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UNESCO/UNFPA PROJECT ON POPULATION AND ENVIRONMENT
IN THE EASTERN ISLANDS OF FIJI
(Man-and-the Biosphere Programme)

PROJECT WORKING PAPER No.3

KABARA IN THE 1970s:
Dimensions of Dependence in a Contemporary Lauan Society

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Published from the Development Studies Centre,
Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T.

July 1976

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THE UNESCO/UNFPA POPULATION AND ENVIRONMENT PROJECT IN THE EASTERN ISLANDS OF FIJI: A DESCRIPTION

The UNESCO/UNFPA Project was conceived within the framework of the Man-and-the Biosphere Programme of UNESCO, and forms part of Project 7, 'The Ecology and Rational Use of Island Ecosystems'. It was designed as an international project, to be one of a series in different regions of the world, both to feed into, and to provide a measure of design for, national programmes of research into man/biosphere relations. After the agreement of the Government of Fiji was obtained in 1973, the project was funded in 1974, and research began later in the same year. Field work ran through 1975 until mid-1976.

The project has had twin objectives. On the one hand its purpose is to explore the scientific study of human activity in and on specifically defined environments. On the other hand it has also had the objective of providing researched guidelines for policy aimed at optimizing, within the limits of possibility, the satisfactions of life for the people concerned, within the context of rational use of environment. The objectives are not seen as in conflict; the same research programme feeds both aims, and we have sought to demonstrate that scientific research into population and environment can equally serve both 'pure' and 'pragmatic' ends, each being the better for the incorporation of the other. The two general reports of the project, to be published in the MAB Technical Notes Series, will reflect these two faces of our work.

The research team has represented the disciplines of human and physical geography, demography, soil science, marine biology, nutrition, agronomy and agricultural economics. Topics under review have ranged from the fields of soil and vegetation ecology and the impact of natural hazards, through studies of land use and land holding, detailed community studies and the economics of farm-decision making, to regionally-comprehensive studies of production and communication, historical demography and migration. This list is not exhaustive. The emphasis given to different topics, and hence different specialisms, reflects the problems identified in the particular area. The method of research has varied; community studies are best carried out by an individual researcher, but often several specialists have lived and worked together in the field, each pursuing his own line of interest, but constantly interacting, so that almost all members of the project have become aware not only of the work of their colleagues, but also of the methods used and the problems raised.

This project has had a smaller local component than we wished or had planned. In common with many developing countries, Fiji has only a limited pool of skilled specialists, and we were not able to secure the collaboration of certain persons from

whom the project would have gained much. However, we have collaborated very extensively with the field and headquarters staff of three Ministries and have also collaborated, in a real sense, with the populations of the islands in which we have worked.

The design of the project has been governed by the resources available to us. We have carried out some general studies over the whole eastern island area, and several members of the project have been able to tour quite large areas of an oceanic region. However, we have concentrated our efforts principally on two islands, and have worked less intensively on three others. These five islands, respectively Taveuni, Lakeba, Kabara, Koro and Batiki, were chosen to reflect a range of physical types and also of economic development, and of distance - measured in the real terms of access - from the national centres.

For the most part the full evidence of integration of our work will appear only in the general reports. However, a great body of data and discussion cannot be presented in these reports, and we are thus also publishing a series of Project Working Papers, which will contain from one to three reports by individual specialists, or, in a few instances, the collaborative and integrated work of more than one. This series has limited distribution, and its primary purpose is to make our work available quickly in Fiji itself. All Project Working Papers are 'cleared' only with the Chief Technical Adviser; they therefore do not necessarily represent the views of UNESCO or UNFPA, or even of the project as a whole. Responsibility for all statements made and views expressed rests with the author.

Harold Brookfield
Chief Technical Adviser

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

Richard Bedford, the project's consultant on demography and migration, was able to spend three weeks on Kabara late in 1975. He has been followed in 1976 by other project members, and his present statement is therefore simply his own report on a short, but intensive period of field work; further material on Kabara remains yet to be published. He prepared this report, with great speed, for the benefit of his colleagues as well as for wider circulation, but it clearly merits such circulation, and is put out as a single Project Working Paper. The report was in fact written in April, but its publication has been delayed until the series could be firmly established. It is not modified from the form prepared, and given limited circulation, some three months ago.

Bedford, who is a competent generalist as well as a specialist, draws his own conclusions within his report, and there is not much for the editor to add. Bedford emphasises the difficult environment of Kabara, something which is reinforced by Salvat's observation in Project Working Paper No.2 that this island is also unusually poor in fish resources, but also shows how they have been utilized to provide an adequate life for a limited population, especially through trade. He then goes on to demonstrate how the modern dependency on more remote markets exposes Kabara to new hazards, leading also to a deeper dependency than before when the island is smitten by natural disaster.

As he implies, this conclusion applies not only to Kabara but to southern Lau as a whole. Kabara is the remotest of the islands on which we worked in depth, and the problems of small scale, remoteness and limited resources are most strikingly exemplified here. We had planned initially, and even up to quite a late stage, to work also on other such islands, but

events, and then logistics and our own limited resources ruled this out. So Kabara has to stand for much more than we had wished to achieve. The present account, even though based on only a short period of field work, is strikingly comprehensive, and raises many issues that will be aired more fully in our later publications.

This report was written, typed and printed in Christchurch; only the introductory pages and the binding were done in Canberra. Because it was written before the format of the series was established, it does not correspond with that format. However, it seemed wasteful to edit and retype the report to conform with the general style. It should also be mentioned that the two reports of Bayliss-Smith, which are listed in the references, will both appear either in modified form, or in association with other work, in forthcoming issues of these Papers.

Harold Brookfield

PREFACE

This report represents the first stage of analysis and discussion of material I collected while on Kabara for three weeks in October 1975. My intention in presenting a preliminary report is to make available to others working on the UNESCO/UNFPA Project, as well as to Ministries in the Fiji Government, a considerable amount of information relating to aspects of Kabara's population and cash economy at a time when the island is recovering from recent devastating hurricanes and a severe slump in the markets for copra and handicrafts. The whole fabric of Kabaran society and economy has been profoundly affected by a combination of natural disasters and adverse market forces over the past two years. A similar situation existed in the early 1930s when the collapse of the cash economy during the depression was followed by a violent hurricane in 1936. The local response, according to ethnographer Laura Thompson, working in the area at that time, was a return to 'their old life'. Thompson (1940b, 93-94) described this response in the following words:

> Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern islands once more became the centre of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily the natives regained most of their (former) economic independence.

Some forty years later when similar natural disasters happened to coincide with a decline in the demand for handicrafts as well as a drop in the price for copra the response has been very different. In the period since Thompson (1940a and b) made her detailed study of Kabara there has been a growing dependence on external markets as well as on the central government as a decision-maker influencing recovery from hazards and economic crises. The well-integrated system of specialisation in resource use which linked the ecologically diverse small islands in the southern Lau has been largely abandoned. The systematic exchange of food from the richer volcanic islands for canoes and handicrafts produced on the limestone islands poor in garden land no longer takes place. Kabara and other islands in the southern Lau have lost their former economic independence which was maintained by inter-island trade as their links with Viti Levu have strengthened, dependence on the wider Fijian society and economy has increased. Consequently the major response at times of ecological and

economic crisis during the past decade in particular, has been emigration to Viti Levu: not a return to 'the old life'.

The following examination of Kabara's population and economy is a preliminary statement on aspects of this more recent response to natural hazards and market fluctuations. The report is presented in five sections. In the first a short description of Kabara and events in the 1970s which have affected the residents' way of life is given as a preface to a fuller discussion of the population and cash economy (sections 2 and 3). An examination of reasons for staying on Kabara, despite the hardships generated by recent crises (section 4) is followed by a concluding section in which I review the changing nature of Kabara's dependence on external decision-makers over the past one hundred years. A much more extensive discussion of the consequences of greater dependency and loss of autonomy in the management of environment and society will be possible when research which is currently being undertaken on Kabara into marine resources, land use, hazard perception and recovery from the recent hurricanes is completed.

Acknowledgements

The information contained in this report could not have been obtained without the assistance of a considerable number of people. Government personnel in various Ministries in Suva, as well as in the administration of the Eastern Division of Fiji provided essential logistical support. In this connection I acknowledge the assistance provided by Joe Cavalevu (Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Fijian Affairs and Rural Development), Joe Takona (Assistant Secretary in the same Ministry), Ratu Jone Radrodro (Commissioner, Eastern Division), and, on Kabara, the turaga ni koro (village chairmen) of the four villages: Jioji Rarubi (Naikeleyaga), Peni Lowasi (Tokalau), Peni Wasei (Lomati) and Apaitia Seru (Udu). The very co-operative response by residents to my often naive questions made field research on Kabara a pleasure. I am indebted to a great number of informants, especially the Reverend Sakonia Buli, Dr Nathaniel Goniali, Vakauta Keti, Maikeli Kotobalavu, Leba Luti, Lasarusa Moce, Wakapusi Qioniwasa, Akaripa Tale, Joeli Walesi and Josua Yaco. Lasarusa Moce, Joeli Walesi and Josua Yaco also acted as my interpreters.

Extraction of information on Kabara's population from the 1956 and 1966 census records was carried out by a group of senior students from the University of the South Pacific: Vaseva Baba, Lepani Kolinisau, Bale Rabuka, Ama Seniloli and Mela Vatucawaqa. Their assistance together with that

provided by the staff of the Fiji Central Archives is gratefully acknowledged. Other Project personnel, especially Joan Macpherson (in the field) and John Campbell (in Suva) helped me in my research in various ways. In Christchurch Marianne Wowk and Alistair Dyer drafted the diagrams, Jan Bedford typed the text, and the University of Canterbury's Printing Department printed the report.

Finally I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation to Harold Brookfield (Chief Technical Adviser), UNESCO, and the University of Canterbury for the opportunity to work in Fiji on the Population and Environment Project. I am greatly indebted to Harold for the advice and assistance he was always willing to provide both in the field and in Suva. Plans for research on Kabara were nearly abandoned in 1975 owing to the difficulty of arranging transport to and from the island. However, by permitting consultants to adopt very flexible schedules while working on the Project, Harold ensured that research on Kabara could eventually be undertaken. It should be noted that the views expressed in this report are mine; the document has not been approved by either the Chief Technical Adviser or UNESCO.

R.D. Bedford

Christchurch
8 April 1976

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THE ISLAND

Laura Thompson (1940b, vii) has described Kabara as 'a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce'. Twyford and Wright (1965, 55) classed its land as being 'inhospitable to man'. The island, comprising approximately 40 square kilometres of rough forest-covered raised coral limestone and a small volcanic outcrop, has a harsh natural environment. Except for those on the volcanic hill, soils everywhere are skeletal and deficient in nutrients (Twyford and Wright, 1965, 474-75). Rainfall is extremely variable and drought a frequent hazard.[1] Because of the porosity of the limestone undermass fresh water is a scarce resource. As a result of soil and water deficiencies the main subsistence crops in other parts of Fiji -- yams (Dioscorea spp.), taro (Colocasia spp. and Cryptosperma chamissonis) and different varieties of bananas -- do not grow well on Kabara. According to Thompson (1940b, 83) there was only limited subsistence gardening on the island before the introduction of manioc (Manihot spp.) and the sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas). The forested interior was and still is the source of a considerable variety of fruits, nuts, tubers, leaves and wood grubs, while the surrounding reefs and narrow lagoon provide a wealth of sea foods.[2] Three small islands which also belong to Kabarans -- Wagava, Marabo, and Navuanasici -- are also sources of foods.

In addition to these local sources food was also imported from neighbouring volcanic islands in exchange for craft products. Sahlins (1962, 426) gives an account of one example of this trade in the 1920s. The Tui Kabara requested yams for his island's population from the Tui Moala, Savinaca Cavalevu. Savinaca had yams collected from all villages on Moala and took these to Kabara by sailing canoe. In return for the thousands of yams the Tui Kabara presented Savinaca with considerable quantities of wooden trays and bowls -- two of Kabara's chief exports. Based on a natural monopoly of hardwood, especially the vesi (Intsia bijuga), Kabara and, to a lesser extent Fulaga and Ogea, became the centre of an extensive trade in

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[1] Continuous records of rainfall were not available, but the pattern which Bayliss-Smith (1976, 3-4) describes for Lakeba is indicative of the annual variation in precipitation which residents on Kabara stressed when discussing natural hazards.

[2] Thompson (1940a, 127-58) provides a detailed account of food gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, and gardening on Kabara in the 1930s. Although the population has become much more dependent on imported foods and implements over the past forty years her description of subsistence activities is still basically applicable.

pre-colonial times which embraced the rest of Fiji as well as Tonga. The range of wooden products exported included sailing canoes, kava bowls (tan gongs, headrests, and various domestic implements. Today Kabara is still the acknowledged centre of tanoa production, but the major destination is now Suva and the tourist handicraft market.

Villages and social relations

The four villages on Kabara are the product of amalgamation of forme hamlets which were scattered around the cliffed periphery of the island. The spread of Christianity and a consequent cessation of inter-group warfare, coupled with mission and administrative policies favouring concentration of population in a few localities brought the various Kabara tokatoka ('sub-clans' in Thompson's terminology) together in four location Tokalau, Lomati, Udu and Tagu (Qaliqali) (Fig. 1). The devastating hurricane of 1936 destroyed Tagu and, on the advice of the colonial administration, inhabitants of this settlement constructed a new village known as Naikeleyaga (Fig. 1).

Naikeleyaga is the largest of Kabara's villages, with a resident population in October 1975 of 209 (Table 1). It is also the home of membe of two 'clans' (mataqali) -- Naivotavota and Tagu -- which trace their ancestry back to the leader of a group of invaders from Viti Levu over ten generations ago (Thompson, 1940a, 39). The conquerors introduced a highly stratified society that eventually dominated the entire Lau group, and reached its peak of influence when Lakeba held all islands in the southern Lau in tributary relationship.[1] Because of this heritage leaders (turaga ni mataqali) of the Naivotavota and Tagu mataqali claim traditional ascendancy in the sphere of social relations on Kabara. This claim is challenged by the chief of the Vuanikacu mataqali in Tokalau, who also traces his 'line' back to the leader of the invaders from the west. Confli between groups in Tokalau and Naikeleyaga intensified when the chief of Vuanikacu mataqali assumed the title of 'Buli' in the colonial government' administrative hierarchy while also claiming to be the Tui Kabara or chief of the island. The Naivotavota and Tagu mataqali members adamantly refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy of the latter claim: the title Tui Kabara wa previously in the Naivotavota line before it fell into disuse during the

[1] Thompson (1938 and 1940a) and Hocart (1929) discuss Lauan tradition and social organisation at length.

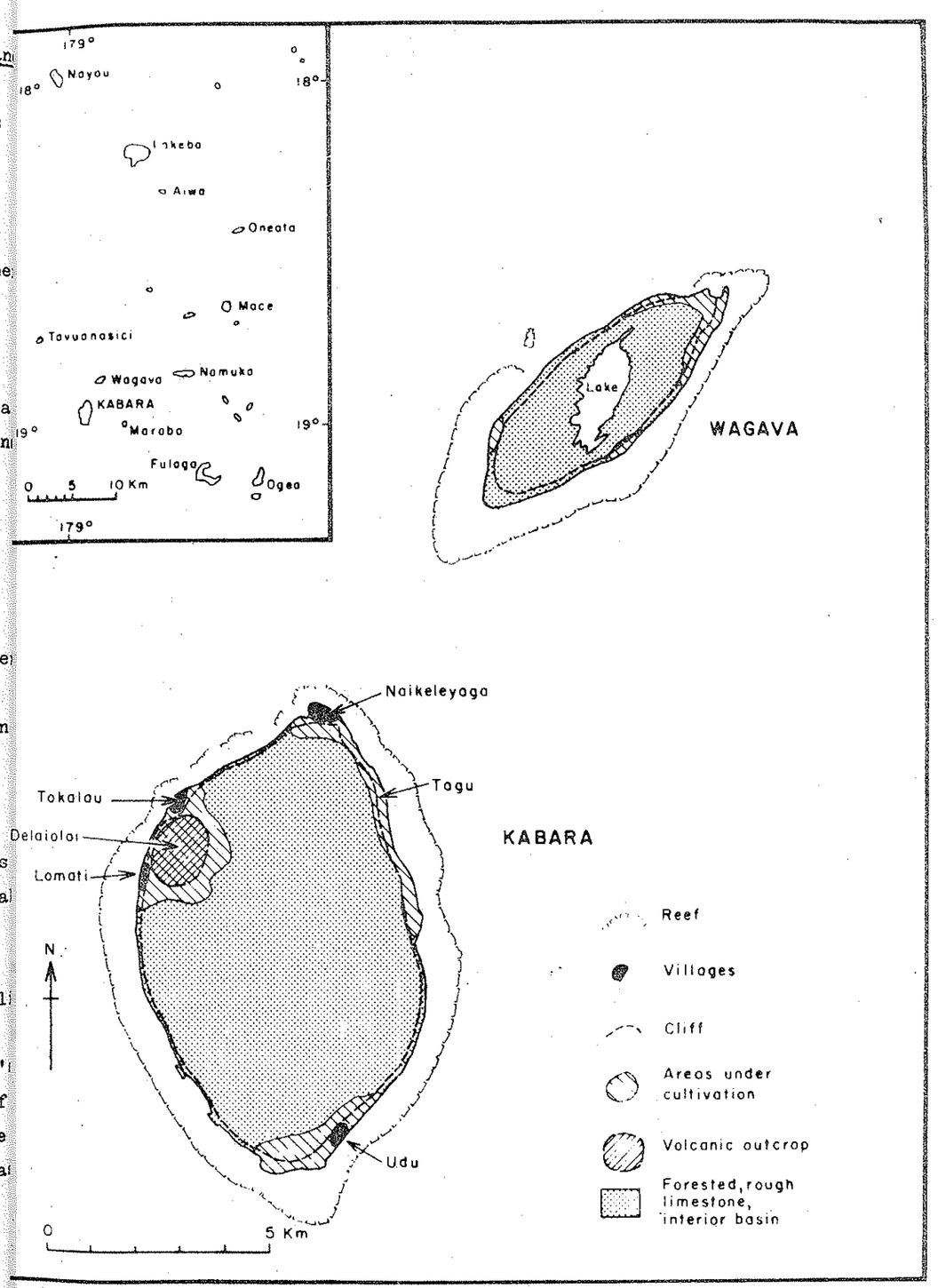

FIGURE 1

Table 1: Characteristics of Kabara's villages, 1975

Characteristic	Village: Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu
Population[a]				
M	90	84	23	55
F	119	100	39	54
T	209	184	62	109
Mataqali (tokatoka)[b]	Naivotavota (Naivotavota) Tagu (Nayaka) (Matai Lemaki) Nagara (Valevadra) (Valenikato)	Vuanikacu (Naisogovula) (Katoka) (Burotu) Vuanitavola (Tabunivo) (Vunicau) (Batubatu) (Sauma)	Nakaka (Nakaka) Lomati (Nawa) Levuka (Levuka)	Saumua (Saumaira) (Saumua) Matasoata (Matasoata) (Naitoganiuci) Muanaicake (Ligau) (Valakeivoro)
Services				
Co-op. store	+	+	+	+
School		+		+
Med. station	+			
Post office	+			

[a] Author's surveys, October 1975.
[b] Mataqali membership registers, Kabara villages.

colonial period.[1]

This dispute over the relative chiefly status of different mataqali is mentioned here because it partially explains the continuing rivalry and ofte freely expressed hostility between the residents of Naikeleyaga and Tokalau. Rivalry has been accentuated through the siting of certain service facilitie in Naikeleyaga — especially a small post office and a medical station. Because of the location of these facilities Naikeleyaga residents claim their village is obviously the major centre on Kabara. This claim is substantiated in the commercial sphere by the dominant role the Naikeleyaga Co-operative Society has assumed in retail trading on the island; a facet of this village's activities which is discussed in a later section.

[1] Thompson (1940a) discusses this traditional conflict at some length. It should be noted that she resided in Tokalau for much of the time she was on Kabara, and the present turaga ni mataqali of the Naivotavota mataqali does not accept her interpretation of the leadership question.

Inter-village rivalry between Naikeleyaga and Tokalau has been further aggravated by the fact that the former inhabitants of Tagu were obliged to settle on land belonging to Tokalau mataqali after the hurricane of 1936.[1] In the late 1950s the present village site was considered to be inadequate to cater for steady population growth, and the Naikeleyaga mataqali requested further land for housing from Tokalau. The request was refused and has given rise to considerable ill-feeling on the part of Naikeleyaga residents. The village, in October 1975, had a much higher density of houses than others on Kabara and, according to the turaga ni koro, there was very little room left for construction of new dwellings.

Although Kabara is a small island, and physical distances between villages are not great, the four settlements have retained a considerable degree of autonomy. The residents of Tokalau and Lomati frequently interact because of the proximity of their villages and the fact that their mataqali share 'ownership' of the volcanic hill (see below). However, both villages have their own churches and co-operative stores.

Udu village, on the southeast coast, is quite isolated from the others owing to the difficulty of traversing the interior or negotiating the steep, overhanging cliffs which make coastal travel round the island by foot impossible except at low tide. This village has closer customary ties with Naikeleyaga than with villages of the west coast, although the Udu residents do use land on the volcanic hill behind Lomati. Visits to Naikeleyaga have intensified in recent months as a result of the virtual demise of the Udu co-operative store. This interaction is furthered by the presence in Udu of one of the two primary schools on Kabara. A number of children from Naikeleyaga stay with relatives in Udu during the week in order to attend this school. The majority of Naikeleyaga's children, however, attend school in Tokalau and they traverse the three kilometre track across the northwest of the island daily.

Garden land and the forest

Interaction between residents from the four settlements on the island also arises out of regular visits to the volcanic hill, Delaioloi, where all households have gardens. The land on Delaioloi belongs to mataqali in Tokalau and Lomati. Through manipulation of the custom of kerekere men from

[1] The Tokalau mataqali were requested by the government to make some of their coastal land available for settlement by the Tagu villagers.

Udu and Naikeleyaga get access to land on the hill. Udu villagers tend to kerekere land from Lomati mataqali and, for the most part, all that is required each year is a request for permission to plant on a selected site.

The majority of Naikeleyaga's households have gardens on land on Delaioloi which the Nagara mataqali (Naikeleyaga) acquired from Lomati in the pre-colonial period. According to the turaga ni mataqali of the Nakaka mataqali in Lomati, one of their ancestors, Rarovou, went to serve a chief who was residing near Tagu. This chief was regarded as the leader of the Tagu, Udu and Lomati people; the Tokalau were apparently independent of his authority. Rarovou made available his land on Delaioloi to the people in the Nagara mataqali in return for assistance received during his period of service to the chief.[1] The Nagara mataqali are the only group who have customary access to a specific part of Delaioloi outside of Tokalau and Lomati. Some Naikeleyaga households also kerekere land from Tokalau mataqali; land which is closer to the track linking the two villages.

In addition to garden land on Delaioloi residents in all villages cultivate the more accessible sections of narrow coastal flats. Naikeleyaga and Udu households in particular use such areas as sites for gardens -- the former having access to land at Tagu; the latter using cultivable land in the vicinity of their village. For most of the Udu residents gardens near the village were the main source of subsistence crops in October 1975. The long journey to Lomati discourages frequent visits to gardens on Delaioloi, and most men claimed they went to their plots there only once a week. Members of households in Naikeleyaga visit the Tagu area regularly. It is the primary source of foods for those who prefer to farm their 'own' land, rather than a plot which has been obtained by kerekere from Tokalau. The walk along the beach from Naikeleyaga to Tagu can be undertaken at all tides and takes approximately one hour.

The coastal periphery is also the site of most of the coconut groves belonging to the Udu and Naikeleyaga villagers. Small plantations are located close to villages on the plateau and, for the Lomati and Tokalau residents their coconut groves surround the perimeter of Delaioloi. Some from Tokalau have access to groves on land in the immediate vicinity of Naikeleyaga as well. In addition, selected areas on the neighbouring islands

[1] The chief of the Nagara mataqali tells a somewhat different version of this story. According to him the Nagara mataqali acquired land from the Lomati people in return for assistance rendered in one of their pre-colonial wars with the Tokalau.

of Nagava and Marabo are planted in coconuts -- members of the Naivotavota mataqali in Naikeleyaga claim ownership of the former, while the Udu villagers use Marabo. In October 1975 there was one family from Udu living in Marabo. Nagava, however, was uninhabited.

The land under cultivation is only a small proportion of the total area of Kabara (Fig. 1). Over 80 percent of the island's surface is still under forest -- a resource which, since the impact of Tongan influence in the nineteenth century, has been held in common for use by all (Thompson, 1940a, 121-22). Residents in the four villages stated they could cut timber and gather roots and edible leaves from anywhere in the bush. Bushland close to a given village was, however, used most intensively by its residents. The forested interior is also the home of ancestral spirits: it is not a place Kabarans willingly venture into far off the established tracks (Thompson, 1940b, 105-11).

The forest contains a resource which has become very significant in the cash economy of Kabara. As noted earlier, this island has the largest stands of vesi in Fiji; a hardwood which was in considerable demand in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when there was an intensive inter-island canoe traffic. This timber is also regarded as the most suitable for ceremonial kava bowls (tanoa). Another hardwood, bau (Pittosporum brackenridgei) grows well on Kabara and is used extensively in house construction as well as for handicrafts. Fortunately for the Kabarans the small area under forest, coupled with the Government's determination to prevent land alienation in the Lau, have discouraged outside commercial interests from exploiting this resource.

Recent hurricanes and market fluctuations

In December 1973 a tropical cyclone (Lottie) swept through the southern Lau and over Kadavu. To many Fijians living outside the area affected the event is remembered because two inter-island ships capsized during this storm. A number of Kabarans were on these vessels. To residents on Kabara, however, Lottie was a more devastating natural disaster than the hurricane (Bebe) of the previous year which did extensive damage to other parts of Fiji. Cyclone Lottie destroyed virtually all subsistence gardens, wreaked havoc in coconut plantations, and demolished houses in the four villages. Hurricane relief was required urgently and regular supplies of imported foods were guaranteed by the Government in order to permit Kabarans to plant new gardens. Tents were provided to relieve a severe housing shortage and

building materials were supplied for village reconstruction programmes. The response by the Government was considered to have been a generous one by those resident on Kabara in 1975, and undue hardship was avoided by prompt external assistance.

The cyclone occurred at a most unfortunate time as far as the state of the copra market was concerned. The price for this commodity had been risin rapidly during the latter part of 1973, and went on to reach record levels i 1974. Residents on Kabara could not benefit from this boom, however: their entire copra yield for at least three years had been destroyed. For those who chose to stay on the island, the handicraft industry was the major sourc of cash income. Demand was high in Suva during 1974 for bowls, combs, clubs and other wooden artifacts, and the flow of capital into Kabara, while considerably lower than it would have been if the copra crop had not been destroyed, was a reasonably steady one.

By January 1975 the subsistence sector of the economy was showing sign of recovery, and the village reconstruction programme was well advanced. On 31 January another hurricane (Val) devastated gardens and damaged dwellings Tokalau, Lomati and Naikeleyaga. Once again relief supplies were required from Suva, and throughout 1975 rations of basic foods have been an important component in the diet. While residents were not directly affected by the rapid decline in copra price which also occurred around this time (their groves were still unproductive following Lottie) a slump in the market for handicrafts had a profound influence on the island's cash economy.

A diminishing flow of tourists into Fiji had reduced the demand for wooden artifacts and, by June 1975 the co-operative stores in three of the villages were able to purchase sennit rope (magimagi) only from their member this was the only product which they would sell to their main retail outlet in Suva, Handicrafts of Fiji. The Tokalau co-operative store had managed to retain a small market for tanoa with the latter organisation but the handicraft industry was in a very depressed state. As will be demonstrated a later section, household cash incomes declined rapidly during 1975 and dependence on periodic wage employment as a source of income increased markedly.

By the end of 1975 opportunities to earn money on Kabara were very restricted. New gardens were still being planted to ensure a continuous supply of food through the next 'hurricane season'. But planting had not be as intensive as hoped for by the District Administration in Levuka, or by th

turaga ni koro in certain villages. Regular supplies of relief rations had removed the urgency for replanting and the gardening programme was behind schedule. House reconstruction was continuing but, again, progress was not as rapid as had been anticipated. A considerable number of adult men had left the island to work in Suva and New Zealand. Consequently the labour force carrying the burden of village rehabilitation was a much depleted one.

In spite of the chain of natural and economic disasters, residents on Kabara in October 1975 were not unduly dispirited. The combination of events had caused, and was continuing to cause hardship but, for a variety of reasons which will be discussed in a later section, a number of young men and women have chosen to remain on Kabara rather than migrate to Suva.

THE POPULATION

A survey on Kabara late in 1975 revealed that there had been a significant decline in population since the last official census in 1966. In fact the resident population was 7 percent lower than that recorded in 1956. In the decade prior to 1966 numbers had risen by 21 percent; nine years later they had fallen to 77 percent of the previous census total.[1] The two processes responsible for this radical change in the direction of demographic development are emigration and fertility decline. In this section I will outline some characteristics of population growth, structure and migration at the island and village levels. A more detailed examination of fertility will be presented in a subsequent paper.

Population trends, 1911-1975

Unlike many other parts of Fiji, Kabara does not appear to have experienced a continuing decline in population during the early colonial period. While a figure of 307 given in the 1881 census is probably lower than the number of residents on the island prior to the disastrous measles epidemic of 1875, it is one of the lowest recorded in the available census records since this event.[2] However, population growth prior to the Second World War was slow on Kabara. Between 1911 and 1936 the total increase was only 19.6 percent (Table 2).

Kabara's low rate of natural increase in the 25 years prior to the 1936 census is not typical of all southern Lau islands. Thompson (1940b) has argued that obvious factors such as degree of exposure to government health schemes, adequacy of garden land, loss of numbers through migration, an imbalance in the ratio of females to males in the population, and influence of the Tongans fail to explain the differences revealed in Table 2. A more important factor, in this area at least, is, according to Thompson (1940b, 140), the extent to which island populations have been disturbed, not only by external influences but also by internal political jealousies.

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[1] Selected population statistics relating to Kabara are presented in Appendix I.

[2] The small, relatively isolated islands of the southern Lau were not exempted from the measles epidemic of 1875. Thompson (1940b, 132) reported that 'the people of Muanaicake, Fulaga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bear witness to this great tragedy during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.' McArthur (1967, 10), however, does note that some islands in this part of Fiji did not experience the high rate of mortality which was common elsewhere in the group.

Table 2: Population change in the southern Lau islands, 1911-1966 (Fijian population only)

Island	Percentage growth 1911-1936	1936-1966
Lakeba	69.2	24.6
Oneata	68.9	56.4
Moce	44.7	98.6
Namuka	29.4	78.1
Kabara	19.6	76.4
Komo	69.9	38.6
Fulaga	37.3	33.9
Ogea	29.6	72.4
Vatoa	46.2	121.6
Ono-i-Lau	23.5	62.3
Total	46.1	51.5

Sources: Fiji censuses 1911, 1936 and 1966.

Islands which had much closer contact with alien influences appeared to have experienced slower rates of growth prior to 1936 because

> Old tabus have broken down to a great extent... and the morale is relatively low. The inhabitants are inclined to self-pitying and have lost a great deal of their energy. Moreover... the conflict between island chiefs and the colonial administration is reflected in unrest and political wrangling. (Thompson, 1940b, 140)

Thompson's hypothesis that the degree of contact with alien influences could account for variations in population growth rates was devised in the context of demographic change on Kabara, Fulaga, Ogea, Namuka, and Moce between 1921 and 1936 in particular. She does suggest, however, that it has applicability over the whole of the southern Lau (Thompson, 1940b, 140). Examination of Table 2 suggests that when the time-period is extended to cover 25 years some major anomalies emerge. The most isolated island, for example, Ono-i-Lau, has one of the lowest rates of increase, while Lakeba, which had greatest exposure to outside influences during the period and was plagued with internal political wrangling, has the highest growth rate. Whatever the causes for differential population increase (and purely random fluctuations may affect such small numbers) it is evident that Kabara had one of the slowest rates of growth between 1911 and 1936.

During the following 30 years Kabara's population grew by 76 percent (Table 2). Similar high rates of increase occurred on other islands which had experienced only slow growth in the pre-war period. However, again, the pattern of change is variable: indeed, Lakeba, Fulaga, Oneata and Komo had lower percentage increases in their numbers of residents between 1936 and 1966 than they had had between 1911 and 1936. A variety of forces have influenced this differential growth but the continuing decline in mortality throughout the period is one factor which has contributed to the increase on all islands. McArthur (1967, 67) notes that standardised mortality rates for Fijians halved between 1946 and 1956. Infant mortality continued to decline over the subsequent 10 years, and the improvement in medical services and hygiene has played a major role in the growth of small island populations.

Another important factor influencing population change in Fiji between 1956 and 1966 was rising birth rates. Although specific data relating to births and deaths on Kabara over the 30-year period are not available, it is likely that the island experienced similar changes in mortality and fertility to those revealed in the national trends. A third factor which has affected growth on Kabara and in the Lau group in general is migration. Precise information on inter-censal rates of migration are not available, but it is evident from the pyramids for the Province and Kabara island that out-migration has influenced the structure of resident populations (Fig. 2). The 1966 population pyramids have lower proportions in the 15 to 40 age groups in particular than those for 1956. In spite of this 'thinning' in the adult component, Kabara's population structure in 1966 revealed little evidence of a decline in birth rates which had been advocated for some years in the national family planning programme. Indeed, the child-woman ratios were the highest recorded at any census for both the Province and the island (Table 3). The proportion of the population which was under 5 years of age had changed little in the 10-year period.

By 1966, then, Kabara's population had increased considerably despite adult emigration. High birth rates and a continuing decline in the death rate appear to have maintained a growth rate which, while somewhat slower than that over the preceding 20 years, had still contributed a further 21 percent to the island's resident population between 1956 and 1966. Over the next 9 years accelerated emigration and a decline in fertility reversed the long-established growth trend in the population of Kabara. The pyramid for 1975

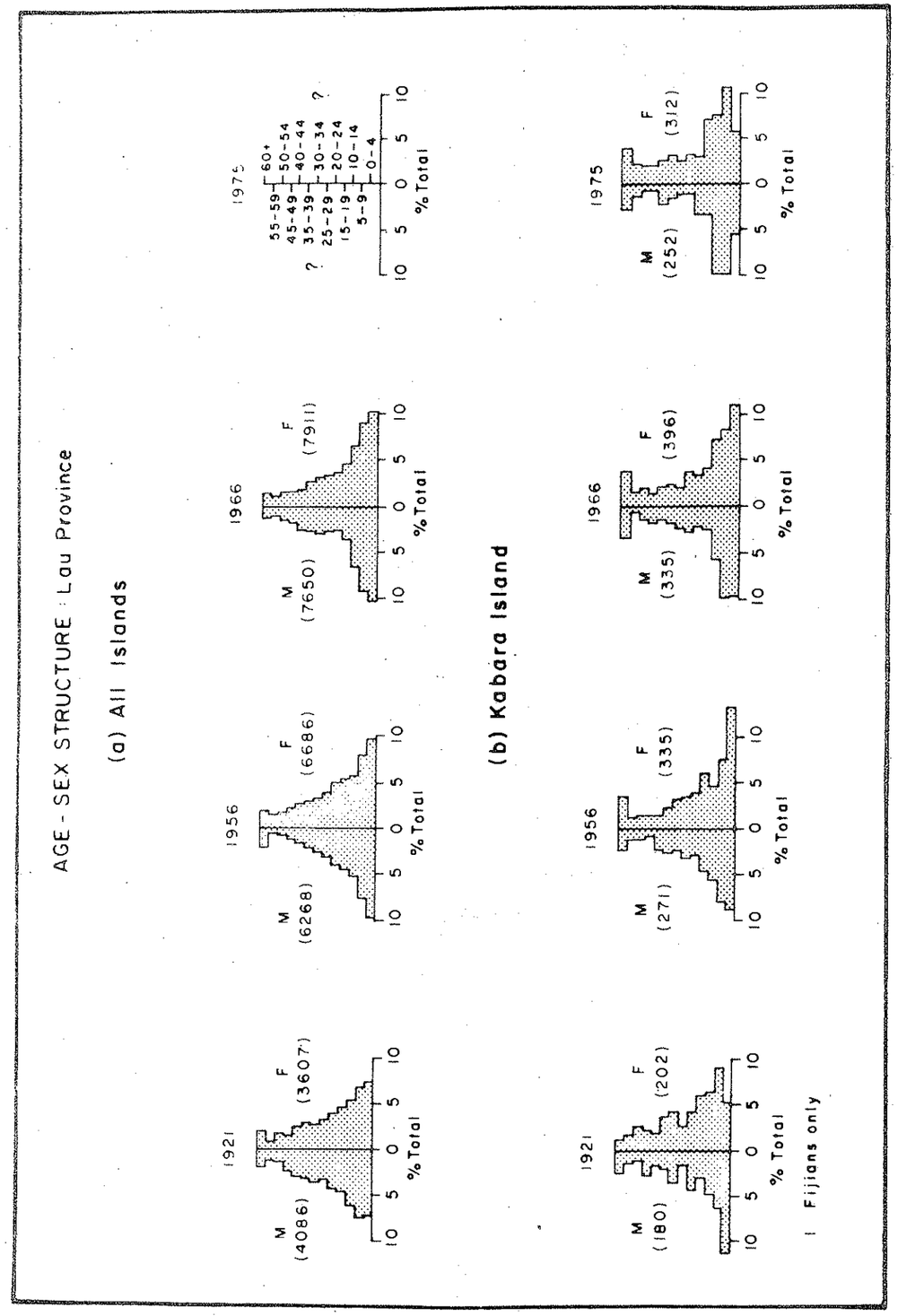

FIGURE 2

Table 3: Characteristics of Kabara's population, 1956-1975

Characteristic	Kabara 1956	Kabara 1966	Kabara 1975	Lau Province 1956	Lau Province 1966
% Population:					
< 5 yrs	21.6	21.1	10.9	19.9	20.5
< 15 yrs	46.5	52.9	49.6	46.6	51.9
15-59 yrs	46.9	39.7	43.3	48.5	43.7
60+ yrs	6.6	7.4	6.7	4.8	4.5
Child-woman Ratio[a]	949	1085	481	857	1001

[a]Ratio of children 0-4 years of age per 1000 woman aged between 15 and 49 years.

Sources: Appendix I.1 and the Fiji censuses of 1956 and 1966.

has a marked 'nip' in the proportion under 5 years of age, which attests to a significant drop in births since 1970 (Fig. 2). The child-woman ratio had more than halved, both as a result of declining fertility and the continued out-migration of adult men and women (Table 3). The birth control programme, coupled with accelerated emigration following recent natural and economic crises have had a significant impact on the island's population structure.

Village populations and migration

Characteristics of population growth and age-sex distribution are quite variable when the level of analysis is shifted to the village. The two larger villages (Naikeleyaga and Tokalau) have experienced similar patterns of growth over the past sixty years, although the decline since 1966 in Tokalau's population has not been as marked as that in Naikeleyaga (Fig. 3). Numbers of residents enumerated in Udu and Lomati have fluctuated much more considerably; a reflection in part of the small sizes of their populations. In a similar way, evolution of the population structures for Naikeleyaga and Tokalau bears a closer resemblance to that for the island as a whole than do the pyramids for Lomati and Udu (Figs. 4 and 5).

In spite of numerous differences in detail, the population pyramids for all villages reflect the recent decline in fertility and progressive loss of members through emigration (Table 4). An indication of the extent of

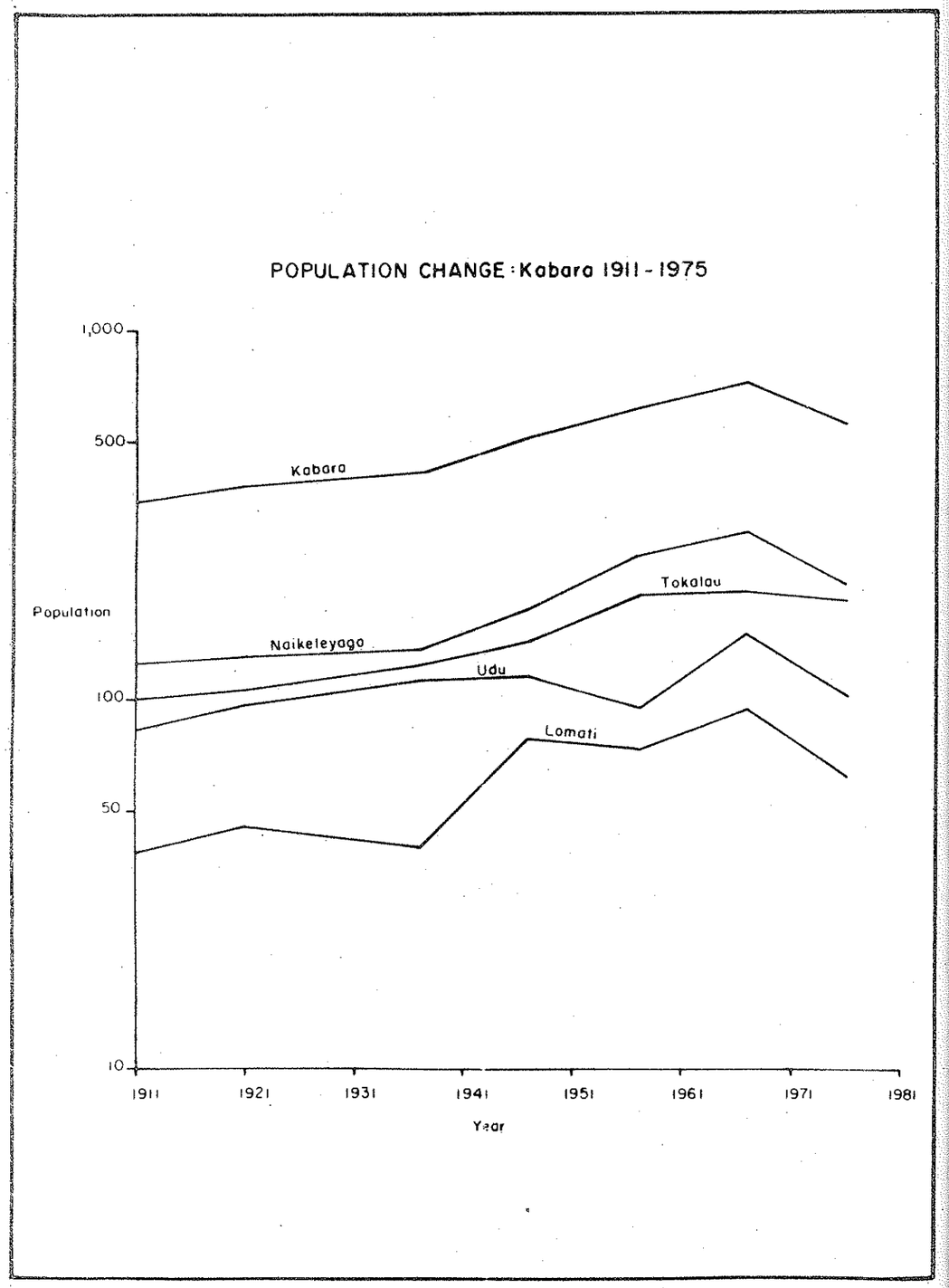

FIGURE 3

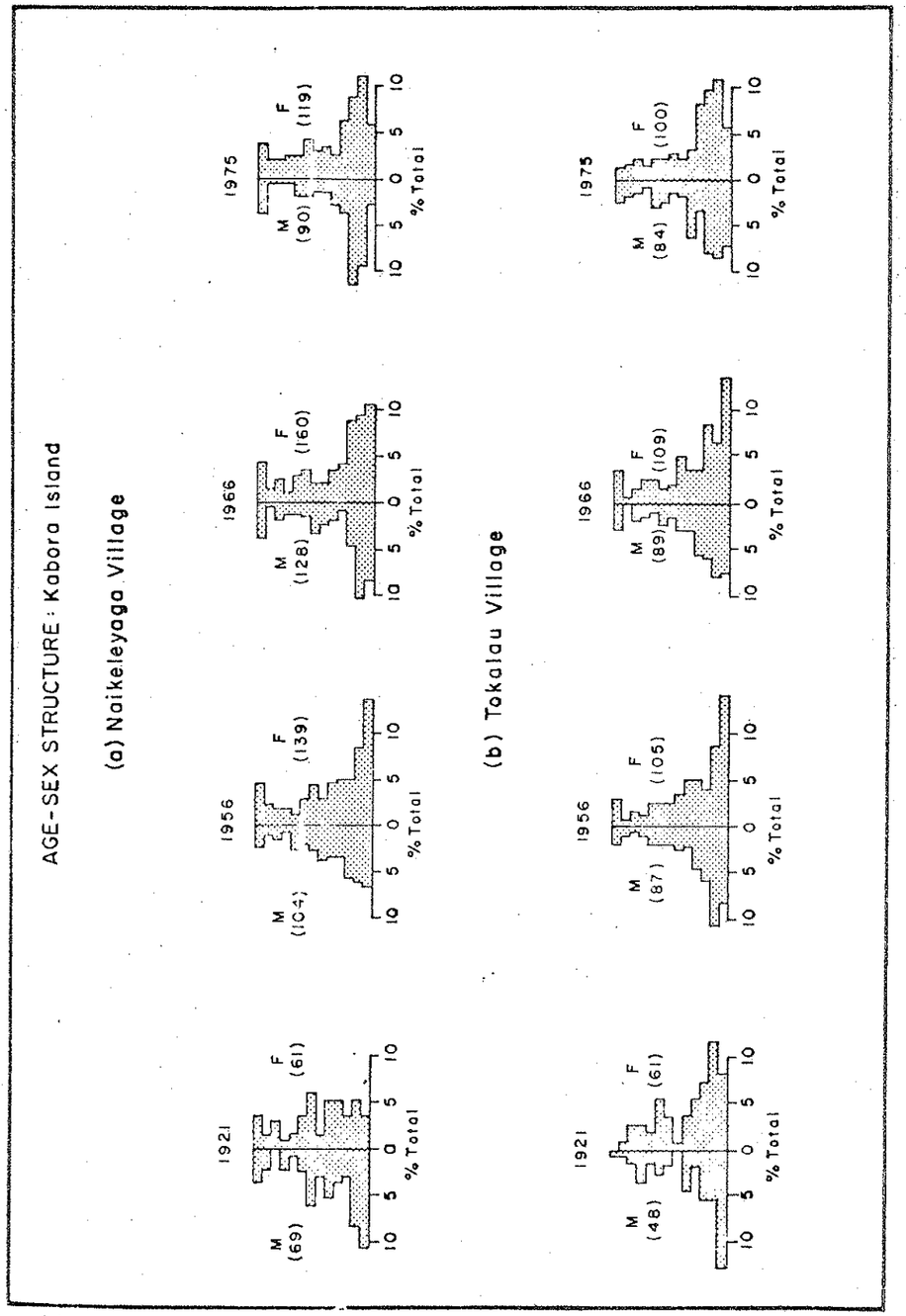

FIGURE 4

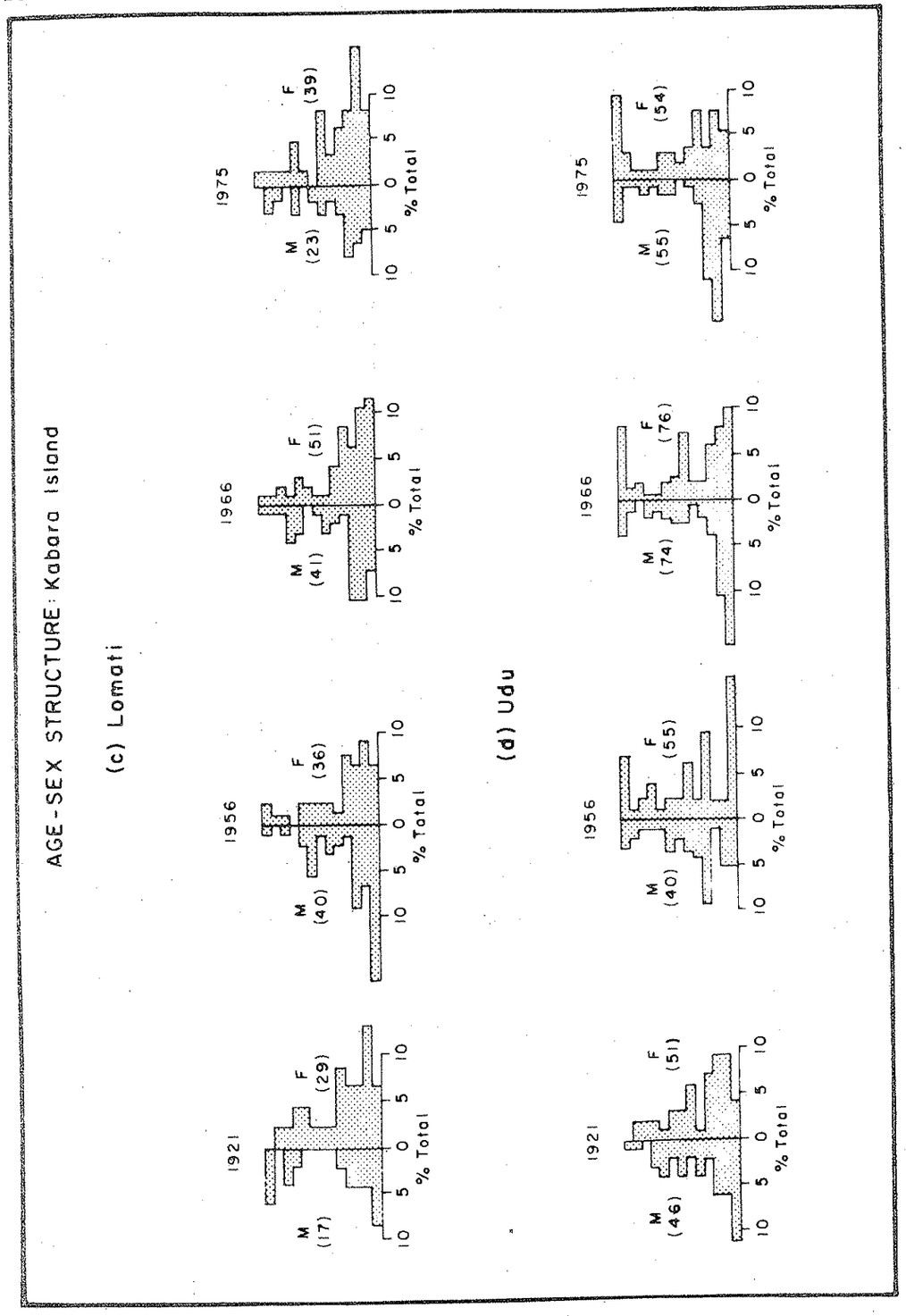

FIGURE 5

Table 4: Changes in village populations, 1956-1975

Characteristic	Year	Village: Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu
% Population					
<5 yrs	1956	20.6	22.4	23.7	21.1
	1966	19.1	21.2	18.9	26.0
	1975	8.6	12.5	12.9	11.9
<15 yrs	1956	45.7	51.6	55.3	31.6
	1966	52.4	50.5	56.8	54.7
	1975	49.8	48.9	51.6	49.5
Dependency Ratio[a]	1956	1113	1293	1426	727
	1966	1548	1329	1436	1830
	1975	1349	1090	1134	1725
Child-woman Ratio	1956	943	977	1200	769
	1966	1000	1024	900	1114
	1975	360	561	500	591

[a]Ratio of persons under 15 years plus persons 60 years and older per 1000 of those between 15 and 59 years of age.

Source: Appendix I.

migration over the past 9 years can be obtained by establishing how many of those who were enumerated on the island in 1966 were still in their villages in October 1975. Less than half of the adults and children were still there in 1975 (Table 5). Naikeleyaga and Tokalau had the lowest proportion of adults present, while Lomati and Udu had lost a greater proportion of those who were under 15 years of age in 1966. Another measure of the extent of this out-migration can be gauged from the fact that 40 percent of the households enumerated on the island in 1966 were not present in 1975.[1] This would tend to indicate that much of the recent migration has involved family units, and not just individuals. Consequently it is likely to represent long-term rather than temporary movement from the island.

[1]Households which had disappeared through the deaths of their members are excluded from this analysis.

Table 5: Perspectives on migration

Group	Village: Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu	Total
% in village 1966 there 1975					
(a) children	46.4	54.0	38.9	35.4	44.9
(b) adults	42.3	43.9	46.3	54.4	45.6
(c) persons	44.4	48.9	42.1	44.0	45.3
(d) households	63.6	50.0	58.3	59.1	58.5
% registered mataqali members in village					
(a) children	60.3	75.0	81.8	41.7	61.2
(b) adults	17.8	23.2	23.8	24.5	21.1
(c) persons	27.5	37.2	40.7	31.3	32.4
% households with absentees in Suva					
(a) head	30.3	-	20.0	7.1	15.7
(b) son/daughter	57.6	38.5	70.0	71.4	55.4
% absentees who					
(a) left in 1974/75	57.5	55.6	63.6	50.0	57.0
(b) living in Suva	72.5	88.9	63.6	85.0	76.0
(c) wage-earning	62.5	27.8	40.9	10.0	41.0
(d) never returned	80.0	72.2	90.9	85.0	82.0

Source: Appendix I.

Another perspective on migration can be obtained from figures relating to membership of mataqali. When the numbers of residents belonging to each mataqali were compared with the totals registered in each group it was found that only 32 percent of all members were living on Kabara in October 1975 (Table 5). Naikeleyaga had the highest proportion of its adult mataqali members absent (over 80 percent), while Tokalau, Lomati and Udu had slightly lower rates of absenteeism. Much higher proportions of children belonging to each mataqali appeared to be present in the villages. However, the statistics here are misleading because many of the children of Kabarans living outside their island have not been registered as mataqali members. The registers do not contain a complete record of children who, under Fijian custom, have rights to land in their father's mataqali. In spite of this limitation, the mataqali membership statistics do provide an indication of the extent to which the de facto population only represents a small

proportion (less than one-third) of those who actually have rights to land on Kabara.

In all villages residents repeatedly stressed the necessity for continuing out-migration. The land resources were not considered to be adequate to support all mataqali members and, besides, there were no opportunities for employment outside copra cutting and making handicrafts. With the present slump in the market for handicrafts and the extensive damage done to coconut plantations in recent hurricanes, the cash-earning potential was negligible. Partly as a result of this, 65 percent of the households had at least one of their members working, or seeking employment, in Suva. Over half of the absentees had left Kabara during 1974 and 1975, and 41 percent were in wage-earning jobs (Table 5). The heads of 10 of the 33 households in Naikeleyaga were waiting in Suva for permission to travel to New Zealand under the work permit scheme.

According to residents, most of these absentees would return to Kabara 'at some stage', especially those who had dependents in the village. However, given the lack of opportunities to derive a cash income on the island, it was recognised that many of the young men would probably choose to stay in urban-based employment. The migratory behaviour of another class of absentees -- those who were no longer classed as members of households in the village -- had demonstrated that many who left the island never returned.

While surveying households on Kabara, some information was also collected on brothers, sisters, and married sons and daughters of the heads of household. This was not intended as a complete enumeration of persons related to those on the island; rather it was an attempt to get data on a cross-section of Kabarans who were not members of households in the villages in October 1975.[1] A total of 179 'independent' absentees were enumerated -- 95 males and 84 females. Almost all of these people were married (94 percent) and just over half were resident in Suva. Approximately 70 percent of the men were in wage employment and a further 17 percent were farming land in the vicinity of Suva. Of those for whom a year of departure was specified, three-quarters had left Kabara prior to the 1966 census. This group represents a sample of the 'permanent' emigrants from Kabara. Just under half had never returned since leaving, and for a further 30 percent no-one could recall when they had last visited the island.

[1] Information on these absentees is contained in Appendix I.

Despite their long absences these migrants cannot be considered as tot lost to Kabara. Not only do a number send money, clothing and food to their relatives in the village, but those in Suva in particular, also provide accommodation for and assistance to fellow Kabarans when they visit the town. In a sense there are now two Kabaran populations: one on the island and another on Viti Levu. Interaction between the two is fostered, in large measure, by villagers who periodically come to Suva seeking short-term employment or medical treatment, selling handicrafts, purchasing supplies, o visiting friends and relatives. Given the economic situation on the island is highly unlikely that town-dwelling Kabarans will increase the frequency o their visits to the village. Interaction between the two components of the population will be maintained by villagers circulating between the island an the town. Partly as a result of this process, and also because an increasin number of school-leavers will attempt to find work in the towns in preferenc to returning to an essentially subsistence existence in the villages, there continue to be a net migration loss to Kabara of the younger, more dynamic members of the population.

THE LOCAL CASH ECONOMY

From the early years of the twentieth century Kabarans have acquired heir cash incomes from two sources: export of primary produce and periodic age employment. Thompson (1940b) has described a life-style which probably ersisted for a majority of residents on the island until the 1950s. She ommented that while most men worked outside Kabara for a few months or ears, they spent most of their adult lives 'in their own villages as easant proprietors' (Thompson, 1940b, 145). This pattern of peripheral nvolvement in wage earning has persisted, but, in terms of its contribution o total cash incomes, employment outside the island has assumed an ncreasingly important role over the past 20 years. Dependence on imported onsumer goods, coupled with rising travel expenses, school fees and the osts of medical treatment, have necessitated more frequent spells away from abara in wage employment. This has been especially the case when the local xport sector of the economy is as severely depressed as it is at present.

In this section of the report I examine changes in the relative mportance of the two export commodities, copra and handicrafts, as sources f household income. All copra produced on Kabara is sold initially to one f the four co-operative stores which then export the commodity to Suva. A arge proportion of the handicrafts destined for the tourist market also asses through this channel. While it is not possible to regard the o-operative societies' records of copra and handicraft purchases as epresenting the total income accruing to households on Kabara, they do cover he great majority of produce sales by villagers over the past three years.[1] he relative contribution to the total cash economy made by wages earned uring periodic absences outside the island is much more difficult to assess. urther discussion of this matter is deferred until the next section.

xports and cash incomes, 1973-1975

Between January 1973 and the end of October 1975 approximately 140 tonnes f copra were shipped to Suva (Table 6). Two-thirds of this tonnage left the sland before December 1973; a few months after cyclone Lottie devastated oconut groves exports of copra virtually ceased (Fig. 6). Stocks held by

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[1] There is some direct selling of handicrafts by villagers to middlemen in Suva, but precise information on the volume and value of this component of the trade was difficult to obtain.

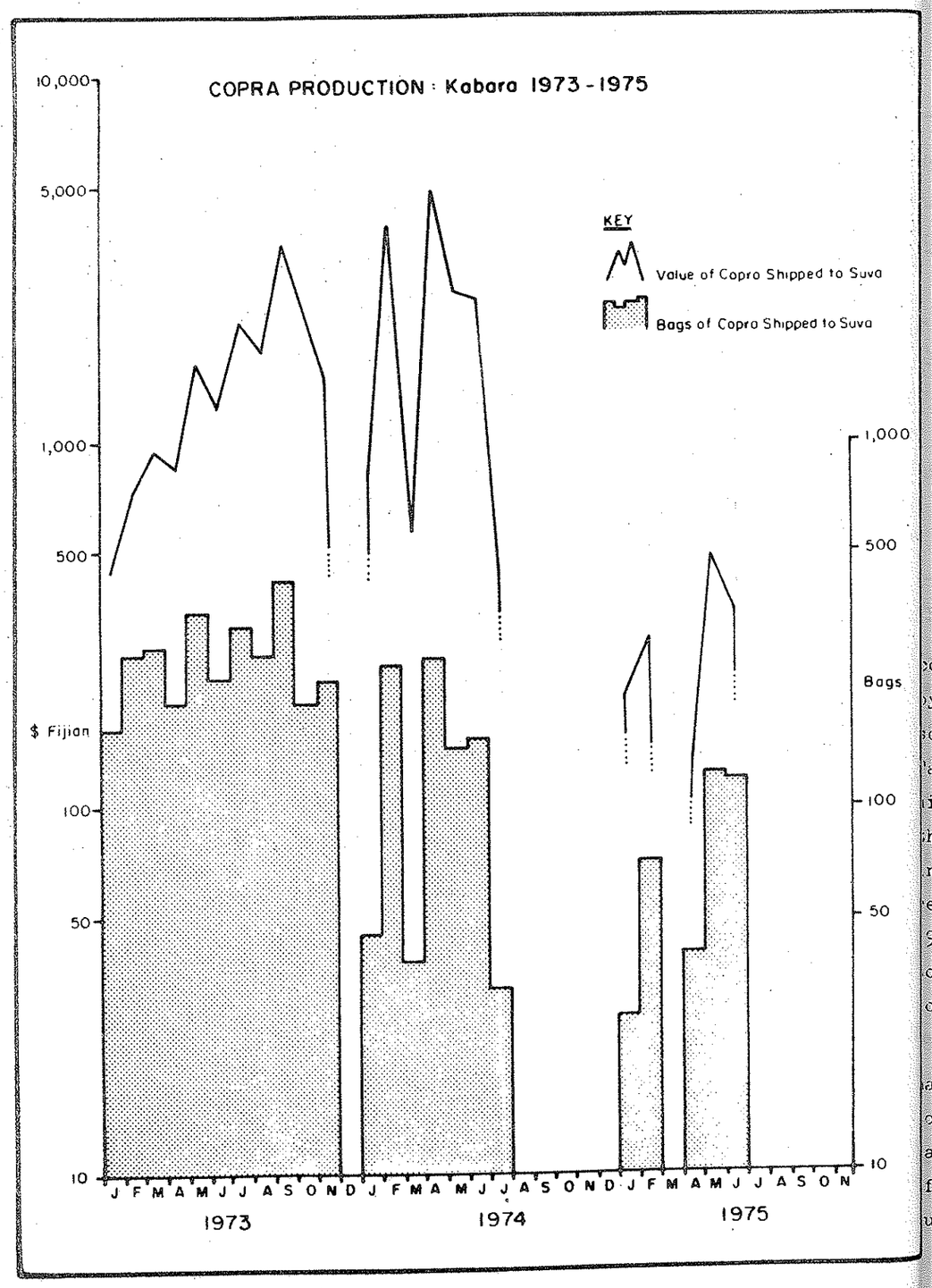


FIGURE 6

Table 6: Copra exports from Kabara, 1973-1975

Year	Bags[a]	Tonnes[b]	Average Price per Tonne ($F)[c]
1973	2874	92.71	184.02
1974	905	29.19	536.92
1975	384	12.39	117.90
1973-75	4163	134.29	254.63

[a]Records of copra exports by the Lomati Co-operative during 1973 and the Udu Co-operative during 1975 are not available and, therefore, these figures understate the total volume of exports during the two years.

[b]Assuming 31 bags per tonne; a figure derived from the actual weights expressed for each export consignment.

[c]Calculated by dividing the tonnage into the total received for copra exported for the year.

Source: Appendix II.

co-operative stores plus the copra cut following premature nut fall caused by the cyclone meant that some income was returned to the island from this source during the early months of 1974. However, it is clearly evident from Table 6 that Kabarans were in no position to take advantage of the much higher prices being paid for copra during 1974. Despite the record prices, the total income received by villagers from sale of coconuts to co-operatives in 1974 was only slightly higher than that received during 1973. The total received for the first ten months of 1975 was less than 20 percent of the 1973 figure (Table 7). As recovery from damage to palms caused by cyclone Bebe and hurricane Val is expected to take at least three years, the very low volume of copra exports recorded for 1975 will continue for some time.

Earnings from the handicraft component of the export economy showed a major increase during 1974 (Table 7). In that year just under half of the total income derived from sales to co-operative stores was payment for handicrafts. While this proportion was much higher in 1975, the total value of the trade had fallen considerably as demand for wooden artifacts in the Suva handicraft market declined (Table 7).

These aggregated figures for sales to the different co-operatives give some indication of the extent to which the export economy has been affected

Table 7: Sales of copra and handicrafts to co-operatives and per-capita incomes on Kabara, 1973-1975 ($Fijian)

Item	1973	1974	1975	1973-75
Sales[a]				
Copra	8,973	9,782	1,403	20,157
Handicrafts	3,353	9,698	4,206	17,257
Total	12,326	19,480	5,609	37,414
Per-capita Incomes[b]				
Per-person	22	35	10	66
Per-adult (15-59 yrs)	51	80	23	153

[a]For 1973 and 1975 the figures are incomplete. Certain records were not available in Lomati (for 1973) and Udu (for 1975).

[b]Based on the 1975 populations of 564 (total) and 244 (15-59 years of age).

Source: Appendix II.

by recent events on Kabara and in Suva. Using 1975 population statistics as a base it is quite evident that per-capita incomes from copra and handicraft have fluctuated markedly over the three years (Table 7). When the adult 'productive' population (15-59 years of age) is considered, average annual per-capita incomes rose from $51 in 1973 to $80 in 1974 and then dropped by more than two-thirds to $23 for the first ten months of 1975. Comparative statistics on per-capita returns from cash crops in other parts of rural Fij are not available yet, but from comments made by Bayliss-Smith (1975) on household incomes on Koro in 1974, and information obtained in the Taveuni Resource Base Survey in 1975 (Brookfield, 1975), it is obvious that the averages for Kabara represent very low rural cash incomes indeed.

When sales to individual stores were examined there appeared to be som variation within the island in per-capita incomes, especially during 1974. Residents in Lomati obtained the lowest average returns from sale of copra and handicrafts to their co-operative largely because cyclone Lottie destroyed the store and it was not reopened until September 1974. On the basis of sales records maintained by the Naikeleyaga and Tokalau stores it would seem that sellers in the former village earned over twice as much, on average, as those in Tokalau during 1974 (Table 8). Although this does reflect, in part, very active participation in both copra and handicraft

Table 8: Per-capita incomes from sales to three village stores, 1974-1975 ($Fijian)

Village/Year	Per-capita income[a]					
	Per-person			Per-adult		
	Copra	Handicrafts	Total	Copra	Handicrafts	Total
Naikeleyaga						
1974	32	28	60	75	67	142
1975	6	7	13	14	16	30
Tokalau						
1974	11	17	28	24	34	58
1975	-	12	12	1	24	25
Lomati						
1974	-	10	10	-	21	21
1975	2	10	12	3	22	25

[a]Based on 1975 population figures.

Source: Appendix II.

production by certain Naikeleyaga households, the total value of sales to the co-operative store in Naikeleyaga is inflated by produce purchased from residents in other villages.

The Naikeleyaga Co-operative Society has become the major retail outlet for consumer durables on Kabara, and people from all villages have been selling directly to this store in recent years. The captain of a small inter-island trader, the 'Broom', comes from this village, and regularly delivers supplies of stock from Suva. Throughout 1975 the store also supplied consumer goods to the other co-operatives and accounted for 73 percent of the total retail trade recorded by the four societies between January and October.

During 1975 per-capita incomes derived by residents from sales to their respective village stores were more comparable than in 1974. This is a reflection of the extreme depression in the local export economy. Although the Naikeleyaga store was the prime source of imported goods, its purchasing activity had been restricted from July (by lack of demand from its chief outlet in Suva) to the acquisition of *magimagi* (sennit). The Tokalau and Lomati stores, on the other hand, were purchasing, respectively, *tanoa* and

masi (tapa cloth) in September and October following negotiations with selle in Suva.

Over the first ten months of 1975 villagers purchased $20,000 worth of goods from the four stores. In the same period they received $5,600 for copra and handicrafts. The average monthly income shared over all household was therefore only $560; less than $1.00 per head. By comparison, store purchases were averaging $3.50 per person per month. The return from individual sales to the societies had dropped from $5 in 1974 to under $2 in 1975; indeed, from records kept by the Naikeleyaga Co-operative Society, it was apparent that over 50 percent of all purchases of copra and handicrafts in the latter year were for amounts of less than $1 (Fig. 7).

To meet the heavy deficit savings, already depleted in the previous year, were drawn on, and increasing amounts of money had to be obtained outside the island. Between 1 January and 30 September over $10,000 was withdrawn from the Kabara post office. While this also includes money required by the schools and churches, it does reflect a much higher rate of withdrawals from personal savings accounts than at any other time except jus after cyclone Lottie. The most effective solution to this local balance of payments problem was regarded as employment in New Zealand under the work permit scheme. Kabarans from all villages were waiting in Suva in October for an opportunity to earn the 'big money' in New Zealand.

Household income and expenditure

Using records maintained by the Naikeleyaga Co-operative Society it was possible to trace changes in household income and expenditure over four consecutive six-month periods. These periods, outlined below, coincide with the major events which have affected Kabara's economy over the past three years.

A. July - December, 1973:

(1) heavy reliance on income from copra at a time when prices rising;

(2) limited sales of handicrafts to local co-operatives;

(3) fairly heavy dependence on imported foods.

B. January - June, 1974:

(1) high copra prices but limited production due to cyclone Lottie;

(2) increasing reliance on handicrafts as a source of income;

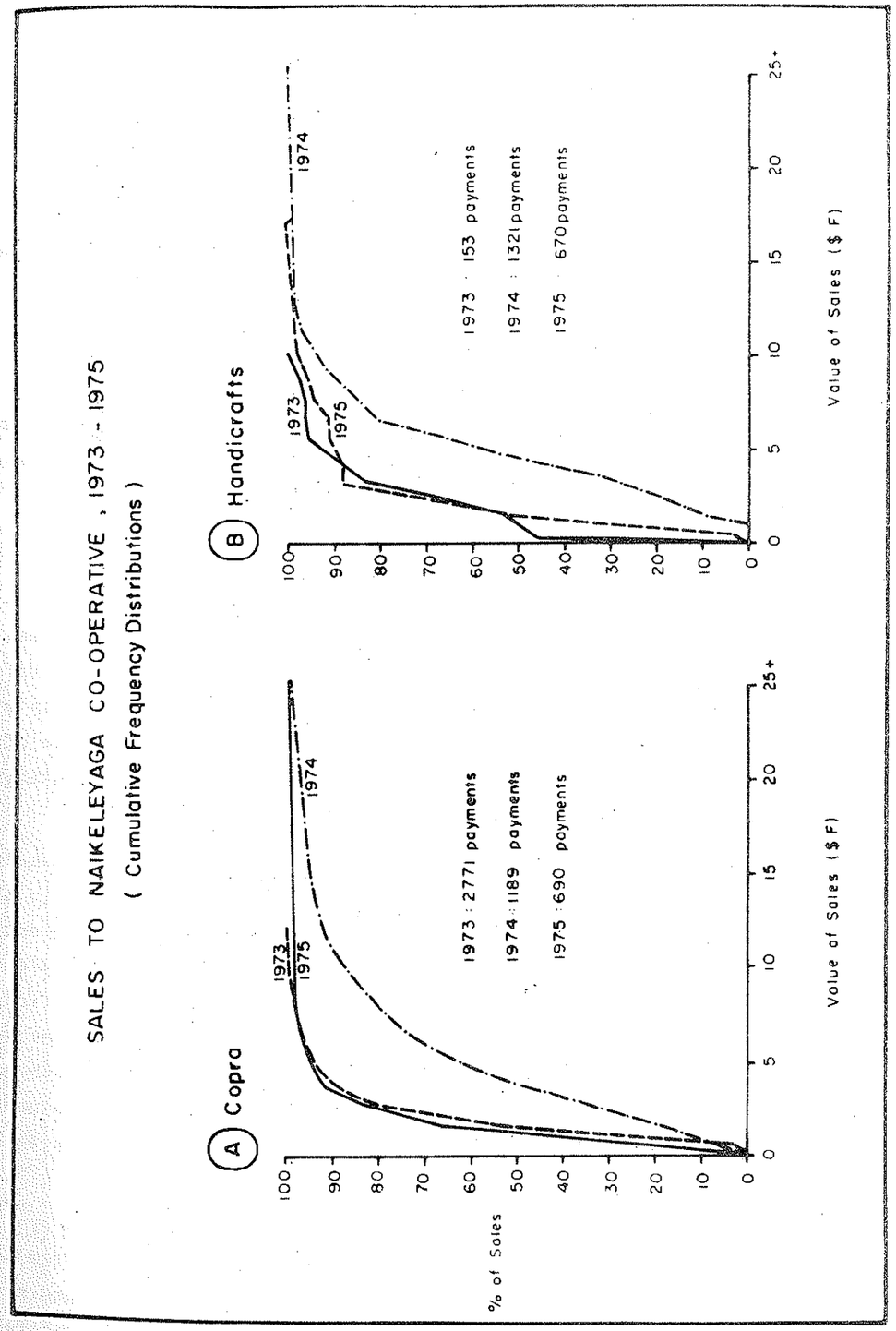


FIGURE 7

(3) heavy dependence on imported foods and hurricane relief for subsistence following destruction of gardens.

C. July - December, 1974:

(1) negligible income from copra;

(2) almost total reliance on handicrafts as a local source of income;

(3) diminishing dependence on purchases of imported foods with provision of continued hurricane relief and recovery of gardens.

D. January - June, 1975:

(1) limited copra production following hurricane Val;

(2) low incomes from handicrafts with collapse of market in Suv

(3) somewhat lower average expenditure on imported foods, despi inflation and destruction of gardens in January, reflecting very low household incomes and continued reliance on hurricane relief supplies.

Income and expenditure patterns were examined for 30 households. A series of simple graphs reveal the major trends over the two years as well demonstrating clearly two important sources of variation between households firstly in terms of the range of incomes and expenditures, and secondly wit reference to the changes, outlined earlier, in the relative importance of copra and handicrafts as sources of income (Figs. 8-14). Summary statistic for each period are contained in Table 9.

In the four periods under consideration average expenditure consisten exceeded total average incomes, although there was little difference in the values between January and July 1974 (Table 9). Approximately 40 percent o the households had an income surplus during the first six months of 1974 (Fig. 14). However, during the latter part of that year, and in the first half of 1975, the more common situation, where expenditure exceeded income, was re-established in all households. This unfavourable balance, which was also evident in the latter part of 1973, seems to be a persistent feature o the local cash economy. Chronic dependence on income derived outside the island is not a recent phenomenon.

One crude measure of this deepening dependence can be obtained by expressing the surplus expenditure as a proportion of total income from loc sources (Table 10). The resulting figures for the four periods demonstrate that, except for a brief respite in early 1974 when some copra was availabl at a time of high prices, the percentage surplus expenditure over income ha

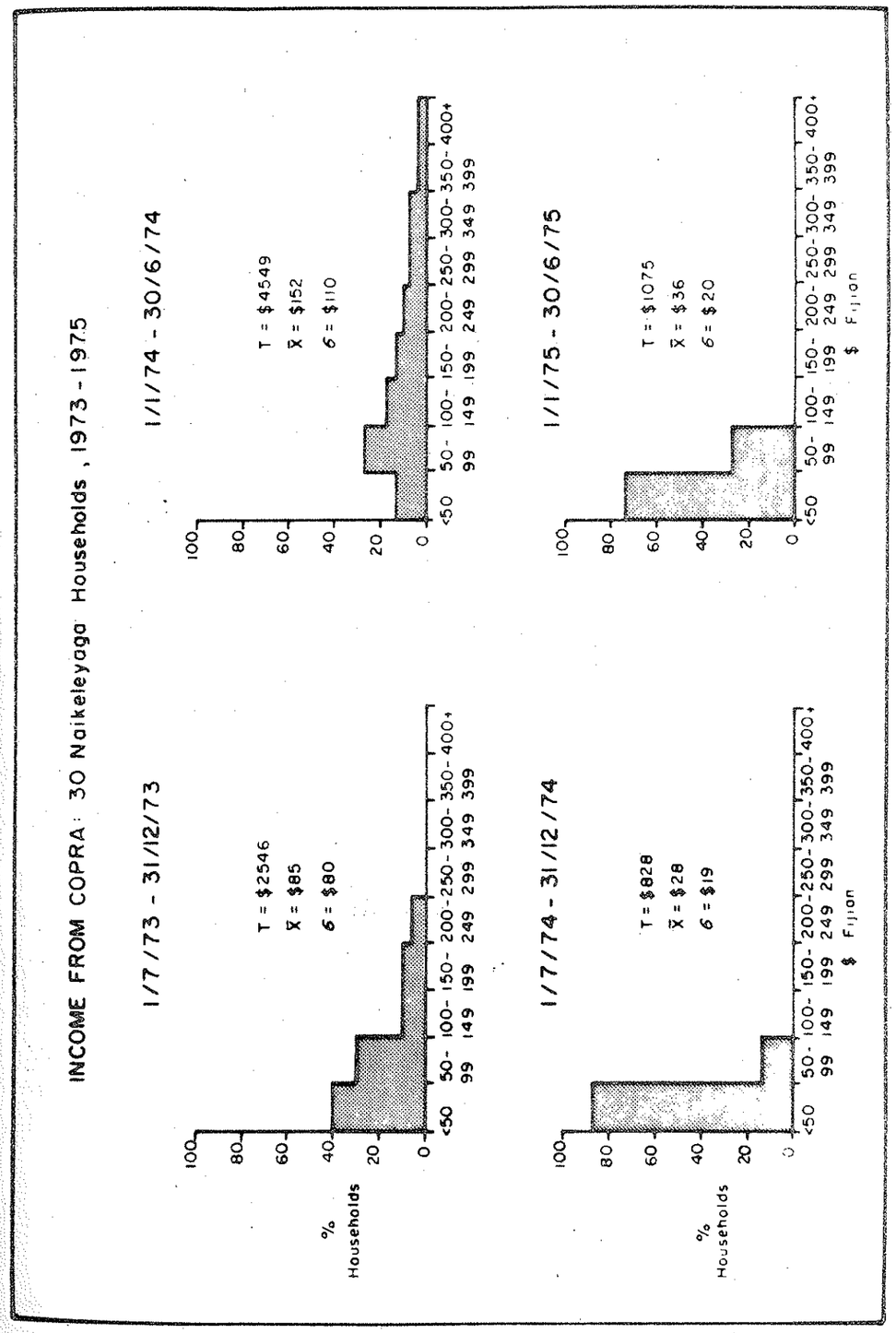


FIGURE 8

FIGURE 9

PROPORTION OF INCOME FROM COPRA: 30 Naikeleyaga Households, 1973-1975

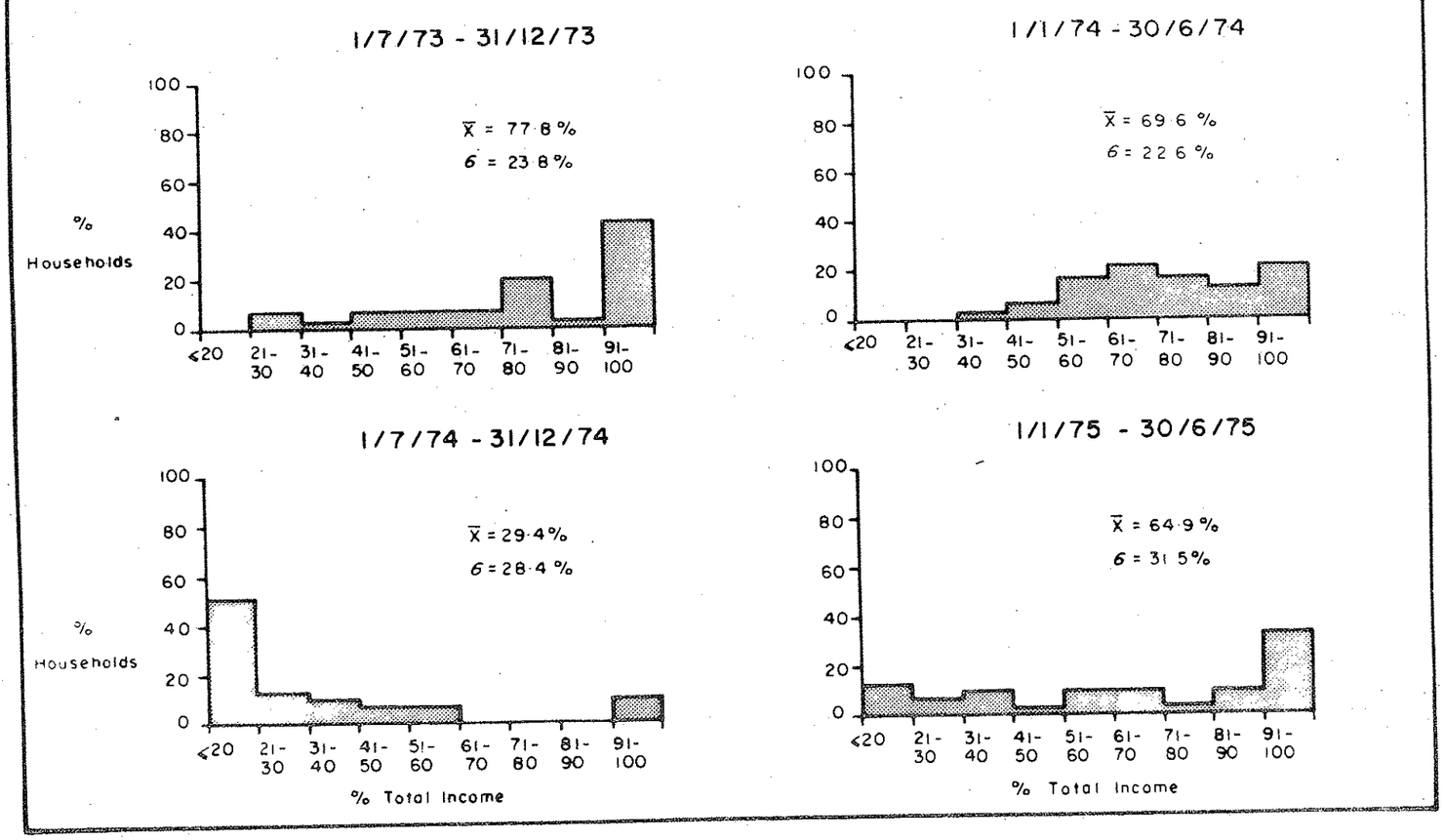


FIGURE 10

INCOME FROM HANDICRAFTS: 30 Naikeleyaga Households, 1973 - 1975

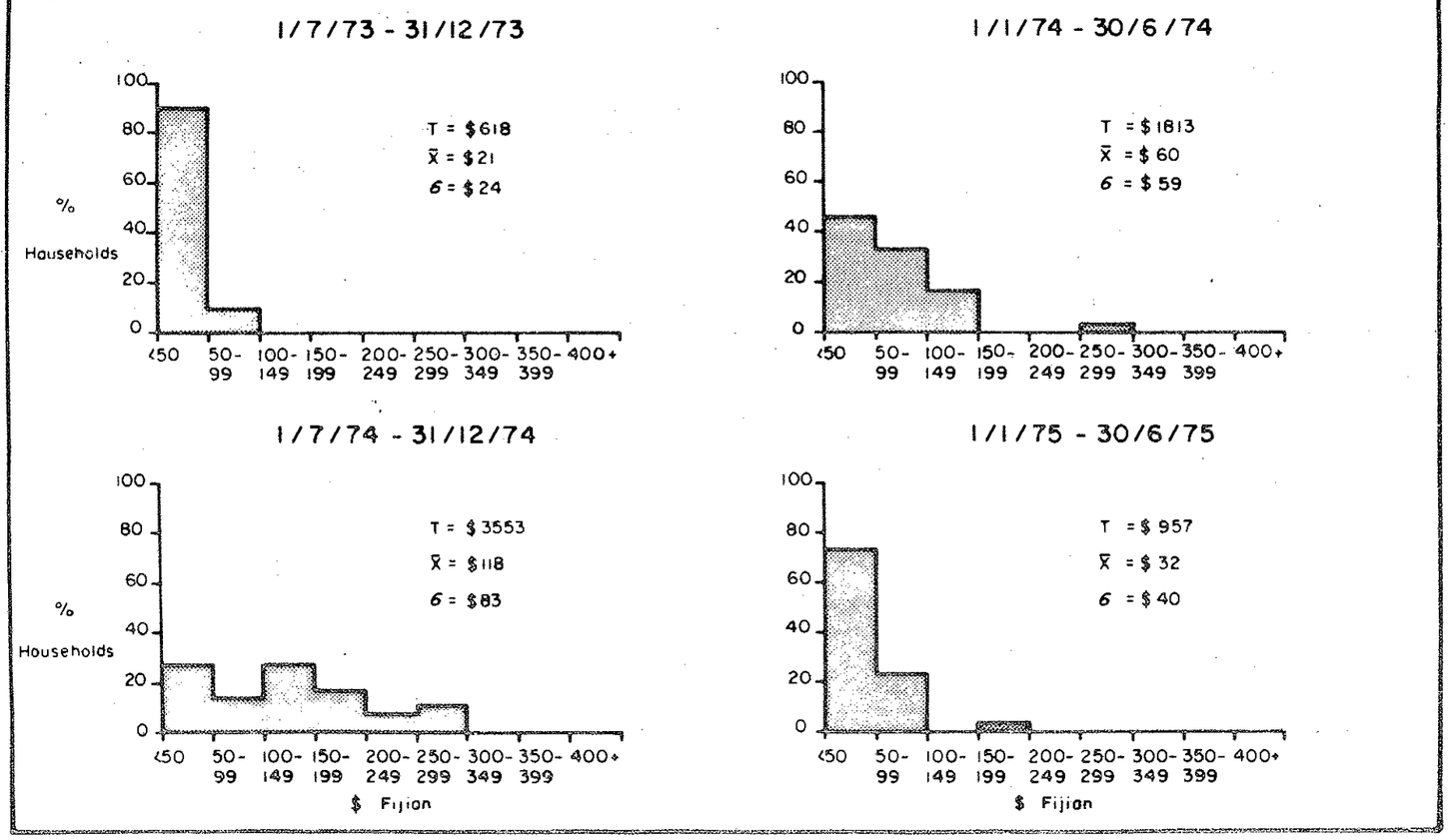


FIGURE 11

PROPORTION OF INCOME FROM HANDICRAFTS: 30 Naikeleyaga Households, 1973-1975

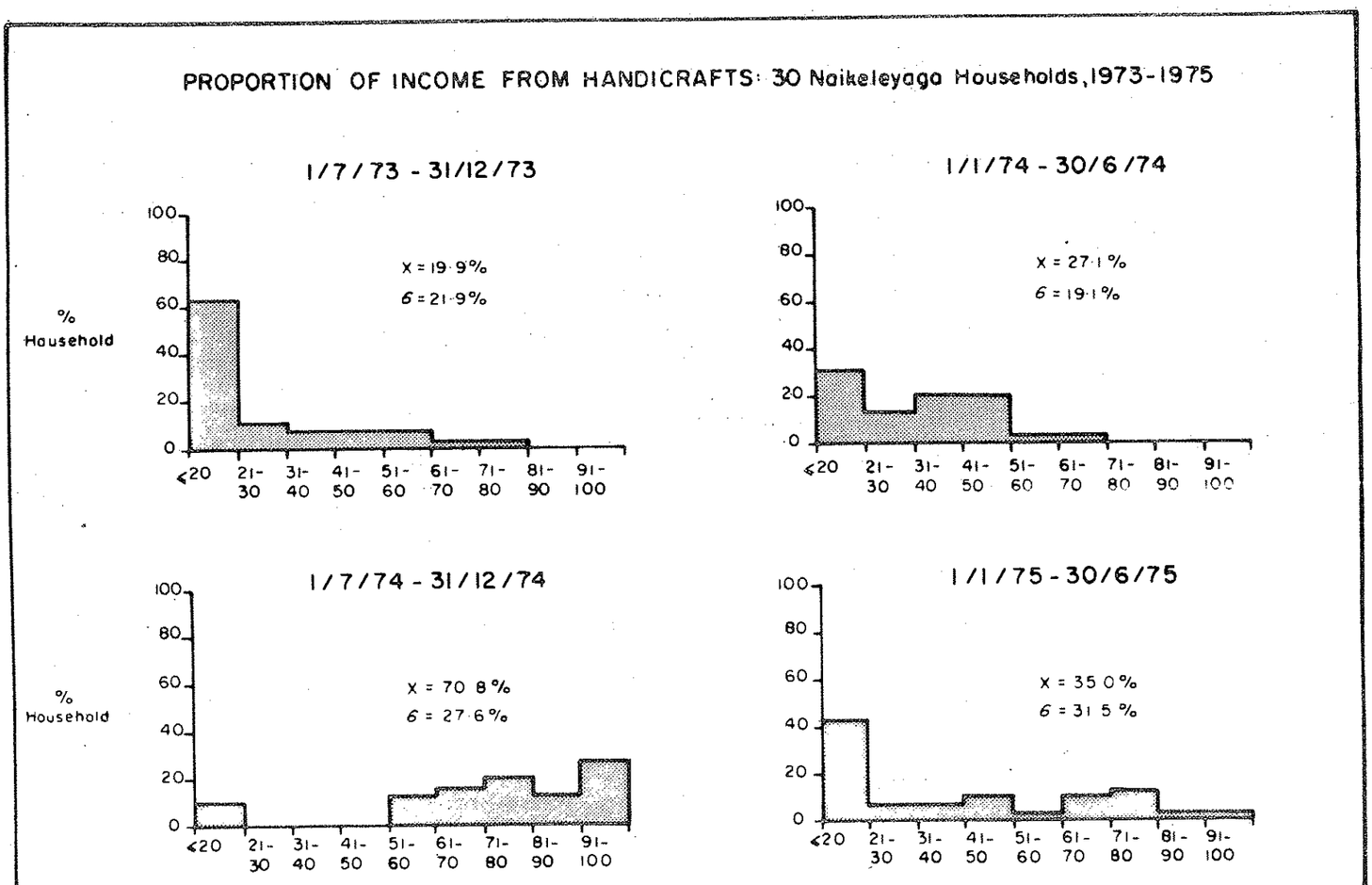


FIGURE 12

TOTAL INCOME: 30 Naikeleyaga Households, 1973 - 1975

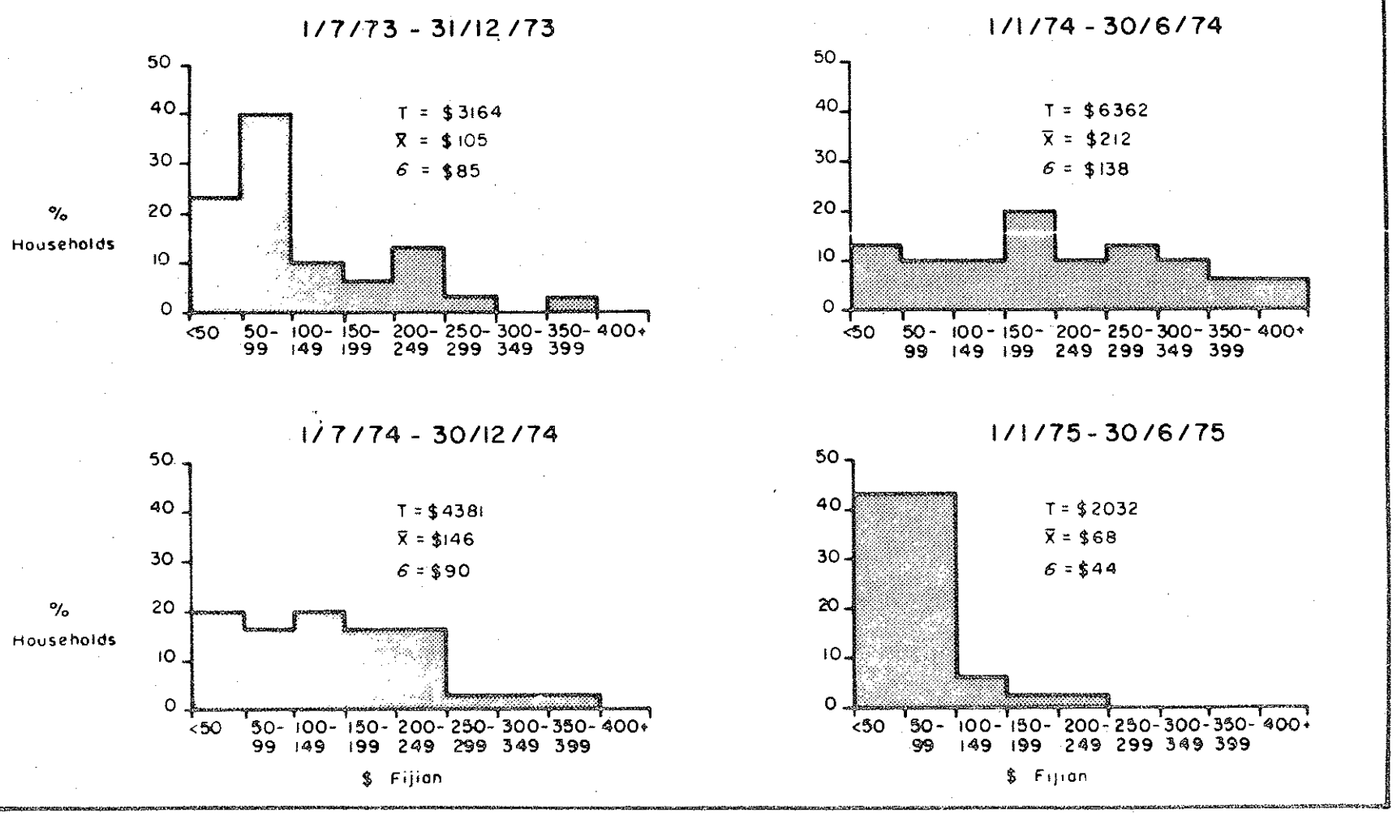


FIGURE 13

EXPENDITURE: 30 Naikeleyaga Households, 1973-1975

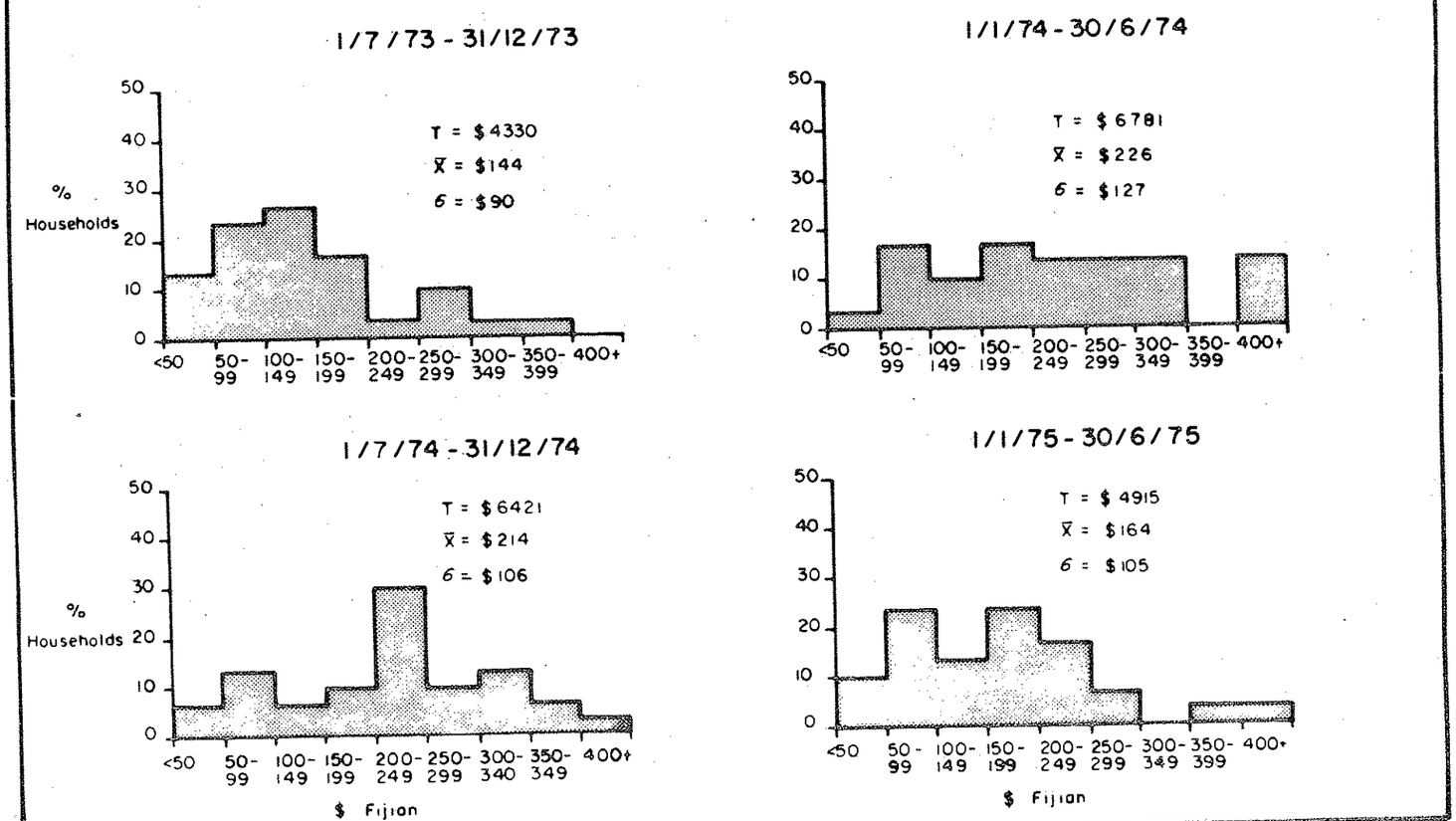


FIGURE 14

INCOME SURPLUS / DEFICIT: 30 Naikeleyaga Households, 1973-1975

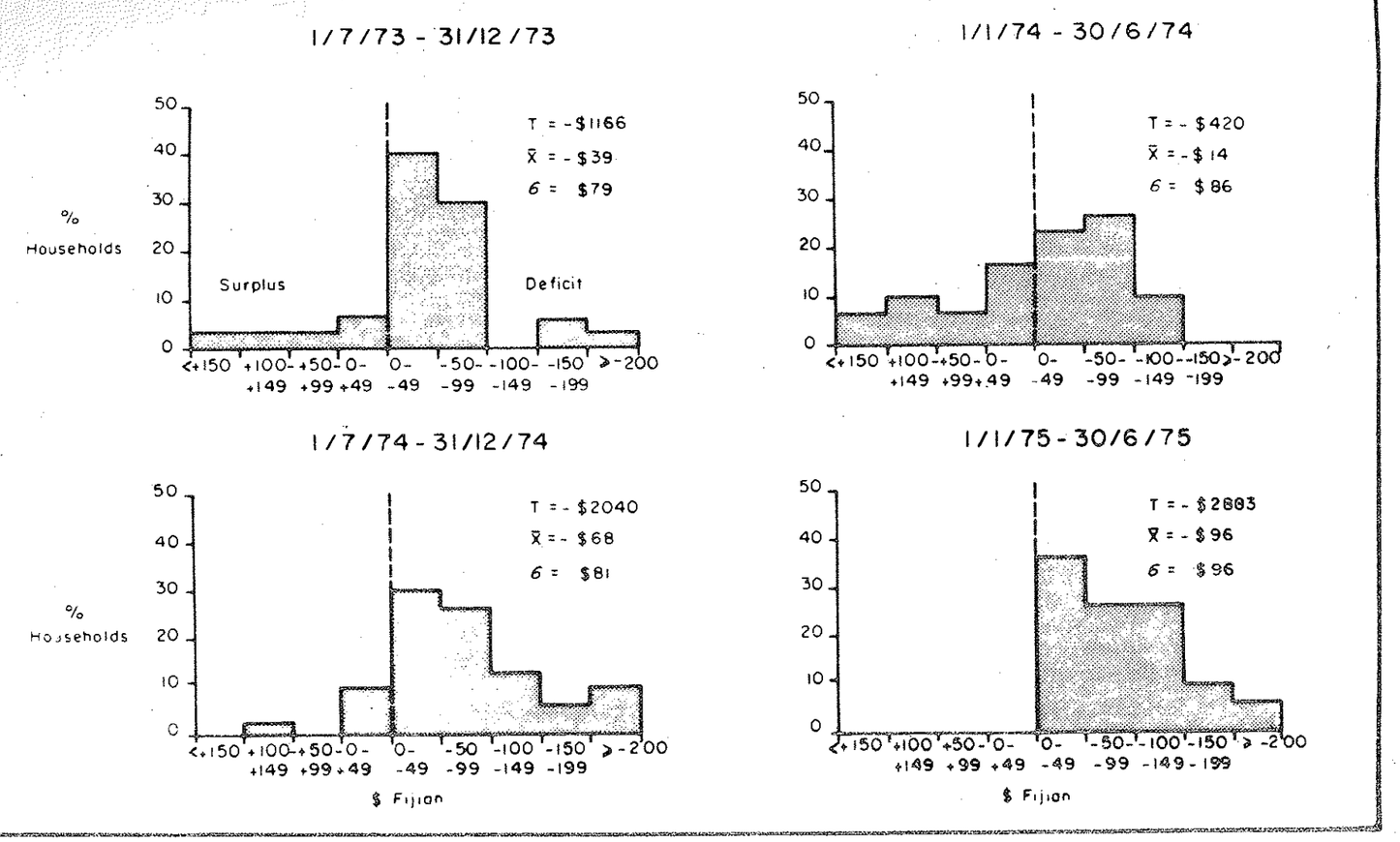


Table 9: Characteristics of income and expenditure: 30 Naikeleyaga households, 1973-1975 ($Fijian)

Item	Period A	B	C	D
Income from copra				
Mean	84.86	151.63	27.60	35.83
S.D.[a]	79.50	110.03	19.33	19.75
Income from handicrafts				
Mean	20.60	60.43	118.45	31.91
S.D.	24.37	58.99	83.18	40.23
Total income				
Mean	105.46	212.05	146.04	67.74
S.D.	84.55	138.15	89.70	43.60
Expenditure				
Mean	144.33	226.04	214.02	163.84
S.D.	90.11	126.55	105.76	105.84

[a]The standard deviation.

Source: Appendix II.

Table 10: Relationships between income and expenditure: 30 Naikeleyaga households, 1973-1975 ($Fijian)

Item	Period A	B	C	D
Surplus expenditure over income				
Mean	38.87	13.99	67.98	96.10
S.D.	79.10	86.12	81.19	96.48
Surplus expenditure as % of total income				
Mean	82.61[a]	41.30	93.13	188.10
S.D.	113.34	64.25	129.20	230.14

[a]Excluding Household 13 which had a very low income for this period and whose surplus expenditure, when expressed as a proportion of total income, unduly biases calculation of the mean and standard deviation.

Source: Appendix II.

een steadily increasing. It should be noted, however, that large standard eviations indicate considerable differences between households in this egard (Table 10).

In order to establish whether variations in income and expenditure uring 1975 could be explained by some measure of household composition, a eries of least-squares regression analyses were undertaken. The results emonstrated that there is no simple linear relationship between dimensions f household composition and the value of produce sold to, or consumer goods urchased from, the Naikeleyaga Co-operative Society (Table 11). The trongest relationship (r = +0.33) was found when income per producer was ompared with the ratio of consumers to producers in each household. When ayliss-Smith (1975, 55) examined incomes in Nacamaki (Koro) in the context f this relationship he was seeking to establish whether households weak in anpower (and therefore with high consumer/producer ratios) achieved higher ncomes per producer, and thus showed a tendency towards more intensive use f labour. In Nacamaki he gained little support for this hypothesis, lthough the relationship was slightly stronger than that obtained in aikeleyaga.

The range in household incomes and expenditures bears little direct elationship to numbers of producers, consumers, or ratios of producers to onsumers in a period of acute depression in the local cash economy. In 975 explanation of these variations between households lay with factors such s the enterprise of particular individuals who are acknowledged craftsmen in andicraft production, and the heavy infusions of capital acquired from eriods in wage employment outside the island. In addition, there has been ome sharing between households of both income derived from sales of andicrafts, as well as produce purchased from the store. It is not possible o regard each household on Kabara as an independent production and onsumption unit, in spite of the often-mentioned tendency towards ndividualism in the sphere of Fijian economic endeavour. Although no detailed tudy of inter-household exchanges was made, observations during meal reparation in different households and at evening social gatherings emonstrated that there was quite extensive sharing of items purchased from he store, especially among related families. It is not possible to isolate he effects of this sharing in the income and expenditure figures derived from he co-operative societies' records. Consequently, the absence of a strong inear relationship between measures of household composition on the one hand, nd cash generation and consumption on the other, is not surprising.

Table 11: Relationships between measures of household composition and total income and expenditure between January and October, 1975: 30 Naikeleyaga households

Dependent variable	Independent variable	Regression equation	Correlation coefficient
Total income	Number in household	Y = 68.23 + 1.91X	0.06
Total expenditure	Number in household	Y = 171.11 + 11.99X	0.15
Total income	Number of producers	Y = 60.31 + 6.01X	0.16
Per-capita income	Consumer/ producer ratio	Y = 18.07 - 2.22X	-0.28
Per-capita expenditure	Consumer/ producer ratio	Y = 48.12 - 2.68X	-0.10
Per-producer income	Consumer/ producer ratio	Y = 15.16 + 4.80X	0.33

Source: Appendix II.

Examination of changes in income and expenditure patterns between 19 and 1975 has clearly demonstrated the extent of Kabara's dependence both o imported consumer items (especially food) and employment outside the islan as a source of cash. This dependence has been greatly accentuated by rece natural disasters and economic crises. There have been no obvious attempt by Kabarans resident on the island in 1975 to adopt strategies which Thomp described in a similar time of hardship in the 1930s. A condition of dependence on the wider economy and society is now an integral component o the way of life for the inhabitants of this small, marginal island.

THE STAYERS

Natural hazards and fluctuations in prices/demand for cash crops are t unusual occurrences on Kabara; both are enduring characteristics of life villages throughout the southern Lau islands. That a significant oportion of Lauans who were brought up in the 'famine isles' (Thompson, 40b, 3) continue to reside in their natal communities despite the havoc eaked by hurricanes, drought and a capricious export market is also not rprising given the deep attachments Fijians have for their land. Residents Kabara in October 1975 had no difficulty in explaining why they had not ft the island at a time of severe economic hardship; indeed most found it ther strange to be asked to give reasons for staying.

In the eyes of many of the younger men who had recently returned from va or New Zealand, life in the village was considered to be more satisfying a number of ways than what was often termed a noisy, crowded, costly and clock-regulated' existence in the town. However, living on Kabara was ecognised as having its disadvantages, especially at a time when there was shortage of money, rapid inflation, and, perhaps worst of all, no pportunity to improve one's locally derived cash earnings because of forces eyond the Kabarans' control.

Because of these unfavourable economic circumstances, a number of the unger men in particular were planning to leave the island for a period in ge employment as soon as their gardens were fully re-established and the rricane relief house construction programme had been completed. Many of abara's 'stayers' were not representatives of a population with different spirations to those who had already moved away. An examination of recent bility experiences of a cross-section of the 'stayer' population reveals hat this group's activities span a wide spatial domain in which Kabara is ly one, if still the most important, node.

bility and employment

Migration and employment histories were obtained for a sample of 44 men iving in Naikeleyaga, Tokalau and Udu.[1] Most were heads of their respective ouseholds, and two-thirds had had two or more periods of at least one month's ration away from Kabara since 1971. Forty percent had worked in Suva at

[1] Selected data on the migration experiences of this group are contained in Appendix I.

some stage over the previous five years, and a further 22 percent had been employed in rural areas, mainly on Viti Levu. Of those who had moved, over 75 percent returned directly to the village: their pattern of mobility corresponded to the circular migration which has been described in other parts of the rural Pacific (Bedford, 1973a and b; Chapman, 1976). For the remainder, a step-wise pattern typified their migration (Fig. 15). Just under half of the men interviewed had been absent from Kabara at some stage within the previous 12 months, and almost all had spent at least two of the past five years living in the village.

These summary statistics give some indication of the extent to which residents had moved outside Kabara in recent years. When a greater time-depth was added to the migration histories a significant shift in the direction of most moves was apparent. During the 1950s and early 1960s plantations on Taveuni and in Buca Bay, and sugar estates in the Nadroga and Ba Provinces on Viti Levu were the major destinations (Fig. 15). Groups would leave Kabara to work on contract for between 3 and 12 months, often with the objective of acquiring capital for a particular village project, such as construction of a church, establishment of a co-operative society, or purchase of a punt. Over the past decade these group migrations have been less common. The most frequent destination since the mid-1960s has been Suva and, in general, personal circumstances have dictated the timing, duration and direction of movement rather than some common purpose involving a wider group.

Recent events have resulted in a resurgence of group migration. Destruction of village property (especially churches) as well as many houses has led to a number of moves where a major aim is to acquire cash for a particular communal purpose. The government has encouraged this by organising contracts for employment in State-owned rural enterprises in other parts of the country, as well as by giving preference to people from hurricane-devastated areas in the allocation of permits to work in New Zealand. In January 1975, for example, the Commissioner of the Eastern Division sought men from the Lau islands for short-term employment in the government's pine forest scheme at Lololo, Viti Levu. Ten from Naikeleyaga and two from Udu took up this offer of two months work. A number of the Naikeleyaga men followed this up with four months in New Zealand. All returned to the village in August.

Group work in New Zealand is being actively encouraged in the village. The Naikeleyaga community has recently paid the fares to Suva of another ten

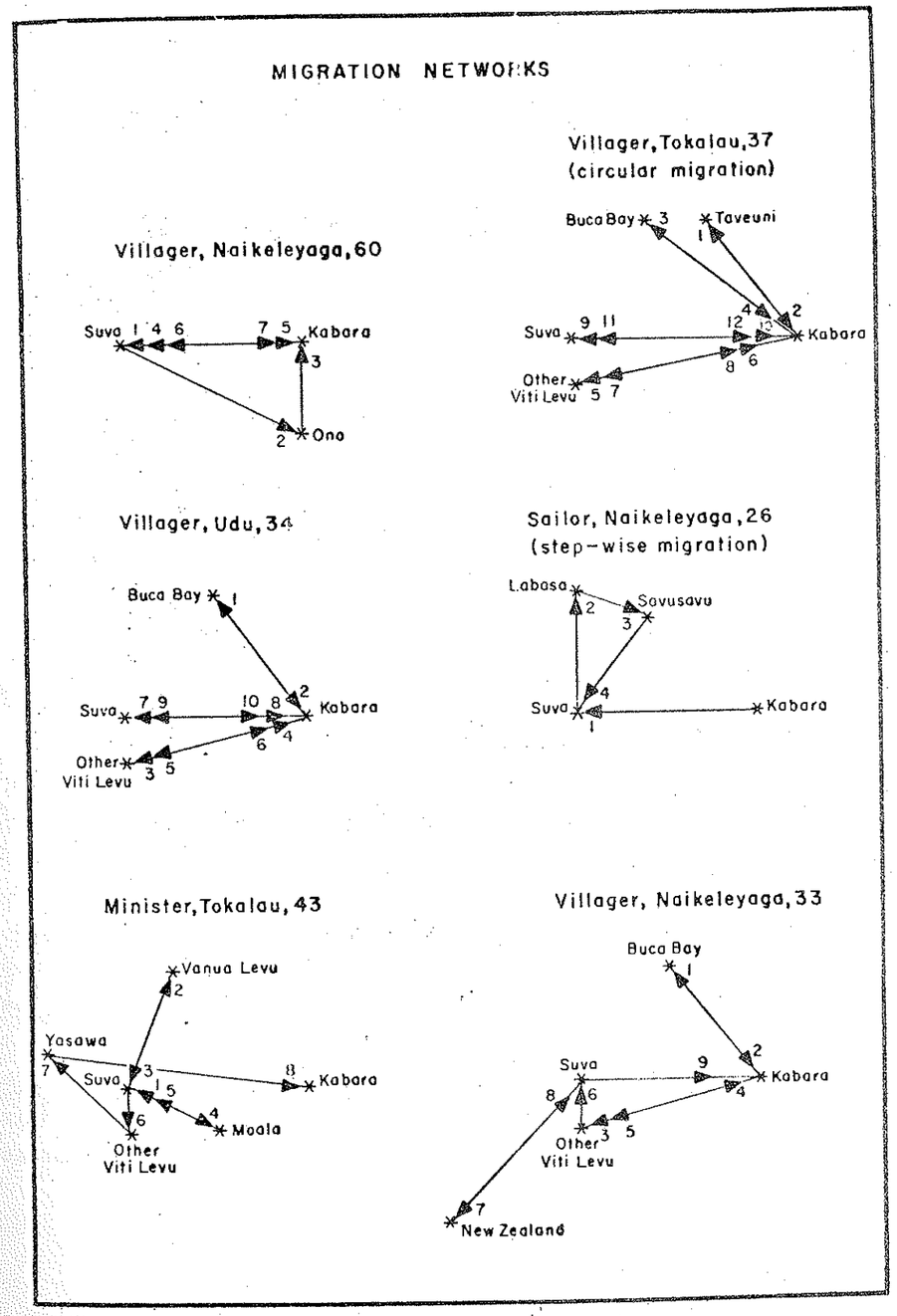


FIGURE 15

men who hope to get permits to work in New Zealand. On their return they wi refund these fares and make a contribution towards a village fund which is being raised to repair the church. A portion of this fund is also being set aside to cover the fares and some living expenses of the next group who plan to leave for Suva early in 1976. There is a considerable amount of interest in work in New Zealand among the Kabarans. The only problem, as far as they are concerned, is that there is no guarantee of getting a permit because of the competition among Fijians for a chance to spend four months earning a relatively large salary. However, many are confident that their wait in Suv will not be unduly long; village reconstruction programmes have high priorit as a reason for working in New Zealand.

It was difficult to establish how much money from wages had been injected into the local cash economy over the past three years. Those who has recently returned from New Zealand were reluctant to disclose the amount they had saved. Expenditure patterns revealed, however, that wages earned outside the island were the most important source of money funding what was quite atypical consumption of imported foods for their households. Inadequa supplies of sweet potato and tapioca was another reason for the high level o store purchases among this group. As noted earlier, a number of the men who went to New Zealand had been absent from Kabara since February. Their garde had not therefore been re-established after hurricane Val.

One of the major reasons for the replanting programme falling behind schedule in most villages on Kabara has been the absence of heads of household during the year. When the turaga ni koro of Naikeleyaga did his three-monthly check of garden preparation in October, he found that more tha half of the households had not planted the required number of sweet potatoes and tapioca. Instead of there being another 200 of each in the gardens sinc the previous check in July, the average number of tapioca plants was only 10 and the mean for sweet potatoes was 114. Another reason given for this shortfall was the requirement that all men work two days a week on house reconstruction. While the men in Naikeleyaga did not object to this communa work, many did comment that it was interrupting gardening and handicraft production.

Attitudes towards village life

Despite the severe disruption caused by a chain of natural and economi crises, those residing on Kabara in October 1975 were not unduly pessimistic

about the future. In fact, the comment was occasionally made that cyclone Lottie and hurricane Val had been blessings in disguise. Not only had the villagers received considerable quantities of imported foods and assistance with permanent materials for new houses (including the provision of chain saws), but unproductive soils on Delaioloi had regained their fertility as a result of the heavy rains. Kabara, along with other small islands in the southern Lau had been suffering from a drought in the early 1970s, and soils on the volcanic hill were becoming noticeably less productive, according to local informants. Over the past two years, however, crops have been the best remembered for a long time.

One explanation given for the presence of more young married and unmarried adults on the island than I had expected was the nature of the hurricane relief. It was stated that if the response by the government had been less generous, many more would have left the island in search of wage employment in Suva. Other factors, however, such as pressing family commitments over the past two years, plus an acknowledged shortage of jobs in Suva, have played an important role in keeping a surprisingly large number of young people on the island. Their presence has ensured that there is a lively social scene -- meke (traditional dancing) practices, church youth group activities, inter-village competitions, kava and home-brew parties are frequent occurrences in the larger villages.

While many who had been educated in Suva or who had experienced the night life of the city were often critical of restrictions imposed by village leaders on certain types of social activity (such as western-style dancing), there were few complaints of boredom. Indeed, the virtues of freedom and variety in the domain of village-based life were repeatedly contrasted with a more regimented, hurried and costly existence in the city. The stayers had no difficulty justifying their presence in the village as long as they could continue to sustain a life style which is now dependent on imported foods and on cash incomes which, at present, must be obtained for the most part outside the island.

DIMENSIONS OF DEPENDENCE

Dependence on a wider world for essential supplies and certain political decisions is not a new phenomenon for the Kabarans. A long history of economic and social ties between Kabara and neighbouring as well as distant islands has been outlined by Thompson (1938). In this final section I summarise the changing nature of dependency relationships which have linked Kabarans into a wider world for a considerable time. In doing this I draw heavily on Thompson's writings in which she describes patterns of dependence prior to the Second World War.

Pre-colonial dependence

The first series of dependency relationships, which can be reconstructed from local folklore and genealogies, were established following the invasion of Kabara by a group from northeast Viti Levu who imposed a complicated ranking system on the indigenous 'people of the land'. Prior to their arrival there does not appear to have been much inter-island movement of people or exchange of goods (Fig. 16). Under the influence of these immigrants Kabara became a powerful chiefdom during the first stages of what became a cultural revolution throughout the southern Lau islands. Kabara's chiefs held inhabitants of the neighbouring islands of Namuka, Komo, Wagava and Marabo in tributary relationship. During this period there was considerable specialisation in production on the small islands. Thompson (1938, 188) has summarised one outcome of this in the following words:

> A lively inter-island trade grew up between the coral limestone islands and those of volcanic formation. The fertile volcanic islands exchanged food for manufactured articles such as canoes, woodwork, tapa and mats from the infertile islands since the former lacked the natural resources and specialized skills necessary for these crafts.

This exchange, or the solevu as it was termed locally, was an efficient and self-regulatory mechanism to stimulate production of food and craft articles and to expand the system of distribution to link areas with complementary resources (Thompson, 1949, 20).

Inter-island communication and trade intensified following the eventual domination of all islands in the southern Lau by the chiefdom of

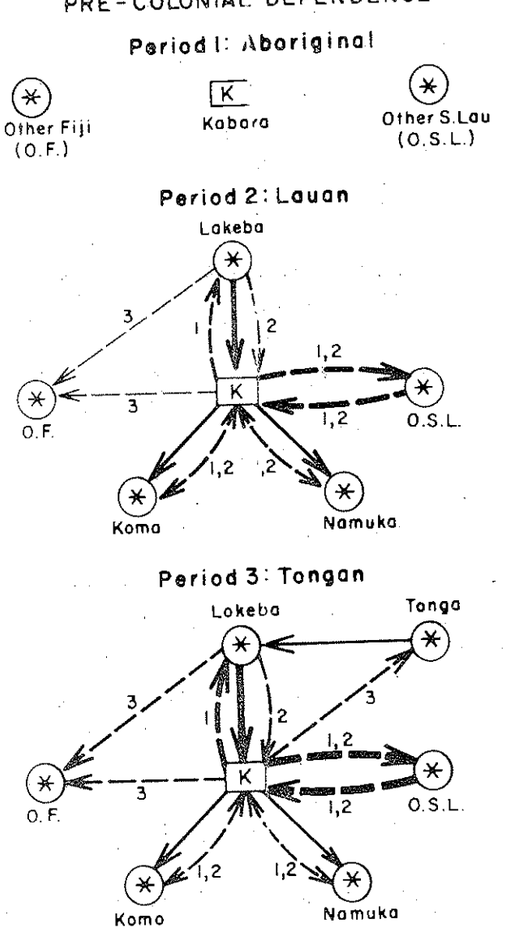


FIGURE 16

Lakeba. For Kabara this meant new channels of dependence as heavy tribute, in the form of trade articles, had to be offered to the chiefs on Lakeba (Fig. 16). In addition, the island's political hierarchy was now in a subordinate position with reference to an external decision-making authority. The chiefs on Lakeba encouraged the development of more extensive trading networks. Because of its stands of hardwood, Kabara became the centre of a major canoe industry which had a market throughout Fiji and Tonga (Fig. 16). Tongans are reputed to have remained for months and even years on the island while they, with the aid of local craftsmen, constructed canoes which were far superior to the ones built in their own country (Thompson, 1938, 190).

Another product highly desired by the Tongans was perfumed oil and demand for this stimulated the systematic planting of coconut trees which later served as the basis for the copra trade. Kabara was thus firmly linked into a chain of dependency relationships which accompanied increasing Tongan influence in Lakeba and throughout the Lau group. With the penetration of missionaries (initially Tongans) and later traders seeking coconut oil and copra new patterns of dependence began to emerge.

Post-contact dependence

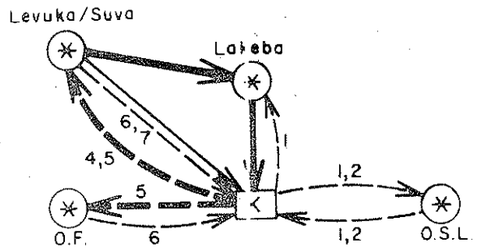
The establishment of colonial rule and expension of the copra industry saw Kabarans exchanging coconuts for European trade goods rather than supplying oil to the Tongans as tribute. Trading links were reoriented towards Levuka which was also the new centre of administrative control. However, in the sphere of social relations and political power, Lakeba continued to have an important influence on Kabara (Fig. 17).

The new dependency relations deepened as imported material goods revolutionised diets, clothing styles and technology. Exporting local produce was supplemented by labour migration as a means of obtaining trade goods and money. During the first three decades of the twentieth century intensified interaction with the new economic centres of colonial Fiji led to the neglect of the former inter-island trade. The colonial government also banned the solevu and thereby undermined a nicely adjusted system of food and craft production and distribution and, according to Thompson (1949, 21-22), engendered a food shortage on many of the limestone islands. This, in turn, served to increase dependence on European foods, and consequently on the cash economy.

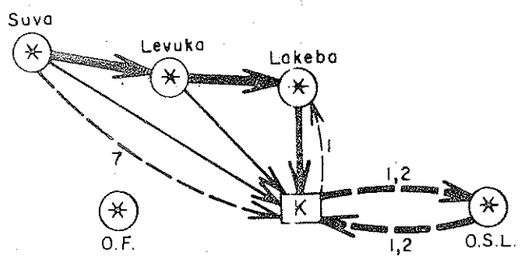
During the 1930s there was a brief readjustment in the nature of

POST-CONTACT DEPENDENCE

Period 4: Early Colonial



Period 5: Depression



Period 6: Post-War

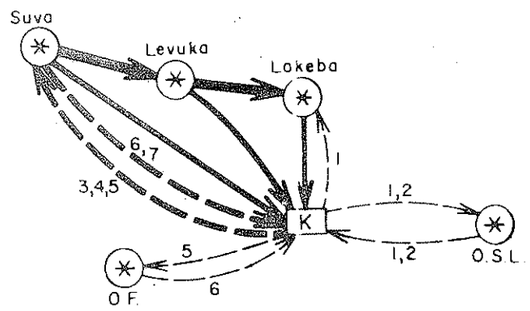


FIGURE 17

dependency relations. The collapse of the copra market was accompanied by virtual cessation of communication with the world outside the Lau group. Shipping services linking Kabara and other islands into the wider Fijian economy became very infrequent and Lauans no longer had access to the trade goods on which they had become so dependent. According to Thompson (1938, 197) this 'sudden isolation of the islands... forced the natives back to economic independence and allowed the culture time for re-adjustment toward the creation of a new balance.' Local inter-island trade in food and craft products intensified, and the solevu style of exchange once again became important in the life of Kabarans and others in the southern Lau (Fig. 17).

The 'new balance' was short-lived. Recovery of the copra market and more frequent shipping services between Suva and the Lau islands were followed by re-establishment of the pre-Depression patterns of dependence. Accompanying a period of prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s was increasing reliance on export trade and the cash economy. The revival in economic interchange between islands in the Lau faded into insignificance as imported foods and tools once again assumed importance in local diets and productive activities. In addition to this growing economic dependence, the influence of external political authority became more powerful (Fig. 17). Decision-making in Suva and Levuka was affecting the path of 'development' for Kabarans both directly, through the siting of welfare services and facilities on their island, and indirectly through attempts to influence growth in all sectors of the cash economy.

The extent to which Kabarans have become dependent on a wider world for their survival as a viable community in the 1970s was revealed in the spate of recent natural disasters and economic crises. Extensive supplies of food and building materials have been required to facilitate recovery of the shattered subsistence sector. Assistance in obtaining wage employment has been necessary following the drop in demand for handicrafts. Kabarans repeatedly emphasised the need for further government intervention in the cash sector of the economy by instituting some scheme which would stabilise the handicraft industry. The solution to current problems was not perceived to be less dependence on the wider economy; rather, greater linkage with Suva and more direct reliance on external decision-making were advocated.

The delicate balance between man and environment in the small islands of the southern Lau, which Thompson has described so vividly in her various writings, has been radically restructured. A more comprehensive statement

on man-environment relations on Kabara in the 1970s will be possible when current ecological research is completed. Without doubt there has been much 'continuity' in the evolution of a 'modernised' Kabaran culture, and the residents' problem-solving talents which impressed Thompson so much have not been lost. However, a comment made by a writer from another Pacific country sums up a feeling which was expressed more than once on Kabara in October 1975: 'Our island (has become) a remote outpost... the last place in a country which has few centres and much remoteness.' (Luana, 1969, 15)

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APPENDIX I

Demographic Data

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Table I.1: Population change, 1881-1975

Year	Lau Province		Kabara	Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomaiviti Group
	Fijian	Total				
1881	+7,300	+8,000	306	?	?	?
1891	6,884	7,160	?	?	?	?
1901	6,784	7,022	?	?	?	?
1911	6,848	7,605	347	125	100	394
1921	7,693	8,325	382	130	109	469
1936	9,256	9,671	415	138	127	404
1946	10,360	10,970	506	174	144	799
1956	12,954	13,500	606	243	192	764
1966	15,561	15,988	731	288	198	954
1975	?	?	564	209	184	629

Sources: Fiji census reports 1881-1966; survey data 1975.

Table I.2: Kabara, age-sex distribution

	1921			1956			1966			1975		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
	43	21	64	50	81	131	71	83	154	29	33	62
	25	35	60	46	45	91	72	62	134	56	61	117
4	18	25	43	33	27	60	42	57	99	56	45	101
9	11	23	34	27	37	64	18	30	48	19	40	59
4	17	16	33	18	24	42	15	24	39	20	17	37
9	6	10	16	20	22	42	20	28	48	8	18	26
4	14	17	31	14	19	33	18	15	33	8	14	22
9	8	16	24	16	15	31	13	18	31	10	17	27
4	7	7	14	14	11	25	11	17	28	12	13	25
9	11	8	19	5	10	15	14	10	24	5	10	15
4	4	10	14	7	10	17	11	15	26	5	10	15
9	5	6	11	7	8	15	5	8	13	7	11	18
	10	5	15	14	26	40	25	29	54	17	21	38
	1	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
	180	202	382	271	335	606	335	396	731	252	312	564

Table I.3: Naikeleyaga Village, age-sex distribution

Age Group	1921			1956			1966			1975	
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
0-4	14	5	19	16	34	50	25	30	55	6	12
5-9	11	7	18	15	20	35	30	27	57	20	23
10-14	4	5	9	14	12	26	14	25	39	25	18
15-19	5	7	12	8	12	20	3	12	15	8	13
20-24	7	7	14	8	11	19	6	10	16	6	5
25-29	4	2	6	9	7	16	7	6	13	3	7
30-34	8	8	16	7	10	17	10	6	16	3	6
35-39	3	5	8	5	6	11	5	10	15	4	9
40-44	1	2	3	7	3	10	4	8	12	4	5
45-49	3	1	4	2	4	6	4	3	7	1	5
50-54	-		4	4	4	8	6	7	13	1	4
55-59	3	2	5	3	5	8	2	4	6	1	4
60+	5	5	10	6	11	17	12	12	24	8	8
N.S.	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL	69	61	130	104	139	243	128	160	288	90	11

Table I.4: Tokalau Village, age-sex distribution

Group	1921			1956			1966			1975		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
-4	14	9	23	16	27	43	15	27	42	13	10	23
-9	6	13	19	21	16	37	16	13	29	15	20	35
-14	6	8	14	11	8	19	12	17	29	14	18	32
-19	2	6	8	9	10	19	11	7	18	6	15	21
-24	5	4	9	4	10	14	6	7	13	12	6	18
-29	-	1	1	5	7	12	6	10	16	3	4	7
-34	2	4	6	4	5	9	3	4	7	2	5	7
-39	3	6	9	4	5	9	5	3	8	4	4	8
-44	2	2	4	4	5	9	2	5	7	5	4	9
-49	4	3	7	2	2	4	3	5	8	1	3	4
54	2	3	5	1	3	4	4	3	7	2	4	6
59	1	1	2	2	1	3	-	1	1	3	3	6
0+	1	-	1	4	6	10	6	7	13	4	2	6
S.	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
L	48	61	109	87	105	192	89	109	198	84	100	184

Table I.5: Lomati Village, age-sex distribution

Age Group	1921			1956			1966			1975		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-4	4	3	7	13	5	18	7	11	18	3	5	8
5-9	2	6	8	5	7	12	10	10	20	4	10	14
10-14	2	3	5	7	5	12	10	6	16	5	5	10
15-19	2	3	5	1	6	7	1	8	9	2	4	6
20-24	1	4	5	2	1	3	2	4	6	1	2	3
25-29	-	1	1	3	2	5	3	1	4	2	5	7
30-34	-	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	-	1
35-39	-	1	1	4	2	6	-	2	2	-	1	1
40-44	-	2	2	2	2	4	3	3	6	2	3	5
45-49	1	2	3	-	-	-	4	1	5	-	1	1
50-54	2	1	3	1	1	2	1	2	3	1	1	2
55-59	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	3
60+	3	-	3	1	2	3	1	1	2	-	1	1
N.S.	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	17	29	46	40	36	76	44	51	95	23	39	62

Table I.6: Udu Village, age-sex distribution

Age group	1921			1956			1966			1975		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-4	11	4	15	5	15	20	24	15	39	7	6	13
5-9	6	9	15	5	2	7	16	12	28	17	8	25
10-14	6	9	15	1	2	3	6	9	15	12	4	16
15-19	2	7	9	9	9	18	3	3	6	3	8	11
20-24	4	1	5	4	2	6	1	3	4	1	4	5
25-29	2	6	8	3	6	9	4	11	15	-	2	2
30-34	4	4	8	2	2	4	4	4	8	2	3	5
35-39	2	4	6	3	2	5	3	3	6	2	3	5
40-44	4	1	5	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	2
45-49	3	2	5	1	4	5	3	1	4	3	1	4
50-54	-	2	2	1	2	3	-	3	3	1	1	2
55-59	1	2	3	2	1	3	2	2	4	1	3	4
60+	1	-	1	3	7	10	6	9	15	5	10	15
N.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	46	51	97	40	55	95	74	76	150	55	54	109

Table I.7: Membership of Kabara mataqali, adults

Village/ Mataqali	Total members Dec. 1975			Resident members Oct. 1975		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
Naikeleyaga						
Naivotavota	94	88	182	12	23	35
Tagu	76	76	152	13	13	26
Nagara	55	37	92	9	6	15
TOTAL	225	201	426	34	42	76
Tokalau						
Vuanitavola	114	113	227	29	27	56
Vuanikacu	31	44	75	9	5	14
TOTAL	145	157	302	38	32	70
Lomati						
Nakaka	32	11	43	8	6	14
Lomati	9	18	27	2	2	4
Levuka	7	3	10	1	-	1
TOTAL	48	32	80	11	8	19
Udu						
Sauma	31	35	66	3	5	8
Matasoata	25	26	51	5	5	10
Muanicake	24	26	50	10	13	23
TOTAL	80	87	167	18	23	41
TOTAL	498	477	975	101	105	206

Table I.8: Membership of Kabara mataqali, children (- 15yr)

Village/ Mataqali	Total members Dec. 1975			Resident members Oct. 1975		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
Naikeleyaga						
Naivotavota	18	16	34	8	13	21
Tagu	23	22	45	18	15	33
Nagara	20	27	47	10	12	22
TOTAL	61	65	126	36	40	76
Tokalau						
Vuanitavola	36	45	81	30	32	62
Vuanikacu	15	16	31	10	12	22
TOTAL	51	61	112	40	44	84
Lomati						
Nakaka	10	10	20	7	8	15
Lomati	3	4	7	3	4	7
Levuka	2	4	6	2	3	5
TOTAL	15	18	33	12	15	27
Udu						
Sauma	21	17	38	4	2	6
Matasoata	14	15	29	4	5	9
Muanicake	24	17	41	17	13	30
TOTAL	59	49	108	25	20	45
TOTAL	186	193	379	113	119	232

Table I.9: Membership of Kabara mataqali, all persons

Village/ Mataqali	Total members Dec. 1975			Resident members Oct. 1975		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
Naikeleyaga						
Naivotavota	112	104	216	20	36	56
Tagu	99	98	197	31	28	59
Nagara	75	64	139	19	18	37
TOTAL	286	266	552	70	82	152
Tokalau						
Vuanitavola	150	158	308	59	59	118
Vuanikacu	46	60	106	19	17	36
TOTAL	196	218	414	78	76	154
Lomati						
Nakaka	42	21	63	15	14	29
Lomati	12	22	34	5	6	11
Levuka	9	7	16	3	3	6
TOTAL	53	60	113	23	23	46
Udu						
Sauma	52	52	104	7	7	14
Matasoata	39	41	80	9	10	19
Muanicake	48	43	91	27	26	53
TOTAL	139	136	275	43	43	86
TOTAL	674	680	1354	214	224	438

Table I.10: Migration from Kabara villages, 1966-1975

Group	Village Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu	Total
Children (-15)					
(a) there 1966	151	100	54	82	387
(b) absent 1975[a]	81	46	33	53	213
(c) present 1975[b]	70	54	21	29	174
Adults (15+)					
(a) there 1966	137	98	41	68	344
(b) absent 1975	79	55	22	31	187
(c) present 1975	58	43	19	37	157
All persons					
(a) there 1966	288	198	95	150	731
(b) absent 1975	160	101	55	84	400
(c) present 1975	128	97	40	66	331
Households					
(a) there 1966	44	28	12	22	106
(b) absent 1975	16	14	5	9	44
(c) present 1975	28	14	7	13	62

a Persons who were in the village in 1966 but not present at the time of survey in October 1975.

b Persons who were in the village in 1966 and October 1975.

Sources: Recomputation of 1966 census data and results of survey October 1975.

Table I.11: Characteristics of the resident population, Kabara 1975

Characteristic	Village Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu	Total
Sex					
Males	90	84	23	55	252
Females	119	100	39	54	312
Total	209	184	62	109	564
Structure					
<15	104	90	32	54	280
15-59	89	88	29	40	244
60+	16	6	1	15	38
Marital Status					
Single	143	128	43	72	388
Married	60	50	8	29	157
Widowed	5	5	1	6	17
Div/Separated	1	1	-	-	2
Place Origin					
(a) Heads: village	20	19	7	12	58
other vill.	2	1	1	-	4
other Fiji	1	5	-	1	7
(b) Wives: village	15	13	2	9	39
other vill.	6	4	3	3	16
other Fiji	7	4	4	1	16
Relation to Head					
Head	23	26	8	13	70
Wife	28	20	9	13	70
Son	43	42	13	20	118
Daughter	54	54	23	20	151
Other relatives	58	42	9	42	151
Non-relatives	3	-	-	1	4
Size of Household					
<5	6	7	2	3	18
5-10	27	13	8	7	55
10+	-	6	-	4	10
Total	33	26	10	14	83
Number of Adults in HH.					
1-2	12	11	4	5	32
2+	21	15	6	9	51

Table I.11 (cont'd)

Characteristic	Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu	Total
Number Adult Males					
0	3	1	1	1	6
1	21	15	7	9	52
2	8	6	2	4	20
2+	1	4	-	-	5
Number of Children					
0	1	4	1	2	8
1-3	20	7	3	5	35
4+	12	15	6	7	40
Number with Absentees					
0	9	17	2	7	35
1	14	5	2	3	24
2	5	2	2	2	11
2+	5	2	4	2	13
Absentee Sons/Daughters in Suva (HH.)					
Yes	19	10	7	10	46
No	13	16	3	4	36
N.S.	1	-	-	-	1
Brothers/Sisters in Suva					
Yes	26	20	9	14	69
No	6	1	1	-	8
N.S.	1	5	-	-	6
Relatives Other Fiji (Urban)					
Yes	15	10	5	12	42
No	17	11	5	2	35
N.S.	1	5	-	-	6
Relatives Other Fiji (Rural)					
Yes	10	5	5	6	26
No	22	16	5	8	51
N.S.	1	5	-	-	6
Family Type					
Nuclear	20	8	6	2	36
Extended	2	2	1	4	9
Expanded	11	12	3	7	33
+ 1 family	-	-	-	-	-
No family	-	4	-	1	5

Table I.11 (cont'd)

Characteristic	Naileleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu	Total
Age of Head of Household					
15-19	1	1	-	1	3
20-24	2	3	1	-	6
25-29	2	2	1	-	5
30-34	5	1	1	2	9
35-39	4	5	1	2	12
40-44	7	5	2	-	14
45-49	4	2	-	2	8
50+	8	7	4	7	26

Table I.12: Characteristics of the dependent absentee population[a] Kabara 1975

Characteristic	Village Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu	Total
Sex					
Males	31	10	16	9	66
Females	9	8	6	11	34
Total	40	18	22	20	100
Structure					
< 15	3	5	1	3	12
15-59	37	13	21	16	87
60+	-	-	-	1	1
Males 15-29	19	4	12	8	43
30-49	16	3	2	1	22
Females 15-49	7	6	6	9	28
Children 5-14	3	5	1	3	12
Marital Status					
Single	28	17	19	18	82
Married	12	1	3	2	18
Relation to Head					
Head	10	-	2	1	13
Wife	1	-	1	-	2
Son	15	9	10	6	40
Daughter	7	7	5	10	29
Brother	5	1	3	-	9
Sister	-	1	-	-	1
Other relative	2	-	1	3	6
Place of Residence					
Own Island	-	-	2	1	3
Suva	29	16	14	17	76
Other Viti Levu	4	1	3	-	8
Other Fiji	5	1	2	2	10
Overseas	2	-	1	-	3

Table I.12 (cont'd)

Characteristic	Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu	Total
Occupation					
School	6	4	5	8	23
Wage employment	25	5	9	2	41
Visit relatives	5	8	2	4	19
With family	-	-	-	4	4
Farming	-	-	2	-	2
Unemployed	-	-	-	-	-
Hospital	3	-	1	-	4
Others	1	-	1	2	4
Not stated	-	1	2	-	3
When Left Kabara					
Not stated	5	8	7	8	28
Over 10 yrs ago	2	-	-	-	2
1968	1	-	-	-	1
1969	1	-	-	-	1
1970	3	-	-	-	3
1971	1	-	-	-	1
1972	2	-	-	1	3
1973	2	-	1	1	4
1974	4	6	8	5	23
1975	19	4	6	5	34
When Last Visited Home					
During 1975	5	-	1	1	7
In past 2 yrs	-	3	-	2	5
In past 5 yrs	1	-	-	-	1
Never since left	32	13	20	17	82
Not stated	2	2	1	-	5

a Absentees who 'belong' to families based in the village (husbands/wives temporarily absent; unmarried sons and daughters; widowed parents).

Table I.13: Characteristics of independent absentee population[b], Kabara 1975

Characteristic	Village: Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu	Total
Sex					
Males	29	23	12	31	95
Females	25	29	17	13	84
Total	54	52	29	44	179
Structure					
15-24	5	5	3	2	15
25-34	14	9	9	18	50
35-44	11	10	2	13	36
45-59	8	5	1	3	17
60+	1	1	1	-	3
N.S.	15	22	13	8	58
Marital Status					
Single	3	4	-	3	10
Married	50	48	29	41	168
Other	1	-	-	-	1
Relation to Head					
Son	6	3	-	17	34
Daughter	9	1	4	7	21
Brother	20	21	-	14	59
Sister	15	26	13	6	60
Other relative	4	1	-	-	5
Place of Residence					
Own Island	-	4	1	1	6
Suva	30	27	20	22	99
Other Viti Levu	10	11	1	9	31
Other Fiji	11	9	6	9	35
Overseas	3	1	1	3	8

Table I.13 (cont'd)

Characteristic	Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu	Total
Occupation					
School	1	-	-	-	1
Wage employment	24	20	9	25	78
Visit relatives	-	2	-	-	2
With family	25	26	15	13	79
Farming	3	3	4	6	16
Unemployed	-	1	-	-	1
Hospital	-	-	1	-	1
Others	1	-	-	-	1
Not stated	-	-	-	-	-
When Left Kabara					
Not stated	14	44	21	13	92
Over 10 yrs ago	30	1	7	27	65
1967	1	1	-	1	3
1968	1	-	-	1	2
1969	1	-	-	-	1
1970	1	1	-	2	4
1971	-	-	-	-	-
1972	4	-	-	-	4
1973	1	2	-	-	3
1974	1	3	-	-	4
1975	-	-	1	-	1
When Returned Kabara					
During 1975	1	-	1	1	3
In past 2 yrs	-	-	-	2	2
In past 5 yrs	-	-	-	-	-
In past 10 yrs	1	1	-	-	2
Not for 10 yrs	6	-	-	-	6
Never since left	29	20	7	31	87
Not known	4	23	21	8	56
Lives in neighbourhood	-	4	-	-	4
Not stated	13	4	-	2	19

b Absentees who are independent of families on Kabara - married persons with their wives and families outside the island; some single people who have been outside the island for a considerable number of years.

Table I.14: Recent migration experiences of 44 heads of households on Kabara

Variable	Number	Percentage
Village Res. 1975		
Naikeleyaga	18	40.91
Tokalau	19	43.18
Lomati	-	-
Udu	7	15.91
Total	44	100.00
Place Res. 1971		
Place where enumerated	38	86.36
Suva	5	11.36
Other Fiji	1	2.27
Place Spent Most Time 1971-75		
Place where enumerated	40	90.91
Suva	4	9.09
Towns Lived in Since 1971		
None	10	22.73
Suva	26	59.09
Suva and other Viti Levu	3	6.82
Labasa and Viti Levu towns	1	2.27
Overseas/Suva	4	9.09
No. Jobs in Town Since 1971		
None	26	59.09
1	8	18.18
2	5	11.36
3	5	11.36
Urban Employment Since 1971		
None	27	61.36
Under 6 mths	3	6.82
6m-1yr	5	11.36
Over 1yr	9	20.45
Estate Work Since 1971		
None	44	100.00

Table I.14 (cont'd)

Variable	Number	Percentage
Places Worked in Rural Areas		
None	34	77.27
Other settlement/village	5	11.36
Viti Levu	3	6.82
Other	2	4.55
Time in Rural Employment Since 1971		
None	34	77.27
Under 6 mths	5	11.36
6m-lyr	1	2.27
lyr+	1	2.27
All time	3	6.82
Number Moves Since 1971		
None	6	13.64
1	10	22.73
2	14	31.82
3	7	15.91
4	4	9.09
5	2	4.55
6	1	2.27
Type of Movement		
None	6	13.64
Circular-village base	29	65.91
Step-wise r-u-r	4	9.09
Step-wise u-r	2	4.55
Not stated	3	6.82
Work Experience Outside Village		
None	2	4.55
Rural	4	9.09
Urban	11	25.00
Rural and urban	27	61.36
When Last Absent		
Haven't left since arrived	2	4.55
Within last month	4	9.09
Within last six months	3	6.82
Within last year	14	31.82
Over 1 yr ago	21	47.73

Variable	Number	Percentage
Destination Last Absence		
Not applicable	2	4.55
Vanua Levu	1	2.27
Suva	30	68.18
Other Viti Levu	1	2.27
Rural Fiji	7	15.91
Overseas	3	6.82
Intentions Future Movement		
None	29	65.91
Within 3 mths	4	9.09
Within 1 yr	10	22.73
Not stated	1	2.27
Destination of Move		
Not applicable	29	65.91
Suva	5	11.36
Other town Fiji	1	2.27
Overseas	8	18.18
Not stated	1	2.27
Current Occupation		
Farmer	35	79.55
Technical/Prof.	2	4.55
Pastor/Storekeeper	7	15.91
Main Source of Income		
Wages	9	20.45
Magimagi	19	43.18
Other handicrafts	12	27.27
Magimagi and other handicrafts	4	9.09

APPENDIX II

Economic Data

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Table II.1: Copra sales to Suva from Kabara 1973-1975[a]

Month	Bags[b]	Value
1973		
January	164	444.92
February	264	728.71
March	272	951.96
April	194	869.11
May	344	1684.92
June	229	1236.59
July	315	2147.70
August	251	1718.47
September	424	3434.26
October	195	2269.09
November	222	1575.28
December	-	-
TOTAL 1973	2874	17,061.01
1974		
January	45	725.64
February	245	3889.23
March	28	574.06
April	255	4829.23
May	146	2673.35
June	154	2526.40
July	32	454.66
August-Dec	-	-
TOTAL 1974	905	15,672.57
1975		
January	27	200.67
February	71	288.58
March	-	-
April	40	137.81
May[c]	126	477.83
June	120	355.84
July-Oct	-	-
TOTAL TO OCT 75	384	1460.73
TOTAL 1973-75	4163	34,194.31

(a) Excluding Lomati for whose co-operative store no records of copra sales to Suva prior to March 1974 are available. Between December 1973 and September 1974 the store was not functioning following destruction of building, stock and records in hurricane Lottie. Between September 1974 and July 1975 one shipment of 28 bags worth $141.76 was sent to Suva in May.

(b) Both grade 1 and grade 2.

(c) Including the 28 bags sent out by Lomati.

Table II.2: Copra sales to Suva from three Kabara villages, 1973-1975

Month	Naikeleyaga Bags	Naikeleyaga Value	Tokalau Bags	Tokalau Value	Udu Bags	Udu Value
1973						
Jan	41	151.72	73	174.11	50	119.09
Feb	21	77.27	151	387.28	92	264.16
Mar	122	414.30	150	537.66	-	-
Ap	122	592.96	-	-	72	276.15
May	178	999.60	116	471.13	50	214.19
June	66	431.82	123	645.00	40	159.77
July	166	1136.43	44	257.61	105	753.66
Aug	52	378.31	74	553.71	125	786.45
Sept	233	2111.24	44	338.62	147	984.40
Oct	101	1651.57	36	223.89	58	393.63
Nov	103	725.86	33	235.56	86	613.86
Dec	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOT 73	1205	8,671.08	844	3,824.57	825	4,565.36
1974						
Jan	-	-	23	318.35	22	407.29
Feb	117	1,965.23	53	919.17	75	1004.83
Mar	-	-	28	574.06	-	-
Ap	163	3158.42	20	332.71	72	1338.10
May	14	247.36	7	101.94	125	2324.05
June	116	1952.02	-	-	38	574.38
July	5	29.28	-	-	27	425.38
Aug	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sept	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oct	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nov	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dec	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOT 74	415	7,352.31	131	2,246.23	359	6,074.03
1975						
Jan	27	200.67	-	-	-	-
Feb	71	288.58	-	-	-	-
Mar	2	5.24	-	-	-	-
Ap	40	137.81	-	-	-	-
May	-	-	39	131.65	59	204.42
June	120	355.84	-	-	-	-
July	-	-	-	-	-	-
Aug	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sept	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oct	-	-	-	-	-	-
To Oct 1975	258	982.90	39	131.65	59	204.42
TOTAL 1973-75	1878	17,006.29	1014	6,202.45	1243	10,843.81

Table II.3: Sales to Kabara Co-operatives, 1973-1975[a]
($Fijian)

Month	Copra	Handicrafts	Total
1973			
Jan	306.21	2.45	308.66
Feb	412.70	3.67	416.37
Mar	748.09	6.60	754.69
April	530.94	2.30	533.24
May	710.21	122.08	832.29
June	837.92	314.87	1152.79
July	909.60	203.22	1112.82
Aug	1664.98	401.01	2065.99
Sept	933.79	413.29	1347.08
Oct	662.05	761.83	1423.88
Nov	702.27	731.09	1433.36
Dec	508.89	390.28	899.17
TOTAL 1973	8927.65	3352.69	12,280.34
1974			
Jan	3367.22	42.50	3409.72
Feb	2122.14	82.20	2204.34
Mar	1614.10	91.10	1705.20
April	1166.73	451.74	1618.47
May	511.31	1367.37	1878.68
June	10.50	1464.55	1475.05
July	201.42	350.16	551.58
Aug	168.89	787.95	956.84
Sept	404.05	1222.00	1626.05
Oct	157.76	1267.35	1425.11
Nov	3.88	1290.00	1293.88
Dec	54.16	1281.55	1335.71
TOTAL 1974	9782.16	9698.47	19,480.63
1975			
Jan	451.54	222.60	674.14
Feb	236.07	164.10	400.17
Mar	164.40	152.95	317.35
April	200.34	575.70	776.04
May	197.09	515.52	712.61
June	59.37	670.65	730.02
July	87.70	498.54	586.24
Aug	-	592.21	592.21
Sept	-	388.82	388.82
Oct	6.09	424.50	430.59
Total 10 mnths	1402.60	4205.59	5608.19

a Records of copra and handicraft sales prior to September 1974 are not available for Lomati. There are also gaps in the records for handicraft sales in particular to the Mataveitacini Co-operative (Tokalau) and Matavatu Co-operative (Udu). These are indicated in tables II.5, II.6 and II.7.

Table II.4: Sales to Naikeleyaga Co-operative, 1973-1975
($Fijian)

Month	Copra	Handicrafts	Total
1973			
Jan	130.45	2.45	132.90
Feb	244.81	3.67	248.48
Mar	360.31	6.60	366.91
April	264.28	2.30	266.58
May	343.82	2.20	346.02
June	357.65	2.80	360.45
July	447.14	-	447.14
Aug	1099.65	-	1099.65
Sept	609.93	-	609.93
Oct	277.14	328.01	605.15
Nov	342.58	142.45	485.03
Dec	353.97	204.19	558.16
TOTAL 1973	4,831.73	694.67	5,526.40
1974			
Jan	1483.08	2.50	1485.58
Feb	1552.25	-	1552.25
Mar	1156.91	23.00	1179.91
April	978.81	266.04	1244.85
May	509.51	717.52	1226.67
June	10.50	1110.40	1120.90
July	201.42	168.25	369.67
Aug	168.89	702.15	871.04
Sept	404.05	700.25	1104.30
Oct	157.76	702.75	860.51
Nov	3.88	788.25	792.13
Dec	-	790.75	790.75
TOTAL 1974	6,627.06	5,971.86	12,598.56
1975			
Jan	369.71	4.00	373.71
Feb	201.49	66.75	268.24
Mar	127.00	99.10	226.10
April	198.60	378.85	577.45
May	197.09	271.32	468.41
June	58.78	205.40	264.18
July	87.70	48.36	136.06
Aug	-	133.06	133.06
Sept	-	109.22	109.22
Oct	6.09	80.80	86.89
TOTAL (10 mnths)	1,246.46	1,396.86	2,643.32

Table II.5: Sales to Mataveitacini Co-operative (Tokalau) 1973-1975 ($Fijian)

Month	Copra	Handicrafts	Total
1973			
Jan	109.76	?	(109.76)
Feb	95.30	?	(95.30)
Mar	252.02	?	(252.02)
April	109.05	?	(109.05)
May	287.01	?	(287.01)
June	259.03	?	(259.03)
July	265.14	88.95	354.09
Aug	253.16	300.70	553.86
Sept	115.49	221.30	336.79
Oct	189.02	133.93	322.95
Nov	169.01	337.54	506.55
Dec	27.28	146.75	174.03
TOTAL 1973	2131.27	(1229.17)	(3360.44)
1974			
Jan	1066.62	27.00	1093.62
Feb	382.75	1.00	383.75
Mar	432.05	68.10	500.15
April	182.80	185.70	368.50
May	-	649.85	649.85
June	-	354.15	354.15
July	-	181.91	181.91
Aug	-	85.80	85.80
Sept	-	367.25	367.25
Oct	-	432.10	432.10
Nov	-	316.75	316.75
Dec	38.70	360.30	399.00
TOTAL 1974	2102.92	3029.91	5132.83
1975			
Jan	57.63	43.15	100.78
Feb	1.14	4.65	5.79
Mar	-	43.50	43.50
April	-	147.15	147.15
May	-	191.10	191.10
June	-	372.40	372.40
July	-	391.00	391.00
Aug	-	389.40	389.40
Sept	-	258.00	258.00
Oct	-	338.70	338.70
TOTAL (10 mnths)	58.77	2179.05	2237.82

Table II.6: Sales to Lomati Co-operative, 1974-1975[a]

Month	Year	Copra	Handicrafts	Total
Sept	1974	-	154.50	154.50
Oct	"	-	132.50	132.50
Nov	"	-	185.00	185.00
Dec	"	15.46	130.50	145.96
4 mnths 1974		15.46	602.50	617.96
Jan	1975	24.20	175.45	199.65
Feb	"	33.44	92.70	126.14
Mar	"	37.40	10.35	47.75
April	"	1.74	49.70	51.44
May	"	-	53.10	53.10
June	"	0.59	92.85	93.44
July	"	-	59.18	59.18
Aug	"	-	69.75	69.75
Sept	"	-	21.60	21.60
Oct	"	-	5.00	5.00
10 mnths 1975		97.37	629.68	727.05

a All records, stock and the store were destroyed in hurricane Lottie in 1973. The store was not re-opened until September 1974.

Table II.7: Sales to Matavatu Co-operative (Udu) 1973-1975
($Fijian)

Month	Year	Copra	Handicrafts	Total
Jan	1973	66.00	?	(66.00)
Feb	"	72.59	?	(72.59)
Mar	"	135.76	?	(135.76)
April	"	157.61	?	(157.61)
May	"	79.38	119.88	199.26
June	"	221.24	312.07	533.31
July	"	197.32	114.27	311.59
Aug	"	312.17	100.31	412.48
Sept	"	208.37	191.99	400.36
Oct	"	195.89	299.89	495.78
Nov	"	190.68	251.10	441.78
Dec	"	127.64	39.34	166.98
TOTAL 1973		1964.65	(1428.85)	(3393.50)
Jan	1974	817.52	13.00	830.52
Feb	"	187.14	81.20	268.34
Mar	"	25.14	?	(25.14)
April	"	5.12	?	(5.12)
May	"	1.80	?	(1.80)
June	"	-	?	
July-Dec	"	-	?	
TOTAL 1974		1036.72	(94.20)	(1130.92)

1975 - nothing listed.

Table II.8: Purchases from Kabara Co-operative Societies, 1975
($Fijian)

Month	Village Store				
	Naikeleyaga	Tokalau	Lomati	Udu	TOTAL
January	1570.89	119.21	255.90	207.47	2153.47
February	961.14	181.29	140.85	156.87	1440.15
March	1373.90	528.74	174.40	84.28	2161.32
April	1256.00	216.68	81.01	15.79	1569.48
May	1712.06	279.53	90.83	10.61	2093.03
June	1349.02	414.04	249.37	2.90	2015.33
July	1454.07	502.15	68.88	2.01	2027.11
August	1869.14	480.49	44.31	44.42	2438.36
September	1719.68	363.04	17.85	-	2100.57
October	1290.92	642.15	18.58	13.04	1964.69
TOTAL	14,556.82	3,727.32	1,141.98	537.39	19,963.51

Table II.9: Income from copra for 30 Naikeleyaga households, 1973-1975

HH No	1/7/73-31/12/73		1/1/74-30/6/74		1/7/74-31/12/74		1/1/75-30/6/75	
	$F	% Tot I	$F	% Tot I	$F	% Tot I	$F	% Tot I
1	152.81	94.09	239.98	84.83	65.21	29.72	73.59	81.41
2	82.80	74.29	188.12	65.12	11.53	25.75	17.45	57.49
3	62.69	89.96	97.15	54.64	14.41	13.27	13.20	27.76
4	33.55	100.00	121.13	50.48	2.92	2.39	54.01	74.96
5	355.01	98.01	409.95	91.95	50.02	43.81	31.69	38.17
6	211.41	97.92	373.09	94.04	22.14	38.95	72.03	97.26
7	53.49	74.87	112.28	62.63	9.02	4.88	37.02	100.00
8	201.99	93.82	253.32	83.22	41.96	59.68	52.69	97.23
9	76.56	98.20	105.86	52.49	67.95	20.08	50.93	47.50
10	14.59	26.80	72.31	37.28	16.60	5.93	7.65	7.26
11	130.34	79.31	132.68	71.55	38.88	20.66	58.80	69.67
12	71.58	79.59	159.52	61.09	46.63	22.19	36.43	36.81
13	6.51	100.00	57.73	64.34	3.20	1.91	23.20	93.93
14	46.06	60.48	72.54	43.01	3.21	1.45	9.43	10.09
15	12.91	43.31	12.99	50.96	31.20	34.06	20.94	53.78
16	18.05	100.00	-	-	25.77	18.35	28.21	64.54
17	119.68	56.22	254.42	73.30	41.44	19.46	60.69	38.37
18	84.69	73.71	210.22	79.79	42.32	23.27	39.37	100.00
19	58.41	100.00	175.05	77.75	13.89	8.88	35.59	100.00
20	15.69	92.79	25.44	100.00	10.50	44.21	9.74	86.65
21	8.77	29.26	56.68	51.99	9.69	6.46	11.63	19.27
22	66.66	79.73	215.64	63.12	29.07	12.20	45.55	65.49
23	137.13	97.17	164.71	100.00	33.26	100.00	30.36	100.00
24	192.49	95.39	325.19	88.62	47.61	51.99	76.76	87.47
25	24.58	31.38	80.66	67.21	15.03	11.56	23.13	24.35
26	164.52	64.01	343.32	53.98	63.33	17.55	44.63	20.71
27	39.95	57.28	62.95	72.99	7.49	5.87	36.99	53.42
28	33.71	47.54	116.91	90.17	32.98	38.16	26.35	100.00
29	50.82	100.00	73.66	100.00	19.51	100.00	29.66	95.19
30	18.41	100.00	35.45	100.00	11.19	100.00	17.21	100.00

ble II.10: Income from handicrafts for 30 Naikeleyaga households, 1973-1975

No	1/7/73-31/12/73		1/1/74-30/6/74		1/7/74-31/12/74		1/1/75-30/6/75	
	$F	% Tot I	$F	% Tot I	$F	% Tot I	$F	% Tot I
1	9.60	5.91	42.90	15.17	154.21	70.28	16.80	18.59
2	28.65	25.71	100.75	34.88	33.25	74.25	12.90	42.51
3	7.00	10.04	80.64	45.36	94.15	86.73	34.35	72.24
4	-	-	118.85	49.52	118.95	97.61	18.04	25.04
5	7.20	1.99	35.90	8.05	64.15	56.19	51.45	61.83
6	4.50	2.08	23.65	5.96	34.70	61.05	2.03	2.74
7	17.95	25.13	67.00	37.37	175.95	95.12	-	-
8	13.30	6.18	51.06	16.78	27.90	58.04	1.50	2.77
9	1.40	1.80	95.80	47.51	270.35	79.92	56.27	52.25
10	39.85	7.32	121.65	62.72	263.30	94.07	97.65	92.74
11	34.00	20.69	52.75	28.45	149.29	79.34	25.60	30.33
12	18.35	20.41	101.60	38.91	163.55	77.81	62.55	63.19
13	-	-	32.00	35.66	164.10	98.09	1.50	6.07
14	30.10	39.52	96.10	56.99	218.15	98.55	83.95	89.91
15	16.90	56.69	12.50	49.04	60.40	65.94	18.00	46.22
16	-	-	-	-	114.65	81.65	15.50	35.46
17	93.20	43.78	88.00	26.70	171.55	80.54	97.50	61.63
18	30.20	26.29	53.25	20.21	139.55	76.73	-	-
19	-	-	50.10	22.25	142.55	91.12	-	-
20	1.22	7.21	-	-	13.25	55.79	1.50	13.35
21	21.20	70.74	52.35	48.01	140.20	93.54	48.71	80.73
22	16.95	20.27	126.00	36.88	209.30	70.93	24.00	34.51
23	4.00	2.83	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	9.30	4.61	41.75	11.38	43.95	52.39	11.00	12.53
25	53.75	68.62	39.35	32.79	114.95	88.44	71.85	75.65
26	92.50	35.99	292.75	46.02	297.55	82.45	170.90	79.29
27	29.80	42.72	23.30	27.01	120.05	94.13	32.25	46.58
28	37.20	52.46	12.75	9.83	53.45	61.84	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.50	4.81
30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 11.11: Income and expenditure for 30 Naikeleyaga households, 1973-1975
($Fijian)

HH No	1/7/73-31/12/73		1/1/74-30/6/74		1/7/74-31/12/74		1/1/75-30/6/75	
	I[a]	E[b]	I	E	I	E	I	E
1	162.41	236.38	282.88	414.79	219.42	330.86	90.39	226.08
2	111.45	112.09	288.87	206.18	44.78	31.45	30.35	100.14
3	69.69	96.71	177.79	185.85	108.56	170.41	47.55	88.78
4	33.55	45.96	239.98	203.20	121.87	227.76	72.05	127.44
5	362.21	178.15	445.85	273.19	114.17	383.97	83.14	517.80
6	215.91	399.60	396.74	462.30	56.84	303.67	74.06	251.69
7	71.44	85.63	179.28	169.77	184.97	200.17	37.02	40.88
8	215.29	190.24	304.38	290.78	69.86	227.81	54.19	200.00
9	77.96	163.32	201.66	317.18	338.30	308.34	107.22	211.95
10	54.44	319.36	193.96	341.50	279.90	282.49	105.30	161.80
11	164.34	190.04	185.43	266.98	188.17	187.15	84.40	118.65
12	89.93	127.32	261.12	256.77	210.18	224.65	98.98	164.85
13	6.51	57.28	89.73	137.84	167.30	283.85	24.70	63.02
14	76.16	118.66	168.64	77.25	221.36	119.11	93.38	95.94
15	29.81	88.45	25.49	94.95	91.60	77.50	38.94	90.30
16	18.05	17.01	-	-	140.42	159.48	43.71	90.47
17	212.88	264.64	342.42	343.17	212.99	261.37	158.19	190.71
18	114.89	156.02	263.47	228.98	181.87	226.89	39.37	55.04
19	58.41	110.50	225.15	321.68	156.44	379.89	35.59	396.68
20	16.91	74.18	25.44	55.97	23.75	41.24	11.24	37.92
21	29.97	43.01	109.03	127.53	149.89	216.24	60.34	212.96
22	83.61	256.16	341.64	467.26	238.37	315.02	69.55	169.72
23	141.13	29.40	164.71	54.53	33.26	36.37	30.36	35.05
24	201.79	146.87	366.94	183.40	91.56	208.55	87.76	164.33
25	78.33	113.90	120.01	151.46	129.98	148.53	94.98	219.67
26	257.02	268.76	636.07	525.03	360.88	435.85	215.53	286.85
27	69.75	134.06	86.25	178.17	127.54	224.08	69.24	195.80
28	70.91	141.81	129.66	224.93	86.43	239.82	26.35	184.87
29	50.82	94.57	73.66	129.27	19.51	79.46	31.16	76.67
30	18.41	69.90	35.45	97.40	11.19	68.86	17.21	129.96

a I - income from copra and handicrafts sold to co-operative store.

b E - expenditure at store.

Table 11.12: Income deficits/surpluses for 30 Naikeleyaga households, 1973-1975

HH No	1/1/73-31/12/73		1/1/74-30/6/74		1/7/74-31/12/74		1/1/75-30/6/75	
	I-E $F	% Tot I	I-E $F	% Tot I	I-E $F	% Tot I	I-E $F	% Tot I
1	-73.97	45.43	-131.91	46.63	-111.44	50.79	-135.69	150.17
2	-0.64	0.57	+82.69	(28.63)	-6.67	14.89	-69.79	229.96
3	-27.02	38.77	-8.06	4.53	-61.85	56.97	-41.23	86.71
4	-12.41	36.99	+36.78	(15.33)	-105.89	86.89	-55.39	76.88
5	+184.06	(50.82)	+172.66	(38.72)	-269.80	236.31	-434.66	522.80
6	-183.69	85.08	-65.56	16.52	-246.83	434.25	-177.63	239.85
7	-14.19	19.86	+9.51	(5.30)	-15.20	8.22	-3.86	10.43
8	+25.05	(11.64)	+13.60	(4.47)	-157.95	226.09	-145.81	269.07
9	-85.36	109.49	-115.52	57.28	+29.96	(8.86)	-104.73	97.68
10	-264.92	486.63	-147.54	76.07	-2.59	0.93	-56.50	53.66
11	-25.70	15.64	-81.55	43.98	+1.02	(0.54)	-34.25	40.58
12	-37.39	41.58	+4.35	(1.67)	-14.47	6.88	-65.87	66.55
13	-50.77	779.88	-48.11	53.62	-116.55	69.66	-38.32	155.14
14	-42.50	55.80	+91.43	(54.22)	+102.25	(46.19)	-2.56	2.74
15	-58.64	196.71	-69.46	272.49	+14.10	(15.39)	-51.36	131.89
16	+1.04	(5.76	-	-	-19.06	13.57	-46.76	106.98
17	-51.76	24.31	-0.75	0.22	-48.38	22.71	-32.52	20.56
18	-41.13	35.79	+34.49	(13.09)	-45.02	24.75	-15.67	39.80
19	-52.10	89.19	-96.53	42.87	-223.45	142.83	-361.09	1014.58
20	-57.27	338.68	-30.53	120.01	-17.49	73.64	-26.68	42.13
21	-13.04	43.51	-12.50	11.46	-66.35	44.27	-152.62	252.93
22	-172.55	206.37	-125.62	36.77	-76.65	32.16	-100.17	144.03
23	+111.73	(79.17)	+110.18	(66.89)	-3.11	9.35	-4.69	15.45
24	+54.92	(27.22)	+183.54	(50.02)	-116.99	127.77	-76.57	87.25
25	-35.57	45.41	-31.45	26.21	-18.55	14.27	-124.69	131.28
26	-11.74	4.57	+111.04	(17.46)	-74.97	20.77	-71.32	33.09
27	-64.31	92.20	-91.92	106.57	-96.54	75.69	-126.56	182.78
28	-70.90	99.99	-95.27	73.48	-153.39	177.47	-167.87	637.08
29	-43.75	86.09	-55.61	75.49	-59.95	307.28	-45.46	145.86
30	-51.49	279.68	-61.95	174.75	-57.67	515.37	-112.79	655.14

Table II.13: Characteristics of the 30 Naikeleyaga households, October 1975

HH No.	Age Head	Location Head	Number HH[a]	Adults (15yrs+)	Adult Males	Absentees[b]
1	39	Suva	9	5	2	2
2	72	Village	4	4	1	2
3	60	"	6	3	1	4
4	48	Suva	7	4	2	1
5	57	Lakeba	6	3	1	2
6	48	Suva	8	5	2	1
7	33	Village	7	2	1	0
8	37	"	7	5	2	0
9	55	"	9	4	2	4
10	42	"	7	2	1	0
11	47	Suva	7	5	1	4
12	41	"	5	2	0	4
13	32	Village	5	2	1	0
14	62	"	8	3	1	1
15	62	"	9	5	3	0
16	33	Suva	10	3	1	1
17	53	Village	6	4	3	1
18	42	"	7	4	1	3
19	36	Suva	8	3	1	1
20	36	Village	3	2	1	1
21	33	Suva	2	1	0	1
22	41	"	7	2	0	1
23	43	"	6	2	1	1
24	72	Village	4	3	2	1
25	45	"	5	2	1	1
26	30	"	7	3	1	0
27	40	"	7	4	2	1
28	43	"	8	2	1	0
29	53	Suva	6	3	1	2
30	21	Village	8	5	1	2

a Number resident in Naikeleyaga in October.

b Persons belonging to the household (e.g. unmarried sons, daughters) who were absent at the time of survey.

Table II.14: Independent variables used in the analysis of relationships between household composition and income/expenditure 1/1/75 - 31/10/75.

HH No.	Consumers[a]	Producers[b]	Consumer/ Producer Ratio[c]
1	9	6	1.5
2	4	4	1.0
3	6	3	2.0
4	7	5	1.4
5	6	3	2.0
6	8	4	2.0
7	7	1.5	4.7
8	7	5	1.4
9	9	5	1.8
10	7	1.5	4.7
11	7	6	1.2
12	5	3	1.6
13	5	2	2.5
14	8	4	2.0
15	9	5	1.8
16	10	4	2.5
17	6	4	1.5
18	7	4	1.8
19	8	1.5	5.3
20	3	2	1.5
21	2	2	1.0
22	7	3	2.3
23	6	3	2.0
24	4	2	2.0
25	5	2	2.3
26	7	3	2.3
27	7	4	1.8
28	8	1.5	5.3
29	6	4	1.5
30	8	4	2.0

a Persons resident in household in October 1975.

b Producers - persons 15 years and over resident in household in October as well as absentee heads of household who have been away from Kabara for less than 3 months of the year. Women with children aged 3 years or less have been excluded from the 'producers' along with those too old to work. This follows a convention adopted by Bayliss-Smith (1975, 52) in his Koro study.

c The ratio of consumers to producers as defined above.

Table II.15: Dependent variables used in the analysis of relationships between household composition and income/expenditure 1/1/75-31/10/75

	Income[a]			Expenditure	
HH No.	Total	Per-capita	Per-producer	Total	Per-capita
1	102.67	11.40	17.11	361.07	40.12
2	43.95	10.99	10.99	158.67	39.66
3	67.25	11.20	22.42	129.09	21.15
4	87.31	12.47	17.46	169.30	24.19
5	84.70	14.11	28.23	663.83	93.97
6	78.01	9.75	19.50	470.23	58.78
7	42.36	6.05	28.24	95.62	13.66
8	73.67	10.52	14.73	305.71	43.67
9	145.44	16.16	29.09	335.67	37.29
10	114.46	16.35	76.31	317.96	45.42
11	100.70	14.38	16.78	169.12	24.16
12	116.24	23.25	38.74	205.26	41.05
13	27.58	5.52	13.79	157.51	31.50
14	99.70	12.46	24.93	167.00	20.88
15	55.30	6.14	11.06	179.74	19.97
16	53.15	5.31	13.29	160.87	16.08
17	203.45	33.91	50.86	334.03	55.67
18	43.59	6.22	10.90	106.12	15.16
19	55.47	6.93	36.98	423.70	52.96
20	19.54	6.51	9.77	62.57	20.85
21	60.34	30.17	30.17	330.47	165.23
22	78.37	11.19	26.12	265.35	37.91
23	43.96	7.33	21.98	52.89	8.82
24	110.56	27.64	55.28	276.61	69.15
25	128.06	25.61	42.68	267.70	53.54
26	229.23	32.71	57.31	653.16	93.31
27	84.14	12.02	21.04	272.37	38.91
28	26.35	3.29	17.56	317.09	39.63
29	34.20	5.70	8.55	100.53	16.76
30	13.49	1.68	3.37	198.72	24.84

a Income derived from sales of copra and handicrafts to the Naikeleyaga Co-operative between 1/1/75 and 31/10/75.