NEW HEBRIDEAN MOBILITY :
A STUDY OF CIRCULAR MIGRATION
NEW HEBRIDEAN MOBILITY:
A STUDY OF CIRCULAR MIGRATION

R. D. BEDFORD

RESEARCH SCHOOL OF PACIFIC STUDIES
Department of Human Geography
Publication HG/9 (1973)

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY • CANBERRA
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This is a revised version of a Ph.D. thesis submitted to The Australian National University in December 1971 under the title 'Mobility in transition: an analysis of population movement in the New Hebrides'. The extensive field research required for the study was only made possible by generous financial assistance from this institution. Sections of the thesis have appeared in print elsewhere, and I would like to acknowledge permission granted by Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd to reproduce certain figures and tables which they have published in a book of essays edited by H.C. Brookfield entitled The Pacific in transition: geographical perspectives on adaptation and change.

In preparing both the thesis and this monograph considerable advice and assistance has been received from the academic and technical staffs of the Department of Human Geography, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University. Harold Brookfield (now at McGill University) and Godfrey Linge in particular commented extensively on drafts of the thesis. During the preparation of this monograph, the latter has provided continuous constructive criticism and editorial advice for which I am extremely grateful. A number of people commented on a draft of this publication and I would like to thank Gerard Ward, Wilbur Zelinsky, and Peter Pirie for their very helpful suggestions.

Several people have helped me to prepare this publication. In particular, I would like to mention the following whose assistance has been greatly appreciated: in Christchurch Noeline Frew typed the drafts; in Canberra Pauline Falconer prepared the final script, Ian Heywood drafted some of the diagrams, Nancy Clark proof read the manuscript and the staff of Central Printing at The Australian National University supervised its reproduction.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Department of Human Geography for the opportunity of publishing my thesis.

R.D. Bedford
Christchurch, 10 August 1973
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS vii

CONTENTS ix

List of Tables x
List of Figures x
Conventions x

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 1

Circular Migration: definition and general characteristics 2
Some methodological considerations 5
The New Hebrides 9
Analysis of New Hebridean mobility 11

CHAPTER 2 A TRANSITION IN CIRCULAR MIGRATION, 1800-1970 14

Mobility in pre-contact society 15

Mobility and ceremonial occasions 17
Inter-island trade 18
Pre-contact mobility as oscillation 20

Phase one: overseas labour migration 21

Origins of recruits: the diffusion of phase one 23
Motives for moving 25
Effects on New Hebridean society 28

Phase two: internal contract labour migration 30

The volume of plantation labour migration, 1870-1940 30
Origins and destinations of migrants 33
The changing pattern of circular migration 37

Phase three: intensive short-term circular migration 38

Migration during the Second World War 38
Plantation employment and cash cropping 40
Fish and manganese industries 43
The drift to towns 43
Some general comments on contemporary circular migration 48

A partial explanation of circular migration 54

CHAPTER 3 CONTEMPORARY CIRCULAR MIGRATION: A VIEW FROM THE VILLAGE 57

Aspects of land availability and use 62

Titles and land ownership 62
Some effects of changes in land utilisation 64
The relationship between roles and migration 68
TABLE OF CONTENTS - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Village absenteeism, 1969-1970</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The extent of absenteeism</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absentees' destination choices</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absenteeism and life in the village</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Structural aspects of New Hebridean migration</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The duration of absences from villages</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Circularity in migration networks</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reasons for circular migration</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mobility of New Hebridean men</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mobility of New Hebridean women</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An explanation of contemporary circular migration</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 4</td>
<td>MIGRANTS IN VILA: ASPECTS OF NEW HEBRIDEAN RESIDENCE IN AN URBAN AREA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some general characteristics of migrant settlement</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tongoans, Emaeans, and Makurans in Vila</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accommodation in migrant communities</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stabilisation and involvement in the town</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residence in Vila: measures of stabilisation</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social relationships and involvement in town life</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commitment to residence in Vila</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 5</td>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The circular migration transition in a wider context</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Migration in Melanesia and other parts of the Pacific</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Migration in sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Circular migration and modernisation</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Migration and modernisation: some general comments</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Hebridean circular migration and the mobility transition</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX I</td>
<td>SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Definition of 'a migration'</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Migration histories</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The population surveyed</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Population of the New Hebrides, 1967</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Methods of and motives for recruiting, 1873 and 1881</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Contract labour and plantation wages, 1945-1950</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Population growth of Vila and Santo, 1955-1972</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Distribution of schools, hospitals, and wage employment, 1967</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Internal air traffic, 1961-1969</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Population, location, languages, and religions of villages surveyed</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Land availability and alienation, 1969</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Distribution of customary titles among adult male population</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Roles, age, and mobility experience, 1966-1969</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Residence of title-holders</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Average duration of absences from home village: age groups</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Variations in the circulation index</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>Male circular migration: a schematic representation</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>Female circular migration: a schematic representation</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Migrant communities: characteristics of their populations, January 1970</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Sex ratios of migrant and village populations, 1970</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Variations in household structure; Vila communities and rural villages</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Purchase of land and residence on Tongoa Local Council Lots, Seaside, 1970</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Residential arrangements; adult males</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Duration of residence</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Proportion of working life spent in urban areas by town and village residents</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF TABLES - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>Duration of residence and location of family</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The stayer sample and the mover-stayer population interviewed</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Tests for the validity of household samples</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Aggregations of the sample population</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>The New Hebrides</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Some pre-contact trading networks</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Labour migration and the sandalwood trade</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Labour migration to Australia, 1863-1869</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Recruitment for and repatriation from Australia, 1812-1939</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Recruiting licences and recruits, 1912-1939</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Duration of contracts, 1912-1939</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Origins of labourers, 1912-1939</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>Destinations of labour recruits, 1912-1939</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>Migration to Efate and Espiritu Santo, 1942</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>New Hebrideans employed by the SPFC, 1957-1959</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>Vila and Santo; urban and periurban areas, 1967</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>Origins of immigrants in Vila and Santo, 1967</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>Labour migration to New Caledonia; movements by sea, 1969-1971</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>Inter-island migration streams, 1967</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>Migration fields of selected islands, 1967</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>The south-central New Hebrides</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Villages and language groups on Tongoa, Emae, and Makura, 1969</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Age structure of residents and absentees, 1969-1970</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Location of absentees, 1969-1970</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Mobility experiences; sex and age groups</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Duration of absences from home village</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Circularity in New Hebridean migration networks</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>New Hebridean settlements in Vila, January 1970</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Population structure of migrant and village communities, 1970</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Land ownership and settlement in Seaside, January 1970</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONVENTIONS

Orthography

The spelling of island and place names used in the 1971 census has been adopted in this study because it corresponds to the orthography in common usage by English-speaking citizens in the New Hebrides. The town on Espiritu Santo is termed Santo, and not Luganville. With few exceptions the spellings used here are similar to those advocated by the Royal Geographical Society in its 'Fourth List of Oceanic Names' in 1931. Where terms in a New Hebridean language or pidgin-English have been cited, they have been given in italics.

Currencies, weights, and measures of area

Unless otherwise stated all currencies are given in Australian dollars at the rate of exchange operative at the date to which the data refer. In the case of data prior to 1967, $A1.00 = $US1.125 = 8/- stg. Since December 1967 $A1.00 = $US1.125 = 9/4 stg. In the case of weights, measures in metric tons (1 metric ton = 2204.6 lb) are used throughout. The metric system is also used in calculating measures of distance and area.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The growing literature dealing with populations in the Pacific islands largely concentrates on two questions, each of which identifies a particular group of problems facing the region as it emerges from colonial rule. The first is the rapid growth of island populations, with rates of natural increase ranging mostly between 2.5 and 3.5 per cent a year. The second is a redistribution of population that is also identified from the censuses, taking the form especially of rapid urbanisation: Pacific towns are estimated to be growing at rates between 5.0 and 12.0 per cent a year. Much of this growth is due to net in-migration from rural areas, but there is abundant evidence to suggest that this townward movement differs significantly from the classic pattern of rural-urban drift. There is no poverty-stricken rural proletariat or depressed peasantry in the Pacific territories comparable with the massive reservoir of rural poor feeding the cities of Asia and Latin America. Migration is not as yet contributing to the creation of a large new urban working class which has severed its ties in the villages and outer islands.*

A number of recent studies have demonstrated that rural-urban migration revealed in censuses of Melanesian territories especially is part of a more complex mobility process in which relocations are often only temporary (Bedford, 1971 and in press; Brookfield with Hart, 1971; Chapman, 1970; Ward, 1971). In most Pacific territories the drift to towns represents an increase in the volume of a circular movement -- a type of mobility that cannot be readily identified in existing census tables. This monograph presents the results of a detailed inquiry into spatial and temporal characteristics of such mobility in one Melanesian archipelago, the New Hebrides. At the outset 'circular migration',

* In ten of the twelve major territories of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia (excluding Hawaii, Guam, and Nauru), under forty per cent of indigenous populations were enumerated in local towns at the most recent census; in seven under twenty per cent were in urban areas. Except in French Polynesia and New Caledonia, therefore, levels of urbanisation remain generally low, so that the present rapid rates of increase will represent only rather small absolute numbers of persons.
must be defined more precisely and distinguished from other forms of human spatial mobility.

Circular migration: definition and general characteristics

A common notion implied or stated in most studies of migration is that this type of spatial mobility involves individuals, families, or groups in permanent or long-term changes in their places of residence.* Physical distances between origin and destination points may be considerable, as in the case of inter-continental migration, or short, as in intra-urban residential moves. Migration may be followed by permanent settlement at the destination selected or by a subsequent movement to another place. Spatial and temporal characteristics of this form of mobility thus vary considerably but the essential diagnostic feature of 'a migration' is an intention to move away permanently from an established place of residence.

There is, however, a large class of movements that is not intendedly permanent, even though some such relocations may become long-lasting. The intention on the part of the mover is to return to a place considered the permanent home after a temporary absence; movements of this type have been grouped under the label of 'circulation'. Zelinsky (1971: 225-6) has remarked that circulation denotes 'a great variety of movements, usually short-term, repetitive or cyclic in nature, but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of permanent or long-lasting change of residence'. As with migration, the spatial and temporal characteristics of circulation are variable. Many forms of circulation may involve only brief, short-distance moves (shopping, daily employment, schooling or visiting), but others (business trips, contract employment, and pilgrimages) may require lengthy journeys and absences lasting several months. Circulation differs from migration in that the mover intends to return to his original place of residence.

*A brief summary of some definitions of migration is given in Mangalam with Morgan (1968:7-8). Defining a migration as a move involving permanent or long-term change in place of residence has been suggested by Lee (1966:49). Implicit in this definition is the notion that such a move will be accompanied by severance of those bonds or connections representing adjustments to one habitat and the establishment of a new set of bonds representing adjustment to a new location (Saunders, 1956:221). Thus change in the 'interactional', or normative, system of the migrants is an inevitable consequence of most permanent or long-term relocations (Duncan, 1956:432; Mangalam and Morgan, 1968:10).
It is necessary to distinguish between movements within this latter class if any meaning is to be achieved. Routine daily movements — shopping, the journey to work, to school, visiting — and other movements of short term can collectively be differentiated from movements which will involve a long absence from home. The former may be termed 'oscillation', the latter 'circular migration', and for present purposes an arbitrary time-division of one month's absence from home is employed to make the distinction. An upward limit for 'circular migration' is less easy to establish, since absences on contract work engagements might extend over a number of years. The difference between 'circular migration' and 'migration' is essentially one of intention at the time of departure, this intention usually being reflected in the sort of arrangements made either to maintain or wind up on-going interests. Retrospectively, it would be possible to establish a more precise distinction on the basis of some arbitrary time spent away, but this could be applied only to a minority of movers in a dynamic situation.

Circular migration, thus defined, is common in a great many social and economic contexts. Although studied far less than intendedly permanent migration, it is a major form of spatial mobility in the 'modernised' countries with their very interactive social systems. The peripatetic ways of academics, specialists, many business men, salesmen, students, and holiday-makers usually involve only temporary absences rather than permanent relocations. In traditional tribal and peasant societies, circulation was probably more common than migration. However, it is in the so-called 'transitional' societies, which are undergoing the early phases of modernisation, that circular migration has been more intensively studied.* Where traditional patterns of living have been disrupted by foreign intrusion, such as colonialism, it is common to find two or more differently structured societies and economies existing side by side within the one whole society. Plural societies and dual economies exist in various forms in most colonial or formerly colonial countries,

* Mitchell (1959 and 1969a) and Gugler (1968 and 1969) have presented detailed analyses of the reasons for this type of mobility in Africa and reviewed much of the relevant anthropological and sociological literature. In the case of the Pacific no comprehensive review of migration studies exists, although Brookfield with Hart (1971) have discussed aspects of circular migration in Melanesia and Watters (1970:135) mentions a number of recent studies in his survey of modernisation in Pacific societies.
offering a contrast in ways of life that can be particularly stark. A compromise adopted by members of the indigenous population is circular migration. Wishing to retain the security of their traditional institutions, generally associated with residence in rural communities, while obtaining some of the benefits of involvement in non-indigenous economic activities, they circulate between village or hamlet and the centres of wage employment — plantations, mining settlements, and towns.

Mitchell (1969a:177), who has studied circular migration in a number of African countries, expressed the view that where this form of mobility prevails, there appears to be an appreciation on the part of the migrant of some disparity between the rights and privileges he can claim in his rural community and those he can claim elsewhere. In the rural areas, where there has not been widespread alienation of land to foreigners, customary rights to cultivate land and maintain a home in a village may guarantee a certain degree of economic security, while reciprocal social obligations of kinsmen ensure support in times of stress. In the towns administrative policies or high land values may prevent permanent acquisition of property, or the income derived from full commitment to wage labour may not be considered sufficient compensation by the migrant for abandoning an active interest in rural-based enterprises.

Circular labour migration from a rural base is generally regarded as a transitional, or compromise, form of mobility associated with an early stage of modernisation (Moore, 1951, 1967; Moore and Feldman, 1960; Kerr, 1960). With the transition from subsistence to market-exchange economies and the changing aspirations and expectations among people as activities become commercialised, ties to particular localities are weakened. Improvements in transport and communications facilitate mobility and, with increasing diversity of areas as industrial and urban centres evolve, the necessary conditions are created for more extensive movements involving permanent relocations. Under such circumstances migration is seen as an equilibrating mechanism in a diversifying economy, whereby people respond to changing opportunities and redirect the spatial allocation of labour towards a more optimal pattern (Rogers, 1968:73). The process of circular migrations acts as a brake on such redistribution, but permanent migration of a considerable proportion of the rural-based population to urban areas is usually seen as inevitable.
In some areas with limited potential for major industrial development, the economic situation maintained by circular migration has, however, emerged as a relatively stable compromise. This has been demonstrated particularly in numerous studies of mobility in colonial or recently independent countries in sub-Saharan Africa (see for example Elkan, 1964, 1967). In the scattered island groups of the south Pacific, with their minuscule parcels of natural resources and small populations, the 'economies of mass' associated with urban-industrial societies are simply not feasible in most areas (Spate, 1965:259-60). Pacific societies are, as Watters (1970:137) recently stated, 'societies in search of urbanism -- an urbanism that can never be developed in small scale island economies'. In such areas compromises between the traditional social and economic system, and the market-exchange economy introduced by European colonialism over a century ago, have persisted, and circular migration remains a most significant form of mobility.

**Some methodological considerations**

A fundamental methodological problem confronting description and explanation of changes in patterns of human mobility is that theories relating to this phenomenon may be applicable only at certain times and in certain societies (Harvey, 1969:96). Consequently, theories to explain nomadism, transhumance, circular migration, rural-urban drift, and the diverse forms of inter-urban and intra-urban mobility in contemporary Euro-American societies have limited social, spatial, and temporal domains.* Moreover, the theoretical statements which exist in contemporary literature largely fail to provide a general framework within which comprehensive analysis of mobility can be undertaken.

In the many very diverse studies of human spatial mobility there has been a tendency to focus inquiry on a selected aspect of this

* In this context Ravenstein's (1885 and 1889) 'laws' of migration and Lee's (1966) expansion of these have particular relevance in societies experiencing rapid urban and industrial development. Gugler's (1968) 'theory' of rural-urban migration in sub-Saharan Africa is, by its very title, restricted to a particular spatial domain and, together with Mitchell's (1969a) conceptualisation of circular migration, is confined to a particular societal context. Mabogunje's (1970) theory of rural-urban migration in a systems-theoretic framework has greater generality but, again, the theory is limited to a particular form of population movement.
process: characteristics of the movers; their reasons for moving; the
volume of movement between places; the consequences of movement on the
populations of origin and destination areas. Thus, the numerous
attempts to derive a general theory of migration differentials, on the
assumption that some groups in a population are more likely to move
than others, have stressed variations (demographic, socio-economic,
etc.) between migrant and non-migrant populations with little reference
to the volume of movements between places.* Theories to explain regu-
larities in the volume and direction of migration streams, and patterns
in the spatial distribution of destinations chosen by migrants from a
particular area, have tended to ignore characteristics of the migrants.
When explaining migration streams in terms of intervening distance
between origins and destinations and regional disparities in economic
opportunities and amenities it has been usual to assume a constant
population.

The development of a behavioural theory of mobility to explain
why some individuals and households choose to move, while others remain
in situ has focussed on the structure of the decision-making process.
Research strategies here have been directed towards identifying variables
which are most significant in influencing migration decisions -- variables
which in some way measure individual and household needs, dissatisfactions,
and aspirations; the major determinants of decision-making behaviour
(Rossi, 1955:177). Attempts to relate migration behaviour simultaneously
to variations in people and places have been much less common. This has
largely been due to the classical methodological problem in geography of
integrating form and process in the same explanatory model. To describe
and explain a complex spatio-temporal process such as human mobility
necessitates consideration of various concepts and methods.

In this study a variety of approaches have been considered
necessary to gain an understanding of three essential aspects of human
spatial mobility in a Melanesian archipelago -- who moves, their reasons
for moving, and their destination choices. To provide a general survey
of different aspects of mobility a flexible approach is required in which
the concepts of induction, deduction, theories, hypotheses, and models

* A more detailed review of various theoretical approaches to the study
of mobility is presented in Bedford (1971:5-24).
INTRODUCTION

are intermingled. This is similar to the approach adopted by Olsson (1968) in his analysis of the colonisation of northern Sweden. Olsson applied several models to describe spatial patterns and explain the processes which generated them; in this way he demonstrated the need for complementary formulations to explain a complex spatio-temporal process. The method used in this study is to combine analysis of the spatial form of movement with hypotheses concerning diffusion and decision-making processes in order to provide a descriptive and explanatory account of changes through time in patterns of population movement.

This approach through complementary formulations has its advantages in an area where statistical information on population movement is very scanty, and where many hypotheses which have been developed in the context of mobility in Euro-American societies appear, intuitively, to have only limited relevance. Mobility in Melanesia, where the population is still a rural-based one with a 'cultural focus' resting ultimately on status as landowners rather than proletarians, has been shown in a number of studies to have fundamental differences to movement in urban-industrial societies. Circular migration rather than permanent changes of residence predominates -- a pattern of movement which exhibits many similarities to that found in parts of tribal Africa. Research in this latter area has generated useful hypotheses which can be incorporated as complementary formulations in the approach advocated here to provide a more comprehensive explanation of mobility than would accrue from any one 'model'.

Admittedly this methodology has its conceptual limitations. The linkages between different hypotheses relating to aspects of circular migration are weak. Analysis of form tends to proceed independently from that of process and the classical geographical problem of integrating these in the same explanatory model is not resolved. Rather, description and, hopefully, understanding predominate in this general survey of population movement in a Melanesian archipelago where there have been no previous mobility studies.
Fig. 1.1: The New Hebrides. (Source: Archipel des Nouvelles-Hébrides 1:500,000, Institute Géographique National, Paris.)
The New Hebrides

The Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides, an archipelago of some 70 islands stretching northwest to southeast for approximately 800 kilometres, lies some 14 degrees south of the equator (Fig. 1.1). Islands in this Group, the majority of which originated through submarine or subaerial volcanic activity, vary in size from 25 to 3,600 square kilometres, and most have steep, rugged, mountainous, sparsely populated interiors, and narrow coastal lowlands where most of the population is settled.* Of 76,582 persons enumerated on the 63 inhabited islands in 1967, ninety-two per cent were indigenes and, except for small groups of people with Polynesian ancestry in certain southern islands, were overwhelmingly Melanesian in ethnic origin (Table 1.1).** The New Hebrides, in common with other island groups in Melanesia, is an area of considerable linguistic and cultural diversity. Preliminary results of a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Hebridean</td>
<td>70,837</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>1,773</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polynesian-Micronesian</td>
<td>1,270</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-European</td>
<td>1,151</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Melanesian</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Métis</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>76,582</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* It is not intended to outline the topographic, climatic, and vegetation characteristics of the New Hebrides -- Brookfield with Hart (1971) survey this area in the wider context of Melanesia.

** McArthur and Yaxley (1968:vii) noted that the final total of 76,582 persons enumerated did not include a relatively small number, estimated at 1,406, who refused to be counted.
linguistic survey indicate that there are least 110 languages spoken by New Hebrideans (Tryon, 1971). There is also a sharp division within the Group between customary social structure and political organisation in matrilocal descent societies of the Banks and Torres Islands, Espiritu Santo, east Aoba, Maewo, and north Pentecost, and the patrilocal societies further south.*

New Hebrideans, who traditionally lived in communities fragmented by various physical, cultural, and linguistic barriers, have been integrated into wider spatial settings beyond the confines of their group territories and those areas to which kinship ties, customary allegiances, and trading exchanges gave them access. The gradual diffusion of a lingua franca (pidgin-English) fostered by contact with European traders and planters has helped to overcome this linguistic diversity, and the establishment of trading centres, commercial plantations, mission stations, and the growth of the two towns of Vila and Luganville (Santo) have increased the range of alternative places of residence for New Hebrideans. When the first complete census of the New Hebridean population was taken in 1967, over 61,000 (eighty-seven per cent) of the 70,837 indigenes enumerated were resident in areas classed as 'rural'. Within their legally defined boundaries the towns contained five per cent of New Hebrideans and a further eight per cent were resident in surrounding suburbs and plantations considered as periurban areas.

The great majority of New Hebrideans thus reside in some 1,500 rural settlements which vary considerably in size from groups of more than 500 to hamlets of one or two buildings accommodating a single family. Most Melanesian settlements are found on, or very close to, the coastal littorals of the islands and are nucleated in structure. This is a departure from the pattern of population distribution in the pre-contact period when interior locations for settlements were preferred. Relatively large inland populations are found only in south Espiritu Santo, north Malekula, Tanna, Malo, and central Pentecost, although some of the other large islands (Ambrym, Aoba, Maewo) also have settlements some distance from the coast (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:31).

* Aspects of traditional New Hebridean social organisation are discussed further in Chapter 2.
Activities associated with subsistence and cash-crop cultivation (peasant agriculture) provide a major proportion of these New Hebrideans with their livelihood. McArthur and Yaxley (1968:60) found that sixty-nine per cent of economically active males and ninety-one per cent of females were occupied in peasant farming in 1967. Cash crops were grown by ninety-five per cent of rural residents, and a pure subsistence agriculture was still practised only in some interior settlements. Yams, taro, manioc, and other root crops for consumption are grown in gardens which, in a number of areas, are still farmed according to traditional fallow agricultural practices, while coconuts, coffee, and cocoa are produced for the export market. As population densities are low in most parts of the Group and shortage of agricultural land is very localised, there is little need for New Hebrideans to abandon their traditional subsistence agriculture and become fully committed to commercial farming or wage employment. A condition of 'subsistence affluence' exists in many parts of the New Hebrides, and from this secure base Islanders venture into the monetary economy with the knowledge that they can always derive a livelihood outside cash cropping or wage labour if necessary.

**Analysis of New Hebridean mobility**

The major concern of the following chapters is to examine characteristics of New Hebridean migration to areas outside their 'home islands'.* In much of the following analysis this refers to inter-island mobility in the Group, but during two periods in the history of the post-contact New Hebrides international migration has been common. This latter movement is also examined here. However intra-island mobility, which is, no doubt, extensive on many of the larger islands in the Group, is not considered because of a general lack of readily available information.

Examination of New Hebridean population movement beyond specific islands is presented in four chapters. In Chapter 2 an analysis of

---

* The 'home island' is the island where New Hebrideans own land and the area to which they would normally return after a period of wage employment or temporary residence in a medical or educational institution on another island. It is not necessarily the same as the island of birth, and a person may change his 'home island' through marriage (especially women) or permanent migration.
changes in patterns of movement over the past 150 years establishes the
significance of circular migration as the predominant form of spatial
mobility. Circular migration emerges as a relatively persistent com-
promise for a people who wish to retain the security of their tradi-
tional social, economic, and political institutions which are associated
with residence in rural areas, while acquiring some of the benefits of
wage employment and a different social life, especially in the towns.
On the basis of an essentially qualitative assessment of historical
evidence, it is proposed that there has been a transition in circular
migration from limited inter-island mobility in the pre-contact period
towards much more extensive and frequent movement between islands in
the colonial period.

To examine structural and behavioural aspects of contemporary
circular mobility migration histories were compiled for New Hebrideans
living in selected villages and in the Vila urban area. Assessment of
this information in Chapters 3 and 4, demonstrates the significance of
temporary absences from rural communities for all sectors of the popula-
tion. The circularity in New Hebridean mobility is clearly demonstrated
through use of a simple graph-theoretic measure. Circular migration
emerges as one of a number of activities in which all males and most
females participate at some stage during their lives. Although the
dynamic inter-relationships between choices for different economic
activities, especially subsistence gardening, cash cropping, local
business enterprises, and wage employment, could not be precisely
specified, it is suggested in these chapters that circular migration
can be understood in the context of a risk-minimising strategy. By
maintaining a number of options for economic activity, and not becoming
fully committed to any particular one, Islanders were retaining desired
aspects of their traditional ways of life and obtaining returns, even
if sub-optimal, from the commercial system introduced by foreigners.

As a conclusion to this study, changes in characteristics of New
Hebridean spatial mobility are placed in a wider perspective. The
circular migration transition is examined in the context of developments
in population movement in other parts of the Pacific and in sub-Saharan
Africa. A more generalised mobility transition, recently outlined by
Zelinsky (1971), based on the proposition that patterns of population
movement undergo sequential change with modernisation, is then evaluated in the light of findings in this survey.

The approach adopted towards the study of circular migration is, therefore, a flexible one. Various hypotheses relating to aspects of the migration process are combined to provide a more comprehensive explanation of this complex phenomenon. No one 'model' is suitable for this task and, consequently, an approach through complementary formulations affords a more powerful explanation of population movement in the New Hebrides. However, while circular migration is examined from both structural and behavioural points of view, it is not possible to account adequately for certain dynamic characteristics of this process. The vexing problem of inadequate or unreliable data on which to base more sophisticated analysis of, for example, the periodicity in circular migration and the complex inter-relationships between the different options for economic activity open to Islanders, made impossible presentation of evidence on the dynamics of a circular migration system. If this study provides a more substantial base from which examination of circular migration in a systems-theoretic framework can proceed, it will serve a useful purpose.
CHAPTER 2

A TRANSITION IN CIRCULAR MIGRATION, 1800-1970

The discovery of sandalwood in the southern New Hebrides in the 1820s, and the subsequent development of European commercial and political interests in the Group, initiated changes which were to influence many aspects of traditional New Hebridean life. In the context of inter-island mobility the most significant change has been in the shift from a predominantly oscillatory pattern to one dominated by circular migration. In examining this transformation two themes are developed. The first emphasises the continuing circularity in New Hebridean migration throughout the 150 years of European intervention. Despite major economic and political changes in the Group during this period a pattern of inter-island migration has persisted in which permanent change in place of residence is exceptional, and movement away from the home island is usually temporary. The second theme establishes certain fundamental changes in spatial and temporal characteristics of New Hebridean mobility which can be linked to form a transitional sequence in circular migration patterns. Changes in the spatial characteristics of individual mobility, together with an ever-increasing proclivity to migrate among all sectors of the population form the basis for a three-phase transitional sequence.

The first of these phases relates to overseas labour migration in the latter half of the nineteenth century which involved New Hebrideans in long-distance travel and lengthy absences from their home villages. The destinations for migrants, distances travelled, and the nature of absences from villages were different to those in succeeding phases. Overlapping this period of international migration was another phase during which inter-island mobility was channelled towards contract employment on plantations within the New Hebrides. This phase, which had ceased in most areas by the Second World War, was characterised by an increasing unwillingness among Islanders to commit themselves to lengthy absences from their rural communities. The third phase was initiated in some areas as early as the 1920s and is associated with a much more flexible system of casual employment. Improvements in transportation, a greater range of job opportunities, and a growing
familiarity with life away from the social domain of the village have all facilitated more intensive inter-island mobility among New Hebrideans.

These phases in movement behaviour have not progressed simultaneously in all parts of the Group. It will be seen that the transition has a spatial as well as a temporal dimension, and initiation of phases has diffused outward through space from focal points of development. In tracing this transition in circular migration it is necessary to establish a base-line from which to consider change. In this context inter-island mobility in pre-contact New Hebridean society is used as a base from which to study changes in patterns of population movement which have occurred in the Group over the past 150 years.

Mobility in pre-contact society

From the limited published information referring to patterns of spatial mobility before protracted European intervention in the New Hebrides, it is evident that movement involving permanent relocations was severely constrained by indigenous forms of social, economic, and political organisation.* New Hebrideans lived in small dispersed settlements, and the rugged terrain of the scattered volcanic islands made communications difficult over long distances. One group of people was separated from another not only by natural barriers, but also by differences in language and customs. As Buxton (1926:422) argued, a universal fear of sorcery and the magic of strangers was probably the most significant factor in isolating communities. Illness and death were rarely attributed to natural causes: fear of strangers and groups living outside the language area was a considerable force in restricting inter-island mobility.

* Aspects of pre-contact New Hebridean culture have been described in a number of early mission records (usually biographies) and a few ethnographies and social anthropological studies. The former sources tend to offer very biased accounts, especially of the traditional social and political systems. Of the ethnographies and anthropological studies, the works of Codrington (1891), Rivers (1914), Humphreys (1926), Deacon (1934), and Harrisson (1937) contain general discussions of the varied kinship systems, birth, marriage, and death rituals, and the functioning of graded societies, the most important political and economic organisations in many New Hebridean communities. In other anthropological studies, e.g. Layard (1942), Guiart (1951, 1952b, 1953, 1956a, 1958, 1961), Lane (1956), Allen (1964, 1968), discussions can be found on aspects of pre-contact life in selected islands.
In their classification of local groups in Melanesia, Hogbin and Wedgwood (1953) pointed out that, although the same language and culture may often have been shared by some thousands of people, the widest social unit possessing a coherent system for the maintenance of internal order consisted of groups of 70 to 300 people resident within the boundaries of a clearly defined area seldom more than a few square miles in extent. The members of this group conducted their affairs independently under the leadership of their own prominent men and were not a 'tribe' in the usual sense of the word. While those included in a number of Melanesian communities may have had the same social organisation, economic life, and traditions, they were not politically united (Hogbin and Wedgwood, 1953:252). These generalisations on the structure of Melanesian social groups are valid for most of the New Hebrides, although certain communities in north Malekula and the inhabitants of islands in the southern parts of the Group (Tanna, Aniwa, Futuna) have been classed as tribes on the basis of their political organisation (Guiart, 1952b, 1953, 1956a, 1961).

Economic activities were largely confined to those associated with basic subsistence gardening, hunting, and fishing. Swidden agriculture was practised in most areas, with varieties of yam (*Dioscorea* spp.) as a common staple food. Garden rotation with fallow periods of varying lengths appears to have been widespread and, while cultivation techniques and the range of foods grown varied somewhat with location, an essential characteristic of traditional economies was their lack of diversity. They were subsistence economies and most produce was consumed locally. In such economies, which functioned through a high degree of mutual co-operation and a transaction system based on reciprocity, there was little opportunity for individuals or families to derive a livelihood outside the territorial and social domains of their kin and affines.

Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that there were few areas outside his home island to which the New Hebridean would want to migrate. Except for village relocations following natural disasters, warfare, or the search for new garden land, there was little incentive for New Hebrideans to relocate permanently. Migration associated with marriage was widespread, given the principle of exogamy which was usual in both patrilineal and matrilineal descent groups, but the most common
forms of inter-island spatial mobility were circular.* Excluding the oscillatory movements associated with day-to-day living, two aspects of traditional society encouraged quite extensive mobility of small groups of New Hebrideans -- ritual grading ceremonies, and trade.

Mobility and ceremonial occasions

A feature common to most groups in this area was their egalitarianism. The principal or only fixed qualifications for status were the universal ones of age, sex, personal characteristics, and hard work. Political and social status could not be inherited in most areas; only in a few places (North Malekula, south-central New Hebrides, Efate, and some of the southern islands) were rank and position ascribed rather than achieved. In most parts of the Group power and prestige were acquired through the accumulation and public disposal of tusked pigs. On all islands north of Epi an individual's social standing depended on the ranks he held in public and secret graded societies -- ranks which were obtained only after participation in certain ceremonial rituals involving the distribution of various forms of wealth, especially tusked pigs (Layard, 1942:267). Acquisition of pigs with the requisite tusk size and shape for a major rank-taking ceremony was a lengthy procedure and could necessitate extensive travelling by the candidate.

In addition, these ceremonies often involved people from a number of different communities and islands, and temporary movement beyond the spatial domains of kinship groups was not uncommon. Indeed, Deacon (1934:204-5) has argued that a major use of large sea-going canoes in southwest Malekula was for journeys to off-shore islands to attend some rite or festival. Layard (1942), Guiart (1951), and Allen (1968) have described similar movements in northeast Malekula, Ambrym, and Aoba.

---

* Where patrilineal descent was common, residence was generally in the husband's father's community because inheritance of land tended to follow the male line. In matrilineal societies, where land inheritance followed the female line, a man acquired property from his mother's brothers and it was with these people that he normally made his home after marriage. Marriage between people from different islands was not uncommon, especially in the small islands of the Banks Group (Rivers, 1914) and those off the coasts of Efate, Espiritu Santo, and Malekula.
respectively. More distant inter-island links associated with grading ceremonies were recorded for Malekula and Aoba; Aoba and Maewo, Pentecost, and Malekula; and for the small islands south of Epi with Efate.*

Inter-island trade

Aside from this inter-island mobility associated with ceremonial occasions there appears to have been a brisk trade in specialised products which could only be acquired in certain areas. Maintaining trading networks also required movement outside the spatial domain of the local group and, although the numbers of people actually involved were probably small, trading voyages were an important component in pre-contact mobility patterns. While no specific study of indigenous trading systems has been made, references to canoe traffic between islands and the exchanging of dyes, clays, barks, pigs, and specialised articles for use in ceremonies are not uncommon in the few ethnographies and social anthropological works on the New Hebrides.**

The spatial dimensions of some trading networks are indicated in Figure 2.1. The most extensive of these appear to have linked communities on Malekula, Espiritu Santo, Aoba, Maewo, Pentecost, Ambrym, and numerous small off-shore islands. The sailing canoes of the coastal villages (especially those on islands off northeast Malekula) provided

* Corlette (n.d., 41) mentioned that young boys from certain districts on Aoba were sent to the islands of Atchin and Wala off northeast Malekula for initiation into secret societies there. Harrisson (1937:106) and Layard (1942:523) mention a movement in the opposite direction of boys being sent to Aoba and occasionally Maewo and Pentecost, for initiation into sex in a matrilineal society after participating in ceremonial rites signifying manhood. Allen (1964:49) recorded the case of a west Aoban who, having reached the highest rank in his community, proceeded to increase his prestige further by sacrificing tusked boars on Maewo, Pentecost, Malo, Espiritu Santo, and north Malekula. Between the islands of Tongoa, Emae, Makura, Tongariki, south Epi, and islands off the north coast of Efate, movements on ceremonial occasions were also common.

** References to inter-island trade are made by Codrington (1891:25), Rivers (1914:166), Baker (1928:117), Deacon (1934:202-3), Layard (1936:346), Harrisson (1937:399-400), Layard (1942:253), Guiart (1951:16-18), Lane (1956), Guiart (1961), and Allen (1964:49).
Fig. 2.1: Some pre-contact trading networks. (Sources: Allen, 1964; Baker, 1928; Codrington, 1891; Deacon, 1934; Guiart, 1951, 1961; Haddon, 1937; Harrisson, 1936, 1937; Layard, 1936, 1942; Rivers, 1914, Robertson, 1902; Shutler, 1968.)
the transport for this trade.* Additional networks connected communities in the Banks Islands and Guiart (1961) reported inter-island trade in the islands south of Efate. While some trading networks were fairly extensive, it is important to realise that these links were confined to certain districts -- an agreement to exchange goods with one group did not imply access to a wider market on that island. A trading connection between the people of west Ambrym and inhabitants of the Port Sandwich region of Malekula, for example, did not mean the Ambrymese could visit other parts of east Malekula with immunity. Inter-island movement associated with trading activities tended to be over short distances and exhibited strong directional biases. Pre-contact New Hebrideans obviously had connections with people beyond the range of their kin groups, but these were often tenuous.

Pre-contact mobility as oscillation

Population movement between islands in traditional New Hebridean society appears to have been primarily oscillation, and moves associated with ceremonies and trading voyages rarely involved Islanders in lengthy absences from their permanent homes. Except for movements of a marital or martial nature, there appears to have been little incentive to migrate outside the domains of kinship groups. Given the strength of local social networks, low levels of transport and communications technology, a lack of diversity in economies, and the absence of a demand for labour outside the sphere of activities conducted in the community of birth, there was little necessity for extensive territorial mobility.

Spatial and temporal characteristics of traditional forms of circulation were transformed by the demand for timber, labour, and crops by European entrepreneurs and settlers. The diffusion of a demand among Islanders for non-indigenous material goods stimulated labour migration, since items such as steel tools, calico, paint, and muskets, which rapidly assumed important roles in their social and economic activities,

* Haddon (1937) has described types of canoes that were traditionally used in the New Hebrides. He noted that inhabitants of small off-shore islands were generally good sailors as well as those in the Banks islands and on Aneityum, Futuna, and Aniwa. People from Aoba, Maewo, Pentecost, and Ambrym were reputed not to have travelled by sea very frequently, and for all groups long voyages were uncommon.
could only be acquired by trading produce or labour. The latter alternative generally meant labouring at the site of a mill or plantation outside the village territory. From its inception, this movement rarely involved New Hebrideans in permanent settlement at their destinations and a pattern of circular labour migration evolved.

Phase one: overseas labour migration

The development of a trade in sandalwood in the southern New Hebrides between 1840 and 1860 introduced small groups of New Hebrideans to labour migration, but its impact on mobility patterns was limited to a few islands (Fig. 2.2). Inhabitants of the five southern islands, as well as selected groups from Efate and Espiritu Santo, became familiar with working for Europeans at milling stations.* However, the great majority of New Hebrideans had no experience of labour migration at this initial stage. Knowledge of the utility of European trade goods diffused through the traditional trading network to areas not affected by the sandalwood trade, but easy acquisition of this wealth was not possible until the demand for Islanders as employees outside their home villages increased considerably. Such a demand arose in the early 1860s when Europeans sought cheap labour to work their plantations in Australia, Fiji, Samoa, and New Caledonia.

Although sixty-five New Hebrideans were taken from the southern islands to New South Wales to work on graziers' properties in 1847, it was not until 1863 that this overseas 'labour trade' was actively promoted.** Between 1863 and 1906 when recruiting 'kanakas' for Queensland ceased, approximately 40,000 New Hebrideans went to Australia at least once for a three-year term of employment on cotton and

* Shineberg (1966 and 1967) has presented a detailed analysis of this trade and its effects on New Hebridean economic and social organisation. She notes that 'hundreds' of islanders left their homes to work as members of cutting parties near trading stations on other islands (Shineberg, 1967:191). However, the major sources of labour were Tanna and Efate and the destinations were confined to four islands in the Group and the Loyalty Islands in New Caledonia.

** In 1863 1,500 New Hebrideans were apparently taken to Peru, a movement which ceased in the same year. Very few were returned to the New Hebrides (Steel, 1880:386; O'Reilley, 1956:4).
Fig. 2.2: Labour migration and the sandalwood trade. (Source: Shineberg, 1967.)
sugar plantations (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:16). Some 30,000 are estimated to have returned to the New Hebrides by 1914.* In addition to this movement to Australia, the development of copra and sugar plantations in Fiji, coconut estates in Samoa, and a nickel mining industry in New Caledonia created a demand for labour which could not be met from local sources. Information on the numbers employed at these destinations is scanty, but the few available figures suggest that at least 10,000 New Hebrideans were involved. Whatever the precise numbers, demand for labour outside the Group had a profound and widespread impact on traditional society and marks the first phase in a transitional sequence in New Hebridean mobility patterns.

Origins of recruits: the diffusion of phase one

Initially recruiting was centred in the southern islands where New Hebrideans had most experience in dealing with Europeans. In these islands oral communication and a reasonable degree of mutual understanding were possible from the first although, as Scarr (1968:5) noted, men recruited in Tanna, for instance, may have supposed they were going to Efate to cut sandalwood, not to Queensland to plant cotton. The demand for labour was so intensive that the focus of recruiting rapidly shifted north. Of the 1,500 Islanders taken to Queensland by 1869, over forty per cent had come from islands north of Efate; islands where experiences with Europeans had been limited to an occasional visit by a mission or trading vessel (Fig. 2.3). In these latter areas misunderstandings must have been common, and kidnapping probably introduced many Islanders to Queensland's plantations and towns.**

* Statistics for both recruitment from and return to the New Hebrides are incomplete. On the basis of Parnaby's (1964:203-6) figures McArthur and Yaxley estimated that around 40,000 left the Group. However this number may be inflated by the fact that many New Hebrideans went more than once to Queensland, and this movement cannot be identified in the available statistics.

** According to Allen (1968:31), his informants on Aoba claimed that the first recruiting vessel to visit the northwestern side of the island kidnapped three men while they were out fishing. Their relatives, presuming them drowned, performed the funeral rites. Some years later the men returned with trunks full of steel axes, pipes, tobacco, and clothes. Apparently they had been well treated on the plantation and the ship that brought them back departed the next day with a full complement of recruits. Taking men by force from their canoes was a common kidnapping technique in the 1860s and early 1870s. Codrington (1891:292) and Harrison (1937:195) argued that fear of being kidnapped while out fishing or trading was responsible for a rapid decline in canoe traffic around or between islands.
Fig. 2.3: Labour migration to Australia, 1863-1869. (Source: Short, 1870:56-7.)
By the mid 1870s, however, seeking employment in Queensland, Fiji, and to a lesser extent New Caledonia, was a voluntary decision on the part of most New Hebrideans. That this must have been the case is evident from the numbers who left the Group. By the 1880s, people from all islands had been working overseas; only those inhabitants of relatively inaccessible interior locations on the larger islands remained unaffected by the change in mobility patterns initiated by a demand for labour outside the Group.

Motives for moving

The major stimuli encouraging New Hebrideans to migrate for three or more years contract labour in other territories were the great desirability of European goods, the novelty of travel, ambitions to enjoy similar experiences to those recounted by repatriated labourers, and pressures within their own society. Two attempts were made during the nineteenth century to assess the causes of New Hebridean labour migration. These represent little more than intelligent guesses but, for what they are worth, they are summarised in Table 2.1. A major reason

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for recruiting</th>
<th>Estimates (per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Taken by force</td>
<td>10  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) By deceit, false promises, ignorance</td>
<td>20  15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Obligated to go by chiefs, relatives, or in return for guns</td>
<td>20  15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Accompanying chiefs or relatives</td>
<td>5   -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Returned labourers recruiting</td>
<td>15  25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) From curiosity or to obtain guns</td>
<td>20  25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Drought or hurricane causing food shortage</td>
<td>-    5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Defeat in war or fleeing punishment for crime</td>
<td>10  10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Shortage of women, or in response to other changes in community partly as a result of recruiting</td>
<td>-    -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Harrisson (1937, 194); Steel (1880, 407); Scarr (1968, 22-3).
given in both assessments is the desire to acquire guns. As the possession of firearms became an important determinant of the balance of power in island societies, members of a community were encouraged to recruit in order to increase the fire-power of their group. Besides being desired as weapons, muskets were useful in bride-price transactions, and for acquiring tusked pigs needed in rank-taking ceremonies.

Warfare undoubtedly drove both men and women to seek recruitment and, in the early years of the trade, areas where unrest was known to be common were favoured by recruiters. Recruiting also afforded a means of escaping punishment for crimes committed in the village. In 1906 when repatriation was enforced on most Melanesians employed in Queensland, fears of returning to their villages were often strong enough to prompt some New Hebrideans to migrate to Fiji or other areas.* But by far the most important motive for recruiting was the desire to acquire non-indigenous material goods which rapidly became considered as essentials in local society and economy.

The demand for cheap labour overseas in the latter half of the nineteenth century had a profound effect on New Hebridean mobility patterns. In the 1870s and 1880s over 1,000 were leaving the Group each year but it is important to note that throughout the period there were significant counter-streams of Islanders returning to their home islands (Fig. 2.4). It appears that only a small proportion of the migrants had any intention of staying permanently at their destinations -- it was a circular rather than a one-way movement.**

* The recruiting vessel also provided a useful haven for eloping couples; young men who lacked the resources to meet bride prices would elope with women married to elderly men (Scarr, 1967b:144). Although enforced marriage to elderly men is reputed to have been a common cause of female recruitment, the numbers of women in Queensland or Fiji at any one time were small. Corris (1970a:100) recorded that out of 5,795 Melanesians in Queensland in 1881, only 373 (6.2 per cent) were females, and in 1891 there were 826 (8.7 per cent) females out of a total of 9,428. The position in Fiji was similar -- between 1885 and 1886 7.5 per cent of the recruits were women, and between 1886 and 1892 this proportion averaged 8.2 per cent.

** Although it is estimated that approximately twenty-five per cent of those New Hebrideans who went to Australia did not return to the Group, high mortality on ships and plantations rather than permanent settlement accounts for a major portion of the difference between numbers recruited and repatriated.
Fig. 2.4: Recruitment for and repatriation from Australia, 1912-1939.
(Source: Parnaby, 1964.)

Returning to their villages after at least three years absence affected New Hebrideans in various ways. A great number, no doubt, managed to settle back into the traditional round of activities. But lengthy absences had their drawbacks in a society where time-consuming accumulation of traditional wealth as well as reciprocal obligations were essential for social advancement. Missionaries and other observers commented on the problems facing repatriated labourers who, on disembarking, found their canoes rotten, plantations in waste, houses destroyed and, in some cases, their wives living with other men. With no food resources of their own they had to live on the charity of friends, repayment for which soon dissipated any wealth they had accumulated overseas (Steel, 1880:396-7).

In such circumstances a man had little chance of succeeding in the traditional social system. Many, disillusioned, recruited again; others sought to change the structure of society. Disapproving of traditional methods of social advancement, New Hebrideans who had been strongly influenced by Christian teachings in Australia, challenged the authority of chiefs and elders by proposing a new life founded on Christian
principles and, in some areas, cash crop agriculture. Those who did not wish to return to their pagan villages, or who could not effect the changes they believed necessary, moved to mission settlements or induced fellow converts to form a new village.

Effects on New Hebridean society

From the point of view of mobility, this first sixty years of protracted contact with Europeans brought three significant changes in New Hebridean society:

(i) an increasing number of places, other than their home villages, where New Hebrideans could reside and derive a living;

(ii) a gradual breakdown of linguistic and social barriers with the diffusion of a trade language (pidgin-English), the influence of missionary teachings, and the cultural interchange which accompanied residence at centres of European commercial activity;

(iii) changes in the organisation of economic and social activities, which dissemination of steel tools and other non-indigenous goods initiated in traditional societies.

The diffusion of information on alternative places where employment could be obtained greatly increased the New Hebrideans' 'action space', or that image of an environment which is relevant to a person's decision-making and spatial behaviour at any time. This cognitive space, which in the pre-contact period appears to have included only a small range of places between which New Hebrideans moved regularly to satisfy economic and social needs, now widened swiftly, and became subject to new forms of discrimination.

As knowledge of conditions at the different locations increased in New Hebridean communities, labour recruiters found that Islanders became very selective in their choice of destination. Queensland was the favoured destination, especially among coastal people who had considerable recruiting experience by the 1880s. Scarr (1967b:141) has noted that recruiters seeking labour for plantations in Fiji had to rely increasingly on bushmen from interior locations to meet their quotas. New Caledonia and Samoa only became popular destinations after the governments in Queensland and Fiji banned the supply of guns to Islanders in 1884 (Scarr, 1967a:6-7). By the 1890s it was believed that
comparatively few people from coastal villages engaged at all; other alternatives for obtaining the desired goods were becoming available, including the sale of crops to foreign traders or working on plantations which Europeans were establishing within the Group. Diversification of the indigenous economy with cash-cropping as well as a growing demand for labour within the New Hebrides had further influences on the Islanders' mobility patterns.

In addition to transforming New Hebrideans' 'action space' overseas labour migration greatly increased contact between Islanders, and mingling during three years or more of employment outside the home village was of considerable significance in reducing mutual fears and suspicions. Although there was probably not as much mixing of people from different islands on the plantations as might be imagined, Islanders worked in groups according to their skills rather than their island of origin (Corris, 1970b:50-1). On the plantations the emergent leaders were those with greatest experience of colonial conditions rather than the holders of high rank in the traditional hierarchy. While this often caused tensions among labourers, these circumstances introduced many Islanders to new concepts of authority and prestige which tested their faith in the traditional order at home.

During this period New Hebridean societies underwent a technological revolution which made lengthy absences from the home village both possible and desirable. Hours of labour expended in gardening, fishing, hunting, canoe and house construction, and in the preparation of stone and shell implements for their work were saved through utilisation of steel tools and weapons. As Shineberg (1967:162) has argued, the traditional round of activities was dislocated as there was now more time for local politics and warfare. There was also time to collect coconuts for sale to traders and to work for the Europeans. When political events overseas and in the New Hebrides brought an end to much of the international labour migration, alternatives for temporary residence did not diminish. Establishment of the Condominium in 1906, rapid expansion in European settlement and plantation agriculture, the evolution of an administrative and trading centre at Vila, and the diffusion of mission influence through the Group ensured that the range of options for employment and residence continued to grow.
Phase two: internal contract labour migration

About the same time as New Hebridean labour migration to Australia was initiated, Europeans began establishing plantations in the Group. A world shortage of cotton in the 1860s led to attempt to grow this crop on plantations in Melanesia (Brookfield with Hart, 1971:126). When the cotton market collapsed in the 1870s other crops were grown, especially coconuts, coffee, and cocoa. Europeans also established trading stations where they exchanged goods desired by Islanders for coconuts or copra, thus initiating New Hebridean participation in cash cropping.

From its inception the plantation industry suffered acute labour shortages which arose in large part from competition of overseas recruiters. When movement to areas outside the Group was controlled by legislation in Australia and the Condominium in 1906, the labour situation for planters improved. However, while labour migration overseas had involved New Hebrideans in contracts for three or more years, employment on plantations within the Group was generally for much shorter periods. Islanders tended to prefer short contracts of twelve months or less, rather than the three-year terms of indenture desired by planters to ensure some continuity and stability in their labour forces. There were changes in the characteristics of circular migration: the duration of absences from villages together with the distances travelled to reach destinations decreased, but the intensity of inter-island mobility rose during this second phase of the transition.

The volume of plantation labour migration, 1870-1940

Although statistics of New Hebrideans recruited for employment on plantations within the Group are fragmentary for the period prior to 1911, it appears that by 1870 internal labour migration was at least as high as it had been during the sandalwood era.* After 1882, when there were steady increases in the number of Frenchmen establishing plantations in the Group, the demand for labour grew rapidly. During the 1880s and 1890s settlers established plantations on Tanna, Epi, Malekula, and Espiritu Santo. While some planters could rely on a local source of

* Thompson (1970 has examined the development of Anglo-Australian commercial interests in the New Hebrides from 1862 to 1972, and has discussed aspects of labour migration during this period.
labour from neighbouring villages, settlers in most areas were generally obliged to recruit their labour from other islands.

Following the establishment of the Condominium in 1906 regulations governing recruiting and repatriation of indigenous labour were introduced and returns on the numbers of Islanders employed on contract were prepared bi-annually.* Between 1912 and 1939 approximately 32,000 contracts were signed involving New Hebrideans in employment on plantations. Some 8,000 of these bound Islanders to work for Australians and Englishmen, and 24,000 (including 4,700 contracts for women) on French-owned estates. Although initially over 1,000 New Hebrideans a year were recruited for such work the actual number of engagements was generally less than half that permitted under the terms of licences issued by the Resident Commissioners (Fig. 2.5). Numbers recruited each year fluctuated between 1,000 and 2,200 until the early 1920s when there was a steady decline in contracts signed. This was due initially to increased marketing by New Hebrideans of their own crops, to preference on the part of employers for Vietnamese labour recruited on long-term contract, and later, in the 1930s, to the depression.** High prices for copra in the early 1920s encouraged New Hebrideans to sell their coconuts to traders

* Bi-annual labour reports containing statistics on the numbers of New Hebrideans recruited by British and French firms were forwarded by the British Resident Commissioner to the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific High Commission. These reports provided the information on which this discussion of contract employment is based; they did not contain a complete record of inter-island labour migration because infringements of the regulations were numerous, and non-contract employment became increasingly popular among New Hebrideans throughout this period.

** Asian labourers on five-year contracts began entering the Group from Vietnam in 1913. Both British and French planters claimed that there was an inadequate supply of contract labour to meet the demands of a rapidly expanding plantation industry, and although the Colonial Office would not permit British settlers to indenture Asian labour, the French Administration agreed to the introduction of labourers from their Colony of Indochina. The Vietnamese (or Tonkinese as they were then known) were employed at much greater cost than New Hebrideans but the security of a five-year contract did much to offset this. By 1929 5,000 were working in the Group, but when the market for copra collapsed in the early 1930s, a considerable number had to be repatriated. Following the depression recruitment increased again, and by 1939 2,000 were employed on plantations in the New Hebrides.
rather than seek employment on plantations, and by 1930 it was estimated that approximately one-sixth of the total copra exported from the Group came from Islanders' plots.*

Throughout the period contracts of twelve months or less were most common and the three-year contract, desired by planters to ensure some stability in their labour force, was not acceptable to most New Hebrideans (Fig. 2.6). By the latter half of the 1930s over half of all engagements were for six months or less; an indication of the growing interest among New Hebrideans in more casual employment outside their villages. In 1932 it was estimated that the ratio of casual, or non-contract labourers to New Hebrideans engaged on contracts was two to one

on British estates and as high as four to one on French plantations.*

Origins and destinations of migrants

Labour recruiting was most successful in those areas where contact with Europeans had been minimal and where continuing inter-group hostilities ensured a steady supply of men seeking weapons. New Hebrideans from the central islands recruited most freely, as in many of these areas the acquisition of arms was of paramount importance in maintaining the balance of power (Fig. 2.7). In the case of north Malekula, in particular, continual unrest prompted the British Administration and, reluctantly, their French colleagues to introduce legislation to prohibit the sale of arms on plantations to Islanders from this area. However, this regulation (Joint Regulation No. 7 of 1934) was largely ignored because planters and recruiters realised that acquisition of guns was a major factor motivating the Big Nambas tribesmen of north Malekula to seek plantation employment.

It was not until a Frenchman was murdered by the Big Nambas for 'stealing' their women that recruiting was controlled in this area. Regulations in 1939 and 1941 prohibited both recruitment from north Malekula, and residence on plantations of women other than those

---

employed in domestic service.* These regulations were attacked voci-
iferously by both French and British planters. Political expediency
impelled the British Administration to agree to a temporary relaxation
of certain controls and in the following year, when the demand for
labour rose sharply with the establishment of American bases in the
Group, recruiting from the Big Nambas area was again permitted.**

Fig. 2.7: Origins of labourers, 1912–1939. (Source: As for Fig. 2.5.)

* Joint Regulation No. 11 of 1939: 'The New Hebrides Restriction of
Navigation (Malekula) Joint Regulation'; Joint Regulation No. 20 of 1941:
The Native Recruiting and Employment Registration Regulation'; Joint
Regulation No. 21 of 1941: 'The Natives of North Malekula Recruiting and
Employment (Prohibition) Regulation'.

** Although the French Administration had suggested measures be taken to
control recruiting, especially of women, the French settlers were con-
tvinced that Joint Regulations Nos 20 and 21 of 1941 were the result of
Presbyterian Mission agitation at a time when the war in Europe and the
fall of France had politically weakened the French Administration in the
New Hebrides. Further changes in policy were effected in Joint Regu-
tation No. 28 of 1941: Joint Regulation No. 9 of 1942: 'The Natives of
North Malekula Recruiting and Employment (Prohibition) (Amendment)
Regulation'.
The only other area where a special regulation was enacted to restrict recruiting was in the isolated Torres Islands. In 1934 recruitment of women was prohibited in an attempt to arrest the serious decline in population there. An estimated population of 3,500 in 1910 had dropped to 170 by 1936 (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:17) and persistent labour migration was believed to be a major factor causing this decline.

The most heavily populated island, Tanna, provided very few recruits, despite the long traditions of Tannese labour migration in the nineteenth century. This was in large part due to rapid successes of the Presbyterian Mission following the return of Tannese who had received some Christian teaching in Queensland. The desire among Tannese Christians to quell inter-group fighting on their island resulted in intervention by the Joint Naval Commission in 1906, and the establishment of a system of 'courts' which could try New Hebrideans for infringement of a number of local regulations (Scarr, 1967b:243). The Condominium recognised this 'local government' in 1909, much to the annoyance of both British and French recruiters, since the courts were strongly influenced by mission attitudes towards labour migration. Missionaries actively discouraged converts from leaving their villages for lengthy periods on contract employment as there was a common belief that this was assisting a decline in population which culture-contact appears to have initiated in these islands.* Wherever the missions had encouraged the court system, recruiting was difficult; consequently the southern islands provided comparatively few labourers for plantations elsewhere in the Group (Fig. 2.7)

In addition the missions encouraged New Hebrideans to cultivate their own lands and obtain supplies of imported materials through sale of crops. The increasing range of goods offered by traders in return for copra stimulated this involvement in cash cropping and, in years when the price of copra was high, the numbers seeking contract employment decreased. In some areas New Hebrideans were competing with

---

* The population of the New Hebrides appears to have declined rapidly during the first eighty years of contact with the European (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:1-21). To the missionaries one policy which could arrest this was the prevention of young men and women leaving their home villages for periods of two or three years on contract to planters on other islands.
Europeans for labour and by the late 1920s employment of fellow Islanders was by no means uncommon, especially on Aoba.* During the depression years numbers of New Hebrides seeking employment on contract increased. Between 1931 and 1935 the proportion of Islanders who could be recruited under the terms of licences issued by the Resident Commissioners fluctuated between sixty and seventy per cent (Fig. 2.5). Admittedly the demand for labour had also diminished with the economic recession, but New Hebridean response to wage labour on contract appears to have been greater during times of low prices for cash crops.

![Graph showing labour recruit destinations 1912-1939](image)

**Fig. 2.8:** Destinations of labour recruits, 1912-1939. (Source: As for Fig. 2.5.)

Destinations for the recruits were primarily Efate and Espiritu Santo (Fig. 2.8). Efate, where most plantation activity was concentrated in the nineteenth century, declined slightly in significance with the development of land on other islands. Epi was an important cotton and copra producing area until the late 1920s when the depression saw the eclipse of the New Hebrides cotton export trade. By this time a second major area of European settlement had evolved in

* A Royal Commission into the New Hebrides economic situation in 1927 noted that Europeans sometimes met with offers from New Hebrideans to employ their labourers at much higher wages.
southeast Espiritu Santo and, because there were few New Hebridean communities where the plantations were concentrated, labour had to be brought in from other islands. The Banks Islands (especially Vanua Lava) was an important area of British plantation activity until the depression but here, as on Epi, the decline in prices ruined many planters and after 1930 no further recruited labour was employed (Fig. 2.8). Plantations on Malekula, a destination of limited importance for contract labour at this stage, were being established towards the end of the 1930s but the major development in this area did not occur until after the Second World War.

The changing pattern of circular migration

By 1940 the pre-contact situation of mobility in restricted spatial domains had vanished from virtually all parts of the Group. Patterns of individual movement had undergone sequential change in most areas from traditional oscillation, through a phase of lengthy absences in contract employment overseas, to short-term labour mobility associated with contract employment on plantations within the New Hebrides. Improvements in inter-island transport greatly facilitated this transition to short-term circular mobility. Rapid proliferation of plantations, trading stations, mission settlements, and administrative outposts in the 1920s demanded an increase in shipping services. With greater freedom of movement, New Hebrideans were not so dependent on employers to return them to their villages.

Towards the end of the 1930s contract labourers were obtained in significant numbers only from the interiors of Malekula and Pentecost—areas where alternative means of obtaining desired non-indigenous goods, such as through sale of crops, were not as yet viable. In 1939 only one three-year contract was recorded and fifty-one per cent of the 460 labourers recruited in that year were bound for periods of six months or less. The increasing numbers employed on a casual or day by day/week by week basis, rather than a formal contract, marked a further change in the nature of inter-island mobility. New Hebrideans were keeping open their various options for economic activity: subsistence gardens, cash crops, and wage employment on other islands could all be more readily maintained as viable alternatives with more intensive short-term circular migration. The diffusion of this third phase in
the transition was greatly accelerated by economic and social changes initiated by the Second World War.

Phase three: intensive short-term circular migration

The establishment of military bases on Efate and Espiritu Santo in 1942 was a major event for all New Hebrideans. Tens of thousands of American troops and military personnel passed through bases at Havannah Harbour and Vila on Efate, and Lugarville (Santo) on Espiritu Santo (Geslin, 1956). Construction of camps, airfields, naval bases, and road networks required New Hebridean labour, and thousands of Islanders were employed in semi-urban environments on Efate and Espiritu Santo. Inter-island migration was channelled towards a new kind of destination and the plantations could not match either the social or economic attractions of the military bases.

Migration during the Second World War

Although the actual numbers of New Hebrideans employed by Americans during the war are not known, it appears that most adult men were involved at some stage. Demand for labour was so great that in 1942 the Resident Commissioners permitted compulsory conscription of New Hebrideans on three-month contracts to work with the armed forces. By the end of this year 1,300 New Hebrideans from most islands in the Group went either to Espiritu Santo or Efate as a result of these special orders (Fig. 2.9). Statistics for subsequent years are not available, but it seems unlikely that the numbers required would have decreased before 1945. Indeed in some areas the exodus of men was so great that preparation and cultivation of gardens suffered. Allen (1964:28) mentioned that in West Aoba the decline in local food production led to families becoming partially dependent for food and clothing on their relatives employed by the Americans on Espiritu Santo.

After the initial recruitment in 1942 there appears to have been no necessity to compel New Hebrideans to work at the military bases. News of the short contract, immediate repatriation, generous wages, and substantial side benefits spread. Not only were rates of pay higher than those offered on plantations, but there were secondary material benefits to be gained from a period of employment at a supply base where clothing, canned food, cigarettes, household utensils, and
Fig. 2.9: Migration to Efate and Espiritu Santo, 1942. (Source: Letters, Armed Forces personnel to the British District Agent (Northern District), NHBS 14/43.)
other goods were distributed freely by Americans. The war years were ones of great prosperity for New Hebrideans and employment outside their village environments was necessary to maximise opportunities. With the departure of the American forces in 1945 and 1946 prosperity did not end but, with high post-war prices for copra, New Hebrideans turned increasingly to cash cropping. Employment outside their home islands was rarely accepted on anything other than a casual basis. But instead of resulting in any significant decrease in the intensity of inter-island movement, this development, coupled with some diversity in the economy and the growth of towns in the Group, gave rise to a growing complexity in circular migration.

Plantation employment and cash cropping

High post-war copra prices led to rapid inflation of plantation wages. Between 1945 and 1950 the average annual wage for plantation labour rose by 250 per cent but, even so, planters could not get New Hebrideans to agree to formal contracts for periods exceeding six months (Table 2.2). Although the numbers of Islanders employed on short-term contracts rose to just over 2,000 in 1949, the labour force on most plantations comprised a small group of semi-skilled contract employees and a fluctuating supply of casual workers cutting copra on piece rates or working for daily or weekly wages. Informal agreements between planters and certain communities on neighbouring islands, whereby

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Labour on contract</th>
<th>Average annual wage $A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>1,169</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1,055</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>1,607</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>1,933</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950a</td>
<td>1,645</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Number in employment at 31 December 1950.

*Source:* Annual labour reports, British Resident Commissioner to High Commissioner, 1945-1950.
the latter agreed to provide labour when required, appear to have become increasingly common since the war. Thus plantation owners in north Efate have agreements with Islanders from Tongariki; a plantation in southeast Epi is supplied by labour from villages in north Tongoa; and planters in southeast Espiritu Santo have agreements with communities in the Banks Islands and Pentecost. These informal arrangements often cultivated over long periods, ensure some continuity in supply of labour for the planter and satisfy the New Hebrideans' desire for a very flexible working schedule.

To some extent, fluctuations in labour migration were (and remain) due to the necessity for New Hebrideans to prepare and cultivate their yam gardens. As Wilson (1966:23-4) argued, this consideration was one of the most important factors discouraging Islanders from remaining on plantations for longer than six months. In addition to subsistence gardening, an increasing interest in cash-cropping led to a decline in the significance of the plantation as a source of income. As early as 1948 it was estimated that about half the total copra exported from the Group came from New Hebridean groves, compared with fifteen per cent in the mid-1930s.* Copra production was twice as high as it had been before the war and, although there was an increase in output from most European-owned plantations, most of the total growth in copra exports has been due to New Hebridean production.** Deriving an income from the sale of coconuts or copra had been common in a number of areas before the war, and on Aoba, north Pentecost, parts of coastal Malekula, the Shepherd Islands, and Tanna, New Hebrideans had been planting groves specifically for this purpose. This planting continued at a much faster rate after the war and, although the area under coconuts in New Hebridean groves is not known, it is estimated to be at least as great as that in European plantations (Brookfield with Hart, 1971:138).


** The area under cultivation by non-indigenes in 1960 was only five per cent greater than that in 1922; 31,120 hectares as compared with 29,370 hectares (Bonneimaion, May 1971, pers. comm.). This represented forty-five per cent of the estimated total area alienated to European commercial interests.
Fig. 2.10: New Hebrideans employed by the SPFC, 1957-1959. (Source: Letter, Manager (SPFC) to British District Agent (Northern District), January 1960, ND.F. 2/2/1.)
Fish and manganese industries

The initiation of a frozen fish industry on Espiritu Santo in 1958 and manganese mining at Forari on Efate in 1962 generated demands for New Hebridean labour. The South Pacific Fishing Company (SPFC), in its attempt to replace skilled labour from Japan and Korea in the shore-based freezing plant, experienced the same difficulty planters had been facing for some time: New Hebrideans were not interested in remaining in employment for the lengthy periods necessary for adequate training. Between 1957 and 1959, 438 New Hebrideans were employed by the SPFC and in the same period 390 were repatriated (Fig. 2.10). Only six remained in employment for the two-year period. Despite wage, accommodation, and social service incentives, New Hebridean labour has proved very unstable and since 1960 the SPFC have recruited Gilbertese on two-year contracts.

Manganese mining at Forari required a considerably greater labour force, at least until 1968 when a fall in the world price of manganese forced the Compagnie Française des Phosphates l'Océanie (CFPO) to cease operations. However, as in other areas of the Group, New Hebrideans proved unwilling to enter into long-term contracts and the majority remained unskilled labourers. Forari was a comparatively popular destination for New Hebrideans seeking casual wage employment, especially those inhabiting the small islands to the north of Efate. Wages were generally higher than those paid on plantations ($50-60 as against $20-30 per month) and with free quarters, a school, medical clinic, sporting facilities, and an inter-racial bar, the CFPO experienced little difficulty in attracting labour. Although mining recommenced in 1969, the scale of operation is much reduced and only a small New Hebridean labour force (sixty-nine in 1969) is now required. The towns of Vila and Santo, and the capital of New Caledonia, Nouméa, have become the major destinations for New Hebrideans seeking work outside their home islands.

The drift to towns

Although there has been a legally defined 'town', Vila, in the New Hebrides since 1911, the evolution of urban centres where considerable numbers of Islanders are employed in non-agricultural activities has largely occurred since the Second World War.* Santo was a small

* A more detailed account of urban development in the New Hebrides is contained in Bedford (1971:111-25).
dispersed plantation settlement with a population of about 400 in 1940 (Ball, 1969:67), while Vila, the administrative and commercial capital, was estimated to have a population of 1,000 in 1942 (Brookfield and Brown Glick, 1969, iv). The war brought considerable changes to the physical structure of both settlements -- wharf facilities were improved, airfields and networks of all-weather roads were constructed, and major housing developments instituted in the form of accommodation for troops and employees. These developments provided the foundation for rapid growth in both settlements which accompanied post-war expansion of administrative services. Since the late 1950s, improvements in education, medical, communications, and agricultural services with financial aid from France and Britain have accelerated expansion. The two towns have grown rapidly: Vila's population more than doubled in the twelve years between 1955 and the first national census in 1967, while that of Santo increased by some eighty per cent (Table 2.3). If only the New

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Vila</th>
<th></th>
<th>Santo</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Hebridean</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>New Hebridean</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1,140</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>1,364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1,312</td>
<td>1,304</td>
<td>2,616</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1,459</td>
<td>1,613</td>
<td>3,072</td>
<td>1,534</td>
<td>1,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>2,090</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>4,290</td>
<td>2,729</td>
<td>1,153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: Population growth of Vila and Santo, 1955-1972

* The legally defined urban areas only.

b Europeans, Asians, and other Pacific Islanders with either British or French legal status.


Hebridean component in the population is considered, the relevant increases are 630 and 820 per cent respectively.* The 1967 census revealed that some thirteen per cent of New Hebrideans were living in

* Direct comparison between the 1955 and 1967 population figures for urban areas is somewhat risky as the precise areal units which Bennett (1957) considered as defining the towns in 1955 were not stated. However, this comparison gives an indication of the rapid increases in New Hebridean population in these areas.
the urban and periurban areas of Vila and Santo: five per cent within the legally defined boundaries of the two towns, and a further eight per cent in surrounding suburbs and plantations considered to be periurban areas (Fig. 2.11).* The preliminary results of a recent urban census have indicated that town populations have grown particularly rapidly over the past five years (Table 2.3). It would seem, on the basis of figures given in the 1972 urban census and an extrapolation of the total indigenous population in 1967, that at least twenty per cent of New Hebrideans were in temporary or permanent residence in the urban and periurban areas of Vila and Santo in October 1972.** Information on the social and economic attractions of the two towns has diffused widely and New Hebrideans from virtually all islands are resident in Vila and Santo (Fig. 2.12). As the major centres of wage employment the towns were the destinations for the largest migration streams from sixty-three per cent of the islands in 1967 (Bedford, 1971:137-8).

While Vila and Santo have experienced rapid population growth in recent years the movement from villages to towns is not, as yet, resulting in any major permanent redistribution of New Hebrideans. The rural-urban drift is not contributing to any substantial creation of a new urban working class which has severed its ties with villages on the other islands. Rather this movement represents an increase in the volume of circular migration. Detailed inquiry into recent migration histories of New Hebrideans resident in Vila in January 1970 indicated that a circular rather than a one-way movement remained predominant.*** In a similar way the recent revival of New Hebridean migration to New

* The distinction between urban and periurban populations arises because both towns have, outside the official town limits, areas which by reason of their close economic, social, and political ties are part of the greater urban (or periurban) areas of the town. These peri-urban areas include large areas of non-utilised land and plantations as well as a number of village communities. The inhabitants of these areas claimed to be 'urban oriented' and the size of the population associated with the two urban areas is therefore given more truly by the sum of urban and periurban populations (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:29).

** An average annual growth rate of 2.5 per cent (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:21) was used to derive an estimate of the total indigenous population in 1972.

*** The results of this inquiry are examined in detail in Chapter 4.
Fig. 2.11: Vila and Santo; urban and periurban areas, 1967. (Source: McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:27-8.)
Fig. 2.12: Origins of immigrants in Vila and Santo, 1967. (Source: McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:436 and 444.)
Caledonia is a circular movement. Since 1968 Nouméa has become an important destination for New Hebrideans seeking wage employment because the expansion of the New Caledonian economy, following the growth of the nickel industry, has generated a demand for labour which cannot be satisfied locally. New Hebrideans have been attracted to New Caledonia by high wages and three to six month contracts.

While precise statistics are difficult to acquire, it is evident that New Hebridean movement to New Caledonia has increased in scale very rapidly since 1968. In this year the number of New Hebrideans working in New Caledonia was about 500 and, by December 1969, when each three-weekly sailing of the Polynésie was carrying between 100 and 200 deck passengers to Nouméa, it is estimated numbers had risen to 1,500 (Fowler, 1970:3). A survey in May 1971 contained an estimate of not less than 3,000 New Hebrideans in Nouméa and the total number was probably in the region of 3,500 (Fabre and Kissane, 1971:3). This growing movement to New Caledonia is largely due to the rapid diffusion of information on employment opportunities in a country where construction workers with few or no skills can earn between $200 and $300 a month compared with $60 to $100 in the New Hebrides. Figures on departures from Vila and Santo, compiled by the Condominium Statistics Bureau, indicate that this movement is very seasonal, with the greatest exodus from the Group occurring in January and the highest rates of return in June–July and December (Fig. 2.13). As Fabre and Kissane (1971) found, the great majority of New Hebridean workers stay in New Caledonia for between three and six months at a time, and movement between the two territories is essentially circular. Such a migration pattern is likely to persist for some time in the light of a visa system, recently introduced by New Caledonian authorities, whereby New Hebrideans must acquire work permits to remain in New Caledonia for twelve months or more.

Some general comments on contemporary circular migration

While the towns of Vila, Santo, and Nouméa have become the most important destinations for New Hebridean migrants, the spatial characteristics of contemporary inter-island migration are complex. The only available information on such movement patterns at a given time is the 1967 census, where New Hebrideans were cross-classified by islands of
Fig. 2.13: Labour migration to New Caledonia; movements by sea, 1969-71. (Source: Condominium Statistics Bureau figures, July 1971, pers. comm.)

birth and residence.* It is evident from these data that New Hebrideans from the different islands have moved to a variety of destinations (Fig. 2.14). Migration fields, defined as the distribution of migrants from given areas, are generally extensive and give a crude indication of

* A critical examination of the 1967 census as a source of information on internal migration is presented in Bedford (1971:134-47).
Fig. 2.14: Inter-island migration streams, 1967. Inter-island flows of less than ten New Hebrideans have not been plotted. (Source: McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:206-38.)
the spatial dimensions of these Islanders' 'action space' today (Fig. 2.15). Knowledge of the concentration on a few islands of educational and medical services and opportunities for wage employment is widespread. Although schools are scattered throughout the Group, education beyond a certain level can only be obtained at boarding schools on certain islands (Table 2.4). Similarly small dispensaries are located on most islands, but hospitals have been constructed on only nine of them.

Table 2.4: Distribution of schools, hospitals, and wage employment, 1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island/Group</th>
<th>Major boarding schools</th>
<th>Hospitals</th>
<th>New Hebrideans in wage employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>Migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torres Islands</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks Islands</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espiritu Santo</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands off Espiritu Santo</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aoba</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maewo</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malekula</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands off Malekula</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrym</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paama</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi/Lamen</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoa</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Shepherd Islands</td>
<td>2,167</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efate</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands off Efate</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erromango</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanna</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other southern Islands</td>
<td>6,231</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Schools under government as well as mission authority providing education above elementary primary level and taking pupils from other islands.

b Excluding small dispensaries.

c Excluding those working on ships.

d Including Fila and Iririki.

Sources: Schools and hospitals: maps of the New Hebrides 1:100,000 series (Institut Géographique National, Paris); Bonnemaison (May 1971, pers. comm.). Wage employment: recomputation of 1967 census data.
Fig. 2.15: Migration fields of selected islands, 1967. (Source: As for Fig. 2.14).
Employment opportunities, as indicated by the number of New Hebrideans in wage-earning occupations at the time of the census, are also highly localised. Of the 6,231 Islanders employed outside village agriculture in 1967 some seventy-three per cent were working on the three islands of Efate, Espiritu Santo, and Malekula (Table 2.4). On most islands a limited number of jobs is available on plantations, and in schools, medical institutions, and co-operative societies. However, local residents tend to dominate in these and in only four areas in 1967 were migrants numerically superior in the wage-earning work force. With this concentration of services and opportunities strong directional biases are to be expected in New Hebridean migration streams. While the range of locations Islanders may consider as alternatives for temporary or permanent residence is relatively small, compared with the pre-contact situation the environment relevant in a New Hebridean's residential decision-making and spatial behaviour is now much more extensive.

Precise statistical information is not available to prove the contention that inter-island movement has been intensifying throughout the post-war period. Indirect evidence of this can be deduced from the growing volume of internal sea and air traffic in the Group particularly during the past decade. New Hebrideans have access to both an extensive coastal shipping fleet and, since the late 1950s, an internal air service which in 1969 linked the ten most populous islands.

The role of internal shipping in moving people between islands is difficult to assess because of the lack of any co-ordinated ship registration system.* Moreover, transporting passengers is generally incidental to the primary purpose of trade, administration, or mission services. Consequently no complete statistics on inter-island passenger movement exist. Wilson (1966:133) estimated the effective fleet to be in excess of 150 vessels in 1959; this did not include boats

* The internal shipping service is provided by a number of government agencies, companies, and individuals. The two administrations each have Marine Departments and a joint shipping service is provided by the Condominium Marine Department. The two major commercial firms, Burns Philp (South Seas) Pty Ltd, and Comptoir Français des Nouvelles-Hébrides provide trading and passenger services through their respective vessels and an unspecified number of individuals and small companies operate a considerable number of small craft of between one and eighty gross tons.
under fifteen tons operated by New Hebrideans. A figure of 170 was obtained from administrative and European company records in May 1970, but again most New Hebridean-owned boats were not included. It is widely believed that the latter fleet has been increasing rapidly in recent years.

In addition to the growing shipping fleet, New Hebrideans have had access to an internal air service linking the major islands for a decade. While it is not possible to specify the extent to which New Hebrideans patronise these services, the rapid growth in the volume of air traffic, especially since 1965, has been largely in response to their demands (Table 2.5). On some islands (Tongoa, Aoba, and Pentecost) the air service is used almost exclusively by New Hebrideans,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Vila</th>
<th>Airfield Santo</th>
<th>Outer islands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1,033</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1,440</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1,722</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>1,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2,206</td>
<td>1,488</td>
<td>3,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>2,259</td>
<td>1,569</td>
<td>3,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2,539</td>
<td>1,436</td>
<td>3,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>2,771</td>
<td>1,426</td>
<td>4,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>3,349</td>
<td>1,838</td>
<td>4,736</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.5: Internal air traffic, 1961-1969*

*Source: Memos, Informateur Aeronautique (Vila) to French and British Resident Commissioners, F120/11.*

and the great majority of the 14,300 passengers carried by *Air Mélanésiae* between May 1969 and June 1970 would have been Islanders. Compared with the pre-war situation, a much more highly interactive social system has been emerging in the New Hebrides, and movement between islands has been increasing continually in volume and intensity.

**A partial explanation of circular migration**

This survey of New Hebridean inter-island mobility over the past 150 years reveals a transition in a particular class of movement behaviour -- circular migration. The spatial extent of individual
moves, their frequency, and the duration of absences from home villages have all undergone a sequence of changes which fall into three major phases. These have not progressed simultaneously in all parts of the Group but by the 1960s the third phase was virtually universal. In summary, this phase is characterised by a complex system of short-term absences from rural communities associated with casual employment on plantations and in towns, or with moves to schools, hospitals, and mission training centres on other islands.

It is possible to approach an understanding of the circularity characteristic of the first two phases in this transition through reference to a demand for non-indigenous material goods which could only be satisfied by working at locations where, for various reasons, New Hebrideans could not settle permanently (Bedford, in press). Although Islanders who were recruited for employment overseas or on local plantations could re-engage for further terms on completion of their initial contracts, acquisition of their own houses and property was difficult at these destinations. Low wages, 'barracks-type' accommodation for single men, and a demand for mainly unskilled labour kept the plantations as destinations for 'target' workers.

In the New Hebrides (as in other colonial territories) employers assumed that Islanders had limited pecuniary wants and engaged in employment outside their rural communities with the express purpose of acquiring 'target' incomes. It was widely believed that once these incomes were obtained labourers would return to their villages and, consequently, policies of paying low wages and providing minimum housing requirements were adopted by employers. This convenient rationalisation of the New Hebrideans' response to the cash economy persisted for many years, with the result that Islanders could guarantee economic and social security more readily through participation in rural-based activities (subsistence as well as cash crop) and periodic wage employment. The small pre-war towns offered limited scope for permanent settlement. Indeed, there were restrictions to control residence of New Hebrideans in Vila prior to 1940. A regulation was introduced in 1918 to control movement of unemployed Islanders into Vila: they were required to return to their home villages and not permitted to stay
for indefinite periods in and around the town.* Given these various conditions a circular movement between villages and centres of commercial activity was the most common form of inter-island mobility.

By the third stage of the transition, however, options for satisfying a demand for a cash income had increased. They included cash cropping, which could be met solely by residence in the village, and a principal alternative, wage employment in towns. Permanent settlement was possible in both locations. But instead of concentrating their time and labour on one or other of these activities, most Islanders have chosen to participate in both by means of circular migration. In this way they maintain a range of choices for activity, some being associated with their traditional social and economic system and others with the commercial system introduced by Europeans. To understand circular mobility under these circumstances it is necessary to examine the inter-relationships between, on the one hand, individual needs and aspirations (which naturally change during a person's lifetime), and, on the other, activities designed to satisfy these. An analysis of previous mobility experiences of New Hebrideans who claimed villages on three islands in the south-central New Hebrides as their permanent homes, provided useful insights into the nature of and reasons for continuing circularity in movement behaviour.

* Joint Regulation No. 1 of 1918: 'The Unemployed Natives Regulation'. Under this regulation New Hebrideans who remained in Vila without employment for over fifteen days and could not prove adequate means of subsistence were sent back to their home villages. Only those normally resident on Efate were exempted from this regulation.
CHAPTER 3

CONTEMPORARY CIRCULAR MIGRATION: A VIEW FROM THE VILLAGE

To obtain information on contemporary circular migration required a sample of individuals who were living in places they considered their permanent homes or were in temporary residence elsewhere. As logistic considerations prevented the random sampling of areas throughout the Group, a purposive sample was taken of eighteen rural and urban communities in the south-central New Hebrides, or that administrative area known as Central District No. 1 (CD1).* Two factors motivated choice of the south-central New Hebrides. First, New Hebrideans here have a range of residential alternatives since commercial plantations on certain islands and the town of Vila offer opportunities for employment outside village agriculture (Fig. 3.1). This area also has a number of medical, mission, and educational establishments which can be used as temporary residences by New Hebrideans at different stages of their lives. Second, in 1967 the places of origin and destination for migrants enumerated in most parts of CD1 were primarily from this District. A Principal Components analysis of directional biases in inter-island migration streams established a strong network of links between islands in the south-central New Hebrides (Bedford, 1971:185-7).

Oscillatory movements away from home islands have been commonplace for centuries among New Hebrideans in this area. The populations of all islands in CD1 except Epi and Lamen have traditional affinities with Efate from whence it is believed their ancestors originally migrated. Customs governing political and economic status in the villages have certain similarities throughout the area, and inter-personal links extend beyond the domain of the home island. The establishment of commercial plantations, hospitals, and schools on certain islands in the District, and the growth of an urban centre on Efate extended the range of places for temporary residence in areas where pre-contact interaction had been intensive. Whereas canoes had provided the transport service in the

* A diversity in cultural, linguistic, and locational characteristics of New Hebridean communities, together with a lack of detailed village location maps and limited time and resources for the field inquiry, made it necessary to select a particular group of islands for this analysis.
Fig. 3.1: The south-central New Hebrides. (Source: New Hebrides map series 1:100,000, maps 11 and 12.)
pre-contact period (and are still used for short voyages), an extensive fleet of local and inter-island trading vessels, together with a fairly regular tri-weekly air service from Vila to Tongoa, now link these islands. This network of services has made it possible to travel to any chosen destination in order to satisfy objectives associated with traditional village life, as well as 'needs' arising from post-contact social and economic changes in the area.

Fifteen villages on Tongoa, Emae, and Makura were selected for study (Fig. 3.2). The guiding principle in this selection was to obtain a representative sample of all major locational, demographic, economic, and linguistic characteristics of villages which might affect mobility patterns. Although settlements on all islands are nucleated, there are differences in site characteristics (interior or coastal locations), population sizes, the availability of land for gardens and cash crops, and in the languages and religions of their inhabitants (Table 3.1).* In addition migrants from these islands living in three urban areas of Vila were also interviewed since, to provide a realistic assessment of factors motivating circular migration, consideration had to be given to people living outside their home villages. The three sites chosen in Vila were areas of Tongan settlement at Seaside and Saratokora/Nakavika, and the predominantly Emaean and Makuran community at Melcofe (Fig. 4.1). (The characteristics of these settlements and their migrant populations are examined in more detail in Chapter 4.) In this chapter New Hebrideans' circular migration is considered from the point of view of life in the villages.

Census-type surveys conducted between October 1969 and March 1970 enabled the extent of absenteeism from villages to be assessed. Analysis of migration histories, itemising moves resulting in residence in another place for at least one month, established more precisely the spatial and

* Since the 1880s the area has been a stronghold of the Presbyterian Mission which has boarding schools and hospitals on certain islands. In recent years the Seventh Day Adventist Mission has established churches in a number of villages and, because their major educational and medical institutions are on Aoba and Aore to the north, some of the movements of adherents have been beyond the District.
Fig. 3.2: Villages and language groups on Tongoa, Emae, and Makura, 1969. (Source: As for Fig. 3.1 and field surveys, 1969-1970.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Populationa</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Language group</th>
<th>Religious affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumbukuti b</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>Coastal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panitac c</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravenga</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupalea</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puele</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>Interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worafiu</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euta</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangaririsu</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>Coastal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>1,373</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emae</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesa ke</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>Interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maree</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Coastal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangava d</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makatea</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongamea</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finongi e</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makura</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakoto</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Coastal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>985</td>
<td>985</td>
<td>1,970</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Enumerated during field work surveys.
b Including the Presbyterian Mission hospital at Silimauri and school at Napangasale.
c Including Saviu and the French school at Lemboroe.
d Including the local government station, Wororana, and the small hamlet of Leimbuta.
e Inhabitants of these villages also speak a local dialect, Amuna O Maa.
f Including the population of Ngaone, a section of Finongi, some 200 meters from the main village.

and temporal dimensions of circular migration.* This detailed inquiry also made it possible to place circular migration in the wider context of

* The rationale for choosing a temporal definition for a circular migration of a month's residence in any destination is outlined in Appendix 1. The methods of collecting migration histories and deriving a sample of village residents are also discussed in this Appendix.
social and economic activities in the village. Before examining this
mobility, however, it is necessary to outline some characteristics of
the selected islands and villages, particularly with reference to land
ownership and utilisation. There is a widely held belief among indi­
genies and Europeans alike that land shortage in these islands is a major
cause of periodic migrations to other areas.

Aspects of land availability and use

On most islands in the south-central New Hebrides political, social,
and economic activities are centred on the *farea.* The *farea* are com­
posed of groups of men owing allegiance to the holders of particular
customary titles with which are associated political prestige as well
as economic wealth in the form of land. Hierarchies of lesser titles,
with varying degrees of social prestige and land rights, are linked to
these major titles. Although most members of a particular *farea*
usually live in one village, their political and territorial rights may
extend to other areas. Titles are usually transferred by direct inheri­
tance through the patrilineal line, but an elective principle also
operates. Transfer of any title (whether because of the death or
prolonged absence of its holder) is controlled by the major chiefs of
the *farea* concerned, and allocation of titles in one village may involve
chiefs from other communities. In this way networks of allegiance link
communities on Tongoa, Emae, and Makura in a series of customary ex­
change relationships which transcend kinship, village, and language
affiliations.

Titles and land ownership

Land ownership is closely linked with the traditional title system.
Each title carries with it rights to utilise specific tracts of land,
which are usually dispersed through the area which the *farea* controls
by customary right or agreement with other groups in the region. Apart
from plots acquired through allegiance to a particular chief, agreements
with title-holders in other groups could give a man access to further
land. Land associated with title is generally inalienable and access

* Guiart (1963b:39) has briefly outlined some characteristics of
political organisations on Tongariki which are similar to those found
on Tongoa, Emae, and Makura.
rights are transferred with it through the inheritance system; land acquired through agreement is held less securely and remains the property of the original title-holder. In all these territorial arrangements the payment of certain customary rentals (*nasautonga* and *vakasakore*) acknowledge the pre-eminence of the chiefs of each *farea*.*

The rights of untitled adult men to plant food crops or establish coconut groves rest on agreements with kin or non-kin who have customary access to land. In the pre-contact period the system appears to have been flexible -- a title-holder did not necessarily work all the land to which he had rights and he would permit individuals from the same *farea* or other groups to use his land in return for the customary rental. As wealth and prestige were measured by the extent to which an individual had succeeded in obligating others to him, ownership of land meant little unless the title-holder was receiving *nasautonga* and *vakasakore* payments for its use. Generally the latter's requirements for gardens and pig enclosures were less than his total holdings and he was willing to let other people derive a livelihood from part of his land.

A money economy and the market for certain tree crops subsequently led to considerable changes in the New Hebrideans' conception of land as a resource. Cash incomes derived from long-term crops have been assuming greater significance in village economies, and land is no longer considered a resource to be allocated by title-holders so as to place other individuals under some obligation. Rather, land is now

---

* All title-holders within a particular *farea* were (and, according to their chiefs, still are) required to acknowledge allegiance to their chiefs by occasional gifts of pigs and prestigious food crops, especially yams. Through payments of *nasautonga* (every three to five years, for example), the holders of titles to territories recognised the original association of this land with the chiefly title. Failure to pay *nasautonga* could result in disinheritance and in the land associated with a certain title being re-allocated to other title-holders. The customary gift of the first fruits of the yearly harvest by the cultivator to the owner of the land on which his garden for that season had been established, was *vakasakore*. This form of rental, paid alike by minor title-holders and the untitled, again acknowledged the authority of other individuals with higher rank in the local hierarchy in land ownership. Both these customary exchanges are practised today, although according to the chiefs of most villages, payment of *nasautonga*, especially, has lapsed considerably with changes in land utilisation accompanying the establishment of cash-crop agriculture.
seen as an asset in its own right in terms of the area available for coconut palms for both present and future generations of a family. The traditional garden rotation has persisted with this change to a cash-crop agricultural system, but the increasing tracts being planted in coconuts under the control of specific family groups has increased pressures on the limited land available for subsistence purposes. The practices of fencing coconut groves and of grazing cattle under the palms have further constricted a land ownership system that was once very flexible.

Some effects of changes in land utilisation

Visible evidence of widespread participation in cash-cropping in the south-central New Hebrides is given by the extensive areas under tree crops. It was estimated in 1969 that seventy-two per cent of the land under cultivation on Tongoa, and sixty-two per cent of that on Emae was planted in coconuts (Quantin, 1969:17). The 100 hectares of cultivable land on Makura were all planted in coconuts and subsistence crops. Tongoans and Makurans, in particular, stressed the problems of maintaining subsistence gardens under the traditional rotation system now that such extensive areas of their land are under tree crops. Attempts to acquire land on nearby islands were in large measure a reflection of the dilemma facing Islanders who wish to extend their acreages under coconuts while still participating in subsistence production.

Changes in land utilisation with cash cropping have had different effects on the three islands. On Tongoa stresses placed on the indigenous land tenure system by the introduction of cash cropping have been heightened by a steadily increasing population throughout the post-contract period. Unlike other parts of the south-central New Hebrides this island does not appear to have undergone any major population decline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.* There have thus been steadily increasing numbers of people seeking access to

* The first resident Presbyterian missionary, Michelsen, cited a population of between 900 and 1,000 in 1878. Records suggest that there were 998 people in 1900 and, except for minor fluctuations about 1920, the population appears to have increased throughout the twentieth century. This is in direct contrast to Emae and other islands in the south-central New Hebrides where major decreases occurred during the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1884 Emae's population was estimated to be 1,000. By 1908 it had decreased to 240 and in 1946 was only 299 (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:19).
land and, despite the comparatively large area of the island, over eighty per cent of the 3,600 hectares suitable for cultivation was estimated to be under crops in 1969 (Table 3.2). Although little land on the island is alienated to non-indigenous interests, there was an average of only 5.5 hectares for every man over twenty years of age in 1967. Tongoa is the only island in the New Hebrides for which special legislation has been enacted to control land alienation, and intra and inter-village land disputes have been endemic over the past thirty years.* In response to the perceived growing shortage of land, people from this island have been acquiring property for gardens and coconut groves on southeast Epi where certain Tongoan chiefs claim they have traditional rights to land (Bedford, 1971:204).

Table 3.2: Land availability and alienation, 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Total area (hectares)</th>
<th>Area suitable for cultivation (hectares)</th>
<th>Per cent total</th>
<th>Area under cultivation (hectares)</th>
<th>Per cent total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tongoa</td>
<td>4,260</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>&gt;3,000</td>
<td>&gt;83.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emae</td>
<td>3,288</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>1,200-1,300</td>
<td>&gt;75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makura</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,718</td>
<td>5,400</td>
<td>69.9</td>
<td>&gt;4,400</td>
<td>&gt;80.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Area (hectares)</th>
<th>Per cent total</th>
<th>Per cent land suitable for cultivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoa</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emae</td>
<td>1,289.1</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>75.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makura</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,383.8</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Information on land availability and utilization: Quantin (1969, 17); information on land alienation: Files in the British District Agent’s office and the Land Registrar’s office, Vila.

In direct contrast, Emae is an area of comparative land abundance and its inhabitants report no serious land shortage problem. Although some forty per cent of the total area is alienated to Europeans, comprising three-quarters of the land suitable for cultivation, much of this is used by Emaeans, and only one European plantation is worked on the island (Table 3.2). The population of Emae declined rapidly in the first half of the twentieth century and in 1967 was still only half its estimated

* This legislation followed a petition in 1939 by the chiefs of Tongoa to the Joint Administration to prevent further sales of land to non-New Hebrideans. Joint Regulation No. 3 of 1939, as amended by Joint Regulation No. 4 of 1965, controls land purchases on Tongoa. In addition the French and British District Agents have, since 1953, arbitrated in fourteen major inter-village disputes over land; disputes in which all villages on the island have been involved at some time.
size in 1884. Partly as a result of low population pressure on available resources, major land disputes have been rare, and the transition from a subsistence economy to one where cash crops are assuming increasing importance has not created the numerous intra and inter-village tensions common on Tongoa.*

On Makura, where there is a very small area suitable for cultivation, increased demands for land with the establishment of coconut groves and steady population growth since the 1930s have resulted in severe shortages. The island is estimated to have only 100 cultivable hectares, and the problem of land shortage has been overcome only because the traditional tenure system has allowed Makurans access to property on the east coast of Emae. Here Makurans have, through customary ties, assumed titles associated with Emae-based farea. As chance would have it, the rapid decline in Emae's population, along with disintegration and virtual elimination of entire groups through internecine musket warfare, disease, and other direct and indirect European influences, resulted in land being fairly readily available. Vacant titles have been allocated to Makurans in areas where connections between the two groups are strong. The traditional land tenure system on Emae appears to have been able to accommodate these changes in the absence of any real pressure of population on available resources.

In all the villages surveyed only a proportion of the titles associated with the different farea were held by adult men, despite the presence in the same villages of men without titles (Table 3.3). The reasons for non-allocation of titles are varied and complex, but in a number of villages, on Tongoa especially, the failure by chiefs to

* Disputes over land ownership and utilisation rights are not unknown on this island. A recent conflict over the land associated with two major titles on the island, Ma Samori and Tå Poloа, which through various allegiances involved all the chiefs of Emae and a number of those on Tongoa, required the direct intervention of the British District Agent to reach an acceptable solution (Native Court Judgement on the title Tå Poloа, 25 November 1970). A dispute between the inhabitants of Sesake village and those of Marae over nasautongoa payments for land planted in coconuts was initiated in the mid-1940s and erupted into a major conflict in 1957, generating considerable enmity between the two communities and creating severe administrative problems for the District Administrations and the Local Council on the island.
Table 3.3: Distribution of customary titles among adult male population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Men over 20 years belonging to village</th>
<th>Men holding titles&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
<th>Number of titles in village&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Per cent held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumbukuti</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panita</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravenga</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupalea</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puele</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worafiu</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangarisu</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euta</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emae</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesake</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marae</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangava</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makatea</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongamea</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finongi</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makura</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakoto</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> One man can hold a number of titles and certain major chiefs have assumed two or more customary names and rights to lands associated with them. Thus the chief of Lumbukuti village, Tinabua Mata (Farea Lapa) also holds the title Ti Mataso (Farea Lapaki ki) and benefits from lands associated with both titles.

<sup>b</sup> Titles which could be held by residents of the village under consideration. Not all titles are allocated to, or held by, people from the home village. A number are held by men in other villages on the same island as well as on other islands in the District.


distribute titles can be attributed to the desire to prevent access to valuable coconut land going to others in the community. This situation has caused considerable bitterness among the younger men in certain communities, and has led to utilisation of land without prior customary agreements with chiefs. Attempts by the latter to reassert their traditional authority in matters of land allocation have met with
opposition, and a maldistribution of land, rather than an absolute shortage of territory on which to establish gardens and plantations (as on Makura), has thus created tensions within many villages, especially on Tongoa.*

Competition for land on which to plant coconuts is, consequently, severe. But, rather than encouraging permanent migration of those who have access to limited areas, or who do not hold customary titles, there is a strong desire among New Hebrideans to have a source of cash income in the village. Ownership of a coconut 'plantation' was a universal objective among men interviewed in the area.** In addition to its material value, ownership of an extensive area under coconuts carries with it a certain amount of social prestige, even if the productive capacity of the grove is not maximised because the owner devotes his time to other activities. While copra production as a cash-earning activity has little influence on the timing of departures from and returns to the village, the need to maintain an active interest in affairs dealing with land and its utilisation does play an important role in encouraging Islanders to be resident periodically in their villages. Planting coconuts does not necessarily signify ownership of land, but utilisation is increasingly being taken into consideration in land disputes. Customary traditions relating to the settlement of these islands, which the chiefs seek to sustain as the basis for proving title to land, are being challenged by a new concept of ownership through use.

The relationship between roles and migration

Mitchell (1969a) has stressed that when seeking to explain characteristics of circular migration it is necessary to look at a person's roles in the social system as a whole. The probability of a

---

* A survey by the Tongoa Local Council in 1968 revealed that in all villages except Worafiou and Panita there was stated land shortage. Some 142 families were believed to be short of land, although no survey of the areas actually utilised by them was undertaken.

** The word 'plantation' is used here in the context of a New Hebridean coconut grove which in no way resembles a formal plantation. Trees are rarely planted in lines, and the undergrowth is often dense. Fallen nuts are permitted to regenerate and self-sown 'plantations' are common.
man migrating is seen as depending, to a large extent, on the positions he holds and the roles he plays in the rural social system. Thus chiefs of *farea* and prominent headmen in the village have responsibilities which militate against lengthy periods in residence outside the village, while young men, unencumbered by such duties, have greater opportunities to be temporarily absent.*

A simple test of this hypothesis in the New Hebrides was made by arbitrarily assigning weightings to the different roles performed by men in the villages studied, aggregating these values for individuals, and comparing mobility experiences over the last four years of their migration histories. If a change in any status had occurred within the first three of the four years, the individual was assigned the value of that status, but if it had occurred in the last year he was not. The values assigned to each role were based on a subjective assessment of how New Hebrideans regarded residence in the village as essential for the effective prosecution of duties associated with that role. Weightings were assigned to the following roles:

- 0.3: son, shareholder in a local enterprise;
- 0.5: husband (no children), father with no children at school in the village or on the island, church elder, widower;
- 1.0: title-holder, owner of store;
- 1.5: father with children at school in the village, member of Local Council, chief of *farea*, assistant chief of village;
- 2.0: chief of village, secretary of Local Council, pastor.

The role combinations compared for the men reflected strongly the age of the respondents, which is hardly surprising given the close relationship between certain social roles (husband, father, chief of *farea*, elder in church) and age (Table 3.4). People with lower role scores

---

* Chapman (1970:198) has proposed the inverse is true when very short term absences (twenty-four hours or more) are involved, and suggested the hypothesis that 'the greater the number of roles performed by an individual at any one time, the higher his rate of mobility'. However he demonstrated through case studies that the 'big man' with various social and economic roles was rarely absent from the village for any length of time on a particular move. Using a definition of a move as a one-month minimum absence, Chapman's most mobile 'big man' had never moved from his village in the six-month period studied.
Table 3.4: Roles, age, and mobility experience, 1966-1969

A. Means and standard deviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role score</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of moves</th>
<th>Months absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1.0</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 - 1.9</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0 - 2.9</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0 - 3.9</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 4.0</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Correlation coefficients

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of moves</th>
<th>Months absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tongoans</td>
<td>0.743</td>
<td>-0.208</td>
<td>-0.166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emaeans</td>
<td>0.694</td>
<td>-0.315</td>
<td>-0.307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makurans</td>
<td>0.756</td>
<td>-0.382</td>
<td>-0.196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.731</td>
<td>-0.258</td>
<td>-0.215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Migration histories: Tongoans, Emaeans, Makurans.

had made more moves, on average, and been absent from the village for longer periods than those with higher role scores (Table 3.4a). But the results were far from conclusive, as indicated by the high standard deviations and low negative correlation coefficients (Table 3.4b). The relationship between roles and absences from the village was not strong. Nor was any simple inverse relationship between propensity to move and combination of social and economic roles apparent, except that those with very high role scores (who were generally the older people in the community) had been the least mobile of all groups over the period studied. This finding was further supported when village populations were enumerated. On average, forty per cent of the title-holders were absent from their villages, and in two areas over two-thirds of those with customary access to land were in temporary or permanent residence elsewhere (Table 3.5). There appears to be no direct relationship at the individual level, therefore, between land availability and movement away from the village.
Table 3.5: Residence of title-holders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Title-holders resident in village</th>
<th>Title-holders absent from village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoa</td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumbukuti</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panita</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravenga</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupalea</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puele</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worafiu</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangarisu</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euta</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emae</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesake</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marae</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangava</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makatea</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongamea</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finongi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makura</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakoto</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Village absenteeism, 1969-1970

During the period of survey -- October and November 1969 on Tongoa, and March 1970 on Emae and Makura — only a proportion of the registered population of each community was in residence. The British and French District Agents had compiled registers of the de jure populations of villages throughout CD1 in 1961 and, after updating these by recording subsequent births, deaths, and marriages, a base-population for each community could be defined.* A crude assessment of emigration from each

* Women who had married into other villages were considered to 'belong' in their husband's community.
village was then possible through analysis of the locations of all people listed in these registers at the time of the survey. The presumed *de jure* or base-population of each community was classified into residents and absentees. The latter were taken to be people who had been away for at least two weeks at the time of survey, or who, in the opinion of relatives, intended to be absent for such a term. This arbitrary temporal definition was adopted so as to exclude people engaged in the very short-term movements that characterise everyday life in Melanesian rural society. Daily visits to gardens, social calls on kinsmen in neighbouring villages, and participation in ceremonial activities which involved absences from the village for less than a fortnight were thus not considered here.

This approach contrasts with that adopted by Chapman (1970) in his study of migration from two Melanesian villages in southern Guadalcanal, BSI P, where a specific objective was to investigate all mobility in order to establish the intrinsic connections of different forms of movement behaviour. Chapman defined a move as an absence of only twenty-four hours, but found that most of the moves lasting fewer than eight days were rather distinct from those involving absences of over two weeks from the village, and took place in response to different needs (Chapman, 1970:166-7).

The extent of absenteeism

In thirteen of the villages surveyed over twenty per cent of their *de jure* populations were absent and, indeed, over half those of Sesake on Emae and Malakoto on Makura were temporarily resident elsewhere. Villages on Emae and Makura generally had higher rates of absenteeism than those on Tongoa -- a reflection, in part, of the times of the year when field work was undertaken. Village populations on Tongoa were enumerated during the yam planting season, an activity which demands adult labour, while on Emae and Makura the surveys were conducted in March which is a slack month in the local agricultural cycle. The timing of the surveys explains some of the variation in rates of absenteeism but should not be overemphasised. A wide variety of area-specific factors, such as a fund-raising campaign among the Finongi to acquire finance for a church and the acute shortage of land on Makura, had also influenced the volume of out-migration.
The duration of residence outside villages given for absentees by their kin revealed that the majority had been absent for less than twelve months. Although it was impossible to determine the permanence of these relocations, villagers indicated that most of the absentees were expected to return within a year. Adult migration was reflected in the age structures of the absentee and resident groups for each village, and in some areas less than thirty per cent of the resident populations were in the fifteen to thirty-nine year age group (Fig. 3.3). The atypical population structure of Makura was the outcome of semi-permanent resettlement in villages on Emae and the movement to Vila of a considerable number of nuclear families headed by men aged between twenty and thirty-nine.

Many women had moved. For only three villages did the proportion of male absentees exceed those of females by more than twenty per cent. This high rate of female absenteeism suggested family mobility; indeed, over forty per cent of the women absent from most of the villages were living with all other members of their nuclear families at their destinations. The extent to which nuclear families were resident in other locations varied considerably, and as the majority had been absent for more than twelve months, this variation cannot be explained by the timing of the surveys. Rather, the explanation lies in the particular circumstances of each village and, to a certain extent, in the complex question of land availability. Of the families remaining in the villages, over thirty per cent had at least one member in temporary residence elsewhere. Most of the latter were working for wages, but a higher proportion of those from some communities (especially on Emae and Makura) were at school, receiving medical treatment, or simply visiting kin.

Absentees' destination choices

Over eighty per cent of the absentees were resident within the south-central New Hebrides with Vila the destination for more than half of them. The destinations chosen by people from specific islands, varied somewhat (Fig. 3.4a). A greater proportion of Tongoans were in Vila, whereas Emaeans and Makurans had tended to move to other parts of CDI, especially to Lamen Island and north Efate, for educational reasons. Some thirty per cent of the absentee Makurans were living in villages on Emae.
Destinations outside the CDI attracted a higher proportion of Tongoans than Emaeans and Makurans. Three villages on Tongoa had over a quarter of their absentees living on islands to the north of Epi, the most important destinations being the Santo urban area and mission schools and plantations on Malekula and Aoba (Fig. 3.4b). Close affiliation of the inhabitants of Lupalea with the Seventh Day Adventist
CONTEMPORARY PATTERNS

A. DESTINATION CHOICES BY ISLAND OF ORIGIN

TONGOA

- VILA 63.7%

- Within the south-central New Hebrides

- Other areas within the New Hebrides

- Noumea

No. absentees: 449

EMAE

- VILA 64.7%

- OTHER AREAS

- CD1 14.7%

- EPI 9.2%

No. absentees: 292

B. DESTINATION CHOICES BY VILLAGE OF ORIGIN

TONGOA

- Vila

- Epi

- Other CD1

- Noumea

EMAE

MAKURA

- Vila

- Epi

- Other CD1

- Noumea

Fig. 3.4: Location of absentees, 1969-1970. (Source: Field surveys, 1969-1970.)
Mission explains the high proportion of absentees from this village in residence outside CDI.* The variation in destinations reflects some biases villagers appear to have when choosing places of temporary residence.

In selecting a destination for various moves for education, medical treatment, and employment, Islanders in this area are obviously restricted to a limited range of alternatives. The location of mission and government schools and hospitals on certain islands, and school zoning policies determined the direction of most moves for these purposes. Employment opportunities within the District have long been confined to Vila, north Efate, and south Epi, and the migration histories indicated that the only significant destinations outside the District were Santo and Nouméa. Islands with opportunities for employment on plantations, such as Malekula and Aore, had occasionally attracted a few Tongoans, but these areas were rarely considered as employment destinations.

The selection of a destination was, according to these Islanders, strongly influenced by the location of a man's kin at the time he chose to move. As Tongoans, Emaeans, and Makurans could claim some relationship, either through customary affiliations or descent, with people scattered throughout the south-central New Hebrides, movement between places in this area was greatly facilitated. Compilation of genealogies tracing links between families over the past three generations indicated very extensive networks of contacts based on kinship throughout the District. Most families on the three islands have some relative resident in Vila who could be called upon to provide accommodation. With the communal purchase of land by Tongoans in the town, and the semi-permanent settlement of some families there, knowledge of a place to stay in the event of a move was widespread. Information about circumstances in Vila, on the prospect of jobs in this town and in Santo, and on the time of departure of vessels for New Caledonia, is diffused rapidly through this network of kinship contacts and by migrants returning to their villages after a temporary absence.

* Sixty-eight per cent of Lupalea's absentees in residence outside CDI were engaged in activities associated with the SDA Missions on Aoba, Aore, and Malekula in October 1969.
Absenteeism and life in the village

As noted earlier, at least one-third of the families in all villages had one or more persons absent for reasons other than education. Despite this, however, the round of village-based activities seems to adjust quite successfully to high rates of absenteeism. As far as subsistence activities are concerned, the cultivation of garden crops is a family affair, and the major portion of daily work at the gardens is undertaken by women and young girls.* The timing of garden preparation is governed largely by the production cycle of the yam. Clearing the secondary growth and preparing the yam garden tends to take place between July and August, while planting is usually spread over three or four months (August to December) to provide a run of supplies in the following year.

In studies of circular migration in areas where seasonal cash or subsistence crops are grown, it has been argued that men time their absences from the village to coincide with the period between planting and harvesting.** By returning to the village to assist in preparing gardens or harvesting crops the men are seen to be maximising a range of choices for activity in both the subsistence and monetary economies. When questioned on the relevance of these considerations to their circular migration behaviour, New Hebrideans stated that they endeavoured to be in the villages for the yam-planting season. The high proportion of absences recorded in migration histories lasting nine or less months suggested that for many, this may indeed have been the case. When absences in employment over the four years previous to interview were examined, however, it was found that there was considerable variation

* Wilson (1966:159-68) has outlined the various crops grown in the New Hebrides and methods of cultivation used, while Barrau (1956) has a more detailed account of subsistence cultivation in the Group. The major staple crops grown on these islands are varieties of yam (Dioscorea spp.), taro (Colocasia spp. and Xanthosoma), and manioc (Manihot spp.). Varieties of sugar cane and cabbage, together with pineapples, tomatoes, watercress, and sweet potato are also grown, along with bananas, mangoes, and pawpaw.

** Mitchell (1969a:171-6) has evaluated this thesis in the context of circular migration in some African societies.
in the duration of such moves.* This indicated that there was no rigid seasonal pattern of movement. The round of subsistence activities seems to adjust quite successfully, therefore, to temporary absences of men in employment.

A similar situation exists in the case of growing and harvesting cash crops. The production of a poor quality smoke-dried copra is the major cash-producing activity in all villages. The preparation of this copra is essentially a very simple task, not demanding heavy inputs of labour at any particular time of the year. The method of smoke-drying produces a low-grade export product, but it has the advantages of simplicity and the fact that there is no special equipment to maintain. It is no inconvenience for the owner to leave his coconut groves for a number of months and work elsewhere -- the fallen nuts can be collected by his wife and children and, if they require cash, they can easily prepare the copra themselves.

Reciprocity, the traditional system of exchange, facilitates temporary absences since, as Brookfield (1970:7) has argued, an individual's responsibilities can readily be spread among others, and he can be reabsorbed easily on return. Absences from the village can therefore be sustained at all times of the year, but periodic returns are essential in order to minimise losses through not utilising social and economic opportunities in the village. Long-term absences from village-based activities can result in loss of social prestige and perhaps even rights to land.

**Structural aspects of New Hebridean migration**

The migration histories recorded for 527 Tongoans, Emaeans, and Makurans over fifteen years of age revealed that those living in their

* Precise dating of a person's previous moves was difficult because New Hebrideans, while having some facility for recalling the length of time spent in employment, or at hospitals and schools, had little success in establishing how long they had spent in the village between any two moves. As Vansina (1965:100-2) has argued, the meaning of 'time' in illiterate societies often varies with the type of activity under consideration. For those based in the village, ecological or sociological cycles, rather than calendar time, seemed relevant and it was difficult to get estimates which could be accepted with any degree of confidence. It was not possible, therefore, to relate absences in other localities to specific times of the year or to assess, quantitatively, the periodicity in circular migration.
home villages (the 'stayers') had been just as mobile as their kin temporarily resident in Vila (the 'movers').* Over half the individuals in both groups had made four or more moves involving them in residence for at least one month in places other than their villages, and thirty per cent had moved more than ten times. Variations between New Hebrideans grouped on the basis of their home villages were quite considerable. But the age and sex distributions of respondents when grouped by village also varied significantly, and any attempt to relate rates of mobility to stated land shortage in the different communities gave questionable results. New Hebrideans from the three islands had similar mobility experiences despite variations in village location, land availability, language spoken, and religion practised. Inter-island movements involving short absences emerged from the migration histories as being part of the life-style of people from all villages studied.

It was only when the population was dichotomised on the basis of sex and age group that significant differences in previous mobility experiences emerged. Males had on average made twice as many moves as females and a statistically significant contingency coefficient was found between sex and number of migrations (Fig. 3.5a). The higher rates of mobility recorded for males were directly related to the significance of labour migration in the area, and wage employment had been the major reason for their periodic absences from the villages. There was also an expected statistically significant relationship between the numbers of moves made by respondents and their ages (Fig. 3.5b). However, the low correlation coefficient suggested that this was not a particularly strong relationship. Many New Hebrideans in their mid-twenties had moved as frequently as those in the over-thirty age group; a reflection both of the increasing mobility among young men who were seeking wage employment in Vila, and a probable under-reporting of migration by the elderly -- a bias which cannot be assessed.

The duration of absences from villages

New Hebrideans rarely spent more than three years in continuous residence outside their home villages; of the 1,883 moves to other islands, only fourteen per cent had lasted this long. Seventy-three

* The method of compiling migration histories and more detailed definitions of the 'mover' and 'stayer' populations are given in Appendix 1.
A. MALES AND FEMALES

![Graph showing mobility experiences for males and females.](image)

- Males
  - Mean (M̄) = 8.4
  - Standard Deviation (SD) = 5.4
- Females
  - Mean (M̄) = 4.1
  - Standard Deviation (SD) = 3.1

Equation: C = 0.430

B. AGE GROUP

![Graph showing mobility experiences for age groups.](image)

- 15 - 29 years
  - Mean (M̄) = 4.2
  - Standard Deviation (SD) = 3.8
- > 29 years
  - Mean (M̄) = 7.9
  - Standard Deviation (SD) = 4.9

Equation: r = 0.423

Fig. 3.5: Mobility experiences; sex and age groups. (Source: Field surveys, 1969-1970.)
per cent of all moves led to temporary absences of less than twelve months and thirty-six per cent to absences under three months. There were few variations in the average duration of absences for respondents from the three islands or for males and females (Fig. 3.6a and b). When marital status at the time of a move was used as a basis for comparison, significant variations in periods spent in residence in other areas were found. The average duration of moves by married men unaccompanied by their wives was considerably shorter than the average for moves by either single New Hebrideans or married men with their families (Fig. 3.6c). These differences suggest that lengthy absences from families are not favoured and, in general, such moves were motivated by specific objectives. Respondents argued that if a move was likely to involve residence in other areas for longer than six months, as in the case of contract employment in administrative or social services, the family would join the husband.

When absences were aggregated for each respondent's migration history, it was evident that some New Hebrideans had spent a considerable time living outside their rural communities. For thirty-two per cent of the males, accumulated absences exceeded five years, and for fourteen per cent totalled more than ten years. Absences for females were much lower in accordance with their lower mobility rates. When movers and stayers were compared in this regard, a more interesting variation was apparent. Forty-five per cent of the movers had spent over five years living in places other than their permanent 'homes', which is a considerably higher proportion than that of the stayers. These findings suggest that mobility patterns in this area are changing and that longer periods are being spent outside the villages. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the average duration of absences (for purposes other than education) from the village for males and females under thirty years of age was greater than for people in other age groups (Table 3.6). Although standard deviations were high, indicating considerable variability in time spent outside the village, it appears that younger people are spending longer in residence elsewhere. However the pattern of movement is still definitely circular as an examination of the structure of migration networks indicates.
Fig. 3.6: Duration of absences from home village. (Source: Field surveys, 1969-1970.)
Table 3.6: Average duration of absences from home village: age groups

| Age group | Males | | | Females | | |
|-----------|-------|---|---|-------|---|
|           | \( \bar{X} \) | S.D. | | \( \bar{X} \) | S.D. |
| <30       | 15.8  | 16.5 | | 13.1  | 18.8 |
| 30-40     | 11.4  | 15.9 | | 10.8  | 15.9 |
| >40       | 9.7   | 11.8 | | 7.2   | 11.3 |

a Excluding absences at schools and training institutes.


Circularity in migration networks

The migration histories compiled for all adults and families emphasised the importance of the home village not only as a place of origin but also as a destination. Of the 1,883 inter-island movements to areas other than places considered permanent residences, eighty-four per cent were initiated in the home village. The remaining sixteen per cent were between areas outside the home island -- town and plantation, town and New Caledonia, school and town -- without a stated period of residence longer than one month in the village. When the destinations of all 3,518 movements recorded for Tongaans, Emaeans, and Makurans were considered, their home villages accounted for some forty-five per cent and clearly demonstrated circularity in mobility.

The only group which differed markedly from this norm was the small number of New Hebrideans from other islands who were employed as teachers, nurses, and in other semi-professional occupations in the villages. Just over half their out-migrations had been initiated in the home village and, when the destinations of all moves were considered, their villages accounted for only thirty per cent of them. The movement patterns of these New Hebrideans had been stepwise rather than circular and their migration histories contained few references to returns to rural communities where they had customary rights to property. A number considered either Vila or Santo as permanent homes, even though they still acknowledged a second 'home' where they had residence rights but little intention of ever returning there to live.
To assess the position of the home village as a central node in New Hebridean migration networks a graph-theoretic measure was devised. Using a modified version of Shimbel's (1953) accessibility index, a 'circulation index' was computed on the basis of migration experiences of each respondent. Shimbel defined certain parameters which give some indication of the 'compactness' of a network. Using graph-theoretic techniques he derived an accessibility index which expresses the average topological distance \( L \) that all nodes \( j \) in a network \( S \) are from a particular node \( i \). By summing all the \( L(i,j) \) over \( j \) for a given network, \( S \), a measure of the average topological distance separating the various nodes in the network from \( i \) is acquired. Shimbel (1953:502) demonstrated that if the sum is large we know that on average the various sites of the network are far removed from site \( i \), and if the sum is small that the various sites of \( S \) are readily reached from \( i \). The sum is termed the accessibility of \( S \) to \( i \) and labelled \( A(i,S) \). By definition then:

\[
A(i,S) = \sum_{j=1}^{n} L(i,j).
\]

In the context of migration this index has some potential in giving an overall measure of the structure of an individual's past mobility experiences. The places in which he has lived for the prescribed period of time (one month) are the nodes, and the links between them are defined by those nodes which served as the origin and destination points of a particular move. Using the home village as the central node \( (i) \), the accessibility of all other nodes \( (j) \) to \( i \) can be established by using Shimbel's method, and a measure of the extent to which step-wise migration or regular returns to the rural areas has occurred can be derived. If the values of \( A(i,S) \) are large, step-wise migration has occurred: if low, the pattern has been one of returns to the rural village before moving to another area. However, where low values for the index are derived, they can also be merely an expression of the small size of the network and not a measure of its internal structure.

To derive a more meaningful measure of circularity in New Hebridean migration networks, Shimbel's accessibility index was modified to give a circulation index, \( C(i,S) \):
\[ C(i,S) = \frac{n}{v-1} \sum_{j=1}^{v-1} L(i,j) \]

where \( v \) is the total number of nodes in the network.

By dividing the summed distance of all nodes \( j \) from the home village \( i \) by the number of nodes minus the home village, the actual size of the network (in terms of the number of nodes) becomes irrelevant, and the degree to which circulation in the network has occurred is the significant measure. As there was considerable variation in the size of New Hebridean networks in terms of the number of nodes, an index which measured internal structural characteristics irrespective of size of network was necessary (Fig. 3.7).

The circulation index appears to serve this purpose. In cases where the value derived for the index did not exceed 1.0, all the out-migrations had been initiated from one particular node, and any subsequent moves had been back to this point either directly or via one other alternative place of residence. Movement between different places without any returns to the village resulted in circulation indices exceeding 1.0, and these indicated that migration had been step-wise rather than circular at certain stages in the individual's migration history.

Of the 569 individuals for whom migration histories were compiled, over one-third (mainly males) had circulation indices exceeding 1.0. Aside from the expected difference between males and females, there were some structural variations in the migration networks of groups aggregated on the basis of residence status (mover or stayer) and home island (Table 3.7). A greater proportion of movers than stayers had circulation indices exceeding 1.0 and, although there were no major differences at the .10 level of significance for Tongoans, Emaeans, and Makurans, there were dissimilarities between these people and those resident on the three islands from other parts of the New Hebrides. These differences are related to variations in the relative significance of the home village as an origin and destination for moves for New Hebrideans in skilled and semi-skilled occupations on the one hand, and the great majority who participate in casual wage labouring on the other. High circulation indices
Fig. 3.7: Circularity in New Hebridean migration networks. (Source: Field surveys, 1969–1970.)
Table 3.7: Variations in the circulation index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups compared</th>
<th>Chi-square analysis&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>( H_0 ) accepted at</th>
<th>( H_0 ) rejected at</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( .10 )</td>
<td>( .05 )</td>
<td>( .01 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males - females</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;30 years - &gt;30 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movers - stayers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoans - Emaeans - Makurans</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoans - Emaeans</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoans - Makurans</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emaeans - Makurans</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/E/M&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; - others</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> The null hypothesis \( (H_0) \) is that there is no statistically significant difference between groups compared on the basis of the circulation index.

<sup>b</sup> Tongoans/Emaeans/Makurans as a group.

(exceeding 2.0) for males were closely associated with the nature of employment, either past or present. Employment in skilled and semi-skilled occupations (in education, medical services, or local administration) often led to transfers from one school, hospital, or office to another without return to the home village for lengthy periods. With unskilled casual employment, such movement from one locality to another, while still employed in the same job, occurred less frequently. One exception, however, was crewing inter-island vessels. As many as thirty per cent of the males interviewed had been employed on ships at some time, and the extent of travel around the Group was far greater than the migration networks implied. But, since such stop-overs at various islands rarely involved stays of more than a week, these individual voyages were not classed as migrations in this study.

The migration behaviour of most New Hebrideans interviewed was thus focussed on a particular locality, the home village, which served as the origin point for movement out to alternative residences, and as a regular destination. When questioned on the reasons for this circular mobility pattern, New Hebrideans were invariably somewhat confused. The reasons for periodic returns to the rural areas were, to them anyway, self-evident: movements to alternative places of residence were never
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital and family status</th>
<th>Pressures operating to encourage movement away from the village</th>
<th>Pressures operating to encourage returns to the village</th>
<th>Reasons given in migration histories for moves</th>
<th>Moves and absences over the four years 1966-1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reason</td>
<td>Number of moves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;18</td>
<td>Single, dependent</td>
<td>Largely depends on parent's plans. If seeking education above village level may have to live on another island</td>
<td>If moved with parents will return with them. If attended school outside home island, need to assist in domestic duties and agricultural activities may encourage return</td>
<td>With family</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Visit family/relatives</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Walk-about</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seek employment</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>Single, independent</td>
<td>Money for personal uses, to assist family enterprises, to pay school fees of younger siblings. Wish to participate in 'exciting' town life and visit kin</td>
<td>Obligations to parents, especially if aged. Plans for marriage</td>
<td>Acquire money for:</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) specific projects</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Medical reasons</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>Married, young dependents</td>
<td>Finance for wedding, family enterprises, build own house, construct wells, fence cattle yards</td>
<td>Assist wife and family in agricultural activities, live with family if remained in village</td>
<td>Acquire money for:</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) specific projects</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Medical reasons</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-50</td>
<td>Married, adult dependents</td>
<td>Rising costs of maintaining own family, capital to finance business enterprises -- store, taxi, launch, plantation</td>
<td>If family remained in village, need to visit them and assist in gardens and plantations. If family with him, costs of maintaining wife and children in town. May take custom title if father dead</td>
<td>Acquire money for:</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) specific projects</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Medical reasons</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;50</td>
<td>Married/widowed</td>
<td>Medical treatment, visit family in town. Finance for business enterprise and customary exchanges</td>
<td>Interest in village politics, need to look after grandchildren in village while their parents temporarily absent. Limited employment opportunities for elderly</td>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Medical reasons</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Visit relatives</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Excluding twelve men who have been employed in the same job in Vila for over five years, but who still consider the village their permanent home.
b Desire to see the town and experience the 'excitements' of Vila's social life.
c General living requirements include clothing, household effects, food.
d House construction, purchase of a vehicle, acquisition of bride-price, construction of a village church/school/store.

Source: Migration histories: Tongoans, Emaeans, Makurans.
regarded, initially at least, as permanent; there was thus always the intention to return to the village.

Reasons for circular migration

The migration histories revealed that eighty-eight per cent of those interviewed had moved at least once for a period exceeding a month, the decision being taken either by the mover or by a parent or guardian. If only those over twenty-five years of age are considered, ninety-seven per cent had moved at least once. Although the information recorded on reasons for previous moves is of limited value because of biases caused by post facto rationalisation, an evaluation of some factors which influence New Hebrideans' migration decisions is possible.

When reasons for movements were sought, a stereotyped pattern of responses emerged which reflected something of New Hebrideans' conception of their basic needs at different stages of their lives. By relating stated reasons for mobility to the approximate age of the respondent at the time he claimed to have moved, it was possible to isolate a sequence of pressures which operate to encourage movement away from, and back to, villages at different times. Schematic representation of migration experiences of males and females, following Mitchell's (1969a:179) paradigm of a Rhodesian labour migrant's career, could be constructed from the stated reasons for migration at different ages. As Mitchell has argued, these schema imply, in sociological terms, that the balance of economic, political, social, and personal factors favouring the decision to move will vary consistently with a person's stage in life.

Mobility of New Hebridean men

The 'paradigm' of a male New Hebridean's migratory behaviour identifies the major stated factors governing movements (Table 3.8). Over eighty per cent had lived outside their villages for a month or more at least once before they were twenty years old. Some twenty per cent had accompanied their parents, a further twenty per cent attended schools outside their island, while others had made their first moves to visit friends or relatives, or to seek employment.

For adult men, wage employment dominated the reasons given for migration at all ages (Table 3.8). Ninety-one per cent of males
interviewed had moved at least once to earn a wage income, and this was
the reason given for seventy-five per cent of their moves away from the
villages. For unmarried men aged between eighteen and twenty-five years,
however, the most common explanations were to experience some of the
excitement of living outside the social domain of the village, and to
achieve a measure of economic independence from their parents. Young
men frequently went 'walk about' (Table 3.8). The close proximity of
these islands to Vila, a regular air service between Tongoa and Vila, the
presence of kinsmen in the urban area to provide accommodation, and the
ready availability of unskilled labouring jobs, make movement between
village and town a relatively secure undertaking. Much of this move-
ment was for very short periods, usually lasting less than a month.

Married men tended to see wage earning as an easier means of
obtaining the capital required to finance various household, agricul-
tural, and social activities, than cutting copra or selling other cash
crops. Their responses to questions on the reasons for seeking a cash
income outside the village reflected an attitude similar to that found
by Finney (1967) in French Polynesia -- 'fast money' through weekly pay
packets was invariably preferred to 'slow money' or the periodic returns
from cash cropping, especially when money was required in quantity for a
specific purpose. Opportunities for earning a wage income were very
limited on Tongoa, Emae, and Makura: of the 159 interviewed adult males
resident in their permanent homes on these islands, only 10 had full-time
jobs with regular wage incomes.* Thirty per cent received irregular
cash incomes from entrepreneurial activities (operating a store, taxi-
truck, or launch) or from casual employment on a small European-owned
plantation on Emae.

New Hebrideans insisted that money derived from copra production,
or the local sale of crops, pigs, and bullocks for ceremonial purposes,
could not meet their demands for cash. Copra prices paid to local co-
operative societies have fluctuated considerably in recent years (from

* Assessment of the sources and amounts of income for households over
a specified period was part of the research plan, but reluctance among
New Hebrideans to reveal this sort of information made this line of
inquiry impracticable. Although no adequate reason was given it quickly
became apparent that respondents did not wish to provide this information.
$103 to $30 per ton of smoke-dried copra) and returns have been slow in reaching the producer. If money is required quickly in large amounts, alternative means of earning it are invariably sought. There has been a move, particularly in the past decade, to construct sleeping houses from imported materials, to install concrete water tanks, to fence cattle yards, and to improve taxi services within islands and launch transport between them. Hence money in some quantity has been required by most adult men.

While a variety of reasons for needing money were stated, only thirty-two per cent of the men could recall a specific objective for any particular move for employment. It is instructive to consider here Chapman's (1970:144) findings on reasons for circular mobility in the Solomon Islands where he noted that one objective was rarely sufficient to explain a villager's decision to move. Chapman identified 162 'objectives' for moving from the village for a period of twenty-four hours or more, and 121 underlying reasons to which these could be related. The number of objectives stated at the time of an individual's departure ranged from one to eight. In the light of this evidence, it is obvious that the simple classification of reasons for mobility used in the New Hebridean study greatly oversimplifies the decision process. The problem of post facto rationalisation of behaviour, and lack of ability to remember motives for earlier decisions, also limit the utility of the data.

A comparison of mobility rates over the four years between January 1966 and December 1969 showed that men under thirty-five years had been more mobile and spent longer periods in residence outside their villages than older men (Table 3.8). This contrast reflects the differing balance of opportunities in village and town for men in these two age groups. The younger men, still dependent on the holders of customary titles (usually the older men in the community) to obtain access to land, found the economic benefits of wage labour to be much greater than those of cash cropping. Since many of them had been educated to senior primary level they could readily find employment in the town. Older men, particularly those over forty-five years, were in a poorer competitive position on the labour market outside the village. Within the village, on the other hand, their economic and social security and prestige were guaranteed through access to land.
Table 3.9: Female circular migration: a schematic representation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital and family status</th>
<th>Pressures operating to encourage movement away from the village</th>
<th>Pressures operating to encourage returns to the village</th>
<th>Reasons given in migration histories for moves</th>
<th>Moves and absences over the four years 1966–1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;18</td>
<td>Single, dependent</td>
<td>Largely depends on parents plans and a need for post-village education</td>
<td>Depends on parents and, as with males, if moved for education, a need to assist family in village</td>
<td>With family</td>
<td>Number of moves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Months absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>Single, independent</td>
<td>Wish to visit town and assist kin in domestic duties there</td>
<td>Obligations to parents, especially if aged. Plans for marriage</td>
<td>Visit family/relatives</td>
<td>Per cent who moved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>Married, young dependents</td>
<td>Medical treatment if pregnant; accompany husband if latter going to town on long-term employment</td>
<td>Children to village school. Aged parents require assistance. Plans for marriage</td>
<td>Seek employment</td>
<td>Number of moves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-50</td>
<td>Married, adult dependents</td>
<td>Again largely dependent on husband’s activities. Medical treatment if ill. If a member of local church committees short absences at meetings may be necessary</td>
<td>Family demands, especially those of children at school, unless entire family moves to town</td>
<td>Acquire money for personal/family needs</td>
<td>Months absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;50</td>
<td>Married/widowed</td>
<td>Dependent on husband unless widowed, when may leave village to live with own children or relatives elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accompany husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Excluding eleven women who have been living virtually the entire four years in Vila with their husbands in permanent employment there.

Source: Migration histories: Tongaans, Emaeans, Makurans.
Mobility of New Hebridean women

The migratory behaviour of New Hebridean women reflects a somewhat different pattern of pressures, except at younger ages, encouraging movement to and from the village (Table 3.9). As with men, a high proportion of women interviewed had made their first move before they were twenty years old, and for half parents had directed this move. The two most important factors which emerged from analysis of female mobility were the role played by others (parents, husband) in directing moves, and the need to seek medical attention, especially when pregnant.

Except for moves to hospitals or, when single, to seek employment on plantations in southeast Epi or to visit kin in Vila, women offered essentially passive reasons for their moves. The major economic and social roles of women are to maintain gardens and care for younger siblings or their own children, and movement to other areas for more than one month depends to a large extent on the plans of parents or husbands. Employment on plantations and in the towns is not difficult to obtain and, although forty-three per cent of women who had moved to Vila had been employed at some time, wage-earning was not often a stated reason for leaving the village. Jobs were obtained after residence in the towns for a while, and the decision to leave the village had, in general, been determined by others.

Although 'family migrations', or movements by both husband and wife (with or without their children) are much less frequent in the total of all movements than relocations of individuals, over half the moves made by New Hebrideans after marriage had been made with their spouses.* Forty-three per cent of the moves made by men after marriage and eighty-one

* Definition of family migration as the movement of complete nuclear units (husband, wife, and dependent children) proved unrealistic in the New Hebridean context. Families, as groups, rarely moved together. A man and his wife would move together under certain circumstances, such as if the woman required medical attention, leaving their children in the village with relatives. Other members of the family may subsequently follow, thus completing the group at the destination. In the light of this chain-migration process, a family migration was defined as any movement involving both a husband and his wife together or in close succession. Of 880 moves recorded for men and women when they were married, fifty-seven per cent had involved both the husband and wife, with or without their children. The remaining 327 migrations had been made by either the husband or his wife.
per cent of those made by women were 'family migrations' as defined here. In general, moves by a woman for medical treatment led to family migration, and the husband often sought employment in the town to cover the costs involved. Even where the stated reason of movement by men was to seek wage employment, a high proportion of wives either accompanied them or joined them at their destinations soon after their husbands had left the village. Lengthy absences from families are not favoured and respondents argued that if a move were likely to involve residence in other areas for longer than about six months, as in the case of contract employment in administrative or social services, the family would join the husband.

An explanation of contemporary circular migration

Analysis of New Hebridean circular migration from the point of view of needs at different times of a person's life has provided some fuller understanding of the place of temporary absences in rural social and economic activities. Propensity to move away seems to vary with age and sex, marital and family status and, to a lesser extent, with social standing and position within the community. The direction of moves is related to a complex of traditional and current kinship linkages, which structure action space and provide the paths for information flow. Although the use of stated reasons in this reconstruction makes it difficult to speak with any confidence of causes, it is possible to outline an explanatory generalisation.

A strategy of maximum participation in a range of activities, consistent with minimum risk, goes far to explain the persistence of circular migration. Brookfield (1970) has argued that, in the game against an uncertain world, Islanders retain the security of the traditional system while making use of opportunities for gaining access to some perceived benefits of the foreign commercial systems. In this way they can minimise risk while utilising a growing range of options for activity. In these islands, where the 'cultural focus' of society rests on status as landowners, rather than proletarians, the persistent significance of the village as a centre of activity became intelligible. While access to land still depends on membership of a social group and continuing interest in village affairs, involvement in rural-based activities remains important
for most New Hebrideans. Maintaining this contact may not necessitate lengthy periods of residence in the village, but some circulation between their places of employment and the village is generally considered essential.

The pattern of circular migration, by which the range of options (subsistence gardening, cash-crop agriculture, wage employment, entrepreneurship, and sundry forms of investment) is kept open, continues to change as longer periods are spent in residence outside the village. For some Tongoans, Emaeans, and Makurans a pattern of circulation is evolving which is based on permanent residence outside their rural communities. Having examined circular migration from the point of view of residence in the village, the focus of discussion will now turn to the major destination, Vila, where residential arrangements and activities are considered for both movers and the, as yet, small proportion of people from the islands studied who now state the town to be their 'permanent home'.

CHAPTER 4

MIGRANTS IN VILA: ASPECTS OF NEW HEBRIDEAN RESIDENCE IN AN URBAN AREA

While the emphasis in this study has been on the persistence of circular migration based on residence in rural communities, there is evidence that, for many young New Hebridean adults and their families, towns are becoming more than just temporary places of residence. Circulation between town and village continues but, for some, the urban area is becoming the centre of most economic as well as social activity. A rural-urban movement is thus in progress. But, as noted earlier, it is of a different kind to the classical rural-urban drift, where a poverty-stricken rural proletariat or depressed peasantry leave their farms to stream into the towns to work new industries, and thus become transformed into a new urban working class. The movement to urban areas in the New Hebrides, and in other Pacific territories, is a complex process whereby individuals and families appear to be attempting to find a compromise between participating in a new and exciting way of life in the towns (Belshaw, 1963:20), and maintaining the security of the traditional village-based livelihood.

The choice between rural and urban residence is shifting for some in favour of the latter. The small but growing population who have been brought up in the town and educated in skills which have little relevance to life in the village, have attitudes towards their traditional rural communities which are very different from those of the great majority of contemporary urban dwellers, who spent much of their youth and early adulthood in such areas. These changes in attitudes are influencing patterns of residence in rural and urban areas, and have obvious implications for the ongoing transition in mobility patterns. It is the comparatively recent trend towards more stabilised urban residence in the New Hebrides which forms the substance of this chapter.

Until comparatively recently there has been a tendency for the colonial administrations in Melanesia to regard Islanders as temporary urban dwellers. Only the still small proportion of skilled artisans and trained administrative personnel was regarded as semi-permanently settled outside the village because their jobs demanded this. But even for these people, whose accommodation in the urban area was generally
provided by employers, eventual retirement in the village was seen as the general pattern of behaviour. By the 1960s, however, it was being recognised, albeit belatedly, that many unskilled Islanders were staying for lengthy periods in towns and acquiring or constructing homes there. In the New Hebrides recognition of this trend towards more permanent settlement came particularly slowly. It was not until 1965, when a research team from The Australian National University completed the first census of Vila, that the real magnitude of migrant settlement and its ancillary problems (especially in housing) became apparent. The view that most Islanders come to the town for short periods of wage employment while their families remain in the village is changing; the New Hebrides are joining other Melanesian territories in the attempt to house a growing urban population.

Some general characteristics of migrant settlement

The first general inquiry into the length of time New Hebridean migrants had resided in Vila was during the 1965 urban census. New Hebrideans were asked to give the total number of years, ignoring short absences, that they had spent in the town.* The result was surprising -- Brookfield and Brown Glick (1969:44) found the median time in residence to be 5.6 years, and over a quarter of the migrants had been living in the urban and periurban areas for more than eight years. While these statistics overstated the period in continuous residence, they indicated much greater stability in the urban migrant population than anticipated. This census also revealed that a considerable number of migrants were living in sub-standard accommodation in areas without basic community services, such as water and power reticulation and sewage disposal. The number of New Hebrideans living in houses rented privately, or in huts which they had constructed, was far greater than expected in a town where it was believed that employers provided most Islanders with accommodation. Given the high cost of land in the town, *prima facie* evidence of a strong

---

* In their instructions to enumerators, Brookfield and Brown Glick (1969: 60) stated that they wanted 'the total number of years lived in Vila, ignoring short breaks as for overseas leave, school, visits to home islands, etc.' No temporal definition was imposed on an 'absence' or a 'visit', and the stated number of years resident in Vila should not be considered as implying the period in continuous residence.
commitment to urban residence was revealed in the cases of migrants who were living on land they had purchased or were in the process of purchasing.*

Further inquiries into migrant accommodation in 1966 and 1967 revealed that at least 350 families and 570 'bachelors' were living in sub-standard houses (Leaney, 1967:22; Low-cost housing study committee, 1967:5).** These discoveries prompted the Joint Administration to purchase land for a low-cost housing scheme. It was realised that, in the light of inflated values of land in and around Vila and the expenses of constructing a dwelling from permanent materials to meet required minimum standards, few migrants could afford to acquire property and a house without financial assistance. The approach recommended was the construction of suitable houses by a Housing Authority and their allocation to tenants who would purchase them over a number of years -- a procedure which has been adopted with varying degrees of success in other Melanesian territories.*** It was also appreciated, both by Leaney and the Low-cost housing study committee, that in addition to providing more accommodation for the immigrants, it was necessary to extend basic services to existing migrant settlements.

Since 1965 little has been achieved in providing migrants with more congenial residential conditions. The low-cost housing scheme has

* Ball (1969:33) noted the price of land in better residential locations was as high as $3 per square metre, and for a 2,050 square metre allotment in the periurban area New Hebrideans were paying as much as $800 in 1967 (field surveys, Vila 1970).

** The term 'bachelor', as used in these reports, included married men and women without their wives and husbands as well as single people.

*** It is not proposed to discuss here the different approaches to low-cost housing schemes -- there is a growing literature on this subject in the context of urbanisation in the Pacific. Since 1962 the South Pacific Commission has sponsored three major regional conferences on the problems of providing accommodation to low-income urban workers (South Pacific Commission, 1963, 1966, 1970). The chequered histories of low-cost housing schemes in Port Moresby (Oram, 1970 and 1971; Mylius, 1971), Honiara (Hughes, 1969; Woolard, 1971), and Suva (Whitelaw, 1966:182-9), have been traced in a number of publications. A major problem in all territories has been that 'low-cost' houses have generally been far beyond the means of the unskilled Melanesian migrants for whom they were originally intended.
been shelved while metropolitan governments in Paris and London consider ways to amend the Protocol to make a Housing Authority a legal institution in the New Hebrides. Despite strong recommendations by Brookfield and Brown Glick (1969), Leaney (1967), the Low-cost housing study committee (1967), and Ball (1969), basic services have only very recently been extended to the major settlements in Tagabe, the Anabrou and Tebakor areas, and Seaside, where many migrants now own the land on which they are living (Fig. 4.1). This has not deterred migration to these areas and the communities have expanded rapidly since 1965 as a steady stream of new arrivals have made use of kinsmen to provide accommodation in the town.

From information given in the 1965 Vila census, and by villagers on Tongoa, Emæae, and Makura, it was apparent that considerable numbers of people from these islands resided in such communities. To examine more closely the residential arrangements and intentions of these migrants, three areas were selected where the majority of inhabitants were either renting accommodation from local entrepreneurs, or living in houses belonging to themselves or their kin. Choice of areas where there were few dwellings provided by the administrations or by employers was deliberate: it is well known that many migrants in these areas are semi-permanently settled in the town but for those in rented or privately-owned houses residential intentions are less clear. In the context of an erosion from the circular mobility system based on village residence, it is in areas where land is being purchased that the greatest changes in movement patterns are likely to be occurring. Migrants here are apparently making some commitment to long-term residence in the town through acquisition of land.

Tongoans, Emæaeans, and Makurans in Vila

The areas selected for a survey of migrants in Vila were, as noted in the previous chapter, the major Tongoan/Paamese settlement at Seaside, the predominantly Emæean and Makuran community at Melcofe, and an area of recent Tongoan settlement at Saratokora/Nakavika (Table 4.1).* In the

* The three areas correspond to enumeration tracts used by Brookfield and Brown Glick (1969). Seaside and Saratokora/Nakavika are in the periurban area as defined in the 1965 Vila census and 1967 national census while Melcofe is in the urban area. Areas corresponding to enumeration tracts 015 and 016 (Melcofe); 123 (Tebakor -- here termed Saratokora/Nakavika); 152 and 153 (Colardeau -- here termed Seaside) were selected (Brookfield and Brown Glick, 1969:6-7).
Fig. 4.1: New Hebridean settlements in Vila, January 1970. (Sources: Brookfield and Brown Glick, 1969; Ball, 1969; field surveys, 1969-1970.)
three areas some sixty-three per cent of the New Hebrideans enumerated in
census-type surveys in January 1970, were from Tongoa, Emae, and Makura. They represented some thirty-eight per cent of the absentees from these
islands who were recorded as living in Vila during the village surveys.*

Table 4.1: Migrant communities: characteristics of their populations, January 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Seaside</th>
<th>Melcofe</th>
<th>Saratokora/Nakavika</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population enumerated</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of population:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoan, Emaean, Makuran (T/E/M)</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>63.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of T/E/M:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Tongoan</td>
<td>96.1</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>70.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Emaean</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Makuran</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of T/E/M stayers:</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of T/E/M males:</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field surveys, January 1970.

The great majority were classed as 'movers' because they claimed
to be only temporarily resident outside their villages. Seventy-five
per cent had been in the town for less than two years and, although few
had definite plans for a move in the near future, the village was still
regarded as their permanent home. Only twelve per cent of the adults
interviewed considered themselves to be permanently resident in Vila.
Short visits and occasional holidays were anticipated in their villages,
but these communities were no longer regarded as their permanent homes.
Forty per cent of the males in this group had been born and educated in
the town, and the remainder, who had been continuously absent from their
villages for ten years or more, explained their lengthy residence by the
nature of their present (or, if retired, former) occupations. All were

* Of the 286 Tongoans absent from their villages and living in Vila in
October 1969, 139 were enumerated in Seaside, Melcofe, and Saratokora in
January 1970. The other 88 Tongoans in these areas were from villages
(particularly Itakoma and Matangi) which were not surveyed on Tongoa.
From Emae, 54 of the 189 absentees in Vila, recorded in the village
surveys in March 1970, were enumerated in the settlements, and 42 of
the 140 Makurans were enumerated there also.
(or had been) employed in skilled or semi-skilled jobs with the administrations or private firms. Only one 'stayer', a Makuran living in Melcofe, stated that he had left his village permanently because of a shortage of agricultural land. Other Makurans in Melcofe emphasised the problems of land availability on their island, but they stated an intention to return eventually to Makura or Emae where some had established plantations.

The ratio of males to females in the different settlements is interesting, considering the short period in residence of many migrants (Table 4.2). A high proportion of the residents were women, and in one area females outnumbered males because of the temporary absence of men in Nouméa. The sex ratios for Tongans and Emaeans were similar to those found in the villages and only for Makurans was high masculinity, a characteristic of temporary migrant populations, apparent. Although only temporarily resident, eighty-two per cent of the married men had their wives in Vila with them, and over half had all their children living in the town. Through a process of chain-migration, families had settled in the three areas. There were no instances of entire families moving as a unit; usually the adult men had come to Vila, found accommodation and a job, and had later been joined by their families.

The high proportion of families supports the earlier suggestion that when absences from the village of more than a few months are anticipated, men prefer to have their families with them. While the population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Proportion of males in population</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vila</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoan</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emelan</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makuran</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Group   | Villages                        |  |  |
|---------|--------------------------------|  |  |
| Tongoan | 51.9                           |  |  |
| Emelan  | 47.4                           |  |  |
| Makuran | 37.1                           |  |  |
| Total   | 46.2                           |  |  |

structure of the migrants reflected a movement of young adults especially, there were many children under four years old indicating the presence of family groups (Fig. 4.2). The main differences between the migrant population and that in the villages were the small proportions of old

**A. MIGRANT COMMUNITIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>40-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>30-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>20-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>2-14</td>
<td>10-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>0-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. VILLAGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>40-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>30-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>20-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>2-14</td>
<td>10-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>0-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4.2: Population structure of migrant and village communities, 1970. (Source: Field surveys, 1969-1970.)
people and of children of school age in the town. The latter is partly a reflection of the youthfulness of married couples in Vila, but it is also due to a tendency for some children between five and fifteen years to be left with relatives to attend village schools.*

When the households enumerated in Vila were compared with those in the villages, statistically significant differences were found on only two of eight measures of their composition (Table 4.3a). Half the

Table 4.3: Variations in household structure;
Vila communities and rural villages

A. Composition of household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household characteristic</th>
<th>Kolmogorov-Smirnov analysis&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>H&lt;sub&gt;0&lt;/sub&gt; accepted at</th>
<th>H&lt;sub&gt;0&lt;/sub&gt; rejected at</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in household</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of male adults</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of female adults</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults not in families</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children not in families</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Family structure
(per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of family</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Vila</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expanded</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> The null hypothesis (H<sub>0</sub>) is that there is no statistically significant difference between Tongoan, Ensaen, and Mākurau households in Vila and those on the three islands on the basis of the different measures of household composition.


* The proportion of children in the five to fifteen age group was abnormally high in the urban settlements in January 1970 because of school holidays.
households in Vila had two or more adult males, compared with twenty-four per cent in the villages. Many of these men were not members of nuclear families and were living with cognates and affines, and the significance of affinal kin in social relationships in the two was emphasised by the considerably higher proportion of expanded families in Vila than in the villages (Table 4.3b). This was in large part due to communal land purchases in Seaside and Saratokora. In the former area, in particular, Tongoans have been acquiring property, and a large settlement (by Vila standards) has been established on communally-owned land.

Accommodation in the migrant communities

Tongoans and Emaeans enumerated in Seaside were living in houses which they, or others from their villages, had constructed. Tongoan settlement in the area was initiated in the early 1960s when a Matangi man, retiring after twenty years' service in the British Police Force, constructed a house on land that he was purchasing from a neighbouring European planter. The land was in a subdivision of some thirty-six lots, and in December 1964 his purchase was registered by the Joint Court as the first in the area. In January 1965 two neighbouring lots, totalling 3,080 square metres, were registered on behalf of seventy-two Tongoans from nine villages in the name of the Tongoa Local Council (Fig. 4.3a). The decision to purchase land communally in Seaside was prompted by the increasing difficulty migrants were experiencing in finding accommodation. The local Council was persuaded by Tongoans semi-permanently resident in Vila that it should subsidise these purchases to provide migrants with a base during their temporary visits to the town, and men from all villages on the island were requested to contribute towards the cost.* Over $1,000 was raised and by January 1970, 119 Tongoans, all from the Namakura language area, were occupying twenty shacks on this land (Fig. 4.3b). People from Mangarisu, Itakoma, and Matangi comprised ninety per cent of this population -- a reflection of their greater investment in the purchases (Table 4.4).

* It appears that Tongoans who were either provided with housing by their employers, or who had acquired their own houses, were finding the pressures of accommodating kin and non-kin during the latter's temporary visits to town increasingly onerous. Although information on who initiated the Tongoa communal land purchases in Seaside was difficult to obtain, the Matangi resident seems to have been instrumental in persuading the Local Council to assist.
Fig. 4.3: Land ownership and settlement in Seaside, January 1970. (Sources: Records held in the Land Registrar's Office, Joint Court, Vila; field surveys, 1969-1970.)
### Table 4.4: Purchase of land and residence on Tongoa Local Council Lots, Seaside, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language group/village</th>
<th>Number who contributed money</th>
<th>Contributions</th>
<th>Residents Jan. 1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Amount ($A)</td>
<td>Per cent of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namakura</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bongabonga</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euta</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itakoma</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangarisiu</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matangi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mweriu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>966</td>
<td>81.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakanamanga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurumambe</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumbukuti</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pania</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other villages(^a)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1,184</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) One man from Marae, Emae, living with his brother-in-law from Matangi.

Source: Field surveys, 1969-1970; CDI F.NA.T 16

Village 'compounds' had been established by 1970 on three of the four lots and, although there were no physical boundaries, the territories occupied by dwellings belonging to people from different villages were roughly proportional to the capital their communities had contributed towards the purchase. The three Nakanamanga villages which had provided eighteen per cent of the capital were not, however, represented in the community. 'Seaside-Tongoa' had become a Namakura settlement in Vila and this was certainly the opinion of the residents in January 1970. In addition to this communal land, other Tongoans and an Emaean family had purchased land individually in Seaside and over seventy per cent of the adult males were living in houses owned by themselves, by other members of their immediate families, or by cognates and affines.
(Table 4.5). As a result of these land purchases, the Tongan population in Seaside has increased rapidly. In 1965 there were 30 Tongans in residence; by January 1970 the number had risen to 146. The four communally-owned plots, already densely settled, were still being built on and residents were anticipating a major influx of migrants, en route for New Caledonia, later that month.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential arrangement</th>
<th>Seaside</th>
<th>Melcofe</th>
<th>Saratokora/Nakavika</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owner of house</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of friend/relative in village</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renting house</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with family/relatives</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with non-relatives</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In Melcofe all accommodation occupied by Tongans, Emaeans, and Makurans was rented. Except for four households, whose rents were covered by employers, most families were paying between $10 and $15 a month for a room or crudely constructed tin shack. Over ninety percent of the migrants in these areas considered themselves as temporary residents, although one Makuran family had been living in Melcofe for ten years. In Saratokora/Nakavika more than half the adult men were living in houses owned either by themselves or their kin (Table 4.5). Land had been purchased in 1967 in Saratokora by twelve families from villages in the Nakamamanga language area on Tonga. For $1,600 they had acquired 4,100 square metres on which seven houses and a drinking/dancing clubhouse had been constructed by January 1960.

While the Tongan population in Saratokora/Nakavika is of comparatively recent origin (none were resident there in 1965), the size of the population of Melcofe has remained fairly constant over the past
five years. The ethnic composition of the group had changed somewhat, however, over this period. In 1965 fifty-five per cent were Tongans; in 1970 nineteen per cent were from this island. Only five of the eighteen families enumerated in Melcofe during the 1965 Vila census were still living there in January 1970 -- the remainder had either moved back to their home islands or out to other areas in Vila. Melcofe and, to a lesser degree Seaside, appeared to be places of residence to which migrants from Tongoa, Emae, and Makura moved initially when seeking employment in the town. From these areas some moved out to accommodation provided by employers or, for a growing number, on to Nouméa for a few months. However, for a few, these areas had been their homes for many years and a small section of the migrant population gave evidence in their migration histories of considerable residential stability in the towns.

**Stabilisation and involvement in the town**

In examining the process whereby people who have a long tradition of circular migration based on permanent residence in rural areas become urban residents, the concepts of 'stabilisation' and 'involvement' are useful.* Stabilisation refers to the extent to which individuals cease to return to the point of origin of their migration -- a statement of the changeover from the circulation of people between town and country to more permanent settlement in towns (Mitchell, 1969b:473). It is a continuous process whereby people who spend diminishing proportions of their lives in rural areas are seen to be becoming stabilised in urban residence. The concept is most meaningfully applied when periods spent in urban residence by members of a given population can be compared over time, but it is possible to use measures of stabilisation to compare different groups of a population at a point in time, although the dynamic element of the process is compromised.

Stabilisation refers only to time spent in urban residence. A related sociological concept, involvement, is used to assess the extent to which individuals participate in social relationships which are centred in urban institutions (Mitchell, 1969b:485). Involvement refers

* Mitchell (1969b) has reviewed these concepts in the context of circular migration in parts of Africa, and has examined various methods of measuring stabilisation and involvement.
to the implication of the migrant in urban living to the extent that he has brought his wife and family to town with him, and is involved at his destination in sets of social relationships and, thereby, obligations which tend to counterbalance those he has in the rural village. These two concepts are examined below in the context of recent mobility behaviour of Tongoans, Emaeans, and Makurans living in Vila in January 1970. A third related concept, commitment to urban residence, is then evaluated for this migrant group.

Residence in Vila: measures of stabilisation

The average time spent in continuous residence in Vila (that is, without an absence exceeding one month) by most adult New Hebrideans interviewed had been less than eighteen months (Table 4.6a). The stayers, or those who claimed Vila was their permanent home, had spent ten times as long, on average, in the town as the movers; an indication of their greater commitment to living in the urban area. For the movers, males had been in continuous residence marginally longer than females, largely because of the pattern of movement mentioned earlier whereby men generally precede their wives and families in a move to the town. Movers in Melcofe had been in residence longer than those in the other two areas (Table 4.6b). This was a somewhat surprising finding, given the fact that land is owned by most residents in Seaside and Saratokora/Nakavika. The comparatively recent arrival of Tongoans in Nakavika and an influx of schoolchildren over fifteen years old in Seaside were responsible for the lower average periods of residence in these areas. Men and women in the thirty to forty-year age group had the longest periods in continuous residence but the differences between groups were slight (Table 4.6b).

These results suggested that the population was a most unstable one on the basis of length of time in residence. But, because absences from Vila for periods exceeding one month were considered to involve a change in place of residence, the period in continuous residence is an unrealistic measure of residential stability. Over half the movers had been living in their home village at some stage during 1969 and only seventeen per cent had not been back to these areas for four years. When the proportion of time over these four years spent in the town was
Table 4.6: Duration of residence

A. Stayers and movers

(\text{years})

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Males M</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>Females M</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stayers</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>17\textsuperscript{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movers</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Movers: settlement and age groups

(\text{years})

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Males M</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>Females M</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>Males Total M</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>Females Total M</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Settlement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaside</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melcofe</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saratokora/Nakavika</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;30</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;40</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a} Nine of the twenty-six persons who considered themselves permanent residents refused to give details of their previous mobility experiences.

Source: Migration histories: Tongoans, Emaeans, and Makurans in Vila.

calculated, it was found that males had been in Vila for half, and females for forty-six per cent of this period. People in Seaside had spent more time in the town on average than those elsewhere, although the differences between communities were small. A more meaningful estimate of recent residential stability is given here and, for many movers interviewed in Vila, the town has been as much their home over the previous four years as the village. Contemporary residents in Vila have, as a group, been spending much longer periods of their lives in the town than their kinsmen interviewed in the village.

To establish more precisely whether those living in Vila in January 1970 were more 'stabilised' in urban residence than New
Hebrideans living in their villages at this time a comparative index was necessary. Mitchell's (1969b:480-3) 'index of stabilisation', or the proportion of a man's life since the age of fifteen spent in urban areas, was used in this context. The index is based on an assumption that if a man has spent more of his working life in urban than rural areas, he is more committed to an urban life than a man of the same age who has spent more time in the village.* In computing the index of stabilisation for New Hebrideans, past residence in Vila, Santo, the manganese mining settlement at Forari, and Nouméa, for any purpose other than schooling, was considered as urban living.

The resultant indices for Vila residents in different age groups varied greatly from those for village dwellers (Table 4.7). At all age groups those now in the town had spent considerable proportions of their working lives in urban areas. Males and females under forty years of age, living in Vila, had spent thirty per cent of their working lives in towns, which indicated a considerably higher degree of stabilisation in urban areas than that derived for village residents. On the basis of this evidence it is apparent that it is no longer advisable to regard both rural and urban residents as one universe when evaluating the importance of the village as a central node in their mobility patterns. For many, Vila is becoming the place where they spend the greater part of each year and a pattern of circular migration based on urban residence is evolving. However, it is important to note that the great majority of Tongoans, Emaeans, and Makurans surveyed in the town have been predominantly village dwellers since reaching working age (Table 4.7). Even for the youngest group considered, the twenty to twenty-five year olds, sixty per cent of their working lives had been spent in the village. Yet it cannot be denied that a further change in the pattern of circular migration is in its

* This measure of stabilisation has a number of conceptual limitations which have been discussed by Alverson (1967). The index is influenced by a person's absolute age and, consequently, it is necessary to calculate it for different age groups. Secondly, like most other methods of evaluating stabilisation, it is a static measure which takes no account of circular movement between rural and urban areas. It disguises the very important information on how time between rural and urban areas has been distributed. In the absence of data which would permit a time-series approach to circular mobility, these static measures of stabilisation had to be used.
Table 4.7: Proportion of working life spent in urban areas by town and village residents (per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex/age group</th>
<th>Town residents</th>
<th></th>
<th>Village residents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Migration histories: Tongans, Emaeans, Makurans.

incipient stage and in the near future one is likely to find both permanent urban and rural populations, with a large bi-local population moving between village and town.

Social relationships and involvement in town life

While periods in continuous residence, without an absence exceeding one month, had been comparatively short, it will be recalled that most married men were living with their wives and some, or all, of their children in Vila. According to Mitchell (1969b:487), the presence of a man's family in the town is an indication that his stay is likely to be a lengthy one. This contention was supported to a certain extent by the fact that men who were living in Vila with their wives in January
1970 had been in residence twice as long as those whose wives were living in the village (Table 4.8). Similarly fathers and mothers who had children resident in the village had been living in the town for shorter periods than those with their families with them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wife in village</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife in town</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children in village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No children in village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The presence of a man's family in the town is, nevertheless, a poor indicator of commitment to urban residence because married men generally prefer to have their families with them if they are going to be absent for longer than six months. Admittedly it does reduce the pressure of obligations in the village which could compel a man to return but, largely because of the proximity of Tongoa, Emae, and Makura to Vila, there is no great strain involved in a family move. Locally owned launches, trading vessels, and the internal air service make travelling to and from Vila a relatively simple task, and kin in the village ensure property is not tampered with during an absence while others in the town assist in the provision of accommodation. Urban residents maintain close contact with events in the village through a steady circulation of kinsmen. A finding in other studies of migrants in Pacific towns, that kinship networks provide the most common channels for social relationships in the urban area, is equally applicable to the communities studied.
in Vila.* The tendency for people from specific islands, language areas, and villages to settle in the same areas emphasises this.

Other channels for social interaction are also very significant in the town. Contact with a wider population through employment and social evenings at the local bars and clubs provide the essential ingredients of the new and exciting life in the towns. Certain enterprising Tongaños had established a drinking/dancing club at Saratokora which was a popular venue for New Hebrideans from a number of islands and, although time did not permit detailed research into the degree of social interaction between people from different islands, it was plainly evident in the composition of the populations of Seaside and Melcofe in the weekends that there was considerable mixing between individuals and families from different areas.

Although fifty-eight per cent of the men interviewed were working in labouring occupations which could be considered 'unskilled', a high proportion was engaged in jobs which demanded some experience or authority. Half those at work were employed by the Works Departments of the British, French, and Condominium Administrations, while other major employers were the French commercial firm, CFNH, and Tonkinese builders and contractors. Of the twenty-eight men in skilled or semi-skilled employment, eleven had been resident in the town for over four years and the average length of time in Vila was 2.5 years (S.D. 1.3). The thirty-eight unskilled labourers had a much lower average period in residence (0.8 years, S.D. 1.0) and seventy per cent had been employed in two or more jobs since arriving in town.**

The men engaged in skilled or semi-skilled occupations were generally confused when asked how long they intended remaining in the urban area. Only five stated an intention to move within the six months subsequent to interview, and Nouméa was to be their destination. None of these men had any definite plans for returning to their villages within a specified time, although many emphasised that unexpected events (deaths, marriages, *

---

* See, for example, Nayacakalou (1963), Finney (1965), and Oram (1968b) for discussions of the importance of kinship ties to migrants in urban areas.

** There were few unemployed in January 1970 -- six out of a total of eighty-four adult males. A further eight were not seeking employment, and six considered themselves retired.
land disputes) could necessitate a brief return. That visits on such occasions do occur was clearly demonstrated when a lands survey was conducted in Ravenga in April 1970. When it was proposed to survey lands in Ravenga, the village residents contacted title-holders living in Vila and all returned for the best part of a month to their village.

The question of whether sets of social relationships and obligations have been established by migrants in Vila, which tend to counter-balance those in the village, is a very complex one. For the great majority of movers in Vila there was no question of 'either the village, or the town'. While participation in an urban social system is becoming increasingly widespread, especially among the young, interest in village-based affairs is strong, and involvement in activities in rural communities is common. Circulation between town and village permits this involvement in sets of social relationships and obligations in both areas.

Commitment to residence in Vila

Commitment by Tongoans, Emaeans, and Makurans to urban residence is difficult to assess.* Analysis of aspects of residential stability indicated that most adults had spent at least half their working lives in the village. Even when residence in Vila over the previous four years was considered, the mean proportion of time spent in the town never rose above two-thirds for any group considered. However, examination of involvement in urban employment indicated that forty per cent of adult male movers who were working in skilled or semi-skilled occupations had been continuously resident for four or more years, and did not anticipate returning to the villages they still claimed as 'home' for some time. For this latter group, in particular, there appeared to be growing commitment to urban residence -- some subjectively experienced preference for living in town rather than in the village. The range of choices for their activities in both rural and urban locations appeared to have lessened as they became more skilled in occupations which require residence in the town. For many of these people, active participation in

* Commitment is a psychological concept which refers, in this context, to the degree to which people are emotionally and personally involved in urban living and intend remaining in residence in towns. Mitchell (1969b) has discussed this concept in his analysis of urbanisation in parts of Africa.
village-based economic activities was not considered a feasible option -- the nature of their employment in the town made protracted absences impossible if they wished to retain their jobs.

The risk-minimisation strategy, which was used earlier to explain the persistence of circular migration based on village residence, is also operating to change the pattern of circulation. While the economic and social losses entailed in absences from the village can be kept comparatively low by short, periodic returns, the losses involved in lengthy absences from skilled employment are much greater. Although there is, as yet, no shortage of jobs in Vila for New Hebrideans with skills, the attractions of pensions and gratuities for long-term employment with a particular administration or company are increasing. Little is known of occupational mobility of New Hebrideans in Vila, but from evidence obtained for men in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, jobs are not changed as frequently as might be expected given the prevalence of circular migration.

To talk of a 'committed urban proletariat' is, as yet, misleading. In evaluating commitment to urban residence the importance of the village as a source of income and social security must not be overlooked, even for those in skilled or semi-skilled employment in the town. New Hebridean urban migrants are not a wage-dependent proletariat yet; they have vested interests in property and security in the rural areas. Although no specific tests of attitudes towards urban as against rural residence were made, there appeared to be little evidence of complete abandonment of contact with and interest in village life. An urban-oriented population is certainly emerging, particularly among the younger New Hebrideans who have been brought up in the town and educated in skills which cannot be utilised in the village. These people appear to regard their traditional rural communities as places for holidays or social visits rather than long-term residence. Vila is the centre of social and economic activity for them, and Ward's (1971:103) statement on the movement towards towns in Papua New Guinea that 'the evidence suggests that to talk of temporary urban dwellers with the implication that they will go home in due course is largely wishful thinking', is becoming increasingly relevant in the context of rural-urban migration in the New Hebrides.
Permanent migration to towns has occurred from certain islands (Torres) that are isolated from the major centres of economic development, or on which ecological conditions such as volcanic activity (Ambrym) or land shortage (Paama, Makura, Mataso) have made village life unattractive. In a similar way, some of the small proportion of New Hebrideans (five per cent of the economically active population in 1967) in professional or administrative occupations have become permanent residents at locations away from their traditional communities. But, for most Islanders living in Vila in 1970, rural communities remained their permanent homes to be used as bases from which to participate in a variety of economic activities: subsistence gardening, cash cropping, local business ventures, and wage employment. Vila is the site of a second home, and circular migration between village and town continues to be the predominant form of population movement in the New Hebrides.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Examination of changes in characteristics of New Hebridean spatial mobility over the past 150 years has revealed a transition in circular migration. Throughout the post-contact period a pattern of inter-island movement has persisted in which relocations remain, for most purposes, temporary. Migration \textit{per se}, or permanent change in island of residence without any intention of returning to the former abode, has been the exception rather than the rule. It remains to consider changes in the characteristics of circular migration identified in the New Hebrides in the contexts of a broader spatial domain, and a more generalised statement concerning a transition in patterns of population movement.

In the first part of this Chapter the transition in New Hebridean circular migration is evaluated in the light of evidence concerning post-contact changes in patterns of population movement in other Pacific territories. Close similarities are found between the three-phase transition outlined in Chapter 2 and events in two other Melanesian territories, but elsewhere there are significant differences in the sequence of changes in mobility. The major reasons for these lie in historical and political circumstances as well as variation in indigenes' reactions to European commercial activity in their islands. Despite such differences, however, a circular form of movement has been, and remains, important in all territories. An examination of some common features in contemporary spatial mobility in the Pacific islands, on the one hand, and ex-colonies in sub-Saharan Africa, on the other, concludes this section.

Finally the relevance of findings on circular migration in the New Hebrides is discussed in the context of a mobility transition recently suggested by Zelinsky. Zelinsky (1971:221-2) has argued that, at a fairly high level of generalisation, it is possible to recognise 'definite regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time in recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernisation process'. It is implicit in Zelinsky's argument that, subject to certain demographic and economic conditions, all societies will
progress through a similar sequence of phases. In this regard it is useful to relate changes identified in New Hebridean mobility to those suggested by Zelinsky, even though the latter has cautioned that his transition 'is aloof from "accidents" or exceptional circumstances [and] is of little help in describing or predicting specific patterns of migration or circulation for a particular small area or set of areas over a brief period' (Zelinsky, 1971:229).

The circular migration transition in a wider context

One of the many consequences of European colonialism in the scattered islands of the Pacific and other non-western societies has been radical changes in the form and intensity of spatial mobility among indigenous populations. Although reactions to European commercial and political activities have been varied, one common response has been an increase in the frequency and spatial extent of population movement. The quelling of intergroup hostilities with the spread of effective administration, and the establishment of mission stations, plantations, mining, trading, and government centres, increased the range of locations where indigenes could reside outside their traditional communities. The population movement that accompanied and followed European settlement has certain similar features in a number of territories in the Pacific as well as in sub-Saharan Africa.

Migration in Melanesia and other parts of the Pacific

The growing literature on population movement in the Pacific Islands reveals that there are many similarities between the transitional sequence outlined here for the New Hebrides and changes identified in mobility in the British Solomon Islands (BSIP) and Papua New Guinea. In both the latter territories as in the New Hebrides, European commercial and political activities stimulated three broad phases in circular mobility:

(i) the movement of indentured labourers to Australia and other Pacific territories in the nineteenth century (although much less intensive in Papua New Guinea than in either the BSIP or the New Hebrides, this overseas labour migration can be recognised as a phase in the history of changes in mobility in all three territories);
(ii) internal contract and 'agreement' labour migration to plantations and mining centres during the first half of the twentieth century (in Papua New Guinea this phase has persisted to the present, particularly from areas which were not brought into continuous contact with the administration and commercial enterprises until the 1950s);

(iii) the more intensive system of 'free' or casual circular mobility associated with diversification of economies, and the growth of administrative, educational and commercial centres.*

Although there have been major variations in duration of different phases, as well as differences in their impact on indigenous mobility patterns, the sequences identified in the BSIP and Papua New Guinea chronicle changes in circular migration. As in the New Hebrides, rural villages have remained places of permanent residence for the great bulk of the migrants. Only during the last decade has there been an increasing tendency for persons, particularly those with specialised skills, to remain outside their rural communities for lengthy periods. Although there appears to be growing stabilisation in urban migrant populations in these territories, the extent to which this represents commitment to residence in towns is difficult to establish. Studies of migrants in urban areas in the BSIP and Papua New Guinea have indicated that ties with rural communities remain strong and circulation between town and village is common. As in the case of the New Hebrides, this is partly a reflection of the fact that most adult migrants in the towns were brought up and educated in rural communities. For children born and raised in the towns the situation as regards their commitment to urban residence will undoubtedly be different (Brookfield with Hart, 1971:394; Nayacakalou, 1963:34).

At present, levels of urbanisation are very low in Papua New Guinea and the BSIP. Less than ten per cent of their indigenes were resident

in settlements with populations exceeding 1000 at respective last censuses for which data are available (1966 for Papua New Guinea and 1970 for the BSIP. Recent studies by Ward (1971 and 1972a) have indicated considerable growth in the magnitude of rural-urban migration especially in Papua New Guinea. In his view, the drift to towns is increasingly one of migrants who will settle permanently in the towns and form a major component of the growing committed urban-based wage dependent proletariat. This view is accepted with some reservations by others writing on trends in migration and urbanisation in Papua New Guinea. Epstein (1969) and Salisbury (1970), both writing of communities with long and intensive contacts with urban areas, stress that relatively few migrants see themselves as committed to wage employment in towns for the entire period of their working lives. Plöeg (1972) and Baxter (1972), commenting on aspects of Ward's (1971) argument, emphasise the significance of rural-based opportunities to earn a cash income and the awareness of these and their utilisation by Papua New Guineans. The situation described for the New Hebrides, whereby a range of activities in both rural and urban locations can be engaged in through circular migration between village and town, still appears to be very relevant in the context of contemporary population movement in Papua New Guinea. On the basis of recent studies by Bellam (1970) and Chapman (1970) similar conclusions can be drawn concerning current patterns of spatial mobility in the BSIP.

The sequence of phases in circular migration outlined for the New Hebrides does not have much relevance in other parts of Melanesia. While there is a long history of contract labour migration in Fiji and New Caledonia, it has not had such a profound influence on indigenous mobility patterns as it did in the New Hebrides, Papua New Guinea, and the BSIP. In the former two territories European settlers were required to bring in people from neighbouring island groups as well as from Asia to satisfy their demands for labour. In the case of Fiji specific legislation was enacted to control labour migration of Fijians soon after the islands became a Crown Colony in 1874. As Scarr (1967b:147) has noted, 'in Fiji the imported islander, like the indentured Indian, was a "human subsidy" to the Government's native policy, the keystone of which was that Fijians must not be forced to work on European plantations'.
Prior to the Second World War there was considerable circular migration in both these territories. Throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century increasing numbers of Fijians sought casual employment on plantations, in the gold mining town of Vatukola, and in urban centres on Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. Much of this movement was circular and did not involve permanent settlement outside villages (Mamak, 1973; Ward, 1961; Whitelaw, 1967). In New Caledonia a circular movement between villages and centres of wage-earning opportunities also appears to have been common prior to the Second World War. Permanent settlement in the major town, Nouméa, was controlled by legislation until 1946 thus reinforcing this circular migration (McTaggart, 1972:301).

Since the war, however, there has been a marked trend towards more permanent settlement in urban areas by migrants in Fiji and New Caledonia. Levels of urbanisation are much higher in these territories than their Melanesian neighbours, and rapid industrial expansion in the past decade in New Caledonia especially, has generated a continuous demand for labour. Studies of Fijians in Suva and New Caledonian Melanesians in Nouméa have indicated that a considerable proportion of migrants consider the towns, rather than their former villages, to be their permanent homes.* Surveys of migrants in Suva in the late 1950s indicated that over half the household heads had been in residence for at least ten years (Ward, 1961b:265). McTaggart (1972:293) reports a similar situation existed in Nouméa in the same decade. Circulation between town and village still continues, but a considerable proportion of migrants now consider the former, rather than the latter, to be their place of permanent residence.

The contemporary situation as regards rural-urban migration in Polynesian and Micronesian territories has close affinities with that described for Fiji and New Caledonia. Long-term residence in towns is common among migrants in Tonga, Western and American Samoa, French Polynesia, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC), and the Trust Territory of the

* Fijian migration to Suva has been commented on by Mamak (1973), Nayacakalou (1963), Ward (1961b), and Watters (1969a and b). New Caledonian Melanesian mobility has been less intensively studied, although Feugnet (1951), Guiart (1963a) and McTaggart (1962, 1963, 1972) have discussed aspects of movement to Nouméa.
Pacific Islands (TTPI).* In addition to movement to towns within their respective territories, Cook Islanders and Western Samoans have had access to an additional range of urban destinations in New Zealand, while a great number of American Samoans have settled in Hawaii and cities on the Pacific coast of the United States. Step-wise migration from outer-island, to local town, and thence to metropolis in either New Zealand or the United States has been a very common pattern of movement in these territories since the Second World War.

The circular mobility transition identified in the New Hebrides has limited relevance in Polynesian and Micronesian contexts. Extensive contract labour migration has not been important in a number of these island groups, partly because non-indigenous commercial plantation agriculture never assumed the role it did in Melanesia. Where large plantations did exist, as in the case of Western Samoa, contract employment was rarely undertaken by Samoans; such work was considered degrading and inferior compared with village agriculture. Only in two of the territories have significant numbers of indigenes, over a lengthy period, engaged in the circular form of contract labour migration described for the New Hebrides -- the Cook Islands and the GEIC. In both cases it has involved movement of labourers to the sites of phosphate mining enterprises -- Cook Islanders to Makatea in French Polynesia and Gilbertese and Ellice Islanders to Ocean Island (GEIC) and Nauru. The former movement has now ceased; the latter continues today but will decline in magnitude when Ocean Island’s phosphate reserves are exhausted in the next five years or so.**

* Specific studies of contemporary mobility in these territories are relatively few. However Maude (1965), Sevele (1973), and Walsh (1964, 1969a and b) have commented on aspects of Tongan mobility; Fairbairn (1961 and 1967), Kearns (1965), McArthur (1964 and 1967), Pirie (1970), and Pirie and Barrett (1962) on Samoan migration; Fages (1971), Fages et al. (1970), Finney (1965), and Kay (1963) on movement in French Polynesia; Allen (1969), Curson (1968, 1970a and b, 1972), Hooper (1961a and b), and Ward (1961a) on the situation in the Cook Islands; Bedford (1968) on the GEIC; and McGrath (1972) on parts of the TTPI.

** Another relatively minor movement of Islanders on specific contracts, at the end of which has usually been repatriation to their home islands, is the periodic recruitment of Gilbertese for employment on plantations and in a fishing industry in the New Hebrides. This movement, initiated in the late 1950s continued until 1970, but the numbers involved were small; between 1960 and 1970 less than 800 Gilbertese entered the New Hebrides on contract employment (Bedford, 1971:101-4).
While a transitional sequence in mobility patterns has not been clearly identified in these territories, the available literature suggests that intensification of spatial mobility during the past 80 to 100 years has seen a growth in both circular migration and permanent relocation. The circular component in mobility was certainly predominant in the pre-war period; the very slow growth in urban-based indigenous populations indicates this. In the past two decades in particular, however, there has been a rapid expansion in the scale of government activity and investment in Polynesia and Micronesia. Projects to improve education and medical services, promote agricultural and industrial development and, in recent years, tourism, have increased urban employment opportunities.

The demand for both skilled and unskilled labour has grown, and training courses in a wide variety of technical fields have resulted in some occupational specialisation in the indigenous labour force. Policies of raising wages and, in some areas, offering social security benefits have encouraged a greater commitment to residence outside rural communities. Thus Finney (1965:286) argued that the increasing demand for labour in French Polynesia in the 1950s and the introduction of a family benefit scheme (allocations families) for those engaged solely in wage employment have resulted in a growing commitment among Tahitians to urban-based labouring and residence. In the case of Tonga, Sevele (1973) has stressed that concentration of investment on one island, Tongatapu, has created regional disparities in opportunity for deriving a cash income which has stimulated permanent migration to this island. However, rural-urban migration in Tonga is not resulting in the creation of a large, wage-dependent proletariat on Tongatapu; rather an urban-based 'peasantry' is emerging with a large proportion of the migrant population deriving a livelihood through cash cropping or manipulation of the traditional system of reciprocal exchange (Walsh 1964 and 1969a; Sevele 1973). Contact with kinsmen in rural communities on other islands is maintained and periodic returns to former village homes are not uncommon.

It was noted in Chapter 1 that Pacific towns have been growing rapidly in recent years; a rural-urban drift is evident in population censuses of all territories. But as McTaggart (1972:294) has mentioned, 'a certain dichotomy has been noted in the indigenous populations of several major towns, where it is possible to distinguish between the permanent and settled elements on the one hand, and a temporary element
on the other'. In the Melanesian territories of Papua New Guinea, the BSIP, and the New Hebrides the temporary element is still predominant. In Fiji, New Caledonia, and the Polynesian and Micronesian territories the proportions of long-term urban residents are higher and, in some areas, increasing rapidly. However, the rural-urban drift in these territories is by no means all a one-way movement; circular migration, as defined in Chapter 1, is still significant. Given the slow growth in employment opportunities in towns such as Nuku'alofa (Tonga), Apia (Western Samoa), Tarawa (the GEIC), and Avarua (the Cook Islands), such circular movement is likely to remain an important component in indigenous mobility systems. A situation, which is currently emerging in the New Hebrides, where there are permanently settled rural and urban populations, and a large bi-local population circulating between village and town, has been in existence for some time in Polynesian and Micronesian territories. The indications are that this situation will continue given that much contemporary mobility is for social and not economic reasons.

Thus, while the precise structure of the circular migration transition outlined for the New Hebrides has relevance only in some Melanesian territories, the notion of a persistence in circular migration during the 150 years of protracted European contact in the Pacific is basic to an understanding of indigenous mobility in all Island groups. The significance of land ownership, a determination to retain certain traditional social and political institutions, and the existence of a range of alternatives for deriving a livelihood in either rural or urban locations have tended to maintain the position of rural communities as places of permanent and temporary residence for Islanders. The trend towards more permanent settlement in towns will undoubtedly continue but, as suggested with reference to the New Hebrides, this will not mean any decrease in significance of circular migration per se. Circulation between town and village will continue even though the urban area rather than the rural community will be regarded by a growing number of migrants as their permanent home and centre of most economic and social activity.

Migration in sub-Saharan Africa

Although it is beyond the scope of this monograph to undertake an extensive cross-cultural review of recent trends in mobility patterns, the
nature of changes which have been identified in a number of Pacific territories have certain features in common with another formerly colonial area -- sub-Saharan Africa. Passing reference to such similarities has been made by one prominent writer on African mobility (Mitchell, 1969a:177). This examination of the relevance of the circular migration transition in a broader spatial context, can be concluded by drawing some comparisons with changes in indigenous mobility in a number of African countries during the colonial period.*

In terms of the sequence of changes in circular migration outlined for the New Hebrides, the greatest similarities can be found in the former British colonies in eastern and southern Africa. In these countries colonial intrusion and European settlement in the 1880s initiated a number of changes in African mobility. Unlike the traditional, or pre-colonial situation in the Pacific islands, many African tribes have a long history of population movement over fairly extensive spatial domains -- nomadism in the dry interiors, pilgrimages associated with Islam, slavery, trading networks, and tribal warfare and relocation led to considerable mobility for certain groups (Hance, 1970:130). These traditional forms of movement were affected by European political intervention in a number of ways. Attempts to control inter-tribal warfare and to delimit indigenous reserves had the effect of restricting the mobility of certain groups (especially the nomadic tribes) and favouring relocation of others. One of the major population movements in East Africa during the colonial period was, according to Southall (1961:161), the shifting of groups from remote and relatively inaccessible highland areas which formerly offered protection against the nomadic pastoralists, to more accessible lowlands.

While certain traditional forms of movement were disrupted by colonial intrusion, the major effect of protracted European intervention in Africa was to stimulate widespread circular labour migration -- the form of mobility

* There is considerable literature on aspects of population movement in colonial Africa. A recent review, covering the major types of mobility, is contained in Hance (1970:129-208). Gugler (1968 and 1969) and Mitchell (1959 and 1969a) have critically assessed contributions on circular labour migration during the colonial period, while bibliographies of relevant literature are contained in Panofsky (1963) and Pryor (1971). In the brief survey of changes in characteristics of African mobility presented here no attempt is made to provide a comprehensive review of existing literature; the intention is merely to draw attention to some similarities between trends in indigenous population movement in this area and the Pacific Islands over the past century.
that has received most attention in literature on African population movement.* In the case of circular labour migration in eastern and southern Africa it is possible to identify a series of phases which can be related, in part, to those described for the New Hebrides. The development of major mineral extraction industries in Zambia, Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa generated a demand for a considerable indigenous workforce. Local supplies could not suffice and from the earliest years of colonial rule extensive international labour migration was common. Initially some form of compulsion to seek employment outside local areas was used to secure an adequate supply of African labour -- the most common method being the imposition of a hut or head tax which had to be paid in silver (Wallerstein, 1965). Short-term migration to acquire money for taxes appears to have become institutionalised very quickly in many African societies, and the taxation system had the effect of generating a source of labour over entire countries.**

Recruiting agencies sought labour for the mines throughout sub-Saharan Africa, and a massive international movement of contract workers became commonplace from the late nineteenth century. There were regulations governing this movement between countries; in British territories in eastern and southern Africa workers were required to return to their homelands after two or three years in employment before re-engaging for a further period. The major reasons for such a control on recruited labour were to ensure the source areas did not suffer unduly from the out-migration of a considerable proportion of their adult male labour force, and to discourage the movement of entire families to towns and industrial centres. In a number of African countries, as in certain

* There are numerous studies of circular labour migration associated with African employment in rural and urban areas. In addition to the papers mentioned earlier, studies by the following offer explanations of circularity in mobility for specific groups or areas, and comment on the effects such movement has had on social and economic activities in the migrant's 'home' communities: Barbour (1965), Berg (1965), Elkan and Fallers (1960), Gulliver (1955 and 1960), Hill (1961 and 1963), Houghton (1958), Mitchell (1961), Prothero (1957, 1962, 1964), Read (1942), Richards (1954), Schapera (1947), Skinner (1960 and 1965), Southall (1961), Udo (1964), Watson (1958), and van Velsen (1960).

** This method of inducing indigenes to seek wage employment was also adopted in the Pacific Islands, especially the Melanesian territories of Papua New Guinea, The BSIP, and Fiji (under the Cakabau government).
Pacific territories, there were deliberate policies to prevent permanent settlement of migrant labour in urban areas.* These policies obviously reinforced the circular migration system, and perpetuated the strong sex imbalance in the migrant streams.

By the 1920s, the necessity to actively recruit labour for work in urban areas had diminished considerably. As in the New Hebrides, the desire to acquire non-indigenous material goods and experience life outside the social domain of the village diffused rapidly and different attitudes towards migration emerged. Voluntary labour increased considerably in significance in the 1930s leading to a more flexible system of movement between rural and urban locations (Berg, 1965). However, again in common with the New Hebrides, this movement remained essentially circular. Regulations controlling acquisition of land and African settlement in towns, policies of paying low wages to migrant labour, and deliberate attempts by the latter to maintain sources of economic and social security in rural communities, ensured that permanent migration remained more the exception than the rule in eastern and southern Africa.

In addition to this temporary movement of Africans to towns and mines there was considerable mobility associated with employment on European and indigenous farms. The major destinations in this movement were the fertile crescent in Uganda, the White Highlands of Kenya, the sisal producing areas of Tanzania, and the clove orchards of Zanzibar (Hance, 1970:152-3). Much of this rural labour migration was seasonal; the main cash crops (cotton, coffee, cloves) required additional labour for harvesting only. However, in Uganda especially many migrants were given access to land which they farmed on a rental or share-cropping basis. The willingness of local farmers to accept migrants in these areas is related not only to the need for labour at harvesting periods, but to a desire to avoid physical labour, in part for reasons of prestige (Hance, 1970:153).

In the post-war period, and especially since independence in some of these countries, there have been significant changes in the pattern of circular labour migration. A trend in major mining areas such as the Copperbelt has been towards increasing stabilisation in migrant populations.

* Mitchell (1961 and 1969a) and Elkan (1964 and 1967) have discussed some of these policies in the context of labour migration in eastern and southern Africa.
Mitchell (1972:164) reported that in the early 1950s between forty and forty-five per cent of adult men in two Copperbelt towns had spent two-thirds of their adult lives in towns; they had moved within and between urban areas rather than circulating between town and village. In a similar way, migration to some rural destinations was also becoming more permanent. In Kenya, for example, European planters in the White Highlands were providing housing and farm plots to families, especially those from areas where increasing rural population densities had created severe land shortages and excessive farm fragmentation.

The growing stability among migrant populations in towns is due to a number of factors. In the 1950s and 1960s migration to urban areas has become increasingly intensive in East Africa, leading to significant unemployment. One effect of this has been to keep Africans who already have jobs from returning to their villages for a short period for fear of being unable to obtain employment when they move back to the town (Gugler, 1969). A major factor behind the rising rural-urban drift has been the shift in advantage of economic opportunities from rural to urban areas. Gugler (1969:144) has noted that while prices for export crops have declined over a number of years, minimum wage legislation has been introduced in many countries. With independence the wages of urban unskilled labour have risen sharply. A disparity has thus been created, not only between peasant incomes and the wages of urban labour, but also between the latter and wage rates in other cash-earning sectors such as agricultural employment. In addition, Hance (1970:181) has argued that with increasing education African youth feel that farm work is no longer an appropriate occupation. Town life is seen as offering greater prospects for social and economic advancement especially as a very conspicuous African elite is resident in such areas.

Recent literature on African rural-urban mobility is thus stressing growing stabilisation in migrant populations in towns.* Only in South Africa and, to a lesser extent, Southern Rhodesia and Angola, are Africans prohibited from permanently residing in certain towns and, even in these

---

* In the contexts of eastern and southern Africa such a situation has been mentioned in studies by Elkan (1960, 1964, 1967), Epstein (1958 and 1967), Mayer (1961 and 1962), Mitchell (1969b and 1972), Powdermaker (1962), and Southall and Gutkind (1957).
areas, urban-based migrant populations are much more stabilised than previously. This is certainly true of migrants whose rural homes are some hundreds of miles from their workplaces. For those who can readily travel to their former communities much circulation between town and village continues. But as with a growing number of migrants in urban areas in the Pacific islands, the town rather than the village is the centre of most social and economic activity. Gugler (1969) has argued that even though urban labour forces have become more stable, and many migrants now seem committed to full working lives in towns, a significant number continue to maintain close links with rural 'homes'; 'urban dwellers regularly visit their rural homes where they make gifts, find wives, maintain land rights, build houses, intend to retire eventually, want to be buried'. Such a situation is not dissimilar to that currently emerging in Melanesia.

This very general survey of changes in mobility in eastern and southern African countries during the colonial period has revealed a transitional sequence in circular migration. While there are some differences in the nature of the phases that can be identified in this sequence and those described for the New Hebrides, it is apparent that a transition from rigidly controlled contract labour migration to a system of more intensive voluntary movement to and from rural and urban centres of wage employment has occurred. In West Africa such a transition is not so apparent in the available literature on mobility in the colonial period. Circular labour migration has been important in these countries; especially the seasonal movement of peasants from the savanna regions during the dry period to harvest cash crops in the forested zones of Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Nigeria.

Less restrictive policies governing settlement by indigenes in towns which, in some areas existed before colonial intrusion, have, however, favoured long-term residence by migrants in West African urban areas. In the Katanga mines in Zaire (the Congo), a stabilised migrant labour force was encouraged by the former Belgian administration. Hance (1970:151-2) has reported that there was a major decline in labour turnover in these areas during the 1920s due largely to the allocation of land to migrants who could then establish a stable life in their own homes. While this trend towards more permanent settlement in towns has been disrupted by
political instability in the post-colonial period in a number of West African countries, several studies have indicated that circular labour migration is much less common in this part of Africa than in countries to the east and south.*

Circular migration from a rural base in many African countries has thus proved to be essentially a transitional form of mobility which has, over varying periods of time in different places, been replaced by more permanent rural-urban drift. Only in those areas where government policies prevent long-term settlement of Africans outside their home areas, does circular labour migration remain the predominant form of population movement. On the basis of this evidence it appears that, where not controlled by legislation, increasing migration to towns will inevitably be associated with the early phases of modernisation. With continual exposure to the manifold forces of the market-exchange economy towns become centres of attraction to a growing number of rural-dwellers. The rising disparities between rural and urban wage rates have encouraged more extensive drift to the towns; a situation not dissimilar to that which occurred in England during the industrial revolution. However, in both the Pacific Islands and a number of African countries without an urban tradition, there has been a significant lag in the shift from a circular form of mobility to townward migration per se. In this regard these countries have experienced a somewhat different transitional sequence in their patterns of population movement during the early stages of modernisation, to that which has been identified in European countries.

Circular migration and modernisation

Understanding a transition in patterns of circular migration has only been possible through continual reference to changes in indigenous societies and their economies during the colonial period. Demands for labour and crops outside the spatial domains of the local group have been major catalysts of developments to which the different patterns of circular migration have been one response. As Soja (1968:3-4) has pointed out, 'colonialism had the effect of creating a new and stronger pattern of

circulation within larger units of organization'. Admittedly, the dynamic inter-relationships between mobility and socio-economic change, in particular, have not been articulated here, but the transition in circular migration in the New Hebrides has been seen to be very closely linked with a transition in indigenous economic activity.

To this extent it could be argued that some functional relationship exists between a mobility transition and 'modernisation'. If modernisation in the colonial context is considered to be the processes of social, demographic, economic, and political change whereby non-European societies acquire characteristics of the 'developed' countries (Lerner, 1968:386-7), it cannot be denied that some measure of modernisation has occurred in the New Hebrides over the past 150 years, and that changes in mobility patterns during this period are related to these. The gradual emergence of a national economy and society with increasing participation in a market-exchange economy, the development of urban centres, and the growing differentiation among people with educational and occupational skills which have little relevance to life in villages -- all changes associated with modernisation in Europe -- have been, and still are, occurring in the New Hebrides. Changes in mobility patterns have obviously been linked to these developments. To understand the transition it is necessary to take cognizance of the complex of changes grouped under the label of 'modernisation'.

* Modernisation has been defined in a number of ways; Black (1966:186-99) has reviewed some of these. The term is used here in a broad context to include several inter-related processes which have influenced the organisation of societies over the past three centuries in particular. The change from relatively simple, traditional techniques towards the application of scientific knowledge, the evolution from subsistence farming towards commercial production of agricultural and non-agricultural goods, and the movement of population from rural to urban areas have profoundly influenced the social structure of most societies (Smelser, 1968:126). It is not proposed to discuss the manifold implications of this worldwide process of social and economic change -- these have been outlined elsewhere. Some of the social aspects of modernisation are revived by Lerner (1968), and Smelser (1968); economic changes by Myint (1964), Myrdal (1957), and Rostow (1960); political transformations by Apter (1965), and Coleman (1968); demographic transitions by Cowgill (1963), Davis (1963), and Friedlander (1969); and spatial manifestations by Brookfield (1973), Gould (1970), Riddell (1970), and Soja (1968).
Such an argument has been recently articulated in a broader context by Zelinsky (1971). As noted earlier, Zelinsky has proposed that certain regularities, which comprise an essential component of the modernization process, can be recognised in the changing patterns of human spatial mobility in recent history. Although his proposition is based largely on the historical experiences of 'developed' countries, he does draw some evidence, and support, for his postulated sequence of changes from African and Asian societies. His transitional sequence is intended as a flexible scheme which affords a general overview of a variety of places and periods, and he states (1971:221) that 'the proposed generalizations seem logical in the light of current geographic and demographic doctrine. They also survive testing with what fragmentary evidence is readily available, but a more searching examination of a greater range of data is clearly in order'. In the context of the latter statement it is useful to examine Zelinsky's proposition concerning relationships between migration and modernisation in the light of evidence presented in this study on changes in mobility in the New Hebrides and a range of Pacific and African territories.

Migration and modernisation: some general comments

Accompanying the agrarian and industrial revolutions which had their origins in Western Europe some three centuries ago, has been a major redistribution of population associated with the growth of towns, and a complete transformation in patterns of human activity in rural and urban areas. Changes in characteristics of spatial mobility have been recognised as being functionally linked with this modernisation; they are not merely responses to agricultural reorganisation, industrialisation, and urbanisation, but are necessary for these developments. Commercialisation of agriculture and the growth of extractive and manufacturing industries generated demands for labour in specific areas. One response to these changing economic circumstances was labour migration. Initially much of this movement was circular, but as occupational and educational specialisations became more diverse and the range of alternatives for deriving a livelihood increased, ties to specific localities were weakened. Migration to and between urban and industrial centres, rather than a circular movement between rural communities and towns or mine sites, became more important as European countries modernised.
Accompanying these revolutionary economic developments were major changes in population dynamics. The well-known 'demographic transition' is an integral part of the modernisation process as experienced in European countries. Declines in mortality (followed somewhat later by a drop in fertility) resulted in rapid population growth during the transition to commercial agriculture; rural densities began increasing at rates exceeding the demand for farm labour, and the necessary conditions were created for extensive migration. A close relationship between population dynamics and a sequence of changes in patterns of mobility is hinted at by Friedlander (1969), and Zelinsky outlines his mobility transition using a framework of phases developed for the demographic transition. He argues that 'for any specific community the course of the mobility transition closely parallels that of the demographic transition' (Zelinsky, 1971:222).

Three major changes in patterns of population movement associated with modernisation have been recognised. The first is the movement of agriculturalists to new farming areas within their country or overseas. Advances in agricultural and transport technologies have made possible the utilisation of formerly marginal land which was either unsuitable for existing crops or too isolated from the major markets for surplus produce. Included in this movement to rural settlement frontiers was a major international migration from Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Oceania, and the establishment of colonial empires based largely on exploitation of natural resources. This type of mobility is associated primarily with the second phase of the mobility and demographic transitions -- a time when populations in Europe were increasing rapidly.*

The second major change in mobility patterns, also characteristic of the second phases of the two transitions, has taken the form of a rural-urban drift accompanying industrialisation. Again this has been both internal and international migration, resulting in the redistribution of considerable sections of a country's population from farming communities to towns and cities. The third major change, characteristic of the third

---

The first phase in Zelinsky's basic four-phase sequence, refers to mobility in traditional sedentary societies. He suggests movement at this stage is primarily circular, given various social and economic constraints on permanent relocation in tribal and peasant societies with subsistence or semi-subsistence economies.
and fourth phases of the mobility transition, has naturally followed on from the drift to towns, and takes the form of movement within and between urban areas. With the decline in rural populations, the major streams of migration have been between towns and, at a more localised scale, intra-urban movement.*

Two essential aspects of mobility undergo change with modernisation: first in spatial characteristics in terms of locations of migrant origins and destinations, and second in the ever-increasing proclivity to movement among all sectors of the population. Thus, an essential component of modernisation in any society is, according to Zelinsky (1971:247), a transition from localised, predominantly circular spatial mobility in traditional agricultural societies, towards very intensive migration and circulation in highly interactive social systems such as those in contemporary Western Europe and North America. All forms of circulation and migration have increased in intensity and the mobility transition, as Zelinsky argues, chronicles a trajectory from low to high values accompanying the widening range of options for locating and deriving a livelihood outside specific spatial and social domains.

New Hebridean circular migration and the mobility transition

The transition in circular migration in the New Hebrides has certain features in common with Zelinsky's more generalised mobility transition. In the first place, a spatio-temporal diffusion process has been the underlying mechanism in both transitions. Coherent periods in movement behaviour have diffused outward through space from focal points of development as traditional society was virtually forced to change through increasing contact with more modern cultures. Different areas have progressed through the various phases of the transitions at different times and rates because of the spread of information and technology from more developed areas to those still in the early stages of modernisation. As Zelinsky has stated, some sort of learning process is operative which results in a general acceleration and telescoping of phases. Thus, while

*Zelinsky's transitional sequence includes a fifth phase but this relates to an hypothesised 'future super-advanced society', and will not be considered further here. Reference to the 'mobility transition' is made in the context of the first four phases.
the basic sequence of changes is generally maintained, the temporal
dimension of the transitions will vary according to the time and circum-
stances under which modernisation is initiated in an area. This has
been seen in the case of the New Hebrides, where various areas have
proceeded through the circular migration transition at different times
and rates. By the late 1950s, however, the third phase in the circular
migration transition was common in all parts of the Group -- those areas
in which the first and second phases were initiated later had caught up
with the others through a telescoping of time required for the earlier
phases to run their courses.

The second area of general agreement between the two transitions
is that changes in spatial characteristics of individual mobility, together
with a growing proclivity towards movement among the population, form the
basis for both sequences. An essential component of Zelinsky's sequence,
the transition from localised, predominantly circular mobility, towards
a situation where movements (temporary and permanent) between distant
places are more frequent and common, is also relevant in the case of the
New Hebrides. It was demonstrated in Chapter 2 that inter-island mobility
has become increasingly intensive in the post-contact period and, although
most of this movement is still circular, a more highly interactive social
system is undoubtedly emerging in the New Hebrides.

A third feature common to both transitions is the necessity to take
cognizance of the complex social and economic changes subsumed under the
general label of 'modernisation' in order to understand the sequences of
change in patterns of population movement. Underlying any explanation
of changes in mobility in Europe over the past three centuries, and in the
New Hebrides during the contact period is, as noted earlier, an appreciation
of the growth of the market-exchange economy and its manifold influences on
economic, social, and political activity. Zelinsky examines the complex
inter-relationships between modernisation and mobility from traditional
to so-called 'modern' society; the circular migration transition covers
changes in mobility during the early stages of his transition. Conditions
favouring the third and fourth phases such as high rates of urbanisation,
well-developed central place hierarchies within which are the major streams
of migration, and widespread commitment to the market exchange economy have
not evolved in the Pacific territories to date.
The transition outlined for the New Hebrides is therefore relevant in the context of Zelinsky's 'early transitional', or second phase. His 'pre-modern' phase is equivalent to the pre-contact period defined for the New Hebrides where oscillatory movement is the predominant form of mobility. The 'early transitional' phase is initiated by the onset of modernisation which Zelinsky (1971:236) has loosely defined as 'a major change in the reproductive budget -- along with a general rise in material welfare or expectations and improvements in transport and communications'. Rapid population growth accompanying declining mortality rates is characteristic of this phase, and mobility is dominated by widespread internal and external migration to urban areas and colonisation frontiers. Various forms of circulation also increase in intensity, but Zelinsky argues that migration involving permanent relocation is usually the most important form of movement.

In the New Hebrides and other Pacific territories protracted European contact initiated the various conditions Zelinsky mentions as favouring the 'onset of modernisation'. There were major changes in the 'reproductive budgets' in Pacific societies. Initially populations appear to have experienced some decline as mortality rates fluctuated considerably with the introduction of alien diseases; later increases became predominant as European administrations introduced more effective medical facilities and services. By the 1960s annual rates of natural increase were between 2.5 and 3.5 per cent per annum in all territories and, in terms of their growth and age structures, Pacific populations are in the second stage of the 'demographic transition'. In addition to these demographic changes there have been major improvements in transport and communications within and between islands, revolutionary developments in economic and social activity, and a widespread rise in material demands and expectations among indigenous populations.

However, the dominant forms of population movement associated with Zelinsky's second phase have not been common in the Pacific. Circumstances have favoured considerable international migration (as distinct from circular labour migration) from only two areas: the Cook Islands and American Samoa. Permanent overseas settlement of a significant proportion of people from other island groups is not possible given strict immigration controls in Pacific territories and neighbouring metropolitan countries.
Various factors have inhibited the development of industrial economies in the Pacific Islands. A number of these have already been mentioned: limited resources, small populations, the exploitative nature of European commercial activity which is directed towards serving external rather than internal markets and interests, the long-held view that indigenes should be discouraged from settling in towns, and the existence of a range of alternatives Islanders can utilise to satisfy their varied needs. Consequently permanent rural-urban migration has not been a major form of movement.

Despite rapid population growth in many territories over the past thirty years, a condition of 'subsistence affluence' still exists in most island groups. Traditional subsistence activities provide ample goods, adequate shelter, and the means for maintaining indigenous social and economic institutions at the cost of two or three days work a week (Fisk, 1970:31). From this secure base Islanders venture into the monetary economy, either through cash cropping or wage labour, with the knowledge that they can derive a livelihood outside these activities if they have to. Such a situation, in which a number of options for economic activity are kept open, can be interpreted as a reaction by Islanders to what they perceive to be an uncertain economic world. Although demands for their crops and labour have been relatively persistent, major fluctuations in the markets for both have left indelible marks on indigenous suppliers (Watters, 1970:127). Brookfield (1972:22) has suggested that Islanders have adopted a 'risk-minimizing' strategy to changing economic circumstances. It was argued in Chapter 3 that this favours circular migration rather than permanent relocation.

Zelinsky (1971:236) made allowance for a delay in development of migratory streams characterising the second phase of his mobility transition when he stated: 'the slack in the traditional rural economy may have been sufficient to permit substantial growth in the labour force before saturation caused a spilling outward of the unemployable'. In the case of the Pacific islands a situation of rural subsistence affluence in many areas has certainly favoured the persistence of circular migration and, with the limited scope for migration overseas and slow growth in employment opportunities in local towns, such a pattern of movement seems likely to continue.
A sequential change in circular migration can be incorporated into Zelinsky's transition as an alternative to the major forms of movement characteristic of his second phase. Zelinsky (1971:236) implied the possibility of such alternatives when he noted that rural dwellers may have neither the inclination nor the opportunity to leave their localities permanently; consequently some compromise to out-migration must be adopted. Circular migration is one compromise which has been very significant in a number of non-western societies undergoing modernisation. If a transition in circular migration can be considered an alternative to Zelinsky's second phase, the question arises as to the likely occurrence of changes in mobility characteristic of his third and fourth phases in such areas. Until the bulk of the population is urban-resident, patterns of movement common in the later phases will not become predominant. Consequently in societies where there is a long tradition of circular migration during the early stages of modernisation there is a lag in the development of conditions favouring advanced phases in the mobility transition.

Zelinsky (1971:241-2) appreciated this problem when he noted that, in terms of mobility or other phenomena, we do not know what ensues when a society has progressed through the period of rapid population growth associated with the second phase of the demographic transition without a significant movement of people to towns. For such countries, some of which will undoubtedly experience considerable population pressure on available agricultural resources, Zelinsky designated 'a deliberately vague purgatory entitled "demographic relapse: with unspecified vital and migrational characteristics". It has been argued that in the case of Pacific societies rates of rural-urban migration will increase rapidly. But with the high degree of primacy in most territories permanent movement between towns will not become important unless there are changes in existing immigration policies. It seems likely that circulation between town and country will be more significant than inter-urban migration.

These conclusions do not invalidate Zelinsky's initial proposition that patterns of mobility undergo sequential change with modernisation. It is suggested, however, that there is no one transitional sequence applicable to all societies, even though there is inter-dependence between mobility and socio-economic changes associated with modernisation. The manner in which these relationships are manifested in movement behaviour,
particularly in the early stages of modernisation, is very much dependent on the society in which change occurs. One conclusion which has emerged from attempts to apply stage-type models, such as the 'mobility transition', 'demographic transition', and 'stages of economic growth', is that considerable variation must be expected in the actual form of the transitional phases and in the processes which activate and terminate them. It is thus more realistic to conceive of a number of transitional sequences with different explanatory frameworks providing the necessary linkages between pattern and process.

On this note it is convenient to return to a statement made in the introduction to this study, that a more vigorous systems-theoretic approach to the analysis of population movement is required. Such a conclusion was also reached by Zelinsky (1971:248-9) when he stressed that 'a truly penetrating analysis of (the mobility) transition must ultimately resort to the general-systems approach'. Although Mabogunje (1970) has outlined a scheme for considering African rural-urban migration in a systems-theoretic framework, only peripheral contributions have been made in this direction. In future research into the dynamic inter-relationships between mobility and modernisation such an approach could be adopted with advantage; in terms of analysis and synthesis it seems to have great potential.
APPENDIX 1

SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Definition of 'a migration'

In compiling histories of New Hebrideans' previous mobility some definition for 'a migration' had to be adopted. As the focus of inquiry was on inter-island migration, a simple spatial definition such as movement over a given minimum distance could not be used. Accordingly a temporal definition was adopted. However, a major problem emerged when attempting to select a minimum time in residence on another island which was meaningful in the New Hebridean context. Many Islanders seemed to measure past time more in terms of ecological or sociological cycles than calendar time, and such cycles were not amenable to standardisation.

Measurement of time in illiterate societies is conducted from a number of different and often unrelated standpoints. Vansina (1965: 100-2) mentioned three 'standards' of measurement used in tribal societies -- that based on ecological data (climatic and plant cycles, behaviour of animals), that based on recurrent events in the social system (initiation and grading ceremonies, marketing and trading, inter-group relations), and that based on periods divided, say, by group migrations or village relocations. Ecological time is essentially cyclic and seldom spans periods exceeding a year or agricultural season. Sociological time may extend some generations into the past and also tends to be cyclic relating to life cycle events of individuals. Time measured in terms of major events in tribal history will vary considerably in its temporal depth. As Vansina argued, all three ways of measuring time coexist within the same society, and there is generally a lack of co-ordination between the various systems of time reckoning. New Hebrideans, as with other tribal peoples without a tradition of writing, appear to use all three methods of estimating time.

After some experiment, it was decided that a sufficiently high proportion of respondents themselves drew a rough distinction between short-term and long-term absences on the basis of whether or not they exceeded wan manis -- the pidgin-English expression for one month. For the majority of respondents, especially those in the rural areas, absences from place of permanent residence of this duration were
sufficiently infrequent to make them readily memorable; 'a migration' was thus defined arbitrarily as a stated change in residence lasting more than a month.* Moves for this length of time were generally in response to different needs to those which took New Hebrideans away from their islands for a few days. Short-term social visits, hunting and fishing trips, participation in ceremonial activities, and cultivation of gardens on neighbouring islands were thus excluded from consideration with this definition of 'a migration'.

Migration histories

Inquiry into migration histories alone would have proved difficult among such garrulous respondents as the New Hebrideans, and it was soon found both more convenient and more informative to adopt a whole life history approach. Information was obtained on education, marriage, family, and occupational histories as well as on past migrations. Failure to recall particular migrations was thus minimised, and it was also easier to put the movements into a correct sequence, and to date them more precisely in terms of the individual's life span; dating of migrations in calendar terms did not prove feasible.**

Initially attempts were made to obtain an assessment of motives for past migrations, but it quickly became clear that *post facto* rationalisations dominated the responses. Richards (1954:52-76) in her study of immigrant labour in Buganda stressed that motives adduced by migrants may hide, rather than reveal, underlying causes for movement. Not only do memories get blurred, but a concrete objective or some dramatic event may stand out in some migrant's narrative, rather than the cumulative effects of hopes and fears which are probably the real causes pushing a man to leave his home. Given these problems all that could be done in the case of New Hebridean migration was to assume motives on the basis of type of destination and activity followed there. This was easy enough when the activity was education or the receipt of

---

* Initially it was hoped to use an absence of two weeks to define 'a migration'. However, it was quickly found to be impractical to expect people to be able to recall past moves which had taken them to other islands for such a short period.

** The problems of evaluating information derived through life histories have recently been discussed by Balan *et al.* (1969:104-5).
medical aid, but more difficult in the majority of cases when it was some form of wage employment. The reason given was, invariably, to obtain money, but this rationalisation solely in terms of an economic motive is unlikely to represent the whole truth.

Undoubtedly some understatement occurred of the total migration experience of old people but, as Balan et al. (1969:110), observed, 'the emphasis on sequence and temporal congruity no doubt served to reduce the probability of their forgetting a change of status or getting it out of sequence'. In the New Hebridean context, with no records available apart from a single recent census and isolated administrative reports of disasters or other unusual events, the only alternative was actually to observe the pattern of movements in and out of selected communities over as long a period as possible. Chapman (1970) adopted this method to analyse movements on Guadalcanal but was thereby forced to restrict his inquiries to two small villages. Greater depth and accuracy most certainly resulted, but as the problem under consideration here was framed within a wider spatial context, accuracy and depth of explanation had to be sacrificed in the interests of scale. This is, of course, no more than the traditional dilemma of geographical inquiry, especially when carried out in countries where records are scanty and there is a high rate of illiteracy among respondents.

The population surveyed

Migration histories were collected for two groups of New Hebrideans. The first of these has been termed the 'stayer' population consisting of those who considered their place of enumeration their permanent home. This group included Tongoans, Emaeans, and Makurans over fifteen years of age living in their villages, and a small group of these Islanders interviewed in Vila. The second group, the 'mover' population, comprised those people from the three islands in temporary residence in selected communities in Vila, as well as some New Hebrideans from other islands in the Group living temporarily on Tongoa, Emae, and Makura. Most of this latter group of seventy-eight adults were employees of the missions or French and British administrations, working in schools, the hospital on Tongoa, or as secretaries in the co-operative marketing and retailing societies on Tongoa and Emae.
Use of the expressions 'mover' and 'stayer', rather than 'migrant' and 'non-migrant', was a deliberate attempt to avoid associations usually ascribed to the latter. In most cross-sectional surveys a population is divided into migrant and non-migrant groups on the basis of either of two criteria. Migrants are either classified as persons living outside their places of birth, or who have been resident in a given location less than a prescribed period, usually twelve months. Neither of these definitions is helpful in the New Hebridean context. The place of birth may refer to a hospital some distance from place of childhood or present residence, and a twelve-month residence criterion has little relevance in a situation characterised by circular mobility. Persons who had recently returned to their true homes would thus be termed 'migrants' and this would have little meaning for the present purposes.

While it was possible to record migration histories for all persons over the age of fifteen years who were living away from their permanent homes, it was not feasible to obtain the same information from the larger population of stayers in the villages. Consequently a twenty-five per cent random sample was taken of all households not headed by a temporary resident (Table I). A household, for this purpose, was taken to be the group of people who regularly ate together food prepared in the same

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island/Area</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Individuals over 15 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mover</td>
<td>Stayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emae</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makura</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villa(^a)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Only Tongoan, Emaean, and Makuran households and individuals are considered here. Migration histories were to have been completed for all movers and stayers from these islands in the Villa settlements in January 1970, but in the case of two stayer households with nine adults there were refusals to co-operative in these interviews.

kitchen.* In sixty-nine per cent of the 244 households enumerated on Tongoa and fifty-seven per cent of the 121 on Emae, the household was simply a nuclear family. Only on Makura were over half the households composed of extended and expanded families.**

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was employed to determine the degree to which the samples were representative of the total household universe enumerated for each island (Table II). Only in basic household structure, as defined above, was there any significant deviation between sample and universe. Both on Tongoa and on Emae/Makura (grouped for statistical reasons), there was a tendency for nuclear households to be over-represented, and on the latter islands the sample reached the rejection level on this basis. Since all other indices proved satisfactory, it was decided to ignore this weakness and accept the samples. Migration histories were obtained for nuclear families as units and for all individuals in the sampled households over fifteen years of age. The adult males and females interviewed were not, therefore, a random sample of the population of stayers as a whole. There was, however, no significant difference between the age distribution of the individuals interviewed and the total stayer population (Table II). Since such a difference might have influenced the representativeness of data on migration experience more than other indices, the sample was taken as reasonably satisfactory.

A number of aggregations of the sample populations were considered in the analysis to establish whether there were significant variations

* This definition of a household is the same as that used in the 1967 census (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:68). For the most part, these groups occupied a compound with one or more sleeping houses in close proximity to a cooking house. In some cases male adolescents and widowers, who also ate regularly with this group, slept in houses outside this compound. These individuals were included with the household to which they contributed food and regularly dined with.

** Eighteen per cent of the households on Tongoa and twenty-one per cent on Emae were composed of extended families where kin of direct lineal descent (parents, siblings, grandchildren), of either the head or his wife, were in residence with the nuclear family. Expanded families with collateral kin (cousins, nephews, nieces, and other relatives) living with nuclear family units formed thirteen per cent of the Tongan households and twenty-two per cent of those on Emae. On Makura, only ten of the twenty-six households enumerated were nuclear families -- a further ten were extended families and six expanded families.
Table II: Tests for the validity of household samples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Tongoa</th>
<th></th>
<th>Emae/Makura</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$H_0$ accepted at $\cdot 20$</td>
<td>$\cdot 10$</td>
<td>$\cdot 05$</td>
<td>$\cdot 01$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of head</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status of head $^b$</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in household</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number adults</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number children</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number male adults</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number female adults</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number families</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number adults not in nuclear families</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number children not in nuclear families</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household structure $^b$</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age distribution of individuals $&gt;15$ in sample households</td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$*$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$ The test of similarity between the household sample and the total household universe for Tongoa and for Emae/Makura was the Kilmogorov-Smirnov one sample (two tailed) test as outlined by Siegel (1956, 47-51). Households on Emae and Makura were combined for this analysis in order to meet the requirement of a sample population with a minimum of forty cases. The 'acceptance level' referred to in the table is the level of significance at which the null hypothesis, that there is no significant difference between the sample values and those for the total population and any observed differences are merely chance variations to be expected in a random sample from the population, is not rejected. Thus for the number of children in the sample households and those for the total household population enumerated on Tongoa, there is no significant difference between the two groups at the .10 level but the difference exceeds the maximum value permitted at the .20 level.

$^b$ The chi-square one sample test was used to examine similarities between sample and universe on the basis of marital status and household structure. As the data were in a nominal rather than ordinal form, the Kilmogorov-Smirnov test could not be used.

in the mobility behaviour of different groups. New Hebrideans have been grouped on the basis of their residence status (mover, stayer), sex, age group (under thirty years, thirty years, and older), and the island they consider their permanent place of residence (Tongoans, Emaeans, Makurans, and 'others') (Table III). The first three aggregations refer to the entire sample population of 569 individuals unless otherwise stated. Groupings on the basis of home island and, in certain cases, home village obviously refer to subsets of this population (Table III). In the case of family groups two aggregations were considered: one on the basis of residential status, and the other on the place considered permanent home of the family unit.
Table III: Aggregations of the sample population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individuals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 30 years</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 years and older</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movers</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stayers</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoans</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emaeans</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makurans</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others a</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Families</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movers</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stayers</td>
<td></td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoans</td>
<td></td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emaeans</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makurans</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others a</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Excluding the seventeen individuals and nine families in Vila who claimed the town as their permanent place of residence. This group is comprised of teachers, nurses, co-operative society secretaries, and others whose home islands are not within the south-central New Hebrides.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Hogbin, H.I. and Wedgwood, Camilla (1953). 'Local grouping in Melanesia', Oceania, 23, 241-76.


Mylius, Beth (1971). 'Community development and administration for urban adaption', unpublished paper delivered at the second South Pacific seminar, University of the South Pacific, July 1971, Suva.


Oram, N.D. (1968a). 'Culture change, economic development and migration among the Hula, Oceania, 38, 243-75.


Pryor, R.J. (1971). *Internal migration and urbanisation*, (Monograph Series No. 2, Department of Geography, James Cook University of North Queensland), Townsville.


Shineberg, Dorothy (1967). They came for sandalwood: a study of the sandalwood trade in the south-west Pacific 1830-1865, Melbourne.


