled by the Native Lands Trust Board on behalf of local mataqali. The upper class area of Tamavua Heights, leased from the NLTB, is seen at the right of the ridge in the middle background. To its left is the traditional village of Tamavua. In the foreground (left) is Mead Road, Namadi Heights and Delainamadi (centre), and Queen Elizabeth Army Barracks (right).

Photo: M. L. Bakker, June, 1976.

Figure 9.10. The Northeastern City Boundary.

Immediately beyond the city boundary at the Samabula River is the new upper class residential Laucala Beach Estate. Beyond this are two Housing Authority estates, Kinoya and Nadera.

Inside the city boundary is the model Fijian urban village of Nabua (left foreground), established middle class houses at Samabula East (right foreground), and on the far side of Ratu Mara Road, light industrial development (centre), Ratu Sukuna School, (lower right) and the Suva Golf Course (upper right).

Photo: The Author, June, 1976.

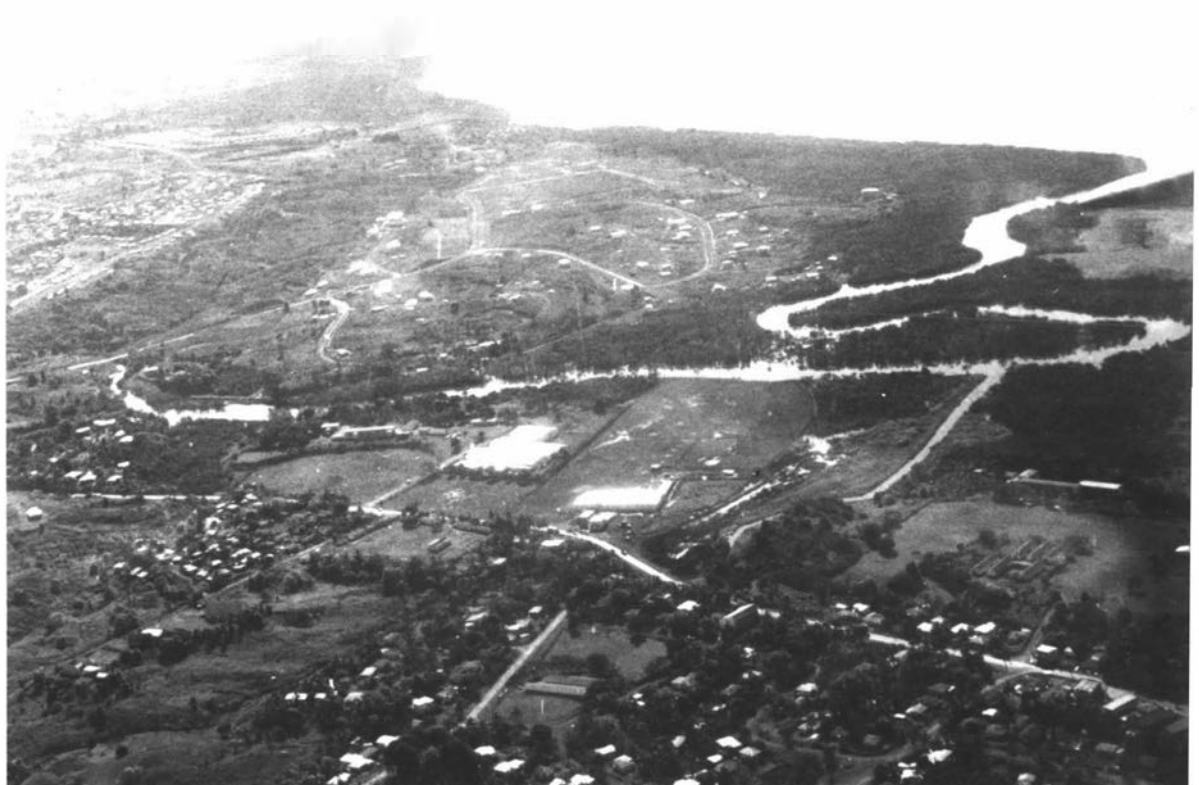


Figure 9.11. The City's Western Boundary.

Upper class houses occupy choice vantage points on the Tamavua Ridge. Indian squatter dwellings are situated on the slopes, and Fijian squatters are grouped around the Tamavua-i-wai church on dry land adjacent to the mangrove-edged Tamavua River. Much land on the slope is given over to the cultivation of cassava.

Photo: M.L. Bakker, June, 1976.

Figure 9.12. Settlements in the Western Urban Area.

Upper class Lami (foreground) is situated on high ground overlooking the Lami River and Suva Harbour. To the left, the small local Fijian squatter settlement of Naivikinikini has challenged the expansion of freehold development by building a church (x) on the area they claim to be their boundary.

Access to the largely migrant squatter settlement of Qauia (background) is by a footbridge. The river can also be forded at low tide. Dwellings at Qauia are grouped according to island and provincial origin (Figure 14.2) and the settlement provides a good example of the regular and organised layout of squatter settlements where the terrain permits.

Photo: M. L. Bakker, June, 1976.



Figure 9.13. Tacirua Village and the Northern Urban Area.

People at Tacirua claim they are not squatters. They presented tabua to the local mataqali which were accepted. While such traditional procedures are not recognized in law, Fijians in unofficial Fijian villages such as Tacirua do have slightly more security than most Indians whom the authorities see as true squatters.

Tacirua is wedged between the edge of the Tamavua Ridge and Prince's Road. Extensive areas of present and former garden lands used by villagers is seen below the ridge, and scattered Indian settlement, most on short-term agricultural leases, beyond Prince's Road. Tamavua Hospital is shown to the upper right. All land in this area is administered by the NLTB.

Photo: M. L. Bakker, June 1976.

Figure 9.14. Tovata and the Eastern Urban Area.

Squatters in this area are mainly Indian. Those at Tovata (centre) occupy Crown and Native land. Many occupy expired agricultural lease land. King's Road is shown in the foreground.

Photo: The Author, June, 1976.







Figure 9.15. Kalabo Housing Authority Area.

Fijian residents at the Kalabo Housing Authority area (foreground) have challenged the use of land for gardening by Indian squatters across the road. Indian squatters had all received eviction notices in 1976. Occupance by Housing Authority residents was delayed by problems of connecting the houses to reticulated sewerage. Several informants held that pour-flush toilets or septic tank sewerage are all that is necessary at this level of housing density. See Figure 12.7 and 12.8.

Photo: R. Thaman, June, 1978.

Figure 9.16. Sarosaro Place and the Kinoya Housing Authority Estate.

This was the first Housing Authority area developed outside the city. It comprises single-storey Home Purchase dwellings (HPP) occupied by Fijian and Indian upper low-income workers.

Photo: R. Thaman, June, 1978.



TABLE 9.3

ESTIMATES OF SQUATTER POPULATION IN THE URBAN AREA  
AND THE CITY, 1967 AND 1975

	Nair <sup>a</sup> 1967	Nair and Health Dept. <sup>b</sup> 1967	Nair <sup>c</sup> 1975	Walsh <sup>d</sup> 1976	% Change a/c	b/d
City	1,830	6,864	5,364	8,437	193.1	22.9
Urban Area	3,870	3,858	10,428	14,634	169.5	279.3
Total	5,700	10,722	15,792	23,071	62.8	115.2

Notes: a and c. Nair (1976)  
b Nair (1976) and Health Department Survey, estimates recalculated by the present writer.  
c Nair (1976)  
d The writer's estimates based on 1976 Census returns (unpublished). The basis for City calculations has been stated in the sources to Table 9.1. Urban Area estimates are based on the assumption that people in the following enumeration districts were entirely squatters: Naitasiri 17, 18, 26, 27, 50; Rewa 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 19. To compensate against possible over-estimation arising from this assumption, other enumeration districts with known squatter populations were excluded. It should also be noted that the mean household size in the areas deemed 'squatter' was 6.47, which was higher than Nair's assumption of a dwelling population density of 6.0. As already observed, squatter dwellings frequently comprise more than one household. Further evidence of under-enumeration by Nair is provided in Enumeration Districts 11 and 12 Rewa (Qauia). His estimate was 40 percent less than the Census population.

#### DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Five main areas of demographic interest emerge from the literature on squatters and low-income areas, all of which raise questions of urban commitment, adaptation and integration. They are: age and sex structure, migration, mobility and residential origin, household composition, and age at marriage and fertility patterns.

#### Age and Sex Structure

Turner (1969) has suggested that squatter areas pass through three demographic stages, each of which is related to increasing economic success and demands on urban services. Recently established squatter areas (stage 1) are characterised by young families with a high proportion of very young children. As the settlement evolves (stage 2) the ratio

of infants drops, and the average age of adults increases. The final stage (stage 3) is reached ten to fifteen years after the settlement was founded when a more balanced age and sex structure reflects that of the city as a whole. A reconstruction of Turner's data however, showed that the 1966 Indian city population most approximated Turner's stage 2, and the Fijian city population his stage 3. Given the much higher proportion of Fijian in-movement, such a conclusion is demonstrably absurd. Turner's model assumes growth followed by stability in both residents and size. It does not allow for the processes of ageing and rejuvenation (both related to the volume and age selectivity of migration) or for changes in overall fertility levels, all of which are important factors affecting Suva's population structure. The use of Turner's model is therefore inapplicable in the Suva situation.

Johnstone (1975, 18), reviewing S.E. Asian research, claimed that there is no clear cut relationship between the physical and locational characteristics of squatter settlements and their socio-economic and demographic characteristics. The Suva data support this contention. Johnstone (1975, 14), however, did claim that squatter settlements typically comprised large, young, nuclear families with a high proportion of very young children. This observation is not supported by the Suva data. These introductory observations indicate that the demographic composition of squatter areas may defy universal definition. Variations occur because of the different weight of variables such as the level of urbanization, differences in cultural adaptation to city living, and factors related to the availability of land and security of tenure in the city. International comparisons, in which demographic characteristics are isolated from causal factors, appear, for these reasons, rather fruitless.

Comparisons within one country between the age and sex structure of squatter areas and the city as a whole may also be of limited value. For example, such comparisons would be fraught with methodological and measurement problems arising out of the 'openness' of squatter areas to both in- and out-migration while the city is much more a reception than a departure area. Description with limited explanation is sometimes the most that can be attempted.

Thus, the age and sex structure of the Fijian City Village (CV) population was broadly similar to the 1976 Suva Urban Area Fijian population (Figure 9.17). They were heavily weighted in the 15 - 29 age group and female dominant in almost all age groups which suggests they were subject to significant in-migration. By comparison with the city population, City Villages were somewhat overrepresented in the 5 - 14 age group, and more deficient in the 15 - 24 age group among males. These differences indicate greater stability among squatters than among Fijians in the city as a whole. The City Indian (CI) squatter population was also broadly similar to the Indian city population, though the 5 - 14 age group, typical of populations with established families (in contrast to the Fijian population) was underrepresented. This is probably a consequence of significant in-migration, especially by males, who were overrepresented in the 20 - 29 age group, but it could also indicate movement out of the squatter areas by older Indian households. Unfortunately this possibility cannot be tested with the data available.

By comparison with City Village and City Indian squatter areas, both of the Urban Area squatter areas (FUA, IUA) had a higher proportion of children, IUA being particularly well represented in the 5 - 14 age groups which is suggestive of older established families.

The greatest differences in population structure occurred, as may be expected, among the predominantly migrant Fijian Renters (FR) population and, less obviously, in the control areas even including the supposedly Traditional Villages (TV) population. Nabua (NAB), for instance, showed a marked dominance of males in the 15 - 29 age group which was atypical of the 1976 Fijian Urban Area population, and Toorak (TRK), the slum, was female dominant in almost all age groups, a pattern repeated among adults in both the Fijian and Indian Four-Storey Flats (FFS, IFS). In the upper low-income control area of Kinoya (FK, IK) beyond the city (for which comparative migration data are not available), females again dominated in both ethnic groups and there was an excess of 20 - 29 year olds among Fijians and 5 - 14 year olds among Indians, again suggestive of somewhat older families.

The importance of these observations is that the range of population structures found in squatter ethno-areas was well within the range of types displayed in other low-income areas, and that taken in toto they appeared to be more typical of their city parent populations

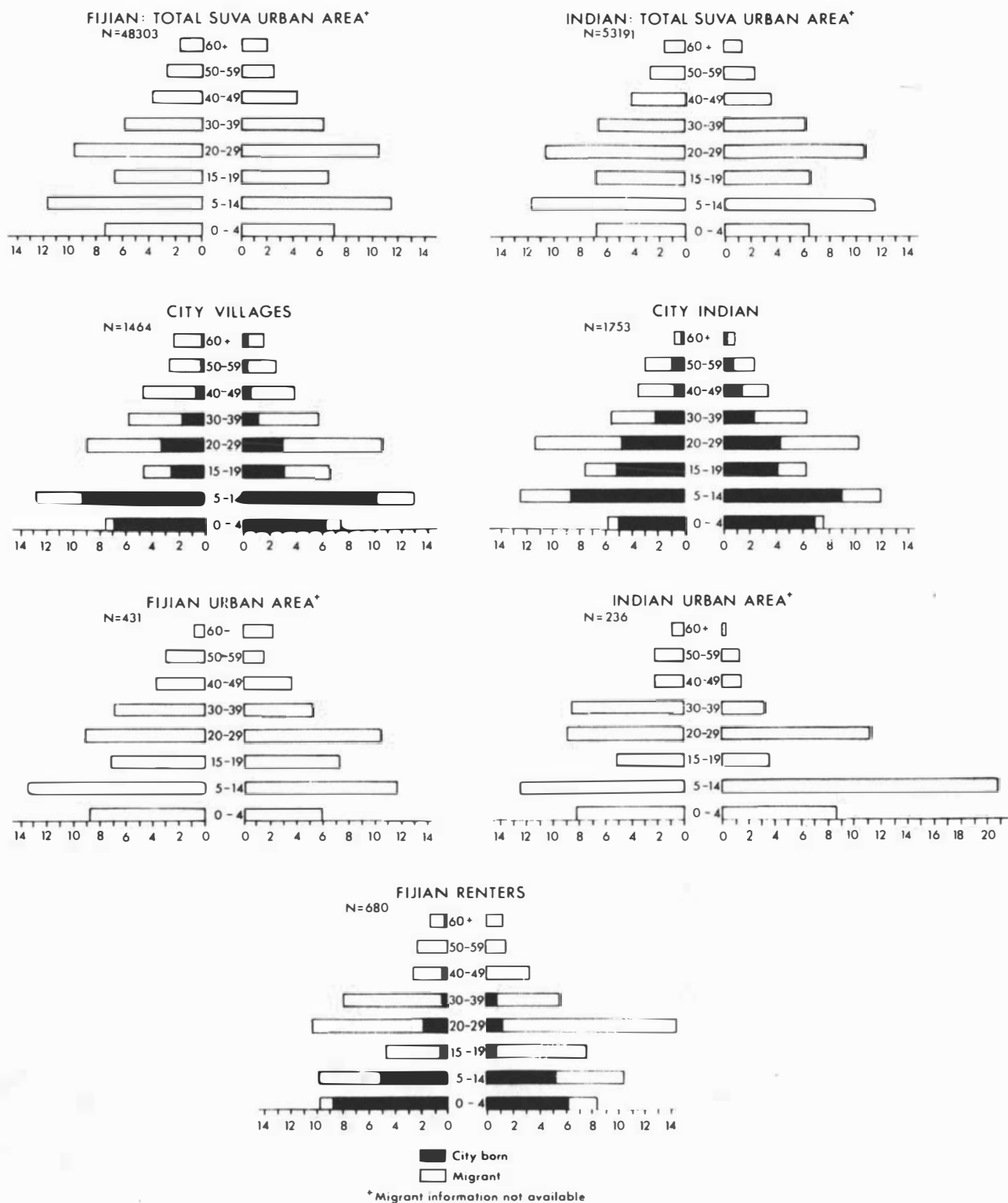
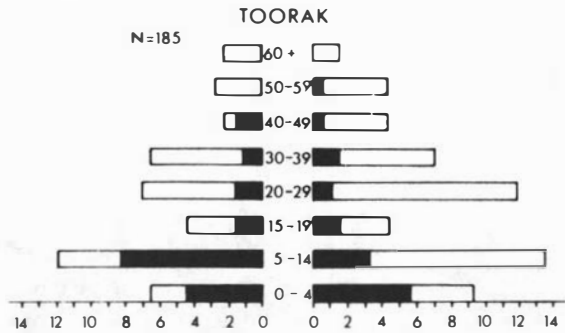
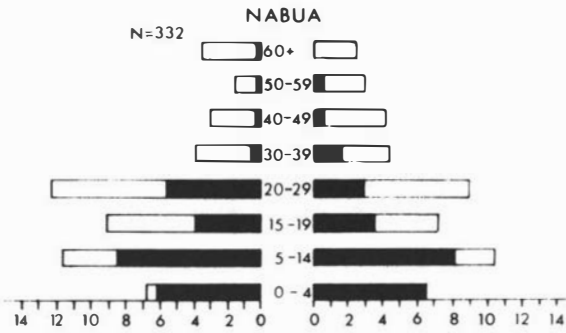
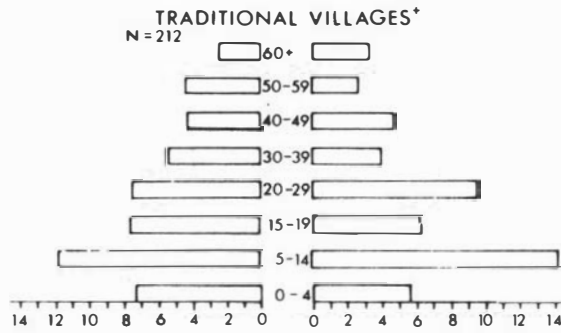
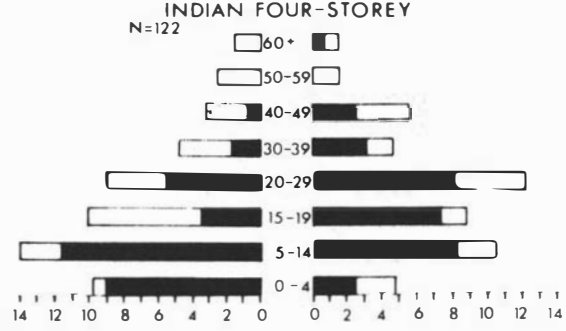
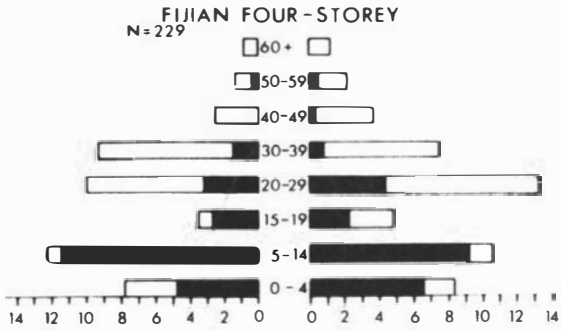
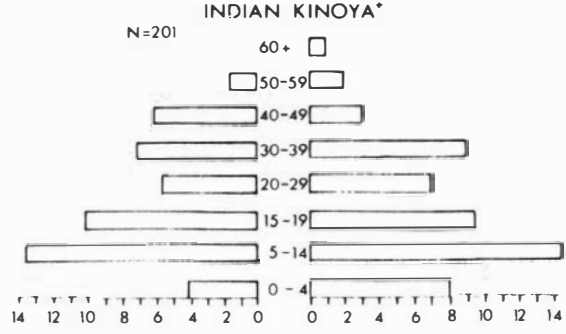
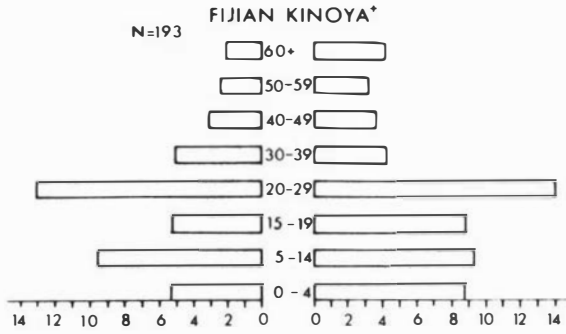


FIGURE 9.17 Age and Sex Structures: Squatter and Control Areas. Source: Unpublished 1976 Census data.



■ City born  
□ Migrant

\*Migrant information not available

than the slum, the traditional village, or the bottom and upper levels of households in Housing Authority areas.

The squatter ethno-areas, however, were themselves by no means homogeneous. In the City Villages ethno-area where the differences were most marked, Kai Ra was deficient in infants (especially males), in the 5 - 14 age group and considerable imbalance was also evident in the adult population (especially in the 20 - 29 age group). It gave every impression of being a transient dormitory settlement for young adults. By contrast, Tutaleva had a surplus of infants and girls aged from 15 - 19 years which was suggestive of recent marital unions, and possibly extra-marital arrangements. Indians in the Muslim League settlement showed similar characteristics and together both settlements appeared to serve as recent refuge areas. It is significant that the residents of all three settlements were threatened with the prospect of early eviction, rents (which form some basis of tenure security) were not collected and all had very high proportions of migrants.

By and large, the older and larger settlements which had enjoyed some measure of tenure security had populations which were more balanced with respect to age and sex, even allowing for migration. Settlements which were smaller, more recent, which had less security of tenure or had experienced high levels of renting, displayed the most marked age and sex irregularity.

None of the squatter settlements or ethno-areas studied was obviously old or young. Those in the Urban Area (FUA, IUA) and FR had somewhat higher proportions of young household heads (Table 9.4) suggesting the greater importance of family formation. CV and CI had proportionately more older household heads. Means and modes in all ethno-areas, however, were only appreciably different among FR.

Considerably more variation in the ages of household heads occurred in the control areas. The mean age was generally higher than in the squatter areas (43.2 as compared with 40.0 years). TV and Nabua contained very high proportions of older heads; Indians at Kinoya (IK) and Indians in the Four-Storey Flats (IFS) peaked for both established (40 - 59 years) and young families (25 - 29 years); Fijians in the Four-Storey Flats (FFS) were concentrated in the middle age groups (30 - 59 years) and Toorak (TRK) was an aged version of Fijian Renters (FR), having somewhat fewer young and slightly more older



TABLE 9.4  
SALIENT DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SQUATTER AND CONTROL ENTHO-AREAS

	Squatter						Control					
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TV	NAB	FK	IK	FFS	IFS	TRK
$\bar{x}$ age population	23.5	22.4	21.3	21.9	19.2	29.1	23.3	23.6	21.6	22.2	23.3	23.4
$\bar{x}$ age household head	43.2	42.2	36.1	39.5	37.2	46.4	47.3	38.2	42.0	41.0	41.7	42.1
$\bar{x}$ household size	6.29	5.60	4.96	6.07	5.36	6.65	8.74	5.82	5.97	6.68	4.52	5.31
$\bar{x}$ number dependent children	2.81	2.16	2.29	2.70	2.57	2.85	3.95	2.30	2.63	3.06	2.04	2.37
% migrant households	44.2	42.5	68.4	*	*	*	50.3	*	*	52.0	35.2	67.6
Sex ratio migrants <sup>a</sup>	93.3	111.0	80.9	*	*	*	111.4	*	*	88.9	95.5	58.2
Sex ratio population <sup>a</sup>	96.0	100.6	91.0	110.2	91.9	99.1	107.5	83.8	86.1	92.4	96.8	76.2
% Suva-born heads <sup>b</sup>	21.6	30.4	12.1	1.4	10.6	33.8	13.2	15.2	25.7	5.9	29.6	17.1
% aged:												
0-14 years	40.3	37.9	38.2	39.4	50.1	38.6	31.1	32.7	39.0	38.8	39.3	41.1
15-29 years	30.4	35.5	36.6	33.3	29.3	30.6	37.2	41.0	32.0	31.4	34.4	27.5
30 and over	29.3	26.6	25.2	27.3	20.6	30.8	31.7	26.3	29.0	29.8	26.3	31.4
Number households	236	335	140	71	47	65	38	33	35	34	27	35

Notes: \* Data not available.

a Males per hundred females.

b Household heads born in Suva city.

Sources: 1976 Census Schedules.

household heads. Notwithstanding the possibility that some of these variations could have been caused by sample size, it is cautiously suggested that the greater variations in the control areas result from different sets of economic, social and cultural variables giving each type of control area distinctive demographic characteristics. Such sets also exist in individual squatter areas and among Fijian Renters, but whereas squatting attracts representatives from all strata of the urban poor, a more limited representation appears to be attracted by the slum, the Housing Authority and other control areas.

The areas selected for study represent a wide range of environments, and the decision and ability to live in them is clearly related to socio-economic and cultural factors. Johnstone (1975, 14) claimed that the most important demographic variable affecting squatter population structures in Southeast Asia was family formation. In Suva it appears that migration, ethnicity and social attributes related to household structure (but not necessarily family formation as such) were the major factors. Thus, squatter areas with the greatest population imbalance tended also to be those with the highest proportion of migrants and residents who were divorced, separated, widowed or had absent spouses. Tables 9.4 and 9.12 indicate that such households were no more typical of squatter than other low-income areas. Household structure and the social composition of areas studied will be considered more closely in Chapter 14.

### Migration

Contrary to findings in earlier overseas studies which claimed that most squatters were rural migrants, many recent studies have shown that they include a high proportion of people born in the city. The Suva data confirm these observations. The proportion of migrants, however, is related to the level and rate of urbanization in the population at large. In Fiji, longer urban residence by Indians and more recent high rates of Fijian urbanization are reflected in the higher proportions of city-born Indians and migrant Fijians in the squatter populations.

Approximately one-fifth of squatter household heads were born in the city and over one-third in the local area. A little under one-fifth had lived in the Suva Urban Area for under six years. Comparison between squatter areas and control areas with which they may best be compared indicates that most squatters did not comprise a group any more subject to migration than residents of other low-income areas (Table 9.5).

TABLE 9.5

CITY-BORN AND MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	Recent Migrants a	Established Migrants b	Total Migrants	Locally Born c	Suva City Born d
SQUATTER					
City Villages (N = 236)	12.3	54.7	67.0	33.0	21.6
City Indian (N = 335)	17.1	31.7	48.8	51.2	30.4
Fijian Renters (N = 140)	26.4	49.3	75.7	24.3	12.1
Fijian Urban Area (N = 71)	28.6	52.9	81.5	18.6	1.4*
Indian Urban Area (N = 47)	19.1	23.4	42.5	57.4	10.6*
CONTROL					
Traditional Villages (N = 65)	3.1	21.5	24.6	75.4	33.6*
Nabua (N = 38)	10.5	65.8	76.3	23.7	13.2
Fijian Kinoya (N = 33)	18.2	48.5	66.7	33.3	15.2*
Indian Kinoya (N = 35)	-	34.3	34.3	65.7	25.7*
Fijian Four Storey Flats (N = 34)	2.9	58.9	61.8	38.2	5.9
Indian Four Storey Flats (N = 27)	7.4	40.7	48.1	51.9	29.6
Toorak	28.6	37.1	65.7	34.3	17.1

- Notes: a Household heads resident in the local area since Fiji Independence Day, 10 October, 1970.  
 b Household heads resident in the local area before Independence Day.  
 c 'Local' comprises Suva City and the provinces of Rewa, Naitasiri and Tailevu. Such a classification, necessary due to uncertainty in interpreting Census Schedules, will include many who were not born in the city itself.  
 d Some caution must be exercised in interpreting figures marked with an asterisk (\*) for reasons explained in note c. The city area populations may, however, be treated as reasonably reliable.

Sources: 1976 Census Schedules.

Fijian City Villages may be compared with Nabua and, to a lesser degree, with Toorak. In both cases, City Villages contained a larger proportion of city-born and a lower proportion of recent migrants. Fijian Renters, with a much higher proportion of migrants, comprised a smaller number of city-born heads but similar proportions of recent migrants. The figures indicate that a high proportion of heads in both areas came from the local area outside the city. Similar comment can be made with respect to Fijian Urban Area as compared with Indian Urban Area. City Indian squatters comprised a higher proportion of household heads born in the city than Indians at Kinoya and similar proportions to those living in the Four-Storey Flats. They also comprised a larger proportion of recent migrants than either control area.

In general, squatter areas and the Toorak slum contained both recent migrants and long established and city-born heads, but the squatter areas (at least where Fijians were concerned) contained a higher proportion of city-born heads. Housing Authority areas did not contain higher proportions of city-born or locally-born heads, but restrictions on eligibility and long waiting lists restricted the proportion of recent migrants. July 1976 Survey data (which only concerned squatter areas) showed that the average number of years migrant heads had been locally resident was 21 years. The mean varied from 29.8 years for CI, 19.2 years for CV, 18.6 years for IUA, 14.7 years for FUA to 7.4 years for FR.

### Places of Birth

Overseas research, particularly in Latin America (e.g. Flinn and Converse, 1970) has focused on regions of origin of migrants in squatter areas, and suggested that different levels of modernization in the regions of origin could influence migrant behaviour and their capacity to adapt successfully to life in the city. Place of birth data were therefore considered to determine whether migrants in squatter and control areas differed in their regions of origin.

On the evidence available, squatter migration origins provide little reason for surprise. They conform closely to the patterns of the control areas (Table 9.6). The minor differences evident in the table derive from the unique characteristics of individual settlements within both control and squatter areas.<sup>3</sup> Such differences may be attributed to the effects of chain migration which produce concentrations of people from the same area in particular settlements. What is important

is that migrants in both squatter and control areas came from similar types of areas with respect to exposure to urban and modern influences.

TABLE 9.6  
BIRTHPLACES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS : SQUATTER AND CONTROL AREAS  
(Percentages)

	Vanua Levu	Outer Islands	Western Viti Levu	North and East Viti Levu	Local	Other Urban	Overseas	Not Stated
	a	b	c	d	e	f		
Squatters (N = 829)	8.8	21.8	7.4	17.9	32.1	10.5	1.1	0.4
Control <sup>g</sup> (N = 202)	12.9	26.3	8.4	10.4	34.2	6.4	1.5	-

Notes:

- a Rural Bua, Cakadrove, Macuata, excluding the towns of Labasa and Savusavu.
- b Lau, Lomaiviti and Kadavu.
- c Rural Namosi, Serua, Nadroga and Navosi, Ba provinces, excluding all towns in these provinces.
- d Rural Ra and Tailevu excluding towns.
- e Rewa and Naitasiri including Suva City.
- f All urban places excluding Suva.
- g Traditional villages excluded from control calculations.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

### Intra-City Mobility by Squatters

It has been suggested (Leeds and Leeds, 1970) that place of socialisation may be a more important factor in squatter adaptation than place of birth. Thus, more successful adaptation may be evident among the city-born and migrants who enter squatter areas via other types of residence in the city than among migrants who enter squatter areas directly upon arrival in the city. Johnstone (1975, 14), as already noted, has claimed that the critical demographic feature of squatter settlements is family formation. These contentions require a statement of the extent and type of intra-city mobility among Suva squatters in preparation for analysis in later chapters. The July 1976 Survey data provide some support for Johnstone's view but most squatters were married before residing in the settlement in which they were enumerated (Table 9.7).

TABLE 9.7  
YEARS OF MARRIAGE AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA
Married over 5 years before residence	46.7	66.7	46.1	32.4	71.1
Married within 5 years of residence	37.4	28.9	46.2	55.8	27.5
Resident before marriage	15.9	4.4	7.7	11.8	1.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	114	114	25	34	69

Note: The question asked only the number of years married. Some second marriages, which may have been more associated with the decision to reside in the area, may be included. 'Residence' referred to the area of enumeration.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Between one-third (FUA) and three-quarters (IUA) of squatter household heads were married for over five years before taking up residence in the area in which they were enumerated, but high proportions also took up residence within five years of marriage which could indicate some causal relationship between family formation and choice of residence. This was most notable among Fijians. Residence in the area before marriage was also most notable among Fijians, which, together with information in Tables 9.8 and 9.9, suggests that marriage and concurrent squatter residence are more typical of Fijians than Indians.

With the exception of Fijian Renters, Fijians were also less mobile than Indians which suggests that Fijian squatter areas comprise a larger stable population. This would tend to reinforce the spirit of community, making Fijian squatter villages more permanent features of the urban social landscape, but it also suggests that Fijians may be less socially mobile than their Indian counterparts. Greater residential mobility by Indians, however, could also be attributed to greater socio-economic insecurity among Indians. Some indication of the

probably different reasons for mobility emerge from a consideration of the types of moves undertaken by members of both ethnic groups (Table 9.9).

TABLE 9.8

## SQUATTER RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY SINCE MARRIAGE BY SQUATTER ETHNO-APFAS

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
No moves (%) <sup>a</sup>	33.0	14.0	25.9	38.2	4.3	23.0
1 - 2 moves (%)	59.2	60.6	55.6	50.0	77.1	60.5
3 or more moves (%)	7.8	25.4	18.5	11.8	18.6	16.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean moves <sup>b</sup>	2.00	2.70	2.56	2.27	2.90	2.46
Mean years married <sup>c</sup>	15.3	15.3	8.5	13.5	12.1	14.0
Mean years in area <sup>d</sup>	13.4	8.3	4.5	9.8	3.7	8.8
Mean years married less $\bar{x}$ years resident	1.9	7.1	4.0	3.7	8.3	5.2
Number	112	114	27	34	70	357

Notes: a Minor discrepancies in CV and FR between this table and Table 9.9 due to 'not stated' and 'no moves.'

b Standard deviations range from 1.3 to 1.4.

c Standard deviations range from 9.2 (FR) to 10.8 (CV).

d Standard deviations range from 4.0 (IUA) to 12.8 (CV).

Source: July 1976 Survey.

TABLE 9.9  
TYPES OF RESIDENTIAL MOVES SINCE MARRIAGE BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
No moves	29.6	14.0	22.2	38.2	4.3	20.0
Same area	7.0	12.3	7.4	2.9	1.4	7.2
Squatter-squatter <sup>a</sup>	14.8	13.2	11.1	17.6	25.7	16.4
Squatter-squatter <sup>b</sup>	2.6	11.4	7.4	8.8	22.9	10.3
Rent-squatter	22.6	29.8	7.4	11.8	18.6	21.9
From outside Suva	20.0	16.7	22.2	8.8	24.3	18.9
Other <sup>c</sup>	3.4 <sup>d</sup>	2.6 <sup>e</sup>	22.3 <sup>f</sup>	11.9 <sup>g</sup>	2.8 <sup>h</sup>	5.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	114	114	27	34	70	359

Notes: a Squatter-squatter within the city or the Urban Area.  
b Squatter-squatter between the city and Urban Area.  
c 'Other' includes Not Stated. The most significant types of moves for each ethno-area are noted in the subsequent notes.  
d From Housing Authority 0.9%.  
e From own house.  
f From Housing Authority 14.8%.  
g From Housing Authority 8.8%.  
h From own house 1.4%.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Although data which only concerns moves by household heads since marriage cannot reveal the full extent of movement of squatter populations, it nevertheless lends support to studies which stress the multiple origins of squatters and belies previous assumptions that most squatters are rural migrants who move immediately to squatter locations on their arrival in the city. Former renters, direct migrants, households that had moved from other squatter areas and those already resident at the time of marriage were all well represented in the Suva study. What emerges from Tables 9.8 and 9.9 is that squatter populations (and especially Indian populations) are extremely mobile and that most moves occur between squatter areas. Significant Indian movement occurred between the city and the Urban Area (22.9 percent, IUA) and between the Urban Area and the city (11.4 percent, CI). Most Fijian intra-squatter moves, on the



other hand, occurred between squatter settlements in the same general area.

Almost as important as intra-squatter moves were those from rented accommodation, most of which was in the city. Such moves were especially important among City Indians. Two possible reasons for such moves are the increased cost of rental accommodation and (probably among Indians in particular) the desire to set up their own home away from their parents. The importance of this cannot be directly ascertained but quarrels with relations, a desire for privacy and a change in traditional family relations which has resulted in young Indian women not wishing to live with their mother-in-law could be major factors.

Moves from Housing Authority accommodation were especially important among Fijian Renters and Fijians in the Urban Area. None of these households, however, rented this accommodation. Most were single or recently married people living with relations. If they are added to those renting who moved to establish their own households away from relations, family formation, as Johnstone (1975, 14) claimed, appears to be a significant factor in taking up squatter residence although social factors related to the type of family and marital status could be just as important. This possibility is considered below.

### Household Types

Varying definitions of family types often make comparison between empirical studies difficult. Yee and Sen (1969, 16), for instance, used the terms 'nuclear' and 'extended nuclear' families, and Bogue (1969, 369) states that extended families must comprise three or four generations. He refers to extensions within the family comprising, for example, a married couple related to the household head, or one parent with dependent children, as 'a family within a family.' If these definitions are accepted, households which do not comprise two, three or more complete primary units related to the household head would be classified 'nuclear' to some degree. Thus, a nuclear family together with a grandmother and a married son of the family head and his family would be considered 'nuclear.' Such a wide definition makes the term almost valueless in urbanizing situations for migration is a disintegrative force and 'complete' urban extended families take at least one generation to form. Lack of general agreement on the definition of the terms 'nuclear' and 'extended' is especially unfortunate because so much attention has been given to household types in studies of urbanism.

Bogue (1969, 368) also states that 'a true extended family may be expected to have a minimum of about seven persons, and under the ideal prototype it would have 10 to 20 persons.' In this study over 30 percent of low-income households comprised 7 or more members and 8 percent comprised 10 or more. Such households meet Bogue's numerical requirements of the extended family. The term 'nuclear' is taken to mean a household comprising only one primary family. Nuclear households together with 'friends,' 'visitors,' related minors or 'other (undefined) relations' are termed nuclear plus. Lineal and collateral households comprise any specified related 'blood' extension of the primary family with the proviso that the extension must include at least one adult. All lineal households comprise at least three generations, but collateral households may comprise only two. Joint households comprise two nuclear families, and no family is a household comprising brothers, sisters or unrelated members with no nuclear base; that is, it lacks any conjugal union. Household is defined, as in the Fiji censuses, as a residential and domestic unit sharing cooking and other housekeeping arrangements (1966 Census, 72).

Two other terms are used to describe the Suva urban household:

a) an incomplete household is one where a key member (a husband, wife, or mother or father of dependent children) is absent; and

b) a household with extras is one which contains members additional to those comprising the basic household type, whether nuclear, lineal or collateral. These extras were generally 'other relations,' 'friends,' related minors, or other undefined relations. Extra permits refinement of household types, such as that achieved by the category nuclear plus for nuclear families. It is, of course, possible for a household to comprise extras and to be incomplete. The distribution of household types obtained from these definitions for squatter and control areas is shown in Table 9.10.

As expected, more Indian than Fijian households were nuclear, and this type of household was especially important in the squatter areas. The second most important type of Indian household, especially in control areas, was lineal. Fijians displayed a much greater representation of household types, nuclear households being generally better represented in the squatter areas and nuclear plus and extended households being generally better represented in the control areas.

TABLE 9.10  
HOUSEHOLD TYPES BY SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	Squatter					Control						
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TV	NAB	FK	IK	FFS	IFS	TRK
Nuclear	39.4	65.4	45.0	35.2	74.5	30.8	21.1	24.2	48.6	32.4	59.3	25.7
Nuclear Plus	18.6	5.4	21.4	9.9	2.1	15.4	42.1	21.2	11.4	14.7	-	25.7
Lineal	16.1	12.5	10.0	12.7	14.9	35.4	23.7	9.1	25.7	11.8	25.9	11.4
Collateral	17.8	6.0	10.0	22.5	2.1	12.3	7.9	24.2	8.6	26.5	3.7	22.9
Lineal-collateral	5.1	6.6	5.7	14.1	2.1	4.6	2.6	9.1	2.9	5.9	-	5.7
Joint	-	0.6	0.7	4.2	4.3	1.5	2.6	3.0	-	5.9	-	-
No family	3.0	3.5	7.2	1.4	-	-	-	9.1	2.9	2.9	11.1	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	236	335	140	71	47	65	38	33	35	34	27	35

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

Household characteristics at any one point in time, of course, are not necessarily the characteristics of a family over a longer time span. Ageing, migration and, possibly, changing family economic circumstances create families which are likely to be in a state of flux, the arrival or departure of relations changing the type of household. This is especially likely among Fijian households due to more recent migration and greater acceptance of relatives and friends as members of the household. Fijians clearly assume a wide variety of responses to urban living in terms of household types, but the pre-eminence or otherwise of nuclear households may not of itself have any special significance with respect to degrees of urban behaviour. What may be just as important as household type per se is whether a household is incomplete or contains extras.

#### Incomplete Households and Households with Extras

Indian households were generally more readily categorised by household type than Fijians, and they also contained fewer incomplete and extra households (Table 9.11). Where they departed from this situation, they were (excepting Kinoya) much more incomplete than extra. Better-off households in Kinoya, which had the only significant number of extras, could possibly be accommodating related children. Fijian squatter households were less incomplete than Indian households, but Traditional Villages (TV) and Toorak (TRK) were more incomplete than most Indian households. On the whole, there were more Fijian households that contained extras than those that were incomplete, and in this they contrasted most with Indian households.

Finally, household type was also related to the marital status of the household head and other adults in the household.

#### Marital Status and Sex of Household Head

Several indices in Table 9.12 indicate that some low-income areas may be more disadvantaged than others. If the family (in its infinitely varied but 'normal' state) is taken as the economic and social basis of well-being, families which have experienced divorce, separation, death or the absence of a spouse are more likely to be suffering economic hardship and problems of social adjustment. Indeed, marital status may be a more important index of urbanism and disadvantage than either family type or familial composition. Unfortunately, this possibility

TABLE 9.11  
INCOMPLETE AND EXTRA HOUSEHOLDS: SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	Squatter					Control						
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TV	NAB	FK	IK	FFS	IFS	TRK
Normal	56.4	77.6	55.7	36.6	76.6	44.6	31.6	45.5	62.9	52.9	70.4	34.3
Incomplete	11.0	11.3	7.9	12.7	17.0	30.8	15.8	6.1	14.3	17.6	25.9	25.7
Extra	30.9	9.9	34.3	42.3	6.4	23.1	47.4	48.4	22.8	29.5	3.7	37.1
Other <sup>a</sup>	1.7	1.2	2.1	8.4	-	1.5	5.2	-	-	-	-	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	236	335	140	71	47	65	38	33	35	34	27	35

Note: a Includes both 'extra' and 'incomplete'.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

TABLE 9.12  
MARTIAL STATUS: SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	Squatter					Control						
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TV	NAB	FK	IK	FFS	IFS	TRK
Head married: <sup>a</sup>												
once	82.6	74.9	73.7	67.6	85.1	67.7	65.8	69.7	82.9	64.7	48.2	57.1
more than once	5.1	9.0	11.4	16.9	2.1	10.8	2.6	18.2	5.7	8.8	18.5	8.6
Single	2.5	3.3	3.7	1.5	-	-	2.6	6.1	2.9	2.9	7.4	8.6
Divorced/separated	2.1	1.5	3.6	-	6.4	3.1	-	-	2.9	-	7.4	5.7
Spouse absent	5.1	5.0	4.8	5.6	2.1	9.2	23.7	3.0	-	8.8	3.7	17.1
Widowed	2.1	6.3	2.1	5.6	4.3	9.2	5.3	3.0	5.6	14.8	14.8	2.9
Other <sup>b</sup>	0.5	-	0.7	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female heads:												
alone	1.3	7.2	7.1	5.6	6.4	6.2	10.5	6.1	2.9	5.9	14.8	11.4
with adult male <sup>c</sup>	1.3	3.9	2.1	-	2.1	7.7	15.8	-	2.9	17.6	7.4	14.3
Total %	2.6	11.1	9.2	5.6	8.5	13.9	26.3	6.1	5.8	23.5	22.2	25.7
Other adults: <sup>d</sup>												
Wife-no-husband	13.1	6.9	7.1	7.0	4.3	20.0	26.3	3.0	8.6	14.7	18.5	11.4
Husband-no-wife	4.2	1.5	-	1.4	-	1.5	2.6	3.0	-	5.9	-	2.0
Total %	17.3	8.4	7.1	8.4	4.3	21.5	28.9	6.0	8.6	20.6	18.5	13.4
Number	236	335	140	71	47	65	38	33	35	34	27	35

Notes: a Male and female heads.  
b Relationships unclear and Not Stated.  
c Usually sons, but also other relations. No unrelated male was acknowledged in the Census Schedules.  
d Not the household head. Spouse absent.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

has not been fully explored in the literature, perhaps because so few studies have been comparative ones where the possibility of such associations is more likely to be appreciated.<sup>4</sup> Lewis (1966) pointed to the predominance of common law and successive marriage among the poor, and observed that such practices provide women in certain urbanizing situations with greater security. He did not, however, attempt to determine whether such relationships led to greater financial stability. In Fiji such practices are severely sanctioned in Indian society, and although premarital relations are generally viewed more tolerantly by Fijians, irregular marital arrangements and divorce would not meet with approval in either society. The existence of 'irregular' marital relationships in Fiji can therefore be taken to be signs of stress and possibly of hardship, and not as a strategy adopted by women to obtain greater security.

Marital status as shown in Census tables, however, may not reveal the true extent of irregularity, and for this reason 'married more than once' and absence from the household by one spouse were added, in this study, to the more usual marital statuses. On several indices - female headship, divorce, widowhood, and absentee spouses - four control areas showed excessive female dominance (Table 9.12). These were the Traditional Villages, Nabua, the Four-Storey Flats and Toorak, and in three of these areas a high proportion of adults (other than the household head or his wife) were married adults (mainly females) whose spouse was not present. This was the case of one-fifth of such adults in TV, over one-quarter in Nabua, and nearly one-fifth in IFS. This practice was also notable in CV (13 percent) but in all other squatter areas it was less common than in the control areas.

Among household heads the absence of a spouse (not including widows or widowers) was also significant in some areas, most notably in TV, Nabua, Toorak and FFS. Widows were overrepresented in the Four-Storey flats, but other areas had proportions similar to 1966 Census figures for Fijians and Indians in the city as a whole.<sup>5</sup> Female heads were more common in all control areas (apart from Kinoya) than in the squatter areas, and it is likely that divorce rates in low-income areas were higher than the Suva norm.<sup>6</sup> They were especially notable in IUA, IFS and among Fijians in Toorak. High levels of second and subsequent marriage also occurred in several areas, more especially among Fijians, and Indians in the Four-Storey Flats.

The selection of an area in which to reside is strongly influenced by people's perception of how the area will meet their needs. Where marital matters are concerned, anonymity may perhaps be more easily obtained in areas lacking strong community relations or where people do not reside with too many others who know them. For this reason, the Toorak slum, Fijians renting in Indian squatter areas, the Four-Storey Flats and the more recently formed squatter settlements in the Urban Area may be more attractive than longer established, well-knit settlements. The causes cannot be determined from the data available, but some support is given to overseas studies (Leeds and Leeds, 1970; Seeley, 1973) which suggest that some squatter areas and most slums attract people who are escaping from the possibility of public sanction. What is apparent from the data is that Suva's squatter areas on most counts came closer to the estimated Suva norm than many other low-income areas, even including the supposedly stable Traditional Villages.

It has been suggested that incomplete or extra household structure and marital status may be more important in understanding the social and economic conditions of households (and their likely response to the urban condition) than whether the household is nuclear or extended. The association in this study between nuclear households and married once, complete households and the absence of extras, however, suggests that 'nuclear' is the best single index of the demographic composition of households, if the term is rigorously defined.<sup>7</sup> The association between household type and composition, and more especially between household type and social and economic characteristics indicative of adjustment and success in the urban situation will be considered in Chapter 17.

### Indices of Fertility

The impression overall is that low-income households did not have appreciably more children than other city dwellers, although squatters could have had their first child at a slightly earlier age than other low-income women. Squatter women with children, for example, tended to have their first child at an earlier age than women in comparable control areas (Table 9.13). Thus, the mean age for City Villagers (CV) was 20.7 years, comparable figures for Traditional Villagers (TV) being 22.1 years and for Nabua 21.9 years. The mean



TABLE 9.13  
SELECTED INDICES OF FERTILITY IN SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS

	Squatter					Control						
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TV	NAB	FK	IK	FFS	IFS	TRK
$\bar{x}$ age wife	37.0	36.1	31.1	35.0	32.2	40.3	41.6	35.2	37.4	36.3	36.6	37.9
Wives aged 15-19 years %	6.6	6.4	7.3	7.2	6.4	9.5	5.3	9.1	2.9	3.0	7.4	12.1
Women with no children %	11.5	11.3	19.0	14.5	6.4	3.2	7.9	12.1	8.6	3.0	7.4	3.0
Number*	226	328	137	69	47	63	38	33	35	33	27	33
Women with children:												
Age at birth of first child %												
under 20 years	46.0	57.9	45.9	44.1	46.8	32.8	34.2	30.3	54.3	27.3	44.4	37.5
20-24 years	44.2	34.1	41.4	47.1	42.6	45.9	39.5	54.5	37.1	60.6	40.7	50.0
25-29 years	7.6	6.1	9.0	5.9	8.5	19.7	26.3	15.2	2.9	12.1	7.4	12.5
30 years and over	2.2	1.9	3.7	2.9	2.1	1.6	-	-	5.7	-	7.5	-
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number*	224	328	133	68	47	61	38	33	35	33	27	32
$\bar{x}$ number children	4.04	4.54	3.22	3.76	3.96	4.44	5.78	3.76	4.50	3.44	3.36	3.63
Number*	200	293	114	59	44	61	35	29	32	32	25	32
$\bar{x}$ age wife at birth of first child	20.7	19.9	21.4	20.9	20.2	22.1	21.9	21.9	20.7	21.1	21.0	20.7
Number*	198	293	109	57	44	59	35	29	32	32	25	31

Note: \* Minor discrepancies in the total numbers are due to Not Stated.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

age for Indian squatters was also younger than Fijian squatters and Indian control.

In the larger community, Indian women married earlier (and therefore presumably conceived earlier) than Fijians, the mean age for Indians being 18.5 years and for Fijians 20.9 years in 1966 (1966 Census, 39).<sup>8</sup> Assuming the continuation of 1956 - 1966 trends towards later marriage, especially by Indians, and conception soon after marriage, squatters could have their first child at a slightly earlier age than the general urban population. The contention is supported, as far as the Fijian population is concerned, by the mean number of live births to women aged 25 - 34 years, the most appropriate age range for which information was available in 1966 and 1976. In 1966 Fijians in Fiji as a whole had 3.74 mean live births, Suva-born Fijians 2.90 and migrants to Suva 3.02 (Walsh, 1966b). Comparable figures from the 1976 Census schedules for squatters were CV 3.25, and FUA 4.00. With the exception of Toorak and FFS, the Fijian control areas also had higher mean live births than the 1966 figures for Suva Fijians. By comparison, Indian live births were slightly less than the Suva mean, and if allowances are made for changes since 1966, the difference is narrowed further. Caution needs to be exercised, of course, in comparisons with the larger urban population, not so much because the urban figures available are dated (for the difference is likely to be even greater due to the success of Family Planning since 1966), but because the 1966 data concern all women with children and the survey figures concern only one woman in the household, usually the wife of the household head.

Of women with children, CI and IK had the highest proportion of women who had their first child when aged 15 - 19 years. They were followed in descending order of importance by IUA, IFS, CV, FUA, Toorak, TV, FR, Nabua and FFS. It is evident that most squatter areas correspond closely with control areas with which they have also been seen to share other demographic characteristics.

Although squatters as a group had their first child earlier than control areas also considered as a group, if allowance is made for differences in age structure, they had a comparable number of children and mean number of live births. City and Urban Area Fijian populations were comparable with respect to the proportion with no children, age at birth of first child and the mean number of live births. City and

Urban Area Indians were also comparable although a lower proportion of IUA had no children. Fijian Renters had a lower mean age of wives, a higher proportion with no children, older age at birth of first child, and a lower mean number of children as a consequence.

Late marriages, deferred child-bearing and smaller families have been taken as indices of both urbanism and modernization.<sup>9</sup> The differences observed between squatter and control areas, however, most probably derive from differences in marital arrangements which, as has been seen, were somewhat more irregular in the control areas.<sup>10</sup> Questions of fertility, urbanism and modernization will be pursued more closely in Chapters 15 - 17.

### Household Size

A household comprises a domestic and residential unit sharing cooking and housekeeping arrangements (1966 Census, 72). Its importance lies in that it is the basic 'economic, ecological or livelihood unit' (Bogue, 1969, 368) from which group behaviour and performance can be ascertained. One of the main features of a household from which measures of urbanism, modernization and socio-economic well-being may be obtained is household size.

Mean household size varied from 4.52 among Indians in the Four-Storey Flats to 8.74 among Fijians at Nabua. In almost all cases, Fijian households were larger than Indian households in comparable areas. Squatter households in the Urban Area (FUA, IUA) and among Fijian Renters were smaller than city squatter households (CV, CI) which suggests their more recent formation. With the exception of Toorak, squatter areas had smaller households than comparable control areas. These differences were highly significant (Table 9.14).

Smaller household size (1 - 6 persons) typified Indian households (IFS, IUA, CI) and Fijian Renters. Very large households (10 and over) were typical of Fijian areas with the exception of FR and those living at Kinoya (FK). Contrary to expectations, Fijians in the Four-Storey Flats also had large households.

Most areas studied had mean household sizes larger than the city as a whole (5.50) but city figures included all races. However, all squatter areas, Kinoya, the Four-Storey Flats and Toorak had mean

TABLE 9.14  
HOUSEHOLD SIZE: SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	Squatter					Control						
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TV	NAB	FK	IK	FFS	IFS	TRK
Number in Household:												
1-3	16.1	24.6*	29.3*	22.5	10.6	7.7	7.9	18.2	17.1	17.6	29.6*	22.9
4-6	42.8	48.0	50.7	42.3	63.9*	47.7	31.6	48.5	42.9	32.4	63.0*	45.7
7-9	28.4	21.9	15.0	15.5	23.4	30.8*	15.8	27.3*	28.6*	35.3*	3.7	28.6*
10 and over	12.7*	5.5	5.0	19.7*	2.1	13.8*	44.7*	6.0	11.4	14.7*	3.7	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean household size	6.29	5.60	4.96	6.07	5.36	6.65	8.74	5.82	5.97	6.68	4.52	5.31
Number	236	334	140	71	47	65	38	33	35	34	27	35

Note: \* Significantly overrepresented.  $p = 0.05$ .

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

household sizes smaller than Housing Authority areas in the city (6.89) or the city and the Urban Area combined (6.42). Mean size alone, of course, gives no indication of the range of household sizes, and as Table 9.14 indicates a not insignificant number of households, given the living area available, must be extremely overcrowded.

It is apparent that household size is more closely related to ethnicity than the likely physical constraints of living space. This is forceably demonstrated among Fijians living in the Four-Storey Flats. It is also likely that household size is related to the age of a settlement or, more precisely, to the length of time individual households have been resident in an area. FR, FK and FUA all had smaller household sizes than longer established Fijian areas, namely, CV, TV and Nabua. A similar pattern emerged in considering household size in Housing Authority Estates. Raiwaqa, the oldest estate, had a mean household size of 7.09, Kinoya and Nadera (6.10 and 6.29) and the most recently established areas at Kalabo (5.74) and Nepani (5.88) had smaller household sizes. If this contention is valid, it appears that household size expands, not to the capacity of the dwelling, but to the limits of an 'optimum' household size determined by cultural and life cycle variables. Thus, household size is not only greater among Fijians who are more tolerant to 'visitors' than Indians, but it is also related to the age of the household head.<sup>11</sup>

Household size per se, however, is not necessarily an index of deprivation and may well be a helpful economic response to the vagaries of the town economy. Thus, Fijian areas which tended to have larger households also had a higher proportion of workers. CV, FR, FK and Toorak, each representing different types of low-income environments, were all favoured with respect to the proportion of workers in the household. Indian areas, on the other hand, all had lower proportions of workers. Between 8 and 23 percent of Fijian households and 0 and 6 percent of Indian households had 'other relations' staying with them.<sup>12</sup> Locally such people are often considered 'hangers on' who depress the living standards of the Fijian household and inhibit social mobility. The data do not permit a definitive answer to this generally held assumption but it is evident that such relations make both positive and negative economic contributions to Fijian households for household size was positively correlated with both the number of workers ( $r_s = 0.755$ )

and the number of unemployed adults ( $r_s = 0.860$ ). It should also be noted that Indian households, which lack significant numbers of other relations but include high proportions of dependent adults, mainly unmarried daughters, are deprived of additional incomes. Notwithstanding these comments, the large number of other relations and large household size in Fijian areas, while a possible economic asset, could well produce stresses due to overcrowding. If this is the case, what may be economically advantageous could also be socially disadvantageous. The problem for urban planners is to attempt to resolve a contradiction which seems to derive from poverty and inadequate living space.

Bogue (1969, 368) has indicated that the minimum size of an extended family (given his rather limited definition) is 7 people per household, and the ideal size is 10 or more. Table 9.14 indicates that such households comprised over 40 percent of the households in City Villages, and in several control areas, including Indians at Kinoya where older and wealthier household heads may be more receptive to extended family arrangements than in other Indian areas. Bogue (1969, 369) also argues that the extended family is more typical of upper class families, especially in Asia. Allowing for differences in the definition of the term 'extended', such a proposition cannot be supported in Fiji. Mean household size among the urban poor was comparable with that of the urban population as a whole. Small household size and nuclear families may be evidence of changes resulting from urbanism, and this seems probable in the case of Indian households. For Fijians, however, such 'urban' influences seem more probably to arise from disruptive influences - migration, second marriages and partial family formation. Fijian households are in a greater state of flux than Indian households and many have not reached their 'optimum' size or structure. Both sets of influences - possible preference for nuclear families by younger Indians and the evolution of Fijian households - represent responses to the urban condition and are departures from rural and traditional patterns. It is perhaps especially significant that the mean household size in some squatter areas was smaller, and households more nucleated, than comparable areas in other low-income areas, and in the Housing Authority estates as a whole. Demographic data concerning household size and composition, however, give little indication of the effects on the social and economic well-being of the households. What may be considered a 'burden' by researchers may turn out to be a realistic and successful response to the problems of urban living. These matters will be pursued in the succeeding chapters and examined in detail in Part V.

## FOOTNOTES

1 Most historical information was obtained from miscellaneous unpublished reports and papers held by the Suva City Health Department, the District Officer's Office and in discussion with a number of people, most notably Ratu Seru (City Health Department), Mr Albert Lee (City Planning Department), Mr Anderson (Estate Manager for Carpenters Ltd.), Mr C. Ussher (a former Mayor of Suva), and Father Dermot Hurley (previously of the Housing Authority and at the time of writing of the Housing Assistance and Relief Trust, HART.) Most settlements discussed are located in Figure 9.1 and Figures 9.3 - 9.16.

2 All figures in the discussion which follows are estimates. The figures for 1976 require special mention. Nair (1976), using aerial photographs, and field observation in some areas, claimed that there were 894 squatter dwellings in the city in late 1975. Assuming a mean household size of 6, he estimated the city squatter population at 5,364. 1976 Census data, less than one year later, however, indicated that the population of Jittu was 49 percent, Deo Dutt and Muslim League 17 percent, and Malekula 32 percent greater than that estimated by Nair. The main cause of the under-estimate is thought to be the assumption that 'household' and 'dwelling' could be equated. The writer's July 1976 Survey, however, indicated that 19 percent of the dwellings in the areas studied comprised more than one household. In Table 9.1, the 1976 figures are derived from Nair's estimate with adjustments, where information was available, from the 1976 Census. No adjustment was made for multiple occupancy in areas for which Census data were available and it is therefore probable that these figures are still an under-estimate. Under-estimation is also likely to have occurred in earlier Health Department surveys.

3 Thus, the higher proportion of migrants from North and East Viti Levu in the squatter areas is due to the importance of Ra province in the larger City Village areas. The higher proportion from Outer Islands in control is due to Nabua being a major reception area from the Outer Islands. FUA was also an important reception area for migrants from the Outer islands, most especially from the Lau Group.

4 There have, of course, been numerous studies of age of marriage, fertility and family type but they have not been specifically related to urbanism and disadvantage per se. Glass (1955, 141), quoted by Bogue (1969, 313), has claimed: 'The study of marital patterns and trends in less developed societies is of still greater importance... the existing de facto familial arrangements have important bearings on fertility.' In this respect, Bogue (1969, 313) also mentions the importance of expanding the category of 'married' to include 'separated' and 'spouse absent,' a practice adopted in the present study.

5 Approximately 9 percent of Fijian and Indian women aged 15 years and over (excluding 'never married') were widowed in Fiji towns in 1966 (Walsh, 1976b).

6 Urban female divorce rates in 1966 were: Fijian 2.8 percent; Indian 1.4 percent (Walsh, 1976b). The present study, however, includes 'separated,' a classification not recognized in the 1966 Census.

7 Nuclear households were positively correlated with 'normal' ( $r_s = 0.916$ ) in Table 9.11, and 'married once' ( $r_s = 0.700$ ) in Table 9.12. They were negatively correlated with 'spouse absent' ( $r_s = -0.748$ ), 'female head with adult male present' ( $r_s = -0.357$ ), 'spouse absent for other married adults' in the household ( $r_s = -0.510$ ) in Table 9.12, and the presence of 'extras' ( $r_s = -0.832$ ) in Table 9.11.

8 Ten percent of Fijian females aged 15 - 19 years were married in Fiji as a whole, but only 8.7 percent of Suva-born and 6.7 percent of migrants in Suva were married (1966). Comparable figures for Indians were 22.5, 8.9 and 19.9 percent (Walsh, 1976b).

9 For example, Caldwell (1968), Chung et al. (1972), David and Lee (1974), Ritchy and Stokes (1972). Beyer (1976, 314) takes a contrary view: 'Of itself, it seems clear that urbanization does little to change fertility rates, until attitudes towards birth control and large families have been changed.' An analysis of 1966 Fiji Census data does not support Beyer's view. Later marriages and smaller families were typical of urban Fiji before family planning was firmly established (Walsh, 1976b).



10 Younger age at the birth of the first child was positively correlated with nuclear households ( $r_s = 0.720$ ) and 'married once' ( $r_s = 0.500$ ). Older age of wife was negatively correlated with nuclear households ( $r_s = -0.497$ ) and 'married once' ( $r_s = -0.455$ ). These correlations, though moderate, indicate that marital status, more than any other single factor, may be the key to understanding fertility patterns, but sufficient doubt remains to query whether urban and modern influences may also be contributing factors.

11 Rank order correlations with squatter and control areas indicated that large households were positively correlated with age of household head ( $r_s = 0.545$ ), number of dependent children ( $r_s = 0.944$ ), dependent others ( $r_s = 0.928$ ), 'other relations present' ( $r_s = 0.634$ ), and extended households ( $r_s = 0.531$ ). Large households were not significantly correlated with female household heads.

12 The percentage of households by ethno-area which contained 'other relations' was: CV 11.0; CI 2.6; FR 9.9; FUA 8.1; IUA 2.8; TV 5.9; Nabua 22.9; FK 15.6; IK 5.7; FFS 10.4; IFS 0.0; Toorak 12.1.

## CHAPTER 10

### ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The economic characteristics displayed by squatter areas are critical to the debate on self-improvement. If they are essentially refuges of the very poor, the unskilled, the illiterate or barely educated and the unemployed, the level of self-improvement must remain low. If, on the other hand, squatter areas display a range of economic levels no less advantageous to improvement than those of other low-income areas, the level of improvement will be considerably higher. And if, at the other extreme, they include higher proportions of the skilled and the better educated, if employment levels are higher than in other low-income areas, they may be the most important staging ground for self-improvement by the urban poor.

What are the economic characteristics of Suva's squatter areas? How do they compare with other low-income areas? These are the questions to be considered in this chapter with respect to ethnicity and location. The economic attributes of types of households, as distinct from ethno-areas will be a major consideration in later chapters.

#### Levels of Employment

Unemployment levels among household heads ranged from 1 to 6 percent, somewhat more being unemployed in control than in squatter areas. Unemployment in most cases was associated with sickness, female headship or early retirement consequent upon income from other sources such as rent or employment of younger household members.

Unemployment of household heads, however, does not reveal the full extent of unemployment and its effect on households. Between 3 and 15 percent of households in the areas studied had no one in paid employment. The highest unemployment occurred in Indian squatter and control areas and was slightly more evident in the Urban Area than in the city (Table 10.1). Squatter areas as a whole did not compare unfavourably with control areas or, apparently, with the city as a whole (Table 6.5).

TABLE 10.1  
LEVELS OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT: SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS

	Squatter					Control						
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TV	NAB	FK	IK	FFS	IFS	TRK
Households with no one employed %	4.2	7.8	3.6	5.6	10.6	4.6	5.3	3.0	8.6	5.9	14.8	14.3
Number workers %												
1	49.6	64.1	60.7	71.6	81.0	51.6	36.1	46.9	56.3	50.0	82.6	50.0
2-3	40.3	30.7	36.3	23.9	14.3	41.9	41.7	50.0	37.5	43.8	17.4	50.0
4	10.1	5.2	3.0	4.5	4.7	6.5	22.2	3.1	6.2	6.2	-	-
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employment of Wife %												
Self-employed	8.3	-	2.5	-	-	9.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Skilled	6.3	2.1	2.5	-	-	5.8	3.8	31.0	9.7	-	5.6	29.2
Unskilled	9.3	4.2	14.0	7.8	2.4	5.7	15.4	6.8	3.2	16.0	-	4.2
Housewife	76.1	93.7	81.0	92.2	97.6	78.9	80.8	62.2	87.1	84.0	94.4	66.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean number workers <sup>a</sup>	1.80	1.45	1.51	1.34	1.15	1.69	2.18	1.67	1.49	1.71	1.00	1.46
Number	236	335	140	71	47	65	38	33	35	34	27	35

Note: a Includes male and female workers.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

Household members most prone to unemployment were sons and visitors in Fijian areas and sons and daughters in Indian areas. Visitors (defined for this purpose to include all relations other than siblings) were responsible for 57.9 percent of unemployment in Fijian squatter areas (39.8 percent Fijian control) and 18.8 percent in Indian squatter areas (5 percent Indian control). Unemployed visitors were also important among Fijians at Kinoya (73.3 percent) and in the Four-Storey Flats (50.0 percent). This suggests that unemployed relations attach themselves to Fijian relations irrespective of the economic conditions or limitations on accommodation imposed by available living space. Visitors, however, were also responsible for major contributions to the household workforce in both squatter and control areas, for areas with the greatest unemployment among visitors also had the largest number of workers per household.

Table 10.2 indicates the extent to which low-income households relied on employment by more than one paid worker. Differences between areas stemmed largely from cultural mores, 'incomplete' household composition, and female household headship. Larger, more extended Fijian households with visitors had more people employed - and unemployed - than comparable Indian areas, but fewer Fijian households lacked anyone in employment. Smaller and generally nuclear Indian households (with fewer visitors, fewer working wives and more retired household heads) and Fijians in the Toorak slum and Indians in the Four-Storey Flats (with higher proportions of female heads and more irregular marital arrangements) displayed particularly high levels of employment disadvantage. The contribution of males (other than the household head) and females is further indicated in Table 10.2. The contribution of female workers is especially significant.

The data do not permit precise analysis of the financial contribution to the household of all those employed, the proportion of income paid in to the household budget being unknown. What is important, however, is that many households had access to money in addition to that earned by the head and that the possibility of such contributions is a form of insurance for the urban poor. The extent to which households may rely on income, and especially female income, other than that of the household head, however, could also be an index of deprivation. Given lower wage levels for females in regular paid employment, the relative few in skilled positions (Table 10.1) and the high proportion

TABLE 10.2  
THE HOUSEHOLD WORKFORCE OTHER THAN THE HEAD: SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS<sup>a</sup>  
(Percentages)

	Squatter					Control						
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TV	NAB	FK	IK	FFS	IFS	TRK
Female	23.9	11.1	24.8	12.8	8.3	22.5	31.0	31.5	11.4	16.7	20.0	31.4
Male	25.6	29.1	17.5	22.8	20.8	26.5	35.6	18.5	29.5	35.2	16.0	25.5
Total not Household Head	49.5	40.2	42.3	35.6	29.1	49.0	66.6	50.0	40.9	51.9	36.0	56.9
Number	236	335	140	71	47	65	38	33	35	34	27	35

Note: a Some household heads were women (see Table 9.12).

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

in informal, casual and menial employment, income earned by women may add little to household budgets.

### Types of Employment

Classification of employment is extremely difficult in an economy such as Fiji where clear margins between levels of skill do not exist, where employment status is not necessarily improved by age and education and where the informant is the sole arbiter of job designation. An informant who classifies himself as a carpenter, for instance, in all probability has received no formal training and the classification 'clerk' can mean anyone from a junior office worker to a highly experienced and relatively well paid senior. Interest, however, is focused less on job type and status per se than on likely levels of income, job security, prospects for advancement and the acquisition of skills which may indicate successful adaptation to the urban economy. The classification chosen is adequate to this task.

With the exception of Traditional Villagers where one-fifth of the heads were employed in farming or fishing, the overwhelming majority of occupations were decidedly urban (Table 10.3). Claims that squatters and the urban poor are 'marginal' to the urban economy in terms of job types are not supported by the Suva data. Table 10.3 shows that relatively high proportions of the urban poor contribute skills necessary to the maintenance of the urban economy, such skills being somewhat more evident among Indians and the upper low-income households at Kinoya. Despite these observations, however, the vulnerability of all sections of the urban poor (with respect to occupational status and industry) to the slightest fluctuations in the economy cannot be overlooked. The significance of the high proportion of heads without employment is only partly moderated by income derived from others in the household being employed. Many Fijian heads were only casually employed and some of the Indian heads who claimed to be self-employed were recipients of low and irregular incomes. Between one-quarter and one-half of the heads must be classified as being insecurely employed with no prospect of job advancement by virtue of their occupational status, and a further 10 percent or more were not employed at all.

TABLE 10.3

OCCUPATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY INDUSTRY, EMPLOYMENT STATUS, AND EMPLOYER: SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	Squatter					Control						
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TV	NAB	FK	IK	FFS	IFS	TRK
INDUSTRY												
Primary	2.1	3.0	1.4	1.4	6.4	20.0	2.6	-	-	-	-	8.6
Building/Construction	20.8	26.9	22.9	16.9	23.4	13.8	15.8	21.2	28.6	14.7	18.5	2.9
Manufacturing	8.1	10.1	9.3	9.9	8.5	10.8	7.9	6.1	22.9	2.9	11.1	11.4
Commercial	4.7	5.4	3.6	4.2	4.3	-	2.7	9.1	8.6	5.9	11.1	5.7
Clerical	4.2	3.6	2.9	1.4	4.3	1.6	-	15.2	2.9	-	-	5.7
Transport/Communications	19.5	16.7	22.1	28.2	14.9	9.2	23.7	9.1	2.8	23.5	18.5	17.1
Service/Entertainment	27.1	17.9	30.0	21.1	21.3	27.7	18.4	21.2	20.0	35.3	11.1	28.6
Professional <sup>a</sup>	0.8	0.9	0.7	4.2	-	-	-	6.1	2.8	3.0	-	-
Unemployed/Retired	12.7	15.5	7.1	12.7	16.9	16.9	28.9	12.0	11.4	14.7	29.7	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
STATUS												
Casual	7.6	1.5	10.7	12.7	4.3	4.6	5.3	-	-	-	-	14.3
Unskilled	42.2	26.0	38.6	35.2	25.5	46.2	26.3	30.3	31.4	47.1	18.5	22.9
Skilled	34.5	52.5	42.1	36.6	48.9	20.0	39.5	51.5	51.4	38.2	51.9	31.4
More than skilled	2.1	1.5	0.7	1.4	-	1.5	-	6.1	5.7	-	-	2.9
Other <sup>c</sup>	13.6	18.5	7.9	14.1	21.3	27.7	28.9	12.1	11.5	14.7	29.6	28.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
EMPLOYER												
Government <sup>b</sup>	45.3	22.8	44.2	40.8	19.1	32.4	42.1	36.3	34.4	23.4	3.7	34.3
Private firms	36.0	50.7	47.2	39.4	48.9	27.7	18.4	51.4	54.3	61.8	55.6	34.3
Self-employed	5.9	10.7	1.4	7.1	14.9	23.1	10.6	-	-	-	11.1	11.4
Retired <sup>c</sup>	12.8	15.8	7.2	12.7	17.1	16.8	28.9	12.3	11.3	14.8	29.6	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	236	335	140	71	47	65	38	33	35	34	27	35

Notes: a Includes Administration and Government; b Includes Suva City Council, Ports Authority, hospitals and teachers;  
c Includes a small number of Not Stated.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

Approximately one-fifth of household heads in most squatter areas were engaged in the highly unstable building and construction industry. High proportions were also employed in services and entertainment (which includes hotel and restaurant work) and in transport. Taxi drivers accounted for many employed in the transport industry and this was especially evident among Indians. Together, these three vulnerable, tourist-related industrial activities accounted for between 50 and 75 percent of employment among household heads.

Somewhat better-off with respect to employment status and industry were areas with higher proportions employed in manufacturing, commerce, clerical positions and the professions. It is here that the more solid advantage of both Fijians and Indians at Kinoya is best seen, an advantage which derives from higher educational attainment resulting in greater job security. Other control areas - Toorak, Traditional Villages, Nabua and the subsidised Flat dwellers - however, were no more secure with respect to employment status or industry than households in squatter areas (Figure 10.1).

One moderating influence which could affect job security was employment in government and statutory bodies, an influence possibly favouring Fijians (particularly Fijian squatters) more than Indians. The extent to which such employers may be more reluctant to dismiss staff or the protection obtained by union action is, of course, not known but the majority of those employed by such bodies were engaged in casual labouring jobs, for the Ports Authority, the Suva City Council and the Public Works Department. These three employers accounted for over one-third of the jobs occupied by Fijian squatter household heads and slightly under one-third in the Traditional Villages and Nabua. In no other area did they account for more than one-quarter of those employed. It is unlikely, in post-Independence Fiji, that Fijians would be openly retained in preference to Indians and, if recent reports are any indication, employees of the Suva City Council are unlikely to receive any special consideration in times of recession.

Length of employment may also be a measure of job security. Information is not available for control areas but among squatter heads in the July 1976 Survey 22 percent of Fijian Renters, 21 percent of City Indians and 30 percent of Indians in the Urban Area had been



employed in their present job for under one year. Between 15 and 34 percent of heads, however, had been employed in their present job for ten or more years. Fijian Renters (15 percent) and Indians (CI 24 percent, IUA 17 percent) had the lowest proportions employed for ten or more years, and were therefore again most disadvantaged with respect to likely job security.

The employment situation of the total paid workforce was, however, an improvement on that of the household heads alone. Higher educational attainment among younger household members had resulted in higher proportions being engaged in white-collar occupations and the professions (Table 10.4). This provides some evidence of intergenerational social mobility among squatters.

Although the total number remained small, there is evidence that squatters, along with other sections of the urban poor, include some workers in secure positions capable of promotion in types of jobs which, especially among Fijians, are seen to be socially prestigious. It is, however, worth noting that squatter areas had proportionately fewer heads employed in white-collar occupations and proportionately more in menial, informal and 'trades' positions than comparable control areas, the difference being most marked among Indians. The importance among Fijians of informal activities (vending and weaving in CV, farming, weaving and vending in TV), highlights both the precarious and generally ill-paid nature of household incomes. Low-income Fijians in the subsidised Flats (FFS) could be worse-off for they lack access to land, materials and the social co-operation evident in weaving activities which is typical of most squatter and village situations. The low level of such activities among FUA is rather surprising, but may be partly explained by the cyclical nature of weaving activities associated with voluntary groups such as the \*soqosoqo vakamarama.

Table 10.4 also shows the importance of wharf and marine employment among Fijians. Most squatters so employed were stevedores or crewmen, while most Fijians at Kinoya were engaged as customs officers, supervisors and similar senior positions. Again squatters are seen to include higher proportions of those engaged at less secure levels of employment, an observation that makes more obvious their need to have more in the household employed, and in a greater range of occupations.

A generalised view of relative levels of job security (Figure 10.1) shows Fijian areas to contain higher proportions of workers in the most

TABLE 10.4  
OCCUPATIONS OF TOTAL EMPLOYED WORKFORCE: SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

Occupations	Squatter					Control						
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TV	NAB	FK	IK	FFS	IFS	TRK
Informal <sup>a</sup>	9.2	4.6	1.6	2.0	6.3	16.3	3.4	3.7	-	-	-	9.8
Menial <sup>b</sup>	16.9	7.0	11.1	13.0	12.4	7.1	5.7	5.6	-	16.7	8.0	3.9
Labouring	14.8	15.2	23.8	13.9	25.0	17.3	6.9	18.5	4.5	25.9	8.0	17.6
Trades, not building	7.5	15.2	6.3	1.0	16.7	6.1	8.0	11.1	31.8	3.7	12.0	9.8
Building, Trades	8.2	23.0	17.5	1.0	14.6	12.2	14.9	1.9	22.7	-	20.0	7.8
Wharf and Sea	8.9	0.7	7.4	15.0	-	5.1	6.9	9.3	-	1.9	-	2.0
Security and Storage	4.5	3.3	5.3	5.9	4.2	5.1	4.6	1.9	4.5	3.7	-	5.9
Retail	4.9	6.5	2.6	5.0	6.3	-	6.9	1.9	13.6	3.7	-	2.0
Clerical	6.1	8.7	4.2	5.0	4.2	7.1	13.8	20.4	2.3	3.7	24.0	15.7
Hotel and Restaurant	5.4	2.6	10.1	3.0	2.1	6.1	6.9	1.9	4.5	7.4	4.0	9.8
Transport (drivers)	3.8	9.1	3.7	5.9	8.2	5.1	1.1	3.7	4.5	3.7	16.0	2.0
Hospital	3.1	0.9	1.6	1.0	-	1.0	3.4	1.9	-	-	-	5.9
Professional	2.8	1.7	1.6	5.9	-	4.1	6.9	11.1	9.1	7.4	4.0	-
Other <sup>c</sup>	3.9	1.5	3.2	22.4	-	7.4	10.6	7.1	2.5	22.2	4.0	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number workers	426	460	189	101	48	98	87	54	44	54	25	51

Notes: a Includes agriculture, vending, handicraft and other 'informal' activities.  
b Includes housegirls, cleaners and grasscutters.  
c Occupation unclear, or Not Stated.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

insecure occupations although FFS, FUA and Toorak also had higher proportions employed in more secure positions than Indian squatters. On both indices - the proportion of greatest and least security - Fijian squatters in the city and in the Traditional Villages revealed the greatest overall insecurity. It should be recalled, however, that these and other Fijian areas also had large numbers of 'extras' in the household and higher proportions of females in employment. Closer study of the question of job security is needed than is possible in the present study for it is undoubtedly a factor of comparable importance to household incomes. What emerges most strongly is that households may at once be the most advantaged in terms of the numbers employed and the most disadvantaged in terms of those unemployed or in insecure positions. For Fijians especially, closer study of the mixed blessings of 'shared poverty' is much needed.

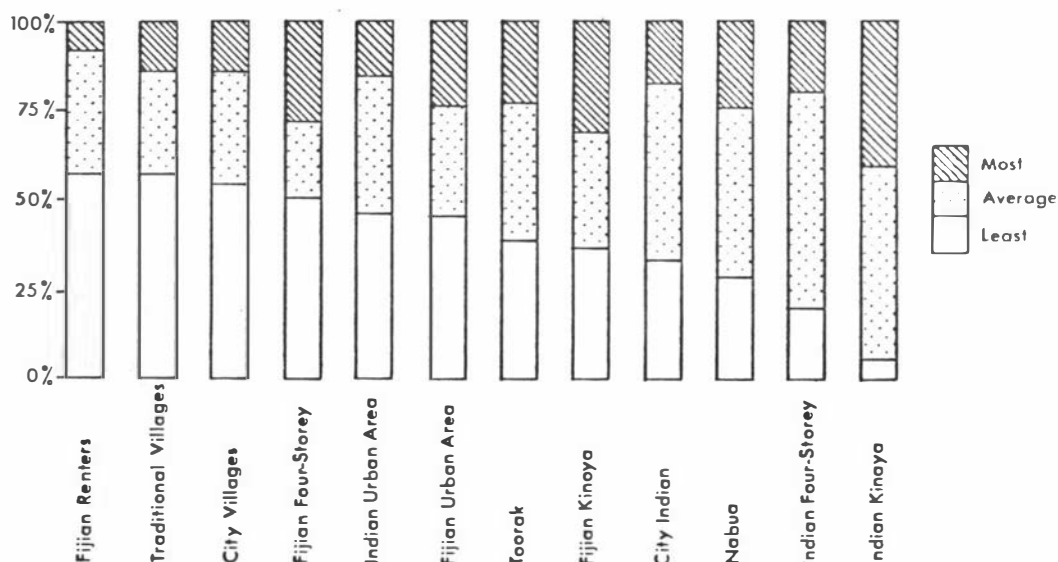


FIGURE 10.1 Security of Employment: Squatter and Control Areas. Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

In sum, Fijian households, not least the squatters, seemed better equipped to survive in the city, the greater numbers employed permitting greater resilience to adversity, but the greater numbers insecurely

employed could impede prospects for social mobility. The economic arrangements of Indian households, somewhat less in squatter than in other low-income areas, on the other hand, seemed more likely to produce economic mobility - both upwards and downwards. Fijian households will survive at varying levels of development in the urban economy. More Indian households will 'succeed' in boom conditions and 'fail' in times of recession. Typical Fijian economic arrangements are defensive, drawing much from the communalism of rural tradition; Indian arrangements are offensive, and represent a major departure from reliance on kin typical of Indians in the rural areas of Fiji. Both strategies, however, are responses, moderated by cultural perception, to the problems and opportunities presented by urban living.

#### Income Levels and Correlations with Status

The most obvious statement on squatter incomes is that they were low by comparison with those in the city as a whole. The mean income of household heads (whose incomes would be somewhat higher than that of all employed or seeking employment) in the July 1976 Survey was \$30.90 a week (S.E. \$1.65). The standard deviation (\$15.90) indicated a fair measure of deprivation. Table 10.5 shows that between 26 and 43 percent of household heads in squatter areas received weekly incomes of less than the \$40 basic wage for unskilled labour in Suva in 1976, and that between 22 and 51 percent of household incomes were less than the basic wage.

There was a distinct tendency for Indian areas (with respect to head's income but more especially with household income due to smaller household size) to include a higher proportion of the very poor and (surprisingly in view of the stereotypes held about Indians) fewer of the better-off heads. This finding raises the problem of reliability of data mentioned in Chapter 1. Was it possible that Fijian respondents, with imprecise knowledge of their husband's income, tended to exaggerate and Indian women, more reluctant to divulge information on incomes, to belittle the income of their husband? Figure 10.2 tends to suggest not. With the exception of isolated cases, Fijian incomes tended to be higher on all indices.

TABLE 10.5

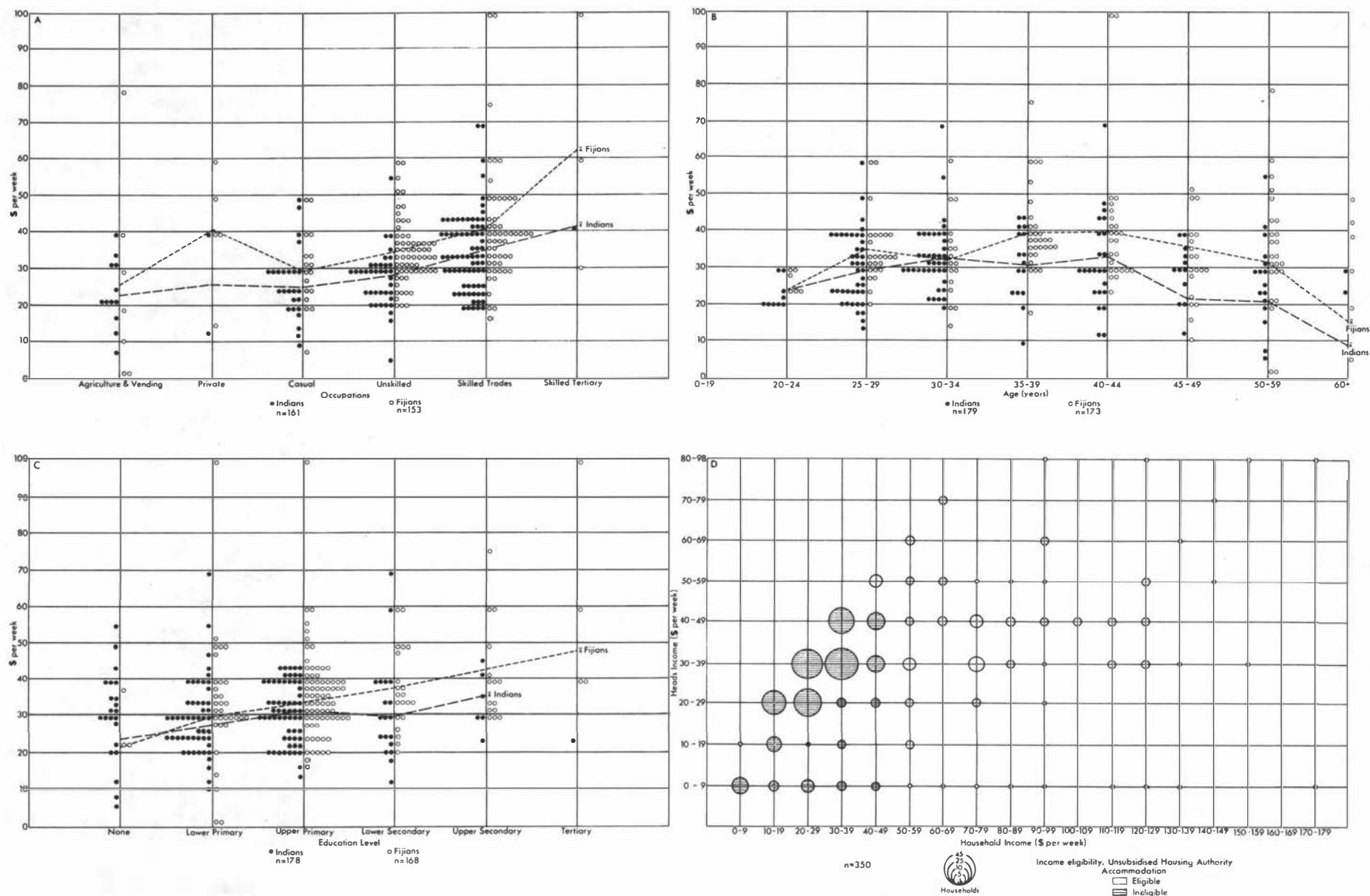
## SQUATTER WEEKLY INCOMES : INCOME OF HEADS AND HOUSEHOLDS BY ETHNO-AREAS

Percentage earnings \$ per Week	Income of Heads					Income of Households				
	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA
0 - 9	10.4	12.3	3.7	14.7	8.6	1.7	6.2	-	14.8	4.3
10 - 19	1.7	1.8	3.7	5.9	10.0	4.3	10.5	7.4	2.9	20.0
20 - 29	13.9	28.9	18.5	8.8	22.9	15.7	30.7	22.2	14.7	27.1
30 - 39	40.1	33.3	48.1	32.4	31.4	24.3	21.9	22.2	17.6	22.9
40 - 49	20.0	15.8	7.4	14.7	24.3	9.6	13.2	14.8	17.7	10.0
50 - 59	7.8	2.6	7.4	8.8	-	3.5	3.5	14.8	11.9	5.7
60 - 69	1.7	0.9	3.7	11.8	-	6.1	2.6	-	2.9	4.3
70 and over	3.5	-	-	2.9	-					
70 - 79						9.6	2.6	7.4	2.9	2.9
80 - 89						5.2	0.9	-	-	1.4
90 - 99						5.2	0.9	-	5.9	-
100 and over						13.9	1.8	3.7	8.7	1.4
Not Stated	0.9	4.4	7.5	-	2.8	0.9	5.2	7.5	-	-
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean (\$)	34.1	27.5	31.0	34.9	29.3	63.3	39.4	48.4	50.9	38.1
Standard Deviation (\$)	17.2	13.4	12.1	21.4	14.0	36.9	21.6	26.6	34.1	21.2
Standard Error (\$)	1.6	1.3	2.4	3.7	1.7	3.5	2.1	5.3	5.8	2.5
Number	114	109	25	34	70	114	109	25	34	70

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Fijian Renters' incomes were lower than households in more established areas, but they included less of the very poor, and incomes of households in the Urban Area, especially Indians, were somewhat higher than among Indians in the city. They also included a smaller proportion of the very poor. These differences, which are minor, are probably attributable to the demographic characteristics of households, especially those with a younger or a female household head.

In the West income has been found to be positively correlated with occupational status, age, and education (Bogue, 1969, 408, 402, 407). Similar findings among squatters (where such differences may be expected



**FIGURE 10.2** Income Levels and Occupational Status, Age, Education and Household Income. A Head's Income by Occupational Status; B Head's Income by Head's Age; C Head's Income by Education Level; D Head's Income by Household Income. Source: July 1976 Survey.

to be smaller than in the general population) would counter notions of 'marginality' and lack of social mobility sometimes attributed to squatters, and lend support for the contentions of the Progressive Development School.

Occupational status and education were found to be moderately correlated with income among Fijians (Kendall's  $r = 0.246$  and  $0.204$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ) and occupational status among Indians ( $0.390$ ). Occupational status and education were also correlated (Fijians  $0.261$ , Indians  $0.259$ ). The relationship between income and age, however, was not lineal. Mean incomes increased with age to peak at 40 - 44 years of age. A combination of factors is responsible for declining mean incomes after middle age. Low levels of education among older, and especially Indian, household heads is one reason why age and education (Fijian  $-0.289$ , Indian  $-0.298$ ) and age and occupational status were negatively correlated.

Employer preference for younger workers in jobs requiring physical exertion, which typified squatter occupations, and poor health more prevalent in older age groups would force older workers to accept jobs offering lower wages and oblige them not to risk venturing into new jobs which may offer higher wages but less security. It is also possible that older heads who had been economically successful had left squatter areas. Whether this has occurred in Suva is uncertain, but the higher proportion of heads in the Fijian Urban Area on higher incomes and the importance of 40 - 59 year old heads in this area lend some support for movement from city to peripheral squatter locations by better established Fijian heads. If such movement also occurred among Indians, the 'successful' are more likely to be found in single unit accommodation in Housing Authority areas at Kinoya, Nadera and Nepani. This important proposition, which gains support from the extent of intra-city mobility in recent years (Chapter 9) unfortunately needs more direct investigation than is possible in the present study.

It should be stressed that the relationship between income and occupational status and education was only moderately positive, and that there was a very wide distribution of incomes within all occupational status and education categories (Figure 10.2). This resulted in high proportions of more skilled and educated heads receiving incomes below those of many heads less qualified, a consequence of the slight income margins given to higher skills (except those for which formal qualifications have been obtained) in a society which undervalues blue-collar occupations and on-the-job training. It is also evidence

of the more limited range of skills and educational attainment among squatters than in the population at large. In manual, blue-collar and most service level jobs education is at most a qualification for entry: it does not ensure advancement because the jobs do not require higher levels of formal education.

The strongest trade unions are often found among the less skilled and this, together with relatively high levels of unemployment, militates against sharp wage differentials based on skills in middle status level occupations. Thus, squatter prospects for higher incomes are only slightly improved by higher skills and education. Their level of skills and education, given the economic structure of the city, seems insufficient to permit much self-improvement. To gain access to higher levels of employment squatters would need upper secondary education. July 1976 Survey data indicated that upper secondary education was a goal sought for the children of squatters, but under 10 percent of squatter heads (1976 Census Schedules) had reached this level of educational attainment themselves. This figure was only exceeded among upper low-income heads at Kinoya and among Fijians at Toorak.

### Expenditure on Food

Food was the most important item in the squatter household's weekly budget. Expenditure averaged \$22.70 or 46.7 percent of mean household incomes. Indians, depending more on purchased food, spent proportionately more on food than Fijian households, many of whom obtained food by subsistence activities. The mean food bill for City Villagers and Fijian Renters accounted for 36 percent of incomes, for Fijians in the Urban Area it was 42 percent, for Indians in the Urban Area 56 percent, and for City Indians 62 percent. Indians spent in excess of \$4.30 per week per capita, and Fijians between \$3.45 (FUA) and \$3.62 (CV) on food.

As expected, the mean amount spent on food increased with household income but the proportion so spent decreased. Thus, those on incomes under \$30 a week spent \$19 or 66 percent of mean household income on food; households earning \$30 - \$49 spent \$25 (50 percent); households earning \$50 - \$69 spent \$28 (41 percent), and households earning \$70 or more spent \$30 (33 percent). This supports the contention (Laquian, 1969, 189) that the proportion spent on food and other necessities by the very poor is significantly higher than



that spent by better-off families. It clearly indicates also, the small surplus available for other purposes, including accommodation (Table 10.6). Small household size and fewer workers per household which typify Indian areas appear to act to the economic detriment of typical Indian squatter households, whereas the typical Fijian household supported by more workers has a greater financial surplus, despite larger household size and the higher proportion of unemployed. The mean household income for single income squatter households was \$29.30 compared with \$48.60 for all households.

TABLE 10.6  
MEAN WEEKLY INCOMES AND FOOD EXPENDITURE PER CAPITA  
BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS <sup>a</sup>  
(Dollars)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
Mean household income	63.3	39.4	48.4	50.9	38.1	48.6
$\bar{x}$ household income per capita	9.7	7.3	9.7	8.2	7.8	8.5
$\bar{x}$ expenditure on food	23.6	24.3	17.5	21.4	21.4	22.7
$\bar{x}$ expenditure on food per capita	3.6	4.5	3.5	3.5	4.4	4.0
Percentage income spent on food	37.3	61.7	36.2	42.0	56.2	46.7
Household balance <sup>b</sup>	39.7	15.1	30.9	29.5	16.7	25.9
Per capita balance <sup>b</sup>	6.1	2.8	6.2	4.8	3.4	4.5

Notes : a Rounded to the nearest ten cents.

b 'Balance', income less the cost of food.

Source : July 1976 Survey.

### Debts and Savings

Early studies of the urban poor indicated that they were characteristically time-orientated toward the present and incapable of deferring immediate gratification of their wants (e.g. Beyer, 1967; Lewis, 1966a). Later studies have refuted such broad generalisations but opinion is still divided on the extent to which squatters, given

the external constraints of poverty, are capable of savings and 'investment in the future' (e.g. Epstein, 1973; Leeds, 1973; Mangin, 1970).

Fiji is not poor by Third World standards, and the range of incomes obtained by squatter households would indicate that the level of savings may be higher than the external appearance of settlements themselves would suggest. The present study indicates that a large number of squatter households in all areas practised some form of saving (insurance, credit union or personal saving) although the amounts involved were not ascertained in the July 1976 Survey (Table 10.7).

TABLE 10.7  
DEBTS AND SAVINGS OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
No debts	72.2	77.1	66.7	64.7	68.5	71.9
Layby debts	22.6	19.3	22.2	17.6	20.0	20.6
Food debts	2.6	1.8	7.4	11.8	8.6	4.7
Layby & food debts	2.6	1.8	3.7	5.9	2.9	2.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No insurances	12.2	43.0	14.8	8.8	28.6	25.0
Savings	20.0	32.5	29.6	23.5	42.9	29.4
Insurances, etc <sup>a</sup>	67.8	24.5	55.6	67.7	28.5	45.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	115	114	27	34	70	360

Note : a Combination of insurance, credit union membership and personal savings.

Source : July 1976 Survey.

Debt, if regulated and not excessive, can also represent a form of savings. Food debts were found in relatively few households and then mainly in the Urban Area which suggests the use of debts for convenience. Debts incurred by layby almost always involved items of household furniture and as such are taken to indicate investment and a desire for self-improvement. It is, however, noted that both forms of debt were higher among Fijians who may be less appreciative of the pitfalls of indebtedness than Indians.

Recognition of the need for future security is best seen in the fact that three-quarters of the squatters had some form of savings. The category 'savings', however, which could represent quite small and irregularly contributed amounts, was probably not as reliable an indication of security as insurance and credit union membership which require payment and generally offer protection above the total sum invested. Insurances and credit union membership involved over one-half of Fijian and one-quarter of Indian households in all areas. The lower level of participation by Indians was possibly offset by higher levels of income derived from renting and the possession of more tangible material assets. Given these circumstances, it may be concluded that many squatters showed clear evidence of concern about the future and participated in activities to ensure greater security.

In conclusion, the majority of squatters, while poor, did not appear to be especially disadvantaged compared with most other low-income areas. Indeed, with greater opportunities to obtain supplementary incomes and support, and with lower accommodation and transport costs, many may be significantly better-off. Reliance on several sources of income (more than one worker per household, the employment of women, and, as shall be shown below, informal and subsistence activities among Fijians and renting among Indians) is clearly important. The extent to which opportunities exist for these activities is in part influenced by residential location which favours city residents, and especially city squatters. Fijians, contrasted with Indians, appeared to have put their eggs in a number of baskets and placed more importance on human - as distinct from material - investment. As a consequence, Fijians are probably more secure than Indians but they may be also less socially mobile.

Finally, squatters (and probably control area residents with which they may be directly compared) displayed a wide range of economic attributes. Between 6 (CV) and 24 percent (IUA) were extremely poor according to household incomes and a further 15 to 30 percent earned less than the Suva basic wage in 1976 (Table 10.5). On the other hand, households whose heads earned over \$60 a week (between 1 percent CI and 15 percent FUA) must be considered relatively wealthy by Suva standards. Squatters are not uniformly poor and some are capable of self-improvement and social mobility. The correlates and limitations of mobility, and the proportion of households potentially mobile, will be considered in Chapter 18.

## CHAPTER 11

### HOUSING CONDITIONS

The single most important feature distinguishing squatting from other forms of settlement is its illegal or extra-legal tenure. In much of the debate about squatting, however, tenure has frequently been relegated to one of several variables affecting housing. More than anything else, squatting has been described as a housing problem, and the debate has focused largely upon housing adequacy and the prospects for its improvement. This chapter concerns housing conditions in the five ethno-areas, minimum standards of adequacy, and correlates of adequacy. It concludes by considering squatter perceptions of security of tenure. These issues are subjected to closer analysis in Part V when the standards of adequacy described in this chapter are related to socio-economic characteristics of squatter households.

Table 11.1 indicates the wide range of housing conditions both within and between the five squatter settlement types studied. Overall standards, as expected, were low in comparison with other housing in the city though the space available to many squatters exceeded that typical of much public housing and rooming arrangements in the slum.<sup>1</sup>

Toilets, kitchens and bathrooms which are included in the total living space available to residents in public housing were included in squatter living space in this study only if they were part of the main dwelling, and not separate buildings. Over 90 percent of squatter toilets, 10 percent of kitchens and 78 percent of bathing facilities were, however, outside the main dwelling and such additional space should be allowed for in the calculations which follow. The more flexible use of interior space, fewer internal partitions and the possession of less furniture also gives more effective space to squatters than those living in public housing. It should, however, be noted that many outside structures were of flimsy design, barely adequate to their purpose, and in many cases offered limited privacy and probably minimal sanitary levels (Figures 11.2 - 11.17).

The differences between ethno-areas, noted in Table 11.1, are sufficiently marked to lend weight to the contentions of Turner (e.g. 1969, 44) that squatter housing is in a constant state of evolution and improvement. Whether such changes, however, correspond to the changing needs and conditions of households as Turner (1970a) also maintains or to the types of people and their reasons for becoming squatters (Leeds, 1973) can only be inferred from area data.

TABLE 11.1  
SQUATTER HOUSING CONDITIONS BY ETHNO-AREAS

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	TOTAL
STRUCTURE (%)						
No foundations <sup>a</sup>	28.7	15.0	14.8	14.7	8.6	18.0
Tin walls	41.7	79.0	77.8	61.7	77.2	55.0
Superior <sup>b</sup>	20.0	7.0	7.4	17.6	1.4	7.5
ROOMS						
Only one room (%)	38.3	16.7	51.9	55.9	18.6	30.3
$\bar{x}$ number of rooms	2.3	3.5	1.7	1.9	2.5	2.6
SIZE AND DENSITY						
$\bar{x}$ size (m <sup>2</sup> ) <sup>c</sup>	34.8	32.0	17.7	31.9	25.9	32.1
$\bar{x}$ population density	5.3	5.9	3.5	5.1	5.3	
Below HART minimum size (%)	51.3	54.4	81.5	60.0	58.6	56.4
Above Housing Authority maximum size (%)	13.0	11.4	-	10.0	-	8.8
HOUSE AGE ( $\bar{x}$ years)	9.0	12.3	12.0	7.8	3.8	9.1
AMENITIES (%)						
Own inside kitchen	37.4	56.1	14.8	38.2	41.4	42.5
Own outside kitchen	14.8	1.8	25.9	8.8	8.6	9.7
Flush toilet	17.4	3.5	-	2.9	-	6.9
Pour-flush toilet	24.3	1.8	-	23.5	11.4	12.8
Pit toilet	58.3	94.7	100.0	73.5	87.1	80.0
Own inside water	14.8	34.2	-	11.8	8.6	18.3
Own outside water	27.8	22.8	7.4	41.2	10.0	22.5
Inside bathroom	14.8	5.3	-	-	-	6.4
Own outside bathroom	32.2	53.5	11.1	44.1	11.4	46.1
Electricity	26.8	24.7	18.5	5.9	5.7	19.9
Refrigerator	25.2	22.8	3.7	6.3	5.7	17.8
TENURE AND HOUSE OWNERSHIP (%)						
Sharing dwelling	7.8	27.2	74.1	14.7	8.6	19.7
Paying land rent	67.8	40.4	18.5	41.2	25.7	46.7
Self-built house	82.6	50.9	14.8	79.4	88.6	68.3
Bought the house	1.7	24.6	-	2.9	10.0	10.5
Buying the house	-	5.3	4.4	-	-	2.2
Renting the house	3.5	13.2	74.1	11.8	-	11.9
No payment required	8.7	3.5	3.7	5.9	1.4	5.3
Not stated	3.5	2.7	-	-	-	1.8
Years in occupance ( $\bar{x}$ )	13.4	8.2	4.5	9.8	3.7	8.8
IMPROVEMENTS (%)						
No improvements	30.4	39.5	63.0	32.4	32.9	36.4
Some improvements	40.9	49.1	33.3	41.1	44.2	43.6
Many improvements	28.7	11.4	3.7	26.5	22.9	20.0
Total households	115	114	27	34	70	360

Notes: a Not raised from the ground. b Concrete and weatherboard housing.  
c Dwelling size was estimated by paced measurements and rounded to the nearest 0.10m<sup>2</sup> for analysis.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

There was, however, evidence that security of tenure (indicated by the payment of land rents) correlated highly with increased dwelling size ( $r_s = 0.85$ ), quality of construction material ( $r_s = 0.70$ ) and improvements undertaken by householders ( $r_s = 0.90$ ). The payment of rent, claimed by Laquian (1969, 87) to be an important index of poverty, is difficult to relate to improvements at the area level because of marked differences between Fijians and Indians, and the relative unimportance of renting in the newer areas outside the city. The generally lower standard of housing and the extent of non-improvement among Fijian Renters, however, is apparent.

Differences between areas in the amenities available also appeared to reflect the policy of authorities towards squatters. Pour-flush toilets (which are an improvement on pit toilets), for example, were much more common among Fijian squatters, possibly because the authorities have responsibility for sanitation on Crown land where most Fijian squatters reside, but possibly also because of a difference in official attitudes towards Fijian and Indian squatters. Indians also had less access to safe, piped water, and the differences between squatters in comparable areas is difficult to explain unless it is due to actions taken by officials. In the City Indian areas, for example, 21 percent of Indian households had no water, yet only 15 percent of Fijians in these same areas lacked water. Outside the city the difference was more pronounced: 74 percent of Indians lacked piped water compared with only 6 percent of Fijians.

Some differences, however, were clearly caused by cultural preferences and priorities, the most obvious difference concerning space (a high priority among Fijians) and privacy indicated by the number of rooms (which was a high priority among Indians).

Home ownership is a universal characteristic of squatting and Suva was no exception. Most dwellings were built by the occupants but a significant number, especially in the longer established City Indian areas, had been bought or were being bought by the occupants. The mean cost of construction (for dwellings of all ages) ranged from \$358 in the Fijian Urban Area to \$570 in the City Indian area. The mean cost of purchase in City Indian areas was \$583 for Indians and \$365 for Fijians. Renting was also more common in the City Indian area, mean monthly rentals in 1976 being \$13.50 for Indians and \$21.50 for

Fijians. These amounts represented 41 percent of Indian and 21 percent of Fijian mean annual incomes for building and purchase, and 12 percent of Indian and 16 percent of Fijian monthly incomes for renting. Expressed in another way, the typical squatter builds or buys his house for less than the typical annual outgoings of a person buying a Housing Authority house, outgoings which are repeated annually for up to 25 years.

#### MINIMUM STANDARDS OF HOUSING

A major purpose of the present study is to determine whether squatter housing is adequate and shows signs of improvement as the squatters' economic conditions improve. It is therefore necessary to establish a measure of minimum housing standards.

Fraser (1969, 15) states that satisfactory levels of housing cannot be measured in absolute terms because minimum standards vary with need and circumstances, but he added that dwellings below certain standards (of shelter, sanitation, water and household density) may be considered to be at varying levels of non-habitability. Oram (1970, 75) states that 'housing is adequate if it is safe and provides sufficient protection from the rain and cold according to the climate, protection from intruders, privacy in accordance with local custom, and if services, especially pure water, are available.' The authors in Planning and Administration (1977) considered that housing conditions can be measured by the ratio of persons to residence space, the availability of clean water within 100 metres, and the standard of sanitation. The common elements mentioned in these and other studies are: shelter, water, sanitation and density.<sup>2</sup>

For Fiji, adequate shelter is taken to mean: a structure on raised foundations built of reasonably permanent, non-inflammable materials such as concrete block, weatherboard or iron; adequate water means piped water within 100 metres of the house; adequate sanitation means pour-flush or flush toilets; and adequate density is taken to mean a minimum habitable space per occupant of five square metres. This is the approximate ideal minimum gross space available to tenants in Housing Assistance and Relief Trust (HART) and Housing Authority dwellings.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 11.2  
SQUATTER DWELLING SIZE AND DENSITIES: LEVELS OF ADEQUACY

	Square Metres	Number in Household												No.	%
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
Exceeds	> 83.7	-	1	-	1	-	2	4	-	2	-	-	-	10	2.8
Housing	≤ 83.7	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	1	-	1	9	2.6
Authority	≤ 74.4	-	1	-	1	1	1	2	2	2	-	1	1	12	3.4
Maximum															
Between	≤ 65.1	-	-	2	2	1	3	2	1	-	-	2	-	13	3.7
Housing	≤ 55.8	-	2	1	1	4	7	4	1	2	1	2	-	25	7.1
Authority	≤ 46.5	-	-	1	3	4	7	4	1	-	2	1	1	24	6.8
Limits (HPP)															
HART limits	≤ 37.2	1	3	3	7	10	12	6	4	7	3	3	1	60	17.1
Below	≤ 27.9	-	5	11	10	16	16	10	5	5	2	-	1	81	23.1
HART	≤ 18.6	-	12	14	8	21	16	10	5	2	-	1	-	89	25.4
Limits	< 9.4	-	4	7	6	4	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	28	8.0
No.		1	28	39	39	61	71	43	21	24	9	10	5	351	100.0
%		0.3	8.0	11.1	11.1	17.4	20.0	12.2	6.0	6.8	2.6	2.8	1.4	100.0	

Note: Dwellings below the 'stepped' line were below minimum HART requirements with respect to size and density, based on minimum space per occupant at 5m<sup>2</sup>. Complete data were not available on nine households. These are excluded from the table.

Source: July 1976 Survey.



The present study revealed a close relationship between dwelling size, density of dwelling and the adequacy of residential densities. The majority of smaller dwellings had densities in excess of  $5\text{m}^2$  of habitable space per occupant, and the proportion with acceptable densities increased with size, all dwellings exceeding  $55.8\text{m}^2$  (600 square feet) having acceptable densities (Table 11.2).

The importance attached to dwelling size per se which recurs throughout the literature (e.g. Abrams, 1966, Clinard, 1966; Turner, 1967a, 1969b) gains support from Table 11.2, and as noted below from the positive correlation between size and other housing variables. This relationship is sufficiently strong to add size to the criteria of adequacy.

It is, of course, recognized that other indices may be added : privacy, comfort, insulation, accessibility and residential environment being among the most obvious. These indices, however, pertain to quality of housing beyond the minimal level and are therefore of no direct concern to this study.

On the basis of the criteria of adequacy, the most pressing need revealed in the July 1976 Survey was for the provision of adequate sanitation (Table 11.3). Less than one-half of the dwellings in any area had pour-flush or flush toilets, and four-fifths of the households overall had pit toilets. The latter are an unsatisfactory means of waste disposal in Suva because much of the city is built on exposed soapstones which have poor seepage qualities. The situation is seen to be most serious in the more densely populated city, and especially Indian city, areas. However, 24 percent of Fijian households in both the city and Urban Area had pour-flush toilets which are an inexpensive and satisfactory means of disposal in most conditions. By contrast, pour-flush toilets were present in only 11 percent of IUA households, and 2 percent of City Indian households. They were totally absent among Fijian Renters.

Most squatters had easy access to safe, piped water but again Indians, especially those in the Urban Area, were less well served than others. Approximately one-third of households, however, shared water taps with other households (CV 44 percent; CI 22 percent; FR 78 percent; FUA 41 percent; IUA 7 percent).

TABLE 11.3

FIVE CRITERIA OF ADEQUACY IN SQUATTER DWELLINGS BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV <sup>f</sup>	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
Adequate shelter <sup>a</sup>	42.6	72.8	81.5	70.5	74.3	63.7
Adequate toilets <sup>b</sup>	41.7	5.3	-	36.4	11.4	19.7
Adequate water <sup>c</sup>	87.0	78.9	85.2	94.1	25.7	73.1
Adequate density <sup>d</sup>	53.0	56.1	38.9	54.4	62.9	40.5
Adequate size <sup>e</sup>	48.7	45.6	18.5	40.0	41.4	43.6

Notes: a Tin, good wood, concrete on raised foundations.  
 b Pour-flush or flush toilets.  
 c Piped water within 100 metres of dwelling.  
 d Habitable space exceeded 5m<sup>2</sup> per occupant.  
 e Main dwelling unit exceeds HART minimum size (27.8m<sup>2</sup>).  
 f Valenimanumanu accounted for a disproportionate amount of the 'adequacy' of shelter and toilets in the CV ethno-area.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Three observations are pertinent:

1) A high proportion of squatter dwellings were 'adequate' on at least one of the six criteria used, and some were superior to HART and some Housing Authority dwellings, at least with respect to size.

2) Fiji is fortunate in that individual squatter areas are small in extent. Partial official assistance has helped to minimise health problems arising from poor water supply and sanitation, and action by city authorities in Suva has also led to the demise of the thatched bure and its replacement by corrugated iron (tin) structures. Fire risk, pest infestation and impermanence, however, remain characteristic of many outbuildings.

3) There is a wide range of dwelling adequacy. Evidence will be presented in Part V which indicates that the range is largely a consequence of the gradual improvement of many squatter houses, and that the order attached to the acquisition of different amenities is influenced by cultural factors and differing economic circumstances. Standards appear to improve where there is some security of tenure and where the authorities have been willing to assist with basic amenities. Squatter houses have been attacked as unsafe (Fiji Sun, 26 March, 1977) and their supposedly hazard-prone construction used as an excuse for demolition. There is little evidence to support such views.<sup>4</sup>

Barring extreme hazards of hurricane and earthquake most dwellings provide safe and adequate shelter. The location of many dwellings in gullies and among trees provides additional protection. In short, many dwellings were adequate in matters the squatters could control themselves - construction and (increasing) size - and least adequate in matters which require the assistance of the authorities - sanitation and, in the urban area, water. This promises well for a revised policy based on controlled spontaneous settlement assuming that a significant number of houses are structurally sound and households have sufficient income to sustain improvements.

TABLE 11.4  
MATRIX OF SQUATTER DWELLING CORRELATIONS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1 Density		.23	.58	.31	.25	.28	.25	.27	.25	.37	
2 Materials	.31		.26	.26	.06	.51	.18	.18	.15	.22	
3 Size	.64	.37		.60	.49	.29	.43	.43	.36	.37	
4 Rooms	.40	.52	.49		.63	.30	.42	.43	.37	.25	
5 Kitchen	.33	.33	.29	.57		.17	.48	.31	.35	.18	
6 Toilet	.23	.27	.27	.40	.31		.27	.30	.29	.31	
7 Water	.14	.23	.17	.45	.46	.47		.42	.35	.14	
8 Bathing	.15	.27	.20	.48	.43	.41	.87		.30	.26	
9 Electricity	.18	.36	.36	.47	.22	.39	.41	.43		.28	
10 Refrigerator	.16	.33	.31	.46	.20	.28	.35	.38	.66		

INDIANS

#### FIJIANS

Notes: Correlations for Indians (City Indians, N=54) are shown above the diagonal; correlations for Fijians (City Villagers, N=54) below the diagonal.

Correlations above 0.22 are significant at  $p=0.005$ , and 0.33 at  $p=0.001$  (Kendall's  $r$ ). The remaining ethno-areas (FR, IUA, FUA) were excluded to control factors derived from renting and location of residence. Areas outside the city are less likely to be provided with electricity or piped water. Intervals (and scores) for each index were established from 'best' to 'worst.' See Appendix F for intervals.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

## DWELLING SIZE AND A SCALE OF HOUSING IMPROVEMENT

An attempt was made to determine the material correlates of dwelling improvement, and establish if any one factor was most significant. This was considered necessary if a housing scale was to be constructed or if single indices were to be reliably used. Table 11.4 shows the results obtained.

Dwelling size and the number of rooms emerge as the most highly correlated features with other housing variables, but the levels of correlation, although positive for all variables, are not high. This is partly explained by the need to use ordinal data, the arbitrary selection of class intervals and the use of a nonparametric test of correlation which is notably less powerful than parametric tests (Siegel, 1956, 18 - 30). In this respect it is perhaps significant that dwelling size and the number of rooms, both amenable to interval scaling, showed the highest correlations. The basic cause, however, probably lies in the spontaneous and evolving nature of squatter housing, and in the selection of amenity priorities by squatters. Thus, on each of the housing variables illustrated in Figure 11.1, 'improvement' is seen to be related to house size but on each variable at every level of 'improvement' there was a wide distribution around the means. The relationship between dwelling size on the one hand and materials, rooms, kitchen and water supply on the other hand is clearly positive, but the relationship is not always lineal and considerable differences occur between Fijian and Indian squatters dwellings. Size alone, therefore, is an insufficiently reliable index of improvement, and the number of rooms, which correlated somewhat more positively, is also inadequate. It was therefore proposed to allow equal weight to all indices in the construction of the housing adequacy scale used in subsequent chapters.

In conclusion, squatter housing is on average inferior to that provided by the Housing Authority, but with respect to size and flexible use of space some squatter housing is equal to or superior to housing provided by HART and the Housing Authority. The range of dwelling conditions is perhaps the most significant feature, providing as it does some support for the Progressive Development School. The type of improvement is influenced by cultural factors and its extent appears to be influenced by security of tenure, age and location favouring city areas, and the degree of assistance offered by the authorities. Rented accommodation generally indicates poorer housing

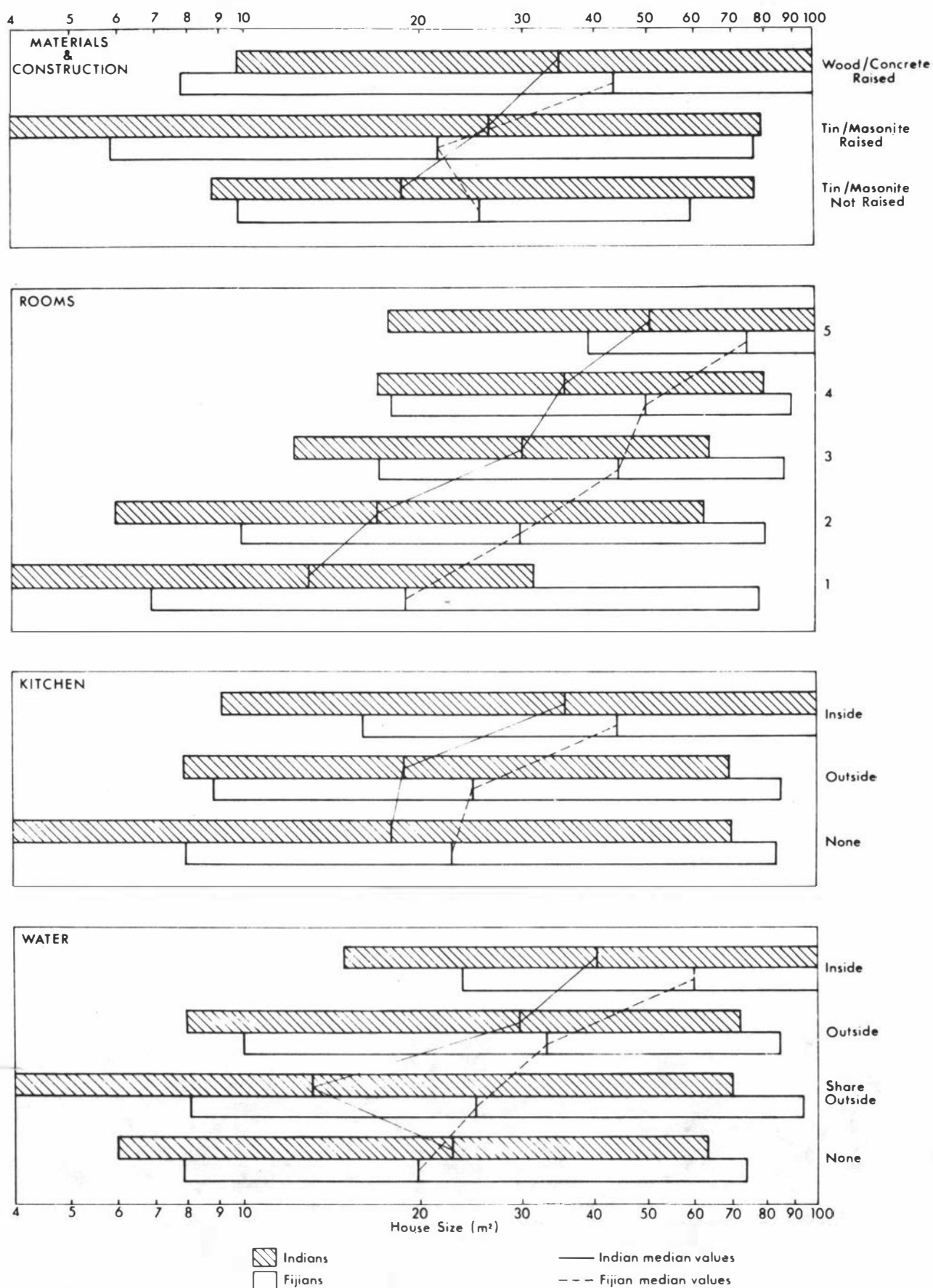


FIGURE 11.1 House Size and Other Variables.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

conditions. These observations, however, are based on grouped area data. The crux of the improvement question is not whether improvement takes place or where, but rather to identify the socio-economic attributes of households which seek and attain dwelling improvement, and to establish the externally imposed conditions which facilitate or restrict improvement. This is a major element in the discussion in later chapters.

#### HOW SECURE DO THE SQUATTERS FEEL?

Central to the ideas of the Progressive Development School is the belief that investment, and improvement, in housing and security of tenure are positively related. Respondents in the July 1976 Survey were equally divided on this question. Slightly under one-half had not been approached to leave and did not expect to be approached. Of those expressing feelings of insecurity, 20.9 percent had actually been asked to leave and 32.8 percent thought they might be asked to leave. (Table 11.5).

TABLE 11.5  
SQUATTERS' SENSE OF SECURITY OF TENURE BY ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FUA	IUA	Total
Secure <sup>a</sup>	44.3	57.8	79.4	18.5	45.5
Uncertain <sup>b</sup>	24.4	28.9	14.8	47.2	32.8
Insecure <sup>c</sup>	29.7	12.3	5.8	34.3	20.9
Not stated	1.6	1.0	-	-	0.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	115	114	34	70	333

Notes: a Not approached to leave.  
b Not approached to leave, but thought might be.  
c Approached to leave.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

It was anticipated that Fijians, with greater claims to the land, and those living outside the city where the pressure on land is less, would feel more secure. Neither prediction was verified although Fijians in the Urban Area felt most secure. The reason lies in

differences between individual settlements. With the exception of residents at Kai Ra, Malekula and Tutaleva, all of whom had received eviction notices, most City Villagers felt secure and excepting Kalabo (where Indians had received eviction notices) the feeling of security was generally greater in the Urban Area than in the city. The remaining distribution of responses, however, warns against assumptions at community level. In the final analysis investment and improvement is a decision reached by individual households.

## FOOTNOTES

1 No recent studies have been undertaken of rooming arrangements typical of the slum. O'Loughlin and Holmes (1954), Vunivalu and Verrier (1960), and Ratcliffe and Revans (c. 1965) provide the only guidelines. Vunivalu and Verrier (1960) showed that 58 percent of households lived in one room, the average room size being  $11.2\text{m}^2$ ; 54 percent had no private kitchen, and 75 percent no private bathroom or toilet.

2 Harr  (1970a) provides a list of standards for Fiji squatter conditions based on squatter priorities, but he gives no indication of the methods used in obtaining the data.

3 Based on six people per household,  $5.2\text{m}^2$  in the Four-Storey Flats at Raiwaqa;  $6.8$  to  $9.9\text{m}^2$  for Housing Authority HPP houses, and  $4.7$  to  $4.8\text{m}^2$  for HART houses. The Fijian density in the Four-Storey Flats was  $6.9\text{m}^2$  (unpub. 1976 Census data).

4 Structural soundness in the present study was taken to mean: construction on raised foundations, built of durable materials with a low fire risk. The spacing of studs, crossmembers and other construction details were not examined but it is likely that a number of dwellings were unsatisfactory in these respects. This is an obvious area where squatters, like most home house-builders, would benefit from access to technical advice. The speed at which basic carpentry skills can be taught in Fiji has been commented upon by Hay (1972).



Figure 11.2. Fijian Renters at Deo Dutt. Exposed soapstones restrict gardening in this area, but this ledge provides space for 'outdoor' living besides being a pathway to other houses and providing access for a water pipe.

Figure 11.3. Pour-flush toilet at Malekula. A cheap and efficient way of providing water-sealed waste disposal, and a big improvement on pit toilets which are typical of all Indian and many Fijian squatter settlements.

Figure 11.4. Washhouse at Jittu. This washhouse consists of a shower in a crudely constructed shelter providing the minimum of privacy. It is typical of washhouses in most squatter areas.

Figure 11.5. Outside Cooking at Jittu. Fijians prefer to keep cooking and other domestic functions separate but some squatters, like this lady, have no outside kitchen. Indians generally cook inside on kerosene stoves.

Photos: The Author, November, 1976.



Figure 11.6. 'Instant' housing at Valenimanumanu. Homes of former Fijian squatters at Valenimanumanu who have been given secure tenure and loan finance. A number of households in this settlement have workers in secure and relatively well paid jobs. Secure tenure and loan finance is insufficient to ensure house improvement. Regular and reasonably high incomes are also needed.

Figure 11.8. Induced Self-help at Vunivau. The Methodist Church has promised Fijians at Vunivau secure tenure if they construct concrete block houses within ten years. The settlement boasts a roadside store (left) and a communal storage shed for building materials (centre).

Photos: The Author, June, 1976.

Figure 11.7. Gradual self-help at Nauluvatu. Technical advice could be provided to squatters such as this self-help builder at Nauluvatu. His old house is seen to the left. A block of upper class multi-storey flats is seen on the skyline.

Figure 11.9. An Improved House at Nauluvatu. Tenure is relatively secure for some residents at Nauluvatu, and secure tenure is one important factor leading to house improvement. Imam Ali and Mosese Uluiciciya, an Indian and a Fijian university student, are seen talking to a Fijian housewife during the pre-survey of this settlement. Every effort was made during the July 1976 Survey to ensure that respondents were interviewed by interviewers of their own ethnic group.

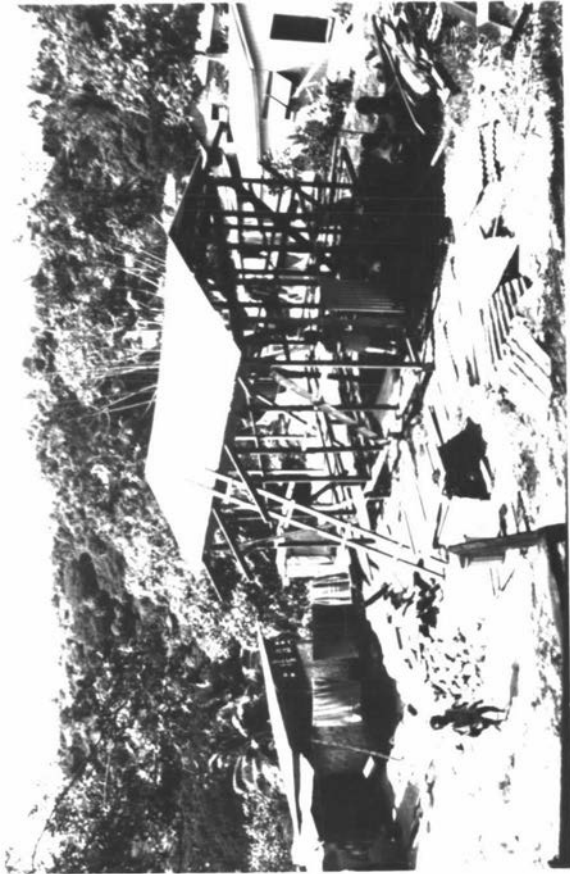


Figure 11.10. Nabua Village.

This Fijian settlement within the city boundary was first settled after the 1952 hurricane.

It was intended to be a 'model' urban village.

The houses are grouped together around a green, and retain some features of the traditional Fijian rural village.

Figure 11.12. Tamavua Village.

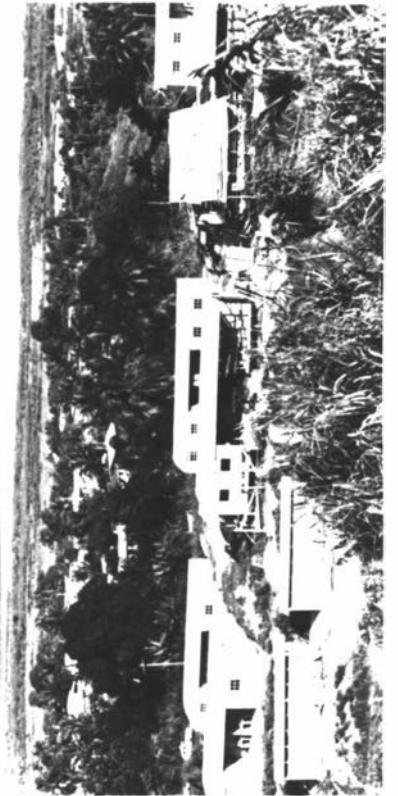
This 'traditional' village is located immediately outside the city boundary. Traditional bure have been replaced by weatherboard houses but the settlement is an official village. It comprises a number of related mataqali under the leadership of a turaga-ni-koro, in occupance of their own lands.

Figure 11.11. Toorak Tenements. Toorak is an inner city transitional area where formerly substantial houses have given way to rooming houses and the encroachment of commercial and light industrial activities. The area is taken to represent the Suva 'slum' although many parts are still occupied by wealthy families.

Figure 11.13. HART housing at Delainasole.

These Housing Assistance and Relief Trust (HART) houses for the destitute are largely made of recycled materials. They provide the minimum of essential services. HART is a voluntary organization established by the Fijian Council of Churches. It receives some assistance from government.

Photos: Figures 11.10 - 11.12, R. Thaman, June, 1978; Figure 11.13, The Author, June, 1976.



Suva, like most Third World cities, is a city of extremes.

Figure 11.14. Elite Housing at Tamavua Heights.

This is a relatively recent elite residential area located on NLTB administered land approximately one kilometer outside the northern city boundary.

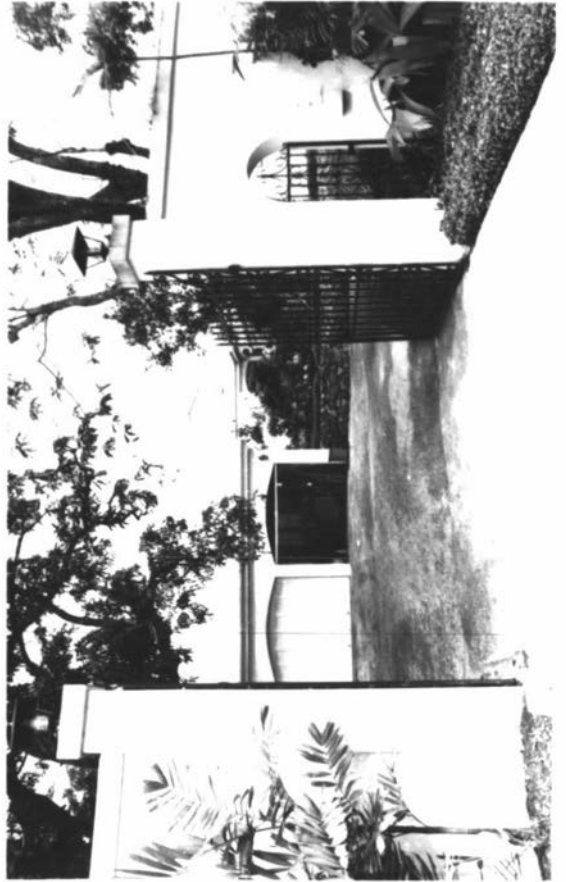
Figure 11.15. A Road in the Domain.

The Domain is the residential area of the former colonial administrators. Population densities in this part of Suva are extremely low.

Figure 11.16. A House in the Domain.

Figure 11.17. Entrance to a House on Ratu Sukuna Road. This road in the city has many upper class houses and the new headquarters complex of SPEC (South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation) and the homes of the British and New Zealand High Commissioners.

Photos: R. Thaman, June, 1978.





## CHAPTER 12

### SUVA SQUATTERS AND MARGINALITY

Two major sets of criticisms levelled at squatting will be considered in this chapter. The first is that squatting is an undesirable use of urban space, and the second, that squatters themselves do not really 'belong' to the city.

Both sets of criticisms, neither of which acknowledge the basic causes of squatting, are essentially extensions of the view that squatting and squatters are 'marginal' to the city. Perlman (1976, 91), in reviewing the importance of this concept as an explanation of squatter characteristics, has claimed with some justification that the concept 'has virtually taken on a life of its own [it is] popularized as a coherent theory even though - or perhaps because - it is based on a set of loosely related, rather ambiguous hypotheses.' The following discussion examines some of these 'hypotheses.'

#### SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS, URBAN SPACE AND URBAN PLANNING

The main criticisms levelled at the siting and residential layout of squatter settlements are:

- 1) They constitute an uneconomic use of land, the areas being better used for other (non-residential) purposes.
- 2) Squatters occupy hazardous environments unsuitable for residential purposes.
- 3) Squatter settlement densities are either too high, thus constituting a health hazard, or too low, thereby representing an uneconomic use of urban residential space.
- 4) Squatter settlement layouts are chaotic, making the provision of services impossible or costly.
- 5) Overall, they represent an obstacle to rational urban planning.

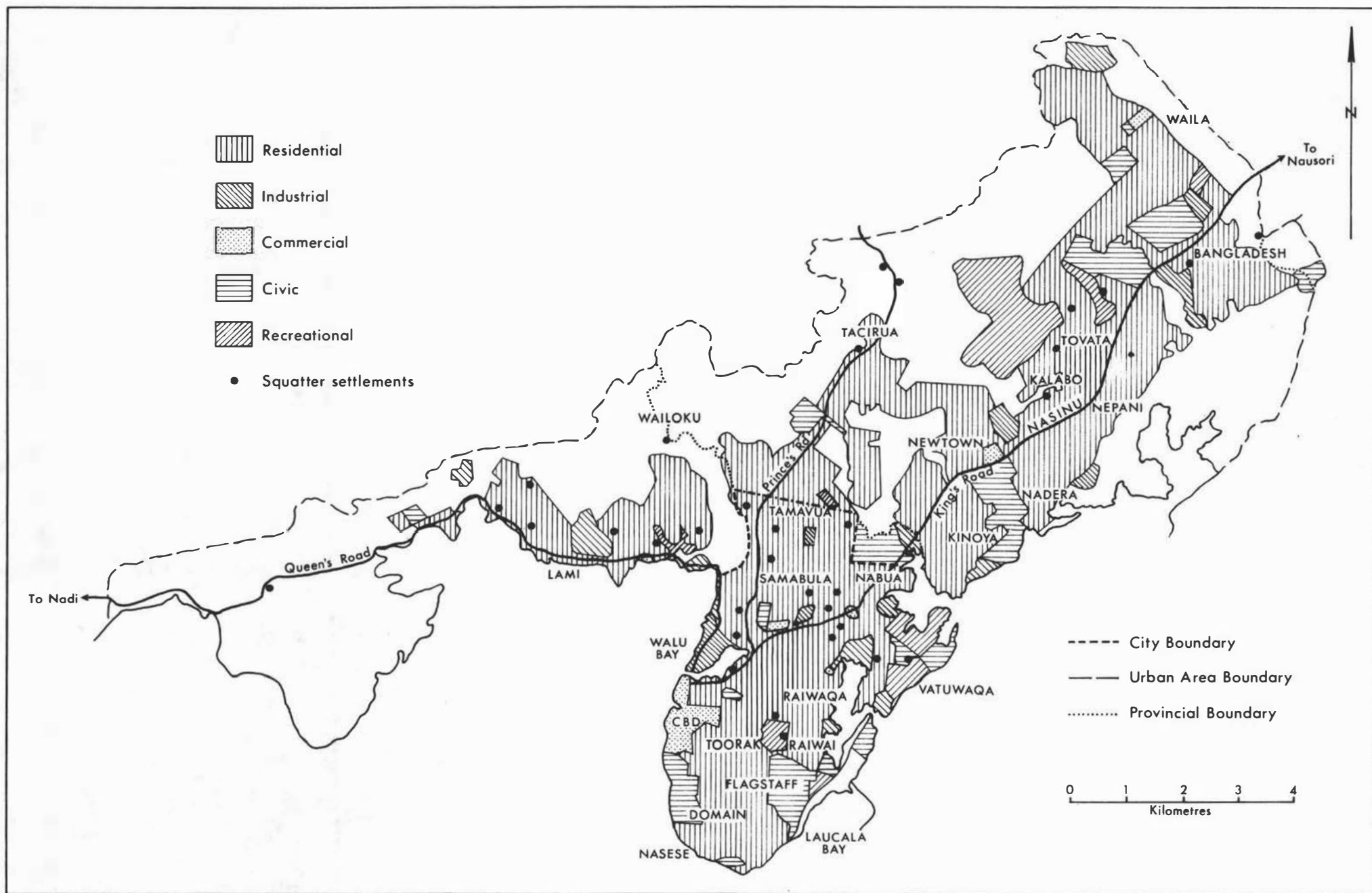
Detailed discussion of each of these criticisms is beyond the scope of the present work but general comment may serve to illustrate the place of squatting in Fiji, and reinforce observations on the position of the poor made in Part III.

Two assumptions underlie these criticisms. The first concerns the concept of an ultimate urban form. In Fiji, as elsewhere, this is influenced by the philosophy and ideals of planners and administrators responsible for city development, the key to which is seen in their

application of zoning principles. Zoning in Suva provides for the development of large and middle-size industrial and commercial activities and aims to prevent the development of mixed residential and economic activities which best suit the development of an informal sector. It provides extensive areas for low density upper and middle class housing (on choice sites which are expensive to develop), some provision for high density public housing (mainly out of the city), and no provision for squatters, who are referred to only as problems. In short, it would appear that planning could organise urban space as an instrument for the perpetuation of the class divisions which pervade Fiji society. The second assumption underlying the criticisms presupposes some measurable level of acceptability, although concepts such as 'uneconomic,' 'hazardous,' 'dense' and 'chaotic' must also be influenced by the philosophy of the planners. The 'objectivity' of such measures will be apparent.

#### An Uneconomic Use of Space?

All but eight of the squatter settlements in the city and Urban Area are sited in areas zoned residential, and in this sense they do not compete with other, more economic, land uses (Figure 12.1). Within these areas many dwellings occupy, at least within the city, land with slopes exceeding 1:7 which is considered marginal for development purposes. Others are located in areas which have not been considered choice residential sites (Valenimanumanu, for example (Figure 9.4), is screened from the prevailing wind and is in sight of two cemeteries) or on choice sites which have been deliberately withheld from the housing market until selling prices prove satisfactory to the owners. In other words, where squatters occupy land zoned residential, the zoning is generally Residential D for high density, low income housing - a use to which the areas are presently being put by squatters! Two exceptions to this are Malekula, and the more easily developed part of Nauluvatu, both of which are (or were) Residential A. In 1976 Malekula supported a density of 184 people per hectare. Proposed development will result in a density of about 69 people per hectare, or 37 percent less than its present use. Objectively, this is a less economic use of space (Figure 12.2). The Suva City Council (1972, 27) referring to a Lands Department request to rezone Nauluvatu II, from A to D, to permit greater residential density, commented: 'It is



**FIGURE 12.1** Land Use Planning and Squatting in the Suva Urban Area. Figure 9.1 shows the areal extent of squatter settlements represented in this figure by dots. **Source:** based on G.S.U.S.P. (1975, maps 1 and 2) and Figure 9.1.

Figure 12.2

(a) Malekula, 17 February, 1968. A Fijian squatter settlement with residential 'clusters' based largely on provincial origins.

(b) Malekula, 5 February, 1971. 'Old Malekula' (close to road) evacuated. Housing sites prepared for upper class housing.

(c) Malekula, 31 December, 1973. Upper class housing now established but area from which 'Old Malekula' moved is still unoccupied. Note the contrast between house size and likely population densities.

Original altitudes: (a) 12,000 feet; (b) 4,750 feet; (c) 4,000 feet.  
(3,660 m.) (1,449 m.) (1,200 m.)

Photos: Department of Lands, Mines and Surveys, Suva.



surprising that Government is not seeking to capitalise on this high quality residential site which commands fine views over Suva harbour.' Capitalisation presumably meant to obtain a high price, and not to house more people. Again, the term 'uneconomic' is tinged by value judgement.

Several areas, however, do compete with other non-residential zoning intentions. The Sukhu Estate and Lemaki Street at Vatuwaqa are zoned industrial, and the Kaunitoni Road area (also at Vatuwaqa), Kai Ra and Tutalevu are zoned recreational or open space (Figures 9.4 - 9.6). Both former areas constitute extremely low-lying and poorly drained land which has been zoned industrial because the cost of filling was considered too high for housing development at standards required by the authorities (Harrison and Grierson, 1965). By 1976, however, no significant industrial development had occurred in either area. Kai Ra is located within an area labelled 'visual amenities park', Tutaleva occupies a 'passive recreational area' part of which is intended for a zoo (G.S.U.S.P., 1975, 11, 61), and Kaunitoni is close to an area the owner intends to develop as a race course (Suva City Council, 1972).

No claim is made that these squatter areas represent the best possible use of urban land, but it should be noted that they generally compete with intended future uses most of which are of questionable 'economic' value. It is significant that the plan makes provision for a visual amenities park, a zoo and a race course but no provision for the people who are without legal housing.

#### A Hazardous Use of Space?

The term 'hazard' is also open to interpretation, especially in the balancing of advantages and disadvantages of an area. Only four areas - Navesi, Qauia, (Figure 9.12), Tamavua-i-wai (Figure 9.11) and Kai Ra - are prone to flooding; none is unduly exposed to noxious industries; shifting cultivation in some areas (notably Kai Ra) may induce slipping; and the effects of site per se as a health hazard are unknown although one study (Ratcliffe and Revans, c.1965, 22) found no evidence of lower levels of health in squatter areas as compared with other poor areas of the city. Some squatter dwellings are so built that they may constitute a hazard in a hurricane and the low level of sanitation could be a source of epidemics and poor health. Most dwellings, however, are structurally adequate (Table 11.3) and improved sanitation depends mainly on assistance from the authorities. On balance, there is little direct

TABLE 12.1

ACTUAL AND IDEAL RESIDENTIAL DENSITIES IN SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS<sup>a</sup>

	Population 1976	Gross Area (ha.)	Density 1976	Ideal Density Population <sup>b</sup>	Actual-Ideal Population Difference (%) <sup>c</sup>
UPPER CLASS					
Domain	807	77.8	10.4	7,782	-954.4
Tamavua Heights	432	45.0	9.6	4,500	-941.7
HOUSING AUTHORITY					
Four-Storey Flats (Raiwaqa)	1,115	4.5	247.7	450	596.4
Raiwai-Raiwaqa	8,068	66.4	121.5	6,642	17.7
Kinoya	3,881	56.7	68.4	5,670	-46.1
SQUATTERS					
Qauia	1,519	33.8	83.0	3,378	-122.4
Malekula	383	2.1	184.1	210	45.0
Jittu	817	23.5	34.8	2,352	-187.9
Muslim League- Deo Dutt	1,632	25.7	63.5	2,568	-57.4
Valenimanumanu	253	3.1	80.6	312	-23.3
Nauluvatu	417	2.3	180.5	228	45.3
OTHER LOW-INCOME					
Nabua	993	12.0	83.0	1,200	-20.8
Toorak	1,115	8.8	126.1	882	20.9

Notes: a All gross area measurements are approximate and make no allowance for non-residential uses.

b Ideal densities were calculated by the formula  $\frac{\text{gross area}}{0.06} \times 6$  where 0.06 represented the minimum area of residential sites zoned Residential B (unsewered) and 6 presented an assumed population of 6 people per household.

c The % difference was calculated by the formula  $\frac{a-i}{a} \times 100$ . where a = actual population and i = ideal population. Residential B (unsewered) was selected to represent moderate density. Minimum area in hectares for other residential zones are: A 0.10; B (sewered) 0.08; C 0.04; D 0.02. Residential D subdivision is only permitted on Housing Authority land.

Sources: Unpublished 1976 Census data; Suva City Council files; Map Town Series of Fiji 1:10,000. Suva, 1970.

evidence that squatter settlements constitute a hazard, and most arguments claiming that they do derive more from a belief that they represent 'eyesores' than from solid empirical evidence. This question merits more detailed research.

### Unacceptable Densities?

'Ideal' urban residential densities are difficult to establish. Although the regional plan (G.S.U.S.P., 1975, 83) recommends the abolition of zoning residential land from A to D, it does so only to allow more flexibility, and still accepts densities ranging from 60 people per hectare in upper class Tamavua North to 257 at the proposed Waila Housing Authority Estate. Since no objection has been raised to differential densities on social or moral grounds, it may be expected that densities similar to those at present permitted by residential A to D zoning will continue as guidelines to future development. Maximum densities permitted according to Residential B zoning is therefore taken to represent 'ideal' densities in Suva, and these are compared in Table 12.1 with actual 1976 densities to determine whether squatter and other settlements are 'over' or 'under' populated.

Table 12.1 shows the very marked differences in density between upper and lower class areas, and an overall gap between actual and ideal capacity densities based on Residential B (unsewered) zoning. The difference was especially marked in upper class areas. Housing Authority areas exceeded or came close to their ideal capacities. Squatter areas show marked differences. Excepting the Four-Storey Flats, however, squatter densities fell within the general range of both Housing Authority and other low-income area densities.

The calculations, of course, are crude in that they comprise gross densities. They are, however, sufficient to demonstrate that squatter areas support moderately high densities by Suva standards and so constitute a reasonably economic use of space. It remains possible, however, that these densities are too high given the low level of sanitation.

### Chaotic Layout?

Several factors operate against the planned layout of buildings in squatter areas, not the least of which is that the broken terrain of many sites precludes the possibility of regular layout without costly site



development. In addition, many sites in the city are restricted in area, forcing settlement within a confined space. On freehold land squatters are generally obliged to accept the allocation of lots by the landowner, and in all areas subsequent infilling by later arrivals leads to uneven distribution. The development of internal pathways subsequent to the establishment of settlements further emphasises irregular layout.

Notwithstanding these comments, several patterns emerge which indicate that the settlements, if chaotic in appearance to the outsider, are not totally unplanned. Firstly, squatters are acutely aware of external boundaries (Figure 9.5), and generally respect the territory of other squatters. Fear of plot boundary encroachment, for example, was a major reason given for the limited extent of gardening in Indian city areas. Secondly, the grouping of dwellings in Fijian areas around communal buildings, generally a church (Figure 9.11), and the allocation of land which produces familial and provincial origin clusters (Figures 14.2 and 14.3) gives attention to social and cultural factors in layout design which generally have lower priority in other housing areas. Thirdly, many areas show some awareness of conservation principles, the relative desirability of sites and action to improve the residential environment. Examples include the planting of shade trees (Figure 12.5), ornamental gardening (Figure 12.3), avoidance of the most steep and low lying areas (Figure 9.7), a preference for elevated sites on slopes facing the prevailing wind and the allocation of land for gardening in both Fijian City and Fijian Renter areas (Figure 13.7). Finally, where terrain permits layout is much more regular (Figure 9.12), and some squatters have gone to considerable lengths to make their settlement look 'official' in its regularity. The best example of this is at Tovata where Indian squatters have built their houses three deep back from one road giving every impression of official planning.

There can, however, be little doubt that the layout of many areas results in problems of access and the provision of basic amenities, especially sewerage. Internal paths are a major concern of many squatters and the upgrading of many areas sufficient to supply reticulated sewerage would be a costly business - but no more costly than the provision of basic services to many recently developed upper class areas.

### An Obstacle to Urban Planning?

The regional plan lists the following broad objectives (G.S.U.S.P., 1975, 17): keeping the cost of building, land acquisition and the supply

of services to a minimum; protection of areas of high landscape value; protection from natural hazards; and the creation of a pleasant environment, both scenically and climatically. No mention is made of housing the poor except with respect to public housing. Indeed, it is ironic that many squatter areas already come closer to these objectives than officially developed areas, especially those for the poor. Costs are at a minimum, few are exposed to natural hazards, the landscape is left unscarred by infrastructural development and many have a pleasant general environment.

Squatting in the Suva region has not yet reached a level that it can be considered a major problem in terms of obstructing planning. In the city, settlements are small and unlikely to experience much further growth. Most are on land zoned residential, and some are capable of upgrading. Outside the city, the main problem to date has been in providing alternative sites for 'sitting tenants' on land being developed by the Housing Authority. In the future, squatting is considered an 'average' problem in 8 and a serious problem in 4 of the 17 'potential development areas' earmarked by regional planners (G.S.U.S.P., 1975, 38), and it could become more serious as industrial and commercial nodes are established in the area as the plan proposes. It is therefore imperative that planning should include some provisions for squatters, many of whom cannot (or will not) become Housing Authority tenants. This means providing them with a reasonable alternative which will bring settlements under some form of control. Essentially, this means some form of site and service scheme.

Any form of uncontrolled development is likely to present obstacles to urban planning, and squatting is one such obstacle. Private and quasi-private (NLTB) land ownership which results in speculation, inflated land prices, and the withholding of land needed for development is another, and perhaps more serious problem. Indeed, the two obstacles are related for squatting, prior to development, is profitable for private landowners, and, being illegal, does not challenge the ultimate proprietorship and control of land by the NLTB. It is a safety value which has allowed the 'system' to ignore some very important political questions.

If the foregoing remarks appear unduly optimistic about or defensive of squatter settlement, the purpose is not to justify unplanned settlement or to minimise the problem it creates. The intention is to draw attention to the fact that the separate criticisms levelled at these

settlements, even though partially accurate, should be levelled more appropriately at the system that begets them.

#### THE SQUATTER CONTRIBUTION TO THE URBAN ECONOMY

Marginality theory in one or other of its many forms assumes that squatters are predominantly recent rural migrants who are socially disorientated, illiterate, uneducated, unemployed, unskilled and poorly housed in badly sited areas which impede rational urban development. The Suva data lend little support for such generalisations. Squatters display a broad range of characteristics which are also typical of other sections of the urban poor. The crux of the marginality argument, however, is that squatters do not really 'belong' to the city and represent what, for want of better terms, may be called 'anti-urban' and 'anti-developmental' forces. According to this theory, their overall contribution to the city is negative, both economically and socially. It is necessary to consider these assertions in relation to Suva squatters.

Mangin (1967, 74 - 77) has claimed that squatters invest in the city in four ways: in housing stock, in formal and informal employment, and in the intangible social capital involved in creating a community. Calculations of the contribution of Suva squatters with respect to housing and employment may serve to indicate the extent to which they are an essential part of the urban economy.

There were approximately 3,800 squatter households in the Suva Urban Area in 1976 (Table 9.3). If the mean cost of their dwellings is calculated at \$464 (Chapter 11), the value of housing stock contributed by squatters exceeded \$1.7 million. This is the equivalent of 29 percent of development finance allocated for housing for all Fiji in 1976 (DPVII, 131) or 30 percent of the loan capital and grants (both of which are withdrawn from other developmental sectors) destined for use by the Housing Authority in the same year (DPVII, 131). Precise comparisons between housing stock constructed over several years and outgoings on housing in one year are, of course, of questionable validity. They do, however, indicate the magnitude of the squatter contribution to housing and provide some indication of 'replacement costs' should the Housing Authority be left with the responsibility of solving the 'squatter problem.'

It is likely that squatters comprise almost one-fifth of the Suva labour force. With mean weekly household incomes of approximately \$48.60 (Table 10.6), squatter households (conservatively estimating only one household a dwelling) earned approximately \$187,000 per week, or over \$9.7 million in 1976, \$86,000 of which was spent each week on food alone (Table 10.6). In addition, some \$8,000 per week was contributed to insurance and credit union funds, some part of which was fed back into the nation's development.<sup>1</sup> Some capital was also internally generated although this was smaller than in Third World countries with a more developed informal sector. Through these channels squatters made a contribution to urban food supply, and in producing some of their own food, they also made less demands on the city. Renting and money paid in the form of land rents were other contributions. In exchange, the authorities provided most squatters with water, some with garbage collection and a few with electricity, but all of these services are paid for by the squatter.

On balance, the evidence points to squatters being far from marginal in economic terms. Their contribution is positive, and appears to be loaded very much in the city's favour.

#### SQUATTER PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL MARGINALITY

Marginality theory also assumes that squatters do not belong socially to the city. They are seen to perpetuate rural, traditional values, assumed to be the antithesis of urban-modern values, which reduce the modernizing influence of the city. The several versions of this line of argument have been outlined in Chapter 5. Three areas which have received special attention in considering squatter social inclusion in the city, and the extent to which they are influenced by supposedly urban values are:

- 1) marriage and fertility;
- 2) expectations for their children; and
- 3) participation in the social activities of the city.

1) Earlier discussion has suggested that squatters are no more or less 'urban' or 'modern' than other low-income families (or probably urban middle class families) with respect to age of marriage, age at

the birth of first child, or the number of children born. When family planning was new to Fiji, it is likely that the middle class were among its early acceptors. By 1976, however, family planning had become accepted among all social strata in the city, and over two-thirds of squatter women interviewed in the July 1976 Survey indicated that they had talked about planning their families with their husbands; both spouses agreed to family planning, and were currently practising it (Table 12.2). Given the older ages of the women interviewed, it may be safely assumed that family planning is accepted by a still higher proportion of younger squatter women. The high proportion of squatters who had accepted 'urban' values with respect to family planning indicates that they must be considered as belonging socially in the city on at least this count.

2) Squatters have been shown to be deprived of access to better paid employment partly on the basis of their low educational attainment, under one-half of squatter heads having received better than primary education. It is significant, therefore, that over three-quarters of the respondents wanted their children to receive secondary education or better, and one-third wanted their children to obtain positions with professional status (Table 12.2). Given squatter circumstances, it is unlikely that many will achieve these results, and Fijian responses appear especially unrealistic. The responses indicate, however, a strong desire by squatters for intergenerational mobility and the extent to which many families are supporting children at school is proof of their 'good' intentions. The evidence on educational and job aspirations for children adds no support for the marginal view.

3) Club participation was not high, partly due to a cultural bias against such activities by Indians, but over 40 percent of Fijian households and 12 percent of Indian households had some member engaged in club activities. Interest in national politics, however, was extremely high. Over four-fifths of those eligible to vote claimed they had voted in the 1970 election and intended to vote in the 1977 election. Differences in these patterns between the five ethno-areas are shown in Table 12.2, Indian squatters and Fijian Renter differences again being the most marked.

TABLE 12.2  
EDUCATION, PARTICIPATION AND FAMILY PLANNING BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA
Education of head (%): Better than Primary level	32.3	14.1	22.2	17.6	20.0
Number of children at school ( $\bar{x}$ )	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.4	1.9
Educational aspirations for children (%): Better than primary level	77.3	81.6	70.4	79.4	52.9
Job Aspirations (%): professional	46.1	24.6	40.7	41.2	20.0
Club participation (%)	42.6	12.3	40.7	50.0	22.9
Voting (%)	87.5	79.2	71.4	86.2	90.2
Family planning (%)	61.4	77.3	79.2	67.9	73.7
Number	88	97	24	78	57

Source: July 1976 Survey.

The evidence on all three counts suggests a degree of urban involvement not consistent with the marginality theory. Squatters are poor and disadvantaged by comparison with many in the city, but no more so than other sections of the urban poor, and there is considerable evidence of attempts at self-improvement. These characteristics, common to all squatter areas studied in varying degrees, derive from poverty, not marginality, from exclusion by the city, not a lack of desire to be included. The evidence lends weight to the view of an increasing number of scholars that the marginality theory, in all its ramifications, is a smokescreen behind which the basic cause of Third World urban poverty are concealed.

## FOOTNOTES

1 Calculation based on Ratcliffe and Revans (c.1965). who found that typical poor households in Suva spent 4.4 percent of their incomes on 'insurances.'

Figure 12.3. Pride in the Residential Environment. Attempts to beautify an otherwise squalid environment are illustrated by ornamental plants and shrubs lining this pathway in the Fijian squatter settlement of Kai Ra.

Figure 12.5. Houses at Jittu. Typical squatter dwellings and outbuildings (washhouse, toilet, cooking area) provide a pleasant residential environment and opportunities for gardening and the keeping of livestock.

Figure 12.4. Water Tap at Kai Ra. This Fijian settlement has one water tap. Houses are generally poorly constructed and those nearest the Walu Bay inlet are subject to flooding. Residents have been served with eviction notices for several years and efforts have been made to persuade residents, who come from one village in Ra province, to accept relocation as a community outside the city boundary. If this arrangement is accepted, the community is preserved, but distance to work will be greatly increased. Kai Ra is probably the best sited squatter settlement in Suva for work opportunities and access to estuarine resources (See Figure 9.4).

Figure 12.6. Poor Housing at Jittu. Lean-to shacks occupied by Fijian Renters. Despite outward appearances and the most primitive of facilities, the interior of most squatter dwellings is remarkably clean.

Photos: The Author, November, 1976.





#### 12.7 The Squatter-Housing Authority Interface.

These Housing Authority units, mainly occupied by Fijians, lay empty for over a year until the local authority granted permission for them to be occupied prior to connection with reticulated sewerage.

Indian squatters lived to the right of the road before 1976 when they were evicted and their houses demolished.

#### 12.8 Indian Squatting at Kalabo.

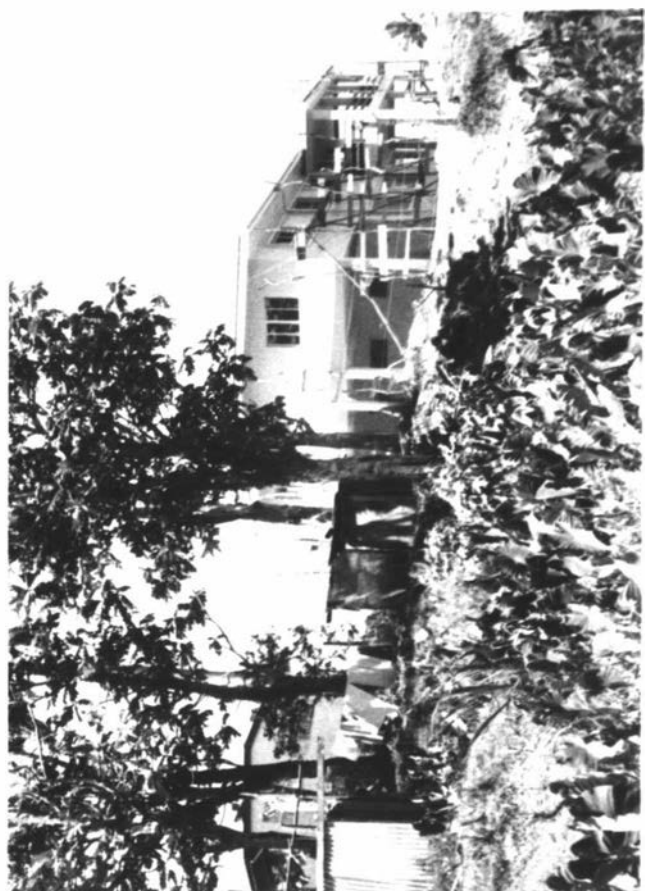
These squatter houses in the Urban Area are located close to the Housing Authority houses shown in Figure 12.7. They are similar to the Indian houses which were demolished.

Photos: R. Thaman, June, 1978.

#### Figure 12.9. The Squatter-Private Housing Interface.

A recently built upper class house off Nailuvu Road 'confronts' Fijian squatter toilets and gardens at Malekula.

Photo: The Author, November, 1976.



## SUMMARY

Evidence has been presented showing that squatting has increased in Suva in recent years despite private residential development competing for land, and extensive public housing provided by the Housing Authority.

Squatters have been found to be similar in both demographic and economic characteristics to low-income groups in Suva. They are only a unique sub-population with regard to tenure and housing.

A significant number of squatter houses have been found to be adequate on at least one criterion of adequacy, and if structurally sound many of these houses are capable of being improved. Evidence has also been presented indicating that many squatters desire, and have undertaken, housing improvement.

Several features of squatter settlement, however, have been shown to be undesirable even at the lowest levels of adequacy. Settlements are not chaotic, all show some evidence of planning, and, all in all, they are probably no more an obstacle to the 'rational' use of urban land and urban planning than many other features inherent in the system of private land ownership in Fiji.

Lastly, squatters make substantial contributions to the urban economy, and on several indices cannot be considered either economically or socially 'marginal' to the city.

## PART V

### SQUATTING : A SATISFACTORY STATE?

Opinion is divided as to whether the squatter environment facilitates or retards integration in the city, whether it provides an adequate 'staging ground' for rural migrants, and whether the assumed perpetuation of 'traditional-rural' values and behaviour is conducive to the emergence of values and behaviour assumed to be urban and modern. The major arguments on both sides of this controversy have been briefly discussed in Part II.

The task in this section is to test six propositions to determine whether Suva's squatter environments constitute a satisfactory environment for integration, social mobility and self-improvement. The propositions are:

1) Squatter areas provide a satisfactory environment for the urban poor because they permit people to maximise their limited economic opportunities. This is tested in Chapter 13 via eight hypotheses concerned with incomes, proximity to work, household size, the size of the workforce, supplementary economic activities, education, life cycle stages and ethnicity.

2) Most squatters are satisfied with the residential environment in which they live. This is tested in Chapter 14 via five hypotheses concerned with settlement homogeneity, perceived residential preferences, future residential intentions and preferences, and attitudes toward Housing Authority accommodation.

3) Squatters exhibit patterns of behaviour which may be considered both urban and modern, and households which display such characteristics will also display evidence of success in the city. This is tested in Chapter 15 via six hypotheses which compare squatter areas with other low-income areas on selected indices of modernization. The chapter also endeavours to establish the correlates of modernization with respect to economic success, home improvement and satisfaction with the services provided in squatter areas.

4) Squatter areas provide a satisfactory environment for migrant integration. This is tested in Chapter 16 via eight hypotheses which compare squatter migrants with migrants in other low-income areas and with Suva-born squatters. The chapter also compares migrants who have come to live in squatter areas from different areas and by different routes. The dependent variables concern modernization, economic success and home improvement.

5) Households displaying marked rural or traditional characteristics do not display less evidence of (a) modern urban behaviour, or (b) economic success than households with less traditional behaviour. This is tested in Chapter 17 via nine hypotheses, most of which use household structure as an index of traditional-rural and modern-urban values as the independent variable and various measures of behaviour assumed to indicate 'success' in the city as dependent variables.

6) Income is the most important variable affecting the quality of squatter housing. The level of squatter incomes is such that unassisted self-help activities will not produce overall improvement in housing (or in social mobility) for the majority of squatter households. This is tested in Chapter 18 via hypothesis 36 and a series of multiple correlations matrices.

The section concludes (Chapter 19) with a discussion of the Suva findings in the light of research in other Third World countries and current policies in Fiji.

## CHAPTER 13

### MAXIMISING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

PROPOSITION 1. Squatter areas provide a satisfactory environment for the urban poor because they permit people to maximise their limited economic opportunities.

A major argument advanced by the Progressive Development School is that squatting permits the urban poor to maximise the economic opportunities available to them. Maximisation is claimed to include:

1) Low costs of accommodation, thereby permitting the very poor to obtain some shelter in the city, and slightly more fortunate households to invest money 'saved' from rents and mortgages which facilitates greater comfort, security and, possibly later, their upward social mobility.

2) Proximity to major sources of employment, thereby maximising work opportunities (particularly important for casual and informal-sector workers) and reducing travelling expenses, thereby also representing a saving.

3) Greater control over the household social environment, thereby permitting a choice of life style particularly with regards to household size which offers higher household incomes and greater employment security by means of multiple employment.

4) Greater control over the residential environment thereby permitting greater access to (a) physical resources such as gardening and the keeping of livestock (for sale and subsistence); (b) the built environment thereby using their dwelling and its extensions as a source of income by renting; and (c) the generation of capital and employment within and beyond the area. A supporting argument is that squatting, and the opportunities it affords, has particular importance at different stages of the life cycle of the urban poor.

This chapter aims to determine the extent to which these assertions hold true for Suva squatters, to identify 'maximisers', and consider the ways by which Fijian and Indian maximising behaviour differs.

## CAN SQUATTERS AFFORD ALTERNATIVE ACCOMMODATION?

It was hypothesised (H1) that many squatter households cannot afford alternative unsubsidised accommodation. The hypothesis needs little verification given Housing Authority statements that some four-fifths of its applicants could not afford unsubsidised accommodation (Housing Authority, 1973) and given the low income levels indicated in Table 8.1. It is, however, necessary to determine more precisely what proportion of squatters were eligible for different types of legal accommodation, and to identify those households which were particularly disadvantaged.

The hypothesis was tested against the economic rent required for Housing Authority single-room flats, and the minimum repayments required under the Home Purchase Plan Scheme (HPP). The levels of repayment are for dwellings constructed in 1976. The economic rent for single-room flats would approximate typical charges for similar accommodation, with respect to size, available through private renting in the Toorak slum. Home Purchase Scheme repayments are for the cheapest form of dwelling (the A20 and B20 core houses) available under that scheme. These two types of accommodation are assumed to represent legal housing extremes, both of which could be within the financial reach of at least some squatters. Two levels of HPP repayment are considered: 25 percent of head's income, the accepted maximum for single-income households, and  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent, the normal maximum for multiple-income households.

Table 13.1 indicates rent and repayment rates, the minimum incomes needed to meet these charges, and the proportion of Fijian and Indian households which were eligible for the two types of accommodation, at 25 and  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent of incomes. It shows that 80 percent or more of squatter households could not afford the cheapest accommodation at economic rentals in 1976 based on the income of heads, and one-third or more on the basis of total household income. In both instances Indians were the most disadvantaged.

There are, however, three reasons why the proportion of households shown to be eligible for housing at  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent deduction of household income presents an optimistic picture of the actual situation.

- 1) Over one-half of the households in the five ethno-areas (50 percent CV, 81 percent IUA) contained only one worker and the  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent deduction assumes more than one income per household.
- 2) Twenty-five percent of income is generally considered the most that low-income households can afford for accommodation.
- 3) Household heads would not necessarily have access to all the income earned by other members of the household, particularly if they were not his immediate family.



TABLE 13.1

SQUATTER ELIGIBILITY FOR HOUSING AUTHORITY ACCOMMODATION, 1976<sup>a</sup>

(Percentages)

	Not Eligible	Eligible Single-Room Flats	Eligible Core Housing	Total
Head's Income Level	\$0 - 44	\$45 - 54	\$55 and over	
Fijians	79.4	12.5	8.1	100.0
N	(127)	(20)	(13)	(160)
Indians	91.5	5.6	2.8	100.0
N	(162)	(10)	(5)	(177)
Household Income Level	\$0 - 29	\$30 - 39	\$40 and over	
Fijians	33.1	29.2	37.7	100.0
N	(43)	(38)	(49)	(130)
Indians	52.9	23.5	23.5	100.0
N	(90)	(40)	(40)	(170)

## Notes :

- a Eligibility for single-room flats at economic rentals and core housing constructed in 1976 based on weekly incomes. \$55 was the minimum monthly repayment for HPP houses (Housing Authority, pers. comm.) and \$11 was the assumed weekly economic rental for single-room flats constructed in 1976 (HART, 1975, 14). At 25 percent of head's income, flats therefore required a weekly income of \$44 and core houses a weekly income of \$55. At  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent of household income, the flats required a weekly income of \$33 and the core houses a weekly income of \$41.25.
- b The discrepancies between household head's income and household income total numbers is due to Not Stated.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Thus, approximately one-third of households shown in Table 13.1 to be able to afford core housing at  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent deduction would only be able to afford a single-room flat at 25 percent deduction. The proportion of households that could really afford this accommodation, bearing these caveats in mind, is considered to more closely approximate those shown for head's income than household income. This assertion appears justified by the Housing Authority (1973) statement that four-fifths of applicants could not afford unsubsidised accommodation, a proportion identical to households excluded in the July 1976 Survey on the basis of head's income.

Table 13.2 identifies the types of households that were least able, due to low incomes, to avail themselves of the lowest type of accommodation, the single-room flat.

TABLE 13.2  
THE MOST DISADVANTAGED HOUSEHOLDS AND LEGAL HOUSING

	FIJIANS				INDIANS			
	$\bar{x}$ H/h income \$	% Not Head's income	Eligible H/hold income	No.	$\bar{x}$ H/h income \$	% Not Head's income	Eligible H/hold income	No.
Recent migrants <sup>a</sup>	56.00	90.0	22.2*	10	28.33	100.0	75.0	25
Nuclear H/holds	43.11	79.6*	39.5	93	35.45	91.2*	56.9*	147
Small H/holds <sup>b</sup>	36.15	89.9	43.9	69	30.77	97.0	59.8	102
Broken marriages <sup>c</sup>	56.00	90.5	17.6*	21	33.57	100.0	66.7	25
Young Heads <sup>d</sup>	42.86	100.0	42.9	7	26.67	100.0	88.9	9
Casual workers	47.89	89.5	47.1	17	32.61	100.0	65.2	23
Employed < 1yr	47.86	85.7	30.8*	26	32.44	100.0	66.7	45
Married < 5 yrs	34.00	92.3	39.1	26	32.86	95.8	66.7	24

Notes:

a Under 5 years in Suva.

b Under 5 members.

c Includes widows, divorcees, married twice and spouse absent.

d Aged 20 - 24 years.

\* indicates households that were not significantly disadvantaged compared with the overall population sampled. The percentages of households that were not eligible (Table 13.1) for Fijians was 79.4 (head's income) and 33.1 (household income) and for Indians 91.5 and 52.9 respectively.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

The young, the recently married, the casually and recently employed, recent migrants, small nuclear households and those with households with widowed or divorced heads, absent spouses and heads who had married twice, are seen to be disproportionately represented among those who could not afford the lower level of Housing Authority accommodation. To these may be added the unemployed and the retired heads in households where there was no other person employed although there were too few such households in the July Survey to warrant their

inclusion in the Table. What is especially noteworthy in Table 13.2 is the extent to which multiple incomes, especially among Fijians, appeared to improve accommodation eligibility. This was particularly evident among recent migrants and 'broken marriages.' However, as noted above, this may not be a reliable index of actual eligibility.

The foregoing discussion fully supports the hypothesis that for a significant number of squatter households, squatting is the only feasible means of obtaining accommodation. It is their only entrée to the city and the opportunities it is considered to contain.

In concluding this section on incomes and charges for legal accommodation, some indication of what the poor can afford to pay is appropriate. Given 1976 incomes and costs, the typical squatter household head could afford to pay between \$7 and \$9 and the typical household \$19 a week on the basis of 25 percent deduction of income. But even this is misleading for when food bills are taken into account (Table 10.6), the very poor can afford much less (Iaquian, 1969, 189). There were, however, a number of households that were earning in excess of the basic Suva wage for unskilled labourers (\$40 in 1976), some of which could have afforded Authority accommodation. They accounted for between 20 and 66 percent of Fijian households (based on head's and household income) and between 8 and 47 percent of Indian households. The relatively wide distribution of incomes seen in Table 13.1 supports overseas research which indicates that squatters are not uniformly poor. No doubt some of the better-off squatters are using squatting as a means of avoiding accommodation costs, with their savings being diverted into other means of self-improvement.

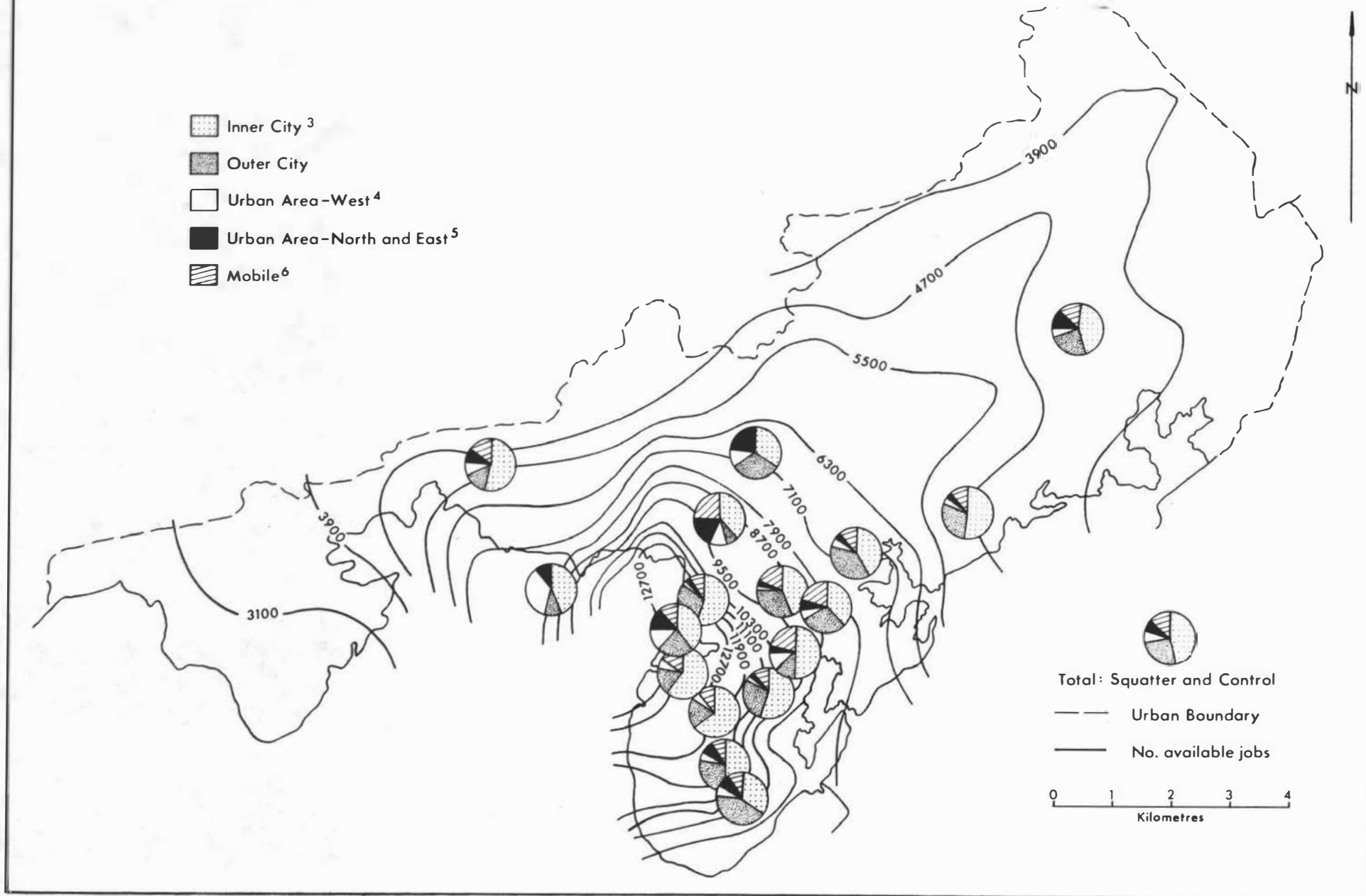
It is significant that the higher proportion of better-off households occurred among Fijians, including Fijian Renters (Table 10.5). With government policy increasingly unsympathetic towards squatters (and its general definition of squatting to exclude most Fijians so defined in this study), it seems that government policy is directed against those who can least help themselves (namely, poor Indians) and that insufficient attention has been given to ascertaining why (mainly Fijian) households that could afford legal, and presumably more secure, accommodation have not done so.

## WORKPLACE AND RESIDENCE PROXIMITY

The relatively small areal extent of the Suva Urban Area, cheap bus fares, and the concentration of work opportunities in the inner city (Figure 13.1) present difficulties in analysing the importance of the relationship between place of work and place of residence. It has been estimated that 42 percent of all job opportunities in 1972 were concentrated in the inner city and that few workers were more than 20 minutes travel time away from their place of work (G.S.U.S.P., 1975, 58, map 14).

Distance of residence from the city centre was not related to the city centre as a place of employment ( $r_s = 0.173$ ) because the centre was so important in all areas. Work in the general proximity of place of residence, however, was positively correlated with increasing distance from the city centre ( $r_s = 0.696$ ) but this observation owes much to the close proximity of work and residence in settlements close to the city centre. It is perhaps significant, in this respect, that work in the city centre was more important among upper low-income households at Kinoya than comparable squatter settlements in the Urban Area. This suggests - and quantification is tenuous - that better-off households found distance from work less of a constraint than poorer households, and that squatters, generally poorer, would endeavour to obtain work locally, but only if higher wages could not be obtained elsewhere. With the increase in job opportunities outside the city more can be expected to seek employment in their local area. The creation of such opportunities, which is an aim of the regional plan (G.S.U.S.P., 1975), may also act as an inducement for some squatters to settle outside the city, especially to the east where most of the development is planned.

Households in the July 1976 Survey gave 'proximity to work' prominence in their reasons for the choice of residence, but it was only one of several major reasons given (Table 14.2). One wonders, therefore, whether residence determines the job more than the job the residence. If, for example, choice of residence is strongly influenced by marriage, chain migration or by knowing someone in the area of residence, the choice of employment and its location may be strongly influenced by the work being done by others in the area of residence. It is also quite possible that a location offers job opportunities which are evident only after taking up residence. The importance of weaving (in inner city Fijian settlements) with the increase of tourism is a case in point.



**FIGURE 13.1** Workplaces,<sup>1</sup> Residences and Job Accessibility.<sup>2</sup> 1 Workplaces for household heads and next most senior employed household member; 2 Job accessibility in 1972; 3 Walu Bay, C.B.D. and Toorak; 4 Queen's Road beyond the Tamavua River, Rewa Province; 5 Prince's Road and King's Road, Naitasiri Province; 6 Includes some workers on ships and those employed outside the Suva Urban Area. Sources: Based on G.S.U.S.P. (1975, map 14) and 1976 Census Schedules.

The locations of workplaces were similar for squatters and workers from other low-income areas. There was also no obvious difference between the workplace of city residents and those living in the Urban Area. The most obvious difference between squatters and other low-income areas arose from the type, rather than the location, of work. This was especially notable with respect to occupations which had mobile locations such as construction workers and drivers (Table 13.1). These occupations accounted for 13 percent of male squatter employment, ranging from 6 percent at Qauia (FUA) to 24 percent at Tamavua-i-wai (CV). Among other low-income areas, Toorak had a high proportion (10 percent), Traditional Villages had none, and the control mean was 6 percent.

It has been observed in the literature (e.g. Dwyer, 1975, 31; Laquian, 1969; Turner, 1972, 510) that poorer households, generally dependent on casual or informal sector work in the inner city and less able to meet transport costs, choose inner city locations (or locations close to workplaces) more than permanently employed and better-off households. The failure to recognize the importance of work proximity for the very poor has led in some cases to the failure of relocation schemes (Laquian, 1969, 22 - 29). These observations led to the hypothesis (H2) that proximity to work is especially important for the casually employed and those on the lowest incomes.

Three questions were asked in the July 1976 Survey pertinent to this hypothesis:

- 1) Respondents were asked whether, all things being equal, they would prefer to live 'very close' to, 'close', or 'distant' from their husband's workplace, or whether they 'don't mind.' Their responses are taken to indicate their ideal location.
- 2) What factors actually led to their choice of area of residence? Responses were subsequently labelled: proximity, economic, and other.
- 3) Where their husband actually worked.

Table 13.3 indicates the responses of low and higher income, and casually and permanently employed (unskilled and skilled) Fijian and Indian households to each of these three questions.

Idealising their situation, about four-fifths of both Fijian and Indian respondents expressed a desire to be 'close' or 'very close' to their husband's work. Most Fijians stated 'close,' while Indians were more evenly divided in their choices. This difference between the ethnic groups was highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 13.84$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ).

TABLE 13.3  
PROXIMITY TO WORK BY SQUATTER INCOME AND OCCUPATION LEVELS  
(Percentages)

	Very Close	Close	Distant/ Don't Mind <sup>b</sup>	No. <sup>c</sup>		
IDEALISED RESIDENCE-WORK PROXIMITY						
Fijians:low income	19.6	72.5	7.9	102		
higher income <sup>a</sup>	8.5	76.6	14.9	47		
total	16.1	73.8	10.1	149		
Indians:low income	24.0	57.6	18.4	125		
higher income	26.3	57.9	15.8	38		
total	24.5	57.7	17.8	163		
Fijians:casual workers	11.5	80.8	7.7	26		
unskilled	20.0	72.9	7.1	70		
skilled	8.3	81.2	10.4	48		
total	14.6	77.1	8.3	144		
Indians:casual workers	31.1	48.9	20.0	45		
unskilled	25.0	59.4	15.6	32		
skilled	18.1	61.4	20.5	83		
total	23.1	57.5	19.4	160		
	Proximity	Economic	Other	No. <sup>c</sup>		
REASONS FOR CHOICE OF RESIDENCE						
Fijian:low income	9.6	24.3	66.1	115		
higher income	23.2	28.6	48.2	56		
total	14.0	25.7	60.3	171		
Indian:low income	13.9	27.0	59.1	137		
higher income	9.8	31.7	58.5	41		
total	12.9	28.1	59.0	178		
Fijian:casual workers	10.5	21.0	68.5	34		
unskilled	15.1	26.0	58.9	73		
skilled	19.2	26.9	53.9	52		
total	15.1	25.2	59.7	159		
Indian:casual workers	-	45.8	54.2	49		
unskilled	18.9	27.0	54.1	37		
skilled	14.4	23.3	62.3	90		
total	13.1	27.8	59.1	176		
	F I J I A N			I N D I A N		
	Close	Not Close	No. <sup>c</sup>	Close	Not Close	No. <sup>c</sup>
ACTUAL WORK PLACES						
Casual workers	4.2	95.8	24	10.5	89.5	19
Unskilled	8.1	91.9	37	5.4	94.6	74
Skilled	2.2	97.8	90	9.4	90.6	53
Total	4.0	96.0	151	7.5	92.5	146
Low income	5.1	94.9	78	10.6	89.4	47
Higher income	4.0	96.0	101	10.3	89.7	126
Total	4.5	95.5	179	10.4	89.6	173

- Notes: a Low-income heads being those earning under \$40 a week.  
b The grouping of 'distant' and 'don't mind' is considered justified in view of the small response to 'distant' and the direction of the research hypothesis. Both responses indicated no preference for proximity.  
c The discrepancy in totals between parts of this table is caused by Not Stated or irregular responses.

Sources: July 1976 Survey.

Differences between low and higher income, and casually and permanently employed household heads were, however, not significant although proportionately more low-income Fijians and casual and unskilled Fijians and Indians preferred to be 'very close' to workplaces. The group that appeared to most prefer 'very close' was the unskilled rather than the casual worker, though the difference was again not significant.

The second question concerned the reasons why squatters chose to live in their present place of residence. Proximity to work was an important but not an overriding factor both with regard to choice of area (Table 14.2) and what squatters liked about their area (Table 14.8). Differences between higher and lower income workers (and those casually and permanently employed) indicate that proximity was relatively more important for those on higher incomes and the permanently employed. The difference, however, was only significant for Fijian income groups ( $X^2 = 5.73$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ). With one exception (Indian income groups) which was not statistically significant, all results showed the same trend. Contrary to expectations and overseas findings, proportionately more of those on higher incomes and the permanently employed mentioned proximity as a factor in their actual choice of residence. If the two questions - idealised preference and actual locational behaviour - are considered together, there is some evidence that those on low incomes and the casually employed would prefer to live close or very close to work. But in actual behaviour other factors (especially knowing someone in the area, Table 14.2) and associated socio-economic reasons are more important than proximity.

The final question concerned where squatters actually worked. Figure 13.1 shows workplaces for squatter and other low-income areas obtained from the 1976 Census Schedules. Table 13.3 divides workplaces into 'close' and 'not close.' The Table, based on the July 1976 Survey, shows that proportionately more unskilled Fijians and casually employed Indians had been successful in finding employment close to their residence. These differences, however, were not statistically significant, and no difference was observed with respect to income levels.

In conclusion, the hypothesis that low-income and casually employed squatters give more importance to proximity to work in their choice of residence is not supported by the Suva data. Proximity to work was preferred by most squatters, and an important factor in their choice of residence. Somewhat more of the casually employed and those on low



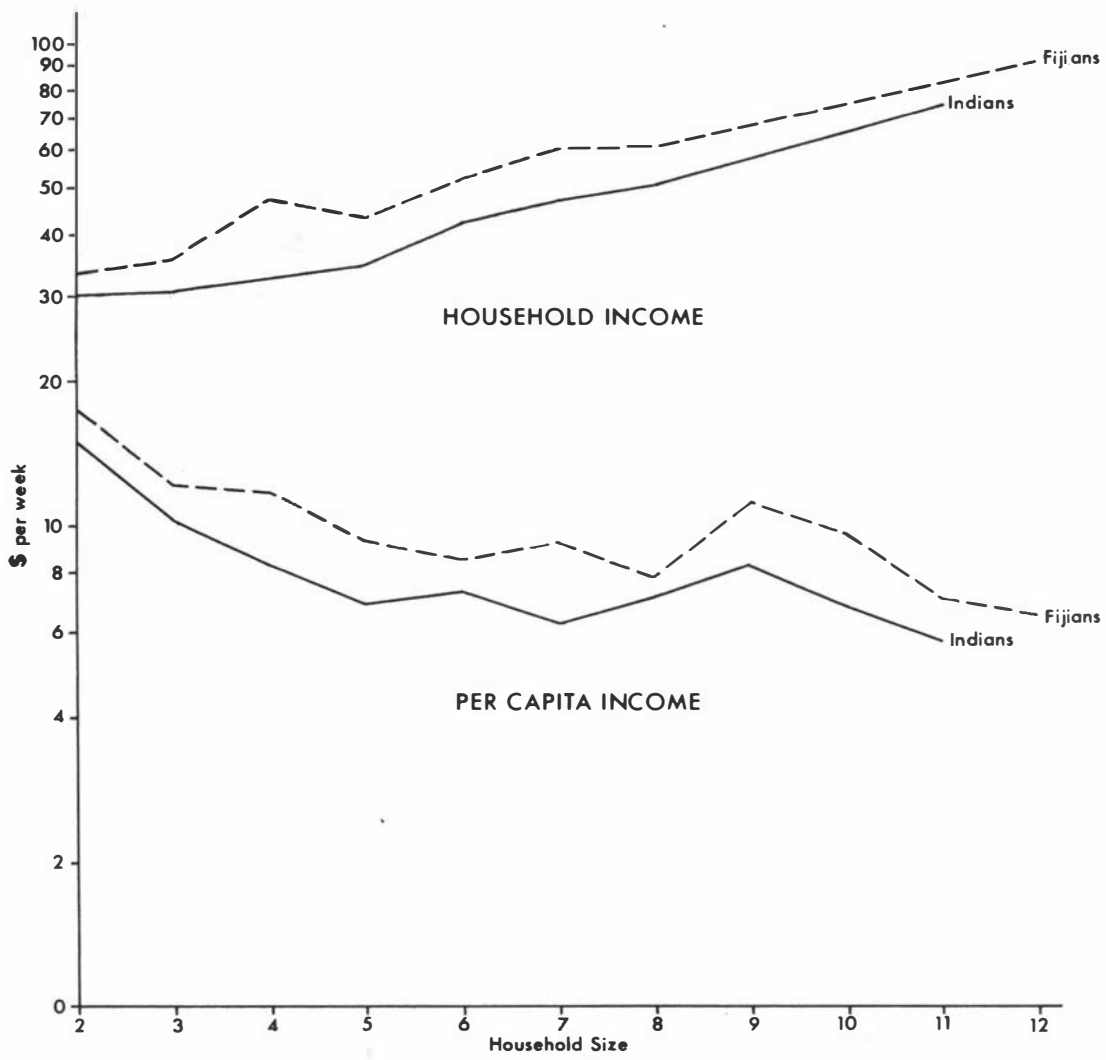
incomes preferred to live very close to work, and more casually employed and unskilled workers were working in their area of residence, but these differences were not statistically significant. In terms of actual - as distinct from idealised - behaviour proximity was generally more important for the higher income and occupational groups in their choice of residence, but the difference was only statistically significant for higher income Fijians. The evidence overall is inconclusive, but suggests that many casually employed workers and those on lower incomes would prefer to live closer to work than they do, but other factors are more important in their actual residential/locational behaviour.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the difference between Fijian and Indian idealised preferences warrants further investigation for it could be important in any proposed relocation programme.

#### HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND INCOME

It was hypothesised (H3) that increased household size results in an increase in household income due to the presence of additional workers, and an increase in per capita income. If this proved to be the case, larger households, contrary to Western experience, would be shown to be a financial asset to the urban poor, and official housing programmes which impose limits on household numbers would be shown to be detrimental to their financial well-being.

Previous research in Suva has not resolved this issue, but Mamak (1973, 57) concurs with Harré and McGrath (1970, 6) that larger households most probably did have higher per capita incomes. The findings of the July 1976 Survey, however, showed that while income was positively related to household size (Spearman's  $r_s$  Fijians 0.522, Indians 0.412,  $p = 0.001$ ) per capita income was negatively related (Fijians -0.298, Indians -0.407,  $p = 0.001$ ).

Mean per capita incomes require closer examination. They dropped sharply between households of two to five members (\$15.00 to \$6.90 for Indians, \$17.50 to \$8.50 for Fijians) and again for households of ten or more (Figure 13.2). The decrease for smaller households (under six members) and larger Fijian, but not Indian, households (ten or more) was statistically significant. Mean per capita incomes of moderate-sized households (five to eight for Indians, six to eight for Fijians), however, were not statistically different from each other, and households with nine members had significantly higher mean per capita incomes than



**FIGURE 13.2** Mean Household Size and Per Capita Income. Source: July 1976 Survey.

moderate-sized households. The pattern for both ethnic groups was therefore not lineal. Mean per capita incomes dropped with household sizes from two to five or six, then levelled off, to rise before dropping again for households of ten or more.

This result suggested that the composition of households was the determining factor, and not size per se. The composition of Indian households (Figure 13.3) presents a regular curve. Households up to six comprised an increasing number of children and a relative decrease in workers; from six to ten the ratio of workers to dependents increased, at the upper level mainly because of more women (presumably unmarried daughters) entering the work force. Thereafter the proportion of both children and workers decreased, and households of over nine members had proportionately more dependent adults. These changes in household composition correspond closely to the changes in per capita income, and reflect the basically nuclear arrangement of most Indian households. Fijian households generally had a higher proportion of male, and especially female, workers, and a significantly smaller proportion of children. Although the Fijian situation was less regular than the Indian situation, as could be expected with extended households being more common, the pattern of household composition also corresponded closely to changes in per capita income.

Some support is therefore provided for the hypothesis that per capita incomes increase with household size, but only if smaller and larger households are excluded. As a blanket statement, the hypothesis cannot be upheld. Indian mean per capita incomes decreased sharply until children started to enter the labour force and dropped again when they left home. The addition of male and female working relatives produced higher household and per capita incomes for Fijians, and a higher ratio of workers to dependents compared with Indians. The adults who 'attach' themselves to Fijian households comprise both workers and dependents. On balance, and contrary to popular opinion (e.g. Mamak, 1973, 50 - 51), they appeared to add to household incomes without adversely affecting per capita incomes. Assuming that their earnings are available to the household, if only mainly in times of emergency, more workers and multiple incomes produced greater security in an unstable job market. The cost of keeping additional household members could be more than offset by their financial contributions. Larger household size due to the presence of additional relations therefore appears to be a way by which Fijians, but not Indians, maximise their

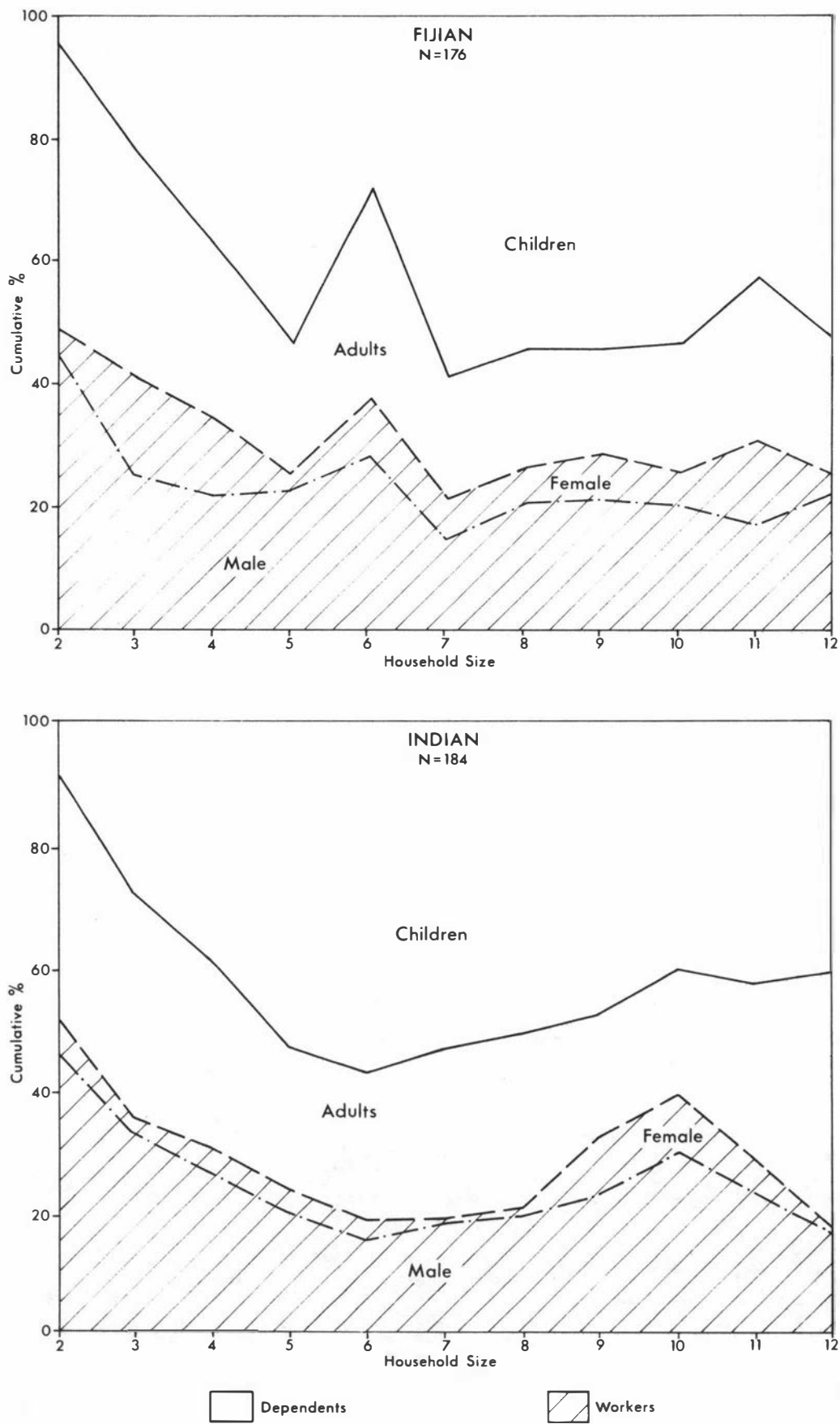


FIGURE 13.3 Composition of Squatter Households by Household Size. Source: July 1976 Survey.

economic opportunities.

#### EXTRA WORKERS IN SQUATTER OR OTHER LOW-INCOME AREAS ?

It was hypothesised (H4) that squatter households (having no external restrictions on household size) contain proportionately more workers than households in other low-income areas. The difference was expected to be more pronounced between Fijian squatters and Fijians in the Four-Storey Flats, where the conditions of occupation initially restrict household numbers, and between Fijian squatters and residents in the Toorak slum where room size could also limit household size.

In absolute terms squatter areas had a lower mean number of workers (1.53) than other low-income areas (1.63), but they also had a significantly smaller mean household size (5.71 compared with 6.37) and the difference in the mean number of workers could have been caused by sampling error (Table 13.4). In relative terms, however, squatter households had a significantly higher ratio of workers to household numbers (0.269 to 0.256). The hypothesis is therefore upheld: squatter households had proportionately more workers than other low-income areas, but this was due to the composition and not the size of households.

Variations occurred within both squatter and control areas, and some control areas had proportionately more workers than some squatter areas. Fijian areas had more workers than Indian areas, and squatter areas generally had higher proportions of workers than other low-income areas with which they may be properly compared. Thus City Villagers, for example, had a ratio of 0.286 workers per household compared with 0.250 in Nabua, 0.274 in Toorak and 0.287 for Fijians in Kinoya (Table 13.4).

Table 13.4 indicates that household size and composition appeared to be unrelated to the physical constraints of space available in dwellings of different size. This is most clearly demonstrated by the Fijian Four-Storey Flats. Support is added to an earlier conclusion that both household size and composition are determined more by cultural 'ideals' and obligations than by physical constraints of dwelling size or amenities. This has important implications for housing policy.

In conclusion, the Suva poor maximised their opportunities by multiple employment obtained from additional household members, and this was especially evident in squatter (and particularly Fijian squatter) households.

TABLE 13.4  
WORKERS AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE : SQUATTER AND CONTROL ETHNO-AREAS COMPARED

	Mean Household Size			Mean Number of workers			Ratio of workers to Household	No. House-hold
	$\bar{x}$	Range Low	(S.E.) High	$\bar{x}$	Range Low	(S.E.) High		
Squatters	5.71	5.58	5.84	1.53	1.48	1.59	.269	829
Control	6.37	6.12	6.55	1.63	1.57	1.70	.256	267
City Villagers	6.29	6.09	6.49	1.80	1.72	1.88	.286	236
City Indian	5.60	5.33	5.86	1.45	1.40	1.50	.259	335
Fijian Renters	4.96	4.75	5.16	1.51	1.44	1.59	.305	140
Fijian Urban Area	6.07	5.73	6.41	1.34	1.24	1.44	.220	71
Indian Urban Area	5.36	5.08	5.65	1.15	1.03	1.26	.214	47
Traditional Villagers	6.65	6.31	6.99	1.69	1.55	1.88	.255	65
Nabua	8.74	8.09	9.39	2.18	1.97	2.40	.250	38
Fijian Kinoya	5.82	5.28	6.36	1.67	1.52	1.82	.287	33
Indian Kinoya	5.97	5.53	6.41	1.49	1.32	1.65	.249	35
Fijian Four-Storey	6.68	6.18	7.17	1.71	1.51	1.90	.256	34
Indian Four-Storey	4.52	4.16	4.88	1.00	0.89	1.11	.221	27
Toorak	5.31	4.94	5.68	1.46	1.29	1.62	.274	35

Note: S.E. = Standard Error. Differences outside the range shown are statistically significant at the 0.05 level.  
Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY INCOMES AND INFORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Between one and two-fifths of households in the five squatter ethno-areas received financial support from sources other than wages and salaries (Table 13.5). Pensions, rarely over \$10 a week, were received by 3 percent of households. Money from rents was received by 14 percent of City Indian households and 1.4 percent by the more recently established Indians in the Urban Area. By contrast, assistance from relations and land ownership in the home area was much more important among Fijians.

Further support is given by Table 13.5 to the contention that Indians more generally enhance their economic security by the accumulation of material assets, in this case housing, while Fijian security is enhanced by strong social ties. Housing policy which does not allow for Indian renting and Fijian extended family relations, therefore, seems ill-designed to meet the needs of the urban poor.

Income was also derived from a variety of subsistence or craft-type activities. Fishing, poultry and gardening were important among Fijians where land was available or where there was access to the sea and tidal creeks, and grog (*\*yaqona*) pounding for the local market and carving for the tourist market were important among Fijian Renters. Such activities were not typical among Indians as a supplementary source of income although they were somewhat more important in the Urban Area. Food preparation for local sale (peanuts, Indian *\*roti*, *\*vakalolo* or Fijian pudding, etc.) were of minor importance in the Urban Area.

TABLE 13.5  
INCOME FROM SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES OTHER THAN GARDENING AND HANDICRAFT-  
TYPE ACTIVITIES BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
None	60.9	78.1	66.7	73.6	81.5	71.9
Pensions	5.2	2.6	3.7	2.9	1.4	3.3
Relations	7.0	4.4	14.8	-	5.7	5.8
Village	-	-	3.7	-	2.9	1.1
Renting	0.9	14.0	-	-	1.4	5.0
Grog, carving, etc. <sup>a</sup>	1.7	-	7.4	5.8	4.3	2.6
Fishing	19.1	0.9	3.7	11.8	1.4	8.1
Other <sup>b</sup>	4.3	-	-	5.9	1.4	2.2
Not Stated	0.9	-	-	-	-	-
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	115	114	27	34	70	360

Notes: a Includes food preparation. Grog is a slang term for *yaqona*.

b Includes poultry and livestock.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Gardening was a major activity in all areas, involving almost all (96 percent) of the Fijian households among City Villagers and 87 percent of Indian households in the Urban Area (Table 13.6). It was also important as an income supplement in the Urban Area and among City Villagers. It was less evident among Fijian Renters (56 percent) and Indians in the city (44 percent), and among Fijians at Qauia (50 percent) in the Urban Area. Gardening was less evident in areas lacking suitable land or where tenure was a major problem.

Most City Villagers cultivate slopes using shifting cultivation methods in areas adjacent to their settlements while gardening in most Indian areas is confined to backdoor cultivation.<sup>2</sup> The limited land available within these areas, the shallow soils and quarrels with neighbours on the definition of plot boundaries accounts for the more limited importance of gardening among City Indians and Fijian Renters. Informants claimed that the limited extent of gardening at Qauia (which is not considered typical of Fijians in the Urban Area in this respect) was due to small plot size and insecurity of tenure, and at Kalabo in the Indian Urban Area gardening was limited because Fijian Housing Authority tenants had 'planted all round the houses' of Indian squatters, making continued cultivation impossible without conflict. It is clear from the data, and comments from squatters, that gardening is an important economic activity which would be extended if circumstances permitted.

The relative unimportance of informal activities (apart from gardening) compared with many squatter areas in other Third World countries is a reflection of the limited area of individual squatter settlements. They are too small to generate many internal sources of income and employment. The limited scale of Fiji urbanization, capital intensive and externally promoted and controlled, is also not conducive to the wider development of informal activities. Moreover, city regulations inhibit the establishment of backyard industries which, under different circumstances, flourish in many squatter areas elsewhere. In an economy lacking full employment opportunities, the conscious encouragement of small scale industry and informal activities could be a wise economic and political strategy.

The importance of income support from these activities should, however, not be underestimated (Figures 13.5 - 13.8). Some form of supplementary activity was important for the majority of squatter



households in all areas. Gardening, livestock and poultry, fishing, sewing, handicraft and backyard activities were primarily for household use and consumption, but over 25 percent of Fijian and 15 percent of Indian households derived income support from these activities. If they were deprived of the opportunity to participate in these activities, the condition of the poor would be much worse. Their importance in other low-income areas is not known, but it is likely that backyard activities are extremely limited in Toorak and the Four-Storey Flats.

It was hypothesised (H5) that supplementary economic activities make a critical contribution to the income of many squatter households. Tables 13.5 and 13.6 indicate the importance of these activities as sources of income and income substitution, and in general terms they confirm the hypothesis. In using the term 'critical', however, it was assumed that informal activities would be most common among the lowest income households. This assumption was not supported by the data available.

Contrary to expectations, the households most involved in informal activities tended to have higher incomes. Income from rents, grog pounding, carving, food preparation and fishing involved only 12 percent of Fijian households with incomes under \$40 a week, 20 percent of households with incomes between \$40 and \$59, and 41 percent of households earning \$60 or more. Comparable figures for Indians were 8, 19 and 18 percent respectively. The difference favouring greater involvement by higher income households was highly significant for Fijians ( $X^2 = 11.4$  2 df  $p = 0.01$ ) and suggestive for Indians ( $X^2 = 4.80$  2 df  $p = 0.10$ ).

Income and income substitution from gardening, weaving and backyard activities such as those noted in Table 13.6 were less clearly the preserve of higher income households. Thus, 75 percent of Fijian households with incomes under \$40 a week were involved, 80 percent of households earning between \$40 and \$59, and 85 percent of those earning \$60 or more were involved in these activities. Comparable figures for Indians were 51, 60 and 69 percent respectively. The difference indicating greater involvement by higher income Fijian households was not significant, but for Indian households the difference ( $X^2 = 8.08$  4df  $p = 0.10$ ) was suggestive. Further comment is necessary. Lower income Fijian households were more involved in the sale of garden produce, handicrafts and backyard services than higher income households which were more involved in gardening, but not for sale. Conversely, lower income

Indian households were more involved in gardening, but not for sale, while higher income households were more involved in the sale of produce and services.

TABLE 13.6  
GARDENING AND OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
Gardening not for sale	89.5	42.2	48.1	41.1	67.2	62.4
Gardening for sale	6.0	1.8	3.7	8.8	10.0	5.6
Total Gardening	95.5	44.0	55.5	49.9	87.2	68.0
Handicrafts for sale <sup>a</sup>	23.4	3.6	11.1	11.8	-	10.8
Other for sale <sup>b</sup>	41.7	15.0	11.1	23.5	22.9	25.5
Number	115	114	27	34	70	360

Notes: a Carving, \*masi or tapa cloth, beads, weaving.

b Carpentry, furniture manufacture, car repairs, sewing, fishing, reselling yaqona, making vakalolo, pig raising, poultry.

Minor discrepancies between this Table and Table 13.5 arise because the information was obtained from different questions in the questionnaire.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Overall, the data on gardening and related activities (Table 13.6) support the findings based on the income-earning activities (which excludes pensions, assistance from relations and the village) noted in Table 13.5. Higher, and not lower, income households were more involved in activities producing supplementary incomes or income substitution, and to this extent the hypothesis that these activities were critical for lower income households is not supported. Indeed, supplementary informal activities seem to be associated with variables indicative of being established in an area, and possibly of self-improvement over time. Those variables which are significant at the 0.05 level are indicated in Figure 13.4.

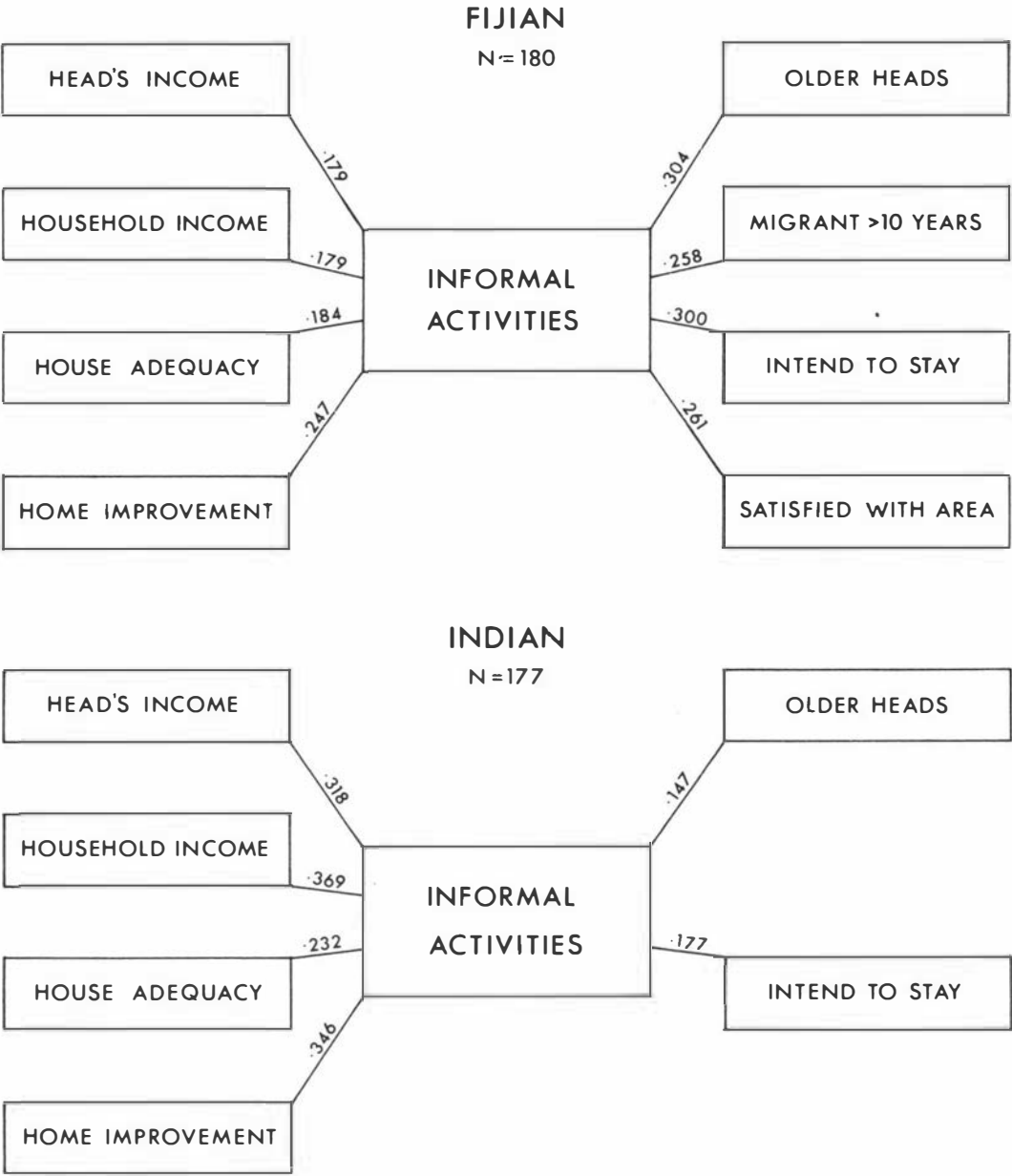


FIGURE 13.4 Correlations of Informal Activities. Source: July 1976 Survey.

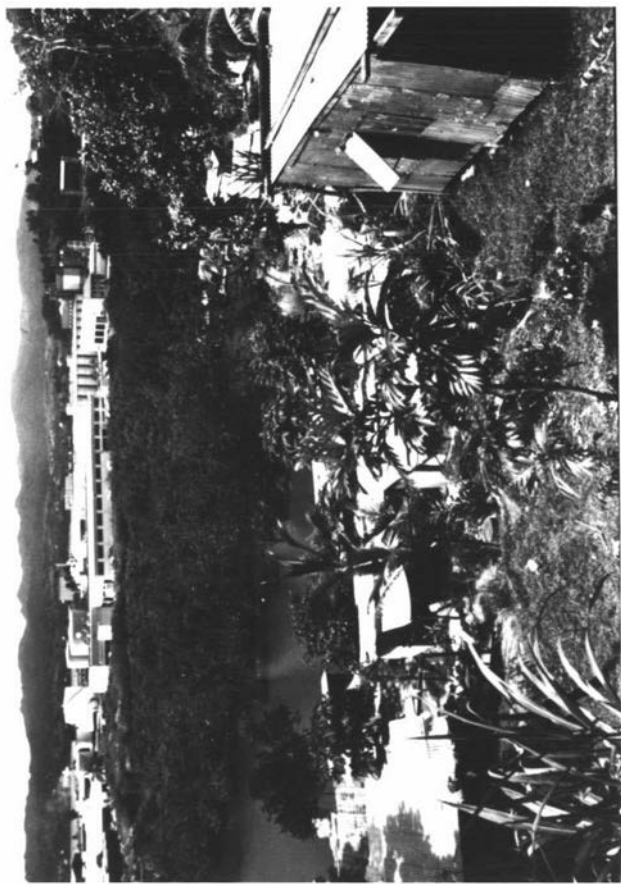
Figure 13.5. Kai Ra and the Walu Bay Industrial Area. Proximity to work is one means whereby squatters maximise residential opportunities. The Kai Ra settlement (foreground) is close to downtown Suva, the wharves and the Walu Bay industrial area (background).

Figure 13.6. Kai Ra and Local Resources. Walu Bay provides Fijian squatters with mangrove for firewood, crabs and other estuarine food, and fish from the harbour. The settlement boasts a boat shed, and one of the fishing boats is shown in the foreground.

Figure 13.7. Fijian Gardening in the City. Fijian squatters often practise intensive use of the immediate residential environment. These squatters at Tutaleva, less than three kilometers from the city centre, have planted taro, cassava, bananas, duruka and sweet potato. The area also provides breadfruit and mangoes from trees previously planted in the area.

Figure 13.8. Indian Gardening in the Urban Area. The urban area provides more opportunities for gardening by Indians than Indian squatter areas in the city. A major factor inhibiting gardening in the city is disputes about boundaries between squatters. The importance of boundaries for Indians is illustrated in this photograph of an Indian woman in her garden at Kalabo.

Photos: Figures 13.5 - 13.7, The Author, November, 1976;  
Figure 13.8, R. Thaman, June, 1978.



## EDUCATION LEVELS AND ASPIRATIONS

Education warrants mention in considering squatting as a means of the poor maximising opportunities for two reasons. First, it is claimed that savings (obtained from no or low rents) are invested, partly in education, and that such investment enhances the possibilities of intergenerational mobility (e.g. Laquian, 1969, 192). Second, government policy implies that those with less than upper secondary education will not necessarily obtain employment in the formal sector (DPR,36). For the rural poor this means that opportunities are limited to 'employment' in the subsistence sector; for the urban poor, in an economy lacking an extensive informal sector, much employment is only likely to be obtained on a casual or irregular basis. It is therefore important to determine whether squatters are less educationally advantaged than other sections of the urban poor.

The quality of education in Fiji varies considerably from school to school, and children that do not reach upper secondary school level and pass the School Certificate and University Entrance examinations do little to improve their job prospects. This observation is supported, not only by the government statement noted above, but by conclusions in Chapter 10 which showed that while education was moderately related to employment status, squatter prospects for higher incomes and employment status were only marginally improved with levels of schooling below the upper secondary stage.

The following hypothesis (H6) was advanced on education:

- (a) Squatters have high educational aspirations for their children;
- (b) squatter children have had more schooling than their parents; and
- (c) have had at least as much schooling as children in other low-income areas.

To test the hypothesis, levels of schooling were defined as: none, lower primary, upper primary or intermediate, lower secondary, upper secondary, and tertiary. Parents' schooling was represented by the level achieved by household heads. In most cases, the household head would be the father of the oldest child at home whose education was taken to represent the highest level of children's education. Upper secondary education was taken to be the 'cutting point' below which intergenerational mobility was unlikely to occur. July 1976 Survey data were used to establish educational aspirations, and 368 households (the

households with children present of upper secondary age) from the 1976 Census Schedules were used to consider the remainder of the hypothesis.

Table 13.7 indicates that 81 percent of Fijian and 73 percent of Indian squatters wanted their children to reach upper secondary school level. A further 9 percent of Fijians and 15 percent of Indians stated that the level would 'depend' on the child's ability; and their financial circumstances. These responses indicate aspiration levels which must be considered high in relation both to the education of household heads and the actual attainment of their children. Fijian heads held particularly high aspirations while Indian heads were somewhat more cautious - and realistic. The difference between Fijian and Indian responses was highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 17.90$  2df  $p = 0.001$ ). Fijian job aspirations, which are related to educational aspirations, were also overly optimistic. One-third of Fijians, compared with less than one-quarter of Indians, wanted their children to enter the professions ( $\chi^2 = 3.47$  1df  $p = 0.10$ ). The first part of the hypothesis is therefore upheld: squatters had high educational aspirations for their children.

The second part of the hypothesis - that squatter children had more schooling than their 'parents' - was also confirmed. Eighty-seven percent of Fijian and 88 percent of Indian children had reached levels of schooling higher than the household heads. These differences were highly significant.

The third part of the hypothesis entails a comparison between the levels of schooling among squatters and other sections of the urban poor. No significant difference was found between the education levels of heads or the education levels of the eldest children comparing squatter and control areas as a whole. However, Fijians at Kinoya and Toorak, and Indians in the Four-Storey Flats, had significantly higher levels of schooling than comparable squatter areas, and Fijian squatters had significantly higher levels than Fijians in the Traditional Villages, Nabua and the Four-Storey Flats.<sup>3</sup> These differences between individual settlements in no way detract from the validity of the hypothesis that squatter children as a whole had as much schooling as children in other low-income areas.

TABLE 13.7

## EDUCATION LEVELS AND ASPIRATIONS : SQUATTERS AND CONTROL

(Percentages)

	None	Lower Primary	Upper Primary and Inter- mediate	Lower Secondary	Upper	Tertiary	Total % (Number)
EDUCATION OF HEAD							
Fijian Squatter	1.6	25.9	67.7	1.6	1.6	1.6	100.0 (127)
Fijian Control <sup>a</sup>	3.8	15.6	75.4	2.6	2.6	-	100.0 (77)
Indian Squatter	31.5	33.6	32.9	1.4	0.6	-	100.0 (143)
Indian Control	23.1	43.6	33.3	-	-	-	100.0 (39)
Total	15.3	28.5	52.8	1.6	1.3	0.5	100.0 (386)
EDUCATION ELDEST CHILD <sup>b</sup>							
Fijian Squatter	-	1.6	23.6	45.7	28.3	0.8	100.0
Fijian Control <sup>a</sup>	-	-	18.2	48.1	29.9	3.8	100.0
Indian Squatter	2.1	3.5	40.6	32.8	20.3	0.7	100.0
Indian Control	-	2.6	35.9	46.1	15.4	-	100.0
Total	0.8	2.1	30.0	41.4	24.4	1.3	100.0
EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS							
	Depends						
Fijian Squatter (162)	9.2		2.5	6.8	46.3	35.2	100.0
Indian Squatter (178)	15.2		5.1	6.7	39.9	33.1	100.0
Total (340)	12.4		3.8	6.8	42.9	24.1	100.0

Notes: a Excludes Traditional Villages.

b Resident in the household.

Sources: Education of head and eldest child, 1976 Census Schedules;  
educational aspirations, July 1976 Survey.



A further test was made to see if squatter children had improved their education position relative to household heads more so than children in other areas. It has been noted that 87 percent of Fijian and 88 percent of Indian squatter children had improved their position relative to heads; comparable figures for other low-income areas were 91 percent (Fijian) and 97 percent (Indian). The difference between Indian squatter and control groups was suggestive ( $\chi^2 = 3.06$  1df  $p = 0.10$ ). Indian squatter children could be at a slight disadvantage compared with Indian control areas.

In conclusion, all three parts of the hypothesis were upheld with the partial exception noted in the previous paragraph. Squatters did have high (perhaps unrealistically high) educational aspirations for their children and similar comment can be made with regard to job aspirations, especially for Fijians. Squatter children had had more schooling than household heads (taken to represent their parents) and as much schooling as children in other low-income areas. The actual levels reached in all areas, however, indicate that under one-third had reached a level (upper secondary) which may result in improved occupational status, higher incomes and intergenerational mobility, but in this squatters were no more disadvantaged than other low-income children. The education levels of squatter children do not suggest that savings from rent have been diverted to education to produce a better result than the education of other low-income children whose parents pay higher rents and mortgages. However, squatter levels are no worse, which they could be if poorer squatters were obliged to pay similar costs for accommodation as people in other low-income areas. The quantity of education is similar; further work is needed to determine whether the quality, influenced by such factors as study space, parental example and school attended, is significantly different. Certainly there is nothing in the evidence to support the views of the Marginality School that squatters represent an illiterate and uneducated group with little interest in educational advancement.

## SQUATTER RESIDENCE AND THE FAMILY LIFE CYCLE

It was hypothesised (H7) that the maximisation of opportunity by squatting is especially important at critical stages in the family life cycle. Young founding families, for instance, could choose squatting as a temporary expedient to facilitate the establishment of the family, and in this way be 'temporary opportunists' as mentioned by Seeley(1973, 242) with respect to slum dwellers. Similarly, families which have experienced divorce, separation, remarriage and widowhood could also choose squatting as a refuge either to escape public sanction or to consolidate resources (Leeds and Leeds, 1970, 244).

Discussion in Chapter 9 indicated the extent to which marital status (Table 9.12) and age and sex distribution (Figure 9.17) varied from area to area. The task here is to determine whether households at three stages of the family life cycle are overrepresented in squatter areas as a whole.

The three stages are :

- 1) The young founding family.
- 2) Families which have experienced marital upsets due to divorce, separation and remarriage.
- 3) Families where the head is widowed.

If squatter areas contain significantly more households at these life cycle stages than other low-income areas evidence will be provided to support the hypothesis. The source of all data used in the discussion is the 1976 Census Schedules.

Evidence of founding families (defined loosely as young families) was tested by three indices:

1) Mean ages of wives of household heads: The mean age of Fijian squatter wives (35.7 years, S.E. 0.61) was significantly younger than Fijian control wives (38.4 years, S.E. 1.1), but the lower mean age of Indian squatter wives (36.7 years) compared to Indian control wives (37.4 years) could have been due to sampling error. It should, however, be noted that the three areas with the oldest mean ages (Traditional Villages, Nabua and Toorak) were Fijian control areas and the three with the youngest mean ages were squatter areas (Fijian Renters, and Fijians and Indians in the Urban Area). The difference between the three control areas and the three squatter areas compared with all other areas was statistically significant.

2) Women aged 20 - 24 years: The proportion of women in this age group was less for both Fijian (7.1 percent) and Indian (5.5 percent) squatter areas than Fijian (6.2 percent) and Indian (4 percent) control areas, but the difference was not statistically significant.

3) Children under five years old: The proportion of these children was also greater in Fijian (15.6 percent) and Indian (14 percent) squatter areas than Fijian (14.4 percent) and Indian (13 percent) control areas, but the difference was again not statistically significant.

The evidence is not consistent. Most indices suggest that founding families were overrepresented in squatter areas, but only the lower mean age of Fijian wives is significant. However, founding families were not significantly overrepresented in squatter areas as a whole, although individual settlements discussed in Chapter 9 have been shown to have age and sex structures which indicate the presence of significant proportions of founding families.

Table 13.8 indicates that, contrary to hypothesis prediction, squatter areas were underrepresented in the proportion of households which had experienced marital upset or widowhood. Fijian control areas contained a disproportionate number of households where the head was single, married more than once, where a spouse was absent from home on Census night, or where the head was widowed. The difference was highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 19.07$  5df  $p = 0.01$ ). A similar tendency occurred with Indians but here the difference was not significant.

TABLE 13.8  
MARITAL STATUS OF SQUATTER AND CONTROL HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
(Percentages)

	Fijian Squatters	Fijian Control <sup>a</sup>	Indian Squatters	Indian Control	Total
Married Once	78.1	64.3	76.4	67.8	74.9
Married more than once	9.1	9.3	8.1	11.3	8.9
Single	2.5	5.0	2.9	4.8	3.1
Separated or Divorced	2.3	1.4	2.1	4.8	2.3
Spouse Absent	5.3	13.6	4.5	1.6	5.9
Widowed	2.7	6.4	6.0	9.7	4.9
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	438	140	381	62	1021

Note: a Traditional Villagers (N=65) were excluded from Fijian Control. Ten other households did not state marital statuses which could be positively identified.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

It was, however, considered possible that marital 'irregularities' may have been more evident among adults other than household heads, and that squatter households could contain a higher proportion of such adults than other low-income areas. This also proved to be unfounded. Marital irregularity (wife or husband absent, divorce or separation and widowhood) involved 13 percent of Fijian squatters and 19 percent of Fijian Control, and 7 percent of Indian squatters and 13 percent of Indian control households. These differences were not, however, statistically significant.

In conclusion, the data do not support the hypothesis that squatter areas attract people at critical stages of the family life cycle more than other low-income areas although there is some evidence that they include larger proportions of founding families. In other respects squatting cannot be considered to be a means of maximising opportunities in this way. Indeed, households with 'normal' marital arrangements were more typical of squatter areas than other low-income areas in Suva.

#### FIJIAN AND INDIAN DIFFERENCES

It was hypothesised (H8) that Fijian and Indian households display different means of maximising economic opportunities, and several differences between Fijians and Indians have been mentioned en passant.

Two basic groups of differences emerge: the first concerning the household, the second concerning the use of environmental resources.

1) The Household. The predominance of extended families among Fijians (Fijian Renters excepted) and nuclear families among Indians produced a mean Fijian household size of 6.1 compared to a mean Indian size of 5.4. Fijian households had a higher proportion of workers to dependents (1 : 2.45 compared with 1 : 2.97) and significantly more workers were women. Women workers comprised 7 percent of the Fijian mean household workforce compared with 3.4 percent in Indian households ( $\chi^2 = 13.14$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ), and wives worked in 18 percent of Fijian households compared with only 5 percent of Indian households ( $\chi^2 = 13.97$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ). With a greater number of workers, Fijian households had higher mean incomes (\$58.66, S.E. \$2.72) than Indian households (\$38.88, S.E. \$1.61), and higher per capita incomes. These differences were statistically significant for almost all household sizes.

Fijians also placed more reliance on the extended kinship group outside the immediate household, and assistance between kin involved 79 percent of Fijian households compared with only 35 percent of Indian households. The difference was highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 71.61$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ). In sum, Fijians maximised opportunities by investment in the human resources of the extended family. As a consequence, they were probably in a more secure economic position than Indian households which tended to invest more in material possessions obtained by individual effort. The use of the house for renting is a case in point. Renting involved 14 percent of City Indian households and less than 1 percent of Fijian households in the city.

2) Environmental Resources. If income derived from renting is excluded (and renting is one way of utilising environmental resources), Fijians made more intensive use of their environment for economic purposes. Income derived from such activities as grog pounding, carving, food preparation and fishing involved 28 percent of Fijian and only 14 percent of Indian households. The difference is highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 9.32$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ). Income derived from gardening and handicraft manufacture involved 60 percent of Fijian households and 29 percent of Indian households. This difference is also highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 36.96$  2df  $p = 0.001$ ). Although the more limited extent of gardening by Indians is likely to have been influenced by constraints imposed by the areas they lived in, it is pertinent that Fijian Renters, living in predominantly City Indian settlements, were more involved in gardening (and most other informal economic activities) than their Indian neighbours. It seems reasonable to assume that, even allowing for external constraints, Fijians make greater economic use of their residential environment in most activities, renting being the most notable exception. The hypothesis that Fijian and Indian households display different means of maximising economic opportunities is therefore upheld.

## SUMMARY

The Suva data uphold the general contention that squatting enables the poor to maximise economic opportunities. Indeed, most squatters would have no opportunities in the city if they could not obtain accommodation other than at costs typical of squatter settlements.

Proximity to work was a factor, but not an overriding factor, in the actual choice of residence, but most squatters preferred to live close to work. The small areal extent of Suva and good, cheap transport probably lessen the importance of proximity relative to other factors.

Flexible household size and composition permitted many squatters access to larger household (and per capita) incomes, and squatters' households had proportionately more workers (relative to household size), but numerically fewer workers than other low-income areas considered as a whole.

Informal, backyard economic activities were less than those reported in many overseas studies, but they involved a significant number of squatters, especially those from better-off households. Significant differences occurred between most Fijian and Indian responses indicating that culture affects the means by which squatters maximise opportunities. Fijian informal activities mainly involved gardening and handicraft manufacture, and Indians derived income from rent.

Squatters had high (perhaps unrealistically high) educational aspirations for their children. Squatter heads were not appreciably less educated than heads in other low-income areas with the exception of upper low-income heads in Kinoya. The quality of education, however, may not be adequately tested by the number of years at school.

Finally, squatter areas did not appear to attract people at critical stages of the life cycle (marital breakdowns or irregularities) any more than other low-income areas, but there is some evidence that they may have a higher proportion of young founding families.

Squatting may permit the poor to maximise economic opportunities but still prove to be an inadequate social environment for integration in the city. It is also possible that maximisation is not sufficient to lead to significant improvement. The first of these questions will be considered in the next four chapters. The second question will be considered in Chapter 18.

## FOOTNOTES

1 The inconclusiveness of the findings stems largely from the measurement procedures adopted. It was necessary to 'neutralise' the effects of city squatter locations on proximity, and as a consequence the proportion of squatters who were actually living close to work has been understated. The procedures were adopted to test the importance of income and occupation as independent variables. Figure 13.1 shows that all city squatter areas were ideally located with respect to work opportunities.

2 There has been very little published work on 'doorstep' or 'backyard' gardening in the Pacific Islands. Thaman (1975, and In press) provides some information on sample areas in Suva, but no specific reference is made to squatter settlements per se .

3 The percentage of household heads with upper secondary education by individual settlement is shown below. The percentage with no education is shown in parenthesis.

CV 7.5 (-); CI 3.6 (20.4); FR 4.3 (5.0); FUA 7.1 (-); IUA - (11.1);  
Squatters 4.9 (9.9); TV 3.3 (3.3); Nabua 2.7 (-); FK 32.3 (-);  
IK 5.7 (8.6); FFS 3.3 (-); IFS 7.7 (15.4); Toorak 14.3 (5.7);  
Control 9.1 (4.3). Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

## CHAPTER 14

### THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

PROPOSITION 2. Most Squatters are satisfied with the residential environment in which they live.

This proposition is tested via five hypotheses concerning: homogeneity and the choice of area of residence (H9), proximity to kin and kin economic exchanges (H10), perception of present compared with previous place of residence (H11), residential intentions (H12), and the levels of satisfaction with the area of residence (H13).

The social composition of squatter areas is generally more amenable to control by its residents than other forms of settlement in the city where landlords or other authorities determine who are acceptable as tenants. Some control over who will be one's neighbour could well be an attraction for many squatters, although excessive homogeneity (especially racial homogeneity) is contrary to government policy.

It was hypothesised (H9) that (a) squatter areas display marked ethnic, place of birth and religious homogeneity, and (b) many squatters have chosen the area in which they live for these reasons. Most squatter areas show marked racial homogeneity, the exceptions being predominantly Indian areas where Fijian renting is common. Similar homogeneity is also evident in the Traditional Villages and Nabua but the Toorak slum and the Housing Authority areas are less racially homogeneous. Ethnicity, however, refers to more than racial divisions; it embraces finer cultural differences which include a sense of identity and belonging (which cannot be tested by the research data), place of birth or origin and religious affiliation. Data were obtained from the 1976 Census Schedules on the place of birth, religious affiliation, and, for Indians, sub-culture of household heads. These three indices are used to test the first part of the hypothesis.

#### HOMOGENEITY AND PLACE OF BIRTH

Table 14.1 presents information on the birthplace of household heads and includes, among other measures, an index of dissimilarity. Timms (1965, 240 - 241) has described the index of dissimilarity as 'the most widely-used and in many ways the most useful instrument yet devised for the quantitative description of geographical patterns.'



INDICES OF DISSIMILARITY: BIRTHPLACES AND RELIGIOUS  
AFFILIATIONS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY AREA

	Number Provinces a	Most Represented Provinces*		Locally Born <sup>b</sup> (%)	Provincial		Religious <sup>e</sup>	
		First	Second		ID <sup>c</sup>	Rank <sup>d</sup>	ID	Rank <sup>d</sup>
FIJIAN SQUATTER								
Walu Bay	4	Ra	Nai	12.0	81.5	1	8.1	9=
Nauluvatu	9	Nai	Kadavu	41.8	25.4	7	14.0	4
Malekula	10	Nai	Lau	21.9	24.3	8	8.6	7
Tutaleva	6	Nai	Lom-Kad	56.0	29.2	6	8.1	9=
Tamavua-i-wai	7	Nai	Lau	39.3	19.1	12	27.7	1
Jittu	11	Nai	Lau	27.9	14.5	15	0.4	16
Muslim League	8	Nai	Kadavu	25.7	23.2	9	9.1	6
Deo Dutt	10	Nai	Kadavu	37.8	17.1	13	2.1	14
Qauia	8	Lau	Nai	20.0	30.4	4=	7.9	11
Valenimanumanu	10	Nai	Kadavu	50.0	20.5	10	8.3	8
FIJIAN CONTROL								
Suvavou	6	Rewa	Lau	78.1	38.9	3	15.4	2
Tamavua village	5	Nai	Ba-Kad	81.3	43.9	2	7.0	13
Nabua	7	Lau	Nai	24.3	30.4	4=	14.2	3
Kinoya	8	Nai	Kadavu	46.6	14.6	14	9.3	5
Raiwaqa	10	Nai	Lom	41.2	14.3	16	7.1	12
Toorak	10	Nai	Cak	40.0	19.6	11	1.0	15
INDIAN SQUATTER								
Jittu	10	Nai	Cak	45.0	16.8	1	11.1	5
Muslim League	8	Nai	Ra	55.8	9.8	6	11.3	4
Deo Dutt	8	Nai	Cak	47.9	15.0	3	12.5	2
Pritam Singh	8	Nai	Ba-Nad	60.9	13.0	4	12.1	3
INDIAN CONTROL								
Kinoya	5	Nai	Cak	67.6	16.2	2	13.0	1
Raiwaqa	7	Nai	Namosi	51.9	12.5	5	6.6	6

## Notes:

\* Nai = Naitasiri; Lom = Lomaiviti; Cak = Cakaudrove; Nad = Nadroga; Kad = Kadavu.

a Maximum possible provinces for Fijians 12; Indians 11.

b Rewa for city and west, Rewa and Naitasiri for other settlements.

c  $ID = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^k |x_i - y_i|}{2k}$  where  $x_i$  = % of settlement born in each province.  
 $y_i$  = % of 'population' born in each province.  
 $k$  = each province.

2

The 'population' was defined as the mean percentage of squatter settlements plus the mean percentage of control, calculated separately for Fijians and Indians.

d Ranking for Fijians and Indians separately.

e ID and ranking procedures as for c and d with 'religion' in place of 'province'.

The combined representation (squatter and control) for provinces of birth of household head is shown below:

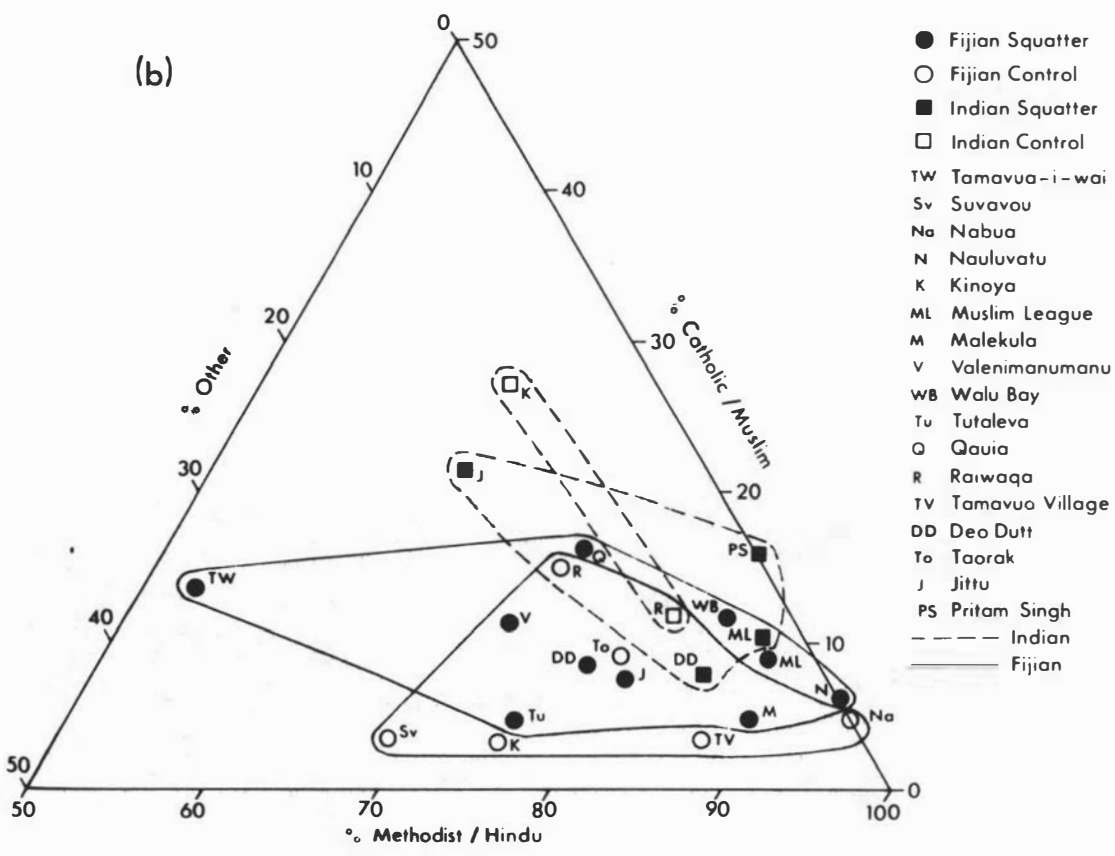
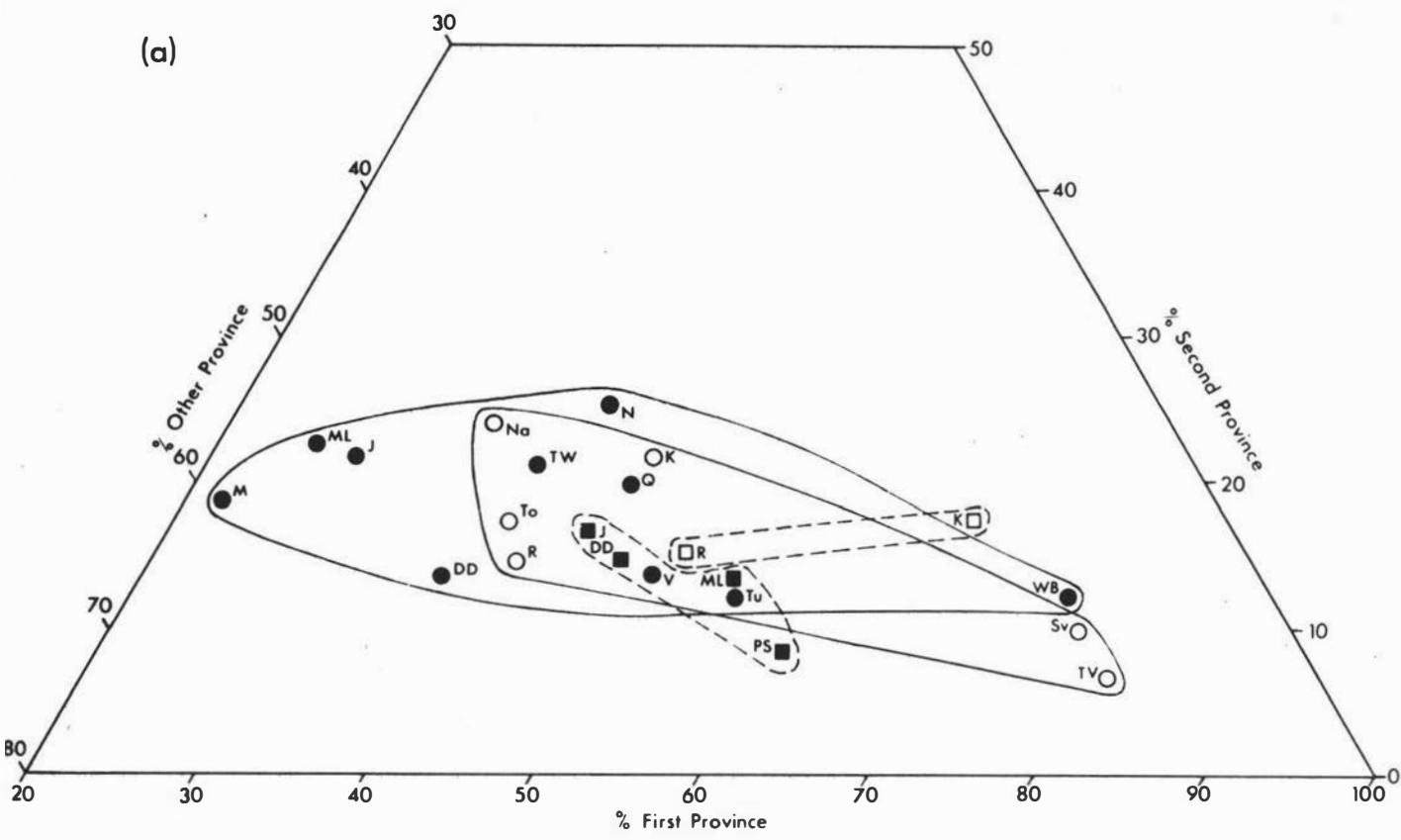
	Ba	Bua	Cak	Kad	Lom	Macuata	Nad	Nai Rewa	Namosi	Ra	Tailevu	Lau
Fijians (645)	4.5	3.3	6.0	12.1	7.4	2.3	0.6	37.2	1.4	7.4	0.6	17.1
Indians (435)	9.0	0.2	11.5	-	0.7	0.7	3.0	53.8	5.5	8.0	5.7	1.8

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

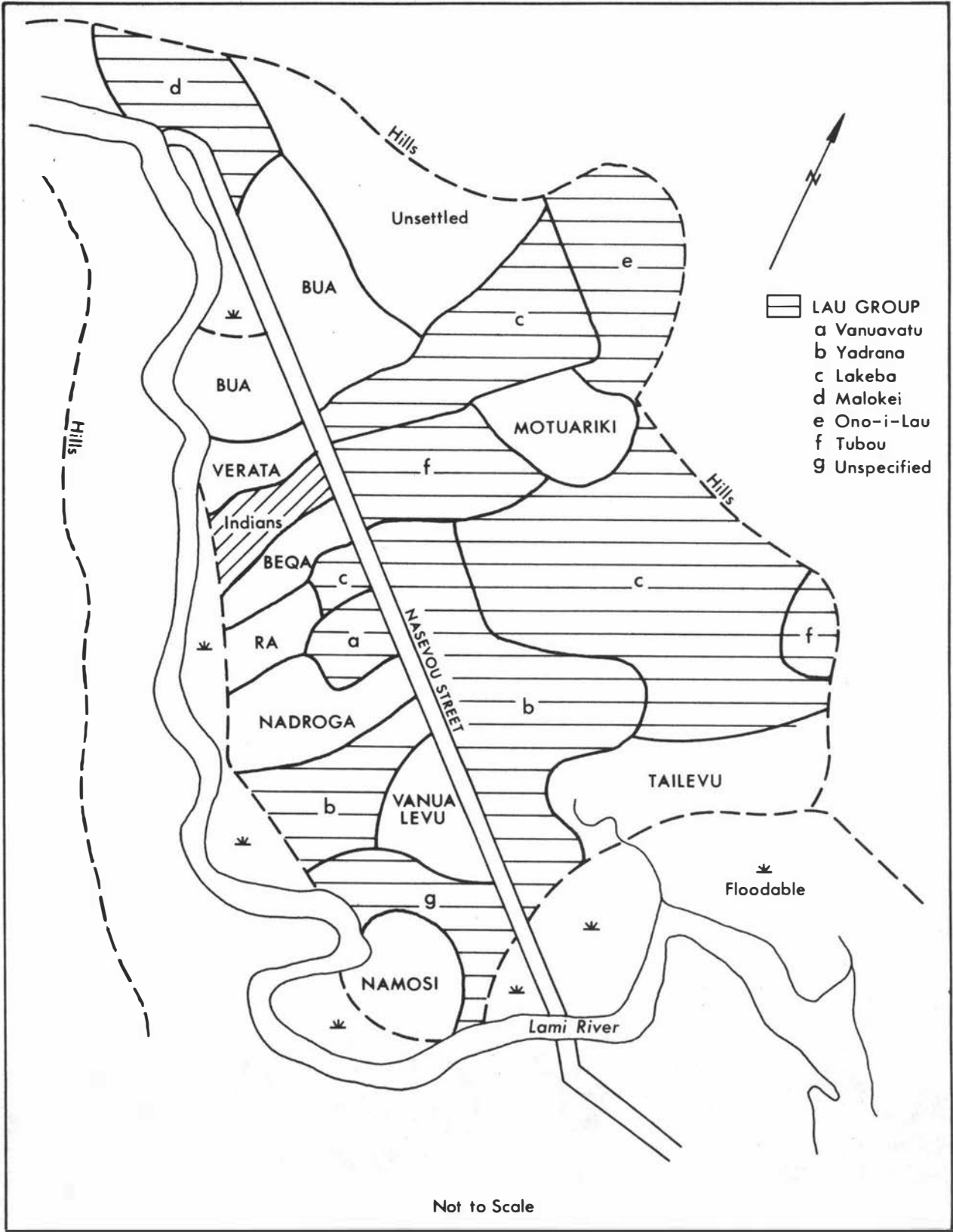
Indices of dissimilarity (IDs) represent a statement of the unevenness of distribution, and the index figure indicates the percentage of a population (in this case, individual squatter and control areas) that would need to move for the area to attain similarity with another population (in this case, Fijian or Indian squatter and control areas combined). Thus, the ID of Walu Bay (Table 14.1) indicates that 81.5 percent of its household heads would need to move for it to have provincial representation similar to Fijian squatter and control areas combined.<sup>1</sup>

Table 14.1 also shows the rank order of IDs, the number of provinces represented, and the percentage of locally born household heads in individual squatter and control areas. Walu Bay (in particular) and Qauia showed excessive concentrations from one province and high IDs among the Fijian squatter settlements, but Nabua (and, of course, the Traditional Villages) also showed high concentrations and high IDs. Taken overall, the mean ID for Fijian squatters was 28.5 (control 27.0) and for Indian squatters 13.7 (control 14.4). The difference between squatter and control areas was not significant in either case. Low IDs were evident among Fijian squatters mainly in areas where they rented accommodation, and in the Housing Authority control areas. Fijian 'urban villages,' as expected, tended to be much more homogeneous with respect to place of birth but, with the exception of Walu Bay, not significantly more so than Nabua with which they can be best compared. No significant difference was evident between Indian squatter and control areas, except perhaps that the most recently established areas (Muslim League and Pritam Singh) were the least homogeneous. IDs are affected by the size of the areal units and it should be noted that those settlements showing the greatest dissimilarity also tended to be the smaller settlements.

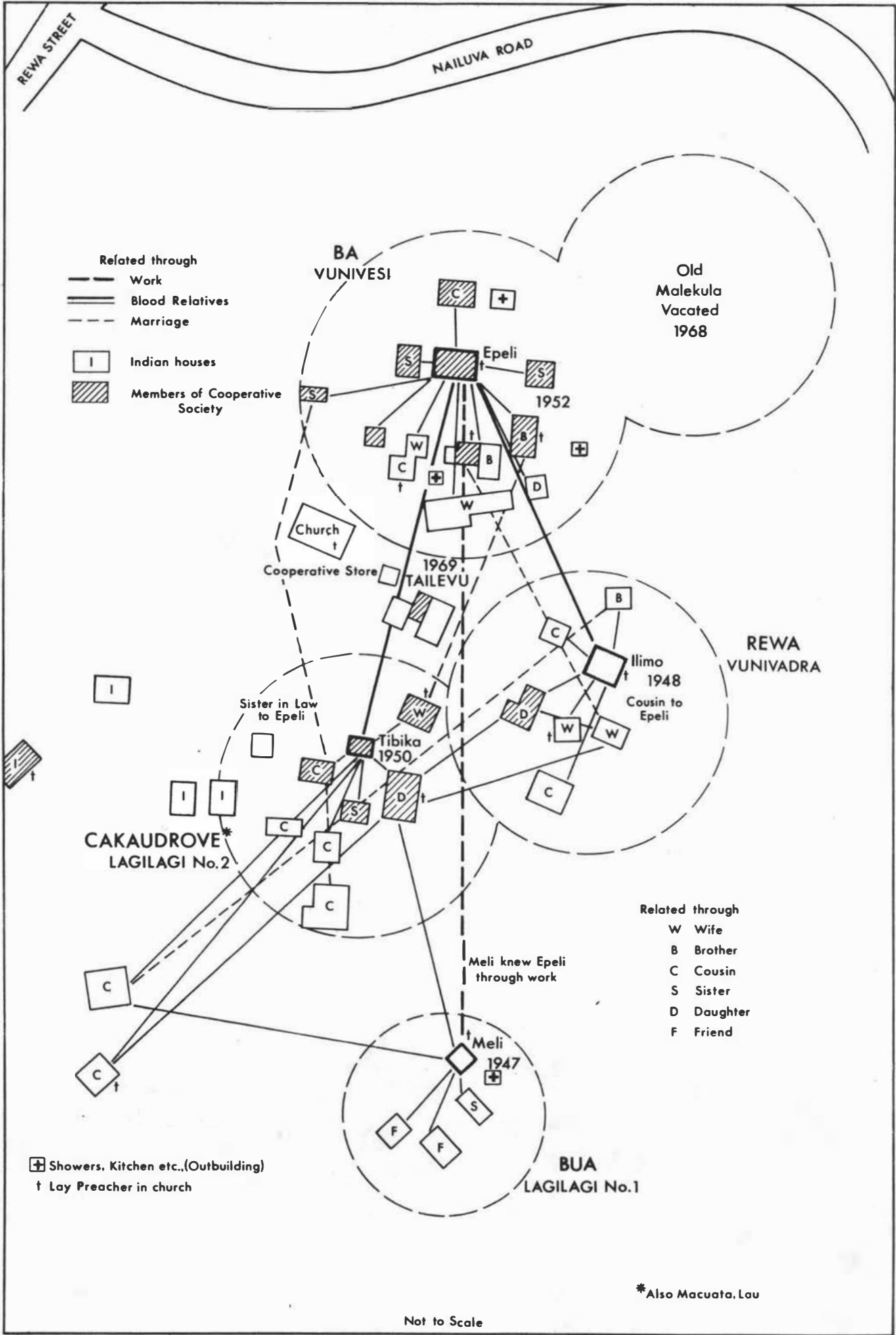
Squatter settlements were also not obviously less well represented by locally born heads, the number of provinces in which heads were born, or excessive representation by one (or two) provinces of birth. Indeed, four of the ten Fijian and two of the four Indian squatter settlements were less dominated by a single province than any of the control areas (Figure 14.1a). These findings indicate that a generalisation about squatter vis-a-vis control homogeneity is likely to be misleading for considerable variation occurred on all measures.



**FIGURE 14.1** Provincial and Religious Representation in Squatter and Control Areas. 1976 Census Schedules. Source:



**FIGURE 14.2** Qaia : Migrant Origins and Residential Sites. Source: Based on fieldwork by Vasewa Baba, July 1976 Survey.



**FIGURE 14.3** Malekula : Social Networks and House Sites. Source: Based on fieldwork by Mosese Uluiciciya, July 1976 Survey.

It is apparent, however, that figures based on representation at settlement level cannot reveal the full extent of residential 'clustering' that might occur within areas. Information on clustering was not obtained for all settlements but studies of Qauia (Baba, 1976), Malekula (Uluiciciya, 1976), and 'Bangladesh' (Reddy, 1976) suggest that 'homogeneity,' at least for its effect on community formation, is perhaps best examined at a micro-level.<sup>2</sup> Thus, while Figure 14.1a does not show Qauia to be excessively homogeneous with respect to place of birth due the wide representation of provinces, it did have a relatively high ID (Table 14.1), due largely to 46 percent of household heads having been born in Lau province. Figure 14.2 shows distinct clusters based on individual provinces at Qauia and, of greater interest, clustering by individual island among Lauan residents. It would not be unreasonable to assume similar clustering, based on village and district, for residents from the other provinces at Qauia, and in other Fijian squatter settlements.

Malekula serves to illustrate the likely process of settlement evolution in all Fijian squatter areas (Figure 14.3). Epeli, a sitting tenant and a former employee of Morris Hedstrom Ltd., migrated from the Yasawa islands in Ba province. Meli, a workmate and a migrant from Bua province, approached Epeli to become his sub-tenant, and Epeli invited him to build his house at what became Langilangi No. 1. Subsequent approaches and invitations, preceeded by presentations of yaqona, led to the establishment of Langilangi No. 2 by Epeli's sister-in-law from Cakadrove, and Vunivadra by his cousin from Rewa. Four provincial clusters tied by real and fictive (workmate) kinship to the original 'founder' were thus established. Each cluster assumed a name, a territory and an identity as further migrants approached the head of each cluster to build a house and as houses were erected for children upon marriage. By 1976 the original ties between the four clusters had been reinforced by intermarriage, church membership and lay preachers, membership of the co-operative society and cordial but distant relations had been established with adjacent Indian households.

#### RELIGIOUS HOMOGENEITY

Religious homogeneity is more likely to occur in some Fijian squatter areas because denominational affiliation has been a condition of settlement. Thus, Vunivau is entirely Methodist, Villa Maria predominantly Catholic and Wailoku predominantly Anglican. The

Fijian settlements studied in the 1976 Census Schedules, however, displayed less religious homogeneity. Among Fijians, Catholics were somewhat overrepresented at Walu Bay, Tamavua-i-wai, Qauia, Valenimanumanu and in the Raiwaqa Flats. Other minor denominations were overrepresented at Tutaleva, Tamavua-i-wai, Jittu, Deo Dutt, Valenimanumanu, Suvavou and the Raiwaqa Flats. Among Indians, Christians and Muslims were overrepresented at Jittu and Kinoya, and Hindus were overrepresented - relative to both control areas - in Deo Dutt, Muslim League and Pritam Singh (Figure 14.1 b). Overall, both Fijian and Indian squatter areas tended to have higher IDs than the control areas, indicating some degree of homogeneity (Table 14.1), but the difference was only significant for Indians (squatters 11.8; control 9.8). Apart from the settlements noted as being established by the churches, all major religious denominations were represented in all squatter areas. Excessive religious homogeneity at the settlement level was not apparent.

#### THE INDIAN SUB-CULTURES

Three Indian sub-cultures (North Indian, South Indian and Muslim) were well represented in the areas sampled, and there was a small number of Sikhs. The generally wealthier and commercially-orientated Gujarati were not represented.

No significant difference occurred between squatter and control areas, but South Indians tended to be overrepresented in squatter areas and Muslims in the Housing Authority control areas. Similarly, no significant difference occurred between the higher income control area of Kinoya and the subsidised flats at Raiwaqa, although South Indians, generally poorer than North Indians and Muslims (Walsh, 1976c, Table 8), were more evident in the flats and the Muslims at Kinoya.

Significant differences, however, emerged between squatter areas ( $\chi^2 = 14.90$  6df  $p = 0.05$ ) which could be indicative of present (or previous) disadvantage. The underrepresentation of North Indians in the oldest area, Jittu, and their overrepresentation in the youngest area, Pritam Singh, suggest that more 'successful' North Indians have moved out of Jittu while younger household heads may be using Pritam Singh as a 'staging ground' for later mobility.

More important, with regard to the present hypothesis, squatter areas did attract (or retain) Indian sub-cultures in significantly different proportions. Besides being a possible indicator of disadvantage, this feature also reflects the pattern whereby many

take up residence in areas in which they already had some contact.

It can be concluded that individual squatter settlements do show marked uneven representation on the basis of birthplace, religion and (for Indians) sub-culture but this is often no more so than other low-income areas. In considering squatting as a residential type, the evidence is insufficient to uphold the hypothesis that there is marked homogeneity at settlement level. The extent to which unevenness may be considered synonymous with homogeneity, however, can only be adequately tested at the level of neighbourhoods within each area. Evidence from Qauia and Malekula suggests micro-level homogeneity or 'clustering' which is likely to be evident in other squatter areas, more especially the Fijian urban villages. Such clusters are generally absent in Housing Authority areas due to the process of resident selection.

#### THE CHOICE OF AREA IN WHICH TO LIVE

The second part of the hypothesis - that homogeneity is a factor in the choice of area in which to reside - was tested by three questions put to respondents in the July 1976 Survey: (a) Why did you choose this place to live in? (b) Did you know anyone here before moving in?, and (c) What arrangements did you make to be accepted here? Respondents who answered that they knew someone (Table 14.2), and all arrangements (other than renting) shown in Table 14.3, may be assumed to represent varying degrees of prior contact or connection which could tend to increase the homogeneity of areas, or clustering at the micro-level. It should be stressed, however, that contacts were not based solely on ethnicity, place of birth or blood ties. The example of Malekula (Figure 14.3) indicates that intermarriage (between spouses from different provinces) and workplace friendships are also important forms of contact which influence residential patterns. The net result in Fijian areas is the development of communities whose social composition meets with the approval of the majority of their members. They are closely knit, but not homogeneous settlements according to any single criterion other than race. In Indian areas on the other hand, the practice of renting tends to break down both familial and ethnic homogeneity. Such practices in both Fijian and Indian settlements, far from perpetuating homogeneous 'islands' isolated from the mainstream of city life, result in the mixing of people over time. The only



TABLE 14.2  
REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE AREA OF RESIDENCE BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
Knew someone there	54.8	19.3	25.9	41.2	37.1	36.7
Own house there	7.8	18.4	3.7	17.6	31.4	16.4
Proximity	-	3.5	3.7	-	-	1.4
Low rent	-	8.8	22.2	5.9	4.3	5.8
Proximity and rent	-	4.4	7.4	2.9	1.4	2.5
Several reasons <sup>a</sup>	34.8	35.1	29.6	29.4	15.7	30.4
Only place to go	0.9	9.6	7.5	3.0	10.1	6.1
Not Stated	1.7	0.9	-	-	-	0.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	115	114	27	34	70	360
Total knew someone	89.6	54.4	55.5	70.6	52.8	67.1
Total economic	42.6	70.2	66.6	55.8	52.8	56.5

Notes: a Responses included 'knew someone there.'

Source: July 1976 Survey.

TABLE 14.3  
ARRANGEMENTS MADE IN TAKING UP RESIDENCE BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS<sup>a</sup>  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FUA	IUA	Total
None needed <sup>b</sup>	39.1	13.2	5.9	1.4	17.8
Tabua presented	20.9	0.9	61.8	1.4	13.1
Rent	2.6	30.7	11.8	-	17.5
Invited to stay	27.0	1.8	11.8	7.1	12.2
Land/house there <sup>c</sup>	6.1	42.1	-	88.6	33.1
Other <sup>d</sup>	4.3	11.3	8.7	1.5	6.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	115	114	34	70	333
Total 'informal'	87.0	15.9	79.5	9.9	43.1
Total 'formal'	8.7	72.8	11.8	88.6	50.6

Notes: a Fijian Renters are excluded from ethno-area figures (77.8 percent stated 'renting') but they are included in the total figures.

b Includes 'don't know.'

c For Fijians this generally meant a family arrangement and for Indians a financial arrangement.

d Combinations of arrangements.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

difference in this respect with other areas of the city is that Fijian squatters have more control over the composition of their settlements which, for this reason, may be considered communities more than any other city neighbourhood.

Economic and social factors which were 'liked' by squatters (Table 14.8) in the areas in which they lived were also important factors in their choice of area to live. The actual choice of a particular settlement (as distinct from a choice of squatting vis-a-vis other forms of settlement), however, was more influenced by knowing someone in the settlement than by economic factors. Thus, while economic factors accounted for two-thirds (Table 14.8) of the factors liked about an area, knowing someone influenced two-thirds of respondents in their choice of the particular settlement (Table 14.2). It should, however, be recalled that the data also included people who were resident in the area before marriage (Tables 9.7, 9.8). Marked ethnic differences were again apparent. Knowing someone was more important for Fijians, including Fijian Renters, and economic reasons and the absence of alternatives were more important for Indians. The difference was highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 28.33$  ldf  $p = 0.001$ ). For both groups, knowing someone accounted for over one-half of the reasons given for choosing the area in which to live. This supports the hypothesis that such factors are important in the choice of residence. Ethnic differences also emerged in the actual arrangements made in taking up residence (Table 14.3). Caution needs to be exercised in considering the proportions stating that no arrangement was made; approximately one-fifth were resident in the area at the time of marriage. This caveat apart, it is clear that informal arrangements based on customary behaviour were the most important form of arrangement made by Fijians, and formal arrangements based on money and property transactions were the predominant form of Indian arrangement. This difference was evident even among Fijian Renters, over 10 percent of whom claimed that no arrangement was necessary or that they had been invited to take up residence. These processes have important implications for the extent to which Fijians and Indians may rely upon their own resources, and in the type of community formed. Fijians lay claim to residence by their association with existing residents, through kinship, marriage, common village or provincial origins, and friendships. Acceptance is based on these claims and on the following customary procedures: the presentation of a tabua, especially in the urban area settlements, and an approach to the turagani-koro and his committee. Such procedures reinforce customary behaviour

in the urban setting, and tend towards ethnic, provincial and familial concentrations (Figures 14.4 - 14.6).

By contrast, Indians cannot rely on their community for assistance, and there is some evidence that squatting is a means of avoiding excessive family demands, especially in mother-in-law relationships. Ethnic clusters among Indians only appear to occur in spontaneous (established at night) settlements such as 'Bangladesh,' as described by Reddy (1976). Recent residents at Muslim League were not Muslim, and what little tendency there may have been for ethnic segregation is broken down by the sale of houses and dwelling additions constructed for renting purposes. Thus, Indian settlements de-segregate more rapidly than Fijian settlements.

#### PROXIMITY TO KIN, AND KIN ECONOMIC EXCHANGES

It was hypothesised (H10) that most squatters (a) show a strong preference to live close to kin and (b) maintain economic exchanges with their kinship group.

Two levels of close relationship were selected to test the first part of this hypothesis. Respondents to the July 1976 Survey were asked whether they would like to have their parents and/or married children live 'with them', close by' or 'elsewhere' (Table 14.4).

More than one-half of the respondents wanted parents and married children to live with them or close by, which supports the first part of the hypothesis. Such a response is important because the opportunities for fulfilment are severely restricted in formal and official housing areas, and the greater residential flexibility possible in squatter areas could well be a reason why some people prefer squatting.

The difference between Fijian and Indian responses merits comment. Fijians were more in favour of proximity to parents than Indians ( $\chi^2 = 22.50$  2df  $p = 0.001$ ) but while most Fijians preferred their children 'close by' most Indians wanted their children to live with them ( $\chi^2 = 18.56$  2df  $p = 0.001$ ). Apart from this difference in the degree of proximity, Fijian and Indian preferences with regard to their children were not significantly different. More Indians, however, preferred close proximity with their children and no proximity with their parents. This is probably accounted for by the mother-in-law syndrome where daughters-in-law are subservient to their husband's mother, sisters and older married daughters-in-law in

Figure 14.4. The Church and Co-operative Store at Malekula.

Close familial ties exist between Fijian extended households at Malekula (See Figure 14.3). The church and co-operative store provide visual evidence of community cohesion.

Figure 14.5 Fijian Renters at Jittu.

Close face-to-face contact with fellow Fijians and mutual help between households is facilitated by the arrangement of dwelling in many Fijian squatter settlements.

Figure 14.6. Indian Family at Deo Dutt. By contrast, this three generation Indian family at Deo Dutt, typical of many squatter households, is dependent on its own resources. The widow was the wife of a rural migrant. The older son, now the household head, supports his mother, wife and child, and his two brothers. One brother is at school, the other is undertaking technical training. Typical Indian relations with neighbours are cordial but distant. Privacy is a high priority. Marked cultural differences between Fiji's ethnic groups are not catered for in the public housing programme.

Photos: The Author, November, 1976.



traditionally-orientated Indian homes.

TABLE 14.4  
SQUATTER PREFERENCES IN KIN RESIDENTIAL PROXIMITY  
(Percentages)

	Live With them	Live Close by	Total	Live Elsewhere	Total %	Total No. <sup>a</sup>
Fijians : parents	35.0	45.8	80.8	19.2	100.0	120
Indians : parents	29.0	22.6	51.6	48.4	100.0	93
Fijians : children	36.0	42.0	78.0	22.0	100.0	100
Indians : children	59.8	15.9	75.7	24.3	100.0	107

Notes : a The difference in the total responses for parents and children is due to some respondents being unable to respond to a hypothetical situation, e.g. a childless household or parents deceased.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

It was considered that attitudes towards residential proximity could diminish with increased exposure to the urban environment. Among Fijians, somewhat fewer Suva-born respondents wanted their parents and their children to live with them, but these differences were not statistically significant. Among Indians, there was no significant difference between Suva-born squatters or migrants for either parents or children. The evidence provides some support for the assumption that the wish for residential proximity to kin is less (though not significantly less) among Suva-born Fijians than migrants, but no support is obtained for the assumption that it declines among migrants with length of urban residence.

The second part of the hypothesis - that squatters maintained kinship economic exchanges - was tested by responses to the question: 'Does your household give any financial or other help to relations, or receive help from them?'

The question of kin exchange, more probable on a regular basis if kin are locally resident, raises two issues strongly debated in the

literature. First, to what extent is this practice a perpetuation of 'rural' (as distinct from 'urban' and 'modern') behaviour? Second, is assistance to kin non-reciprocal, constituting a drain on household resources and an impediment to social mobility for the more enterprising poor? Table 14.5 indicates the extent of kin exchanges and the degree of reciprocity in the five etho-areas.

TABLE 14.5  
KIN ECONOMIC EXCHANGES BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
None	22.6	71.0	14.8	20.6	55.5	43.7
Non-reciprocal: <sup>a</sup>						
excessive demands	28.7	20.2	37.0	50.0	30.0	28.8
excessive receipts	4.4	6.1	11.1	-	7.2	5.5
Reciprocal	44.3	2.7	37.1	29.4	7.3	22.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	115	114	27	34	70	360

Notes: a Giving but not receiving (or receiving but not giving) any financial or other help.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Indians, as expected, were much less involved with kin in economic matters than Fijians ( $\chi^2 = 66.8$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ).

Indications are that assistance to others on a regular basis was confined to helping aged relations and widows, and irregularly on a loan basis for special purposes such as house construction (as in core housing, noted in Chapter 8, at Nadera). The assistance which was given was considered by more respondents to be non-reciprocal and to the economic disadvantage of the donor. Such attitudes, according to informants, are typical of modern Indian society in Fiji in both rural and urban areas.

The Fijian situation was more complex. Reciprocity was closely related to the prevalence of extended households which tend to be longer established households with older household heads. It is probable, therefore, that the differences observed between City Villagers on the one hand, and Fijian Renters and Fijians in the Urban Area on the other hand, was a consequence of household type more than any other

single factor. If this assumption is correct, the lower levels of kin exchange and the more non-reciprocal nature of these exchanges in the two latter areas does not indicate a break from traditional and rural Fijian mores: it is simply a function of the family life cycle.

Among Fijians as a whole, approximately 22 percent did not engage in economic exchanges with kin, 34 percent claimed they gave more than received, 5 percent received more than they gave, and 39 percent considered the exchanges reciprocal. The latter group and those admitting excessive receipts (approximately one-half of CV households) presumably found the relationship balanced or to their advantage. The remainder were more or less equally divided among those who found such relationships an economic disadvantage (at least in the short term) and those who had either avoided or not yet assumed kinship exchange obligations. By contrast, 66 percent of Indians did not engage in economic exchanges with kin, 24 percent claimed they gave more than they received, 7 percent received more than they gave, and only 4 percent considered the exchanges reciprocal.

If kin exchange is essentially a rural custom and inappropriate to living in the city, one may expect to see a decline in the practice with increased urban exposure. Table 14.6 and the subsequent discussion explore this possibility.

Among Fijians, no significant difference in economic relations with kin occurred between migrants as a group and Suva-born respondents, although it should be noted that 27 percent of more established migrants (over ten years in the city) took no part in kin exchanges compared with under 20 percent among recent migrants and Suva-born. Among Indians, kin exchange did not decrease for migrants with regard to the length of urban residence, but 61 percent of all migrants (compared with 79 percent of Suva-born) were not involved in kin exchange. This difference, indicating less participation by those Indians most exposed to urban influences, was significant ( $\chi^2 = 4.64$  ldf  $p = 0.05$ ).

In conclusion, it is apparent that the wish to have parents and/or married children in close residential proximity involved a high proportion of squatter households, and the involvement was not significantly affected by urban exposure. This observation, and the differences noted between Indian and Fijian households, indicates that preferences stem from deep-rooted cultural mores not peculiar to either the rural or urban environment, though the importance of being able to rely on kin may be more evident among the urban poor than other sections of the city



population. Kin economic exchanges were also a common feature of squatter behaviour influenced by cultural mores. Lack of such involvement appears to be more a characteristic of family type than urban exposure but this question needs further consideration.

TABLE 14.6  
KIN ECONOMIC EXCHANGES AND DEGREES OF URBAN EXPERIENCE  
(Percentages)

	Fijian				Indian			
	Migrants <10 years	≥10 years	Suva Born	Total	Migrants <10 years	≥10 years	Suva Born	Total
None	14.6	26.9	17.2	22.1	55.0	66.6	78.7	65.9
Non-reciprocal: <sup>a</sup>								
excessive demands	39.0	34.4	27.6	34.3	30.0	22.7	17.0	23.7
excessive receipts	7.3	3.2	6.9	4.9	6.7	8.0	4.3	6.6
Reciprocal	39.1	35.5	48.3	38.7	8.3	2.7	-	3.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number <sup>b</sup>	41	93	29	163	60	75	47	182

Notes: a For explanation, see note to Table 14.5.

b Fifteen of the 360 respondents in the sample did not respond to the 'length of residence' question.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Most Fijian exchanges were seen to be reciprocal and as such, over time, would be unlikely to constitute a drain on resources or be an impediment to social mobility. It is, however, of interest that over one-fifth of households in the more established areas (City Villagers and FUA) had either not assumed kin obligations or had opted out of them. If this response represents opting out, it is evident that not all Fijians find kin exchanges to their benefit and that they have been successful in avoiding them. For most Fijians, and a not insignificant number of Indians, however, kin exchange appears to be a means of ensuring security in the city just as much as it was in the rural area. For Fijians this practice is not significantly affected by urban exposure, indicating the perpetuation of traditional mores seen to be viable in the city. For the more individualistically orientated Indian squatter, however,

kin exchange appears to diminish with urban exposure, presumably because few households saw the relationship as reciprocal (see also Figure 17.2).

#### SQUATTER PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Suva squatters have been seen (Chapter 9) to be a mobile population, over three-quarters having moved at least once since marriage (Table 9.8) and nearly one-half having moved to squatting from non-squatting areas (Table 9.9). It is assumed, in accordance with migration theory (e.g. Wolpert, 1965), that such moves represent a search for a residential environment which is seen to be a social and/or economic improvement on previous residences.

It was hypothesised (H11) that most squatters perceive the area in which they live as an improvement on their previous place of residence. This has been the finding of at least one overseas study (Laquian, 1972, 50) and, if verified in Suva, has important implications for current housing policy which assumes that the poor both want and need the type of accommodation provided by the Housing Authority. At the same time, it is important to identify the characteristics of squatter areas most liked and disliked by their residents if attempts to upgrade or relocate existing settlements, or to rehouse people in 'instant' housing, is to be successful.

Respondents to the July 1976 Survey were asked whether their present place of residence was better, worse, or the same as the last place in which they lived. The responses (Table 14.7) support overseas findings. An overwhelming majority (80 percent) of squatters stated that they found their current place of residence 'better' than their former place of residence. The finding is significant in all ethno-areas.

Lower positive responses by City Indians and Fijian Renters correspond closely with people in these areas finding less to like and more to dislike in their place of residence (Table 14.8), and reflect, in part, the generally lower level of housing conditions indicated in Chapter 11. Few overseas studies have attempted to ascertain squatter likes and dislikes (Andrews and Phillips, 1971 is a notable exception but cannot be compared directly with the present findings) and no information is available from earlier studies in Fiji. The following discussion is therefore a contribution both to overseas studies and possibly to policy action in Fiji.

TABLE 14.7

PRESENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE COMPARED WITH PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE BY  
BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
Better	89.4	70.2	61.5	93.8	85.3	80.3
Same	8.2	7.7	-	-	8.8	6.7
Worse	2.4	22.1	38.5	6.2	5.9	13.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	85	104	26	32	68	315

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Table 14.8 indicates that proximity to work and services was especially important for those living in the city, and it appeared to be a more important factor for Fijians than Indians. Land and gardening were, as expected, more important for Fijians, and those living in the Urban Area. It was anticipated that Fijians would stress the advantages of the communal features of their settlements, and Indians the degree of privacy. This assumption was partly verified, though a higher proportion of Indians found nothing to like about their areas; few Fijian Renters were attracted to the friendliness of the areas; but a significant number, along with the Indians, valued the privacy. As already indicated, this could be due to the large proportion of 'irregular' marital relations among Fijian Renters. It was also noted that many Fijian Renters could think of nothing they liked in the area, and that many did not intend to stay there permanently (Table 14.9). Renters appear to represent a class of squatters labelled 'economizers' or there by 'taste' (Leeds, 1970, 245 - 246) and, in reference to slum dwellers, 'temporary opportunists' (Seeley, 1973, 242 - 243).<sup>3</sup>

Indians, and Fijian Renters, also expressed the most dissatisfaction about the services provided in the area, while other Fijians were mainly concerned with poor social behaviour generally involving young people (Table 14.8). Indians in the Urban Area were also concerned about the behaviour of Fijian youths. Poor internal pathways and sanitation also came in for much criticism, the latter being of special concern in Indian areas.

TABLE 14.8  
WHAT SQUATTERS LIKED AND DISLIKED MOST ABOUT THEIR AREAS OF RESIDENCE  
BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
LIKED MOST						
Low rent	8.7	22.8	7.4	29.4	32.9	19.7
Proximity to work	31.3	35.1	37.0	20.6	4.3	26.7
Rent and proximity	13.0	5.3	7.4	8.8	2.9	7.8
Land and gardening	6.1	0.9	3.7	14.7	10.0	5.8
All economic factors	78.2	65.9	55.5	82.3	50.1	67.5
Friendly/Social	10.4	12.3	3.7	11.8	10.0	10.5
Privacy	0.9	5.3	18.5	2.9	14.3	6.4
All social factors	11.3	17.6	22.2	14.7	24.3	16.9
Combined reasons	8.7	3.5	-	-	10.0	5.8
Nothing liked	1.8	13.0	22.3	3.0	15.6	9.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
DISLIKED MOST						
Nothing disliked	52.2	21.1	11.1	47.1	18.6	32.2
Transport	10.4 <sup>b</sup>	1.8	7.4	2.9	-	4.7
Pathways	11.3	27.2	37.0	8.8	5.7	16.9
Sanitation	4.3	19.3	18.5	-	57.1	20.0
Social behaviour	17.4	3.5	3.7	32.4	15.8	13.1
House too small	1.7	10.5	11.1	8.8	1.4	5.8
Insecure tenure	1.7	10.5	-	-	1.4	4.2
Combinations	1.0	6.1	11.2	-	-	3.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	115	114	27	34	70	360

Notes: a The questions asked were open-ended. 'What do you like most about this area?' 'What do you like least?'  
b Mainly Valenimanumanu.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

The differences between the five ethno-areas with respect to 'likes,' but more especially 'dislikes,' is sufficiently marked to suggest that a single housing or squatter housing policy may not prove satisfactory. This assertion is further tested below (H13a). With the exception of Fijian Renters, most Fijians expressed a high level of satisfaction with their area. Indeed, the degree of satisfaction (and the low level of dissatisfaction, because a person may be satisfied with some things and not with others), could itself be a cause for concern because such attitudes may not be conducive to the attainment of minimum standards of housing adequacy (Table 11.3). Indian satisfaction was also high but a larger proportion expressed dissatisfaction. Such attitudes, which appeared to be realistic given the conditions noted in Chapter 11, are conducive to the gradual improvement of housing conditions.

In sum, the hypothesis that most squatters perceive the place in which they live to be an improvement on their former place of residence is upheld. Most squatters were satisfied with their area, but many pointed to specific likes and dislikes which appeared to be realistic in light of the conditions noted in Chapter 11. These comments should provide useful guidelines for official policy.

#### RESIDENTIAL INTENTIONS

Given that most squatters perceived their current place of residence as an improvement on former places it follows that many will wish to remain in the areas in which they reside, unless either their circumstances improve (permitting them greater residential choice), or unless they perceive alternative types of accommodation within their financial reach and to their satisfaction. These assumptions were tested via the following hypothesis (H12): Most squatters (a) wish to remain in the area in which they live, and (b) show a marked dislike of Housing Authority accommodation.

Table 14.9 indicates that most respondents expected to remain in the area in which they resided. With the exception of Fijian Renters, Fijians expressed the greatest expectation of staying in the area, and Indians the greatest uncertainty. Indian uncertainty was caused by insecurity (rather than plans to move elsewhere) for all but 2 - 3 percent of those expressing uncertainty also stated that they had 'nowhere else to go.'

TABLE 14.9  
SQUATTERS' RESIDENTIAL INTENTIONS BY ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
Stay in area	58.2	35.3	14.8	67.6	25.7	42.5
Uncertain	34.0	48.5	33.4	3.0	62.8	41.2
Leaving for:						
Housing Authority	1.7	4.6	18.5	5.9	2.9	4.4
Village	3.5	-	22.2	17.6	-	4.4
Rented room(s)	1.7	7.9	11.1	5.9	5.7	5.6
Leaving Fiji	0.9	3.7	-	-	2.9	1.9
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	115	114	27	34	70	360

Source: July 1976 Survey.

While it is clear that most squatters intended to remain in their present areas, a significant number also indicated an intention to leave and gave specific destinations. The intention to return to the village was especially important for Fijian Renters and those in the Urban Area, suggesting that these groups (which had higher proportions of migrants) were not fully committed to urban residence. Small proportions indicated that they intended to leave for Housing Authority areas, and in the case of Fijian Renters (where 19 percent indicated such an intention) most referred to the rental flats, presumably because they could not afford other Housing Authority accommodation.

Respondents were asked whether, if their financial circumstances improved a little in the next few years, they would prefer to obtain a secure lease and loan money to:

- a) Improve things here, or
  - b) Build a house elsewhere, adding to it as they could afford, or
  - c) Purchase a two-bedroom house in a Housing Authority area, or
  - d) Whether they were content with their house and area as it was
- (Table 14.10).

Most respondents were either content or wished to improve their present housing, but over one-third, given better financial circumstances, preferred to start again elsewhere. Attachment to the particular area on this and other subjects was only strongly expressed by City Villagers.

Proximity to work and the satisfaction and security of 'belonging' to a community are the probable reasons, while lack of secure tenure is again the most probable reason for Indian responses.

TABLE 14.10

RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES IF FINANCES IMPROVE BY SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
Contented	8.7	15.8	7.4	14.7	11.4	11.9
Improve things here	67.8	26.3	22.2	38.2	47.1	44.4
Improve elsewhere	16.5	34.2	48.1	32.4	34.3	29.4
Housing Authority	1.7	21.9	18.5	14.7	7.2	11.7
Not stated	5.3	1.8	3.8	-	-	2.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	115	114	27	34	70	360

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Respondents were asked whether they preferred to live in a Housing Authority house or flat or a private rental house or flat. They were also asked to state the reason for their decision. The low response favouring Housing Authority accommodation, together with Table 14.10, support the second part of the hypothesis: squatters showed a marked dislike for Housing Authority accommodation (Table 14.11).

On balance, most squatters preferred to remain where they were rather than move into Housing Authority accommodation or any other area. The impression that comes through most strongly is the desire by squatters to own their own house. If the Authority can supply this, at terms within the financial reach of squatters, it seems that a significant number would opt for the security and better facilities of Housing Authority areas, even if this meant overlooking other objections and forsaking the things in the squatter areas they claimed to like. It should, however, be noted that security and improved facilities could also be made available to many squatters without moving them from the areas in which they now live.<sup>4</sup> Given existing conditions, most squatters preferred to remain where they were, and did not favour Housing Authority accommodation. The hypothesis that most squatters wish to

remain in the areas in which they reside, and show a marked dislike for Housing Authority accommodation is upheld.

TABLE 14.11

SQUATTER ATTITUDES TO HOUSING AUTHORITY ACCOMMODATION BY ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	CV	CI	FR	FUA	IUA	Total
Prefer Housing Authority to renting because:						
Secure	5.2	17.5	11.1	11.8	7.1	10.6
Facilities	8.7	5.3	11.1	2.9	2.9	6.1
Have applied	1.7	1.8	-	-	1.4	1.4
Unspecified	0.9	5.3	3.7	2.9	-	2.5
Total Housing Auth.	16.5	29.9	25.9	17.6	11.4	20.6
Prefer renting or squatting to Housing Authority because:						
Can't afford H.A.	13.0	12.3	14.8	-	22.9	13.6
Bad reputation	2.6	0.9	-	20.6	4.3	3.9
Too crowded	7.0	18.4	3.7	14.7	27.1	15.0
Want own house	38.2	35.9	51.9	35.3	22.8	35.3
Unspecified	22.7	2.6	3.7	11.8	11.5	11.6
Total not H.A.	83.5	70.1	74.1	82.4	88.6	79.4
Grand total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	115	114	27	34	70	360

Source: July 1976 Survey.

#### FIJIAN AND INDIAN DIFFERENCES

It has been observed that a single housing policy may not be appropriate in Fiji because Fijians and Indians (and possibly other ethnic groups and groups resident in the city for different periods) may have different housing preferences and priorities. Several such assumptions have been discussed and tested en passant. To test the assumptions further, it was hypothesised (H13) that levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction within the area of residence vary with (a) ethnicity and (b) urban experience.



Table 14.12 shows that Fijians expressed significantly more satisfaction and less dissatisfaction than Indians. Only 5 percent of Fijians could find nothing to like (Indians 14 percent) and 43 percent found nothing to dislike (Indians 20 percent) about the areas in which they lived. These differences were highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 25.32$  1df  $p = 0.001$  for 'nothing liked' or dissatisfaction, and  $\chi^2 = 8.31$  1df  $p = 0.01$  for 'nothing disliked' or satisfaction). It seems likely that higher levels of satisfaction expressed by Fijians stem at least partly from a cultural bias which denigrates complaint by individuals; partly from a facility to accept lower standards; and also possibly because, in some particulars, Fijian dwellings had better facilities (for example, sanitation, Table 11.3).

Differences over time spent in the city, however, were not so clearly marked. Least satisfaction occurred with recent migrants for both Fijians (34 percent) and Indians (13 percent), and increasing satisfaction occurred with extended residence, Suva-born being the most satisfied (Fijians 55 percent; Indians 34 percent). While these differences were only significant for Indians ( $\chi^2 = 8.39$  3df  $p = 0.05$ ), a comparison of migrants as a whole with Suva-born squatters produced a highly significant difference for Indians ( $\chi^2 = 8.11$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ) and was suggestive for Fijians ( $\chi^2 = 3.63$  1df  $p = 0.10$ ).

A similar pattern emerged with regard to 'nothing liked' or dissatisfaction for migrants compared with Suva-born, but the difference was only significant for Fijians ( $\chi^2 = 4.51$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ). Some measure of support is therefore provided for the second part of the hypothesis that levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction vary with increased urban experience. Indian satisfaction increased and Fijian dissatisfaction decreased significantly, but the increase in Fijian satisfaction and the decrease of dissatisfaction among Indians were not statistically significant.

It has been noted that the type of satisfaction and dissatisfaction also varied with ethnicity. This was found to be highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 41.91$  4df  $p = 0.001$ ). Indians were much more concerned about sanitation (44 percent of all complaints) and security (9 percent), while Fijians complained mainly about pathways and transport (45 percent of all complaints) and social behaviour (32 percent). Differences in the type of dissatisfaction, however, were not found to differ significantly with increased urban residence (Table 14.12). The decrease in dissatisfaction concerning the small size of dwellings among Fijians and poor sanitation among Indians (both factors which could be improved

TABLE 14.12

TYPES OF SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION: FIJIANS AND INDIANS, AND MIGRANT AND SUVA-BORN COMPARED  
(Percentages)

LIKED MOST <sup>a</sup>	Nothing	Low Rent	Proximity	Rent and Proximity	Land and Agriculture	Combinations	Economic Totals	Social	Totals
Fijians (176)	5.1	12.5	30.1	11.4	7.4	14.2	75.6	19.3	100.0
Indians (184)	14.1	26.6	23.4	4.3	4.3	1.1	59.8	26.1	100.0
Fijian Migrants:									
under 10 years (41)	12.1	19.5	19.5	14.6	12.2	12.2	78.0	9.8	100.0
10-19 years (42)	4.8	19.0	38.1	7.1	2.4	11.9	78.5	16.7	100.0
20 years and over (51)	2.0	7.8	33.3	5.9	7.8	15.7	70.6	27.4	100.0
Suva-born (29)	3.4	3.4	34.5	17.2	3.4	17.2	75.9	20.7	100.0
Indian Migrants:									
under 10 years (60)	16.7	25.0	15.0	8.3	8.3	-	56.7	26.7	100.0
10-19 years (35)	8.6	40.0	17.1	-	-	2.9	60.0	31.4	100.0
20 years and over (40)	15.0	20.0	35.0	2.5	5.0	2.5	65.0	20.0	100.0
Suva-born (47)	14.9	25.5	27.7	4.3	2.1	-	59.6	25.5	100.0
LIKED LEAST <sup>a</sup>	Nothing	Transport Paths	Sanitation	Other <sup>b</sup>	Social	Too Small	Security	Totals	
Fijians (162)	42.6	25.3	6.2	1.9	17.9	4.9	1.2	100.0	
Indians (180)	20.0	20.6	33.9	2.8	8.3	7.2	7.2	100.0	
Fijian Migrants:									
under 10 years (40)	35.0	22.5	7.5	2.5	17.5	15.0	-	100.0	
10-19 years (42)	42.8	28.6	7.1	2.4	11.9	4.8	2.4	100.0	
20 years and over (51)	41.2	27.5	5.9	-	23.5	-	1.9	100.0	
Suva-born (29)	55.3	20.7	3.4	3.4	17.2	-	-	100.0	
Indian Migrants:									
under 10 years (59)	13.5	23.7	37.3	3.4	6.8	8.5	6.8	100.0	
10-19 years (34)	14.7	20.6	44.1	5.9	5.9	-	8.8	100.0	
20 years and over (40)	17.5	22.5	30.0	2.5	10.0	10.0	7.5	100.0	
Suva-born (47)	34.1	14.9	25.5	-	10.6	8.5	6.4	100.0	

Notes: N is shown in parenthesis. a The questions asked were open-ended. b Includes combinations of transport, paths and sanitation.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

with prolonged residence), however, is suggestive of improvement over time, but the sample numbers were too small to test the significance of this observation.

Fijian and Indian levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction (indicative of the quality of housing and the residential environment they would prefer), their motivation to achieve minimal standards of adequate housing (Chapter 11), and their priorities on desired housing and residential attributes, are sufficiently different to support the contention that a single housing policy for all races in Fiji may prove to be an expensive compromise. What is needed is a policy which is at once equal and different - a most difficult task to achieve.

## CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, it is difficult to know how much reliance to place on preferences, choices and intentions obtained in a single interview situation. Human decisions are notoriously complex, and recalled decisions and intentions which have not been recently considered may provide imprecise measures of both past and intended behaviour. It should also be recalled that the opinions were those of the wife of the household head and may not entirely reflect those of the head whose perceptions are often more important in decision-making situations. Notwithstanding these reservations, the results obtained revealed some major differences between Fijians and Indians, between ethno-areas, and between migrants and Suva-born migrants. The broad patterns which emerge - the importance of economic and social factors in evaluating the residential environment and in attitudes towards alternative accommodation, the areas of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and the overall acceptance (if not contentment) with their residential environment - are important considerations in the development of squatting and housing policy. In the main they support the proposition that squatters are generally satisfied with the residential environment in which they live, and to this extent, from the squatters' viewpoint, squatting provides a reasonably satisfactory social environment. However, it should be recalled that 'satisfaction' means that squatters, given the choices available to them as a section of the urban poor, prefer (or are satisfied with) squatting. Such a conclusion should not be used as an excuse for official inaction. Given wider choices, it is reasonable to assume the poor would welcome the material and aesthetic comforts now enjoyed by the rich.

## FOOTNOTES

1 Further explanation is provided in a note to Table 14.1. The concept, use and shortcomings of the index of dissimilarity are discussed in Taeuber and Taeuber (1965) and Timms (1965).

2 The work by Baba and Uluiciciya was undertaken as part of course work conducted by the present writer at the University of the South Pacific. Figures 14.2 and 14.3 are based on their work.

3 Elements of 'taste' and 'economizing' appear likely in squatter renter behaviour. An example of 'taste' is: 'He can enjoy his common-law marriage to his second wife in peace without social censure' (Leeds and Leeds, 1970, 244). An 'economizer' has 'stable but limited resources' (Leeds and Leeds, 1970, 243).

4 For example, parts of Nauluvatu and Valenimanumanu were being upgraded with official support in 1976, and the Housing Authority had considered similar developments at Jittu.

## CHAPTER 15

### SQUATTERS AND MODERNIZATION

PROPOSITION 3. Squatters exhibit patterns of behaviour which may be considered both urban and modern, and households which display such characteristics will also display evidence of success in the city.

Terms such as 'urbanism,' 'modernization,' and 'integration' have been used almost synonymously in much of the writings on the Third World, and it is not the task of the present writer to attempt their disentanglement. In this exercise the term 'modernization' is used as a label for that configuration of attitudes and behaviour which has been shown to be different from (though not necessarily antithetical to) rural and traditional behaviour, and which is assumed to be consistent with integration in the city.

The main concern here is not with the restraints imposed by the external environment on squatter integration and mobility, but with differences in behaviour between different groups of squatters, and differences between squatter behaviour and that of other low-income groups. Material manifestations of modernization, more generally the concern of geographers (e.g. Leinbach, 1970; Lo, 1976; Soja, 1968) and the possession of material attributes assumed to indicate behavioural change attendant on their possession (e.g. Curson, 1973; Timms, 1970) are not discussed. Modernization indices are used as the dependent variable where groups of squatters (e.g. migrants and non-migrants or squatters and non-squatters) are compared; elsewhere modernization is the independent variable and indices of 'success' in the city such as economic status and home improvement are the dependent variables. The crux of the issue is: is squatter behaviour conducive to success in the city? Which squatters are more modern and successful? Are squatters any less modern or successful than other low-income groups?

#### INDICES OF MODERNIZATION

##### 1) Fertility

The inhibiting effect of urbanization (and modernization) on fertility is well documented, many studies having shown lower levels of fertility for urban women and rural-urban migrants compared with rural women (Caldwell, 1968; Goldstein 1973; Miro and Mertens, 1968;

Ritchy and Stokes, 1972). Comparable data on Fiji are limited but Walsh (1976b), in an analysis of 1966 census data, found that there were significantly more unmarried women among Suva-born and Suva migrants; that there was a later age at the birth of the first child for Fijian migrants (but not Suva-born) and for both Indian Suva-born and migrant women; and fewer children for all urban groups compared to rural women. Yee and Narain (1976), in a survey directed by the writer, also noted similar significant differences between Fijian and Indian urban and rural women in Nadi. Age at the birth of the first child and the number of children are two indices of modernization derived from the 1976 Census Schedules used in the present work.<sup>1</sup>

Urban residents have also been shown to plan their families more than rural residents in a number of countries (e.g. David and Sung Jin Lee, 1974, for Asia), and similar results were obtained in the Nadi study (Yee and Narain, 1976). Family planning is used as another index of modernization, data having been obtained from the July 1976 Survey.

The possibility that urbanization itself is not the basic cause of lower fertility (Beyer, 1967, 314) but rather certain attributes of urbanization which may not be shared equally by all urban dwellers such as education, higher socio-economic status, and the proportion of working wives (David and Sung Jin Lee, 1974, 3, 10) is not a matter of great concern. It will, however, be important to see whether or not squatters, who are assumed to be of lower education and socio-economic status than others in the city, display evidence of modern fertility behaviour.

## 2) Participation Indices of Modernization : Voting and Clubs

Participation in social activities beyond the family is assumed by some writers (e.g. Wirth, 1938, and his successors) to be more typical of urban than rural populations, although the classical rural-urban dichotomy is not supported by evidence in Cairo (Abu-Lughod, 1972, 377) and other Third World cities (Breese, 1966, 98; Ginsberg, 1972, 275) due apparently to the continual 'ruralisation' of cities by rural-urban migration. Such evidence, however, does not invalidate the shift from a narrower focus on 'the homogeneous peer group [in the rural areas] to the diversified reference groups of the city' (Abu-Lughod, 1972, 377), and both participation in voting (Bonilla, 1970, 84) and membership of clubs (Doughty, 1970, 30 - 46) have been used as indices of urban involvement. No comparable studies have been conducted in Fiji, although Watters (1969) deals with aspects of social change in

rural areas.

### 3) Deferment of immediate gratification and aspirations for social mobility.

Deferment of gratification and the desire for social mobility have also been used as indices of typical urban behaviour, and reference to such work has been considered in Chapter 5.

Three indices of potential mobility are used in this study and incorporated in a modernization scale: education of household head, educational and job aspirations for children. Higher education, as noted above, is more typical of urban than rural populations and appears to be strongly related to modern behaviour. High educational and job aspirations for children have also been considered to typify urban behaviour, although as several writers have observed the aspirations of the poor often exceed likely achievement (Breese, 1966, 99; Mangin, 1970, 27). High aspirations are taken in this study as a desire for social mobility typical of modern and urban behaviour.

The desire to save is also considered modern and urban, but as the facility to save is affected by income, savings more appropriately belong with the dependent variable 'success,' and not with modernization as an independent variable.

The foregoing indicates that there is justification for using the variables selected as indices of urban and modern behaviour. This chapter explores the relationship between modernization (as an independent variable) and economic and educational status, home improvement and dissatisfaction with squatter facilities, which are taken to represent 'success' in the city.

The first hypothesis (H15) is tested by means of indices of fertility taken from the 1976 Census Schedules to compare levels of modernization among squatter and non-squatter women. The remaining hypotheses use scales constructed from items mainly obtained in the July 1976 Survey to represent: modernization, economic and educational success, home improvement, and dissatisfaction with squatter facilities.

The merits and demerits of scale construction have been considered in Chapter 1 and need not be repeated here. Six items were finally selected to represent modernization following an item-scale analysis in which each item and the scale were dichotomised to produce high and low value responses, a procedure also explained more fully in Chapter 1.

The six items, with low values shown in parenthesis, were:

- 1) Education of household head (no education and lower primary).
- 2) Educational aspirations for children (below upper secondary).
- 3) Job expectations for children (skilled and below).
- 4) Family planning (did not plan family or no tubectomy operation).
- 5) Voting (did not vote in the 1970 elections or intend to vote in the 1976 election; or, if too young to vote in 1970, did not intent to vote in 1976).
- 6) Club membership (no member of the household belonged to any club).

The correlations obtained for four items were highly significant for both chi-square and Kendall's tau (r) tests, and significant for chi-square and highly significant for Kendall's tau for the remaining two items. Use of the scale to represent modernization seems therefore to have both theoretical and statistical justification. The items and correlations are shown in Figure 15.1.

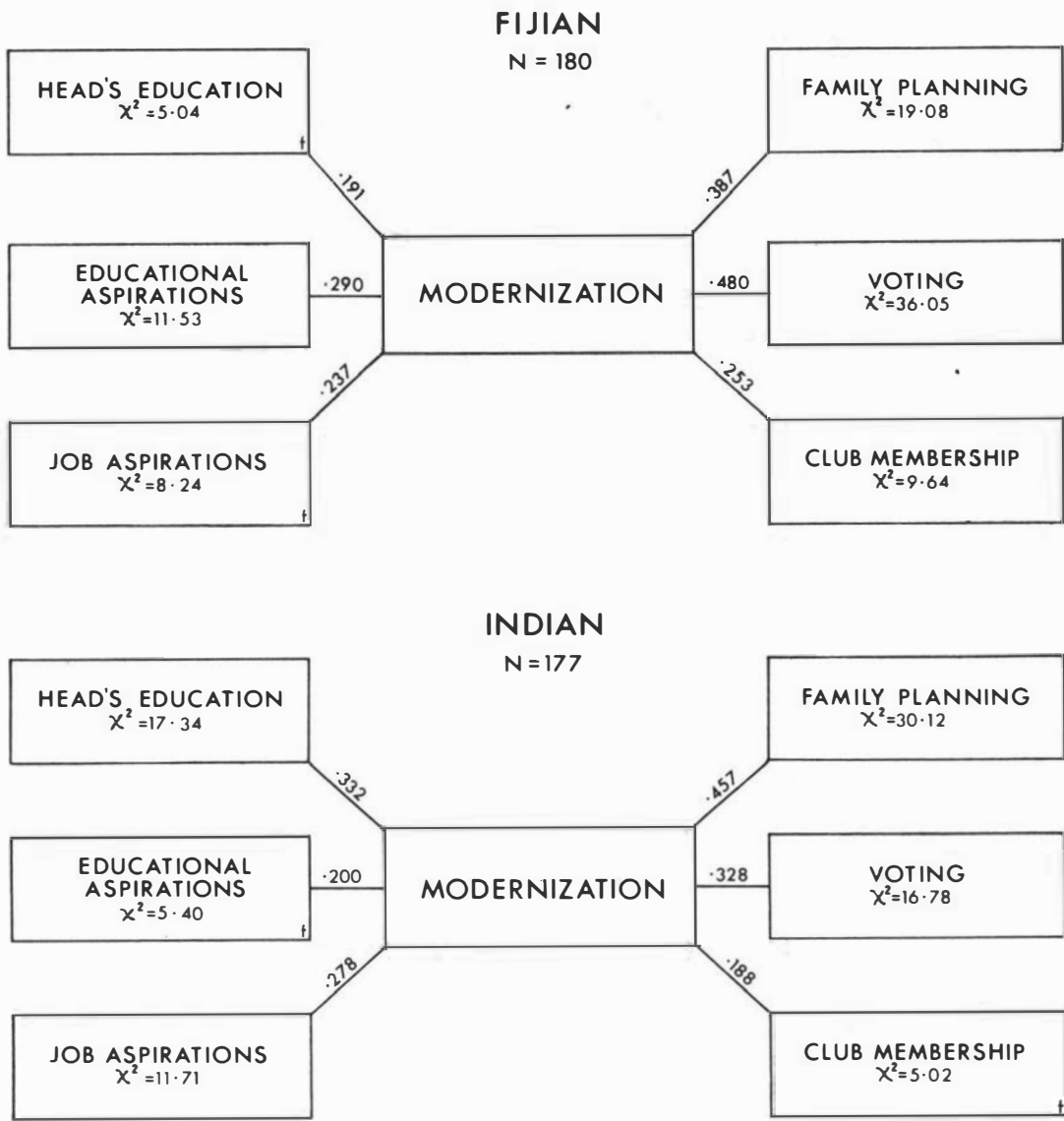
The combined items produced a 12 point scale with possible scores on each item ranging from 0 to 2; low modernizers (LM) were defined as those scoring under eight for Indians and under nine for Fijians, the different cutting point being necessary to obtain sufficient numbers in both categories where two variables were under consideration.<sup>2</sup>

#### SQUATTER AND NON-SQUATTER FERTILITY

Discussion in Chapter 9 has indicated individual differences between squatter and non-squatter areas. The question here is to determine whether squatters as a group display different levels of modernization according to fertility indices from other low-income people also treated as a group. It was hypothesised (H14) that squatters do not show evidence of lower levels of modernization than other low-income people.

Although the mean age of Fijian squatter women at the birth of their first child was not significantly younger than Fijian control women ( $\bar{x}$  20.99, S.E. 0.20 compared with  $\bar{x}$  21.42, S.E. 0.25), significantly more Fijian squatters had their first child when they were under 20 years of age (Figure 15.2). This could suggest that squatter women, due to earlier first conception would also have more children. However, Fijian squatter women had fewer children, and the difference was significant both with regard to the mean number of children ( $\bar{x}$  3.71, S.E. 0.13 compared with  $\bar{x}$  4.21, S.E. 0.24 for control women)





**FIGURE 15.1** Item-Scale Correlations of Modernization. Kendall's  $r$   $p = 0.01$ .  $r$  ignores sample error. Chi square 1df  $p = 0.01$  except where noted by an  $t$  when  $p = 0.05$ .  
Source: July 1976 Survey.

and the proportion of women with less than four children (Figure 15.2). It is unlikely that dissimilarities in the mean age of squatter and control women (Table 15.2) is an adequate explanation of the difference.

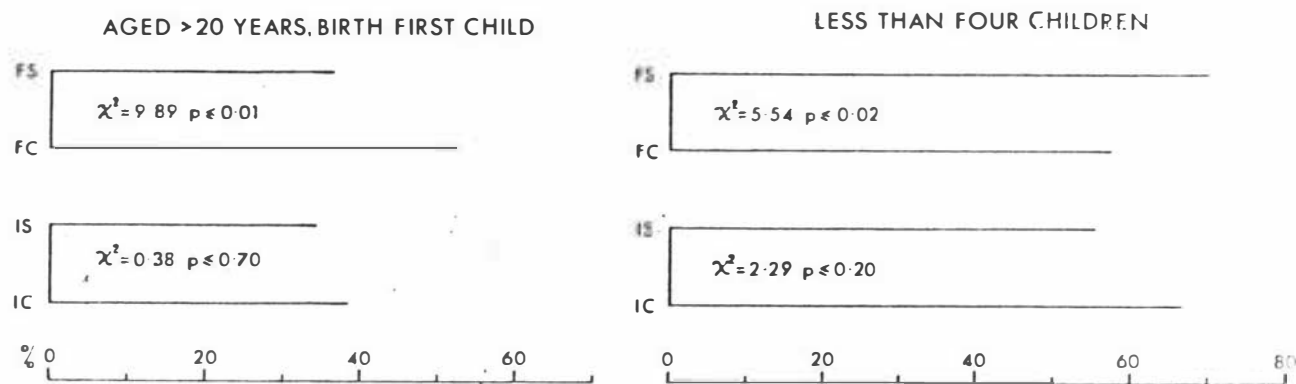


FIGURE 15.2 Squatter and Control Fertility Indices.

	Fijian Squatter	Fijian Control	Indian Squatter	Indian Control
Number	382	125	330	54
$\bar{x}$ age birth first child	20.99	21.42	19.93	20.82
S.E.	0.20	0.25	0.19	0.57
$\bar{x}$ live births	3.71	4.21	4.47	4.00
S.E.	0.13	0.24	0.15	0.34

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

Women in Indian squatter areas were significantly younger at the birth of their first child than control women ( $\bar{x}$  19.93, S.E. 0.19 compared with  $\bar{x}$  20.82, S.E. 0.57) but the proportion having their first child under 21 years was not significantly different. Indian squatters also had a significantly higher mean number of children than control women ( $\bar{x}$  4.47, S.E. 0.15, compared with  $\bar{x}$  4.00, S.E. 0.34 for control) but the difference in proportions was not significant.

Thus, assuming that fertility indices are valid indices of modernization, Fijian squatters are seen likely to be less modern with respect to younger age at the birth of the first child and more modern in having fewer children. Indian squatters are less modern with respect to the mean of both indices, but not significantly different in the proportion having their first child under 21 years of age or in having under four children.

In Chapter 9, a higher proportion of squatter households were shown to have more 'normal' marital arrangements than households in a number of other low-income areas where separation from spouse (through divorce, widowhood, separation and unexplained absence) were more common. If Indian squatters are less 'modern' as the means (but not the proportions) indicate, the explanation probably lies in 'normal' marital arrangements more typical of squatter areas.

If the two indices of fertility behaviour are combined to produce four categories assumed to represent a progression from most modern to least modern, the evidence favours a higher level of modernization (at least for Fijians) among squatters. These differences are shown in Table 15.1 for Fijians and are highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 15.64$  3df  $p = 0.01$ ). No significant difference was found between the Indian squatter and control groups, although the pattern was similar to that of the Fijian.

TABLE 15.1

AGE AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN : FIJIAN SQUATTER AND CONTROL COMPARED

Category	Age at birth of first child a	Number of children b	Squatter %	Control %	Difference squatter and control % c
1	old	few	25.9	30.4	- 4.5
2	young	few	43.2	27.2	+ 16.0
3	old	many	11.0	22.4	+ 11.4
4	young	many	19.9	20.0	+ 0.1
Total %			100.0	100.0	
Number			383	125	

Notes:

a Young = under 21 years; old = 21 years and over

b Few = under 4 children; many = 4 or more children.

c Negative sign indicates control more 'modern,' positive sign indicates squatters more 'modern,' on the assumption of a modern to non-modern progression from categories 1 to 4.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

Table 15.1 shows that Fijian squatters were underrepresented in most modern category (old at birth of first child, few children) but in all other categories squatters were the most modern. Expressed somewhat

differently, 4.5 percent of Fijian control women (the difference between squatters and control in category 1) were more modern than Fijian squatter women, but 27.5 percent of Fijian squatters (the sum of the difference in the remaining categories) were more modern than the control women. Only with respect to one category, representing 30.4 percent of control women and 25.9 percent of squatter women, were control women more modern.

The evidence overall is inconclusive. Some evidence points to squatter women being more modern than women in other low-income areas, and some evidence shows squatter women as less modern. In the absence of firm directional evidence, the hypothesis is retained. Squatters do not show evidence of lower levels of modernization, with respect to fertility behaviour, than other low-income people.

#### MODERNIZATION AND ECONOMIC SUCCESS

It was hypothesised (H15) that modernization is positively correlated with economic success, the assumption being that those displaying modern, urban behaviour would be at an advantage in the job market compared with those with less modern and urban behaviour.

Three measures were used to test the hypothesis:

1) The modernization scale from the July 1976 Survey was dichotomised to produce high and low modernizers, and compared with a 9 point economic success scale which was also dichotomised to produce high and low achievers on the basis of occupational status. The high proportion of Indians who classified themselves as 'skilled' necessitated different cutting points for Indians (0 - 4, low) and Fijians (0 - 5, low). Direct comparison between Fijians and Indians is therefore not possible with this measure at this stage.

2) The separate fertility indices (fewer children, older age at birth of first child) from the 1976 Census Schedules were compared with economic success represented by household heads who were at least skilled workers. All scales were dichotomised to produce high and low modernizers, and high and low achievers.

3) Education of the household head was also taken as an index of potential economic success. A high achiever on this scale had some secondary education or better. The scale was compared with the fertility

indices from the 1976 Census Schedules. For all three of the above measures, modernization comprised the independent variable, and measures of 'success' the dependent variable.

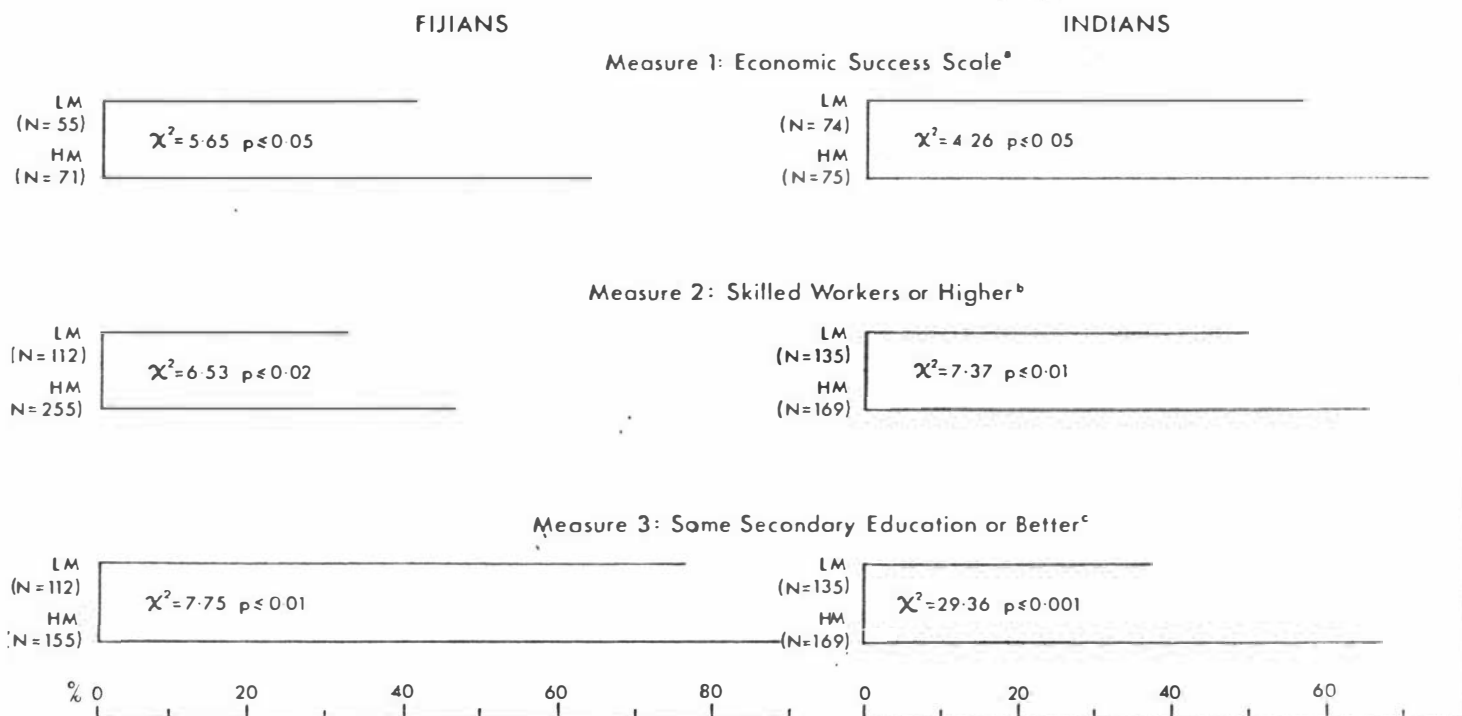


FIGURE 15.3 Modernization and 'Success.'

- a Modernization = modernization scale; economic success = high occupational status.
- b Modern = under 4 live births; economic success = skilled worker.
- c Modern = under 4 live births; educational success = some secondary education.

Chi square 1df. LM = Low Modernizers; HM = High Modernizers. N is indicated in parenthesis. Source: a July 1976 Survey; b and c 1976 Census Schedules.

Figure 15.3 shows that two indices of modernization (the modernization scale and fewer children) were significantly related to squatter success (the economic success scale, skilled workers, and secondary education) for both Fijian and Indian squatters. The hypothesis is upheld. Squatter modernization is positively correlated with economic and educational success on two of the three modernization indices used. The third index (age at the birth of the first child) also showed a positive correlation with economic and educational success, but not at the 0.05 level.

Modernization and success were also positively correlated among the control populations, the most significant relationships being between Fijian age at the birth of the first child and economic success

( $\chi^2 = 5.37$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ) and fewer children among Indians and educational success ( $\chi^2 = 7.34$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ). All other indices were positively correlated, but none was statistically significant.

Overall, the results show deficiencies in the indices used, single indices being especially prone to error due to random variables. Sample sizes were also too small to permit age-specific testing in most cases. Despite these design imperfections, the evidence is sufficiently strong to uphold the hypothesis for both squatter and control groups on most indices.

## MODERNIZATION AND HOUSING

If there is a configuration of modern attitudes which result in self-improving behaviour, it follows that the house could be among the first places where such attitudes would be materially evident. Thus, although modernizers may not have had the time or opportunity to improve their economic position substantially, the more piecemeal improvements possible in housing may provide evidence of their urban and modern behaviour.

This assumption is tested via hypothesis (H16) that there is a positive correlation between modernization and home improvement. In the test, modernization is represented by the modernization scale and 'home improvement' by two scales, house adequacy and home improvement, derived from the July 1976 Survey.

House adequacy is a 0 - 9 point scale comprising housing attributes which were shown to be significantly related in Chapter 11. One point was allocated for each attribute, and the scale was dichotomised to produce low scorers with 0 - 3 points and high scorers with four or more points. Unlike the housing adequacy scale which is objective (at least to the extent to which it is independent of respondents' opinions), the home improvement scale relies on past and intended improvements claimed by respondents. The magnitude of improvements was subjectively assessed by the writer. The scale had a range of 0 - 6 points which were dichotomised between 1 and 2 points for Fijians and 2 and 3 points for Indians. Different cutting points were necessary to obtain sufficient numbers in all cells. As a consequence, Fijian and Indian home improvement cannot be directly compared at this stage.

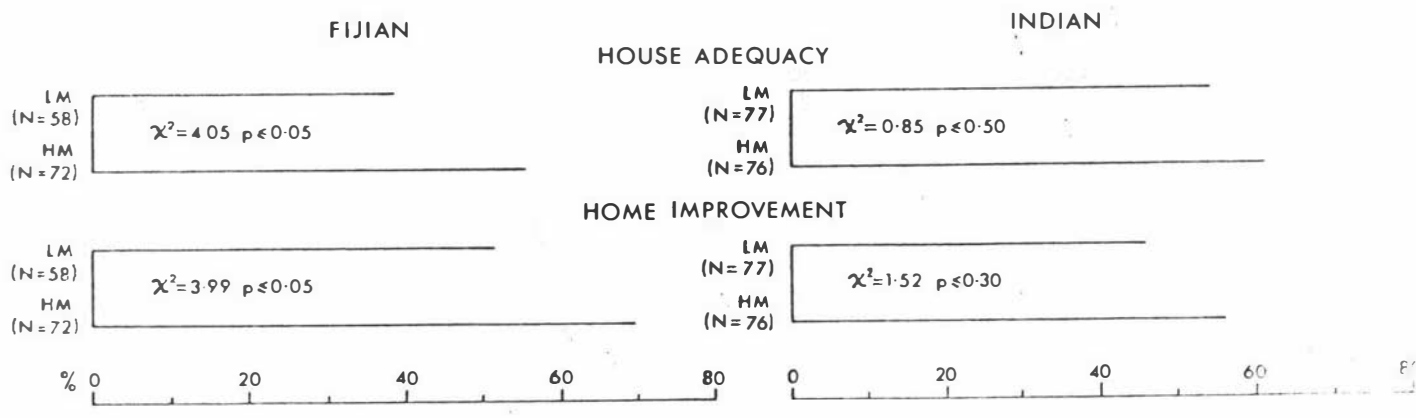


FIGURE 15.4 Modernization and Housing. Chi square 1df. Fijian and Indian responses on the Home Improvement scale are not directly comparable. LM = Low Modernizers, HM = High Modernizers. N is indicated in parenthesis. Source: July 1976 Survey.

Figure 15.4 indicates that modernization was positively related to house adequacy and home improvement for both Fijian and Indian squatters, but was only statistically significant for Fijians. The hypothesis is therefore upheld for Fijians, and found inconclusive for Indians. This result suggests that while behaviour deemed modern and urban is important for improvements to Fijian housing (indicating that low modernizers may need special inducements to maintain and improve their housing), such inducements may be less necessary for Indians. Overall, 58 percent of Indian houses were considered adequate compared with only 48 percent of Fijian houses ( $\chi^2 = 3.13$  1df  $p = 0.10$ ), and, using the same cutting point for Fijians and Indians, 52 percent of Indians had improved their homes compared with only 38 percent of Fijians ( $\chi^2 = 5.31$  1 df  $p = 0.05$ ).

The cause of these differences appears to stem from cultural attitudes to housing. Fijians regard their houses as places to be used, while Indians are more conscious of their monetary value. It is important to note, in this context, that a Marxist objection to Turner's view of squatter housing distinguished between use-value and exchange-value (Burgess, 1977). This distinction appears valid for Indians and invalid for Fijians. The objection is important, especially if squatters are given secure tenure which would add exchange-value to their houses. Further research may indicate the extent to which Fijian high modernizers

have already shifted from a concern with use-value (typical of Fijian society) to exchange-value, and how such a change may have affected their assessment of priorities with regard to house adequacy and home improvement. The more secure Fijian households at Valenimanumanu and Vunivau would be suitable respondents.

#### MODERNIZATION AND DISSATISFACTION WITH SQUATTER SERVICES

It was hypothesised (H17) that most dissatisfaction with services [such as sanitation, pathways, and neighbours] in squatter areas is expressed by high modernizers, the assumption being that a healthy measure of discontent is essential to the desire for self-improvement presumed to be typical of the modernizer.

Respondents were divided into high modernizers and low modernizers as explained above. Dissatisfaction was a 0 - 5 point scale produced from responses to three questions in the July 1976 Survey: whether the area was better or worse than the previous area of residence, stated likes, and stated dislikes about the area in which respondents lived. A low score indicated satisfaction and a high score dissatisfaction. Due to a much higher level of satisfaction among Fijians, two different cutting points were again used, between 3 and 4 for Fijians and between 2 and 3 for Indians. Direct comparison between the two populations is therefore not possible at this stage.

Among Fijians, 62.5 percent of high modernizers compared with 53.4 percent of low modernizers were considered dissatisfied on the scale used; among Indians 30.3 percent of high modernizers were dissatisfied and 27.3 percent of low modernizers. The trend, then, was towards greater dissatisfaction for high modernizers, but as neither result was significant the hypothesis cannot be upheld.

#### MODERNIZATION AND URBAN EXPERIENCE

If the city per se has a modernizing influence on its residents, one would expect to see a positive relationship between length of urban residence and modernization unless, as has been argued in the case of squatters and other sections of the urban poor, they are in some way excluded from the modernizing influences of the city. Three causes of exclusion have been identified in the literature. First, it has been argued that the squatter



environment is socially undesirable in that it excludes squatters from exposure to modernizing influences (Beyer, 1967). Second, that the rate of migration in Third World cities leads to their ruralisation (Abu-Lughod, 1972; McGee, 1971, 35 - 63) and that as a consequence the migrant adapts to the city without being integrated (Germani, 1967). Last, that the nature of development in the Third World city excludes the poor from the benefit of modernization (Friedmann and Wulff, 1975). All three possible causes of exclusion have been considered in relevant sections, and need not be further considered here.<sup>3</sup> None, however, should detract from comparisons which concern squatters alone.

It was hypothesised (H18) that modern behaviour increases with urban experience. In testing the hypothesis, urban experience was taken to be represented by length of urban residence. Three categories were established: recent migrants or RM (under ten years for the modernization scale, and since Fiji Independence in 1970 on the other scales); longer resident migrants or LM; and Suva-born or SB. It has been noted that the two fertility indices of modernization could be subject to age bias, the mean age of squatter RM being significantly younger than LM and SB. Less age difference, however, was evident among control wives (Table 15.2).

TABLE 15.2

MEAN AGE OF WIVES BY LENGTH OF URBAN RESIDENCE: SQUATTERS AND CONTROL COMPARED

	Recent <sup>a</sup>		(Years)		Total Migrants		Suva-born		Total
	$\bar{x}$	S.E.	$\bar{x}$	S.E.	$\bar{x}$	S.E.	$\bar{x}$	S.E.	
Fijian Squatters	28.74	1.27	37.01	0.82	35.06	0.62	34.72	1.88	33.74
Fijian Control	37.96	2.37	37.65	1.35	38.22	1.11	35.80	2.55	37.58
Indian Squatters	31.09	1.30	37.18	1.11	35.57	0.73	35.73	0.99	34.48
Indian Control	34.89	3.41	33.00	2.70	37.23	1.99	35.73	0.99	34.48

Notes: a Arrived in Suva after Fiji Independence Day, 10 October, 1970.

b Arrived in Suva before Fiji Independence Day, 10 October, 1970.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

The modernization scale, being composed of items which do not favour greater participation by the younger or the older age group, is less likely to be affected by age bias, but as an additional check (and because the items represent different facets of modernization) each item on the scale was also considered separately. None of the scales produced cells of sufficient size to permit more than a perfunctory age-specific analysis.

The results offer little support for the view that modernization increases with urban experience (even after due allowance has been made for age bias) and differences at the prescribed level of significance were only obtained on four of the eighteen measures.<sup>4</sup> Significantly fewer Indian RM had had their first child at 21 years or over (37.7 percent RM; 65 percent LM; 58.3 percent SB.  $\chi^2 = 8.57$  2df  $p = 0.05$ ) and significantly more Fijian RM had under four children (79.9 percent RM; 61.2 percent LM; 66.7 percent SB.  $\chi^2 = 13.78$  2df  $p = 0.01$ ). Both these results were probably due to the younger age of recent migrants (Table 15.2). However, SB Indians were significantly less modern on the modernization scale than Indian migrants (38.1 percent and 58.9 percent  $\chi^2 = 4.19$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ) and tended to be less modern on most of the modernization items. The only significant difference for Fijians was with club membership (31.7 percent RM; 54.8 percent LM; 44.8 percent SB.  $\chi^2 = 6.13$  2df  $p = 0.05$ ) but less involvement by recent migrants could be due to smaller household size. On most indices, however, there was a tendency for migrants of longer residence to be more modern than both RM and Suva-born. Three of the significant indices, and eight of the eighteen indices used, showed a trend in this direction.<sup>5</sup> Differences in age could be the main factor causing differences between RM and LM, but are unlikely to be the main cause of differences between LM and SB, their mean ages being more alike. Neither are such indices as educational aspirations, club membership, voting and family planning (on which SB Fijians and Indians were less modern than LM) likely to be affected by age. While few of these differences were significant, the impression is that Suva-born squatters could be less modern than migrants, especially those who had been in the city for some years. The question of whether migrants or city-born squatters are more modern is of vital importance, but little in the Suva data offers firm support for either view. The hypothesis that modernization increases with urban experience cannot be upheld.

## MODERNIZATION, SUCCESS AND ETHNICITY

Modernization, however defined in terms of behaviour, is prone to cultural influences which are likely to be especially marked in a plural society such as Fiji because of the differential impact of colonialism. It was therefore hypothesised (H20) that Fijians and Indians show markedly different scores on separate indices of modernization. Table 15.3 indicates that the hypothesis was upheld on almost all indices.

Despite the trend to later marriage by Indians and the widespread acceptance of family planning in Fiji, Indian squatters still had their first child at a significantly younger age than Fijians ( $\bar{x}$  19.93 S.E. 0.19 compared with Fijians  $\bar{x}$  20.99 S.E. 0.20) although this was not indicated by using under 21 years as the cutting point (Table 15.3). Similarly, Fijians had significantly fewer children than Indians. Fertility measures appear to be of doubtful value as indices of modernization in cross-cultural situations.

Fewer Indians than Fijians reached a secondary level of education. This highly significant observation is a consequence of a colonial education policy which favoured Fijians. Today's education system offers reasonably equal education for all races in Fiji, but until the effects of this new policy are seen in the adult population, education is also of doubtful value as a measure of Fijian compared to Indian modernization.

Despite their poorer education background, Indians were found to be significantly more successful than Fijians when skilled labour was the sole measure of success and significantly less successful when income was included. This result raises the question whether in squatter situations, the usually accepted hierarchy of economic status is useful. It is likely that many semi-skilled and some informal or 'bazaar' sector workers will be economically better off than those in clerical or professional situations, and that, as previously argued, household incomes are a more meaningful index of economic success than the income or occupational status of the household head. The concept of economic success thus requires most careful consideration.

Indians were shown to have possibly more adequate houses and to be significantly more intent on home improvement than Fijians. Such differences clearly reflect different attitudes to housing, but whether they can be considered indicative of modernization or success depends at least in part on the cultural perspective of the observer.

TABLE 15.3  
MODERNIZATION INDICES AND ETHNICITY

	Fijian %	Indian %	Chi-square 1df	p ≤
Modern according to:				
Older age at birth of first child <sup>a</sup>	36.9	34.5	0.43	0.70
Fewer children <sup>b</sup>	67.6	55.8	10.43	0.01
Fewer children <sup>b</sup> :				
Women aged under 25 years	23.5	10.3	18.87	0.001
Women aged 25-29 years	26.1	15.2	3.82	0.10
Household head secondary education or above	58.9	28.9	36.00	0.001
Household head skilled worker or above	39.5	58.9	11.89	0.001
Economic success scale	53.2	39.9	4.89	0.05
House adequacy	47.7	58.2	3.13	0.10
Home improvement	38.0	51.6	5.31	0.05
Satisfied with residence	41.5	26.1	7.48	0.01
Modernization scale	56.3	30.4	18.76	0.001

Notes: a Twenty-one years and over.

b Under four live births.

The number of respondents varied slightly with each index. Approximately 377 Fijian and 326 Indian households responded to indices derived from the 1976 Census Schedules (above the horizontal line) and approximately 182 Fijian and 178 Indian households to indices derived from the July 1976 Survey (below the horizontal line).

Sources: 1976 Census Schedules; July 1976 Survey.

Housing cannot be isolated from other elements pertinent to success in the city. When an Indian places emphasis on more rooms to obtain privacy he also reduces the number of people who can be housed. His concern is with his nuclear family. When he adds to the floor area of the dwelling it is usually for rental purposes. By contrast, the Fijian emphasises flexible space and overall size because of the demands of the extended family. For the poor, both strategies have advantages, and it is difficult to claim that one is more modern or successful than the other.

The modernization scale, because it was composed of several items, may therefore be the most reliable index of modernization per se even though it was also subject to cultural influences. Of the indices used within the scale, family planning and voting appeared to be the most reliable for cross-cultural comparisons.

In conclusion, the hypothesis is upheld to the extent that there were marked differences in Fijian and Indian behaviour which need to be considered in policy making. But it is a matter of doubt whether or not these differences indicate different levels of modernization between cultures. Comparisons between people of one culture present far fewer problems for the researcher than cross-cultural comparisons. In the present study, the need to use different cutting points on four scales (modernization, economic success, home improvement, and residential satisfaction) and the apparently contradictory results of 'economic success' and 'skilled worker' indices (Table 15.3) provide illustrations of the types of problems that can arise. Although these problems can be partly resolved by technical procedures, theoretical issues remain. Fijians and Indians respond to similar situations in different ways. Modernization and success may mean different things to different cultures and be reached by different paths.

## CONCLUSIONS

Some doubt had been cast on the validity, in a cross-cultural situation, of the use of single fertility measures as indices of modernization, and occupational status as an index of economic success. For the purposes of the present study, however, the indices served their primary function in assisting the analysis of differences within both cultures. Squatters were not shown to be significantly different from other low-income people on either measure. This suggests that squatting

is primarily a residential variant of poverty from which behavioural traits should not be assumed, for high and low modernizers appeared in similar proportions in both squatter and non-squatter populations. Studies overseas (notably Turner, 1968 and 1970a) which have assumed residential type and location to be closely related to attitudes and behaviour are not supported in this study which has attempted to compare squatters with each other and with other sections of the urban poor.

Modernization has been shown to be related to economic success and to housing adequacy and improvement, especially among Fijians. A successful housing policy needs to identify modernizers and non-modernizers and find ways to encourage the initiatives of the former and counter the likely slow responses of the latter.

Modernization, contrary to popular belief, was not shown to be directly related to length of urban residence, and the generally lower levels of modernization shown by city-born squatters compared with migrants who had resided in the city for over ten years raises important questions that cannot be answered by the present study. Either squatters born in Suva have become apathetic and non-modern or more modern squatters have moved out leaving non-modernizers overrepresented. The first argument could support the view that squatter areas are undesirable social environments for the poor or that the nature of Suva urbanization excludes their advancement; the latter argument offers support for the view that squatter areas are 'bridging points' for upward mobility and better integration in the city. This is seen by the higher level of modernization among migrants than city-born squatters who have remained squatters, more modern city squatters having moved out to other areas.<sup>6</sup>

Although modernization is a useful concept important for planning purposes, it is suggested that it is a personal and cultural phenomenon. No support is found for the assumption that the proportions of high and low modernizers vary with demographic characteristics, location or type of settlement, or economic characteristics among squatter and non-squatter low-income households in Suva.<sup>7</sup> This view will be explored further in subsequent chapters.

## FOOTNOTES

- 1 An analysis of 1976 Census data on urban areas in Fiji, comparable with 1966 Census data (Walsh, 1976b), will require access to the census computer tapes. Permission to use the tapes is unlikely to be granted until the 1976 Census Report has been published.
- 2 Different cutting points for Fijians and Indians were used on the modernization, home improvement, residential (dis)satisfaction, and economic success scales. The results obtained obviously do not permit comparison between the ethnic groups. However, all inter-ethnic comparisons in this chapter, and succeeding chapters, use the same cutting point for both ethnic groups.
- 3 It is also possible, especially in small countries such as Fiji, that rural-urban behavioural differences are slight due to rapid diffusion and regular communication between urban and rural areas.
- 4 The measures used were: under 21 years old at the birth of first child, under four live births (referred to as 'number of children' in the text), the modernization scale, and the six indices of the modernization scale for both Fijians and Indians.
- 5 Migrants with longer residence in the city were significantly more modern than both recent migrants and Suva-born on the following indices: older age at the birth of first child (Indian), club membership (Fijian), and the modernization scale (Indian). A similar trend was evident in the following: older age at the birth of first child, job aspirations, voting and the modernization scale (Fijian), and educational aspirations, club membership, voting, and family planning (Indian).
- 6 If this process is occurring in Suva, the result could be similar to that described by Brett (1974) whereby city growth 'encapsulates' city squatter areas, owner-occupiers move out and (low modernizer) renters from the slum move in. In Suva, however, migrants and displaced city squatters contribute to the growth of city squatter areas more than slum dwellers. If migrants are more modern than city-born squatters, they could offset 'encapsulation.'
- 7 This observation does not detract from the possibility that significant differences may occur between individual settlements at different stages of evolution (Turner, 1969 and 1972). Indices of modernization for

squatter ethno-areas are shown in Table 12.2. Despite variations on individual indices, overall differences on the modernization scale were slight. The following percentages of Fijian households were 'modern': CV 68.1, FR 70.5, FUA 71.1. For Indians the percentages were: CI 55.2, IUA 58.6. Apart from obvious Fijian and Indian differences, no significant difference occurred between ethno-areas.



## CHAPTER 16

### SQUATTING AND MIGRANT INTEGRATION

PROPOSITION 4. Squatter areas provide a satisfactory environment for migrant integration.

The previous discussion has shown that much in the behaviour of squatters can be considered both urban and modern. Hypothesis 19 considered the question of modernization and length of urban residence and tentatively concluded that migrants with longer residence in the city were more modern than either recent migrants or those born in the city. A shortcoming of this analysis, however, was that migrants with longer residence were significantly older than recent migrants. In comparing migrants as a whole with those born in Suva, this problem still arises but the difference in ages is reduced (Table 15.2).

Overseas evidence on the characteristics of the migrant varies. Western studies (e.g. Lee, 1966, 56) have generally placed the migrant midway between source and destination populations in terms of education and occupational status, and Third World evidence suggests that he is better-off than rural dwellers in most material respects and worse-off than the city-born (Perlman, 1976, 82 - 85). The role of squatter areas in terms of migrant adjustment and integration is, however, in dispute. Most writers agree that the migrant faces few problems of adjustment (e.g. Abu-Lughod, 1972; Butterworth, 1970) because squatter settlements are seen to be so rural. If this is so, adjustment, as Germani (1967) maintains, could delay integration. Supporters of the Marginality School (e.g. Beyer, 1967) share this view. Others such as Bonilla (1975, 75) claim that squatter areas are 'a sort of staging area in which the recently arrived migrant is initiated into the mysteries of city life.'

The hypotheses in this chapter are concerned with squatter 'integration,' which is taken to mean their degree of modernization and 'success' in the city. The first three hypotheses (H20 - 22) concern sources of migration and routes of entry into the squatter areas. They are concerned with supposedly different spatial and social levels in the diffusion of modernization. The next two hypotheses (H23, H24) compare squatter and non-squatter populations with respect to modernization and levels of economic success. Hypotheses H25 and H26 then compare recent and longer resident migrant squatters with city-born squatters. The final hypothesis (H27) compares Fijian and Indian migrant patterns of modernization and economic success.

## MIGRANT REGIONAL ORIGINS AND MODERNIZATION

The hypothesis (H20) that there is no significant difference in the levels of migrant modernization or economic success attributable to the geographic (regional) source of migration aims to test assumptions that migrants from regions better endowed in the material attributes of modernization (schools, hospitals, sizeable towns, better communications, etc.) display higher levels of modernization and economic success than migrants from less modern areas.

Some evidence from the Pacific region supports the view that people from certain areas have been more successful migrants. Walsh and Trlin (1973), for example, in a study of Niuean migrants attribute the overrepresentation of the villages of Hakupu and Mutalau in government occupations to advantages gained from schooling; Walsh (1970, 40) considers that early contact with missionaries and better schooling gave Ha'ano migrants to Nuku'alofa, Tonga, an initial advantage; and Howard (1970) points to historical factors and child-raising practices which have given Rotuman migrants an advantage in Viti Levu, Fiji. It is also probable that once a particular group of migrants gains a reputation as good workers, they open up opportunities for others who follow (Walsh, 1975 on Crocombe, 1973).

It is possible in Fiji to identify clusters of provinces which share similar characteristics or features, and order the clusters to represent a continuum from most modern to least modern in terms of urbanization and the material attributes of development. The most urbanized and modern provinces with the best services and communications are Rewa, Naitasiri and Tailevu. The provinces of Ba, Nadroga-Navosa and Namosi-Serua (where most migrants came from the town of Navua), and Western Viti Levu, are the next most urbanized; followed by Vanua Levu (with the towns of Labasa and Savusavu) and North-east Viti Levu. The Outer Islands of Kadavu, Lau and Lomaiviti (for few migrants came from the town of Levuka) are the least urbanized and least modern in terms of services (Figure 6.1).

If modern areas provide migrants with a background more conducive to the development of modern behaviour and integration in the city, one would expect to find migrants placed in approximately the same order as the areas listed above. One would also expect to find the areas correlating highly by rank (modernization and economic success having been found to be related) and these patterns reflected in both Fijian and Indian responses, even allowing for ethnic differences due to unequal

access to resources. The data do not support these assumptions or the hypothesis (Table 16.1).

Virtually no correlation was evident across the scales, areas scoring high on one measure did not necessarily score high on any other, and the rank correlation between the two ethnic groups on the modernization scale ( $r_s = 0.650$ ) was only moderately high. However, Indians did show significantly different levels of modernization by region of origin ( $\chi^2 = 7.87$  3df  $p = 0.05$ ), a much higher level of modernization being evident in migrants from Vanua Levu, a trend also evident among Fijians. Vanua Levu was also ranked quite high on the economic success scales for both ethnic groups, but these differences were not statistically significant. The rank order of responses only approximated the expected order in one instance, namely, Fijian age at the birth of the first child. The most urbanized region produced migrants who were the least modern and successful, and the least urbanized region produced migrants who were among the most modern and successful, at least on some indices. Nothing in the evidence indicates widely different levels between migrants from different regions, or a non-modern to modern order of responses according to the degree of modernization at the region of origin.

Sample size precluded analysis at the micro-level where, given findings in other Pacific studies noted above, modernization differences might be apparent. Such differences, however, would in all probability arise from local social factors only indirectly related to the diffusion of modernization. At this level of analysis, the hypothesis is upheld. Region of migrant origin is not related to levels of migrant integration in the city.

#### DIRECT AND INDIRECT MIGRATION AND MODERNIZATION

Migrants enter squatter areas by two routes: directly, usually from rural areas outside the city, and indirectly via lodging houses and other rental arrangements usually in the inner city (Chapter 9).

It has been suggested by Turner (1972, 520 - 521) that recent migrants move into city squatter areas vacated by socially mobile longer resident migrants and city-born squatters who move to peripheral areas. Leeds and Leeds (1970, 232) suggest that those who become squatters after a sojourn in the city are more modern than those who migrate directly from outside the city. Both views assume a socialising

TABLE 16.1  
MIGRANT LEVELS OF INTEGRATION BY REGIONS OF ORIGIN  
(Percentages and Rank Order)

	Modern- ization <sup>a</sup>	Economic Success <sup>b</sup>	Economic Success <sup>c</sup>	Older Age First Child <sup>d</sup>	Fewer Children <sup>e</sup>	No. (a,b)	No. (c-e)
FIJIAN							
Local <sup>f</sup>	50.0 (3=)	63.9 (4)	21.2 (5)	40.9 (2)	63.6 (5)	28	33
Western Viti Levu	33.1 (5)	54.5 (5)	42.8 (2)	50.0 (1)	72.7 (2)	9	21
Vanua Levu	70.0 (1)	75.0 (2)	40.4 (3)	38.7 (4)	80.6 (1)	10	47
N.E. Viti Levu	50.0 (3=)	82.6 (1)	47.5 (1)	39.1 (3)	68.1 (3)	20	80
Outer Islands	57.1 (2)	70.5 (3)	35.8 (4)	36.6 (5)	64.1 (4)	42	165
Correlation <sup>g</sup>	-0.43	-0.60	-0.30	-0.80	-0.10		
INDIAN							
Local <sup>f</sup>	30.0 (2)	55.4 (4)	59.6 (3)	40.7 (1)	48.1 (3)	50	52
Western Viti Levu	25.0 (4)	55.6 (3)	63.9 (1)	34.5 (3)	55.2 (2)	32	36
Vanua Levu	65.2 (1)	61.1 (2)	61.0 (2)	23.8 (4)	47.6 (4)	16	41
N.E. Viti Levu	26.7 (3)	68.8 (1)	49.2 (4)	38.0 (2)	70.0 (1)	15	63
Correlation <sup>g</sup>	0.00	-1.00	0.30	0.40	-0.40		

Notes: a Modernization scale, July 1976 Survey.  
b Economic Success scale, July 1976 Survey.  
c Household heads in skilled occupations, 1976 Census Schedules.  
d First child when aged 21 years and over. 1976 Census Schedules.  
e Under 4 children. 1976 Census Schedules.  
f Rewa (excluding Suva City), Naitasiri and Tailevu.  
g Spearman rank order correlations. Actual ranking compared with expected order from most modern to least modern provinces. That is, Local, Western Viti Levu, Vanua Levu, N.E. Viti Levu, Outer Islands.

Sources: a, b July 1976 Survey; c-e 1976 Census Schedules.

influence by the city. This assumption is tested via hypothesis H21 which states that squatter migrants moving directly from the country are less modern than those previously resident in other parts of the city, irrespective of the length of residence in the city.

TABLE 16.2  
MODERNIZATION<sup>a</sup> AND DIRECT AND INDIRECT MIGRATION<sup>b</sup>  
(Percentages)

	Recent <sup>a</sup> migrant, Direct	Recent migrant, Indirect	Longer <sup>d</sup> resident migrant, Direct	Longer resident migrant, Indirect	Total Direct	Total Indirect
Percentage Modern :						
Fijian	87.5	90.5	91.7	94.6	89.3	93.1
N	16	21	12	37	28	58
Indian	75.0	64.4	88.9	80.0	79.3	70.7
N	20	45	9	30	29	75

Notes:

a Modernization was measured by the 12 point modernization scale.

Households scoring 7 or more points were considered 'modern.'

b Direct migration, to squatter areas from outside the city;

Indirect, previous residence in some other part of the city.

c Recent, under 10 years.

d Longer, 10 years or more.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Table 16.2 indicates that there was a tendency among Fijians for indirect and longer resident migrants to be more modern but the overall difference between direct and indirect migration was not statistically significant. Among Indians longer resident migrants were also more modern but direct migrants were also more modern than indirect migrants. Neither difference, however, was statistically significant.

Differences may, of course, occur between very recent migrants and others, but they were not apparent among those who had been in the city less than ten years. No support is therefore offered by the Suva data to the view that the city exercises a special modernizing influence on migrants. It confirms the view, already noted, that the various spatial

manifestations of the rural-urban continuum theory do not appear to be operating among squatters in Suva. The hypothesis is therefore rejected. The route of migration has no significant effect on modernization.

#### INTEGRATION AND ONE- AND TWO-SPOUSE HOUSEHOLDS

It follows, if migrants are at a disadvantage in integrating into the city, that households where both spouses are migrants are more likely to be at a greater disadvantage than households with only one migrant spouse. This assumption was tested via the hypothesis (H22) that households where both husband and wife are migrants are less modern and less economically successful than households with only one migrant spouse. Table 16.3 indicates the results.

Households where both husband and wife were migrants were generally the least successful and least modern, but only significantly so with regard to lower education among Fijians. Some support is offered for the hypothesis, but insufficient to accept it in total.

What is apparent, however, was that Fijian households with migrant wives had significantly more skilled and educated husbands than households where the husband only was a migrant. Households with migrant wives also had significantly better educated husbands than households where both spouses were migrants. Other measures indicated a similar result, and a similar but weaker tendency was also evident among Indians.

A very definite relationship existed between the wife (and probably the wife's education) and the levels of skill and education of her husband, especially among Fijians. It is likely that this association has implications for other aspects of modernization and integration in the city which, unfortunately, cannot be tested with the data available. For example, the observation is considered important because most migrant and urban studies have been concerned with the characteristics of the household head who is usually male, with the result that the role of the wife, and women in general, has been largely ignored. Further, the observation lends weight to earlier conclusions concerning the greater importance of personal characteristics vis-a-vis the supposedly uneven diffusion of modern-urban influences according to socio-economic class or region which have been the focus of many integration studies.

TABLE 16.3

MODERNIZATION, ECONOMIC SUCCESS AND SQUATTER MIGRANT SPOUSE COMBINATIONS  
(Percentages)

	A Wife Migrant	B Husband Migrant	C Both Migrants
FIJIANS			
Skilled heads	47.8	27.5	41.0 <sup>b</sup>
Older age at birth of first child <sup>d</sup>	74.3	72.9	66.5
Under 4 children	71.8	68.6	59.8
Heads with secondary education	31.8	14.7	13.0 <sup>abc</sup>
N (range) <sup>e</sup>	39 - 46	69 - 75	239 - 278
INDIANS			
Skilled heads	54.5	53.8	59.6
Older age at birth of first child <sup>d</sup>	62.5	60.0	54.3
Under 4 children	72.5	60.0	63.0
Heads with secondary education	8.9	13.5	8.1
N (range) <sup>e</sup>	40 - 45	93 - 104	92 - 111

## Notes:

a A +B/C

b A/B chi square if p = 0.05

c A/C

d Twenty-one years and over.

e The range of numbers indicates responses to the various measures.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

## SQUATTERS AND NON-SQUATTERS COMPARED: (a) LEVELS OF MODERNIZATION

An assessment of the place of squatting in migrant integration requires a comparison between squatter migrants and migrants in other low-income areas. It was hypothesised (H23) that squatter migrants are no less modern than migrants in other low-income areas.

Age at the birth of the first child and number of children born are again used as indices of modernization. These indices have been noted to be subject to age bias that cannot be entirely avoided due to sample size (Table 15.2). Overall, both Fijian and Indian squatters had their first child at a younger mean age than Fijian and Indian control area residents but these differences, though significant, were almost entirely due to differences in age structure as indicated by Table 16.4.<sup>1</sup> This table

TABLE 16.4

## AGE AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD: SQUATTER AND CONTROL MIGRANTS

	Present Age of Women							
	Under 25		25 - 29		30 - 39		40 - 49	
	$\bar{x}$	S.E.	$\bar{x}$	S.E.	$\bar{x}$	S.E.	$\bar{x}$	S.E.
Fijian Squatters								
Recent Migrants	<u>19.69</u>	<u>0.29*</u>	<u>20.97</u>	<u>0.49</u>	<u>21.42</u>	<u>0.72*</u>	<u>21.73</u>	<u>1.17*</u>
Fijian Control								
Recent Migrants	19.33	0.79	21.50	1.28	<u>21.30</u>	<u>1.00</u>	<u>20.85</u>	<u>0.62</u>
Fijian Squatters								
Longer Migrants	19.50	0.40	<u>20.52</u>	<u>0.46</u>	<u>21.60</u>	<u>0.52*</u>	<u>21.72</u>	<u>0.57</u>
Fijian Control								
Longer Migrants	20.00	0.67	<u>21.08</u>	<u>0.46</u>	<u>21.41</u>	<u>0.68</u>	<u>23.50</u>	<u>0.56</u>
Indian Squatters								
Recent Migrants	insufficient numbers				<u>20.40</u>	<u>0.63</u>	<u>20.70</u>	<u>1.04*</u>
Indian Squatters								
Recent Migrants	insufficient numbers				<u>21.43</u>	<u>0.95</u>	<u>20.33</u>	<u>1.50</u>

Note: \*  $p = 0.05$ . Most cells were small; those with more than 20 women are underlined and are considered the most reliable.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

TABLE 16.5

## NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN: SQUATTER AND CONTROL MIGRANTS

	Present Age of Women							
	Under 25		25 - 29		30 - 39		40 - 49	
	$\bar{x}$	S.E.	$\bar{x}$	S.E.	$\bar{x}$	S.E.	$\bar{x}$	S.E.
Fijian Squatters								
Recent Migrants	<u>0.95</u>	<u>1.29*</u>	<u>2.17</u>	<u>0.11</u>	<u>3.75</u>	<u>0.38</u>	<u>4.72</u>	<u>0.64*</u>
Fijian Control								
Recent Migrants	1.71	0.39	2.10	0.58	<u>3.25</u>	<u>0.55</u>	<u>5.40</u>	<u>0.68</u>
Fijian Squatters								
Longer Migrants	1.53	0.20	<u>2.49</u>	<u>0.23*</u>	<u>3.70</u>	<u>0.26*</u>	<u>5.27</u>	<u>0.34*</u>
Fijian Control								
Longer Migrants	1.44	0.19	<u>2.85</u>	<u>0.52</u>	<u>3.99</u>	<u>0.41</u>	<u>6.07</u>	<u>0.61</u>
Indian Squatters								
Recent Migrants	insufficient numbers				<u>4.49</u>	<u>0.36</u>	<u>5.26</u>	<u>0.48*</u>
Indian Control								
Recent Migrants	insufficient numbers				<u>3.14</u>	<u>0.88</u>	<u>5.56</u>	<u>0.93</u>

Note: \*  $p = 0.05$ . Most cells were small; those with more than 20 women are underlined and are considered the most reliable.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.



indicates that age-specific comparisons between squatter and control recent migrants, and between squatter and control longer resident migrants, did not offer consistent support for younger or older mean age at the birth of the first child.

Fijian squatter migrants had significantly fewer children ( $\bar{x}$  3.21, S.E. 0.13) compared with Fijian control migrants ( $\bar{x}$  3.89, S.E. 0.24) but this was due to age structure differences (Table 16.5). Indian squatter migrants, on the other hand, had more children than Indian control migrants ( $\bar{x}$  3.99, S.E. 0.15 and  $\bar{x}$  3.68, S.E. 0.35) but the difference was not significant. The only significant difference concerned Fijian recent migrants (under 25 years of age) where squatters had fewer children ( $\bar{x}$  0.95, S.E. 0.13 compared to  $\bar{x}$  1.71, S.E. 0.39).

Firm conclusions are difficult with the evidence available, but age-specific comparisons suggest little difference in the fertility behaviour of squatter and non-squatter migrants. In these ways squatters were no less modern than other low-income migrants. The hypothesis is upheld.

#### SQUATTER AND NON-SQUATTER MIGRANTS COMPARED: (b) LEVELS OF ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGE

It was hypothesised (H24) that squatter migrants are no more disadvantaged in employment than other low-income migrants.

Both Fijian and Indian squatters were proportionately better represented in skilled occupations (54.1 and 64.9 percent compared with 46.0 and 63.9 percent), higher (some secondary) education (57.1 and 27.4 percent compared with 56.1 and 17.4 percent) but the differences were not significant. Similar proportions were classified as retired or unemployed: Fijian Squatters 3.5 percent, Fijian Control 4.0 percent; Indian Squatters 4.7 percent, Indian Control 2.7 percent.

Differences did occur at the level of individual settlements in the migrant as in the total population, levels of education among Fijians at Kinoya being most obvious. But no significant difference was apparent in terms of skills, education, unemployment or retirement among household heads or between squatter and other low-income households considered as a whole. The hypothesis is therefore upheld.

## MIGRANT AND CITY-BORN SQUATTERS COMPARED

Previous hypotheses have considered the importance of the urban environment after differing lengths of urban residence, and it has been shown that there is some evidence that those born in the city were not as modern as longer-resident migrants. The following two hypotheses compare migrants as a whole with city-born squatters.

Hypothesis (H25) states that migrant squatters show more evidence of modernization and home improvement than city-born squatters. If city-born squatters are shown to display more modern behaviour and to be better housed, evidence is provided for increased integration with more exposure to the city. If migrants, on the other hand, are better placed on these variables, other factors, previously alluded to, are more important than urban exposure.

Fifty-five percent of Fijian migrants were classified as 'modern' on the modernization scale and 65.2 percent of Suva-born. For Indians the position was reversed, 33.9 percent of migrants and 23.8 percent of Suva-born being 'modern.' Neither result was statistically significant. Both Fijian and Indian Suva-born squatters showed more evidence of house adequacy and home improvement than migrants. For Fijians, 37.9 percent of Suva-born had 'adequate' houses (31 percent migrants) and 48.3 percent had made home improvements (44 percent migrants). For Indians the proportions were: house adequacy 48.9 percent (47.4 percent migrants); home improvement 61.7 percent (58.5 percent migrants). Once again, however, none of these differences was statistically significant. The hypothesis, therefore, is not upheld.

The economic position of squatter migrants and city-born was tested via the hypothesis (H26) that the economic position of migrants improves with length of urban residence, and is not inferior to that of city-born squatters.

Five measures were used: 1) heads in skilled occupations; 2) heads with some secondary education (Census Schedules); 3) household incomes; 4) the economic success scale which combines head's occupational status, head's income, and household income, and 5) savings and possessions.

1) Suva-born Fijians had proportionately more heads in skilled occupations than migrants (50.8 and 41 percent) and Suva-born Indians proportionately less (59.8 and 63.9 percent), but these differences were not significant.

2) Fijian and Indian Suva-born heads were also better educated (Fijians 72.2 and Indians 33.3 percent) than migrants (Fijians 55.4 and Indians 28.1 percent) but these differences were also not significant.

3) Mean household incomes increased with length of residence in the city for both populations, but the only significant differences were between migrants resident for 5 - 9 years compared with migrants resident for twenty or more years.<sup>2</sup> These results were almost certainly a consequence of age and larger household size.

4) The minor differences between recent and longer resident migrants, and between migrants and Suva-born on the economic success scale were not significant.

5) There were no significant differences with regard to the savings and possessions scale, although both Fijian and Indian longer resident migrants were better placed than recent migrants, and Suva-born Fijians more than longer resident migrants. This scale gave equal value to 'savings' (represented by actual savings together with insurances, and membership of a credit union) and household possessions. Examined separately, more longer resident Indian migrants had 'savings' (36 percent) than recent migrants (19.3 percent). This difference was statistically significant ( $X^2 = 5.61$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ).

Perlman (1976, 85), in her study of Rio de Janeiro squatters, found longer resident migrants to be significantly overrepresented in skilled occupations, possession of home appliances and house ownership than recent migrants. The Suva data are not strictly comparable because Perlman's definition of 'recent' was 'under five years' whilst 'under ten years' was the general rule for the present study.

The only significant advantages enjoyed by longer migrants in the present study concerned household incomes, and 'savings' among Indians. Income is the key to 'success' in the city, and is closely related with most material attributes of success. Both head's and household income, for example, were significantly related to savings and possessions (Fijian head's  $X^2 = 4.46$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ; Indian head's  $X^2 = 12.04$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ; Fijian household  $X^2 = 16.68$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ; Indian household  $X^2 = 7.15$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ).

Migrants were not better represented in skilled occupations which would have been evidence of social mobility due to longer urban exposure.

Migrant advantages were derived from accretions (of income, age and household size) resulting from time spent in the city. The very recent migrant may be at a disadvantage but this is soon overcome. No significant differences attributable to the effects of urbanism per se were evident among migrants or Suva-born.

The first part of the hypothesis - that the economic position of migrants improves with urban residence - is upheld with regard to incomes and (for Indians) 'savings.' This improvement is seen to be a consequence of age and time. No significant improvement, however, occurred in skills, education or overall economic success. The second part of the hypothesis - that the economic position of migrants is not inferior to those born in the city - is upheld in all but one respect; the city born were better educated. That those born in the city have not been able to turn this advantage to better effect indicates that some secondary education is not enough.

#### MIGRATION AND ETHNICITY

It was hypothesised (H27) that Fijian and Indian migrants display relatively different patterns of modernization and economic success. The purpose is not to compare the levels of success (an exercise which would largely repeat observations already made) but rather to determine whether the relative positions of recent migrants, longer resident migrants and Suva-born migrants differ according to ethnicity.

To test the hypothesis an index value of nought (0) is given to the 'score' of longer resident migrants, and the deviation from the index value is noted for both recent migrants and Suva-born. The percentage deviation is shown in all cases but should be read with caution because the range of deviation reflects differences in scale construction which may, for reasons stated in Chapter 15, be culturally biased. The important attribute is the positive (+) or negative (-) value. A similar procedure was used in the comparison of direct - indirect migration, and one- or two-spouse migrant patterns (Table 16.6).

On six of the first seven indices (education of heads being the exception) longer resident migrants of both ethnic groups were more modern or successful than recent migrants, and on five of the seven indices (modernization and age at birth of first child being the exceptions)

TABLE 16.6

## A MULTIPLE INDEX COMPARISON OF FIJIAN AND INDIAN SQUATTER MIGRANTS

MODERNIZATION AND HOUSING INDICES		Fijian Migrants		Suva- Born	Indian Migrants		Suva- Born		
		Recent	Longer		Recent	Longer			
Modernization Scale		-16.3	(57.7)	7.5	- 3.7	(35.7)	-11.9		
House Adequacy Scale		-21.2	(50.5)	- 2.2	-15.3	(65.3)	- 6.8		
Home Improvement Scale		-26.7	(46.2)	-15.2	-10.3	(52.0)	- 4.6		
Savings		- 6.3	(68.8)	- 6.1	-16.7	(36.0)	-14.7		
Older Age Birth First Child		-27.3	(65.0)	- 6.7	- 1.6	(36.4)	45.4		
Skilled Household Head		7.8	(38.7)	12.1	1.4	(64.8)	3.6		
Head Secondary Education		- 5.2	(58.3)	13.9	6.5	(25.2)	8.1		
HOUSEHOLD INCOME \$		FIJIAN		Suva- Born	INDIAN		Suva- Born		
Years in Suva	Under 10	10-19	20 & over		Under 10	10-19	20 & over		
Mean Household Income (\$)	-5.53	(54.15)	8.4	-5.58	-2.85	(39.71)	6.08	0.29	
DIRECT-INDIRECT MIGRATION		FIJIAN			INDIAN				
		Recent	Longer		Recent	Longer			
		Direct	Via City	Direct	Direct	Via City	Direct	Via City	
MODERNIZATION		(87.5)	3.0	4.2	7.1	10.6	(64.4)	24.5	15.6
ONE-AND TWO-SPOUSE MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS		FIJIAN			INDIAN				
		Wife	Husband	Husband and Wife	Wife	Husband	Husband and Wife		
Skilled heads		20.3	(27.5)	13.5	0.7	(53.8)	5.8		
Head Secondary Education		17.1	(14.7)	-1.7	-4.6	(13.5)	-5.4		
Older Age Birth First Child		1.6	(72.9)	-6.4	2.5	(60.0)	-5.7		

Notes: Figures in parenthesis are percentage scores (or dollars).  
 Figures not in the parenthesis are deviations from the  
 parenthesised figures. For example, the percentage of Recent  
 Fijian Migrants who were 'modern' was  $57.7 - 16.3 = 41.4\%$ .  
 The minus sign indicated a percentage lower (and 'worse') than  
 the figure in parenthesis.

Sources: 1976 Census Schedules; July 1976 Survey.

they were also more modern or successful than the Suva-born. In these respects Fijian and Indian migrant patterns were similar. The patterns were also similar with respect to household incomes, and only minor differences occurred among migrants who had entered squatter areas via different routes. Nothing in Table 16.6 supports the hypothesis that Fijian and Indian migrant patterns differ with respect to modernization or economic success. The hypothesis is therefore rejected.

However, major differences between Fijian and Indian migrants did occur in two areas which do not appear to be directly attributable to migration. First, major differences were found in the course of comparing one- and two-spouse migrant households, although this was more apparent in the extent of the deviation than the direction. Fijian women had a much greater 'influence' on their husband's level of skill and education than Indian women. Second, the proportion of Fijian and Indian heads in skilled occupations differed significantly among migrants from the same region. The most marked differences occurred in the most urbanized regions. Sixty percent of Indians from the most urbanized region (Rewa, Naitasi i, Tailevu) and only 21 percent of Fijians were in skilled occupations, a percentile difference of 38.4. Sixty-four percent of Indians and only 42.8 percent of Fijians were in skilled occupations from the second most urbanized region (North-west), a difference of 21.1 percent. By contrast, the least difference between Fijians and Indians occurred in Ra, the least urbanized region for which comparative data are available. In Ra 49.2 percent of Indians and 47.5 percent of Fijians were skilled occupations, a difference of only 1.7 percent.

This pattern suggests that proportionately more Indians came from towns in the most highly urbanized regions while most Fijians came from rural areas, a supposition advanced by Walsh (1976a) with respect to internal migration in Fiji in general. If this observation is valid, it is all the more surprising that Indians did not show greater all round advantage when compared with Fijians. The probable reason, as with education, is that the level of skill was insufficient to substantially affect opportunities for economic advancement.

## CONCLUSIONS

Much scholarly discussion on migration and squatting has assumed that migrants are disadvantaged. Squatter areas have been variously described as cesspools and bridging points, descriptions which reflect

their presumed social composition and their capacity to assist residential and social mobility. The city has been depicted as an agent of modernization and a vehicle for social mobility. Without major qualifications, there is little in the present study to support these views. Migrant and non-migrant squatters have been shown to comprise households at different levels of modernization, housing and economic disadvantage. Motivational factors seem to be more important than demographic characteristics such as region of origin or length of residence. Squatter areas cannot be considered cesspools or bridging points, although it is probable that some of the 'more successful' residents have taken up legal housing in other parts of the city.

It was proposed that squatter areas provide a satisfactory environment for migrant integration. Discussion has indicated that migrant squatters are not significantly different from city-born squatters or migrants in other low-income areas. In this relative sense, squatter areas have been shown to be no less satisfactory than other forms of settlement in which the poor reside, and lower overhead costs could make them financially better-off.

Finally, the city has not been seen to be either an obvious agent of modernization or a means of achieving mobility. Migrants from the various regions of Fiji entering squatter areas by different routes and resident in the city for different periods of time (and in these various ways urbanized) were not significantly different in their levels of modernization.

Economic differences indicated that improvement was a result of personal modernization, and accretions of age, time and money; not varying degrees of urban exposure.

With the above points in mind, it would seem that excessive attention in the literature to migration and degrees of urban integration has obscured the main issue. Migrant and non-migrant squatters are poor; and the levels of improvement attained (in income, education and skilled occupations) still deny them access to many of the material benefits of city life.

## FOOTNOTES

1 Mean ages (with S.E. in parenthesis) at the birth of the first child were: Fijian Squatters 20.99 (0.20); Fijian Control 21.42 (0.25); Indian Squatters 19.93 (0.10); Indian Control 20.82 (0.57).

2 Mean household incomes (with S.E. in parenthesis) for migrants who had been in the city for from five to nine years (A) compared to migrants who had been in the city for 20 or more years (B) were as follows:  
Fijian A \$48.62 (6.05); B \$62.55 (5.09);  
Indian A \$36.86 (2.86); B \$45.79 (5.00).



## CHAPTER 17

### SQUATTERS AND THE RURAL-TRADITIONAL, URBAN-MODERN DEBATE

PROPOSITION 5. Households displaying marked rural or traditional characteristics do not display less evidence of (a) modern urban behaviour, or (b) economic success than households with less traditional behaviour.

Two issues of prime importance to squatter integration (modernization and migrant characteristics) have been considered in the last two chapters. Many squatters have been shown to be relatively modern and successful given their circumstances, and squatter migrants to be no more disadvantaged than city-born squatters, or migrants in other low-income areas.

However, many squatters also show evidence of traditional behaviour patterns. The extended family survives, and most Fijians and some Indian households depend on kin, offer financial assistance to kin, or are engaged in reciprocal kin exchanges. It has been argued in much of the literature that such traditional practices delay integration and impede social mobility, although some researchers (e.g. Bruner, 1963 and 1973) would dispute this claim. Accordingly, this chapter tests the assumption that traditional behaviour is antithetical to modern, urban behaviour.

The first three hypotheses are concerned with the extent to which household type is related to kin exchanges and associated behaviour (H28); age and urban exposure (H29); and whether extended households are less typical of the slum and public housing than squatter settlements (H30). Four further hypotheses (H31 - 34) consider the relative 'efficiency' of nuclear and extended households with respect to modernization, income, economic success, housing and housing density. The final hypothesis (H35) is concerned with the relationship of levels of income and kin exchange.

#### EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS AND TRADITIONAL BEHAVIOUR

Hypothesis 28 : Extended households display more evidence of traditional behaviour than nuclear households.

The main purpose of the hypothesis is to determine whether extended households may be taken to represent a range of behaviour which can be considered traditional for both Fijian and Indian households.

For the purposes of testing, two indices were selected to represent traditional behaviour: 1) involvement in kin exchanges; 2) the expressed desire to live with or close to parents and/or married children.

Nearly 40 percent of Fijian households were engaged in <sup>reciprocal</sup> kin exchanges compared with only 4.4 percent of Indian households. The difference between ethnic groups was highly significant ( $X^2 = 18.03$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ). Fijian extended households were also significantly more involved in <sup>reciprocal</sup> kin exchanges than nuclear households, 50 percent compared with 31.6 percent ( $X^2 = 5.32$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ). This association of extended households and kin exchanges was considered sufficient to accept Fijian extended households as more traditional than nuclear households. The small number of Indian households engaged in kin exchanges (in which, incidentally, nuclear households were somewhat, though not significantly, more involved) made it necessary to turn to the other measure assumed to be traditional.

Sixty-nine percent of respondents from Indian extended households stated that they wished their parents to live with them or close by compared with only 49 percent of respondents from nuclear households. Comparable proportions for desired proximity to adult married children were 79 percent and 74 percent respectively. While neither of these differences was significant, the trend is indicative of probable traditional behaviour, and in the absence of other appropriate measures, extended households are also taken to represent traditional Indian behaviour in subsequent analysis. For the purposes of the present hypothesis, however, the association of extended households and traditional behaviour (represented by kin exchanges) can only be accepted with confidence for Fijians.

#### HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND TWO DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Hypothesis 29: (a) Nuclear household structure is related to young families and recent migrants; but (b) extended household structure is no more common among migrants than among the city-born.

The assumption underlying this hypothesis, stated in Chapter 1, was that nuclear family structure was due more to the disintegrative effects of migration and family formation than changes in life style due to the acquisition of new, urban values. In short, nuclear family structure is a stage in the family life cycle, not its 'ultimate' form. The assumption

was only partly supported by the evidence.

Although the mean age of Fijian nuclear heads (38.8 years) in the 1976 Census Schedules was significantly less than extended heads (43.3 years), nuclear households were more typical of older, well established households with heads 35 years of age and over than households with heads under 35 years of age (61.8 percent compared to 47.1 percent). They were also slightly more common among recent migrants (66.3 percent to 58.3 percent), and migrants compared to city-born (39.5 percent compared with 35.8 percent). None of these differences was statistically significant. For Fijians, then, nuclear households cannot be taken to be more typical of young or recent migrant households. The only part of the hypothesis upheld is that extended household structure was no more common among migrants than the city-born. The importance of this finding is that both types of households were well represented among the young and the old, and among the migrant and the city-born squatter households. Nuclear households are not a stage in the Fijian squatter family life cycle, but neither are they the family's ultimate form.

Among Indians, nuclear households were significantly related to younger household heads, 87.2 percent of households with heads under 35 years being nuclear compared with 74.7 percent of households with older heads ( $\chi^2 = 3.78$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ). The mean age of Indian squatter heads was also significantly younger for nuclear households (38.7 years) than extended households (44.5 years). Almost identical proportions of recent and longer resident migrants, and migrant and city-born households were nuclear. The hypothesis that nuclear households are related to younger families among Indians, and that extended households are no more common among migrants than the city-born, is upheld. Unlike Fijians, nuclear households are associated with family formation among Indians, but with both populations the nuclear household is not especially associated with a greater exposure to urban influences.

#### THE EXTENDED HOUSEHOLD IN SQUATTER, PUBLIC HOUSING AND SLUM AREAS

Hypothesis 30: Traditional behaviour (i.e. extended household structure) is more evident in squatter areas than in Housing Authority areas and the slum.

It was assumed that space limitations in both the Four-Storey Flats and in the Toorak slum rental accommodation in particular would

result in the underrepresentation of extended household structures. Table 17.1 indicates, however, that extended households were more typical of these areas and control areas in general for both Fijian and Indian populations, but the differences were not statistically significant. The hypothesis was therefore rejected.

TABLE 17.1  
EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS IN SQUATTER, HOUSING AUTHORITY AND SLUM AREAS

	Fijian		Indian	
	%	N	%	N
Squatters	39.5	365	26.6	319
Four-Storey Flats	51.5	33	33.3	24
Kinoya	43.8	30	38.2	34
Toorak	50.0	32	-	-
Total Control	47.5	118	38.0	54

Note: The differences between squatters and Total Control were not statistically different.

Source: 1976 Census Schedules.

It was proposed in Chapter 11 that household numbers increased in accordance with cultural ideals rather than the amount of living space available, and attention was drawn to the importance of this proposal for planning purposes. The similarity in representation of extended households in four residential environments offering varying amounts of living space supports this contention. It is especially significant that two areas with the greatest living space restrictions - the Four-Storey Flats and the Toorak slum - should have such a high proportion of extended households.

It is possible, however, that the cultural 'ideal' is something perceived as desirable by visitors and other 'appendages' to the extended household, and undesirable by its nuclear core. Mamak (1973), for instance, mentioned complaints by Fijians at excessive demands made by kin on Housing Authority residents at Raiwaqa. Similarly, the present writer's observations in Tonga led to the conclusion that richer households sometimes built smaller houses to provide them with an excuse to deny

accommodation to distant relations. This evidence has to be weighed against the expressed desire, at least among squatters, to have their parents and/or their married children live with them or close by. The importance of provincial and familial clustering of houses has also been noted in several squatter areas. Squatter areas provide greater opportunities to increase dwelling size and accommodate relations close by than all other forms of housing available to the urban poor. Pressures by kin on squatters for accommodation are therefore less likely to cause strain than in other low-income areas.

The importance of cultural mores in the urbanization of Fiji is well demonstrated by the importance of extended households in all low-income areas. Research in more affluent neighbourhoods may show that households which on most indices would be considered modern and urban are also extended, and to this extent also traditional. Research which has assumed such behaviour to be contradictory may well be confusing modernization with Westernization.

#### THE EXTENDED HOUSEHOLD AND FOUR TESTS OF 'EFFICIENCY'

The final test of whether traditional mores can be modified and found useful in obtaining benefits from the city environment rests on empirical analysis. If extended households (taken to represent traditional-rural behaviour), are seen to be no less efficient in obtaining such benefits than nuclear households (taken to represent supposedly modern-urban behaviour), the efficacy of the extended household (and by implication of traditional behaviour) will have been empirically demonstrated. In other words, behaviour assumed to be traditional and modern need not be antithetical. Indeed, in Third World settings, such a combination may represent behaviour most likely to be 'successful.' The following hypotheses test this assumption.

Hypothesis 31: Extended households do not show lower levels of modern behaviour than nuclear households.

Three measures of modernization were used to test this hypothesis. The modernization scale (July 1976 Survey) produced no significant differences between nuclear and extended households, although somewhat more Fijian extended households (64 percent compared to 50 percent) and somewhat fewer Indian extended households (23.8 percent compared with 31.8 percent) were classified as 'modern.'

Fijian extended and Indian nuclear households were also more modern with respect to older age at the birth of the first child (the second measure), but again differences were not significant. On the third measure, less than four children born, both Fijian and Indian nuclear households were more modern. Seventy-one percent of Fijian wives in nuclear households (64.6 percent extended) and 59.4 percent of wives in Indian nuclear households (41.2 percent extended) had had less than four children. The Indian difference was highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 8.41$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ). The reason for fewer children in Indian nuclear households, however, stems from two factors: the younger age of wives, and the higher proportion of broken marriages, a doubtful index of satisfactory modernization. Overall, with the exception noted, extended households were no less modern than nuclear households. The hypothesis is therefore upheld.

Hypothesis 32: Extended households do not have lower per capita incomes than nuclear households.

Household size has been shown to be lineally related to household income and (smallest and largest households excluded) to be unrelated to per capita incomes (Figure 13.2). As expected, extended households also had significantly higher mean weekly incomes than nuclear households.<sup>1</sup> Mean per capita income was almost identical for Fijian nuclear (\$13.16) and extended (\$13.85) households, but Indian extended households had significantly higher mean per capita incomes than nuclear households (\$19.92, S.E. 5.15 compared to \$10.12, S.E. 1.44). On the basis of mean incomes the hypothesis is upheld.

As a further test, a minimally adequate per capita weekly income level was calculated from mean household size and the Suva basic wage for unskilled labourers in 1976. After rounding, the minimal level was set at \$8.00. Fifty-nine percent of Fijian extended households and only 47.4 percent of nuclear households, and 61.8 percent of Indian extended households compared with only 39.2 percent of nuclear households exceeded this minimal level. The difference favouring Fijian extended households was not significant; the Indian difference was ( $\chi^2 = 4.84$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ). The hypothesis is upheld in terms of the minimal income level. This observation is especially important in the debate on the economic viability of the extended household in Third World cities. The writer is unaware of similar studies or findings.

Hypothesis 33: Extended households do not have lower levels of housing than nuclear households.

The two measures of house adequacy and home improvement, previously described, were used to test this hypothesis. Figure 17.1 shows that extended households had better housing on both measures.

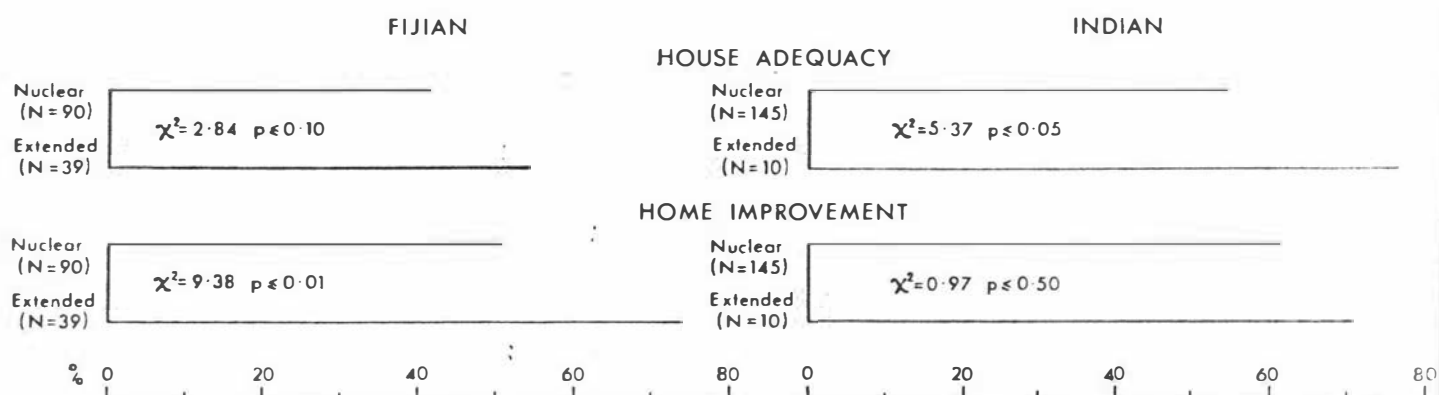


FIGURE 17.1 Housing Adequacy and Home Improvement by Household Type. Source: July 1976 Survey.

Home improvement was significantly higher among Fijian extended households. More comparable levels of intended improvement among Indian nuclear and extended households is probably explained by the exchange-value attached to housing by Indians at all levels of income. House adequacy (the more objective measure because it reflects actual conditions) showed significantly better conditions among Indian extended households, and the Fijian figures were highly suggestive of better housing among extended households. The hypothesis is therefore upheld: extended households do not have lower levels of housing than nuclear households. Indeed, on at least one of the two measures they were shown to have (or to aspire to) better housing.

Hypothesis 34: Extended households do not have less floor space per capita than nuclear households.

Both Fijian and Indian extended households had less floor space per capita than nuclear households, although the difference was statistically significant only for Indians (Table 17.2)

In terms of marginally adequate living space, set at  $5.12m^2$  (55 square feet) in accordance with Housing Authority and HART minimal standards discussed in Chapter 11, however, no significant difference emerged. Fifty-seven percent of Fijian nuclear households, 54 percent

of Fijian extended households, and 47 percent of both Indian nuclear and extended households had at least minimally adequate living space. The hypothesis is upheld for Fijians, but only partially accepted (depending on the measure used) for Indians.

TABLE 17.2  
MEAN PER CAPITA FLOOR SPACE BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE  
(square metres)

	$\bar{x}$	Fijian S.E.	N	$\bar{x}$	Indian S.E.	N
Nuclear	6.10	0.47	95	6.81	0.50	148
Extended	5.74	0.41	78	5.74	0.52	34

Note: Measurements were determined from pacing, and then rounded to  $0.10\text{m}^2$  for analysis.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

The previous four hypotheses have used different measures to test the efficiency of extended (and supposedly traditional) households compared with nuclear (presumed to be modern) households. The results offer no support for the view that extended households are less modern or economically less viable than nuclear households. Indeed, most significant differences indicated that extended households were more efficient in terms of survival and improvement in the city than nuclear households. The extended household can marshall more resources than the nuclear household. Further evidence is therefore provided for the view that the key to an understanding of varying levels of squatter behaviour needs to be sought in the one characteristic often overlooked by researchers - money.

#### KIN EXCHANGE AND LEVELS OF INCOME

Hypothesis 35: Households with higher levels of kinship exchange are no more economically disadvantaged than those with less or no kinship exchange involvement.

Data permit the testing of this hypothesis in only a static condition. The hypothesis tests whether high (by squatter standards)



or low-income households were more or less involved in kin exchange. The level of involvement revealed cannot be assumed to be either a cause or a consequence of involvement.

Significantly more Fijian high income (over \$49 a week) households were engaged in higher levels of exchange (non-reciprocal giving or reciprocal) than low-income households ( $X^2 = 4.04$  ldf  $p = 0.05$ ), the respective proportions being 46.1 percent and 27.3 percent. By contrast, Indian low-income households were more involved, 7.8 percent compared with 1.1 percent but the difference was only 'suggestive' ( $X^2 = 3.16$  ldf  $p = 0.10$ ). The hypothesis is therefore upheld for Fijians, but apparently not for Indians.

Involvement in kin exchange, however, does not indicate the type of involvement.<sup>2</sup> Fijian and Indian exchange differed significantly in both extent and type. Indians, as previously observed in Chapter 14, were significantly less involved than Fijians ( $X^2 = 66.8$  ldf  $p = 0.001$ ), but both high-income groups were involved more than low-income groups (Table 17.3).

Reciprocal exchanges involved more high-income Fijian, but less high-income Indian, households. Non-reciprocal exchanges involving 'receiving' were, as expected, more important among both Fijian and Indian low-income groups, but non-reciprocal 'giving' involved more low-income Fijian and more high-income Indian households. Figure 17.2 provides a dramatic demonstration of the differences between the two ethnic groups. The major change with increased income for Indians was an increase in involvement, and a marked increase in non-reciprocal relations which Table 17.3 has shown to comprise 'giving' relations.

The Fijian pattern was less lineal. As income increased from category 1 to 2, involvement and reciprocity increased with no significant change in non-reciprocal relations. Category 3 saw no change in involvement, an increase in reciprocity, and a decrease in non-reciprocal relations. At this level, Fijians appeared to be committed to kin exchanges, but greater emphasis was placed on reciprocity. Category 4, the high-income households, showed a further increase in reciprocity, a decline in non-reciprocal relations and, significantly, a decline in kin involvement, thus countering the trend towards greater involvement with increased income seen in lower income groups.

TABLE 17.3  
TYPES OF KIN EXCHANGE BY LEVELS OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME  
(Percentages)

Weekly income (\$)	None	Receiving	Giving	Reciprocal	Total %	N
FIJIAN						
Under 20	40.0	6.7	40.0	13.3	100.0	15
20 - 49	14.5	7.2	42.1	36.2	100.0	69
50 - 69	15.2	3.0	33.3	48.5	100.0	33
70 and over	25.5	-	23.6	50.9	100.0	55
Total	20.3	4.1	34.3	41.3	100.0	172
INDIAN						
Under 20	69.5	11.1	8.3	11.1	100.0	36
20 - 49	66.2	5.3	25.3	3.2	100.0	95
50 - 69	56.7	3.3	36.7	3.3	100.0	30
70 and over	52.9	11.8	35.3	-	100.0	17
Total	64.0	6.7	24.6	6.7	100.0	178

Note: Non-reciprocal relations are 'giving' or 'receiving' relations.  
Source: July 1976 Survey.

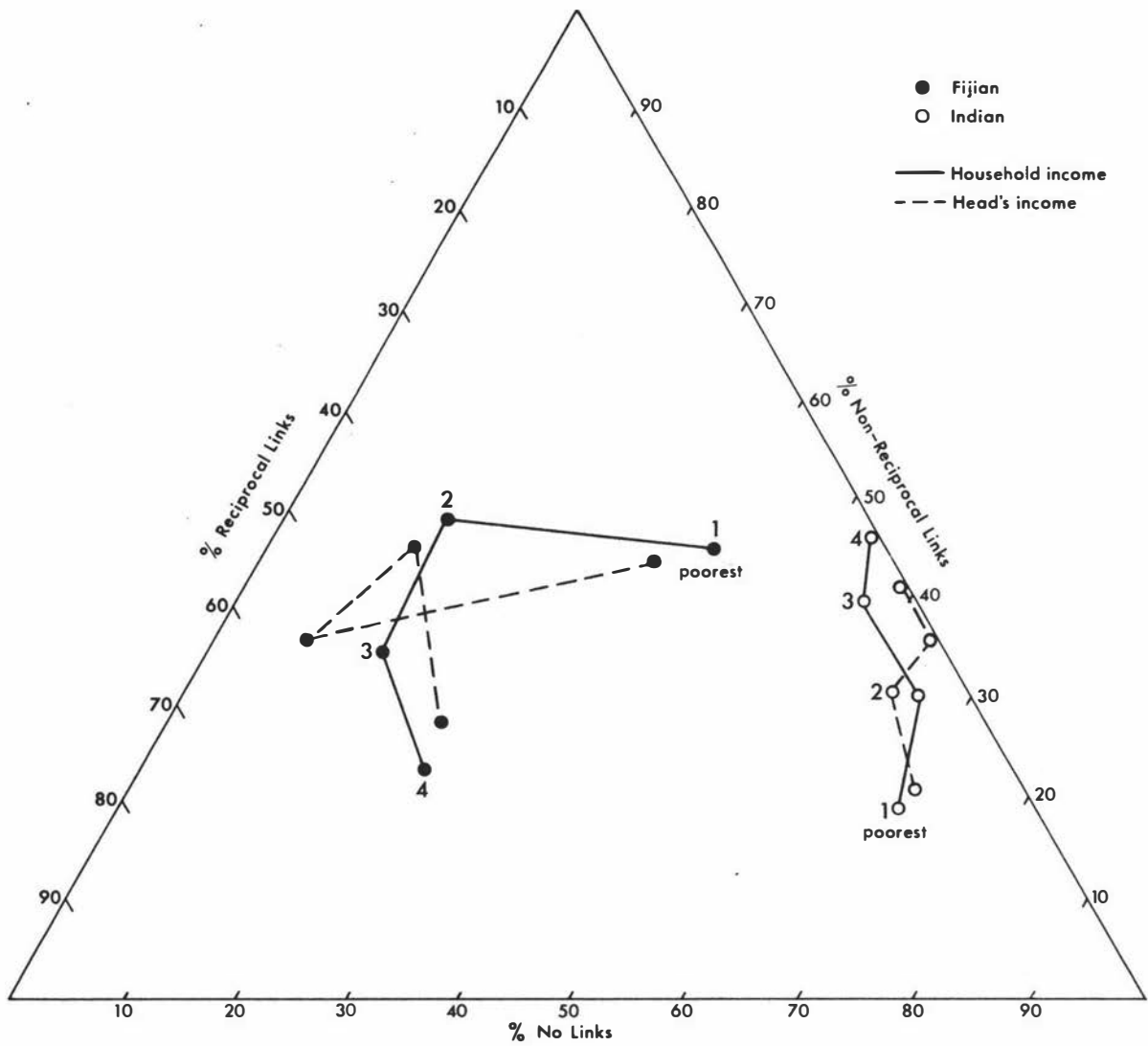
The impression gained from the above is that some high-income households were beginning to find kin exchanges too demanding. The importance of this observation is obvious. A state of 'stress', incipient in category 3 households, appeared to become acute in many high-income households. Many were presumably not prepared to continue with non-reciprocal relations, and if they were unable to establish satisfactory reciprocal relations, they opted out of kin exchanges altogether. While this observation cannot be directly verified, higher income Fijian households did fall into three discrete groups:

a) one-half may be said to be 'satisfied,' having established reciprocal relationships;

b) one-quarter were 'doubtful' in one-sided giving relationships. They appear likely to either make their relationship reciprocal or join the remaining one-quarter of the households;

c) the 'disillusioned,' which had cut themselves off completely from kin exchanges.

The difference between low and high-income Fijians at these three levels of kin exchange was significant ( $\chi^2 = 8.17$  2df  $p = 0.05$ ). The foregoing,



**FIGURE 17.2** Kin Exchange and Levels of Income.  
Income categories (\$F a week)

	1	2	3	4
Head's income	under 24	25 - 31	32 - 39	40 and over
Fijian N	35	36	46	56
Indian N	53	54	31	41
Household income	under 20	20 - 49	50 - 69	70 and over
Fijian N	15	69	33	55
Indian N	36	95	30	17

Source: July 1976 Survey.

of course, oversimplifies the situation and does not account for the less regular pattern (Figure 17.2) with respect to head's income. Nevertheless, it does provide a likely explanation of Fijian cultural change in the city, but it does not necessarily indicate the eventual demise of kin exchange as the following discussion may show.

In considering change in kin exchange involvement with increased exposure to the city, it was found that 49 percent of Indian recent migrants, 33.3 percent of longer resident migrants, and only 21.3 percent of those born in the city were involved in exchange relations. This decline in Indian involvement was statistically significant ( $X^2 = 6.65$  2df  $p = 0.05$ ). Among Fijians, however, no significant difference in involvement occurred with length of residence in the city.

In sum, kin exchange among Indians is in part a survival of traditional-rural behaviour in which the poor were least involved, and non-reciprocal 'giving' relationships by some better-off households most probably involved sibling assistance to aged parents. Fijians were much more involved in kin exchanges, though again the poor were least involved. Exchange did not decrease with length of residence in the city, but among those on higher incomes some tendency to more individualistic behaviour was apparent. For the majority of Fijians, however, kin exchange remained (along with the extended household) an important and presumably useful strategy for urban survival. Whether it remains so will depend on the degree of reciprocity involved, and whether this form of traditional-rural behaviour can be satisfactorily 'reinterpreted' by the formation of 'pretend rules' which Hoebel (1960, 174) has defined as 'customary norms for violating the cultural standards.'<sup>3</sup> Evidence of stress in a culture does not presume its eclipse, only its modification.

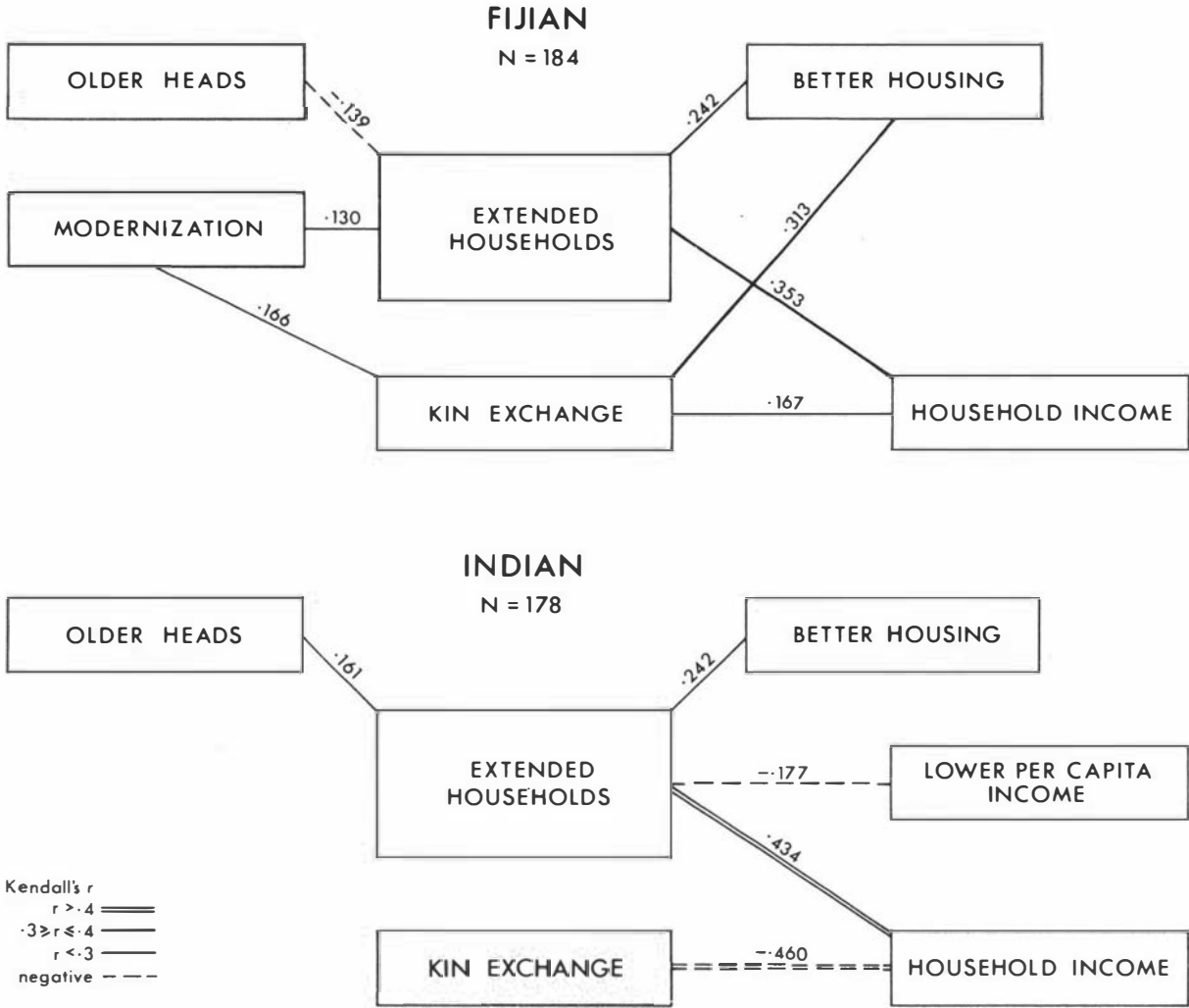
## CONCLUSIONS

Two forms of rural-traditional behaviour, the extended household and kin exchange, have been used to test the proposal that rural-traditional behaviour is not antithetical to behaviour considered modern and urban.

Extended Fijian households were seen to be significantly more involved in kin exchanges than nuclear households, and extended Indian households showed stronger preferences for residential proximity to kin than nuclear households although this difference was not found to be statistically significant.

Extended households were found to be no less typical of squatter settlements than other low-income areas. They were no less modern than nuclear households, and their levels of per capita income and housing (apart from living space) were either similar to or significantly superior to those of the nuclear household.

Kin exchanges involved households on higher incomes and, among Fijians but not Indians, kin exchange did not decline with urban residence. The future may well see better-off Fijians (of whom there are very few in squatter areas) becoming, like Indians, more individualistic, or traditional Fijian mores may be satisfactorily 'reinterpreted.' At this stage of urbanization in Fiji, there is nothing in the evidence to suggest that households displaying traditional behaviour are in any way less modern or less economically successful than less obviously traditional households. Indeed, much of the evidence indicates significant correlations between the extended household and kin exchange on the one hand and evidence of 'success' on the other hand (Figure 17.3). The importance of the traditional-rural/modern-urban debate pales before further evidence that money is the most important variable in considering the characteristics of the squatter social environment.



**FIGURE 17.3** Correlates of the Extended Household and Kin Exchange. All variables are dichotomised. r ignores sample error. Source: July 1976 Survey.

## FOOTNOTES

1 Mean household weekly incomes (S.E. in parenthesis) were: Fijian nuclear \$43.11 (\$2.39); Fijian extended \$78.97 (\$6.49); Indian nuclear \$35.45 (\$1.45); Indian extended \$56.00 (\$6.19).

2 Neither does 'involvement' indicate the frequency or amount of exchange. Questions of this nature were considered liable to major error in brief, single interview situations.

3 Bruner (1963, 7) describes this strategy among the Batak in Indonesia, a people with a longer urban history than the Fijians, who maintain many traditional ways:

The wealthy man plays the game according to the rules, but makes excuses when kinship demands become excessive... if a request is made which exceeds the normal expectations of kinship relationship, he will express general sympathy but claim that unfortunately he is not in a position to comply with the request.

## CHAPTER 18

### CORRELATES AND LIMITATIONS OF IMPROVEMENT

PROPOSITION 6. Income is the most important variable affecting the quality of squatter housing. The level of squatter income is such that unassisted self-help activities will not produce an overall improvement in housing (or in social mobility) for the majority of squatter households.

Prominent among the claims of the Progressive Development (in housing) School is that squatting represents a realistic means by which the urban poor can improve their circumstances. Turner (1972, 516), a notable exponent of this School, has gone so far as to refer to some squatter settlements as 'self-improving suburbs.'

The forms of improvement considered in this chapter are housing and social mobility. Previous chapters have shown that there is some evidence of such improvements in Suva, but two basic questions remain. First, what are the main correlates and interrelationships of improvement in housing, and what are the prerequisites of social mobility? Second, is the improvement seen in Suva sufficient to merit the claim that a significant number of squatters will reach a point of 'take off' towards adequate housing and a level of economic success which leaves them no longer marginal in the wider economic setting on the city?

To consider the first of these questions the house adequacy and home improvement scales are used as the dependent variables in determining the main correlates of improvement.<sup>1</sup> Limitations of housing adequacy are deduced from the correlations observed, and houses considered inadequate on the basis of minimum standards are progressively eliminated to determine the total housing stock which may be objectively considered adequate at a given point in time (namely, July, 1976, when the survey was undertaken).

The potential for social mobility is usually measured by occupational and educational status across two generations or by comparing these statuses with the norms for the city or area under investigation. There are two major reasons why these methods were not used in the present study. First, intergenerational comparisons would show most squatter fathers to be less educated and of lower occupational status than many of their children, especially in households which have migrated from rural areas. Such 'improvements' may in fact represent mobility but they are as likely to reflect differences between areas and points in time which have little to do with the overall place of the squatter in the urban economy.



Intergenerational comparisons also require information on all siblings, not only those presently residing in their father's household.

Second, comparisons with Suva norms would reveal little that has not already been demonstrated, namely, that squatters en masse are occupationally and educationally underprivileged. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that occupational status and education on the one hand and income on the other are not lineally related. The use of these indices is therefore largely replaced by the most obvious impetus of mobility - income and, specifically, household income. Households which had incomes in excess of the minimum necessary to qualify for the cheapest form of unsubsidised Housing Authority accommodation, the core house, were taken to represent households which had the potential for mobility, and those below this income level (\$55 a week) were considered to lack the necessary income for mobility.

The proportion of households which could not be considered potentially mobile in July 1976 was determined by the progressive elimination of households on the basis of household income (under \$55 a week), employment status (not skilled or better), and schooling (below the upper secondary level).<sup>2</sup> This procedure is explained more fully below.

#### THE CORRELATES OF HOUSE IMPROVEMENT

It was hypothesised (H36) that housing adequacy and home improvement are positively related to length of residence, age of household head, head's and household income, modern behaviour, security of tenure, and house ownership.

Length of residence was significantly related to home improvement only in the case of Fijian migrants resident in the city for over ten years compared to more recent migrants (46.2 percent and 27.7 percent respectively,  $\chi^2 = 5.55$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ). House adequacy was not significantly related to length of residence in the city, nor were Suva-born squatters more adequately housed than squatter migrants.

Both Fijian and Indian older household heads (over 35 years old) had more adequate housing than younger heads, but the difference was only significant for Indians where 69.9 percent of older heads compared with only 48.4 percent of younger heads had adequate housing ( $\chi^2 = 7.54$  1df

$p = 0.01$ ). More Fijian and Indian older heads had also improved their housing but the difference was only significant for Fijians (45 percent compared with 17.3 percent for younger heads,  $X^2 = 10.63$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ).

Heads on higher incomes (\$30 and over a week) scored better on both housing indices.<sup>3</sup> The differences were significant for home improvement for both Fijians (45.6 percent compared with 17.4 percent,  $X^2 = 10.19$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ) and Indians (60.4 percent compared with 28.2 percent,  $X^2 = 17.07$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ). However, the difference was only statistically significant for Fijians regarding house adequacy (53.2 percent compared with 29.8 percent,  $X^2 = 6.61$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ).

Household income was strongly related to both housing indices for Fijians and Indians. Fifty-five percent of Fijians on higher incomes (\$40 and over a week) had adequate housing compared with only 20 percent on lower incomes ( $X^2 = 14.76$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ), and 67.1 percent of Indians on higher incomes had adequate housing compared with only 47.8 percent on lower incomes ( $X^2 = 5.99$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ). Similarly, 47.6 percent of higher income Fijian households had improved their house compared with only 11.4 percent on lower incomes ( $X^2 = 16.65$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ), and 63.6 percent of Indians on higher incomes had improved their house compared with only 28.9 percent on lower incomes ( $X^2 = 20.25$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ).

Higher levels of modernization only affected Indian house adequacy. Sixty-six percent of high modernizers had adequate housing compared with 48.7 percent of low modernizers ( $X^2 = 4.47$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ).

Security of tenure was assessed by a scale which gave equal value to payment of land rents, not having been approached to leave the area and not expecting to be approached to leave in the future. Security of tenure so determined was significantly related to house adequacy and the Indian (but not the Fijian) responses were 'suggestive' of a relationship with home improvement. Forty-nine percent of Fijians with more secure tenure had adequate housing compared with 28.7 percent with less secure tenure ( $X^2 = 4.21$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ). Comparable figures for Indians were 67.7 percent and 48.7 percent ( $X^2 = 3.85$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ).

House ownership was also highly related to both housing indices. Fifty-one percent of Fijian house owners had adequate housing compared with 26.8 percent of non-owners ( $X^2 = 6.50$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ) and 42.3 percent had improved their homes compared with 20 percent of non-owners ( $X^2 = 5.60$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ). Sixty-three percent of Indian owners had adequate housing

compared with only 33.3 percent of non-owners ( $\chi^2 = 5.49$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ) and 52.2 percent had improved their homes compared with only 14.3 percent on non-owners ( $\chi^2 = 9.22$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ).

The hypothesis that house adequacy and home improvement is positively related to household income and house ownership is therefore upheld without qualification. The other variables (length of residence, age of head, modernization and security of tenure) were also positively related to at least one of the two housing variables for one or both ethnic groups. Substantial support is therefore provided for the hypothesis. A summary of significantly related variables is provided in Table 18.1.

TABLE 18.1

A SUMMARY OF RESEARCH VARIABLES RELATED TO HOUSE ADEQUACY AND HOME IMPROVEMENT<sup>a</sup>

	House	Adequacy	Home Improvement	
Length of residence	-	-	Fijian <sup>b</sup>	-
Older age of head	-	Indian	Fijian	-
Higher head's income	Fijian	-	Fijian	Indian
Higher household income	Fijian	Indian	Fijian	Indian
Modernization	-	Indian	-	-
Security of tenure	Fijian	Indian	-	-
House ownership	Fijian	Indian	Fijian	Indian

Notes:

a A summary of findings related to Hypothesis 36.

b Migrants resident in Suva over ten years. Excludes Suva-born.

#### INTERDEPENDENCE OF HOUSING CORRELATES

The preceding discussion has considered seven variables which have been shown to be related to house adequacy and home improvement. The discussion which follows illustrates the interdependence of all the variables which were shown to be directly or indirectly related to housing. Figure 18.1 (a) and (c) illustrate relationships where  $p = 0.01$ , and (b) and (d) relationships where  $p = 0.02$ .<sup>4</sup> They are shown separately largely to simplify presentation. The variables in the figure are grouped according to four characteristics. Group A (coloured red) are

demographic; Group B (coloured blue) are economic; Group C (coloured green) are associated with residential identification; and Group D (coloured yellow) are indicative of traditional behaviour.

Three groups of variables had an obvious and direct bearing on housing. These were:

- 1) Economic variables which included income, especially household income, and for Fijians savings/possessions.<sup>5</sup>
- 2) Residential identification, especially security of tenure and home ownership, and for Fijians the intention to remain in the area.
- 3) Demographic variables, most notably older age of household heads.

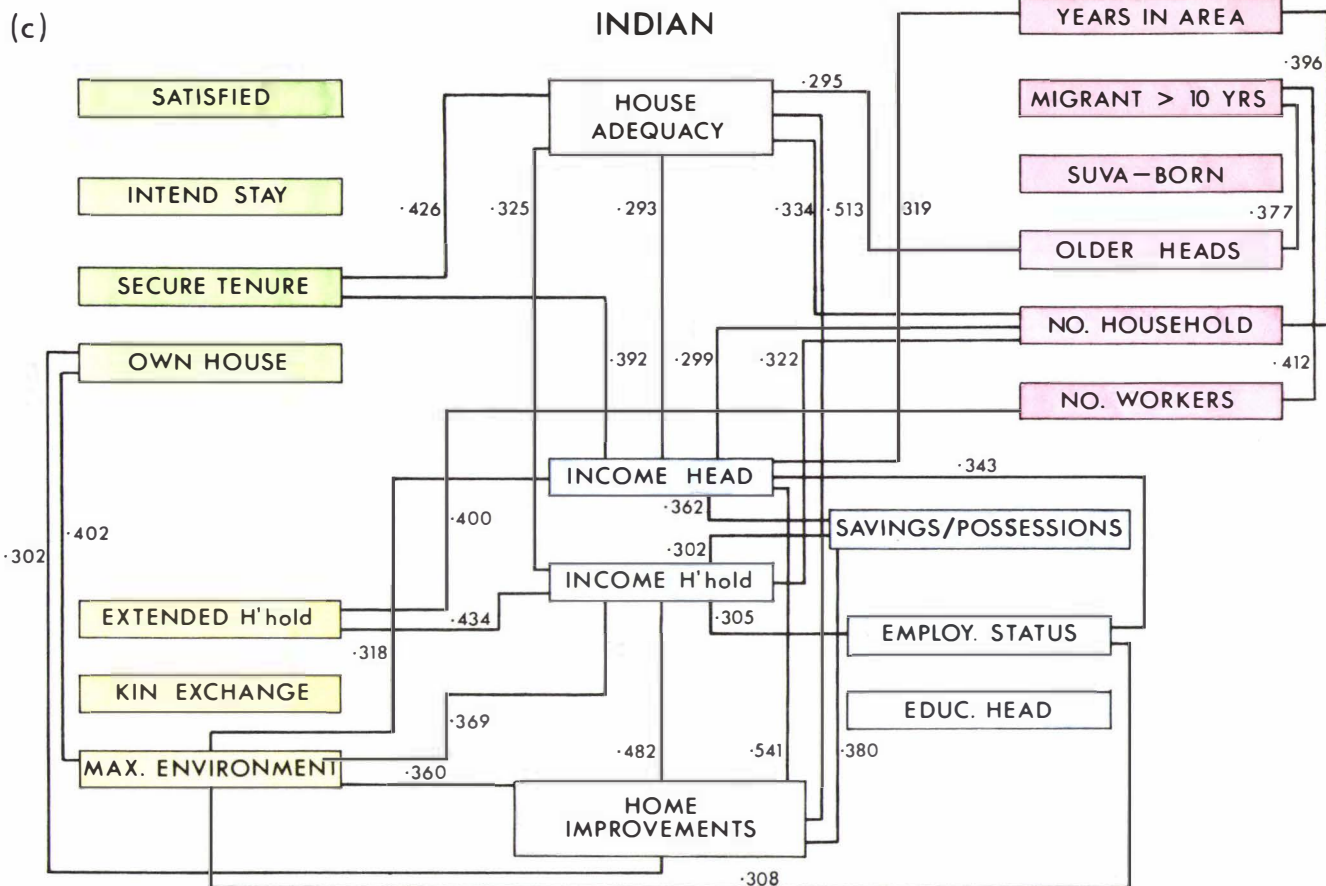
Three groups of variables affected housing indirectly. These were:

- 1) Cultural variables, most notably extended household structure and the use of the environment for informal economic activities including gardening (maximisation of the environment).
- 2) Demographic variables concerning household composition, most notably the number in the household and the number of workers.
- 3) Demographic variables concerning length of residence. These included years resident in the area, Suva-born and migrants who had been resident in Suva for over ten years.

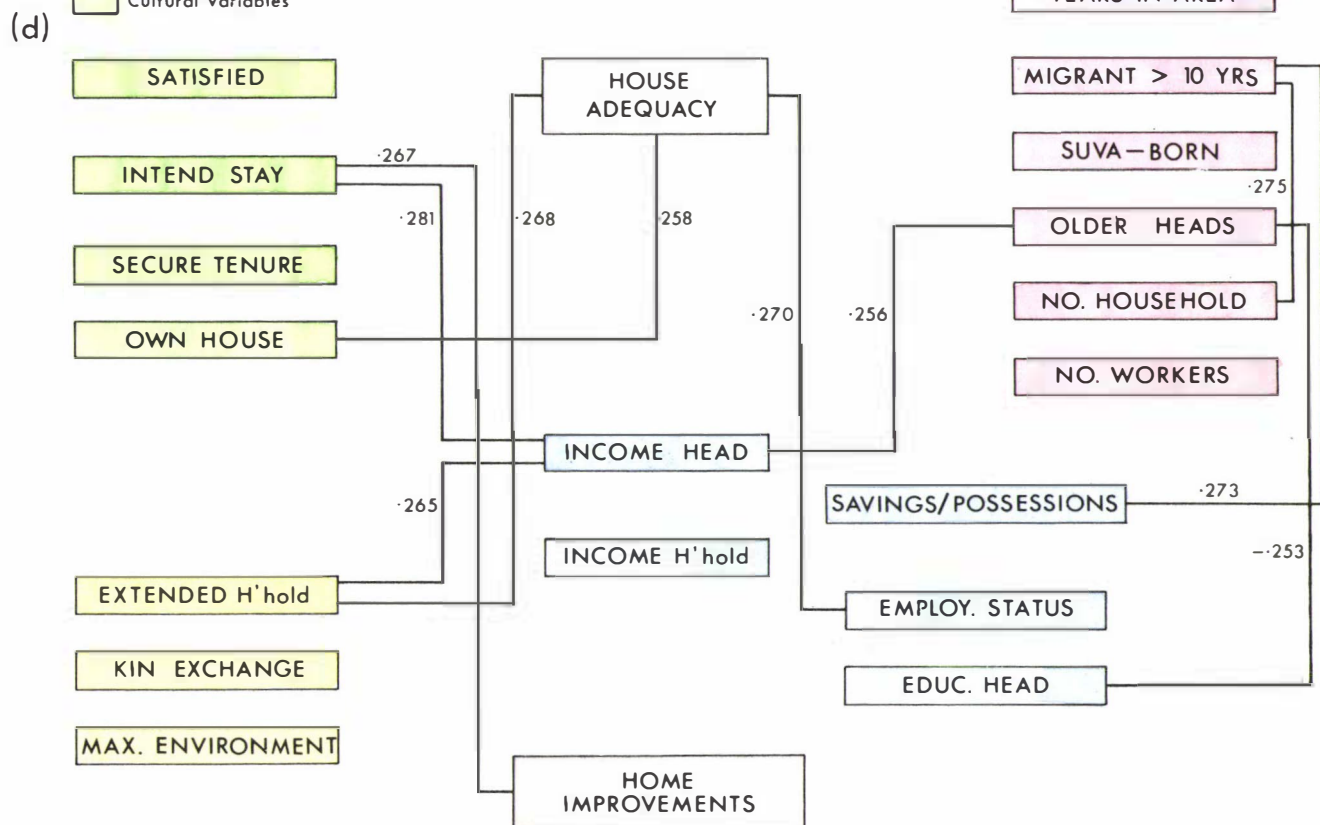
Both cultural and demographic variables associated with household composition were related to the economic situation of households which in turn was directly related to housing. Length of residence, however, was most noticeably related to residential identification among Fijians, and residential identification in turn was related to housing. Three variables assumed to be related directly to housing (modernization, education of the household head, and occupational status) had little or no effect on housing, and were mainly indirectly related, through income, for Indians.

What is most apparent from the relationships shown in Figure 18.1 is that the strength of correlations and the linkages between variables differed for Fijians and Indians. Figure 18.2 illustrates the major points of similarity and dissimilarity between the two ethnic groups. Correlates of the variables shown in Figure 18.1 were given index values which were then summed by groups. The groups were then ranked according to the summed values. This procedure was preferred to the use of a more rigorous method such as factor analysis because such methods could





- Demographic Variables
- Economic Variables
- Residential Variables
- Cultural Variables

Kendall's  $r$ (a), (c)  $r \geq .290$ (b), (d)  $r < .290$ 

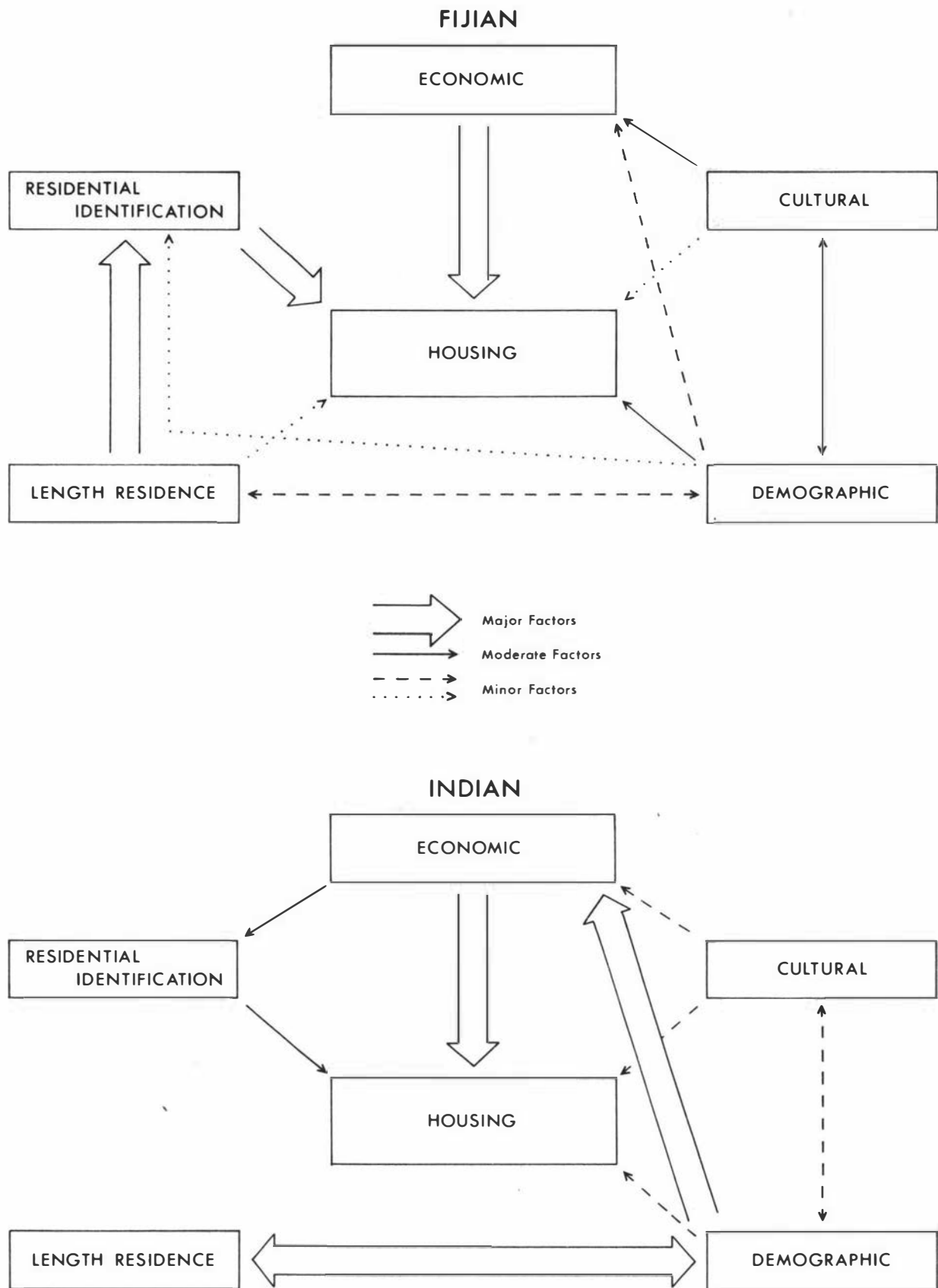
result in the interpretation of derived factors with no conceptual basis.

Figure 18.2 demonstrates that economic variables were the most important influences on housing adequacy and home improvement (grouped together as 'housing') for both Fijian and Indian populations, but thereafter considerable differences were apparent in the relative strengths and linkages of other factors. The most salient observations are:

1) Fijians with longer residence in the city obtained a closer identification with the area. Length of residence and residential identification were not significantly related for Indians, and residential identification had a less obvious direct bearing on housing. Two possibilities arise: either real or perceived obstacles prevent Indians from turning length of residence into residential identification or most Indians (and only a few Fijians) seek adequate housing and home improvement irrespective of their length of residence. Evidence has been advanced to offer support for both possible explanations.

2) Demographic factors are most strongly related to economic and length of residence variables for Indians, but only affect housing in improving the economic circumstances of Indian households. Demographic variables for Fijians, on the other hand, have a relatively strong direct bearing on housing, and they are also related to all other groups of variables.

This discussion in one sense states little more than the obvious, but it does demonstrate the nature of linkages affecting housing, and important differences between Fijian and Indian populations. It is clear that housing improvement occurs only as a consequence of accretions of household income, of age, time, number of workers and so on, and that housing policies which neglect this balance of factors could have a negative effect on the capacity of the poor to improve their housing. Fijian accretions appear to hinge on the extended household, an accretion of human capital producing higher household incomes largely independent of the age of household head or length of residence in the city. Accretions of time only had a bearing on housing through stronger residential identification. Indian accretions also occur through the extended household, but relatively few Indian households were extended. For most Indian households accretions were derived from demographic variables enhanced by time (years in area, number in the household) and employment status,



**FIGURE 18.2** Factors affecting Housing Quality: a Deductive Model. Source: July 1976 Survey.



which also has a time component. Both variables had a bearing on income and housing.

Fijian household numbers increase by births and the addition of related kin. Indian numbers increase largely through the number of children born to a nuclear family. Such accretions are essentially temporary, adolescent and adult children only adding to the household income in the brief period prior to marriage and the establishment of a separate family. Indian housing improvement dependent on household numbers, then, is confined to a relatively short period of time, while Fijian improvement, with a more constant household size, can be spread over a longer period. It is also likely that Indian improvement occurs at least partly because the house itself is seen as a material asset with an exchange value. The house may therefore be used as an instrument to advance one's prospects for social mobility. Fijian improvement, on the other hand, seems partly a response to pressures of increased household size, the house itself being given little value other than as a place of residence (use value). These observations reinforce earlier statements to the effect that a 'blanket' housing policy which ignores ethnic differences may have a negative effect on squatter self-improvement.

#### LIMITATIONS OF HOUSING ADEQUACY

Chapter 11 has shown that on separate indices of adequacy (shelter, size, density, water supply and sanitation) a high proportion of squatter houses could be considered minimally adequate. It has also been shown that improvements had been undertaken recently or were planned in the near future in a significant number of households. These findings support the views of the Progressive Development School that self-improvement occurs, and that the selection of improvements is a reflection of squatter priorities. Certain improvements, however, are largely beyond squatter means and attention has been directed to the generally lower levels of water supply and sanitation adequacy in Indian areas. In this chapter the main constraints of adequacy and improvement have been shown to be income, ownership and tenure, probably in that order. Although these findings identify the correlates of improvement and thereby lend weight to the views of the Progressive Development School, they represent a situation in flux because the observed levels of adequacy and improvement are rather piecemeal. They do not indicate the proportion of squatter houses that can be considered adequate at one point in time, and there

is no guarantee that houses in varying stages of improvement will ever become minimally adequate on all of the criteria of adequacy.

If the views of the Progressive Development School are to gain unqualified acceptance, it is not sufficient to show that improvements occur in squatter areas through the self-help activities of the residents. It is also necessary to show that a significant number of squatter dwellings are minimally adequate, and that the proportion of such dwellings is likely to increase relative to (or in excess of) the likely growth of squatter populations. This is the task in the discussion to follow.

The five criteria of minimal housing adequacy discussed in Chapter 11 were examined by step-wise progression to determine the proportion of minimally adequate houses in July, 1976. Table 18.2 shows a progressive decline in the proportion of adequate houses as they fail to meet successive criteria. For example, 65.3 percent of the total houses provided adequate shelter; 30.6 percent were adequate with regard to shelter and size; and 22.5 percent were adequate on these criteria and density. When the remaining criteria were also considered only 7.2 percent were minimally adequate in all respects. Thus only 23 (13.1 percent) of the original 176 Fijian houses and three (1.6 percent) of the original 184 Indian houses could be considered totally adequate at these minimal levels at the time of the survey in July, 1976.

What is immediately apparent in Table 18.2 is that while a much higher proportion of Indian houses provided adequate shelter compared with Fijian houses, far fewer were totally adequate. This situation is almost certainly a consequence of official action which has resulted in the installation of considerably more pour-flush toilets in Fijian squatter than in Indian squatter areas. It is also apparent that of the households which provided adequate shelter, relatively more Fijian houses met the size criterion and not the density criterion while relatively more Indian houses met the density but not the size criterion. To allow for differences in life style reflecting probable cultural preferences, the size/density criteria were waived to demand adequacy on either size or density. However, this resulted in only a slight improvement. Thirty (17 percent) of the Fijian and four (2.2 percent) of the Indian houses were adequate on all the criteria except size or density. It is significant that all of these houses were owner-occupied.

The last two criteria (piped water supply and toilets) were positively related (Kendall's  $r = 0.470$ ) and, as previously stated, differences between Fijian and Indian standards of sanitation owe much to official action (or inaction) on behalf of the Indians. It was therefore decided to consider those houses which were adequate with respect to shelter, size and/or density in order to determine whether a more enlightened official policy of 'controlled spontaneous settlement,' as advocated by the Progressive Development School, would be likely to bring about improvement in piped water supply and sanitation.

TABLE 18.2  
A PROGRESSIVE CALCULATION OF MINIMAL HOUSING ADEQUACY<sup>a</sup>  
(Percentages)

	Shelter <sup>b</sup>	Size <sup>c</sup>	Density <sup>c</sup>	Water Supply <sup>d</sup>	Sanitation <sup>e</sup>	Totally Adequate
Fijian (N = 176)	55.7	27.3	18.2	18.2	13.1	13.1
Indian (N = 184)	74.5	33.7	26.6	19.0	1.6	1.6
Total (N = 360)	65.3	30.6	22.5	18.6	7.2	7.2

Notes:

- a See Chapter 11 for the rationale of housing adequacy.
- b Houses on raised foundations which were constructed of reasonably durable, non-inflammable materials.
- c Housing Authority and HART minimum standards for floor area ( $27.8\text{m}^2$ ) and density ( $5\text{m}^2$  per occupant).
- d Access to piped water within 100 metres of the house.
- e Separate household use of a pour-flush or flush toilet.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

Of the 54 (30.7 percent) Fijian and 78 (42.4 percent) Indian houses which were adequate in terms of shelter, size and/or density, 85.2 percent of Fijian and all the Indian houses were owner-occupied; 77.8 percent (Fijian) and 43.6 percent (Indian) paid land rent, and 48.1 percent (Fijian) and 17.9 percent (Indian) had not been approached to leave nor did they expect to be asked to leave in the future. It appears highly probable that a substantial improvement in water supply and sanitation would occur among these households if Fiji adopted a policy of 'controlled spontaneous

settlement.' By far the larger proportion of houses, however, had not reached minimum standards of shelter, size and/or density, and it is by no means obvious that these houses would improve if official policy changed.

In conclusion, a relatively small proportion (7.2 percent) of houses in the settlements surveyed in July 1976 were adequate on all of the adequacy criteria. The settlements studied were purposively selected and there is therefore no basis for formal statistical inference. If, however, it is assumed that the settlements were representative of types of squatting typical of the Suva Urban Area (to demonstrate the likely magnitude of the problem in the area as a whole), there were likely to be about 280 adequate houses and 3,600 inadequate houses in July, 1976. Assuming a growth in squatter housing of 10 percent a year (it was estimated in Chapter 9 that the annual rate between 1967 and 1976 was 12.8 percent), 400 houses may be expected to be adequate and 5,200 inadequate in 1980. Self-improvement is occurring, but houses age and households gain and lose members. Without major changes in the economic position of squatters, in the assistance they receive from the authorities, and an improvement in their feeling of security, it seems likely that the proportion of adequate houses at any one point in time will not exceed the proportions observed in 1976.

It is doubtful whether the levels of housing adequacy revealed above can be accepted as sufficient to give unqualified support to the self-improvement ideas of the Progressive Development School. Too much of that which needs to be improved is beyond the resources of the squatters themselves. Turner's 'self-improving suburbs' could take so long to improve (due to low incomes and small savings) that signs of deterioration could be more apparent than signs of improvement. Successful implementation of a progressive housing policy for the urban poor needs more than security of tenure and the provision of basic services; it also requires higher and more reliable incomes, and less dependence on the accumulated earnings of the total household. It could also be assisted by a subsidised system of loan financing. To ask for higher incomes is to ask for a level and type of economic development, and a restructuring of society, that is unlikely to be accepted by the present authorities in Fiji. To ask for subsidised or low interest loans is not unreasonable, and this approach has been partly adopted in Brazil (Bell, 1974).<sup>6</sup>

But it also requires major changes in attitudes, especially towards Indian squatters, and this appears unlikely given the contemporary political climate. Squatters need to be a more obvious political threat before politicians and those with a large stake in the present system would be likely to act in this direction. Subsidisation also raises the possibility that some of the negative effects of patronage noted with regard to Housing Authority accommodation could be transferred to squatter housing, thereby removing the impetus for improvement.

Squatting is a realistic means by which the urban poor seek to improve their circumstances, but (in housing) the levels of improvement likely to be achieved are conditional on factors largely outside squatter control. One cannot escape the conclusion that almost all squatters are poor. If they were not, few would remain squatters. This very basic point seems to have been overlooked or credited with only minor importance by many writers who, in extolling the virtues of squatters, seem also to have sanctified squatting as a means of sidestepping one of the problems of underdevelopment. 'Controlled spontaneous settlement' which provides security and basic services is a logical first step if the authorities wish squatter-type housing to improve. It will not, however, remove the basic cause of housing inadequacy -- the limited amount of money that the urban poor can allocate to housing.

## SOCIAL MOBILITY

If squatter areas are 'bridging points' from which their residents make improvements sufficient to become socially mobile, thus leaving the ranks of the urban poor, one might expect those who have had greater opportunities to accumulate assets to show more evidence of the potential for mobility. This evidence would be seen in higher incomes, better education and higher occupational status, and more savings and possessions.

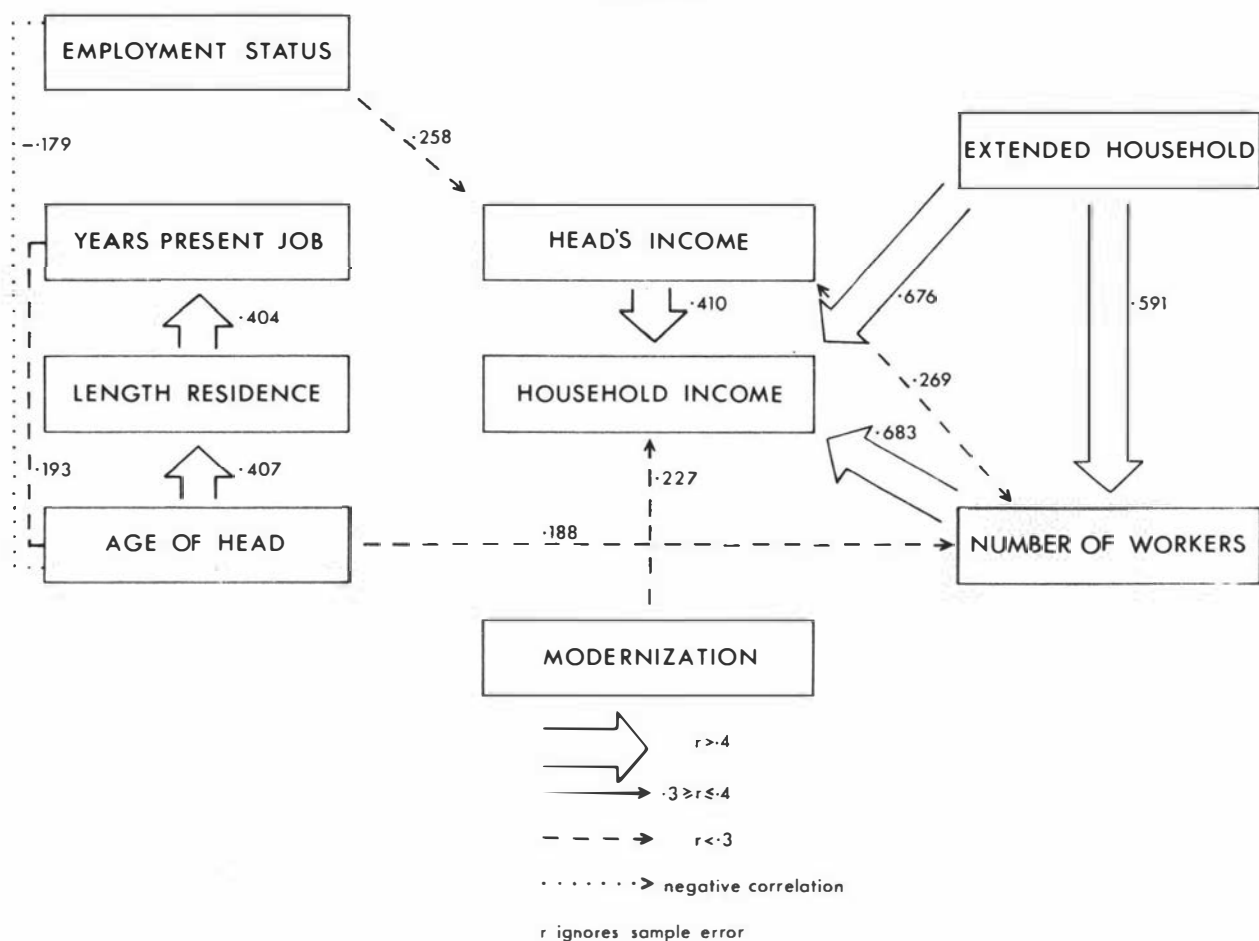
Figure 18.1 has illustrated that certain 'accretion' variables (extended households, more workers, longer residence, and higher occupational status) were significantly related to both higher head's and household income. Figure 18.1 also demonstrated the strong relationship between income and savings/possessions. Indeed, savings/possessions were evident in approximately twice as many households on higher incomes as in those on lower incomes.<sup>7</sup> Some 66.4 percent of Fijians on higher household incomes so defined had savings/possessions compared with only 29.5 percent on lower incomes ( $\chi^2 = 16.68$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ); proportions for

Indians being 42 percent and 22.2 percent respectively ( $X^2 = 7.15$  1df  $p = 0.01$ ). Comparable figures for the relationship with head's income were 61.9 percent and 42.6 percent for Fijians ( $X^2 = 4.46$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ) and 43.6 percent and 17.9 percent for Indians ( $X^2 = 12.07$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ). Savings/possessions were also more evident in households with older heads, among owner-occupiers and households which had been longer resident in the area, but these differences were statistically significant only for longer resident Indians ( $X^2 = 5.61$  1df  $p = 0.05$ ).

The relationship between savings/possessions and income provides a further reason for using income as the main index of social mobility, other (less important) indices being occupational and educational status. Households were therefore divided into potentially low and high mobility groups on the basis of household income. Households earning under \$55 a week were classified as low mobility households. The correlations observed (Figure 18.3) are remarkably similar to those observed in discussing housing correlations. Thus, variables contributing most to Fijian income resulted from accretions related to extended household structure. Sixty-four percent of Fijian high mobility households (HMH) were extended as compared with 17.4 percent of low mobility households (LMH) and the difference was highly significant ( $X^2 = 35.95$  1df  $p = 0.001$ ). Fifty percent of Indian HMH were also extended compared with only 6.8 percent of LMH but, as previously noted, few Indian households were extended. Most Indian income accretions, therefore, resulted not from household structure but from accretions of time, especially length of residence and years employed in the present job.

It has been noted, however, that length of residence was related to better housing for Fijians, but not for Indians. With regard to income, the situation was reversed. No significant relationship existed between length of residence or years in the present job. This indicates a lower level of personal mobility by Fijian household heads. It is also evidence, as indicated in Figure 18.4, that the larger 'family' of demographic variables were less interrelated among Fijians, and only number of workers and number in household had a direct bearing on household income. For Indians, on the other hand, age, longer residence among migrants, years resident in the area, years in the present job, years married, number in household, and number of workers were strongly interrelated with each other.

## FIJIAN



## INDIAN

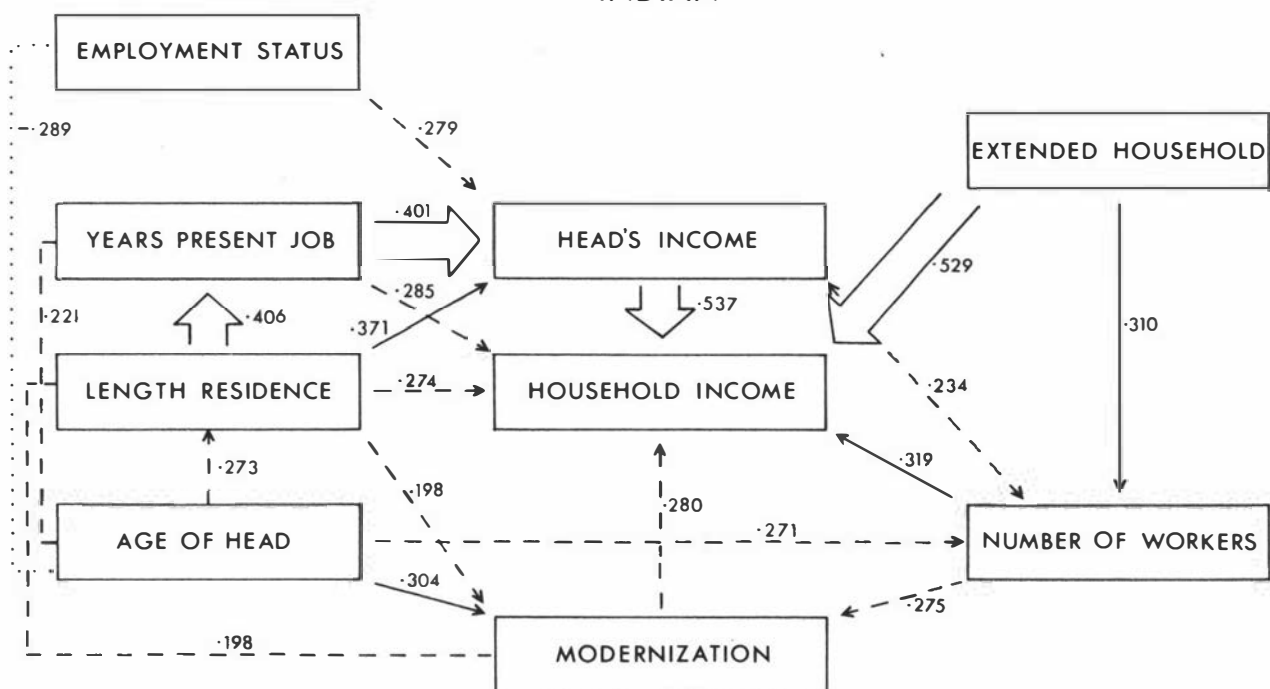
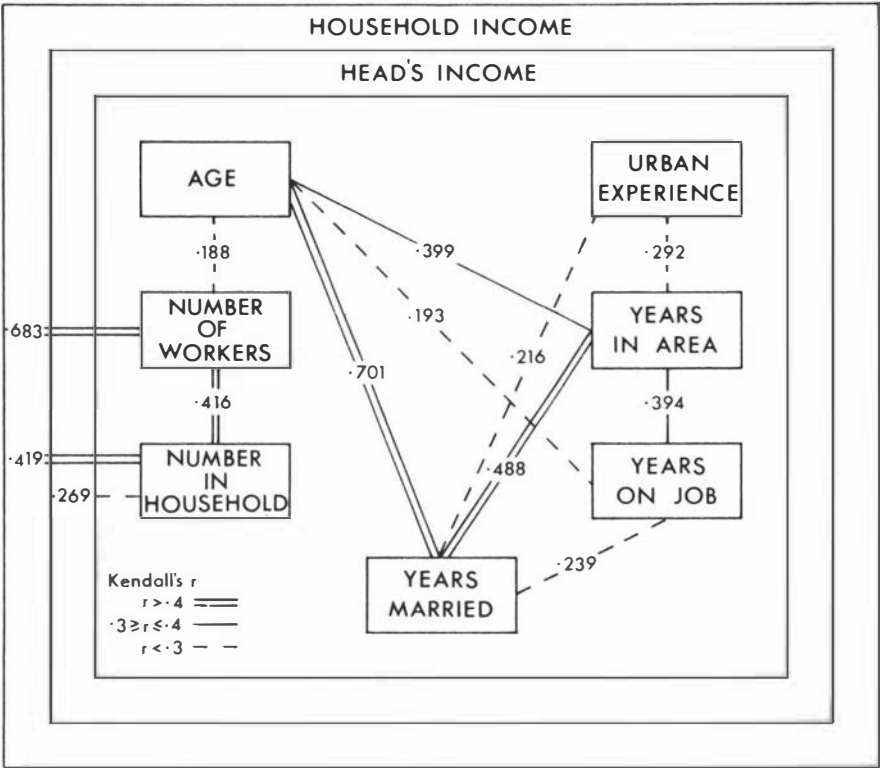


FIGURE 18.3 Major Correlates of Social Mobility based on Incomes: A Deductive Model.  
Source: July 1976 Survey.

FIJIAN  
N = 184



INDIAN  
N = 178

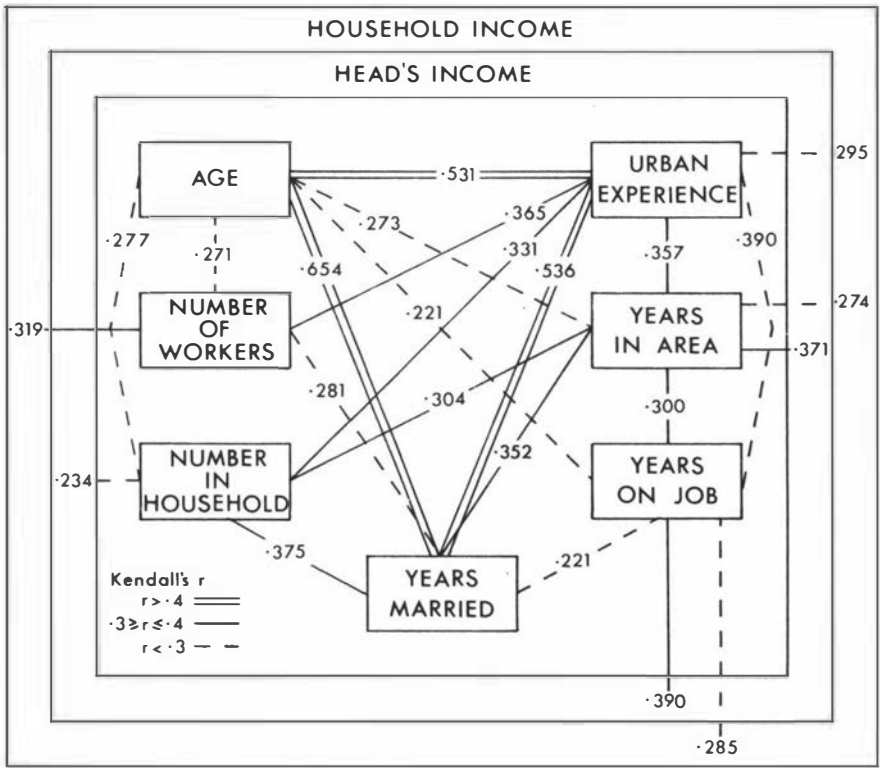


FIGURE 18.4 Demographic and Residential Factors affecting Income. r ignores sample error.  
Source: July 1976 Survey.



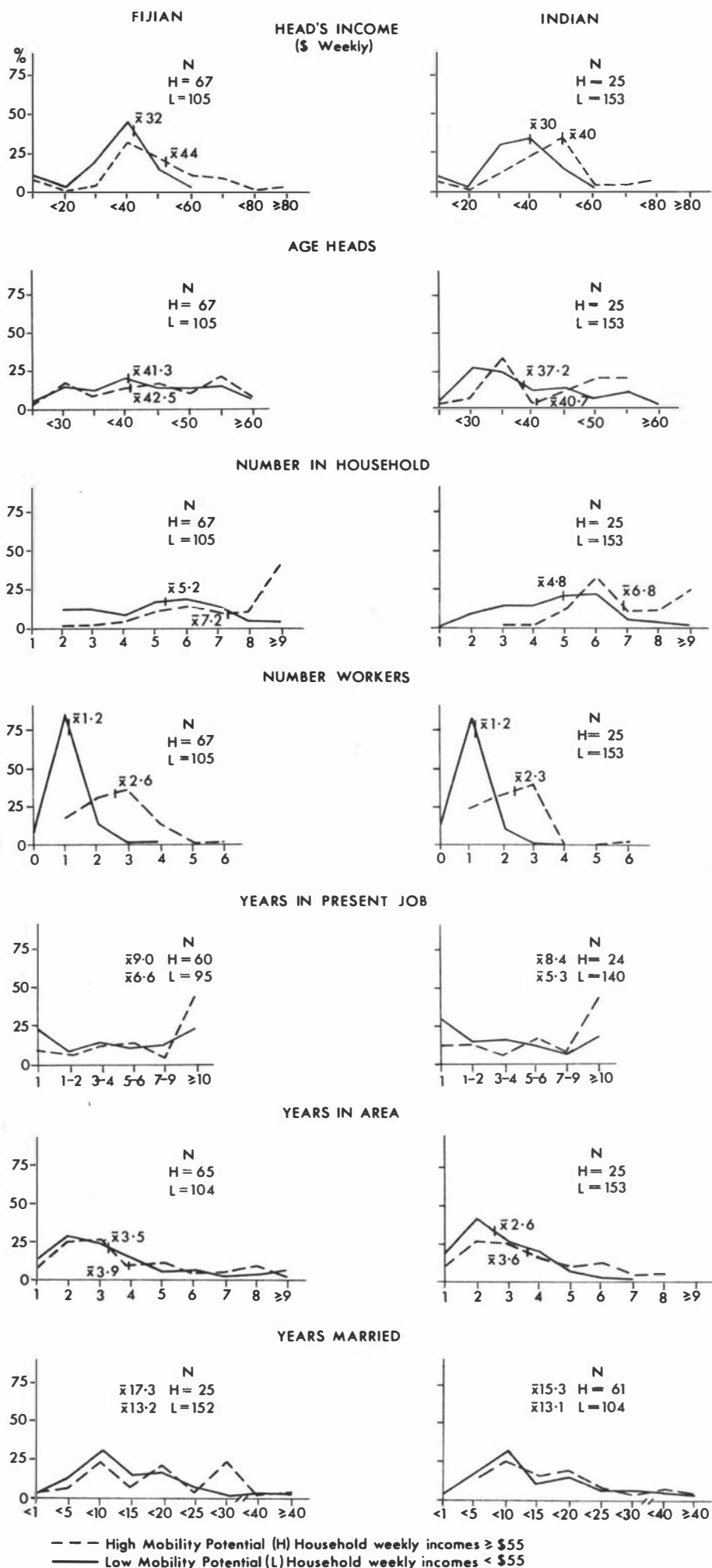
Similarly, longer residence among migrants, years resident in the area, years in the present job, together with number in household and number of workers had a direct bearing on head's and/or household income. These interrelations, also evident between demographic and economic variables in Figure 18.2, indicate the pervasiveness of the Fijian extended household which, as noted above, is largely independent of age of head, length of residence and similar demographic variables. For Indians, however, the configuration of demographic attributes which produce higher incomes are 'all 'time' variables (e.g. age, length of residence, household size). In other words, the critical factor in Fijian income levels is household numbers. This is an attribute of the extended household, a cultural variable largely unrelated to other demographic variables. There is no single critical variable in Indian households. Most demographic variables are related to household numbers and larger households with more workers had larger incomes. However, larger incomes were also obtained by longer residence in the city and longer years in the present job.

Variables which showed no significant relationship to income and which overseas studies have suggested may be related to mobility, were: location of residence, place of birth and route of entry into squatter areas, education of the household head (except possibly among Fijians), and the reasons for taking up residence in a squatter area. Turner's studies in Latin America (e.g. 1970a and 1972) have indicated that inner city squatters are less socially mobile than squatters in peripheral settlements. The Suva evidence is less clear. High mobility households were somewhat overrepresented in the city among Fijians and in the Urban Area among Indians but neither difference was significant. High and low mobility households were equally represented in all areas on the basis of region of origin and route of entry. No support therefore, is afforded to overseas studies which indicate that uneven territorial diffusion results in certain areas of origin being identified as more or less likely to produce 'successful' migrants. This is not to claim, however, that diffusion variations have never produced differences in the characteristics of migrants from various areas, only that these differences, if once evident, are no longer apparent at this stage of urbanization and modernization in Fiji. Alternatively, in societies where the benefits of development are unequally apportioned, it is also possible that major differences do exist between rural and urban areas due to the under-representation of the middle and upper classes in the rural areas.

Such differences, however, owe little to the processes of diffusion. They are class differences which exclude both the rural and urban poor. Finally, Leeds (1970) among others has pointed to the presence of 'types' of squatters based on their reasons for taking up squatter residence. High and low mobility households displayed no significant differences with regard to their reasons for becoming squatters, although somewhat more LMH stated that they had nowhere else to go. It is likely that there are 'types' of squatters based on criteria of modernization and related behavioural attributes, but these are not the critical attributes of housing improvement or social mobility. Attention has been drawn to the need to identify people with positive attitudes in any proposed squatter policy, and the foregoing remarks do not detract from this recommendation. Better housing and more mobility will not occur unless people want them, but such desires will be unsatisfied unless the people concerned have available the material means of accomplishment.

Figure 18.5 brings several points already noted into sharper focus and permits a description of the typical high mobility household. The typical Fijian high mobility household (HMH) probably resides in the city. The house is owner-occupied and it is at least adequate with respect to shelter and size. Improvements have been recently undertaken and more are planned for the future. Typically, it is an extended household of seven or more members, at least two of whom are employed. If they are migrants, they have resided in the city for over ten years. The head or some other worker is engaged in a skilled trade or a tertiary position, and the head has been educated up to and including upper secondary level. He has been employed in the same job for over three years and married for over fifteen years. He is over 40 years old. The household has accumulated, over time, more savings/possessions than other squatter households. It uses the immediate environment for gardening, the wife weaves or makes handicraft goods and some of their produce is sold. Adult members vote, belong to a club, and married adults practise family planning. Parents want tertiary education and professional employment for their children. Finally, they engage in economic kin exchanges with kin on a reciprocal basis or not at all.

The typical Indian high mobility household is similar to the Fijian in most respects but it is less likely to comprise an extended household, and as a consequence has fewer members and fewer workers. Sons and daughters comprise the additional work force. Wives do not engage in economic activities outside the home. The head is more likely to be in a skilled occupation than his Fijian counterpart and less likely



**FIGURE 18.5** Salient Characteristics of High and Low Mobile Squatter Households.  
July 1976 Survey.

Source:

to have had secondary education. Parents are also more likely to aspire to a secondary (not tertiary) education and skilled (not professional) occupation for their children. The house shows more obvious evidence of improvement than the Fijian HMH house although it is likely to lack adequate sanitation. It is probable that structural extensions have been added to the house for the purpose of renting. Sometime in the future the household intends to leave the area for more secure accommodation. The head is appreciative of the exchange value of his house, and its sale will assist the household to take up residence elsewhere. The household's use of the immediate residential environment is more limited than the Fijian and is more likely to be of a non-agricultural nature. Almost all such activities will be directed towards sales.

These sketches of typical potential high mobility households highlight differences in the high and low mobility means. Figure 18.5, however, indicates that major differences between high (HMH) and low (LMH) mobility households occur as much in the distribution around the means as in the means themselves. This is especially evident in the distribution extremes of head's income, household income, number of workers, years resident in the area (especially Indians) and years in the present job. Years in the present job and head's income provide the most obvious illustration of the importance of extreme distributions.

Little difference occurred in the representation of HMH and LMH for employment in the present job for from between one and nine years. The major difference occurred in the much higher representation of HMH among those employed for nine or more years, and the much higher representation of LMH among those employed for under one year. In the Suva employment market this pattern indicates a much higher level of job insecurity among LMH. Similar proportions of HMH and LMH heads under 25 years of age suggest that the pattern was not merely a consequence of the overrepresentation of young household heads among low mobility households.

A similar difference in the extremes of distribution occurred in head's income. Considerably more Fijian LMH heads had incomes under \$40 a week and considerably more HMH heads had incomes of over \$60 a week. Indian differences were not quite so marked, but LMH were overrepresented in all income categories under \$30 a week and HMH were overrepresented in income categories over \$40 a week.

Much of the foregoing discussion has been based on means and dichotomised variables. Such procedures were necessary for statistical purposes, but policy makers, in particular, also need to be vitally aware of distributions. Households at the extreme of distributions represent those which, on the one hand, require special help, and on the other hand, those which, given security of tenure and basic services, may be able to help themselves.

Finally, it has been previously suggested that Indians in particular may eventually leave squatting for other forms of tenure. The evidence available indicates that the potential for mobility is only achieved by Indians over time. The absence of any high mobility Indian head aged 60 years or over in the survey sample lends further support for this proposition.

#### LIMITATIONS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

The group of households categorised as of potentially high mobility on the basis of household income alone comprised 38.7 percent of the Fijian and 14.7 percent of Indian households (Table 18.3). Earlier discussion, however, has indicated that a high proportion of squatter employment (and by implication income) is obtained in casual and insecure, unskilled occupations. Sustaining the capacity for mobility is therefore likely to be associated with stable employment, and an upper secondary education which is an adjunct in some occupations to security. If income and job security are considered together, only 11.4 percent of the total households (13.9 percent Fijian; 9 percent Indian) may be considered potentially mobile on the basis of household income. If education is added, the proportion drops to 4.8 percent (8.1 percent Fijian; 1.7 percent Indian).

These calculations may be overly optimistic for knowledge is lacking on the actual contributions made by additional workers to the regular household budget. Calculations based on the head's income may therefore be more reliable indicators of potential mobility. On the basis of head's income alone only 7.5 percent of Fijian and 2.3 percent of Indian households were potentially mobile (Table 18.3). If employment and educational criteria are also considered, the proportion drops to 2.9 percent for Fijians, 1.7 percent for Indians and 2.3 percent for the total households studied.

TABLE 18.3  
 MOBILITY POTENTIAL : A PROGRESSIVE CALCULATION OF INCOME,  
 EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION INDICES  
 (Percentages)

	Fijian (N = 173)	Indian (N = 178)	Total <sup>a</sup> (N = 351)
A Head's income alone <sup>b</sup>	7.5	2.3	4.8
B Head's income and stable <sup>c</sup> employment	4.6	2.3	3.4
A and B and secondary education <sup>d</sup>	2.9	1.7	2.3
C Household income alone <sup>e</sup>	38.7	14.7	26.5
D Household income and stable employment <sup>c</sup>	13.9	9.0	11.4
C and D and secondary education <sup>d</sup>	8.1	1.7	4.8

Notes:

- a Of the 360 households in the survey, 3 Fijian and 6 Indian households did not supply income information.
- b Over \$55 a week.
- c Skilled or tertiary. Some skilled occupations, especially building and construction, must also be considered unstable.
- d Upper secondary education, Form V or higher.
- e Includes households where only the head was employed.

Source: July 1976 Survey.

The proportion of households which were potentially mobile on the basis of income, employment and education criteria (2.3 or 4.8 percent) is therefore considerably less than the proportion of houses deemed to be adequate (7.2 percent). Discussion on housing adequacy indicated that proportions of this magnitude were unlikely to maintain the status quo due to the growth of squatter populations. A conclusion similar to that drawn on housing must therefore also be drawn with regard to social mobility. Social mobility occurs, but unless the proportion of potentially mobile households increases, the overall situation seems likely to deteriorate. One doubts that the present (1976) situation in Suva validates the 'bridging point' thesis. Moreover, when one notes that it was generally the households which could least afford Housing Authority accommodation (26 percent of low mobility households) that wanted such accommodation, and those that could afford it which wanted it least (7.5 percent of Fijian and 12 percent of Indian high mobility households),

there is some doubt that the 'self-improving suburb' thesis is the 'final solution' to the housing problem.

The conclusions are repetitively obvious. Higher income, the single most important stepping stone to mobility, comes only with time and additional working members in the household, and then only for a relatively small proportion of squatters. Furthermore, most such advances may be dissipated with the death of a household head or the dissolution of larger households consequent upon marriage of children. This makes intergenerational mobility largely dependent on education. Squatters had high education and job aspirations for their children, but many aspirations are likely to exceed performance. In an economy such as that in Fiji, where secure jobs in the formal sector can only be assured for those with an upper secondary education, many young squatters appear destined to lead lives not too dissimilar from that of their parents.

Mobility, like house improvement, is possible, but for a relatively small proportion of households, and the proportion is unlikely to change without major changes in the structure of the Fiji economy and the place of squatters within it. Housing improvement and the potential for mobility derive from accretions which may perhaps be better seen as strategies of survival rather than as a means of improvement. Most have an ephemeral quality not suggestive of sustained capacity. Fijian 'investment' in people may not always bear dividends and there is some evidence that a significant number of those on higher incomes opt out of non-reciprocal kin economic exchanges. It is likely that some have also opted out of extended households. Indian 'investment' in capital may also represent more a search for security in old age than a means of 'take-off' into the middle class. The overall impression is that both the 'bridging point' and the 'self-improving suburbs' arguments have been overstated.

One wonders, for example, what researchers would conclude if they found, in a study of an upper class suburb, proportions of housing deterioration and financial insolvency similar to those of housing improvement and potential social mobility revealed in the present squatter study. Would 7.2 percent deterioration in housing stock be sufficient to suggest future ghetto or slum development? Or would 2.3 percent of household heads with overdrawn bank accounts be sufficient to suggest impending bankruptcy? These levels are not unrealistic, and yet the rich remain rich. Studies of squatters in isolation from the larger system to which they belong may sometimes lose their sense of relativity.

Some houses improve, some households are capable of upward social mobility, but most squatters remain poor.

Evidence in this chapter offers considerable support for the proposition that income is the main variable affecting housing quality, and that the general level of squatter incomes is such that unassisted self-help activities will not produce an overall improvement in housing or in social mobility for the majority of squatter households. If the households surveyed in July, 1976, are typical of squatter households in the Suva Urban Area, the overall situation appears to be deteriorating. If this is the case, the initiative for improvement rests much less on the self-help activities of the squatters and much more on initiatives from the authorities. Without a major reappraisal of the position of the poor in relation to economic development, the amount of 'improvement' seen in squatter areas is unlikely to bring about any significant change in their circumstances.



## FOOTNOTES

1 The house adequacy and home improvement scales are discussed in Chapters 11 and 15. Minimum housing standards are considered in Chapter 11.

2 Qadeer (1975, 234) has criticised the (Western) middle class bias of models where 'progress is measured in terms of single-family housing, school diplomas, white-collar jobs and impersonal relations.' It was recognition of this bias which led the present writer to separate supposedly 'traditional' from supposedly 'modern' behaviour in previous chapters. In considering social mobility, however, the inclusion of indices representing 'white-collar jobs' and 'school diplomas' could not be avoided. It is in the nature of Third World urbanization that such attainments are the most readily rewarded.

3 It will be observed that higher and lower incomes have three definitions in this chapter. The definitions used in testing the hypothesis and the correlations of improvement (Figures 18.1 to 18.4) were intended to produce approximately equal numbers of higher and lower income households; that used in testing the limitations of social mobility was set at the minimum level at which mobility could be expected, based on the minimum mortgage repayments for Housing Authority core houses in 1976.

4 The choice of  $p = 0.02$ , rather than  $p = 0.05$ , was made to compensate for the number of tied ranks obtained from the use of a larger number of variables with a limited number of intervals.

5 'Savings/possessions' were determined from a scale in which equal weight was given to savings (personal savings, insurances or credit union membership) and household possessions (See Appendix A).

6 Low interest housing loans for the urban poor in Brazil, however, occurred within an economy with a decreasing rate of monetary inflation (Bell, 1974). This is not the case in Fiji.

7 Both head's and household higher incomes are defined, for purposes of establishing the proportion of potentially mobile households, at \$55 or more a week. See footnote 3.

## CHAPTER 19

### CONCLUSIONS

This study has had three broad aims: to establish the place of squatting as an urban subsystem in the Fiji situation; to test some of the assertions relating to squatter 'efficiency' which arise from Third World research; and to determine whether the public housing programme in Fiji could usefully incorporate features of the squatter residential environment or improve their programme to meet the needs of the urban poor.

The study opened with a discussion of questions raised in the literature on squatting and the urban poor in the Third World, in the course of which two major schools of thought were identified. The views expressed led, in Part III, to a discussion of factors affecting housing in Fiji, and in Part IV to a description of squatting in Suva. In part V six propositions derived from the literature were tested via 36 hypotheses.

Parts IV and V were based on two surveys: one, of 360 squatter households, undertaken under the writer's direction, in July, 1976; the other, a sample of household schedules obtained from the 1976 Census in Fiji. Squatters in both surveys were grouped into ethno-areas which had been purposively selected to represent the types of squatter settlements inhabited by Fijians and Indians within the city and in the urban area. Within each settlement, households were selected by random sampling procedures. In addition, five types of settlement, from which households were also chosen at random, were selected from the 1976 Census data to represent the range of alternative areas in which squatters could possibly have resided. These areas acted as controls against which squatter areas were compared.

The first part of this chapter is concerned with an assessment of the propositions and their respective hypotheses. The second part is concerned with questions of theory and practice. The chapter concludes with proposals for future research.

#### AN EVALUATION OF PROPOSITIONS AND HYPOTHESES

##### Proposition 1. Squatting permits the poor to maximise opportunities.

This proposition was tested in Chapter 13 via eight hypotheses, and found to be substantially valid (Table 19.1).

TABLE 19.1

## PROPOSITION 1: A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS (CHAPTER 13)

Hypothesis	Short Title	Test Results <sup>a</sup>		Support for Proposition <sup>b</sup>	
		Fijian	Indian	Fijian	Indian
1	Accommodation costs	A	A	+	+
2	Proximity to work*	D	D	o	o
3(a)	Household size/income	A	A	+	+
3(b)	Household size/per capita income	C	C	o	o
4	Number of workers	B	B	+	+
5	Supplementary economic activities*	D	D	o	o
6	Education	A	A	+	+
7	Life cycle	C	D	o	-
8	Fijian/Indian differences	A	A	+	+

## Notes:

\* The rejection of Hypothesis 2 and 5 does not detract from the proposition because proximity to work and supplementary economic activities were important for most squatter households, but not especially for the most disadvantaged households as hypothesised.

a A Hypothesis accepted.

B Hypothesis substantially accepted.

C Hypothesis only partially accepted or results inconclusive.

D Hypothesis rejected.

b Direction of findings :

+ Supports proposition.

- No support for proposition.

o Non-directional finding.

Three hypotheses were upheld without qualification. First, many squatters could not afford alternative unsubsidised accommodation (H1). Eighty percent could not afford the cheapest unsubsidised Housing Authority accommodation on the basis of the income of the household head and one-third on the basis of household income. Such households would have had no opportunities in the city if they were unable to find accommodation at costs similar to that of the squatter areas. The importance of household incomes was apparent in this and subsequent findings, disadvantage being most evident in single-income households. Second, squatters had high educational aspirations for their children; the children had had more schooling than their parents, and the level of schooling was not less than that in other low-income areas (H6).

It was observed, however, that aspirational levels appeared unduly optimistic, especially among Fijians who generally sought tertiary education and professional employment for their children. The actual levels reached fell far short of these aspirations, and appeared unlikely to produce social mobility in one generation. Third, Fijians and Indians displayed different means of maximising economic opportunities (H8). Fijians appeared to rely heavily on the extended household and the use of local residential resources. Indians relied more on individual effort, and extensions to the dwelling were mainly to provide additional income from rents. Such arrangements were considered to make the typical Fijian household more viable in an insecure job market, while Indian households were more likely to experience upward - and downward - mobility.

Two hypotheses were partially accepted. First, household income increased with household size due to the presence of additional workers, but per capita income was less clearly related to household size (H3). Household income was considered more important to squatter households than per capita income. Second, although the proportion of workers in squatter settlements was higher than that in other low-income areas, thus supporting Hypothesis 4, the actual number per household was less due to larger households in other low-income areas. In this respect, squatters appeared no more able to maximise opportunities due to flexible household arrangements than other low-income households, but they could be more able to accommodate additional kin without undue stress. The question of household size merits close examination in the formulation of Housing Authority policies because it cannot be assumed that larger households are at an economic disadvantage in the city.

The rejection of three hypotheses (H2, H5, and H7) did not detract from the proposition that squatting permits the poor to maximise economic opportunities. Proximity to work, for example, was not shown to be especially important for casual workers and those on low incomes (H2), but it was an important consideration for almost all squatters. The limited extent of the bazaar sector and the small areal extent of Suva may have influenced this observation. Similarly, involvement in supplementary economic (or informal) activities was not shown to involve a disproportionate number of low-income households (H5). Indeed, higher income households were more generally involved. These activities, however, were important in most squatter households and there can be

little doubt that the possibilities afforded in squatter areas for informal activities are welcomed by most households. Finally, it had been assumed that households at particular stages of the family life cycle would be overrepresented in squatter areas (H7). Young founding families could be overrepresented (though the evidence was inconclusive), but households which had experienced divorce, separation and widowhood were significantly underrepresented. What is apparent from these, and later findings, is that squatters conform in most demographic respects to other sections of the urban poor.

Proposition 2. Squatters are generally satisfied with the residential area in which they live.

This proposition was considered in Chapter 14 and tested via five hypotheses, all of which were substantially upheld for Fijians and partly upheld for Indians (Table 19.2).

TABLE 19.2

PROPOSITION 2 : A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS (CHAPTER 14)

Hypothesis	Short Title	Test Results <sup>a</sup>		Support for <sup>b</sup> Proposition	
		Fijian	Indian	Fijian	Indian
9 (a)	Homogeneity	B	C	+	o
9 (b)	Choice area	A	A	+	+
10 (a)	Parents/children	A	B	+	+
10 (b)	Kin exchange	A	D	+	-
11	Improvement	A	A	+	+
12 (a)	Stay in area	A <sup>c</sup>	B	+	o
12 (b)	Not Housing Authority	A	A	+	+
13 (a)	Fijian/Indian differences*	A	A	+	-
13 (b)	Urban experience	B	B	+	+

Notes:

\* Most Fijians were satisfied with their area of residence; most Indians were not. Hence the varying support for the proposition.

- a A Hypothesis accepted.  
 B Hypothesis substantially accepted.  
 C Hypothesis only partially accepted or results inconclusive.  
 D Hypothesis rejected.

- b Direction of findings :  
 + Supports proposition.  
 - No support for proposition.  
 o Non-directional finding.

c Except Fijian Renters.

Squatter areas were in general more ethnically homogeneous than other low-income areas, but the practice of renting in Indian squatter areas moderates this conclusion. Squatter areas, and Fijian squatter areas in particular, also displayed marked homogeneity with respect to place of birth and religious affiliation (H9). This was due to the process of chain migration, reliance on kin and friends to provide accommodation, and the absence of the residential alternatives available to better-off people. Homogeneity has also been fostered by previous official policy in Fiji and by the churches which offered residential sites to their poorer members. 'Knowing someone' in an area accounted for over one-half of the responses given for choosing an area in which to live (H9). Homogeneity was especially evident at the level of the immediate neighbourhood and at settlement level, but as a residential type squatting did not attract migrants from particular areas, or people of a particular religious affiliation, any more than other low-income areas, also considered as a residential type. Where differences occurred between individual squatter settlements and low-income areas, the cause almost always lay in the process of selection. This was especially evident in Housing Authority areas. The Authority's policy is to prevent the formation of ethnic clusters in an attempt to reduce social distance and socio-economic differences between Fiji's two major ethnic groups. Certain advantages, however, derive from permitting ethnic and other clusters. Traditional practices which facilitate easier adaptation to town living are more readily transferred; communities have a stronger sense of identity and community control; and the social networks and social 'mix' evident in squatter areas act as supportive mechanisms in an insecure job market. Excessive homogeneity is also likely to diminish with time, as households intermarry, adopt 'fictive' kin, and, in Indian areas, as more accommodation is provided for renting.

Most squatter households expressed a strong desire to live in close proximity to kin, although Indians showed a more marked preference for residential proximity to their married children and not their parents. Most Fijian (but not Indian) households were involved in kin exchanges (H10). The interdependence of social and economic factors, evident in these responses, reinforces the observations made with regard to the benefits of homogeneity in discussing H9.

Most squatters (80 percent) considered the area in which they lived to be an improvement on their previous place of residence (H11); most (56 percent) intended to remain in the area, and most (80 percent) also showed a strong dislike for Housing Authority accommodation (H12).

Most dislike of the Housing Authority arose from a strong desire to own the house (35 percent), because Housing Authority accommodation was too expensive (14 percent), and from miscellaneous social reasons. Both the level and types of satisfaction varied with ethnicity (H13). Indians expressed less satisfaction than Fijians, and they were much more concerned about inadequate sanitation (44 percent of all Indian complaints) and lack of security (9 percent). Fijians, on the other hand, expressed most dissatisfaction with pathways and inadequate transport (45 percent of responses) and poor social behaviour (32 percent). Finally, some measure of support was provided for the hypothesis (H13) that satisfaction with the area varied with urban experience, longer resident migrants and Suva-born squatters being generally more satisfied than recent migrants.

These hypotheses offer substantial support for the proposition that most squatters are satisfied with their area of residence. They point to the interdependence of social and economic factors in meeting the needs of the urban poor, and the importance of differences between the Fijian and Indian populations which suggest that a single housing policy may not be fair and equitable in a plural society. It must be noted, however, in accepting the proposition, that squatters did not like everything about their residential environment, and there can be little doubt that they would prefer the amenities available in the more affluent suburbs. Satisfaction, in this sense, is only relative to the rather limited range of choices which are available to squatters.

Proposition 3. Squatter behaviour is both urban and modern, and households which display such characteristics will also display evidence of success in the city.

This proposition was tested via six hypotheses in Chapter 15. Questions of urbanism, modernity and marginality pervade the literature on the urban poor, and for this reason the Suva findings are especially important. Several indices were used to represent modernization. These included two measures of fertility, to permit comparison with other low-income areas for which other behavioural information was not available, and a modernization scale comprising six behavioural variables. Some difficulty was experienced in the use of the fertility measures due to small sample size. This precluded the use of age-specific comparisons in many cases. The modernization scale proved to be an especially useful tool for intra-ethnic comparisons, but it was less effective in inter-ethnic

comparison. Overall, the results obtained support the proposition (Table 19.3).

TABLE 19.3  
PROPOSITION 3 : A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS (CHAPTER 15)

Hypothesis	Short Title	Test Results <sup>a</sup>		Support for <sup>b</sup> Proposition	
		Fijian	Indian	Fijian	Indian
14	Modernization same as other low-income	B	B	+	+
15	Modernization/economic success	A	A	+	+
16	Modernization/improved housing	A	C	+	o
17	High modernizers most dissatisfied	C	C	o	o
18	Modernization/urban experience	C	C	o	o
19	Fijian/Indian differences	B	B	o	o

Notes :

- a A Hypothesis accepted.  
 B Hypothesis substantially accepted.  
 C Hypothesis only partially accepted or results inconclusive.  
 D Hypothesis rejected

- b Direction of findings :  
 + Supports proposition.  
 - No support for proposition.  
 o Non-directional finding.

The proportion of squatter households deemed to be modern on the basis of fertility behaviour was not significantly different from that of households in other low-income areas (H14). Both Fijian and Indian households which were classified as highly modern (based on fertility and the modernization scale) were also more economically successful (in terms of occupational status, income and education) than less modern households (H15). Modernization was also significantly related to housing adequacy for both Fijians and Indians, but it was not significantly related to housing improvement among Indians (H16). Most Indian households were intent upon housing improvement probably because of the exchange-value attributed to housing by Indians, but to a much lesser extent by Fijians. Fijians and Indians were shown to differ significantly on almost all indices of modernization (H19), and such differences led to the conclusion that inter-ethnic comparisons which do not recognize the multi-dimensional characteristics of modernization are hazardous and of little value.



It is, however, important to note these differences if it is not assumed that either culture is more or less modern than the other.

The remaining findings were inconclusive. High modernizers tended to be more dissatisfied with the services provided in the area than low modernizers (H17), but the result was not significant. Migrants who had been longer resident in the city tended to be more modern than recent migrants, but Suva-born squatters were significantly less modern than migrants on some indices. This observation is of special importance, for in much of the literature the city, as such, is assumed to have a modernizing influence. Four possibilities suggest themselves:

- 1) Spatial differences in modernization behaviour are best studied at a micro-scale.
- 2) Behavioural differences, at least with regard to the indices used, between rural and urban areas are not strongly marked in Fiji due to the widespread penetration of modern influences.
- 3) The city is not a modernizing influence so far as low-income people are concerned.
- 4) More modern squatters have left squatter areas for accommodation elsewhere in the city.

Each possibility merits closer examination than was possible in the present study, and particular attention should be given to identifying modernizers (and differences between Fijian and Indian modern behaviour) in plans concerned with the upgrading or relocation of squatter settlements. The overall impression, gained from an examination of these and other findings (Proposition 5), is that while modernization is an important variable in considering personal and household behaviour, its importance in the study of group behaviour has been considerably overstated. Certainly, nothing in the present work suggests that squatter households are any less modern than other low-income households in Suva.

Proposition 4. Squatter areas provide a satisfactory environment for migrant integration.

A vast body of literature assumes that the urban migrant is in various ways disadvantaged compared with those longer resident in the city. Squatters have also been assumed to be less modern than others in the city. Accordingly this proposition, considered in Chapter 16, involved the use of eight hypotheses to test the assumed double disadvantage of migrant squatters. The results are shown in Table 19.4.

TABLE 19.4

## PROPOSITION 4 : A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS (CHAPTER 16)

Hypothesis	Short Title	Test Results <sup>a</sup>		Support for Proposition <sup>b</sup>	
		Fijian	Indian	Fijian	Indian
20	No Differences in Regions of origin	A	A	c	c
21	Differences in Route of Entry	D	D	c	c
22	Differences in One/Two Spouse migrants	C	D	c	c
23	Same as other low-income (modernization)	B	B	+	+
24	Same as other low-income (employment disadvantage)	A	A	+	+
25	Better than city-born modernization/housing) <sup>d</sup>	D	D	o	o
26	Urban experience	B	B	+	+
27	Fijian/Indian differences <sup>e</sup>	D	D	o	o

## Notes:

- a A Hypothesis accepted.  
 B Hypothesis substantially accepted.  
 C Hypothesis only partially accepted or results inconclusive.  
 D Hypothesis rejected.
- b Direction of findings :  
 + Supports proposition.  
 - No support for proposition.  
 o Non-directional finding.
- c Tests of variables possibly influencing behaviour prior to residence in squatter areas.
- d Migrant squatters were not significantly different from city-born squatters, hence the rejection of the hypothesis and the non-directional support for the proposition.
- e No difference was found between Fijian and Indian 'patterns,' hence the rejection of the hypothesis and the non-directional support for the proposition.

Hypotheses 20 to 22 tested three assumptions, which if accepted, would indicate that region of origin, route of entry into squatter areas, and migration per se produce different levels of potential integration in the city. All of these assumptions were rejected. There was no significant difference in the level of modernization or economic success attributable to a hierarchy of regions of origin (H20). Migrants entering squatter areas directly from the rural areas were no less modern than those who had come via other parts of the city (H21). Households with two migrant spouses were not significantly less modern or economically successful than households with only one migrant spouse (H22), but Fijian

two-spouse migrant households were less educated, and on this one index less modern than one-spouse or city-born households. If significant differences were found between migrants in the city, it may be assumed, therefore, that such differences could be attributed to personal factors unique to the individual, or to the socialising influences of the city.

Hypotheses 23 and 24 compared levels of modernization and economic success among squatter and other low-income migrants. Fertility indices of modernization, as previously indicated, were subject to age bias, but no significant difference in levels of modernization was evident where age-specific comparison was possible. Similarly, no significant difference was evident in the levels of economic success (measured by occupational status, income and education) between migrants in squatter and other low-income areas. Squatter areas were therefore assumed to provide an environment no less satisfactory for migrant integration in the city than other low-income areas.

Hypotheses 25 and 26 compared the performance of squatter migrants and squatters born in the city. No significant difference occurred in the level of modernization. Suva-born squatters were somewhat better housed but the difference was not statistically significant. Similarly, there was no significant difference between migrant squatters, Suva-born squatters (or other low-income migrants) in the level of occupational status attained or in economic success, although Suva-born migrants tended to have received more schooling. Where improvements occurred, they appeared to be the result of time and age rather than the socialising effect of residence in the city. .

Finally, Hypothesis 27 indicated that although the levels of economic success and modernization differed between Fijian and Indian migrants, the patterns reflected similar responses to the urban condition.

The above results suggest that the literature has overstressed the disadvantage of migrants, the socialising influence of squatter residence, and the role of the city as an agent of social change. If recent migrants are shown to be disadvantaged compared with migrants longer resident in the city, it may be assumed that such disadvantage is not permanent. Squatter migrants displayed remarkably similar characteristics to other low-income migrants, and advantagement, where evident, must be attributed to personal and not group characteristics. Squatter areas provide a reasonably

satisfactory environment for integration in the city, but no more (and no less) than other low-income areas where deprivation is the norm.

Proposition 5. Households with marked 'rural-traditional' characteristics display no less 'urban-modern' behaviour or evidence of less economic success than households with less 'rural-traditional' characteristics.

This proposition is closely related to propositions 4 and 5. It was proposed in order to test notions of a dichotomy of rural and urban values and behaviour and the supposed impediment to modernization caused by the persistence of rural-traditional behaviour in Third World cities. The proposition was tested via eight hypotheses in Chapter 17 (Table 19.5).

TABLE 19.5

PROPOSITION 5 : A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS (CHAPTER 17)

Hypothesis	Short Title	Test Results <sup>a</sup>		Support for <sup>b</sup> Proposition	
		Fijian	Indian	Fijian	Indian
28	Extended households/ traditional behaviour	A	C	d	d
29(a)	Nuclear households/ young and recent migrants	D	B <sup>c</sup>	d	d
29(b)	Extended households/ not migrants	A	A	d	d
30	Extended households/ compare other low- income areas	D	D	d	d
31	Extended: not less modern	B	B	+	+
32	Not lower p.c.income	A	A	+	+
33	Not inferior housing	A	A	+	+
34	Not less floor space	A	C	+	o
35	Kin exchange not disadvantaged	A	C	+	o

Notes :

- a A Hypothesis accepted.  
 B Hypothesis substantially accepted.  
 C Hypothesis only partially accepted  
 or results inconclusive.  
 D Hypothesis rejected.

- b Direction of findings :  
 + Supports proposition.  
 - No support for proposition.  
 o Non-directional finding.

- c Nuclear households were correlated with young Indian household heads.  
 d Tests of suitability of extended household as an index of rural-traditional behaviour.

Three variables were assumed to be more typical of rural-traditional behaviour than urban-modern behaviour. These were an extended household structure, involvement in kin economic exchanges and a preference to have parents and married children in close residential proximity. Hypothesis 28 tested these assumptions, and was found to be substantially valid for Fijians and inconclusive (due probably to the small number of extended households) for Indians. Hypothesis 29 revealed that Fijian extended households were not merely the result of the ageing of household heads, or of migrancy. Among Indians, however, extended households were more typical of households with older household heads. Finally, Hypothesis 30 indicated that extended households were no more typical of squatter settlements than other low-income areas in the city. These findings led to the conclusion that extended household structure could be confidently assumed to represent traditional-rural behaviour for Fijians. Indian results were less conclusive, but in the absence of any other measure applicable to both the July 1976 Survey and the 1976 Census Schedules, the extended household was also taken to represent Indian traditional behaviour.

Hypotheses 31 to 34 tested evidence of the 'success' of extended households compared with nuclear households, and for Fijians all four hypotheses were upheld without qualification. Fijian extended households were no less modern than nuclear households and they had comparable income per capita, comparable standards of housing and comparable per capita floor space. Similar results were obtained for Indians except that extended households had less per capita floor space than nuclear households.

The conclusions (with emphasis added) noted in Chapter 17 bear repetition:

The previous four hypotheses have used different measures to test the efficiency of extended (and supposedly traditional) households compared with nuclear (presumed to be modern) households. The results offer no support for the view that extended households are less modern or economically less viable than nuclear households. Indeed, most significant differences indicated that extended households were more efficient in terms of survival and improvement in the city than nuclear households.

The final hypothesis (H35) sought to determine the relationship between kinship exchange and economic standing. Kin exchanges involved considerably more Fijian households (40 percent) than Indian households (4.4 percent). Relatively more higher income Fijian households participated in kin exchange than did lower income households.

Such participation offered support for the hypothesis that households with higher levels of kinship involvement are no more economically disadvantaged than those with less or no kinship exchange involvement. The hypothesis was, however, inconclusive for Indians although higher income households were most involved in kin exchanges. Closer examination of Fijian kin exchange involvement indicated that participation did not decrease with urban residence, but higher income households tended to opt out of non-reciprocal exchanges in which they gave but did not receive. This suggests that some households found kin obligations excessive and that they had been unable to develop strategies to avoid excessive demands by kin. For most Fijian households, however, kin exchange remains very much a part of urban life. The persistence of this and other traditional behaviour will depend largely on the ability of Fijians to 'reinterpret' traditional mores in the urban setting. For the present, such behaviour appears to fulfil an important social and economic function among Suva squatters. It is important that the incipient social change evident in Fijian kin exchange behaviour be closely monitored and taken into account in the formulation of housing policies. Specifically, it is necessary to quantify the exchanges, a task which was beyond the scope of the present work.

Traditional-rural Fijian behaviour did not place Fijians at a disadvantage in the city compared with households whose behaviour was taken to be urban-modern. A similar conclusion was reached for traditional-rural Indian households although such households were few in number. The typical Indian squatter household is nuclear, and to this extent it has departed from behaviour typical of the rural areas of Fiji in the recent past.

Proposition 6. Income is the most important variable affecting the quality of squatter housing. The level of squatter income is such that unassisted self-help activities will not produce an overall improvement in housing (or in social mobility) for the majority of squatter households.

This proposition was first tested in Chapter 18 via Hypothesis 36, and subsequently by multiple correlation matrices and the progressive elimination of households which were considered inadequate with regard to housing and the potential for social mobility.

Hypothesis 36 tested the relationship between housing quality (house adequacy and home improvement) and seven independent variables. The findings for both housing indices are shown in Table 19.6.

TABLE 19.6

## PROPOSITION 6 : A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS (CHAPTER 18)

Hypothesis 36	Short Title	Test Results <sup>a</sup>		Support for Proposition on Income <sup>b</sup>	
		Fijian	Indian	Fijian	Indian
Length of residence	HA	D	D	)	)
	HI	B	D	) +	) +
Age of Head	HA	C	A	)	)
	HI	A	C	) +	) o
Heads' income	HA	A	D	)	)
	HI	A	A	) +	) o
Household income	HA	A	A	)	)
	HI	A	A	) +	) +
Modern behaviour	HA	D	A	)	)
	HI	D	C	) +	) o
Security of tenure	HA	A	A	)	)
	HI	D	C	) -	) -
House ownership	HA	A	A	)	)
	HI	A	A	) -	) -

## Notes:

HA = House adequacy (considered the most reliable measure of housing quality).

HI = Home improvement (a more subjective measure).

- a A Hypothesis accepted.  
 B Hypothesis substantially accepted.  
 C Hypothesis only partially accepted or results inconclusive.  
 D Hypothesis rejected.

- b Direction of findings :  
 + Supports proposition.  
 - No support for proposition.  
 o Non-directional finding.

Strong support was afforded by the hypothesis for the proposition that income (and especially household income) was the single most important variable affecting housing quality, but house ownership and security of tenure (more especially for Indians) were also significantly related.

Further analysis, using multiple correlations (Figure 18.1), showed that income was consistently the most important variable. Perhaps more important than this finding was the disclosure of the direct and indirect ways by which several variables affected housing quality and incomes. Moreover, there were major differences between Fijians and

Indians in the relative importance of these variables.

Five housing attributes were considered in order to determine the proportion of adequate houses. They were adequacy of shelter, size, density, water supply and sanitation. Sixty-five percent of the houses provided adequate shelter, but only 31 percent provided adequate shelter and size. The progressive elimination of houses deemed inadequate on successive criteria resulted in only 7 percent of squatter houses being accepted as adequate on all criteria. It was noted that this proportion was less than the estimated annual growth of the squatter population in the Suva Urban Area. Formal statistical inference was not possible, but the overall housing situation (in the areas studied) appeared to be deteriorating. This offers little support for the 'gradual improvement' ideas of the Progressive Development School. Some support, however, was provided for this School by an examination of the characteristics of the households which occupy the adequate houses. Almost all were owner-occupiers, and most indicated that they felt relatively secure with respect to tenure. The importance of ownership and tenure to house improvement was therefore confirmed. It was also observed that many otherwise adequate houses lacked facilities - water supply and sanitation - which more obviously required the support of landowners and the authorities. Further support was therefore provided for the policy of 'controlled spontaneous settlement' advocated by Turner and the Progressive Development School. It should, however, be stressed that the majority of squatter households seemed unlikely to be able to improve their houses to minimally adequate standards (even if they obtained security of tenure) because they lacked the income needed for such improvements.

It was observed, in considering housing, that Fijians and Indians used different means to obtain house improvement. They also improved their financial position in dissimilar ways. Increased Fijian household income was strongly related to extended household structure. Indian extended households also had higher incomes but higher income for most Indian households was more strongly related to years in present employment, years in the area, and the length of time resident in the city. Fijian income improvement was therefore seen to derive from household accretion, and Indian improvement from accretions of time. In other words, Fijian improvement was mainly the result of the relatively successful transfer of group traditional behaviour, and Indian improvement the result of individual effort which took time to come to fruition.



The potential for social mobility was assessed on the basis of income, stable employment and education. The use of such criteria has been criticised by Qadeer (1975, 234) as reflecting a Western middle class bias. This criticism cannot be denied, but in the Suva job market it is difficult to deny the importance of such measures.

Some 4.8 percent of the households were considered to be potentially mobile on the basis of heads' income. That is, the household head earned sufficient to repay the mortgage on the cheapest form of unsubsidised Housing Authority accommodation available in 1976. This proportion was reduced to 3.4 percent when stable employment was considered, and to 2.3 percent when an upper secondary school education was also considered. Substituting household for heads' income produced slightly improved results, the respective proportions being 26.5 percent, 11.4 percent and 4.8 percent. Given the type of economic development which is occurring in Fiji (Chapter 6) and the rate of growth of squatter population, it seems reasonable to conclude that the potential for mobility, so defined, is limited to a relatively small proportion of squatter households.

These conclusions also offer only limited support for the views of the Progressive Development School with regard to squatter areas providing a base for upward mobility. Proposition VI is upheld. Income is the most important variable affecting squatter housing, and the level of squatter income is such that unassisted self-help will not produce a significant improvement in housing or the capacity of squatters for social mobility. Prospects for significant improvement - in housing and in social mobility - rest mainly upon initiatives in the larger society.

These findings concern a city and a country which must be considered small by Third World standards. It is therefore pertinent to ask whether findings concerning a city of 64,000 and an urban area of 118,000 are relevant to the urban squatter question in general. No definitive answer can be given to such a question, for squatter characteristics vary greatly in detail according to local circumstances and are no doubt also influenced by population size. Any suggestion that Suva is too small to merit the designation 'urban' must, however, be strongly refuted. It is decidedly urban by Pacific and Australasian standards, and Fiji and Suva display many characteristics typical of Third World countries and cities.

The discussion has drawn attention to the possible moderating effects of size : on urban-rural diffusion, on the importance of proximity to work, and on the limited extent of squatter informal activities and

their lack of political mobilisation. Size, together with other 'unique' characteristics of Fiji and Suva, may indeed make some findings pertinent only to Fiji, but there seems to be no sound theoretical reason why the broad issues considered in the preceding six propositions should not be pertinent to studies of urban squatting in other parts of the Third World. The possibilities for maximising opportunity, urbanism, migrant integration, 'traditional' vis-a-vis 'modern' behaviour, and the correlations and limitations of self-help and social mobility are matters of universal importance. If theories are to be found valid for these issues, they need to be tested at various spatial levels. It is the writer's opinion that size - or scale - is much less important as an independent variable than the type of urbanization and development that is occurring in a country: in both respects Suva is most clearly a Third World city.

#### THE PLACE OF URBAN SQUATTING IN FIJI

Urban squatting was shown to have increased despite legislation, evictions and the provision of 'cheap' public housing, along with urbanization and economic development in Fiji. It was suggested that its growth is in large part a reflection of increasing economic disparities between the regions and people of Fiji. Independence has not yet brought improvement to the relative position of the poor. A new local elite has stepped into the shoes of the former colonial administrators, and conducted 'developmental' policies with possibly fewer safeguards for the long-term interests of the people of Fiji. The control of Fijian land was formerly held in trust by a Fijian Administration almost parallel to government. It has been replaced by the Native Land Trust Board whose land development schemes in the Suva Urban Area are, in most respects, indistinguishable from those of speculators in the private sector. Some of its policies, and those of other departments of local or national government which 'safeguard' Fijian interests to the obvious disadvantage of Indians (and a not insignificant number of Fijians), act against mutual ethnic tolerance so much needed in the search for a solution to the land problem. Despite lipservice to the principle of mutual ethnic tolerance, some politicians use 'ethnicity' as a means of maintaining their position, and ethnic divisions among the poor inhibit concerted action to improve their lot.

Independence has not led to the relaxation of zoning or building regulations, more egalitarian planning, or greater efficiency in the

housing industry. On the contrary, some regulations have been made more stringent, legislation which could control speculative excesses has not been used, and the heavy reliance on capital inputs (many of which are imported) has put land and housing beyond the reach of greater numbers. Such developments have assisted the establishment of overseas land development interests, larger local building firms, and the host of officials needed by the housing bureaucracy. No attention has been given to the encouragement of the small tradesman (except as an adjunct to the large but insecure servicing of new hotel and commercial buildings), bazaar or informal economic activities, and nothing has been done to encourage (or even allow) the poor to help solve their own housing problems. Even the core housing and site and service schemes being experimented with by the Housing Authority in 1976 were priced out of the reach of most of the urban poor, and no helpful attention had been given by the authorities to the needs and wishes of urban squatters. Instead, officialdom has vacillated in its policies towards squatters. It has introduced subsidies for certain Housing Authority accommodation, and it has relied on the voluntary efforts of the churches and humanitarian groups to ameliorate the worst problems of the destitute.

The occupation by squatters of unoccupied land with developmental possibilities and land unsuitable for intensive official uses was once profitable for private owners who charged rents to tenants. As land became more valuable (due to processes accelerated by the type of development in Fiji, expatriate land and housing purchases, the emergence of a local elite, and failure to control inflation), pressures increased for the removal of squatters. In many cases their removal did not lead to a more efficient use of land (measured in terms of population density) or to any coherent, practical policy as to where they could go. The possibilities of an alternative in the form of the Housing Authority were thwarted from the start. Most of its accommodation was never intended for the very poor. High interest rates, ever increasing prices (especially in imported materials), high administrative costs, inflexible regulations, lack of government legislative support to acquire land, and the diverting of building resources into more immediately profitable commercial structures have added to its problems.

Sentimentality, sometimes evident in the press and work done by charitable groups, has done little to solve the problem, and often permits the public to evade the fundamental issues causing squatting.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that squatting exists in Fiji essentially because it suits the powers that be, be they government or city council, landowners, architects, surveyors, planners, contractors, 'developers,' shopkeepers or employers.

The situation comes close to that described by Leeds (1969, 61):

In societal structures instituted around private property used for regular profits or for speculative ends, especially in housing and land use; where intense competition revolving around different sets of needs for different classes of people for the same land and for housing exists; in the context of colonialist export structures and dual labour markets; under conditions of a high degree of institutionalization of formal and informal mechanisms to reinterpret formal national norms and institutions in terms of private elite interests, squatter settlements will appear.

There are, however, four factors which make the urban squatting situation in Fiji more amenable to solution than in many other parts of the Third World. First, the number of squatters is still relatively small, and conditions for most are at least tolerable. Second, there is no acute shortage of land, at least in the Suva Urban Area. Most land is controlled by government and the Native Land Trust Board (NLTB) and not by private owners whose primary motive is profit. Government has already provided large areas of land to the Housing Authority at no cost and there is some hope that the NLTB may do likewise. Third, economic growth has exceeded population growth in recent years, and the country still has a relatively low level of urbanization. Wages are also relatively high by Third World standards. Four, government has accepted some responsibility for the urban poor and recent Development Plans place much stress on the need to reduce regional and class income differentials. Most squatters are not evicted without attempts to provide alternative accommodation, the Housing Authority has succeeded in providing housing for large numbers of people, and some legislated welfare provisions exist for the destitute. Finally, there is a considerable body of public sympathy for the poor.

#### THEORY REVISITED AND A SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION

Well over a decade ago, Sjoberg (1965, 182) wrote, with reference to contemporary research in urban sociology: 'We agree with Karl Popper that one can disprove a scientific hypothesis but can never prove one with finality. In light of this, we need more research aimed at

refuting or setting limits to existing propositions.' Many researchers do not seem to have heeded this plea. Theoretical questions first raised in considering Western urbanization and later found wanting, have provided the basis for subsequent enquiries into Third World urbanization. Views expounded on the slum dweller of the Western industrial city have been transferred to the examination of slums and squatter settlements in the Third World, with each new researcher following closely in the footsteps of his predecessor.

The present work is in part an example of this. Propositions derived from the literature have been tested, and the results have provided few surprises. Squatters have been found to be ordinary people who are fairly satisfied with their lot given their present opportunities. They display a wide range of urban and modern behaviour, make some effort at self-improvement and maximise many of the opportunities that are available to them. In most demographic and economic characteristics they are similar to other sections of the urban poor. The extended family and other forms of rural-traditional behaviour, seen as antithetical to development in the West, have not been shown to be antithetical to modern behaviour and economic success in the non-Western city, and the city has not been shown to be a turbulent agent of social change. The negative views of the Marginality School are refuted by the evidence, and limits are set on the overly optimistic claims of the Progressive Development School. The main theoretical contribution of the present work has, in fact, been that of 'refuting or setting limits to existing propositions.'

Two other important findings concern the importance of culture or ethnicity as an intervening variable, and the overwhelming importance of income and related economic variables. Important differences have been shown to exist between Fijian and Indian squatters in the means by which they seek to survive and improve their lot in the city. Fijians place considerable importance on kinship, community and mutual self-help; on the flexibility of internal space, overall size, and the use-value of houses; and on access to gardening and other income-supplementation activities. By contrast, the Indian urban poor attach most importance to the nuclear household and individual effort; on privacy of internal space, improved sanitation, and the exchange-value of houses; and on income-earning opportunities provided in or by the immediate residential environment. These differences have important implications for urban planning and housing policy and merit further enquiry.

Housing design and regulations affecting the use of the residential environment in Housing Authority estates have been produced with an eye to costs in providing services seen as basic by administrators. The result is essentially a cut-down version of middle-class housing. No provision has been made either for the income-support systems used by the poor or for differences in cultural needs and priorities. Some of the problems now recognized by the Housing Authority in the Raiwaqa Estate stem largely from the failure to perceive the importance of these factors. If the area degenerates into a slum, as some people in Suva fear, it is precisely because the built environment has not catered for the social and economic needs of the poor. It is also extremely unlikely that the well-intentioned societal goal of ethnic integration and harmony will be achieved by a system of housing allocation which (in seeking residential ethnic mixture) destroys the very support systems by which the Fijian poor at least survive. Similarly, the building of identical units and an identical residential environment for Fijians and Indians (and making such provisions incapable of alteration by the inhabitants) denies known cultural means of survival and improvement. The provision of different facilities for two ethnic groups is, of course, a matter of exceptional delicacy. Official action must not 'favour,' or be seen to favour, either group. The plea made here, however, is not for the provision of different facilities, but rather for greater flexibility (in housing design and allocation) and the relaxation of regulations (concerning household size, the construction of additional structures, and hawking along with other informal activities) which would permit the poor much greater control over their residential environment.

The most important finding, however, concerns the importance of income and related economic variables in explanation of levels of housing, social mobility and economic success in the city. Relative to these critical variables, questions of modernization, motivation, urbanism, migration, diffusion and the whole gamut of independent variables so often the crux of social science enquiries, were non-questions. The study of such questions to the neglect of income and related economic questions is therefore at best an armchair exercise, and at worst (because such questions detract attention from major issues) reactionary. In this sense, the claim of the New Left that the views of Turner and others of the Progressive Development School constitute 'a new imperialist strategy' (Burgess, 1977) has more than a little justification.

Brett (1974), 193) similarly comments on 'the fallacy of looking for a solution to the housing problem in the private enterprise of the squatters, when that enterprise can be ultimately negated by the same system that made it possible.'

The basic weaknesses of the Progressive Development School lie, in the present writer's opinion, in (a) placing too much emphasis on the self-help capacity of the squatters, and (b) the failure to recognize that the private and grossly inequable systems of land tenure which it seeks to redress are part of the very system that has produced squatting. On the other hand, revolutionary solutions which arise from the arguments of the Dependency School appear rather naive in the light of the harsh realities of the contemporary world. In this respect Morrill's (1973, 2) criticism of the American New Left has relevance to Fiji and many other Third World countries. He claimed that the New Left underestimated the power that can be brought against revolution in the contemporary world ('No one should imagine that an existing "power structure" will hesitate to destroy utterly those who might attempt to attack it too directly.') and overestimated the potential support for revolution and the levels of disaffection in the population at large. He also claimed that the New Left underestimated the capacity of society to change and 'the degree of sympathy and support that can be won from many in the existing "power structure".' In other words Morrill and many other Welfare Geographers seek major changes in society without a frontal attack on its basic motivations and premises. Essentially, they are advocates of the welfare state in that they seek protection for the poor and disadvantaged and the containment of the drive for profits within limits consistent with the common good. They recognize that (Coates et al., 1977, 256):

The welfare state, or its equivalent, does not seek to remove the inequalities created by capitalism, therefore, but merely to rectify their extremes... Alleviation is not a cure : whilst capitalism reigns, however, remedial social action may be the best that is possible.

The approach of Welfare Geographers appears, in the Fiji situation, to provide a possible compromise between the views of the Progressive Development and Dependency Schools. Unlike the Progressive Development School they recognize the need to identify what Leeds (1969) called the 'primary' variables (those which account for poverty - and squatting - within the wider system); and in this they share much with the Dependency School. Their proposed solutions, at least in the Fiji urban squatting situation, appear more realistic than those of the Dependency School, and in this they are as pragmatic as the Progressive Development School.

If the 'welfare' approach is to succeed in bringing about radical changes in the condition of the urban poor, it will be necessary, as Morrill (1973, 3) suggested in urging this approach on the American scene:

- 1) to convince a significant number of leaders in Fiji on 'humanitarian and theoretical grounds;'
- 2) to convince 'a sufficient proportion of the business power structure on economic grounds;' and
- 3) to 'better mobilize the demands of those who would gain most by radical change.'

Herein appear to be the most fruitful avenues for future research.

The present work has documented much in the condition of urban squatters which should provide evidence for support on humanitarian and theoretical grounds. Specifically, it has demonstrated that many squatters have done much to help themselves; no evidence was found of 'professional squatters' who seek personal profit from landowners; and no evidence was found to support the view that squatters, as people, are 'marginal' or in any other significant way different from other sections of the urban poor.

Furthermore, squatters have been shown to make a significant contribution to the urban economy. The extent of their contribution (Chapter 12 has estimated about \$10 million per year) should do something to convince sections of the business community that there are sound economic grounds for improving the spending power of the urban poor. The hidden 'social costs' of inappropriate housing for the poor also offer important avenues for future research.

Finally, the present work has indicated something of the social organization in squatter areas and of their priorities with respect to living conditions. This information offers a basis for the better mobilisation of their demands. It is unlikely, however, that the initiative for mobilisation will come from the squatters themselves unless action by the authorities becomes more obviously oppressive.

Work by Reddy (1976) and reports from interviewers during the July 1976 Survey indicate that most squatters doubt their capacity for sustained group protest. Most Fijians claim they are not 'true' squatters and hope they will continue to be protected by Fijian tradition and the goodwill of government. Indians are more defeatist; they expect



little sympathy from politicians of either party and where action is contemplated it frequently takes the form of individual protest of a type that is unlikely to achieve the desired effect. The following proposed action of an Indian squatter recorded by Reddy (1976, 34) is not untypical:

I do not have any land, where shall I go? If I am taken to the court, I will tell them that if they want to evict me, then first of all they give me land or send me and my family to the country from where they snatched my parents. If the court does not agree to do this, then I will ask them to shoot me and my family, otherwise I will break into the government buildings and stack all my belongings there.

Political action by squatters has so far been limited to individual settlements, it has only concerned one ethnic group, and in most cases it has been instigated and led from outside, mainly by church activists. This is likely to remain the pattern in the foreseeable future. Initiatives for a change in the squatter condition appear to rest largely on changed attitudes in the wider community.

#### FUTURE RESEARCH NEEDS

Most researchers examining conditions of poverty must of necessity be mildly schizophrenic. As scholars they must be objective; as men they cannot avoid being subjective. At two stages of the research, however, they may legitimately allow value judgements to enter their work. First, in selecting propositions for research enquiry they are influenced by previous research and their own a priori judgments. Second, in proposing areas for future research they are influenced by their own research findings, by the instincts and intuitions developed in the course of their work and by a desire to see the conditions they have studied improved. These are the origins of the research suggestions which follow below. They have been framed in the belief that the causes of and the solutions to poverty, squatting and the housing problem must be sought within a wide societal context. The suggestions are made in the earnest (and perhaps fantasmal) hope that research might help to bring about changes in the attitudes of the rich and powerful who most influence societal goals and strategies. It is hoped that such changes would be along the lines advocated by Morrill and in full agreement with his egalitarian 'declaration of conscience and statement of purpose.'<sup>1</sup>

Five areas of research interest are considered which, consistent with the belief that squatting cannot be considered as a closed system,

are arranged sequentially from macro to micro levels.

### Fiji's Relations with Australia and New Zealand

Income has been shown to be the most important variable affecting squatter conditions. The expansion of job opportunities, more secure employment and higher levels of income are unlikely to occur without major changes in Fiji's economic relations with Australia and New Zealand. The high level of Australian and New Zealand capital investment in Fiji in recent years is of special concern. It is necessary to monitor the effects of such developments on each of the following because of their impact on income and access to resources:

- 1) Urban job opportunities.
- 2) The use of urban land.
- 3) Competition with local (and especially small, local) firms.
- 4) Access to local loan finance.
- 5) Levels of imports and inflation.
- 6) Possible redirection or undermining of Development Plan objectives.

### The Fiji Urban Economy

Current trends in the urban economy appear likely to produce some results contrary to Development Plan objectives. There is, for example, little evidence that the income gap is being reduced or that smaller, local Fiji enterprises can compete with larger (often overseas-owned) firms. This process appears to be assisted by urban zoning and other regulations which affect the built environment and to be accelerated by development demands which call for the use of heavy plant and equipment, imported materials and higher levels of skills and management than are locally available. Inflation and the absence of viable alternative avenues of profit also appear to have resulted in investment in land and property by the wealthy rather than investment in activities which will stimulate the economy. Research into the viability of small scale, locally owned enterprises, and what McGee (1971, 88) has called the 'bazaar-peasant sector,' must include an investigation into institutional factors inhibiting their development. These sectors (the small scale and often family-owned firm and the bazaar-peasant enterprise) often have the capacity to absorb labour and spread their 'profits' among a greater number of people than the larger 'firm type capitalist sector' (McGee, 1971, 64 - 94). It would, however, be unrealistic to anticipate much expansion in the bazaar-peasant sector. In Fiji it is likely to retreat

before the penetration of the 'firm type capitalist sector.' The most promising avenue for research therefore appears to be in an examination of labour-intensive possibilities in the capitalist sector. Desai (1975) pointed to two possible areas which have a bearing on labour-intensity: import-substitution and the use of labour-intensive public works. The former offers scope for new industrial development that might attract the savings of the wealthy; the latter, which is a major generator of employment in many Third World countries, has been overlooked in Fiji and merits close investigation. Both would increase the amount of money available to the poor and could stimulate the economy from 'the bottom up.'

Considerable opportunities for research also exist on the subject of urban land, especially in the effects on profitability of land developed for use by the poor. It is by no means certain that current land development which opens up large areas for low density housing for the wealthy need be more profitable, even for developers and speculators, than the development of comparable areas at higher densities for the poor. The future costs to Fiji of current land tenure and land use practices merit close examination.

### The Building and Construction Industry

The 'formal' building and construction industry has not invested in housing for the poor for obvious reasons: easier profits are obtained from commercial construction and housing for the wealthy. Of the major industries, building and construction probably offers most opportunities for small scale enterprise, but regulations, the ancillary building bureaucracy and high levels of technology, expertise and capital requirements have combined effectively to exclude the small independent tradesman. If new directions are to be obtained in the building industry, competition needs to be stimulated, and the margin for profit for all types of construction made more equitable. That is, profits obtained from supplying materials, servicing and building houses for the poor need to be as attractive (at least for small tradesmen), as profits derived from larger construction. This requires relaxation of construction and infrastructural standards for housing, regulations which more appropriately fit Fiji's needs and capabilities, greater use of local materials, a re-examination of bureaucratic structures, and closer government supervision of imports, profits, and passed on costs. Government and government-supported construction activities (e.g. that of the Housing Authority)

also need to be reconsidered with a view to determining their effect on the industry as a whole. However, government is unlikely to interfere in housing and give more support to housing for the poor unless it can be demonstrated that housing construction is more than a 'social overhead' with no direct bearing on development. Research is therefore needed along the lines of the Burns and Tjioe (1968) study in Korea which may produce evidence that investment in housing for the poor brings reasonable profit returns and has a direct bearing on production and development. Conversely, the negative effects of poor and inappropriate housing also need closer examination. Evidence from the Raiwaqa Estate indicates that the resultant social costs may be high.

### The Housing Authority

A major aim of the present work has been to compare squatting with the public housing programme of the Housing Authority. It has been claimed that Housing Authority accommodation, including core housing and the site and service scheme, are priced beyond the financial reach of most squatters and that the economic and social environment provided by the Housing Authority areas may act against the best interests of the poor. The major deficiency of the Housing Authority programme vis-a-vis squatting has been claimed to be its inflexibility, both with regard to the different needs of ethnic groups and its possible undermining of income-support systems used by the poor. The most profitable lines for research, therefore, revolve around a closer examination of the effects of inflexibility. Four central questions emerge. Firstly, to what extent have income-support strategies been successfully transferred by Housing Authority residents coming from squatter areas and to what extent have they been limited by the Housing Authority built environment and its attendant regulations? Secondly, how well does the Housing Authority cater for differences between Fijians and Indians with regard to their respective housing and environmental priorities? Thirdly, to what extent is community formation limited by the Authority's insistence on ethnically mixed residential areas and what evidence is there to support the view that residence in such areas improves race relations? Lastly, to what extent has the Authority inhibited on-going self-help by its tenants?

There is a need for time-depth studies to monitor changes in residents' attitudes towards their housing and residential environment, especially among those coming from squatter areas. It is important

to know which ex-squatters become Authority tenants and what type of accommodation they occupy. More generally, studies are required of alternative housing schemes, such as Valenimanumanu where squatter settlement upgrading has occurred, and Vunivau, a self-help church settlement where occupance is dependent on tenants improving their houses. Much more work is also needed in squatter areas to determine the types of improvement (and the types of people most likely to respond to opportunities to improve) that could be offered by the Housing Authority.

### Squatters and Squatter Settlements

The present study has gone some way to refute commonly held views which obstruct a realistic appraisal of the urban squatting question. Specifically, it has shown that squatters are normal, poor people, most of whom are anxious and willing to help in the improvement of their own conditions. Squatting is not an Indian problem. It also involves large numbers of Fijians, and not insignificant numbers of Rotumans, Part-Europeans and Other Pacific Islanders.

Public sympathy and corrective official action is dependent on recognition of these basic facts. Research which results in the publication of family life histories similar to those provided by Lewis (1960, 1966a) in the Americas and Reddy (1976) in Fiji is needed to improve the public image of squatters and to provide time-depth studies complementary to more quantitative studies. Clearly there is ample scope here for sociologists, urban anthropologists and urban social geographers to make significant positive contributions to both knowledge and public attitudes.

The present study has provided some quantification of selected aspects of the squatter economy, but more detailed studies are needed to quantify the effectiveness of kin contributions to household incomes, to determine levels of savings and capital expenditure priorities, and to detail the patterns of kin economic exchange and other mutual help practices. More knowledge is required on job security, the importance and potential of income-earning and income-support activities within squatter settlements, and of the economic linkages with and contribution to the urban economy. Studies are also needed on squatter perceptions, particularly those pertaining to housing, residential environment and socio-economic aspirations.

Although the present study has demonstrated that traditional Fijian (and to a lesser extent Indian) practices do not have an adverse economic affect on squatters, it is not clear whether such practices are a response to urban poverty or forms of behaviour which are likely to be retained in the city, irrespective of social class. Studies are therefore needed of more affluent sections of the community to see whether 'irregular' marital arrangements, 'incomplete' and 'extra' household structure, the extended household and kin exchanges in particular are as evident among affluent households as they are among the urban poor.

Finally, studies are needed of individual settlements to determine the extent to which they are capable of being upgraded, to identify those within settlements who are most likely to respond to upgrading initiatives and to consider the effects on social organization should it be necessary to re-house or relocate the residents.

Recent Fiji Development Plans have placed much stress on achieving greater local control over the economy, a balance between social and economic development and a reduction of regional, class and ethnic inequalities. The resolution of the urban squatter question is inseparably linked to these issues. Social scientists who accept these Development Plan objectives and recognize the interdependence of factors at macro and micro levels can play an important part in their achievement.

## FOOTNOTES

1 Morrill's (1973, 4 - 5) 'declaration of conscience and statement of purpose' reads, in part:

I believe that the following principles (in the three facets of geography) should be adopted by the geography profession, and serve as the basis for evaluation of and action toward all decisions of individuals, businesses and governments that affect the human and natural landscape:

1 Further pollution of the natural environment is impermissible....

2 The spatial arrangement of human activities must reflect the needs and desires of those occupying areas and society as a whole, not the narrow goals of economic efficiency, nor the interests of just property owners and investors...

3 Our national relations with other nations and people must be based on serving the creative needs of their people...

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE, JULY 1976 SURVEY

SURVEY ON INFORMAL HOUSING 1976

(CONFIDENTIAL)

A. THE HOUSEHOLD

<u>Household head</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	Community _____
Name _____	Ethnicity _____	Enum. No. _____
Ethnicity _____	Religion _____	Interviewer _____
Religion _____	Where Born _____	Date _____
Where Born _____	Years in Suva _____	Time Taken _____
Years in Suva _____		

1. Occupants (Circle respondent's number)

Sex	Age	Relation Household Head	Occupation or School	Where (Occup. or Second.School)	Casual/ Perman- ent	Income weekly
1.						
2.						
3.						
12.						
13.						
14.						
15.						

2. How long has the main breadwinner worked at his present job?  
ADDITIONAL COMMENTS AND NOTES (IF ANY) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



B. THE HOUSE AND POSSESSIONS (if two enumerators, complete spare sheet and copy in here later).

MAINLY OBSERVABLE

- 1. House materials: (note also whether "scrap", "second-hand", or "proper" materials).  
External walls: \_\_\_\_\_  
Interior walls: \_\_\_\_\_  
Foundations: \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Size (sq.ft.) of house \_\_\_\_\_ x \_\_\_\_\_  
= \_\_\_\_\_ sq.ft.
- 3. Cooking arrangements: (sole use or shared, method, where)  
Detail \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Toilet: 1.inside flush; 2. outside flush; 3. pour flush;  
4.pit; 5. other; 6. none. \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Water supply: Detail \_\_\_\_\_
- 6. Bathing arrangements? Detail \_\_\_\_\_
- 7. Facilities and possessions: ( )  
car ( ); refrigerator ( ); sewing machine ( ); telephone ( )  
electricity ( ); new furniture ( ); detail furniture \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Sketch: Labelled floor plan of house and immediate surroundings  
No. rooms \_\_\_\_\_ No. bedrooms \_\_\_\_\_

DIRECT QUESTIONS: The House and Possessions

- 8. Is the building shared with others not in the household?  
1. Yes; 2. No. How many? \_\_\_\_\_ Relationship? \_\_\_\_\_
- 9. How old is the house? \_\_\_\_\_
- 10. How much did the house cost to build \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
or buy \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
and how much are you paying a \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
or how much rent are you paying a \$ \_\_\_\_\_

11. If renting, does the owner also live in the area? 1.Yes;2.No.  
Does he own any other houses in the area? 1.Yes; 2.No;  
3. Uncertain. How many? \_\_\_\_\_

12. Do you pay any land rent? 1.Yes; 2.No; 3.Uncertain. If so,  
how much a week \$ \_\_\_\_\_ and to whom? \_\_\_\_\_

13. What area of land is this rent for? Area \_\_\_\_\_

14. Have any improvements or changes been made to the house since  
you moved in? 1.Yes; 2.No; 3.Uncertain.

Detail \_\_\_\_\_

15. Do you intend to make any changes in the next year?  
1.Yes; 2.No; 3.Uncertain.

Detail \_\_\_\_\_

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS OR NOTES (IF ANY)  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

C. RESIDENTIAL HISTORY SINCE MARRIAGE Year married \_\_\_\_\_

	Address	Dates From To		Type Accommodation	Reason for moving
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

1. Time here \_\_\_\_\_ yrs \_\_\_\_\_ mths. No.Moves \_\_\_\_\_ Mean moves \_\_\_\_\_

2. Why did you choose this place to live? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Did you know anyone here before moving in? 1.Yes; 2.No.
4. What arrangements did you make to be accepted here?  
(e.g. Tabua, rent, etc.) \_\_\_\_\_
5. Is this place 1.Better; 2.Worse; or 3.the same as the last place in which you lived? \_\_\_\_\_
6. How long do you expect to stay here? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Where would you go if you had to leave? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Have you (or leaders in the community) been approached about leaving? 1.Yes; 2.No; 3.Uncertain.) Detail \_\_\_\_\_
9. If yes, what did you (they) do about it? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Do you think you may be asked to leave sometime?  
1.Yes; 2.No; 3.Uncertain \_\_\_\_\_
11. If yes or uncertain, what would you do about it? \_\_\_\_\_
12. What do you like most about this area? \_\_\_\_\_
13. What do you like least? \_\_\_\_\_

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS OR NOTES (IF ANY) \_\_\_\_\_

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#### D. RESIDENTIAL AND HOUSING PREFERENCES

1. How close would you like to live to:
  - A) the centre of Suva?      B) your husband's work?
  - A 1. Very close; 2. Close; 3. Distant; 4. Don't mind.
  - B 1. Very close; 2. Close; 3. Distant; 4. Don't mind.
2. Would you like to have your married children:
  1. Living with you ( ); 2. Close by ( ); 3. Elsewhere ( ).
3. Would you like to have your parents:
  1. Living with you ( ); 2. Close by ( ); 3. Elsewhere ( ).

If your finances improved a little in the next few years, would you prefer to obtain a secure lease and loan money to:
4. Improve things here, or
5. Build a house elsewhere, adding to it as you could afford it, or

6. Purchase a two-bedroom house in a Housing Authority area,  
or
7. Are you quite content with your house and this area as it  
is?
8. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. Would you prefer to live in 1. a Housing Authority house  
or flat or 2. a private house or flat? 1 2  
Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS OR NOTES (IF ANY)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

E. ECONOMIC

1. Does the household receive money or financial or other  
help from any other source besides wages?  
1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Uncertain.  
Source(s) \_\_\_\_\_ Amount (\$) \_\_\_\_\_
2. About how much money does the household spend a week  
on food? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Does anyone in the household owe money for things purchased  
(a) On layby or hire purchase 1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Uncertain.  
What? \_\_\_\_\_  
(b) food or other household necessities? 1. Yes; 2. No;  
3. Uncertain. Amounts if possible (a) \$ \_\_\_\_\_ (b) \$ \_\_\_\_\_
4. Does anyone in the household:  
(a) have an insurance policy 1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Uncertain.  
(b) belong to a credit union 1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Uncertain.  
(c) or have any other savings 1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Uncertain.  
Savings: What for? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Does your household give any financial or other help to  
relations, or receive help from them? Detail:  
HELP TO: \_\_\_\_\_  
HELP FROM: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Is anyone in the household involved in any of these activities:

	Who	Sale \$	Time
Gardening	_____	_____	a .....
Keeping livestock	_____	_____	a .....
Fishing	_____	_____	a .....
Making handicrafts	_____	_____	a .....
Sewing	_____	_____	a .....
7. Any other activity	_____	_____	
Detail _____	_____	_____	

8. Roughly how much do you earn from these activities? \_\_\_\_\_
- ADDITIONAL COMMENTS OR NOTES (IF ANY)
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

#### F. MODERNIZATION

##### Education:

- What was the highest class at school reached by household head. 1. None; 2. Lower Pri.; 3. Upper Pri.; 4. Lower Sec.; 5. Upper Sec.; 6. Tertiary; 7. Not Applicable.
- What level of education do you expect your children to reach? (Enter relevant number above) \_\_\_\_\_
- What sort of jobs would you like your children to have? (Let respondent answer, then indicate category)  
1. Farmer; 2. Unskilled; 3. Skilled; 4. Clerical;  
5. Commerical; 6. Professional; 7. No idea; 8. It's up to them.

##### Clubs and Organizations:

- Is anybody in your household a member of any club or organization.

Person \_\_\_\_\_

Club \_\_\_\_\_

##### Voting:

- Did you vote in the last National Election in 1971?  
1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Uncertain; 4. Too young.
- Will you vote in next year's National Election?  
1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Uncertain.

Family Planning:

7. Have you ever talked to your husband about planning your family? ("talked to wife" if male respondent)  
1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Uncertain; 4. Not applicable.
8. Is he (she) in favour of family planning?  
1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Uncertain; 4. Not relevant.
9. Do you plan your family?  
1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Uncertain; 4. Not relevant.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS OR NOTES (IF ANY)

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## APPENDIX B

## PRE-SURVEY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE, JULY, 1976.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: SPONTANEOUS SETTLEMENTS

Name Community: \_\_\_\_\_ Earlier or other names: \_\_\_\_\_

Person(s) interviewed: \_\_\_\_\_

Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

A. HISTORY OF COMMUNITY

Whose land? \_\_\_\_\_

Original arrangement in getting permission to settle?

\_\_\_\_\_

When first settled? \_\_\_\_\_

Why area chosen? \_\_\_\_\_

By people from where? \_\_\_\_\_

Name(s) earlier settlements in Suva area?

\_\_\_\_\_

Where oldest part of settlement? (sketch map) \_\_\_\_\_

Where most recent? (sketch map) \_\_\_\_\_

Who here now? (from where; regional or ethnic groupings -  
sketch map)

\_\_\_\_\_

Is area growing or declining? \_\_\_\_\_

Where people going to? \_\_\_\_\_

Why? \_\_\_\_\_

Where people coming from? \_\_\_\_\_

Who are they? (ethnicity, origin, migrants?) \_\_\_\_\_

How do they acquire land to settle? \_\_\_\_\_

Any other observations: \_\_\_\_\_

B. DESCRIPTION OF SETTLEMENT

1. Number of houses (approx.) \_\_\_\_\_
2. Number of households (approx.) \_\_\_\_\_
3. Proportion Fijian \_\_\_\_\_ Hindu \_\_\_\_\_ Muslim \_\_\_\_\_  
Other \_\_\_\_\_
4. Houses (brief description of materials, age and condition) \_\_\_\_\_
5. Tenure, renting and sub-renting arrangements: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Monthly rentals \_\_\_\_\_ To Whom \_\_\_\_\_
7. Services: (Yes/No; proportion; how pay)
  - (a) Electricity \_\_\_\_\_
  - (b) Water \_\_\_\_\_
  - (c) Rubbish collection \_\_\_\_\_
  - (d) Toilets (description) \_\_\_\_\_
  - (e) Roading and access \_\_\_\_\_
  - (f) Telephones (number) \_\_\_\_\_
8. Economic Activities: (Number; significance past and present; who; frequency, where)
  - (a) Shops \_\_\_\_\_
  - (b) Stalls, mini-markets \_\_\_\_\_
  - (c) Handicraft production \_\_\_\_\_
  - (d) Sewing for sale \_\_\_\_\_
  - (e) Fishing (subsistence; sale) \_\_\_\_\_
  - (f) Gardening (subsistence; sale) \_\_\_\_\_
  - (g) Where most men work \_\_\_\_\_
  - (h) "Industries", business in area \_\_\_\_\_
9. Cultural and Social Activities: (past or present; strength)
  - (a) Churches and religious \_\_\_\_\_
  - (b) Women's groups or clubs \_\_\_\_\_
  - (c) Men's groups or clubs \_\_\_\_\_



- (d) Youth groups or clubs \_\_\_\_\_
- (e) Children's groups or clubs \_\_\_\_\_
10. Cohesion (who, numbers, what, when started and stopped)
- (a) Leaders \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) Communal efforts and activities \_\_\_\_\_
11. (a) Difficulties with the Authorities and "outside" people. (who, why, when, what action taken by community) \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) Officials visited area \_\_\_\_\_
12. Problems: (importance)
- (a) Security of tenure \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) Services \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) Unemployment \_\_\_\_\_
- (d) Youth \_\_\_\_\_
- (e) Crime \_\_\_\_\_
- (f) Neighbourly disputes \_\_\_\_\_
- (g) Flooding, drainage and other physical \_\_\_\_\_
- (h) Other \_\_\_\_\_
13. Future hopes for community. (Who should do what?) \_\_\_\_\_
14. Any other information \_\_\_\_\_
15. Interviewer:  
(Comment on site, conditions, respondent's age, family, job, house, length of time here and any other details about him or the community).  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX C

## ABSTRACT OF THE 1976 CENSUS HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULES

Ethnicity ..... Location ..... E.D. No. .... Settlement No. ....

## Household Members

	1	2		15
Relation to Household head				
Sex				
Date of Birth				
Place of Birth				
Previous Address				
Education				
Religion				
Occupation Type				
Occupation Status				
Employer				
Place of Work				
Marital Status				
Number of Live Births				
Age at Birth of First Child				
Notes				

Notes: At the request of the Census Commissioner, names of household heads were not recorded, but ethnicity was determined from the names of the heads during the completion of the abstracts in the Census office. Certain information on fertility was also not recorded e.g. sex of children born alive, numbers of children still living.

## APPENDIX D

### NOTES ON SELECTED SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

These notes are not intended to provide a comprehensive coverage of the settlements studied or other squatter settlements in the Suva area. They highlight different aspects of squatting to further illustrate comments made in the text, especially in Chapter 8. The information has been compiled from Suva City Council Health Department files, District Office Central Division (1960), Connolly (pers. comm.), Nair (1976), interviews with squatters, City Council officials and the Property Manager of Morris Hedstrom Limited, and articles in the Fiji Times.

#### A. PRIVATE LAND

The three largest areas of privately owned freehold land in the city which are occupied by squatters are the Deo Dutt, Jittu and Muslim League estates.

##### Deo Dutt

Deo Dutt migrated to Canada and his son, Sam Lal, now manages the estate. Annual rents for dwelling sites averaged \$50 (and more if the site was sub-rented) in 1976. The unimproved capital value (U.C.V.) of the 17 hectare estate, much of which is too dissected for alternative use, was \$46,750 in 1976. Rates were \$1,314. Rents collected from squatters brought an estimated 9.6 percent net return on U.C.V., or \$43 a hectare. The property is mortgaged.

##### Jittu

Jittu, who is now deceased, purchased 28 hectares from a European trader, Henry Marks, in 1934. Nine hectares were sold to Ram Takham in 1943, and the remaining 19 hectares comprised the Jittu Estate in 1976. Jittu's three sons who inherited the property have migrated to the U.S.A. and the estate, which is mortgaged, is administered by an agent. Annual rents increased from \$40 to \$80-90 between 1974 and 1976. The increase was intended to offset City Council rate increases of 82 percent. Unimproved capital value was \$84,000 and rates were \$4,158 in 1976. Rents collected from squatters brought an estimated 18.3 percent net return on U.C.V., or \$130 a hectare.

This estimate is likely to be extremely conservative due to the high proportion of sub-rented accommodation in the estate. The Estate has been offered for sale, to the Housing Authority and to the squatters, at a price believed to be about \$500,000. Piped water was provided in 1973 due to the intervention of Mrs Jai Narayan, of the predominantly Indian Opposition National Federation Party.

### Muslim League

This 22 hectare estate was bought by the Muslim League in 1964 with the intention of developing a religious and educational centre. Squatters have been asked to leave three times between 1974 (when the last rents were collected) and 1976, but to no avail. The property had an U.C.V. of \$82,000 in 1976. Rates were \$4,059.

### B. COMPANY LAND

Morris Hedstrom Limited, a subsidiary of W.R. Carpenters Limited, owns extensive areas of land in a number of towns in Fiji. In Suva most of the land at Raiwai, Raiwaqa, Flagstaff, Raiwai Island and Vitimadarasi, originally totalling over 150 hectares, has been sold. The largest remaining area occupied by squatters is the Fijian settlement of Malekula. It comprises 4.5 hectares, and is required by Morris Hedstrom's for high class housing development. Annual rents of \$24 a dwelling were collected until 1968 when the first major efforts were made to evict squatters from all Morris Hedstrom land. The following extracts from the Fiji Times record the sequence of events:

#### SQUATTERS INVADE GOVERNMENT OFFICES IN SUVA : PM TO STUDY PLIGHT

Some carried placards asking for land, Government help and social justice. Many of the protesters were women with small children .... The petition said some people had lived there as long as 50 years .... our social roots had grown deep where we are and it will be socially destructive if we are uprooted compulsorily according to the Carpenter plan. The petition asked for small pieces of land to build low-cost houses where they could improve and extend as their resources allowed.

Mr Lasaro, the Methodist Church leader, said 'It was time the Government began forming an urban policy to settle people who were squatting on Government land and land big landowners owned. These people could not fit into the Housing Authority programme and needed a separate housing policy'.

The Prime Minister assured the petitioners demolition would stop until after discussions with the head of the Carpenter Group in Australia.

- Fiji Times, 16 November, 1973

#### CARPENTERS MAY HELP SQUATTERS

The head of the Carpenter Group, Mr Randolph Carpenter, flew to Fiji for a meeting with the Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, and a representative of the squatters, the Rev. Manasa Lasaro. The meeting was arranged on Thursday when about 200 squatters from Raiwai went to the Prime Minister's office to ask Government for help.

- Fiji Times, 17 November, 1973

The agreement finally reached resulted in Morris Hedstrom selling four hectares of its land to the Housing Authority for a nominal \$1.00 an acre (approximately \$2.50 a hectare) in exchange for the Authority assuming responsibility for the removal of all squatters on Morris Hedstrom land in the city. The Authority intended to re-house the squatters in three-storey flats but the City Council would not accept the sub-division plan. When the plan was finally approved, the Authority considered that such flats were unsuitable for Fijians. This arose from adverse reports on the four-storey flats at Raiwaqa. Meanwhile, another group of squatters had established themselves on the land and these would need to be evicted before any development could commence. In December, 1976, squatters were still at Malekula, but the Authority has succeeded in re-housing many of the squatters from other parts of Morris Hedstrom land.

#### C. GOVERNMENT AND CITY COUNCIL LAND

The Fijian settlements of Valenimanumanu, Nauluvatu and Kai Ra (Walu Bay) occupy government and city council land. Parts of the two former settlements have been, or are being, upgraded. Kai Ra occupies about 2.4 hectares at the edge of the mangrove-lined

Walu Bay inlet. Most squatters come from Nakorotubu in Ra province and the area was first settled after the 1952 hurricane, mainly as an overflow from Nauluvatu. The settlement is organised by a Turaga-ni-koro, a Qasi-ni -lotu and a council of 12 elected members.

The council controls entry to the settlement, resolves minor disputes and collects money for the water rates. No other rates or rent are paid and the Suva City Council has been trying to evict the squatters since 1968. Subsequent events illustrate the importance of ethnicity and politics in the formulation of policies towards squatters.

February 16, 1967. The City Council Health Officer recommended the re-housing of the Walu Bay people at Valenimanumanu and Nauluvatu if the Housing Authority offered assistance. Nothing came of the proposal.

March 2nd, 1967. The visit of City Council members to see Kai Ra conditions at first hand lead to the following Council debate reported in the Fiji Times, 2 March, 1967:

#### TABUA PRESENTATION LEADS TO A DEBATE

A tabua presented to a delegation which visited a squatter village in Edinburgh Drive was a 'bribe', a councillor alleged at the SCC meeting on Tuesday night. Other councillors did not agree, and the tabua was accepted by the Mayor (Cr C.H. Hunt) on behalf of the council 'in the spirit with which it was given'.

The Mayor said he was not an expert on Fijian customs and asked Fijian councillors if it would be right and proper for the council to accept the tabua. Cr C.P. Bidesi said he was not very happy about it, but he gathered that it was presented as a mark of respect and in recognition of the official visit. Cr E.J. Beddoes said he had spoken to the District Officer, Suva, who assured him they were not out of order in accepting the tabua. Cr Livai Volevola said the people of the village could interpret it to mean that now the tabua had been accepted they could stay

stay where they were. To be on the safe side he would like the paragraphs in the minutes relating to the tabua to be deleted. Cr E.M. Salato said it would be in poor taste to send the tabua back at this stage. Cr Allen, Deputy Mayor, and Cr P.R. Rakosoi suggested the tabua be accepted in the spirit given. Cr Sahu M.Y. Khan said it should have been a surprise visit to the area. In his opinion the tabua was a bribe. Cr E. March said he was surprised to hear the word 'bribe' used. The tabua was a sign of utmost respect in Fijian custom. It was the first time he had heard it said a tabua was a bribe. Cr Sahu Khan made a remark which was inaudible in the press seats. The debate finished when Cr Bidesi presented the tabua to the Mayor.

October, 1967. The Mayor asked for a joint visit to the settlement by the District Officer and the Health Inspector.

January, 1968. The Council commenced garbage collection.

February 15, 1968. The District Officer explained that the Housing Authority had offered the 'villagers' accommodation in the Mead Road flats. The 'villagers' had refused, saying they 'wished to move to an area where they could live as a community group.' Accordingly, he was in the process of negotiating for some land at Nasinu 7 Miles.

February 27, 1968. Closing orders were issued on 12 households.

November 8, 1968. Council agreed to defer for six months the closing orders at the request of the District Officer who was still endeavouring to obtain NLTB land at Nasinu.

The land was not obtained. In 1967 when Council first considered the issue of closing orders there were 13 dwellings in the settlement; in September, 1978, there were 26 dwellings, a store, a church, a boat shed and two communal water taps supplied by the Council.

## APPENDIX E

## TITLES OF REGULATIONS AFFECTING BUILDING

SUBDIVISION

Survey Regulations (Surveyors Ordinance) Cap.234

Land Transfer Act 1971

Local Government Act 1972

Subdivision of Land Ordinance Cap. 118

LEASEHOLD

Crown Lands Ordinance, Cap.113

Native Lands Ordinance, Cap.114

Native Land Trust Ordinance, Cap.115

ACQUISITION OF LAND

Crown Acquisition of Land Ordinance, Cap.119

Native Land Trust Ordinance, Cap.115, section 5

RESERVES

Rivers and Streams Ordinance, Cap.121

Subdivision of Lands Ordinance, Cap.118, section 9

Town Planning Ordinance, Cap.109

ROADS

Town Planning Ordinance, Cap.109

Subdivision of Land Ordinance, Cap.118

Local Government Act, 1972

Land Transfer Act, 1971

Roads Ordinance, Cap.151

Survey Regulations (Surveyors Ordinance), Cap.234

BUILDINGS

Public Health Ordinance

Town Planning Ordinance

Fijian Villages and Reserves Ordinance



APPENDIX F  
HOUSING CONDITIONS IN SQUATTER ETHNO-AREAS  
(Percentages)

	City Villages	City Indian	Fijian Renters	Fijian Urban Area	Indian Urban Area	Total
Number of Households	115	114	27	34	70	360
MATERIALS						
Tin - no foundations	19.1	13.2	3.7	8.8	4.3	12.2
Tin - raised foundations	22.6	65.8	74.1	52.9	72.9	52.8
Masonite - no foundations	0.9	-	3.7	-	1.4	0.8
Masonite-raised foundations	-	-	-	-	2.8	0.6
Poor Wood - no foundations	8.7	1.8	7.4	5.9	2.9	5.0
Poor Wood-raised foundations	28.7	12.2	3.7	14.7	14.3	17.5
Good Wood-raised foundations	9.6	7.0	7.4	14.8	1.4	7.5
Cement	10.4	-	-	2.9	-	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NUMBER OF ROOMS						
1	38.3	16.7	51.9	55.9	18.6	30.3
2	24.3	17.5	29.6	17.6	44.3	25.8
3	19.2	16.7	11.1	14.8	11.4	15.8
4	8.7	19.3	7.4	8.8	24.3	15.0
5	5.2	14.9	-	-	-	6.4
6+	4.3	14.9	-	2.9	1.4	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
BATHING						
None	13.9	8.9	29.6	20.6	17.1	14.7
Share outside	39.1	31.9	59.3	35.3	11.4	32.6
Own outside	32.2	53.8	11.1	44.1	71.5	46.3
Own inside	14.8	5.4	-	-	-	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
KITCHEN						
None	45.2	36.8	55.6	52.9	50.0	45.0
Share outside	2.6	0.9	-	-	-	1.1
Own outside	14.8	1.8	25.9	8.9	8.6	9.7
Share inside	-	4.4	3.7	-	-	1.7
Own inside	37.4	56.1	14.8	38.2	41.4	42.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Percentages)

	City Villages	City Indian	Fijian Renters	Fijian Urban Area	Indian Urban Area	Total
Number of Households	115	114	27	34	70	360
TOILET						
None	-	-	-	-	1.4	0.3
Pit	58.3	94.7	100.0	73.5	87.2	80.0
Pour flush	24.3	1.8	-	23.5	11.4	12.8
Outside flush	5.2	0.9	-	3.0	-	2.2
Inside flush	12.2	2.6	-	-	-	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
WATER						
None	13.0	21.1	14.8	5.9	74.3	26.9
Share outside	44.3	19.3	70.4	41.2	7.1	30.8
Own outside	27.9	22.8	7.4	41.1	10.0	22.6
Share inside	-	2.6	7.4	-	-	1.4
Own inside	14.8	34.2	-	11.8	8.6	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
SHARE HOUSE						
Not shared	92.2	72.8	25.9	85.3	91.4	80.3
Share with relations	3.4	6.2	18.5	14.7	8.6	7.5
Share with non-relations	4.4	21.0	55.6	-	-	12.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
AGE OF HOUSE (years)						
Under 1	7.8	7.0	-	5.9	14.3	8.1
1 - 4	34.8	17.5	14.8	32.4	57.1	32.0
5 - 9	24.3	18.4	22.2	35.3	24.3	23.3
10 - 19	14.8	32.5	55.6	23.5	2.9	21.9
20 and over	14.8	19.3	3.7	2.9	-	11.4
Not stated	3.5	5.3	3.7	-	1.4	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

## APPENDIX G

## OCCUPATION TYPES AND STATUS LEVELS

Occupation status has been determined from job descriptions in the 1976 Census Household Schedules (Appendix C).

1. Unskilled
2. Semi-skilled
3. Skilled
4. More than skilled

INFORMAL

1. Carver, farmer, grog pounder, grog seller, handicraft worker, peanut seller, souvenir seller, sweet seller, vendor, weaver.

MENIAL

1. Bottle collector, cleaner, drain cleaner, gardener, grasscutter, grave digger, housegirl, mosquito sprayer, paperboy, road cleaner, rubbish collector, shoecleaner, teagirl.

FACI'ORY

1. Labourer.
2. Freezer operator, machine operator, packer, paint mixer, steel binder.
3. Boilermaker, bus builder, crane driver, fitter, forklift operator, pressmaker, rigger, shift supervisor, welder.
4. Engineer, parts manager.

MOTOR INDUSTRY

1. Petrol pump operator.
2. Greaser, tyre maintenance worker.
3. Motor mechanic, panelbeater, spray painter.

MISCELLANEOUS TRADES

3. Baker, barber, boat builder, bookbinder, butcher, cabinet maker, cattle buyer, dressmaker, fisheries assistant, hairdresser, joiner, photographer, printer, proof reader, radio technician, shipwright, stove repairer, telephone operator, upholsterer.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION

1. Labourer.
3. Block layer, bulldozer driver, carpenter, construction foreman, engineer, joiner, painter, plasterer, plumber.

MARINE : WHARF

1. Stevedore.
2. Cargo supervisor, marine checker, seaman, steward, timekeeper.
3. Bond customs officer, customs clerk, engineer, immigration officer, marine supplies.

STORAGE AND SECURITY

1. Caretaker, nightwatchman.
2. Security officer, store clerk, storeman.

SHOPS

2. Display assistant, sales assistant, salesman.
3. Assistant manager, sales representative.
4. Shop keeper.

CLERICAL

3. Cashier, clerk, ledger machinist, telephone operator, typist.
4. Manager.

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

1. Cook, kitchen hand, laundress, maid, ticket collector, waitress.
2. Barman, doorman, entertainer.
3. Caterer, chief cook.
4. Manager, tour director.

TRANSPORT

1. Delivery man, messenger.
3. Driver, driving instructor, forklift operator, tractor operator.
4. Owner.

HOSPITAL

1. Kitchen hand, orderly, maid, nurse aid.
2. Laboratory technician, medicine mixer.
3. Nurse.
4. Senior nurse.

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES

2. R.S.P.C.A. assistant.
3. Chainman, film operator, fireman, meter reader, policeman, road supervisor, soldier, technician P. and T., telephone operator, timekeeper.
4. Surveyor.

PROFESSIONAL

3. Administration officer, building inspector, church minister, court interpreter, mines inspector, money lender, provincial officer, pundit.
4. Accountant, architect, auditor, bank officer, chemist, executive officer, librarian, teacher.

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