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Are we home yet? Paamese migration and urbanisation a generation on

Kirstie Petrou

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the School of Geosciences, Faculty of Science, The University of Sydney March 2015

Goods and people arrive and depart from Liro beach, Paama 2011
Acknowledgements

There are many people who contributed to my ability to complete this thesis. Great thanks is due to Gerald Haberkorn, who welcomed me into his home, allowed me to rifle through his field notes, regaled me with tales of his own fieldwork, and despite his busy schedule, always found the time to respond to my emails containing obscure questions about Paamese life a generation ago. Without your generous help and support, the longitudinal view provided in the following pages would not have been possible.

From Gerald, I was passed on to his great friend, Alik Hopman and family, who not only provided me with invaluable practical assistance during fieldwork, but also a place in Vila where I could feel at home. Tangkyu tumas blong ol help mo assistance blong yufala. Mi hope se bae mi luk yufala long Vila bakagen.

Mi wantem talemaot wan bigfala tangkyu i go long ol jif mo ol community blong Liro Area long Vila mo long Paama. Mi glad tumas blong stori wetem yufala, sharem kaka mo climb antap ol bigfala hil blong Paama blong go long garen. Mi gat janis blong learnem fulap samting long Paama mo long Vila too.

Wan bigfala tangkyu i must go long Mami Ruta mo Dadi White long Paama, mo Mami Marinet mo Dadi Mesek long Vila mo family blong olgeta. Yufala evriwan i givhan bigwan long work blong mi. Mi glad tumas blong stap smol wetem yufala.

Back in Australia, John Connell provided ongoing support and assistance throughout the sometimes frustrating process that completing a PhD can be. Not only did he suggest that a restudy of urbanisation and mobility might be an interesting thing to do, but he continued to encourage me to ‘plod on’ when tasks such as transcribing 200 or so interviews seemed too daunting to consider. John tirelessly read drafts and re-drafts of chapters, and pointed out all of my leaps of logic. With a brain fried from thesis editing, I can’t think of the words to adequately express my gratitude, so a simple ‘thank you’ will have to do.

Thank you to Nana, who, as always, helped out in every way she could. Your trip to Port Vila brought a much needed highlight to fieldwork, and it was a privilege to share that time with you. Back in Adelaide, your weekly play dates gave me one valuable morning per week where I could write without worrying about the pitter-patter of tiny feet. Thank you.

A thousand thank yous are due to Simon and Phoebe, for putting up with all the ‘fun’ that comes with having a PhD student partner and mother. Here’s to discovering and investing in this thing called ‘leisure time’ that I hear others speak of.

Many thanks to the friends and family, housemates and officemates, capoeiristas and yogis who listened to me gripe and groan about my thesis. It seems unthinkable that my student life is almost over.

This research was partially funded by AusAID. Thank you to Simon Cramp and the Governance for Growth team in Port Vila for their assistance.
Ethics approval for this research was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Sydney (reference number 2012/055).
## Glossary of frequently used Bislama terms

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<tr>
<td><strong>Braedpraes</strong></td>
<td>‘Bride price’, the payment made in cash or kind received by the bride’s family from the groom’s family upon marriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Haosgel</strong></td>
<td>‘House girl’, a girl or woman employed to perform domestic duties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jif</strong></td>
<td>Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jioj</strong></td>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kampani</strong></td>
<td>‘Company’ or ‘community’. Kampani work is the term used to describe community work commitments in Liro Area villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kakae</strong></td>
<td>Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fasin</strong></td>
<td>‘Fashion’, way of doing things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Green kakae</strong></td>
<td>‘Green food’, raw or uncooked garden produce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kastom</strong></td>
<td>‘Custom’, loosely translates to the English ‘custom’ or ‘traditional’, often used to define indigenous ways in opposition to Western ways.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mama</strong></td>
<td>‘Mama’ or ‘mother’, can refer to mothers generally as well as the stereotypical island dress wearing, church going mother who is a symbol of ni-Vanuatu womanhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Man-Paama</strong></td>
<td>‘Man-Paama’, Paamese man/person. ‘Man-island name’ is used to designate a person or man who claims membership to the island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nakaimas</strong></td>
<td>Black magic, sorcery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nakamal</strong></td>
<td>Traditional meeting house. In contemporary Vanuatu, nakamal is also the term used for kava bars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skul</strong></td>
<td>School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skul gud</strong></td>
<td>‘School good’, well educated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Smol vatu</strong></td>
<td>‘Small vatu’, a small amount of money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stret</strong></td>
<td>‘Straight’, true or correct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tabu</strong></td>
<td>‘Taboo’, forbidden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Toktok</strong></td>
<td>‘Talk’, can also refer more generally to information conveyed orally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Young laef</strong></td>
<td>‘Young life’, a period in which it is somewhat acceptable to ‘enjoy the bright lights’ of town, before settling down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wantok</strong></td>
<td>‘One talk’, used to refer to those belonging to the same language or ethnic group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Winim vatu</strong></td>
<td>Earn money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wokbaot</strong></td>
<td>‘Walk about’, to walk or wander about with no particular aim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Woman-Paama</strong></td>
<td>‘Woman-Paama’, Paamese woman. ‘Woman-island name’ is used to designate a woman who claims membership to the island.</td>
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Abstract

This research considers socio-economic continuity and change in urbanisation and internal migration from the island of Paama, to Vanuatu’s capital Port Vila. Data were collected from 90 households on Paama, and 74 households in Vila, and compared with parallel data collected a generation earlier in 1982-3. On Paama, rural life had changed; subsistence agriculture was less crucial, trade stores were more common, new technology was available, and monetisation had increased, but population was stable. Livelihood activities were similar to those of the early 1980s, circular migration remained minimal, household characteristics influencing mobility were notably similar, return migration was rare, and migrants in Vila continued to participate in the translocal Paamese community. By 2011 gendered mobility norms had altered; women were migrating with greater independence than in the past, and the mobility rationales of men and women had begun to converge. In Port Vila, urban commitment was increasingly evident; migrants had been living in town for longer periods than a generation earlier, the second generation accounted for a considerable proportion of the urban population, and there was widespread recognition of the difficulties associated with return to Paama after an extended absence. However, there was no evidence that first generation migrants were any less committed to town residence than the second generation. New forms of sociality had emerged; social networks had expanded to include workmates and neighbours, and there was a tentative emergence of class relationships. Nonetheless, for the majority of Paamese migrants, kin continued to be the basis of the most important social networks. Despite the tendency of longitudinal research to focus on superficial visual change therefore, continuity of the fundamental organising principles of Paamese life, centred on kinship and an ‘island home’, were significantly more important for urban and rural life and livelihoods.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Liro beach, Paama 2011
1.1 Introduction

By 2030, it is projected that six out of every ten people in the world will live in urban areas. The environmental, economic, social and spatial challenges associated with this level of urbanisation are unprecedented (UN HABITAT 2014). However, despite widespread increases in urban populations, early predictions regarding the uniformity of urbanising processes (Zelinsky 1971) have proved incorrect, and the rate and courses taken by urbanisation have varied over time and space. In the Global South, the scale and velocity of urbanisation has outpaced that of developed nations, megacities with populations exceeding 10 million have emerged, and new urban hierarchies and networks have evolved (Davis 2006). Closely linked to urbanisation, internal migration from rural areas to towns and cities has been significant. In the developing world, infrastructure has often been unable to keep pace with population increases, and poverty and hardship have resulted. In some African countries, including the Côte d’Ivoire (Beauchemin 2011) and Zambia (Potts 2005), economic decline and limited prospects in urban areas have resulted in population movement away from cities. While the option to relocate is not always available to urban residents, this movement highlights the many and varied directions that urbanisation and migration follow.

Assumptions cannot be made therefore, as to how urbanisation will proceed in different areas of the world. With this in mind, this thesis will examine contemporary processes of migration and urbanisation in Vanuatu.

While its cities may be small by global standards, rapid urbanisation in combination with high population growth and rising unemployment is one of the most significant and challenging trends facing the Pacific. Due to scarce resources and limited knowledge of contemporary urbanisation, the ability of governments to develop adequate policies and infrastructure for the urban sector is extremely limited, and has tended to be ignored. This lack of knowledge carries over to the academic field where scant attention has been paid to urbanisation and contemporary patterns of internal migration in Melanesia (Connell & Lea 2002). As the cash economy penetrates further into cultures once based around rural subsistence lifestyles, virtually nothing is known about contemporary urban (or rural) livelihoods and how Melanesians are surviving in the face of growing demands for cash and concomitant rises in unemployment. The few detailed studies of urban informal settlements in Melanesia (see Goddard 2001; Mecartney 2001; Mitchell 2002) are now over a decade old, and while they provide a historical record of the urban environment in the late 1990s, they can tell us nothing about contemporary urban life in the twenty-first century. Current knowledge of urban
populations, and their livelihoods, aspirations and needs in terms of infrastructure and social support, is based solely on extrapolations and stereotypes and does not account for social change nor the dynamism of urban processes.

The lack of research into rural-urban migration is not unique to the Pacific, and in recent years, academic interest in internal migration, including rural-urban mobility, has dwindled in favour of research on international mobility. While international migration has increased in frequency over the past three decades, internal migration remains the most significant global form of migration in terms of population volume (United Nations 2009 in Ellis 2012). This is especially relevant where opportunities for international migration are limited. Moreover, as internal and international migration have traditionally been treated as separate phenomena, research into one form of mobility has not necessarily benefitted the other (King & Skeldon 2010; Ellis 2012).

The ‘gap’ between internal and international migration research is longstanding, and arguably unnecessary, having arisen due to different data sources, disciplines, methodologies, policy concerns and funding opportunities available. It is not possible (or desirable), to apply a single theory of migration to all instances of mobility, as over time and space reasons for migration and the conditions under which it occurs will vary. Nonetheless, areas of theoretical convergence exist where integrating approaches to internal and international migration would be beneficial. Many of the social issues, including linguistic, cultural and political adjustments, that are most often associated with international migration, can also be relevant to internal migration (Skeldon 2006; King & Skeldon 2010; Ellis 2012). This is especially true of linguistically and culturally diverse nations such as those of Melanesia. Despite being removed in space and time therefore, internal and international mobility may exhibit a similar ‘logic’ (Sayad 2004). However, as interest in international migration and transnationalism has dominated recent migration research, internal moves have been largely ignored. By applying a translocal lens to rural-urban mobility within Vanuatu, this research highlights areas of theoretical convergence between international (transnational) and internal (translocal) migration.

1.2 Translocalism and migration at different scales

Translocalism describes the manner in which migrants’ everyday lives are ‘simultaneously situated’ across different scales and locations. By maintaining connections that span geographically distinct locations, migrants participate in multilocal social fields (Brickell &
Rather than focusing on dichotomies such as rural versus urban, and mobility versus immobility, translocalism considers space to be networked and grounded in particular locations or ‘nodes’ (Greiner 2009; Brickell & Datta 2011). By exploring the spaces, places and scales of network locations, translocalism emphasises the inherently spatial nature of mobility as it links different places at different times. Similarly, by examining how global processes are experienced at the local level, translocalism connects micro level processes with macro level forces, and is able to address a variety of mobility types (Brickell & Datta 2011). Translocal research thus includes but is not limited to studies of international (transnational) migration (McKay 2003; McKay & Brady 2005; Núñez-Madrazo 2007); internal migration (Greiner 2009; Brickell 2011; Greiner 2011; Greiner 2012); the impact of translocality on households and experiences of home (Brickell 2011); the agency of those who are ‘left behind’ (Tan & Yeoh 2011); and mobility at the neighbourhood level (Datta 2011). This thesis therefore contributes to a growing field of translocal studies that consider migration at scales other than the national.

Translocalism emerged as a response to the shortcomings of its theoretical predecessor, transnationalism. Transnationalism focuses on movement across national boundaries, and ‘the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement’ (Glick Schiller et al. 1992a: 1). Prior to the emergence of transnational enquiry, migration was considered an act of dislocation or rupture from home societies (Glick Schiller et al. 1992a), and migrants who maintained ties with ‘home’ were considered a political threat to host nations (Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Glick Schiller & Fouron 2001). While globalisation led many to predict the fall of the nation state, transnationalism highlights its continued importance, even as populations become increasingly dispersed. However, by focusing on movement across national boundaries, transnationalism neglects other scales of mobility that are subject to similar conditions as international migration. This is especially relevant to many nations in the Global South, where nationhood has generally occurred later, and national borders have often been decided arbitrarily. Under such circumstances, it is not uncommon for populations to identify with specific locales or regions rather than the nation as a whole (Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013). Translocalism is therefore able to address the many scales beyond the nation state at which migrants engage with geographically distinct locations as a part of their daily lived experience (Brickell & Datta 2011).
Evidence of transnational behaviour amongst migrants was documented prior to the 1980s when transnationalism emerged as a sociological field of enquiry. However, without a framework to describe transnational behaviour, these studies were viewed in isolation (Glick Schiller et al. 1992a). While transnationalism is not a new phenomenon, technology and changes to the global economy and culture, in combination with laws and political practices that allow participation in more than one nation state, mean that contemporary transnationalism differs from that of the past in both intensity and significance (Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Foner 1997). Nonetheless, Foner (1997) argues that too much emphasis is put on the novelty of contemporary transnational practices; the structural factors thought to foster contemporary transnationalism – including lack of economic security in home and host locations, the importance of remittances, and recognition by home societies of absent citizens – were also evident in the past. While there has been some discussion of historical transnationalism, there has been less emphasis on the historical aspects of translocalism at scales other than the nation state.

1.3 Translocalism and the Pacific

To date, the majority of work on transnational migration has focused on movement from the Caribbean, Asia, Latin America and Africa to the USA, Canada and Europe. This is despite the relatively large diasporic community of Pacific Islanders that have migrated to destinations both near and far including Australia, New Zealand and North America. In many ways, Pacific Islander migrants represent a ‘perfect’ example of translocal migrants; it is rare that these migrants do not maintain ties with home, and Pacific migration is characterised by the constant flows of people, information, goods and cash that are features of translocal literature (Lee 2009b). Without being explicitly identified as translocalism, these practices have long been the subject of academic research in the Pacific. As highlighted by Chapman and Prothero (1983), the concept of circular migration – mobility characterised by periodic absences and returns – as a means of linking distinct places and communities dates back to the work of French human geographers during the 1920s, who noted the reciprocal flows of people, goods and ideas that comprised this mobility (de la Blache 1926 and Sorre 1961 in Chapman & Prothero 1983). Once considered the dominant form of migration amongst Pacific Islanders, circulation has received much academic attention (for example Bedford 1973; Bonnemaison 1977; Bonnemaison 1985; Chapman & Prothero 1985; Strathern 1985; Curry & Koczberski 1998; Bautista 2010). With this has come a focus on the various flows, particularly in the form of remittances, that are characteristic of circulation (Lee 2009a). As
circular migration has declined, and periods of urban residence have increased (Tonkinson 1979; Haberkorn 1987; Mecartney 2001), the role of remittances and related flows in the Pacific has continued to receive academic attention. This is particularly the case for international remittances, which can play an important role in national economies (Connell 2013).

Similarly, Pacific scholars have long commented on the irrelevance of the rural-urban dichotomy to indigenous concepts of space and place (for example Mitchell 2002; Lind 2010; Thorarensen 2011). Thus, while physically distant from home areas, Pacific Islander migrants have continued interacting with kin through translocal networks (Francis 2009). Nonetheless, Pacific research has generally not engaged with the wider literature on translocalism (or transnationalism) (for notable exceptions see Lee & Francis 2009; Bautista 2010; Cummings 2013b). However, as Lee (2009a) has argued, situating Pacific experiences of translocalism within the wider literature will not only raise the profile of Pacific research, but enrich current work on translocalism, and in turn bring new insights to work in the Pacific.

1.4 Longitudinal mobility and urbanisation in Vanuatu

As is the case for much of the Pacific, urbanisation in Vanuatu has occurred both relatively recently and with great rapidity (Connell & Lea 2002). Between 1967 and 2009, Vanuatu’s urban population increased by over 600% from 7,772 (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 1991) to 57,195 (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011). While this population increase was initially attributed to rural-urban migration, as migrants have settled with greater permanence in urban areas, natural increase has become significant (Haberkorn 1987). Almost 35 years after independence, due to a lack of financial and other resources, infrastructure and social services have not kept pace with population increases, and urban poverty is growing. In turn, frustration has been mounting as ni-Vanuatu feel the government has failed to provide all that was promised on the eve of independence (Douglas 2002).

Despite this, there exist no recent comprehensive studies into patterns of internal migration or urbanisation in Vanuatu.

Using the lens of translocalism, this research focuses on Melanesia to present a systematic restudy of rural-urban migration from the island of Paama, Vanuatu. Employing longitudinal data in the form of Gerald Haberkorn’s (1987) thesis, monograph (1989) and field notes, this research not only highlights how mobility patterns have changed or stabilised over time, but also demonstrates the longstanding (translocal) practices that characterise these flows. By
engaging with translocal literature, and examining mobility over different points in time, this research represents a departure from existing studies of rural-urban migration in the region (and elsewhere) that tend to present a snapshot in time view of mobility. The use of longitudinal data enables detailed analysis of what has and has not changed in 30 years of Paamese migration to the capital, Port Vila, as the first most obviously urban generation of ni-Vanuatu has become established. Analysis and conclusions are able to go beyond observations of superficial change, to examine more fundamental aspects of continuity and social change, and assess the relative importance of each. A longitudinal study such as this, therefore allows for much greater depth of analysis than has hitherto been possible; looking to the past, it provides a better understanding of contemporary urban socio-economic life, and potential future trends in Melanesian urbanisation and migration, and generates small-scale socio-economic data that is linked to national data.

1.5 Structure of thesis

Focusing on Melanesia, Chapter 2 provides an overview of urbanisation and migration in the Pacific, before introducing the concept of longitudinal research. The scarcity of such research is discussed, and its utility in the study of migration and urbanisation is outlined.

Chapter 3 contextualises research by presenting a brief history of urbanisation and migration as it has occurred in Vanuatu. The lack of contemporary studies is highlighted, and the contribution of this research to the literature is discussed. The study site of Paama is then introduced in Chapter 4. The physical setting of the island is described, and contemporary social organisation is compared and contrasted to that of 1982. It is argued that Paama provides a suitable case study for this research, such that conclusions can be applied more widely to other islands throughout Vanuatu. Data collection techniques and methodologies are discussed in Chapter 5, and the cultural context of the research is considered.

Chapter 6 deals with rural dwelling Paamese. Contemporary village demography is compared to that of 1982 to determine changes to population structure, and household size. Rural livelihood opportunities are examined, and the great degree of continuity in livelihood portfolios over the past thirty years is highlighted. Remittance flows are discussed from a rural perspective, and the introduction of mobile phones as a facilitator of flows of goods and information is considered.
Patterns of island based mobility are examined in Chapter 7. Migration histories are compared to those of rural Paamese in the 1980s, and local discourses about mobility are considered. Gender and life cycle stage influences on mobility are discussed, and the influence of changing social norms on mobility behaviour is highlighted, as is the importance of the wider household structure on individual mobility. The future of mobility from Paama is examined through a survey of soon-to-graduate high school students.

Chapter 8 considers mobility from the perspective of urban residents. Again, Haberkorn’s (1987; 1989) data is used to compare mobility behaviour of the early 1980s to that of 2011. Where relevant, second generation migrants are treated as separate to the wider urban population to determine the impacts of migrant generation on urban experience and mobility. When Haberkorn (1987) wrote about Paamese migration a generation ago, most second generation migrants had not yet reached maturity, and it was predicted that these ‘migrants’ would maintain weaker ties with their island ‘home’. However, while in 2011 many second (and in some cases third) generation migrants had limited experience of Paama, and most did not speak the Paamese language fluently, they maintained a strong Paamese identity. The role of a translocal Paamese community in maintaining this strong identification with ‘home’ is examined.

Length of urban residence and attitudes towards urban life are considered as are ties to the rural ‘home’, and ways of keeping in touch via visits to the island and flows of information and visitors. The importance of kin ties in structuring migration, and channelling flows of migrants is highlighted. While ‘permanence’ is difficult to determine, based on the number of existing return migrants and attitudes of usual urban residents to rural life, it is argued that a return ‘home’ to Paama is highly unlikely for the majority urban residents.

Chapter 9 details the realities and hardships associated with contemporary urban life. Access to land, levels of education and employment types are considered and compared to patterns from 1983. Basic income and expenditure data is presented, and the economic difficulties faced by the majority of the urban population are discussed. Urban social organisation and emerging forms of sociality are described. While economic and social success are not unheard of, it is argued that for the majority of Paamese migrants, life in town is often a struggle.

Key points from previous chapters are synthesised in Chapter 10, and the important insights offered by the use of the translocal approach and longitudinal data are highlighted. Links to
the wider literature are discussed, and the important contribution of this research is emphasised.
Chapter 2: Urbanisation and migration in the Pacific

Urban street, Port Vila 2011
Focusing on Melanesia, the current chapter begins by providing an overview of urbanisation and migration in the Pacific, before considering the utility of longitudinal data. The lack of contemporary studies is highlighted, and the contribution the present study makes to the literature is outlined. A discussion of the advantages and disadvantages associated with longitudinal research is presented, and its relevance to this thesis is outlined.

2.1 A short history of urbanisation in Melanesia

Closely associated with a history of colonialism, urbanisation in the Pacific is characterised by recency and rapidity. One of the last regions of the world to be ‘discovered’ and colonised, Pacific Islanders traditionally lived in small hamlets or villages with no primate city. Established by colonial powers as places of administration and trade, the at first tiny urban centres of the Pacific functioned as white male spaces as colonial women – whose sexuality was considered at risk from ‘uncivilised’ natives – and indigenous Pacific Islanders – who were deemed not suited to ‘modern’ urban lifestyles – were largely excluded (Connell & Lea 2002; Connell 2011). Indigenous urban presence was tolerated for employment; however even when gainfully employed, Pacific Islanders were subject to various restrictions in urban areas, including the requirement of a permit, strict curfews and low wages (Haberkorn 1987; Connell & Lea 2002). Physical separation from the white population was enforced through racially segregated housing, with the indigenous population occupying the lowest rung on the social ladder (Bennett 1957; Connell & Lea 1994). Colonial policies thus aimed to ensure only temporary urban presence of indigenous populations, and simultaneously discouraged and delayed the development of urban centres (Fahey 1980; Koczberski et al. 2001; Connell 2011).

Throughout the nineteenth century, due to their small size and relative isolation, Pacific urban areas had little impact on the majority of the population. The largely administrative role of these towns, especially in Melanesia, meant their economies remained limited until the twentieth century and independence. By the Second World War, the influences of urban centres were starting to be felt throughout Pacific Island countries, however urban areas themselves remained small. It was not until after World War Two, when colonial powers made an effort to develop their colonies, that urbanisation took off in the Pacific. Increased

1 Only the larger islands of Micronesia and Tonga showed any evidence of pre-colonial urbanisation (Connell & Lea 2002).
urban populations, particularly in Melanesia, saw towns taking on regional characteristics, however geographical and institutional racial segregation persisted (Connell & Lea 2002).

Urbanisation increased rapidly throughout the 1960s. The 1970s marked the beginning of a period of decolonisation, and associated political and economic change. Restrictions on indigenous urban presence were lifted, and urban areas were, for the first time, accessible to all Pacific Islanders. Limited infrastructure and housing coupled with rapid population growth resulted in the establishment of extensive informal settlements throughout the region. In contemporary Suva (Fiji) roughly a third of the population live in over a hundred settlements, while approximately 20,000 of Honiara’s (Solomon Islands) 70,000 residents are housed informally (Connell 2013). However, while settlements have been broadly stereotyped as places of crime, there is little evidence to support these claims (Mitchell 2000; Goddard 2001; Mitchell 2002). In Papua New Guinea, residents of informal settlements were no different from the city population as a whole (Goddard 2001; Barber 2003), and formal housing residents were in some cases less ‘permanent’ than those residing in settlements (Goddard 2010). As urban populations continue to grow while infrastructure stagnates, land pressure, overcrowding and associated health problems have become common, and environmental degradation resulting from lack of planning is widespread (Bryant-Tokalau 1995). In Papua New Guinea, tensions over land have resulted in violence as customary owners felt they were being overrun by rural-urban migrants (Koczberski & Curry 2004). Rather than tackle the root of the problem however, evictions have been used in place of urban planning; in Papua New Guinea, urban land owners have colluded with police to organise these evictions which serve both their means (Koczberski et al. 2001). Due in part to the inalienability of land, providing basic infrastructure and services to informal settlements requires extensive negotiation with multiple parties, and is generally not attempted (Connell 2011). Access to urban land and housing, and associated infrastructure provision therefore remains problematic, however existing research has tended to focus on informal housing to the exclusion of the emerging middle class (for a notable exception see Gewertz & Errington 1999). By working with a single population across various locations, this research seeks to capture the variety of urban experience.

Pacific Island states have been characterised by a strong subsistence sector and kin based support networks that function as a social safety net. As a result, until very recently poverty was only reluctantly acknowledged as an issue facing Pacific Island nations, and in some cases was tolerated as ‘acceptable’ (Allen et al. 2005). While poverty remains difficult to
measure, in urban areas it has become increasingly visible and impossible to ignore. Improved health and rising education levels have occurred alongside a sharp decline in living standards for certain sectors of the (mostly urban) population. More intangible aspects of poverty, such as social breakdown, remain difficult to quantify (Bryant-Tokalau 1995), however, some forms of kin support have decreased as participation in urban exchange networks has become reliant on cash, a scarce resource for most (Barber 2010). While kin networks and the subsistence sector continue to play an important role in Pacific Islands cultures, in an environment where cash incomes have become a necessity, they are generally unable to counteract rising poverty. Beyond broad generalisations however, little is known about how kin based support systems including rural-urban remittance flows have adapted over time to cope with these changing circumstances.

As population increases have outpaced employment opportunities, unemployment rates have risen throughout the Pacific, while at the same time income inequality has increased (Connell 2003b). Small markets, legislation that discourages roadside selling, and limited access to skills and the primary products necessary for economic activity have resulted in an underdeveloped informal sector. Where they exist, informal sector activities often take place within informal settlements, and are therefore largely invisible in public spaces and difficult to quantify (Mecartney 2001). Recent research in Papua New Guinea however, suggests that informal sector activities can prove lucrative, and in some instances may generate larger incomes than formal employment. Nonetheless, due to kinship obligations and other responsibilities, actual profits from these activities have remained low (Umezaki & Ohtsuka 2003; Barber 2010; Umezaki 2010). While the informal sector may provide potential employment for some, for now it remains largely underexploited. Using longitudinal data, this research is able to highlight the manner in which employment types and opportunities have, and in many cases have not, changed over time.

Strong identification with wantoks (language/ethnic groups) has sometimes resulted in ethnic tensions in urban areas (Rio 2011). These ethnic divisions, coupled with a lack of social amenities have together contributed to the emergence of social problems (Connell & Lea 2002). In Papua New Guinea, the lack of traditional social structures caused uncertainty about what constituted appropriate behaviour in the urban environment (Ward 2000). Limited incomes and opportunities have seen an increase in prostitution, crime and domestic violence (Connell 2003b). Traditional controls on the use of drugs, including kava, have eroded, and as these substances have become readily available to a wider population, their use – and in some
cases abuse – has increased (McDonald & Jowitt 2000; McMurray 2001b). Intergenerational conflict and pressure placed on the younger generation have resulted in high rates of youth suicide throughout much of the Pacific (Booth 1999). Whereas town was once a place to escape social conflicts such as black magic, contemporary urban areas with their heterogeneous populations, are places where sorcery now flourishes (Mitchell 2000; Rio 2010). At the same time however, new forms of inter-ethnic relationships are emerging as individuals forge relationships outside their *wantok* groups (Mecartney 2001; Kobayashi *et al.* 2011). Working with second and third generation migrants, this research considers how sociality and *wantok* relations may or may not differ from those of the first generation.

The negative view of an urban Pacific that began in colonial times persists today, with a great administrative reluctance to recognise urban settlers as permanent. Rural areas are still usually considered the rightful home of urban residents, even as those with limited ties to their ‘home’ area and second and third generation migrants may not be able to ‘return home’ (Goddard 2001; Koczberski *et al.* 2001; Connell 2011). A change in discourse alone however, would not be enough to deal with urban social and infrastructure issues. Limited economies constrained by small size, weak manufacturing industries and a reliance on low priced primary exports mean that financial resources to deal with these issues are simply not available. The welfare of the poor therefore, has been left largely in the hands of NGOs (Connell 2003b). While there is much talk of rural revitalisation to encourage return migration, urban oriented governments have long been out of touch with the real needs of rural populations, and where they exist, rural development and decentralisation schemes have been largely unsuccessful. Due to the concentration of employment, education, health and other services in urban areas, development projects are channelled into towns, often at the expense of rural areas (Bryant-Tokalau 1995). Thus, for those seeking education, employment or access to services, rural areas simply do not offer adequate opportunities.

Despite an enduring discourse of rural idylls, the Pacific is today unquestionably urban (Bryant-Tokalau 1995; Connell 2011). However, while it is generally acknowledged that contemporary urban life is difficult, without detailed longitudinal data it is not possible to determine how much of this hardship is the outcome of subjective nostalgia for ‘the good old days’. Importantly, changes to urban areas have not occurred in isolation, and are closely linked to similar processes occurring in rural ‘home’ areas. It is therefore vital to compare and contrast urban and rural trends. To counter the common depiction of ‘modern’ urban towns versus ‘true’ rural homes, the current research highlights the manner in which rural and
urban areas function as nodes in a single social field linked by kin networks (Bautista 2010). Through the use of Haberkorn’s (1987; 1989) data and analysis of Paamese life from a generation ago, this research is intended to chart the manner in which rural and urban life, and the kin linkages that sustain it, have adapted to change and, just as importantly, highlight those aspects of Paamese life that have endured.

2.2 Pacific migration

Migration is central to island life, and has played an important role in the history of the Pacific Islands. Traditional forms of mobility were largely undisturbed by European presence until the mid-eighteenth century when, motivated by the need to discover and conquer new territories and save souls, Europeans established a permanent presence in the Pacific. During this period, indigenous Pacific populations migrated for labour (sometimes voluntarily and other times not) and for missionary work. The impact of this era of colonialism, and the new forms of commerce and Christianity that accompanied it, are still being felt in contemporary Pacific societies.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Pacific populations were involved in mobility relating to missionary activity, labour and trade and employment on ships. European movement into the Pacific continued alongside sustained missionary, commercial and colonial activities. Due to the strategic positioning of Pacific islands, World War Two brought Pacific populations into large scale contact with foreign military forces and acted as a catalyst for independence movements, which gained momentum from 1962 onwards (Macpherson 2008).

Contemporary international migration took off in the 1960s in response to demands for labour in metropolitan states, increasingly accessible air travel to international destinations and rising expectations and demands for services and employment. However, opportunities for international mobility have been strongly influenced by political and economic forces, and Melanesian states, including Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, have not had the same opportunities as many Polynesian islands. For these nations therefore, mobility remains largely internal (Connell 2013). Internal migration is not always directed towards urban areas - in Papua New Guinea, rural-rural migration to areas with better transport links, land and services provided a means for escaping poverty (Allen et al. 2005) – however, the concentration of employment opportunities and services combined with a desire for commodities mean urban areas represent an important and increasingly prominent destination
for internal migrants. Similarly, as urban bias has exacerbated the isolation of outer islands such as the Bougainville atolls (Papua New Guinea), Torres and Banks Islands (Vanuatu) and Rotuma (Fiji), patterns of rural-urban population movement have been reinforced (Connell 2013). However, as academic interest in internal mobility has waned, little is known about contemporary rural-urban (or rural-rural) migration.

In Melanesia, where international migration has been limited, internal migration has played an important role in maintaining the sustainability of island populations and livelihoods. This is particularly true for smaller, more remote islands, where multi-local kin networks have provided an invaluable means for extending livelihood activities beyond their geographical limits (Connell 2013). Similarly, kin networks influence mobility by providing advice and support for newly arrived migrants, sending remittances, and supplying information and access to goods and services. The influence of these networks is such that they may determine the direction of mobility. Thus, for the Wosera (Papua New Guinea), West New Britain represented an important migration destination due to established kin networks and related economic opportunities (Curry & Koczberski 1999). The flows associated with internal migration therefore cannot be examined without considering kin networks, the role of which is often obscured by a focus on economic or other factors.

In recent years, a shortage of unskilled agricultural workers in New Zealand, and later Australia, resulted in opportunities for short-term international migration with the introduction of seasonal employment schemes. Functioning as the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) and Seasonal Worker Program (SWP) in New Zealand and Australia respectively, these schemes have been promoted as a triple win with the potential to bring benefits to workers, their communities and destination countries. However, results have been mixed. Tannese (Vanuatu) returning from the RSE scheme were able to pay school fees, and invest in small businesses and house construction, however it was predicted that long-term gains would be limited (Connell & Hammond 2009; Hammond & Connell 2009; Connell 2010). Economic benefits aside, there have been concerns over the protection of worker rights, particularly in Australia, due to the largely unregulated nature of the agricultural industry (Maclellan 2008), and most analyses of the scheme have focused on economic, rather than social issues (for a notable exception see Craven 2013). For nations where other opportunities for international migration are limited however, and particularly Vanuatu, seasonal worker programs have provided a valuable means of accessing higher incomes than would be possible in the domestic employment market.
In the Pacific, the decision to migrate has generally been made within the family, with the aim of providing assistance to non-migrant kin. Certain characteristics tend to be associated with mobility. For Ponam (Manus, Papua New Guinea) rural-urban migrants, education was considered a prerequisite for employment (and the ability to send remittances), and those without secondary education were therefore discouraged from migrating. Access to education, and eventual migration was a decision made by parents, and only favoured where the family unit was expected to benefit more from migration than having a child stay at home. The needs of the family were therefore prioritised, and migration did not necessarily conform to a rational economic model of decision making (Carrier & Carrier 1989). Similarly, while migrants often earn cash incomes, these can function both in the market economy and as a form of traditional exchange. Thus, cash may be used for ‘pre-modern’ purposes such as paying bride price for marriage (Curry & Koczberski 1998). Therefore, while economics can play a role in migration decisions, other factors, including the wider family decision making unit, must also be considered. How these decisions may change (or not) over time however, has not yet been systematically investigated for the Pacific.

Locally, mobility fulfils certain social functions, and across a number of Pacific Islands cultures, migration has come to represent a rite of passage. For the Wosera (Papua New Guinea), short-term labour migration was an important milestone in young male life, while for older men periodic absences from the village were considered rejuvenating (Curry & Koczberski 1998). Similarly, mobility to Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea) was common among young Hagen males, many of whom desired to avoid parental authority (Strathern 1985). A certain degree of status can be earned through mobility experiences, and among the Orokaiva (Papua New Guinea), only those with a history of migration were granted positions of status within the village (Baxter 1972). Mobility therefore may function as an important milestone or life cycle event, however little consideration has been given to how such mobility may vary over time in response to changes in wider cultural norms.

In the past, internal mobility to urban areas was often circular. Such migration was rooted in traditional forms of mobility – in Melanesia, the concept of going ‘walkabout’ for a period was common – and was supported by colonial policies discouraging indigenous urban residence. As urban populations increased, and kinship obligations and activities expanded to include towns, circular migration routes, which had previously focused mainly on plantations, changed to incorporate these areas (Chapman & Prothero 1985). While circular migration to urban areas has been replaced by extended periods of urban residence (Tonkinson 1979;
There is considerable reluctance to recognise this trend towards permanence; nonetheless, thirty years ago in Port Moresby, only 14% of long-term urban migrants described their urban residence as permanent (Curtain 1980). Without longitudinal data however, it is difficult to determine whether all migrants are spending longer periods in urban areas, or if extended periods of urban residence are limited to certain sectors of the population.

While the rhetoric of return migration is common, actual return remains rare. On Nukunu (Tonga) return migrants were diverse in terms of age, sex and level of education, and while a variety of factors influenced the decision to return, family reasons ranked highly, and returnees tended to be economically successful. Many of those who did return however, did not plan to stay in Tonga indefinitely (Maron & Connell 2008). Comparable studies of return migration in Melanesia are largely absent. It seems to be that the poorest migrants who receive little support from home areas actually have the least opportunity to return. Amongst urban dwelling Wosera (Papua New Guinea), those who had been unable to maintain exchange relationships with rural areas were least likely to feel able to return ‘home’ (Curry & Koczberski 1999). For long-term migrants, concerns over adapting back to home societies (Muliaina 2003), and a reluctance to abandon second generation children in destination areas (Macpherson 1985) can provide barriers to return, though again this reflects the context of international migration in Polynesia. Despite a discourse of impermanence therefore, a return ‘home’ is not always possible. While this unanticipated permanence has been widely documented, there are no systematic longitudinal studies in the Pacific region that investigate to what extent plans to return home exist and are realised.

Closely associated with migration, remittances in cash and kind represent a key means of supporting non-migrant kin, and provide an important source of income both at the household and national level. Where international migration is limited, as in Melanesian states, rural-urban remittances represent the primary form of remittances and are particularly important for small islands (Carrier & Carrier 1989; D’Arcy 2011; Connell 2013; Wilson 2013). As a form of social capital, the sending and receiving of remittances reinforces kin ties, and will continue for as long as the relationships they support are maintained. Thus, for Hageners (Papua New Guinea), remittances were considered proof that migrant sons living in Port Moresby had not forgotten their parents or their obligations to home (Strathern 1972). In Polynesia, most remittances are from close relatives, and their size and frequency declines when close kin such as parents die and/or spouses and children join migrants abroad.
(Muliaina 2003). Again there are no parallel studies in Melanesia. It is generally assumed that second generation migrants who have grown up away from their island ‘homes’ will not remit to the same degree as their parents. While evidence from international migration supports this hypothesis – the second generation often resent the obligation to remit (Muliaina 2003; Lee 2007a) – no research has been conducted into the remittance behaviour of second generation rural-urban migrants in Melanesia.

Remittances are often highest when a migrant intends to return home (Ahlburg & Brown 1998), however financial ability to remit also plays a role (Brown & Connell 2006). Participation in migrant networks where remitting represents a strong social norm further reinforces remittance behaviour (Macpherson 1994). Importantly however, remittances alone are not necessarily a reliable indicator of return migration (Macpherson 1985), and reduced remittance levels over time do not always reflect a waning commitment to home, but may result from changing family structures (Macpherson 1994). It is important therefore to consider the context in which remittances are sent. Using longitudinal data, it is possible to investigate whether remittances within the Paamese population have decreased over time and how this relates to urban commitment.

Throughout the Pacific Islands then, migration has long been an integral part of island life. However, as noted above, while internal migration remains the primary form of population movement for a number of Pacific Island nations, in recent years it has received little academic attention. Most of what is ‘known’ about contemporary internal migration therefore is based on assumptions and extrapolations from older studies. While it is possible that contemporary internal migration is very similar to that of the past, without new research, this is impossible to confirm. Through the systematic use of longitudinal data, this thesis investigates continuities and changes in Paamese mobility norms as they have been affected by wider social change. The next section considers the utility of longitudinal research for investigating such matters.

2.3 Longitudinal research

Longitudinal studies use data sets collected at different points in time, and are thus able to record actual change rather than merely making predictions (Vandergeest & Rigg 2012). There exist two broad categories of longitudinal study; those in which the same researcher(s) conduct a restudy, and those performed by ‘new’ researcher(s) (Howard & Barker 2004). The current study falls into the latter category.
Few places in the world have not been the subject of academic research. Melanesia in particular has provided the setting for numerous ethnographic and anthropological studies, yet longitudinal research remains notably scarce (Connell 2007). While it is not uncommon for an anthropologist to work with ‘their’ community over an extended period, it is less common for them, or others, to conduct a comprehensive restudy of issues previously investigated. This is in part due to changing research interests; over time academic disciplines, communities under study, and the researchers themselves all undergo change (Foster et al. 1979; Bruner 1999; Kemper 2002a; Carucci 2004; Flinn 2004). Thus, what may have once appeared a valuable research topic may seem less so years later – some research topics simply do not lend themselves to longitudinal studies. For the case of urbanisation and migration however, this is not true and, as will be argued below, longitudinal data is of great utility in investigating these phenomena. Secondly, as researchers progress from postgraduate studies to full time employment, it can become harder to find the time necessary to conduct (often time consuming) restudies. This is particularly true when travel to remote areas with unreliable transport connections is involved (Flinn 2004; Howard & Barker 2004), and the current study benefitted from the relatively ‘time rich’ nature of postgraduate research. Thirdly, while it was not the case for this research, in some instances territoriality may dissuade ‘new’ researchers from completing follow-up studies. Foster (1979) admits to experiencing concern over cluttering up ‘his’ village with other researchers, which led him to carefully monitor the number of students he invited to work with him. Furthermore, as restudies have been sometimes considered a squandering of resources, funding may prove difficult (Lewis 1951; Foster 2002). Finally, the academic emphasis on publishing new findings and ideas can detract from working on projects that could run the risk of seeming repetitive. However, as discussed above, the very longitudinal nature of this research makes it both feasible and beneficial, and also unique in Melanesia.

The lack of longitudinal studies into migration and urbanisation reinforces the notion that these processes are static or ‘time limited’, and perpetuates the idea that an entire culture can be understood in a single visit. Longitudinal research into these and other phenomena therefore, creates an appreciation of the dynamics of historical processes, and distinguishes one off events from persistent patterns (Foster et al. 1979; Meggitt 1979; Carucci 2004; Howard & Barker 2004; Howard & Rensel 2004). This in turn breaks down the bias towards static theories (Foster et al. 1979) and allows for cross checking of past observations (Lewis 1951); witnessing later events may clarify incidents observed in the past (Harrison 2001).
Foster (1979) claims that some of his insights from over fifty years of research in the Tarascan region of Mexico took twenty years to make themselves apparent. Similarly, while she was initially disappointed not to be ‘the first’ to conduct research in South West Bay, Malakula (Vanuatu) Larcom (1983) came to appreciate the existence of Bernard Deacon’s field notes and published work; without them she would not have been aware of the persistence of ideologies from 50 years earlier. Through employing longitudinal data, this research therefore not only provides a view of what has changed in processes of urbanisation and migration in Vanuatu, but of what has stayed the same.

2.4 Change before continuity

Existing longitudinal studies have a tendency to emphasise change rather than continuity; the appearance of satellite dishes, alterations to local languages, religious beliefs and power structures (for example Gewertz & Errington 1991; Bruner 1999; Keenan 2000; Harrison 2001; Knauff 2002; Small 2011). Even in cases where a high degree of continuity has been observed, there appears to be a temptation to describe a community as ‘on the brink of change’ (Firth 1959). This is in part human nature; returning to familiar locales it is change, rather than continuity, that is most evident. Similarly, the academic emphasis on publishing new findings encourages this orientation towards seeking change – in some instances listing what has remained the same can prove for dull reading. However, this can lead to a focus on what Larcom (1983: 190) has described as the ‘superficially changing atmosphere’ of the field site rather than concentrating on less visible aspects of continuity (and change). In some instances these ‘changes’ are merely the result of applying a different theoretical lens (Lewis 1951). However, taking into consideration new academic approaches can itself prove fruitful in the analysis of what has or has not changed in the community under study (Lutkehaus 1995) and provides opportunities for reflection on the paths geography (or other research disciplines) have taken (Bruner 1999; Vandergeest & Rigg 2012).

There are of course some notable exceptions to this (over) emphasis on change. Rigg and Vandergeest’s (2012) collection of restudies in the Southeast Asian region challenge assumptions about the directionality of change. They argue that rather than following a predetermined pathway, change involves an element of ‘randomness’ as it is brought about by the actions of people in pursuit of diverse aspirations. Thus, while some had predicted the disappearance of rural villages in an increasingly urban world, the restudies contained within the volume demonstrate that rural places are certainly not disappearing (Vandergeest & Rigg...
On the contrary, in Northern Thailand even as livelihoods diversified to include more non-farm activities, agriculture remained a culturally important aspect of rural life (Bruneau 2012). Again in Thailand, Vandergeest (2012) found a trend towards re-agrarianisation. This was not simply a reversal of deagrarianisation, but in 2009 involved villagers choosing from a range of possible agricultural activities that were not available in the 1980s. In Malaysian Borneo (Cramb 2012) and Northeast Thailand (Rigg & Salamanca 2012), land remained culturally important, and acted as a form of wealth investment even where agricultural livelihoods had decreased in importance. Continuity and change were influenced by local and specific conditions as well as wider structural conditions (De Koninck et al. 2012) and, importantly, were evident in ways that had often not been predicted by initial studies.

The popularity of the Pacific as a field site for anthropologists means that restudies of the region generally take the form of ethnographies. In Papua New Guinea, Knauff’s (2002) work with the Gebusi between the early 1980s and 1998, and Gewertz and Errington’s (1991) reflections on 15 years of fieldwork with the Chambri both focus on periods of transition and the pursuit of modernity, with little consideration of continuity. Returning to Tonga, Small (2011) highlighted the changes increased demands for cash had brought to village life between the 1980s and 2010. These included a decreasing field of reciprocity and increased individualism, as well as the physical markers of change resulting from new technology. Hooper’s (1993) work in Tokelau between 1967 and 1981 recognised the persistence of village structures which had taken on changed meanings. The focus of his analysis however revolved around the manner in which the ‘ideological productive style’ of the village had been destroyed; by 1981 village life was ‘a world away’ (1993: 260) from what it was a generation ago. In his two volumes on returning to Kragur (Papua New Guinea), Smith (2002; 2013) noted that many of the issues at the root of arguments during the 1970s were still being disputed into the 1990s and beyond. However, his focus was on modernity and the form it takes for the Kragur. Almost four decades after his fieldwork in 1964, Clarke (2003) used secondary sources in combination with his own original photography to muse on the broad changes that had occurred to Maring (Papua New Guinea) lifestyles. Reflecting on his observations from roughly 20 years earlier, Ward (1987) focused on changes to land use, allocation, and the organisation of labour in rural Fijian villages to conclude that the ‘safety net’ provided by rural society was in demise. Finally, despite finding a high degree of continuity in village life between 1929 and 1952, Firth (1959) reported that Tikopia (Solomon Islands) was undoubtedly on the brink of social change, though actual change was minimal.
Recognising the value ‘of explaining spatial pattern through understanding temporal process’ (Brookfield 1973c: 22), *The Pacific in Transition* (Brookfield 1973a) provides a rare acknowledgement of the utility of longitudinal perspectives in understanding adaptation and change. Despite their broad ranging subject matter however, the chapters contained within focus on rural areas, rely largely on secondary sources to provide baseline data, and do not themselves represent systematic restudies. Brookfield (1973b) himself comments on the lost opportunities resulting from partial data collection, as his own research focus altered over the 13 years he worked with the Chimbu (Papua New Guinea).

Lutkehaus’ (1995) work with the Manam (Papua New Guinea) provides a valuable counterpoint to the focus on change. ‘Following’ Camilla Wedgwood to Papua New Guinea, Lutkehaus provides a consideration of changing anthropological theory alongside her ethnography of Manam Islanders. While change was apparent, Lutkehaus noted the persistence of chiefly leadership, albeit with different meanings and responsibilities. This was an aspect of village social life that Wedgwood had predicted would soon disappear. Thus, even where theory had changed, continuity was present.

In general, restudies that have highlighted continuity tend to focus on livelihoods rather than pure ethnographic analysis. Returning to Raymond Firth’s field site of Tikopia (Solomon Islands), Mertz et al (2010) found a high level of continuity in food production and consumption systems between the 1930s and 2002. Similarly, working on Bellona Island (Solomon Islands), Birch-Thomsen et al (2010) noted that while livelihood strategies had extended beyond the physical limits of the island to a greater degree than was the case in the 1960s, only minor changes had occurred to the island’s agricultural system; while the population had increased, a greater reliance on imported foodstuffs and non-agricultural livelihood strategies meant land use patterns had remained relatively constant. In what is a rather atypical example, in Siwai (Papua New Guinea), Connell (2007) noted a revitalisation of subsistence agriculture and return to traditional forms of power, after intense violence following the Bougainville mine closure in the 1990s. These events highlighted the non-linear route that change may follow. Working in Chimbu (Papua New Guinea), Brown et al (1990) concluded that changing land tenure systems were not a post-colonial phenomenon, but rather, represented a continuous pattern over the last century; in this instance, change provided the source of continuity. In Ontong Java (Solomon Islands), Christensen (2011) and Christensen and Gough (2012) recorded a high degree of resilience and adaptability in islanders’ mobility and ability to cope with changing livelihood opportunities since the 1970s;
both continuity and change were evident as the bèche-de-mer trade brought cycles of prosperity and economic collapse. Returning to Kadavu Island (Fiji) more than 20 years after his original fieldwork, Sofer (2009) found the island’s economy and patterns of production remained largely unchanged. Considering the scarcity of longitudinal studies in the region, continuity of livelihood strategies has thus been relatively well documented for certain regions of the Pacific.

Like Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu has provided the setting for numerous ethnographic studies. However, this research has not been used for restudies in the same manner as that of Papua New Guinea, and longitudinal studies are few and far between. Working in South West Bay, Malakula, Larcom (1983) used Bernard Deacon’s field notes and published work to enrich her own analysis of the Mewun and their persistent and longstanding concern with place. On Tanna, Lindstrom (2011) used his several decades worth of work with Samaria villagers to analyse urbanisation and internal migration. However, due to Lindstrom’s own changing research interests, rather than providing a detailed analysis, this work focused on general observations about trends over the period. Finally, Lai and Grace (2014) conducted a re-survey of ‘custom’ (sic) medicine use amongst patients at Port Vila hospital. They concluded that rates of decrease over the ten years since the initial survey indicated that traditional medicinal practices may disappear within a generation. As a specific and systematic restudy of migration and urbanisation, this research therefore represents a departure from the examples outlined above which tend to focus on noting general changes over time, and touch on a number of themes relating to wider change.

Throughout the Pacific, longitudinal studies have generally focused on rural based ethnographies and livelihoods. From the above, it is evident that livelihood strategies are both resilient and adaptable, and despite inroads made by capitalism, generally show a high degree of continuity with the past (Birch-Thomsen et al. 2010; Mertz et al. 2010; Christensen 2011; Christensen & Gough 2012). Similarly, while many aspects of social organisation have altered, others have persisted; for Manam Islanders chiefly leadership remained important (Lutkehaus 1995), in South West Bay, Malakula, place represented a key concern for islanders (Larcom 1983), while in Tokelau institutional village structures persisted albeit with different meanings (Hooper 1993). Thus, while the fairly mundane and predictable aspects of social life had altered – capitalism and monetisation increased, communications technology improved – other more fundamental organising principles had often survived. Without the
existence of longitudinal data however, the longstanding importance of these social structures and ideologies would not have been evident.

2.5 Longitudinal studies of rural-urban migration

Rural-urban migration is often depicted as ending when migrants arrive in the urban environment. To counter this, Lewis (1952) proposed conducting follow-up studies on urban migrants to build a picture of rural-urban migration and the processes associated with urbanisation. Sixty years later, very few have heeded his call. In Eastern Nigeria, Gugler (1991) returned to Enugu in 1987 to replicate a study of rural-urban migrants he had conducted in 1961. Gugler concluded that despite his earlier predictions, rural-urban migrants remained committed to their rural origins. However, rather than working within the same population of migrants, as the present study does, Gugler’s restudy was merely conducted in similar urban areas with migrants from the same occupational groups. On a larger scale, Robert Kemper’s use of data collected by George Foster first in 1945, and then at ongoing intervals, and his own continuing work with the Tzintzuntzan community in Mexico has yielded a number of studies into urban life, and the effects of urbanisation on the rural community of Tzintzuntzan (for example Kemper & Foster 1975; Kemper 1981; Kemper 2002b). Kemper (1971) argues that, despite their interconnectedness, migration research tends to focus on the geographical aspects of migration, to the exclusion of temporal factors. However, both geographical and temporal components of migration are vital to understanding the phenomenon of rural-urban migration. These include consideration of waves of migration, movement of migrants within urban areas, and classification of when a rural-urban migrant stops being a ‘migrant’. Through his work, Kemper (2002b) chronicles the shift from ‘pioneer’ migrants during the 1940s and 1950s, to mass migration in the 1960s and 1970s, to the extended communities of migrants that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s as migration moved beyond Mexico City. By considering the changes that take place in home and host environments, and the ways in which the two interplay, Kemper discredits static views of migration that take society to be ‘fixed’. Despite the importance of such temporal analysis however, as the above discussion demonstrates, there exist virtually no longitudinal studies into rural-urban migration.

2.6 Conclusions

While migration has played a long and integral role in the history of the Pacific, urbanisation has occurred recently, and with great rapidity. From their inception, urban areas were viewed
negatively, while rural areas were believed to represent the ‘true’ place of indigenous Pacific Islanders. These views persist today. However, while urban areas face a number of growing problems including land pressures, limited infrastructure, high population growth rates and lack of employment opportunities, they remain home to a growing proportion of the population. Despite a general concern over the future of the urban Pacific and its populations, no detailed contemporary studies exist into urbanisation and internal migration in the Pacific region. Without such research, ‘planning’ (where it exists) for an urban future remains little more than guesswork.

By using a longitudinal approach this research not only fills a gap in contemporary Pacific research agendas, but represents a break from existing studies into migration and urbanisation which provide a brief snapshot of these phenomena. Despite their utility, no systematic restudies of urban areas and population mobility exist for the Pacific region. By looking to the past, this research is able to highlight patterns of continuity and change, and based on this, make predictions about the future paths migration and urbanisation in Vanuatu, and by extension, the wider Pacific may follow.
Chapter 3: Urbanisation and migration in Vanuatu

Port Vila, 1980s
Source: Fung Kuei (ND)

Port Vila, 2011
This chapter provides an overview of the history of urbanisation and migration in Vanuatu with specific reference to Paama. As a dialectic process, mobility both results from and causes changes to the setting in which it occurs (Haberkorn 1987). In order to understand contemporary Paamese migration therefore, it is important to examine how mobility has evolved over time. The lack of contemporary research is highlighted, and the contribution of this study to understanding migration and urbanisation in Vanuatu is outlined.

### 3.1 Vanuatu

Located in the south west Pacific, Vanuatu is a y-shaped archipelago measuring approximately 850 km from north to south (Figure 3.1). The population of 234,000 is spread across roughly 65 of the 80 or so islands that make up the archipelago. Population distribution is predominantly rural, with about a quarter of the population living in urban areas. However, due to a combination of natural increase and rural-urban migration, the urban population is growing at 3.5% per annum, significantly faster than the rural growth rate of 1.9% per annum (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011). Vanuatu’s small, yet highly dispersed population brings with it serious challenges for service provision, and while the recent introduction of mobile phones has improved communications (Sijapati-Basnett 2009), rural areas are characterised by poverty of opportunity with limited access to healthcare (Petrou 2009), education and employment. Significantly, there is little devolution of economic opportunities from urban centres, where services are concentrated, to the rural majority. Nonetheless, it is urban areas where income disparity is greatest, and poverty is the most visible (Asian Development Bank 2009).
Vanuatu’s formal economy is limited, and relies heavily on urban oriented tourism and related service sectors, which account for roughly 67% of gross domestic product (GDP). Subsistence agriculture represents the main economic activity of 50% of rural household heads, and approximately 98% of rural households are involved in agriculture which thus far has kept pace with rural population growth. Exports are largely restricted to primary products including copra, kava and beef. However, the export industry is extremely volatile, and it is
the largely urban based service sector, accounting for 74% of GDP, that drives the economy (Asian Development Bank 2009). While there is significant interest in expanding export opportunities, particularly in the form of kava and organic produce, transport unreliability and inadequate infrastructure have provided barriers, and success has been limited.

3.2 A colonial history of Vanuatu

The first documented European encounter with Vanuatu occurred when the Portuguese explorer Captain de Quiros sighted the archipelago’s northern islands in 1606. More than a century passed before Louis Antoine de Bougainville recorded the positions of Ambae, Pentecost and Malakula in 1768. In 1774, Captain James Cook produced the first detailed map of the archipelago’s position, and christened it the New Hebrides. However, European interest in the islands remained minimal until the nineteenth century (Sherkin 1999).

Sandalwood traders ‘discovered’ the New Hebrides in 1825, followed by missionaries in 1839 and labour recruiters in the 1860s. Nonetheless, it was not until 1886, and the creation of a British French Joint Naval Commission, that colonial powers began to exert organised control over the islands. It then took another twenty years before concern over German influence in the Pacific led to the creation of a joint British French Condominium government in 1906, and colonial influence was cemented (Haberkorn 1987).

Under the Condominium system, each colonial power had full sovereignty over its own subjects, while indigenous ni-Vanuatu were jointly administered (Bennett 1957). Renowned for its inefficiency and doubling – and in some cases tripling – of essential services, the Condominium governed ‘by benign neglect’ (Tonkinson 1979: 106), a situation exacerbated by British-French disagreements over how colonialism should be ‘done’ (ibid). The legacy of the Condominium government persists today, and while the health and police forces have been unified, a dual Anglophone/Francophone education system remains.

Never content with the Condominium government, ni-Vanuatu began to discuss the possibility of independence with increasing frequency during the 1960s. Land alienation provided an important catalyst for the independence movement, and came to symbolise the indigenous lack of power in influencing the country’s future. In 1979, ni-Vanuatu opposition to Condominium rule led to general elections, and after several delays, independence was granted in July 1980 (Bonnemaison 1994). Internal opposition to a united Vanuatu was

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2 At this point in time ni-Vanuatu were referred to as New Hebrideans, however for the sake of consistency the term ni-Vanuatu has been employed throughout this chapter.
strongest on Santo where the Nagriamel movement, led by Jimmy Stevens, pressed for the recognition of Santo as an independent state. Demonstrations leading to riots and kidnapping were quelled when Vanuatu’s first Prime Minister, Father Walter Lini, called in the Papua New Guinea Task Force for assistance (MacClancy 1981; Lind 2010). While regional identity remains strong\(^3\), the use of Christianity and kastom\(^4\), as defined in opposition to the ways of waetman (white men), and characteristic of ni-Vanuatu identity, has fostered a sense of national unity.

### 3.3 Urbanisation in Vanuatu

Prior to colonisation, ni-Vanuatu society was organised around small hamlets, with no urban centres, nor any central governing body. Life was based around small scale subsistence farming, and mobility was limited (Bedford 1973). The region that today comprises Port Vila and its surrounds was originally used as garden land by the local Ifira and Erakor islanders. However, the suitability of the area as a harbour soon attracted the interest of European colonists, and with their arrival indigenous access to the region greatly decreased (Sherkin 1999).

European settlement of Port Vila began in 1873 with the establishment of a Presbyterian Mission station on Iririki Island. The 1880s marked the beginning of Vila’s\(^5\) plantation economy, and with the opening of the Compagnie Calédonienne des Nouvelles-Hébrides store in 1882, Vila was soon established as the archipelago’s economic centre. In 1911, Port Vila was formally declared a town, however prosperity was short-lived, and it was not long before pests destroyed the plantations that formed the basis of Vila’s economy. As a result, the economic centre moved northwards, first to the island of Epi where coconuts and cotton were produced, and then in the 1930s to Santo and its coconut and cocoa plantations. However, as government and other services remained concentrated in Vila, businesses were reluctant to relocate their head offices to Santo (Bennett 1957). As a result, Vila has remained the country’s economic and commercial centre.

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\(^3\) A total of 113 languages have been recorded within the archipelago. The northern islands tend to be organised along matrilineal lines of inheritance, while the southern islands favour patrilineal systems. Political and economic organisation and land tenure systems differ regionally, and between islands (Haberkorn 1987).

\(^4\) Kastom is roughly equivalent to the English idea of ‘tradition’ (Jolly 1996), and has been alternately identified as representing an entire way of life, and as being restricted to the set of traditional practices retained from pre-colonial times. The ability of kastom to mean different things to different people is responsible for its wide-reaching appeal, and lies at the base of the term’s power. As many kastom practices considered morally duplicitous were prohibited by missionaries, the knowledge that currently forms the basis of kastom has been in part rediscovered, and in part recreated from surviving oral histories (Bonnemaison 1994).

\(^5\) Port Vila is commonly referred to as simply ‘Vila’. This thesis uses ‘Port Vila’ and ‘Vila’ interchangeably.
Under the Condominium government, indigenous presence in town was severely restricted, and for ni-Vanuatu ‘urban residence had a wholly economic rationale’ (Connell & Lea 1994: 269). Ni-Vanuatu who were not from Efate, or were without employment, were not permitted to remain in Vila for longer than 15 days without facing deportation back to their home island. Those holding permits for urban presence were required to vacate the urban area by 9pm, or face disciplining (Haberkorn 1987). The indigenous urban population therefore remained minimal throughout the early years of the colonial administration, and racial segregation was reinforced by urban morphology. The European sectors of town consisted of well maintained houses in the most desirable elevated locations, whereas Asians, poor Europeans and indigenous ni-Vanuatu were clustered together in decaying European-style dwellings partly constructed from salvaged materials. Spatial segregation ensured that different ethnic groups did not socialise, and multiculturalism thus remained ‘wholly implausible’ (Connell & Lea 1994: 264); while Figure 3.2 highlights ‘French’, ‘British’ and ‘Asian’ neighbourhoods, ‘insignificant’ Melanesian areas were not included. Few women, white or Melanesian, resided in the urban area, as both ni-Vanuatu and Europeans feared for their women’s safety in the presence of the ‘other’ (Mitchell 2002). While gender segregation has decreased, the legacy of colonial urban morphology persists.
World War Two brought with it the ‘true beginning of urban development in Vanuatu’ (Haberkorn 1987: 50). In May 1942, American troops landed in Mele Bay, Efate and made their first headquarters at Havannah Harbour in North Efate. Much of Vila’s present day infrastructure was installed during this time; Bauerfield airstrip, which still functions as Vanuatu’s major international airport, was built at Tagabe, wharves and warehouses were constructed behind Iririki Island and camps were established in areas that still bear the names Nambatu (‘Number Two’) and Nambatri (‘Number Three’) (Haberkorn 1987).
During the US occupation, roughly half a million servicemen passed through Vanuatu, with the permanent US population numbering more than 100,000. While their effect on Efate is undeniable, it was on Santo where the US troops had their greatest impact, building a town practically ‘overnight’. A major military and supply base was constructed as well as 50 km of roads and countless other pieces of infrastructure. In order to complete their numerous projects, the US troops needed workers, and it is estimated that a total 10,000 ni-Vanuatu found employment with the military. Most of this employment involved either labouring or domestic work, and with comparatively high wages and ‘fringe benefits’ including cigarettes, better food and generally improved working conditions, many ni-Vanuatu began to consider the potential benefits of urban employment beyond plantation labour. The presence of both black and white Americans who worked alongside one another, and were treated as equals made a lasting impression on ni-Vanuatu who were accustomed to divisive colonial policies (Haberkorn 1987). As will be discussed below, this experience had a significant impact on labour migration patterns.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the expansion of administrative services and other businesses requiring a permanent labour supply resulted in rapid urban population growth. In 1971, Vanuatu became a tax haven, and while the economic impact of this development was limited, new employment opportunities were created as the banking and tourism industries became established, and the expatriate community grew. As a result, ni-Vanuatu employment in non-agricultural sectors increased markedly (Haberkorn 1987). The successful manganese mine at Forari, northern Efate, which functioned throughout the 1960s-70s, provided further employment opportunities. As financial resources increased, ni-Vanuatu families began to establish a more permanent presence in and around Vila. Nonetheless, unemployment was becoming evident in urban areas, and urban growth had probably already out-stripped urban employment opportunities by the 1970s (Mecartney 2001).

Today, rising urban unemployment, particularly among youth, is a serious issue, and despite increased desires for cash incomes, only a limited number of formal sector jobs exist (Mecartney 2001; Vanuatu Young People's Project 2008). It is estimated that between 1992 and 1996 the number of SPR (sperem pablik rod, literally to hit or ‘spear’ the road, the local term for the visibly unemployed) rose from 18,000 to 31,000 (Vanuatu Weekly Hebdomadaire 1/02/97 in Sherkin 1999). In the post-independence years, the nature of employment also changed, resulting in women increasingly contributing to household
incomes via wage employment in both formal and informal sectors. This similarly reflected changing norms relating to household structure and gendered participation in employment.

3.4 Urban population growth

Despite its slow beginnings, in recent decades Vanuatu’s urban population has experienced rapid growth (Table 3.1). While urban populations grew relatively faster in Port Vila, with a population of 1,000 by 1942, Santo remained a comparatively small, dispersed plantation settlement with a population of roughly 400 (Bedford 1973; Haberkorn 1987). In both urban areas, indigenous inhabitants represented a clear minority, with Vila’s population comprising largely European settlers and administrators, approximately 200 Chinese and Japanese artisans and farmers, and Vietnamese plantation labourers, who had been employed by the French since 1920 (Haberkorn 1987). The establishment and expansion of infrastructure that occurred with the US occupation during World War Two, and associated employment opportunities, facilitated rapid growth in both Port Vila and Santo, and a post-war increase in administrative services. Improvements in communications, medical and educational facilities resulted in rapid urban population growth, and in 1955 Luganville was officially designated a town. By 1967 Vila’s population had reached 5,208 while Santo’s urban population was 2,564 (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011). However, indigenous urban residence was still limited, and Luganville’s population remained almost exclusively European into the late 1950s (Bennett 1957), while ni-Vanuatu made up less than half of Vila’s population. Rural-urban migration accounted for the relatively large indigenous population increases that followed during the 1960s, but by the 1970s, natural increase contributed more to urban population growth than did migration (Haberkorn 1987). Nonetheless, it is migration that is generally held responsible for population pressures in urban areas, and sending ‘unnecessary people’ – the unemployed and so forth – back to their rural ‘homes’ has long been a popularly held solution for alleviating urban problems (Connell 1985; Rousseau 2004).
Table 3.1: Urban Populations 1942-2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Port Vila</th>
<th>Santo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Approx. 1000</td>
<td>Approx. 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>1,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2,616</td>
<td>1,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>5,208</td>
<td>2,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>10,601</td>
<td>5,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>18,905</td>
<td>6,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>29,356</td>
<td>10,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>44,039</td>
<td>13,156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Connell (1985: 57), VNSO (2011)

3.5 Urban housing

In the early years of the Condominium government, accommodation was employment linked, and catered primarily for single males. Haberkorn (1987) has argued that this, along with wages calculated to support individuals, greatly restricted the ability of families to establish themselves in town, and in turn perpetuated the need for circular migration (see below). In 1970, the government attempted to expand ni-Vanuatu access to housing by establishing the suburb of Freshwota (‘Fresh Water’) as a low cost housing project. Loans were made available, and various conditions placed on those wishing to apply for a piece of land, including proof of employment, and the need to complete house construction within 12 months (Woi 1984). Nonetheless, it wasn’t until independence in 1980, and the return of indigenous land to kastom (traditional) owners that urban accommodation options expanded significantly.

As accommodation became more accessible, residence in town no longer relied upon urban employment, and family migration increased. Similarly, the availability of urban land for subsistence gardening provided a livelihood for the unemployed, and a means for subsidising the expenses associated with town life. However, as land pressures have increased, in recent years urban subsistence livelihoods have become less feasible (Mitchell 2002). Similarly, as rapid urban population increases have not been met by infrastructure improvements, a shortage of formal housing options has resulted in a population explosion in informal settlements in both Vila and Luganville (Bryant-Tokalau 1995). As a result, the majority of Vanuatu’s urban population now live in informal settlements and peri-urban areas, as reflected by the significant growth of peri-urban development between 1983 and 2012 (Figure 3.3) (Mecartney 2001; Chung & Hill 2002). Health problems associated with overcrowding
and malnutrition are on the rise, and living standards are declining. These problems are most concentrated in Vila, where urban populations are highest, however Luganville faces similar issues. Despite the lack of basic services in informal settlements, during the 1990s, rents were as high as 50% of residents’ incomes (Bryant-Tokalau 1995; Mecartney 2001). Security of tenure is rare, with landowners often stipulating that tenants build only temporary structures, and with many long-term residents, settlements have an air of ‘settled transience’ (Mitchell 2000: 191). In both urban areas, the situation has been compounded by the lack of planning and policies for urban growth, and the limited resources available to invest in these matters (Chung & Hill 2002). Furthermore, international aid, an important source of funding, tends to target rural development to the detriment of rising urban poverty. Yet due to the lack of recent research into urbanisation in Vanuatu, little is known about the specifics of contemporary urban livelihoods.
Figure 3.3: Development of Port Vila Urban Areas 1904-2012
Source: Hoffer (2013)
3.6 Urban permanence?

In light of the above, considerable debate exists over the permanence of ni-Vanuatu rural-urban migrants. Bedford (1973) estimated that in October 1972 at least 20% of ni-Vanuatu were in either permanent or temporary residence in Vila and Santo. This was attributed to the diffusion of information about the social and economic conditions of the New Hebrides’ two towns, and their role as economic centres and places of employment. However, Bedford (1973) argued that increased migration to towns represented an increase in the volume of circular migration rather than permanent settlement, and all migrants maintained ties to their village of origin. Nonetheless, by 1977 Tonkinson (1979) claimed that 60% of Ambrymese from peri-urban Maat village who had been resettled to Efate after volcanic ash falls during 1950-51 ‘had been away from the homeland long enough to be considered ‘permanent’ expatriates’ (1979: 112). This was despite the fact that many still claimed they would one day return ‘home’ to Ambrym. Roughly twenty years later, Mecartney (2001) found 75% of residents of Blacksands informal settlement surveyed (N=443) had been living in town for ten years or more. Eriksen (2008) has linked this trend towards permanence to the increase in female urban populations which facilitated the movement to and establishment of families in town. While permanence is difficult to definitively measure – only upon death does the potential for mobility cease - Vanuatu’s urban populations are larger than ever before, and in 2009 roughly two thirds (67%) of the country’s total urban population had lived in town for at least five years (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011), significantly longer than is commonly associated with temporary migrants (Bedford 1973; Haberkorn 1987). Yet little contemporary data exists.

Associated with longer periods of residence in town, migrants and their children have begun identifying with the urban environment. Thus, for the resettled community of Mele Maat the second generation6 identified as both man-Ambrym (Ambrymese, ‘man-island name’ is used to designate a person who claims membership to the island) and man-Efate (Tonkinson 1979). Mecartney (2001) similarly reported that those who had grown up in Blacksands also identified with the settlement, as well as their home island7. However, while it has long been predicted that the second (and subsequent) generations of rural urban migrants will behave

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6 ‘Second generation’ refers to children born to migrant parents and raised in the ‘new’ location. In this instance, it specifically refers to children of migrant parents who were born and raised in Port Vila.

7 There was no mention of Blacksands residents identifying with the island of Efate as a whole.
differently to their parents in terms of mobility and commitment to rural areas (Bedford 1973; Haberkorn 1987), to date there has been no systematic research into this topic.

3.7 Traditional population mobility in Vanuatu

Population mobility has a long history in Vanuatu, and was important in pre-contact societies both socially and economically. Traditionally, ni-Vanuatu lived in clearly demarcated social groupings. One’s own territory provided a place of safety, and as a space where ancestors dwelling, was intrinsically linked to identity. This bond was reinforced by myths of origin such that a group not only identified with its territory, but was its territory, and it was believed that men should live and die wherever their ‘roots’ were located (Bonnemaison 1985; Haberkorn 1987). Contact with other groups occurred via carefully controlled networks of exchange, and alliance. While mobility was necessary for maintaining these networks, movement was gendered, highly controlled and linked to specific social and economic functions (Bonnemaison 1985; Haberkorn 1987). Permanent relocation upon marriage affected both men and women in matrilineal and patrilineal societies respectively (Haberkorn 1987), and a clear distinction existed between ‘uncontrolled’ wandering, which was frowned upon, and movement with a purpose (Jolly 1999). As mobility outside one’s own territory was risky, trips were short and rare. Unauthorised trespass on another’s land was a serious offence, and carried the risk of warfare. Individuals were thus anchored to their territory, and only a few held the privilege of being able to venture to the outside world (Bonnemaison 1985).

Throughout Vanuatu, two forms of pre-contact social organisation existed. Graded societies, in which men of high rank were afforded political and social status, were common in many of the northern islands of Vanuatu. Under this system, men of status held the privilege of mobility which they used for acquiring the pigs needed for grading ceremonies (Bedford 1973; Bonnemaison 1985). Mobility occurred along carefully controlled trade routes, and the higher a male’s rank, the further he could travel. By contrast, the southern islands generally did not use grading systems. Rather, status was conferred via a combination of hereditary and elected hierarchical titles. Trade occurred along routes of traditional alliance which were linked to myths of origin (Bonnemaison 1985). While evidence suggests that Paamese society may have once utilised the grading system, by the 1980s it had disappeared from living memory, and Haberkorn (1987) was unable to conclusively determine when and how this had occurred.
While traditional mobility was formalised both spatially and socially, there were exceptions to this rule in the form of ‘uncontrolled’ mobility. Outcasts sometimes deserted their natal kin group, a potentially dangerous move that relied heavily on their acceptance by another group. Similarly, tribal wars occasionally resulted in the displacement of entire populations. Such movement however, was not necessarily permanent, and territorial boundaries were often the subject of ongoing negotiations (Bonnemaison 1976; Bonnemaison 1985).

3.8 Post-contact mobility

European colonisation of Vanuatu, then the New Hebrides, caused major changes to traditional mobility practices. From 1840-1860, the domestic sandalwood trade resulted in labour migration of small groups of ni-Vanuatu from Efate and Tanna to milling stations on Tanna, Erromango, Aneityum and Santo (Haberkorn 1987). By the 1860s, the demand for ni-Vanuatu workers increased as Europeans sought cheap labour for offshore plantation work (Bedford 1973), and between 1863 and 1906 40,000 ni-Vanuatu worked in Queensland8 (sugar plantations), and another 10,000 were sent to Fiji (copra and sugar plantations), Samoa (copra estates) and New Caledonia (nickel mining) (Bedford 1973; Bonnemaison 1985). Labour recruiting began in the southern islands of Vanuatu where islanders were more familiar with European employment, however as the demand for labour increased, recruitment expanded to include the northern islands (Bedford 1973). While most workers who travelled to Australia were male, a small number of women also participated. Initially women’s work was restricted to domestic positions, however with the expansion of the industry in 1884, they were soon working alongside men in the fields (Jolly 1987). While there is a record of Paamese participation in plantation labour migration (Table 3.2), a lack of reliable population statistics means it is not possible to assess the magnitude of this mobility. Nonetheless, the long-term engagement of Paamese in wage labour migration both internationally and internally, for more than seventy years before the Second World War, is evident (Haberkorn 1987).

8 For many years, descendants of the labour trade have tried to extract an apology for their treatment from the Australian government. As of 2015, this was not forthcoming.
Initially, varying degrees of coercion were used to recruit workers for the overseas labour trade (Bonnemaison 1985), however by the mid-1870s work on overseas plantations was generally voluntary, and by the 1880s most of Vanuatu’s islands were involved. Motivations for participating in this work varied, however the desire for material goods that had become essential to daily life was significant (Bedford 1973). Many Paamese men signed three year labour contracts with the specific aim of earning money for purchasing pigs upon their return to Paama (Haberkorn 1987). Recruitment also provided a means of escape from areas of unrest, and for those facing punishment for village crimes. Mobility to overseas plantations was generally circular, and while doing so would have been difficult, very few ni-Vanuatu left the country with the intention to relocate permanently. However, some chose to return overseas several times, an easy solution to the potential challenges – including re-establishing gardens, and having to rely upon the charity of others for a period – that resulted from lengthy absences (Bedford 1973).

By 1880, the growth of domestic plantations led to increased internal labour migration. This movement primarily involved men, and was directed from outer islands towards the larger, more central islands of Efate, Epi, Santo and Malakula (Bonnemaison 1985). While the French were keen to include women in plantation work, the British, along with ni-Vanuatu men, tried to limit women’s participation. This was largely due to concerns for their safety,
and ni-Vanuatu fears over possible loss of female reproductive and labour capacities to men from other islands (Haberkorn 1987; Jolly 1987). Paamese women were therefore banned from the beach when labour recruitment ships were known to be in the area (Haberkorn 1987). Controls were introduced to limit the exploitation of workers, however working conditions varied considerably (Bonnemaison 1985).

By the 1890s, opportunities for local cash cropping had increased, resulting in a decline in the overseas labour trade. Similarly, with the establishment of the Condominium government in 1906, and the expansion of European settlement and plantations, the variety of options for in-country employment grew (Bedford 1973). By 1911, the domestic plantation economy was booming, and in many ways provided a more appealing option than overseas plantation labour which necessitated travel over long distances, and absences of up to three years. Despite domestic plantation owners’ attempts to secure a stable workforce however, contracts generally lasted for a period of 6-12 months. An estimated 32,000 contracts were signed between 1912 and 1939. Most of those who participated were from the northern and northern central islands, with movement primarily directed towards Efate and Santo. Recruitment was most successful in areas such as northern Malakula where warfare and unrest were greatest, as it provided a means to access weapons – primarily guns – that were used to maintain the balance of power. Recruitment was also greater when copra prices were the lowest, and options for other income generating opportunities were limited (Bedford 1973). Amongst Paamese, a system of job rotation ensured equal access to off-island wage labour opportunities, and a relatively stable male rural population (Haberkorn 1987). By 1940, restricted spatial movement had virtually disappeared as traditional trade routes and mobility norms adapted to the new economic opportunities (Bonnemaison 1985).

By World War Two, ni-Vanuatu mobility had passed through three distinct phases, from traditional oscillation, to lengthy periods of absence associated with overseas labour contracts, to short-term localised employment within Vanuatu (Bedford 1973). Despite spatial and temporal changes in mobility however, continuity with past mobility norms was evident. Therefore, although the destinations themselves may have changed, as in the past moves tended to follow certain routes as relationships were forged between particular villages and plantation owners. Similarly, migrant workers’ ability to access and distribute consumer goods meant mobility carried with it a certain level of prestige. Finally, plantation labour work was most common amongst sectors of the population, particularly young males, who would have moved under traditional mobility systems (Bonnemaison 1985). Therefore,
although much was new about post-contact mobility, there existed a strong element of continuity.

3.9 World War Two and beyond

The establishment of US military bases on Efate and Santo in 1942, and the employment opportunities they brought, saw thousands of ni-Vanuatu moving to semi-urban environments to participate. Labour demands were so high that compulsory conscription on three month contracts was introduced, and most adult ni-Vanuatu men were involved at some stage. For those employed by the troops, the war years represented a time of great prosperity. When the war ended, high copra prices during 1945 and 1946 led to an increase in ni-Vanuatu copra production, and it became increasingly difficult for expatriate owned plantations to secure a local workforce (Bedford 1973; Haberkorn 1987).

As was the case throughout the country, most Paamese men had their first urban experience working for the US forces during World War Two, with some re-enlisting up to three times (Haberkorn 1987). Savings from this employment were invested in creating permanent areas of Paamese residence in the urban and peri-urban areas of Vila and Santo. It was during this era that Sisaed (‘Seaside’), an area still synonymous with Paamese in Vila, was first established, as US troops cleared the land to provide temporary housing and other facilities for their growing workforce. Initially these rental properties were used on a ‘time share’ basis enabling Paamese to reap the benefits of urban wages and lifestyles while maintaining their involvement in rural based society. Throughout the early post-war years, Sisaed functioned as a permanent home for a fluid and ever changing population of Paamese (Lind 2010).

With increased ni-Vanuatu involvement in cash cropping, inter-island shipping routes expanded and became more frequent, as European and Chinese traders travelled to outer islands to purchase copra. On Paama, copra was shipped to Santo via Ambrym, and the increased ship traffic and related job opportunities saw Paamese men working on almost every copra ship that operated within Vanuatu. Others utilised these ships to travel to locations of their choosing. As a result, Paamese were no longer reliant on labour recruiters for determining the timing and location of interisland transport and employment (Haberkorn 1987), and freedom of movement thus increased.

In 1951, extensive cyclone damage to Paamese gardens brought only limited government emergency supplies, prompting some Paamese to permanently relocate. Several families
migrated to Colardeau plantation in Vila, where they acted as a permanent workforce. Widespread garden destruction saw many women, who would normally have remained on the island, accompany their husbands on permanent or temporary moves to a variety of destinations. Similarly, many young women were sent to work in Vila and Santo where they could join and be cared for by resident kin.

During the 1950s and 1960s, educational opportunities within Vanuatu increased with the establishment of two English language secondary schools on Efate. School fees proved expensive, and parents who were able to pay expected their educated children to obtain ‘appropriate’ employment commensurate with their investment. On Paama, employment opportunities were limited, and utilising one’s education thus required urban relocation and long-term rural absence. Such lengthy absences were considered appropriate only for educated individuals. While access to secondary education remained limited, there was a growing belief that primary education qualified one for a ‘good’ urban job, which in turn fuelled further movement away from Paama (Haberkorn 1987).

The beginnings of a frozen fish industry on Santo and manganese mining at Forari on Efate generated new demands for ni-Vanuatu labour during the 1960s. A concentration of services in urban areas similarly influenced moves for education, healthcare and employment, as did the location of kin who provided assistance to newly arrived migrants, and disseminated information about employment and other opportunities. Working with Shepherd Islanders, Bedford (1973) found that young males represented the most mobile group, and were spending more time away from their rural homes than did their fathers or grandfathers. However, long-term rural absences were rare, as maintaining rural land rights and social status necessitated regular return to the village. Women from the Shepherd Islands tended to migrate passively, either accompanying husbands or moving for medical attention. There was some evidence of increasing urban permanence, however urban residents remained rurally oriented and maintained rural property, and circular migration remained the dominant form of mobility. Therefore, while he argued that circular mobility was a transitional phase, Bedford (1973) predicted that it would persist for many years.

From 1968-1972, growth of the nickel industry in New Caledonia created opportunities for ni-Vanuatu employment, as labour demands could not be met locally. Higher wages than were possible for similar unskilled labour in the domestic market proved a great attraction, and roughly 10,000 ni-Vanuatu were employed in New Caledonia during the nickel boom era.
Movement to New Caledonia was largely circular, facilitated by 3-6 month employment contracts, and the requirement of a visa for stays exceeding 12 months (Bedford 1973). Many workers bound for the nickel mines spent time in Port Vila and Santo en route to New Caledonia, further contributing to urban population increases. Paamese were amongst those who travelled to New Caledonia for employment, and many invested their savings in rural housing (Haberkorn 1987).

The shift from circular migration, to what Bonnemaison (1976) has termed ‘uncontrolled’ migration, occurred during the 1970s when a series of cyclones caused major damage to a number of islands, and copra prices began to fall. In response, many subsistence agriculturalists felt that rural life had become economically ‘impossible’, and mobility to town increased. At the same time, Vila’s economy boomed, creating a demand for ni-Vanuatu labour. The expansion and diversification of the bureaucratic and service sectors contributed to an increasing female urban presence as women capitalised on new employment opportunities. Similarly, as women’s educational levels increased, they, like their brothers, were expected to find ‘good’ (generally urban) jobs. Amongst Paamese, greater familiarity with town life, and the presence of large kin groups able to chaperone young women further contributed to increased female mobility (Haberkorn 1987). ‘Uncontrolled’ migrants participated less in rural based social life, and had fewer ties to their home island than did circular migrants. While circular migration persisted, by the mid-1970s its importance had decreased dramatically (Bonnemaison 1976). Nonetheless, connections to land persisted, and physical distance was not considered sufficient reason to sever ties with one’s birthplace. Bonnemaison (1985) thus predicted that circular mobility would prevail for as long as the relationship between people and their land endured.

During the early 1980s, changes in both rural and urban areas contributed to rural outmigration, and a trend towards urban permanence. On Paama, increased *braedpraes*\(^9\) (brideprice) payments and the demands of *kampani* (community) work which left little time for individual projects drove individuals to leave the island. As rural population decreased, more demands were made of remaining individuals, which in turn drove further outmigration. However, despite the importance of Vila as a migration destination, Haberkorn (1987) reported that temporary circulation to other rural locations remained important for usual rural

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\(^9\) *Braedpraes* refers to the payment in cash or kind received by the woman’s family from the man’s family upon marriage. This payment is intended to compensate the woman’s family for their investment in raising her, and their loss of her labour power, as traditionally a woman stopped supporting and contributing to her natal family upon marriage.
residents. Mobility restrictions applied primarily to young Paamese women, as parents feared unplanned pregnancies could jeopardise braedpraes payments. In contrast, time spent in town was considered a rite of passage for young Paamese men. In Vila, few urban residents had definite plans to return to Paama, and long-term migrants outnumbered temporary absentees 4:1. Based on his observations, Haberkorn (1989) predicted that mobility patterns were unlikely to change dramatically in the near future. Furthermore, there was little chance that second generation urbanites would ‘return’ to island ‘homes’ they had never known. While urban employment stagnated during the 1980s, Haberkorn (1989) argued that unless accompanied by social and political changes, economic change alone would not result in an urban exodus.

In contrast, writing at roughly the same time, Bastin (1985) reported that circular migration remained the dominant form of mobility amongst the Weasisi of Tanna. Rural-urban migrants maintained a strong rural focus, and aimed to create economic opportunities in the rural home community such that circular migration to town would no longer be necessary. Length of absence was defined by a combination of economic needs and social roles and expectations. As for Paamese, young Weasisi men were the most mobile group, a fact facilitated by their limited role in local agricultural work, and many young men migrated with the aim to support their parents via remittances. While the Weasisi were committed to wage labour, the aim of this labour was to generate rural security rather than urban permanence, and it therefore appeared unlikely that ties to rural homes – and circular mobility – would come to an end in the near future. Differences to Paamese mobility behaviour were most likely due to the relatively greater abundance of land and access to local income generating opportunities on Tanna.

Throughout the 1990s, little was written about ni-Vanuatu mobility. Over the period 2002-2004, Lind (2010) noted that villages on the north east coast of Paama were experiencing a significant movement of young men to urban centres. While it was difficult to earn enough money locally to pay for school fees, clothes, rice and kerosene, burdensome kinship obligations, and not livelihood opportunities, were the primary reason for this movement. Due to the small proportion of young people living on Paama, those who remained were expected to perform the majority of hard work associated with kinship obligations, and in many instances young people were required to assist elderly villagers whose own children had migrated to town. Kin obligations were especially onerous for young men, including illegitimate children, who did not have guaranteed access to their own land. By behaving
‘correctly’ and caring for village elders, these men were able to activate kinship ties, which could potentially lead to inheritance of land. However, such claims to land were tenuous and relied upon the continuing absence of blood relatives who would otherwise inherit such land. As more youth left the island due to laborious kin work, once again the burden on those who remained increased, in turn fuelling further migration. This movement to urban areas was facilitated by kin, and although new migrants generally joined the same kin group in town, the large urban based youth population meant kin obligations were greatly reduced. While there are definite similarities between the scenarios described by Haberkorn (1987) and Lind (2010), Lind argues that rural kampani work was substantially different to that associated with kinship obligations. Regardless, the outcome – a heavy burden of work that left little time for other pursuits leading to outmigration – was the same.

Lind’s (2010) analysis gives only a partial insight into contemporary Paamese mobility. While he provides a detailed account of young men’s motivations for leaving the island, young women who did not traditionally inherit land, and therefore were not affected by land access issues in the same manner, appear only briefly in Lind’s discussion. While this was recognised, a number of questions remain about young women’s motivations for migration, and Lind’s omission merely reinforces the tendency to exclude women from discussions of ni-Vanuatu mobility (Jolly 1987). Furthermore, despite the importance of rural-rural moves during the 1980s (Haberkorn 1987), Lind does not consider mobility beyond rural-urban moves and urban-rural return migration, and there is no mention made of the possibility of urban based moves. In his brief discussion of Paamese mobility in the early 2000s therefore, Lind (2010) neglects to address a number of important issues.

After working in Samaria village on Tanna over several decades, Lindstrom (2011) provided a general overview of changes in villagers’ mobility over this period. Unlike mobility of the late 1970s, by 2011 villagers’ migration to Port Vila was in most cases permanent. Migrants no longer returned home after marriage, and women moved with greater frequency and freedom than they had in the past. Family migration had also increased, and there was a focus on maintaining rural-urban kinship bonds rather than on trying to entice urban migrants ‘home’. Earning money, particularly to pay school fees, was the primary reason for mobility, however the excitement of living in Vila as compared to the dull life of the island also provided incentive. While most migrants planned to return one day to Tanna, in reality return was unlikely. Rather, most families left one or two relatives on the island to protect their rights to house and garden land, and children were often sent back to the island to assist
grandparents. However, despite an increasingly permanent urban population, the constant flow of visitors between the village and town ensured that no great cultural divide existed between rural and urban residents. Therefore, while providing some insight into the evolution of Tannese mobility over time, due to his own changing research interests and a lack of systematic longitudinal data, Lindstrom (2011) only provides a general overview of change.

3.10 Conclusions

Historically, ni-Vanuatu mobility was subject to strict social and spatial control. Over time, mobility restrictions have lessened in response to wider structural changes, which in turn have been influenced by changing mobility behaviour (Haberkorn 1987). However, while it is generally accepted that contemporary ni-Vanuatu mobility differs from that of the past, beyond broad generalisations (Lindstrom 2011), little is known about the specifics. Furthermore, as is evident from the discussion above, most analyses of past mobility have emphasised labour migration, which was historically dominated by males, and ni-Vanuatu women have been commonly depicted as passive movers (Bedford 1973). In contrast, Lind’s (2010) discussion of Paamese migration during the early 2000s suggests that several social factors may play a greater role in influencing contemporary mobility than simply an economic rationale. Nonetheless, while he comments on the absence of young women from rural villages, Lind focuses on the mobility of young men, reinforcing the tendency to omit women’s experiences from discussions of ni-Vanuatu mobility (Jolly 1987). In contrast, this research not only provides a detailed analysis of contemporary Paamese mobility, but working within a single population is able to compare contemporary mobility with that of the past. Furthermore, by considering female mobility, and gendered mobility norms more widely, it addresses the questions left unanswered by other discussions of contemporary ni-Vanuatu mobility (Lind 2010; Lindstrom 2011).

Closely linked to migration, urbanisation in Vanuatu has been characterised by its speed and recency. While gross and negative generalisations about the current state of urban areas abound, little is known about the realities of contemporary urban life and mobility to and from town. Working within the same community as did Haberkorn (1987), this research systematically addresses continuity and change in urban life since 1982, and the manner in which links to rural ‘homes’ are (or are not) maintained. While predictions about the second generation have generally assumed that they will not be committed to rural ‘homes’ in the same manner as first generation migrants (Bedford 1973; Haberkorn 1987), this has not been
investigated. This research not only addresses second generation migrants and their experiences of urban life, but is able to compare their behaviour with that of their parents over two time periods.
Chapter 4: An introduction to Paama

Looking back towards Liro and Seneali villages, Paama 2011
Having established the long history of Paamese mobility in the previous chapter, this chapter introduces the rural setting of Paama. It begins by examining the island’s physical environment and population characteristics. Intra- and inter-island transport links are considered, and island infrastructure is described. The main components of the subsistence economy are outlined, and the key features of social organisation are discussed, and compared to those of 1982. In considering the above, this chapter highlights the ways in which Paama is both similar to, and atypical of, other islands throughout the archipelago.

4.1 The physical environment

Located to the north of Efate and measuring approximately 4km by 9km, Paama is neatly sandwiched between Lopevi and the larger islands of Ambrym, Malakula and Epi. One of the earliest descriptions of Paama through Western eyes is provided by the Reverend Maurice Frater, resident missionary on the island from 1900-1913. Taking time out from detailing the ‘heathen natives’, he described Paama as:

‘one of the smallest and one of the loveliest islands of the New Hebrides group [...] Set in opal-tinted waters, and clothed with the luxuriant vegetation of the Tropics [...] Every advantage of soil and climate had been bestowed upon it [...] Nature in her most bounteous mood had profusely endowed the lovely island with all the elements of material welfare.’ (1922: 169)

This is a description most contemporary villagers would agree with, and in 2011 it was often commented how ‘lucky’ Paama was as fruits grew prolifically and there were no hornets or snakes present on the island.

Steep hills averaging 500 metres in elevation run the length of the island (Figure 4.1), and it is on these hills that most Paamese plant their gardens. On average, villagers from Liro and Liro Nesa travelled over an hour by foot to reach their gardens. A households’ garden land tended to be spread around a number of locations, and most households planted several small gardens rather than one or two larger gardens. Relative to the past, in 2011 fewer labour intensive crops (particularly yams) were being planted. The most popular subsistence crop under cultivation during May-June 2011 was *kumala* (sweet potato) (D'Arcy 2011), however other crops including *aelan kabis* (island cabbage), taro, yams, coconuts, plantains and bananas (consumed both ripe and unripe) were also common. Various wild foodstuffs including *kabis*
blong krik (‘cabbage from the creek’, an edible fern), nambor (an edible leaf) and wild yams were also commonly collected and eaten, but grew freely and were not cultivated as other crops were.

Figure 4.1: Topographic map of Paama
Source: Department of Lands and Surveys in D’Arcy (2011)

Paama has no rivers or creeks to supply fresh water, and during 1982 the Liro Area (comprising the villages located around the capital of Liro) relied upon a diesel powered reticulated water supply (Haberkorn 1987). By 2011 this system had disappeared, and most households used a combination of privately owned concrete wells and communally owned water tanks and pumps to supply their fresh water needs. Roughly 10-15 years ago many Liro Area Paamese participated in a scheme where the materials required to build concrete wells
were paid for using traditional goods such as subsistence crops. These goods were bought at a set price (by whom it was unclear, but this was most likely either an NGO or government scheme) and sold in Vila to recoup building costs. As a result in 2011 most households had access to their own concrete well, although some had fallen into disrepair. Importantly, while a number of villagers expressed concern over low water levels in their wells, access to fresh water was not a serious issue during fieldwork.

4.2 Population

Paama has long been known for its high rate of outmigration (Haberkorn 1987), which in 2009 exceeded that of any other island in Vanuatu. Thus, while the 2009 census figures put the total Paamese\textsuperscript{10} population at 6,521, only 1,544 Paamese resided on Paama (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011). Some 3,127 individuals, almost half the total Paamese population, and more than double the number of Paamese resident on Paama, lived on Efate. Santo came in at a close third with 1,348 resident Paamese, and Malakula was a distant fourth with a population of 293 Paamese (Lind 2010). Current census figures therefore roughly support the widely held claim that wherever you go in Vanuatu, you will find Paamese.

As is evident from Figure 4.2, the majority of Paama’s twenty-three villages are located along the west coast of the island where seas are calmer. Only three villages, Luli, Lulep Netan and Lulep Nesa are found to the east in the \textit{ples blong strong si} (‘place of the strong/rough seas’). As will be discussed below, the predominantly coastal location of Paama’s villages is not traditional, but dates to missionary influence around 1900-1910.

\textsuperscript{10} Paamese are classified as individuals of Paamese heritage who self-identify as being Paamese regardless of their current place of residence and/or birth (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2009b).
Liro (Figures 4.3 and 4.4) functions as the island’s economic centre, and is the location of the police station (staffed by two policemen), council chambers, the Liro market house, a National Bank of Vanuatu branch (open Tuesdays and Fridays to coincide with market days), a disused Department of Agriculture Office, the island’s Health Centre, a guest house, a kindergarten, an English primary and high school and an almost completed youth centre. The role of Liro as a service centre means that opportunities often reach Liro before other villages. For example, visiting government and other workers generally stay in the Liro guesthouse, and Liro women are often asked to prepare their meals in exchange for small monetary payments. Similarly, workshops and other events tend to be based out of Liro. Between April and June 2011, events hosted in Liro included a cooking workshop, a Presbyterian Church workshop, an Assemblies of God crusade, a launch party for the new Digicel phone tower, a school fundraiser, and disability awareness training. During this period, there were...
also several parties of workmen and government employees who visited Liro for various official reasons. Many Paamese from other villages specifically travelled to Liro in order to attend events which were not available in their own villages. While there was an attempt to share opportunities between villages, this was not always possible, a fact that sometimes led to inter-village tensions.

![Figure 4.3: Liro nakamal, Paama 2011](image1.png)  ![Figure 4.4: Liro Council Offices, Paama 2011](image2.png)

While only a single language is spoken on Paama, the northern and southern dialects vary slightly, and Paamese from the north of the island consider themselves to be more similar to those from the now uninhabited island of Lopevi\(^{11}\), than Paamese from the south (Lind 2010). In 2011, it was common for northern Paamese to attribute certain (sometimes undesirable) traits to those who lived in the south, and southern Paamese were believed to be more ‘traditional’\(^{12}\) than northerners.

Five villages are located within the greater Liro Area where fieldwork for this thesis was conducted: Liro Nesa, Liro, Seneali, Asuas and Voravor. These villages are physically close together, and although not equal in size, to the untrained eye appear more like one village than five. To walk from the outer reaches of Liro Nesa in the north to the end of Voravor in the south takes approximately 20 minutes. Liro Area villages have a long history of working together, and intermarriage between the villages is common. While villagers were well versed in the names, relationships and business of others within the Liro Area, knowledge of those from other, more distant villages was often less detailed, and depended upon kin

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\(^{11}\) The people of Lopevi were officially resettled to the neighbouring islands of Paama and Epi in 1960 by the Condominium government. This was due to safety concerns regarding the volatility of the volcano which lies at the centre of the island.

\(^{12}\) Evidence for this included the belief that those from the south still commonly used certain Paamese language terms that in the north had been replaced by Bislama.
connections; those with family members living in other villages had the greatest knowledge of these areas.

4.3 Transport links: inter-island

Paama is located roughly 45 minutes by plane from Vila, and in 2011 could be reached by a twice weekly flight on either Tuesday afternoons (starting on Santo and ending in Vila) or Sunday mornings (starting in Vila and ending on Santo). Tickets cost 8,550 vatu\(^\text{13}\) one way (or less for students), and flights arrived at and departed from the ‘airport’ (a small building with adjacent airstrip) in Tavie. Depending on luggage, villagers would commonly walk or charter a boat (1,000 vatu) to the airport. Plane trips however were the least favoured form of inter-island transport due to their higher cost, and tended to be reserved for medical emergencies that were ‘lucky’ enough to fall on a Tuesday or Sunday, those who were travelling for work (and hence not paying their own fares), or those with access to a steady income flow, sometimes their own, but more often that of urban based kin.

Prior to 2011, ship traffic to Paama was irregular, and while one or two ships would generally visit Paama per week, schedules were largely dictated by cargo orders from Paama’s small stores. Significantly, villagers were unable to predict with any accuracy when ships might arrive. This changed in April 2011 however, when Big Sista started servicing the island. For the entirety of my stay on Paama, Big Sista docked at Liro every Tuesday morning on its way to Santo from Vila, and every Wednesday morning as it made the return trip. A ticket in either direction cost 5,500 vatu (or 1,500 vatu to the neighbouring island of Epi), and this, along with the predictability of the ship’s schedule, meant Big Sista was favoured over other modes of transport. Furthermore, while Air Vanuatu charged freight by the kilo (118 vatu/kg for baggage above 10kg), ships including Big Sista charged by the carton (600 vatu/carton). This was an important consideration for villagers who generally travelled to Vila or Santo with several bags of heavy food gifts such as yams, coconuts or kumala.

While Big Sista was not used to the exclusion of other ships, its predictability meant that despite being very slightly more expensive, Paamese planned to travel on Big Sista whereas trips on other ships were more spontaneous – if an individual needed to go somewhere, and the ship was there, they took it. The popularity of Big Sista as a means of transport, and a

\(^{13}\) In 2011, AUD$1 was worth approximately 85 vatu.
reliable route for sending remittances, meant that on several occasions during April-June 2011, weekly flights to Paama were cancelled due to lack of bookings.

4.4 Transport links: intra-island

Despite its small size, Paama is a *ples blong hil* (‘place of mountains’), and distances that may appear close on a map can take a long time to traverse by foot. The ability to climb these mountains with relative ease was seen as a mark of being Paamese, and carried with it a certain amount of pride. While walking was the most common form of intra-island transport, in emergencies, or under special circumstances, villagers would sometimes charter a boat, the cost of which ranged from 1,000 vatu to travel from Liro to the airport at Tavie, to 3,000 vatu to travel to South Paama. This cost however, meant that boat travel was effectively inaccessible for most Liro Area villagers. The Liro Health Centre and school each owned a boat for use in medical emergencies and school related purposes respectively. There were few privately owned boats, and most were rarely used for transport purposes\(^\text{14}\).

In April 2011, there was a single truck in use on the island. Donated by an MP in exchange for votes, and with a dedicated driver based out of Liro, it was used for tasks such as transporting copra to the Liro beach to await copra ships\(^\text{15}\). A very basic and unkempt road connected many of Paama’s villages, and was utilised by the truck. However, due to mismanagement of funds and failure to make loan repayments, the truck was confiscated by the Liro police shortly after my arrival. It remained parked at the police station while Paama waited to hear whether the MP would make the required loan repayments, an amount rural Paamese had little hope of raising themselves. If the loan could not be repaid, the truck would be returned to Vila. When I left Paama at the end of June 2011, the matter had not been resolved.

4.5 Island infrastructure

Located within the Liro Council Area, in 2011 a generator owned by MALAMPA province provided electricity to Liro Area villages. The generator was turned on at roughly 6pm every

\(^{14}\) When the island’s truck was confiscated (see below) one villager started offering transport services on his boat. This proved a lucrative business opportunity as few other intra-island transport options were available. However it is unknown whether this became a long-term solution, or merely functioned as a stop gap measure. Regardless, most villagers were not able to afford the fees associated with boat transport, and it remained a service utilised mainly by visitors to the island.

\(^{15}\) These and other ships preferred to dock in the west due to the generally calmer seas and sand beach access. By contrast, north-eastern Paama is renowned for its strong seas and rocky shoreline.
night, and off at roughly 9pm, depending on the whereabouts of the person responsible. In order to use the generator, a household was required to provide their own extension cord to reach from the power source to their dwelling, a feat much easier for those who lived closer to the generator. As a result, while most households in Liro proper and Seneali used the generator, only a few households in Liro Nesa, one in Asuas, and none in Voravor, had access to a generator connection. It was hoped that one day each village would own a generator, and many households planned to acquire an extension cord in order to access Liro’s generator. The system of pricing for a generator connection was under constant review from April to June 2011, but at last notice it cost 300 vatu/week per household. Previously trialled monthly payments had been unsuccessful due to difficulties with locating a larger sum of money in one go. Even so, many villagers found it hard to make the smaller weekly payments, and concessions were made for those, such as the elderly, who had a connection but were unable to pay.

4.6 Housing stock

In 2011, within Liro Area villages there were several permanent houses\(^{16}\) (Figure 4.5). When I commented on this to Paamese, they argued that on bigger islands such as Tanna and Malakula, where villagers had easier access to incomes through, for example, large copra holdings, they were not careful with their money and did not plan ahead as Paamese did. On these islands, I was told, people live *olbaot* (‘any which way’, generally used to imply a degree of carelessness), unlike the Paamese for whom building a permanent house represented a priority.

\(^{16}\) A ‘permanent house’ is a term used to describe a house built from non-traditional materials and includes but is not limited to houses constructed from *kapa* (corrugated iron), clapboard and bricks. As the term implies, these houses have a longer lifespan than those constructed from the traditional materials of bamboo and *natangura* thatching, and although not as suited to the tropical climate, carry with them a certain level of prestige.
Paamese housing stock may have reflected a desire to plan ahead, but it also provided a physical marker of the history of Paamese migration. The earliest surviving permanent houses were constructed from clapboard, and dated from the 1960s-70s when young single men commonly spent a period – often several years – working in Noumea. Upon return to Paama, their success as migrant workers was measured by their ability to construct permanent houses. These houses represented a socially sanctioned way of displaying, but more importantly neutralising, wealth (Haberkorn 1987). It was therefore very easy to determine which households had family members who had worked in Noumea, as they all owned clapboard houses in varying states of disrepair (Figure 4.6). The next generation of permanent houses were often constructed from kapa (corrugated iron), however in most villages these were less common than the modern symbol of success, the brick house (Figure 4.7). Whether this scarcity of kapa houses was from rust as a result of constant exposure to sea air, a shorter time period of being in vogue, or replacement of housing stock was unclear. In 2011, those who had access to some form of cash income, whether their own or via remittances, aspired to build brick houses. These often took years to construct as the owners amassed the necessary funds. As a result, piles of bricks\textsuperscript{17} and other building materials were a common sight around the Liro Area.

\textsuperscript{17} Bricks were generally made on the island from cement purchased in either Vila or Santo.
As a patrilineal society, for Paamese their most ‘important’ relatives traditionally comprised both biological and classificatory fathers, brothers and paternal grandfathers. Marriage was historically controlled via sister exchange of consanguineal and classificatory sisters, and upon marriage, women moved to their husband’s village. This remained largely true in 2011, and within the Liro Area only one male had moved from another island or village to live in his wife’s natal village\(^{19}\). Traditionally, adoption was widely practised to ensure sons and daughters were available for marriage exchange as appropriate. Both male and female children were therefore equally valued as girls ensured future husbands for a family’s sons, while boys maintained lineage control of land and titles (Haberkorn 1987). Adoption remained common in 2011, and as has been reported elsewhere in Vanuatu (Hess 2009), adopted children often continued to live with their biological parents and/or circulate between the households of their biological and adopted families. It was generally at significant life events, such as marriage, that adoption was most important, and kinship obligations were mobilised. As in the 1980s (Haberkorn 1987), sister exchange was still practiced in 2011, and where an individual had married a spouse who was not a traditional marriage partner, the spouse’s family was incorporated into subsequent marriage exchanges. As Lind (2010) has noted, the idea of ‘replacing’ one’s ancestors through returning to the ‘correct’ marriage

\(^{18}\) As Haberkorn (1987) has noted, virtually no written accounts of historical Paamese society exist, and his own history of Paama was based largely on information gathered during fieldwork. Consequently, this section draws heavily from Haberkorn’s (1987) thesis, and to a lesser extent, the work of Lind (2010).

\(^{19}\) While this household showed no signs of leaving Paama in the near future, they had access to a family house on the husband’s island, and maintained that one day they would make the move.
place, remained important, and several women had married Liro Area men in order to ‘replace’ their mothers.

In the 1980s, new marriage practices represented one of the main ways in which Paamese social organisation differed from that of the past. The matrimonial area from which spouses were chosen had expanded markedly, and braedpraes payments had become monetised. Haberkorn (1987) argued that these developments both resulted from and contributed to outmigration. The expanded area from which spouses were chosen was a direct result of increased intra-island communication and inter-island mobility. Put simply, as Paamese came into contact with a wider variety of individuals, they began to marry spouses who they may never have encountered under the more restrictive mobility systems of the past. In 2011, while it was considered preferable to marry a traditional partner, in practice this was rare. Such sentiments have also been recorded elsewhere in rural Vanuatu (Hess 2009).

Monetisation of braedpraes had its roots in the work of Missionary Frater and the Presbyterian Church. Frater believed the need to acquire pigs for marriage exchanges was causing Paamese men to participate in labour mobility to finance these transactions. This mobility was considered undesirable, and the Presbyterian Church thus banned the use of pigs, a move that had little real impact on marriage practices until the 1920s when pigs became harder to obtain. At this time, £5 (Australian) plus one pig became the generally accepted marriage payment. Braedpraes inflation during the 1940s, resulted in the church capping payments at £10 (Australian). Despite the official price however, payments of up to £70 (Australian) were not uncommon. In 1983 the official national braedpraes set by the Malvatumauri (Vanuatu Council of Chiefs) was 60,000 vatu, an amount commonly exceeded, and between 1978 and 1982 Paamese wedding feasts alone cost between AUD$500 and AUD$1,100 (Haberkorn 1987). In 2011, the official braedpraes payment remained 60,000 vatu for a Paamese woman, or 80,000 vatu for women from other islands. This extra 20,000 vatu was intended to compensate the bride’s family for her having to leave her home island. Any offspring born out of wedlock incurred a further payment of 10,000 vatu per child. Kin often assisted in meeting these costs, and while traditionally the groom would have relied upon his own fathers and brothers, by the 1980s support networks had extended to include agnatic kin (Haberkorn 1987). This remained true in 2011.

Haberkorn (1987) linked increased braedpraes and associated wedding costs to the process of migration. For young males, the lack of on-island opportunities for generating sufficient
funds to meet *braedpraes* payments provided motivation for outmigration. However, as more men participated in labour mobility, and were able to accrue potentially larger cash resources, increasing *braedpraes* neutralised migrant earnings such that they did not threaten the existing social order. Secondly, as individuals began to migrate when they wanted to, rather than when the chief dictated, increasing *braedpraes* payments reinforced the chief’s social control over young men. This social control had decreased due to young men’s mobility, and paradoxically was reinforced by increasing *braedpraes* payments that in turn caused further mobility. Mobility was thus influenced by, and influenced, the setting in which it occurred.

Settlement patterns represented the second major change to historical Paamese social organisation evident during the 1980s. As noted above, despite their contemporary coastal location, in the past Paamese lived in approximately 60 small hamlets, most of which were located inland. Each hamlet comprised a single patrilineal descent group which was connected to the land through myths of origin (Haberkorn 1987). People and places were therefore closely linked, as has been described elsewhere in Vanuatu (Bonnemaison 1985; Sherkin 1999; Hess 2009). New settlement patterns were strongly encouraged and influenced by missionaries. Welcomed onto Paama by many of the local chiefs, the introduction of Christianity by the Presbyterian Church was generally viewed positively, as it ended the constant inter-village feuding that had been an ongoing feature of island life. Intra-island mobility increased, as the church undermined previously existing taboos on certain parcels of land, and the likelihood of attack decreased. New coastal settlements brought with them the advantage of accessibility to European trading ships, and thus greater possibility for outmigration. Nonetheless, larger settlements and a system of job-rotation, whereby men took turns to work for the same employer, meant male outmigration had little impact on community function.

In their pre-contact forms, Liro Area settlements comprised ten hamlets, however after their church directed relocation, patrilineages that had previously resided separately, were brought together. In the 1980s, Haberkorn (1987) noted that while co-resident patrilineal relatives were ideally the most important kin relations, there was evidence of a gradual breakdown of kin based behaviour via the use of friends and other family members for assistance in tasks such as garden planting and house construction. Furthermore, women, who traditionally would not have relied on their birth family for help after marriage, were able to do so. Both of these trends were evident in 2011; groups, for example the Presbyterian Women and Mother’s Union (PWMU), were often hired for nominal fees to clear garden land, and the
village as a whole would often help in tasks such as house construction. The accepted ‘payment’ for such work, particularly when it was performed by young men, was a (rice based) meal and/or smol vatu (‘a little money’, generally a few hundred vatu). Importantly, as on Ambrym (Eriksen 2005), social groupings were often influenced by church affiliation, thus Presbyterians generally socialised with one another in preference to Seventh Day Adventists (SDA). Similarly, as will be discussed in more detail below, women continued to support their birth families upon marriage. However, patrilineal affiliation was not entirely without importance, and those who could offer small amounts of work, generally employed their patrilineal relatives first. Thus, one small business owner employed his patrilineal brothers to bake bread for his store, and to fish and ferry passengers on his boat. Similarly, work relating to wedding exchanges was largely confined to the patrilineage to which the bride/groom belonged.

4.8 A week on contemporary Paama

Haberkorn (1987) noted that the coming together of multiple patrilineages in contemporary Paamese villages, and election of a single chiefly representative, meant that many chiefs lost their power over daily village life. Instead, their main role became the settlement of local disputes and the organisation of community work. This remained true in Liro Area villages of 2011, and in north-western Paamese villages in the early 2000’s (Lind 2010). Haberkorn (1987) described the strict organisation of the Liro area week in 1982. Two days per week were assigned to kampani work, which consisted of work performed by the community in exchange for cash payments, for example helping the needy with gardening, house maintenance, and other activities. Any money earned was paid into the village fund and used for community matters and events. At least one adult from every household was expected to participate, and fines were issued for non-attendance. Two days per week were reserved for labour for the pastor, and village cleaning, and a further day was set aside for the PWMU and Youth Fellowship fundraising activities. Saturdays were then generally used for gardening, leaving only one day per week for villagers to attend to their own affairs. The outcome of this constant activity was twofold. Firstly, it reinforced chiefly authority, as chiefs were responsible for assigning work groups and chores. Secondly, little spare time to invest in individual projects ensured villagers remained in a relatively egalitarian socio-economic status. This strict weekly organisation was identified as a significant structural cause leading

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20 This was a departure from the early days of mission activity when social groupings generally determined church affiliation.
to Paamese outmigration; as more villagers left to escape the commitments of \textit{kampani} and other work, the demands on those remaining increased, in turn leading to further outmigration.

Working in the village of Lulep in 2002-2004, Lind (2010) claimed that no such communal work roster existed. Rather, the sum of community work commitments consisted of casual requests by chiefs for villagers to clear paths as they walked along them. This led Lind (2010) to suggest that social organisation in 2002-2004 differed from that of the 1980s. Conversely, as Haberkorn’s (1987) weekly roster was specific to Liro Area villages, it is entirely possible that even during the 1980s, Lulep, located on the other side of the island and separated from Liro by a ridge of hills, did not conform to this structure.

Contrary to Lind’s (2010) findings, in 2011 Liro Area villages still followed a weekly schedule (Table 4.1). This timetable was sometimes altered, for example in the case of other pressing work or events, but was adhered to where possible. In fact, villagers expressed concern when they believed this schedule was under threat; one woman became frustrated when villagers were asked to perform a task on a day normally set aside for PWMU matters, claiming that this day belonged to the mothers, and without it they would not be able to complete all of their work. There is no doubt that Liro Area Paamese were kept busy by this schedule, and villagers would often remark that ‘It’s like we’re in town already’, busyness being associated with town life. However, while it was sometimes claimed that this level of activity was new and ‘It never used to be like this’, Haberkorn’s (1987) observations put this in doubt. While it is possible that villagers have become busier in recent years, there is little question that they have been kept busy with community work for at least the past three decades.
Table 4.1: Weekly activity schedule for Liro Area villages, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Weekly meeting at nakamal (traditional meeting area)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>PWMU meeting, handicrafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small market at Liro market house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>VANWODS microfinance scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Chief/community work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>PWMU meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fundraising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Big market at Liro market house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intra-island football matches at Liro Council Area field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Garden day (Presbyterians &amp; Assemblies of God)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church (Seventh Day Adventists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Church (Presbyterians &amp; Assemblies of God)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garden day (Seventh Day Adventists)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On Mondays, the weekly *nakamal* meeting, which regularly ran from early morning until early afternoon, was used to discuss upcoming events, and developments that affected the community. Liro’s *nakamal* meeting was often attended by villagers from other Liro Area villages if special events were being discussed, or visitors were present. For example, one week a group of policemen visited from Vila to discuss the evils of marijuana and other drugs. Similarly, issues relating to land disputes generally drew a crowd. Tuesdays and Fridays were used by the women to organise church related activities, such as planned outreach visits to other churches. When work was available, the women completed small tasks such as clearing another villager’s garden for a few hundred vatu. This money was then used to finance PWMU related activities.

What was referred to as VANWODS, in fact was not connected to the microfinance scheme of the same name that runs throughout Vanuatu, and is aimed at increasing economic opportunities for women (Nichols & Pieters Hawke 2007). Rather, Paamese women would take foodstuffs, either cooked items such as bread and *laplap*\(^{21}\), or *green kakae* (‘green’ ie uncooked food) such as coconuts and root vegetables, to the *nakamal* to sell (Figure 4.8).

Food was sold cheaply (generally 20 vatu for a piece of *laplap* or bread roll), and money earned was then ‘saved’ in a shared account. It was unclear what this money was being saved for, but it seemed that the general idea was to put it towards Christmas celebrations and/or

\(^{21}\) A traditional dish made from grated root vegetables and coconut milk, slow cooked on hot stones. For the purposes of fundraising, tinned fish was generally placed on top of the *laplap*. 
have it in reserve to help pay school fees. VANWODS took place with differing levels of success in Liro Area villages, and provided a means for redistributing small amounts of cash, rather than generating large profits. Eriksen (2008) has suggested that the primary function of such fundraising is social, replicating previous sociality associated with exchange. However, while there was a social aspect to VANWODS – women would often spend most of the morning sitting together in the nakamal – the primary goal of this, and other fundraisers was economic. As Thorarensen (2011) observed for the case of Nguna, fundraisers in general had specific financial aims, and there was some concern over women who tried to withdraw ‘too much’ of their VANWODS savings at the ‘wrong’ time.

![VANWODS at Liro nakamal, Paama 2011](image)

While the term kampani work had largely fallen out of usage\(^{22}\), in all Liro Area villages the general principle was the same as that outlined by Haberkorn (1987). Several times I was unable to interview on certain days, as villagers had kampani work commitments. The most common of these was house maintenance and building for the elderly or infirm (Figures 4.9 and 4.10). A complete natangura haos (traditional style house) cost around 10,000 vatu, and was generally financed by relatives living in town. However, while community work was well attended, there did not appear to be fines for non-attendance.

\(^{22}\)I only heard the term kampani work used to describe community work in Liro Nesa.
Fridays were the busiest day in Liro Area villages, as the weekly market (Tuesday market days were generally small, and poorly attended) and football matches held in the Liro Council Area both drew crowds from around the island. The bank was open on Fridays, and the council area remained a hive of activity until the last football match of the day. Due to the large number of visitors, Fridays were popular (but not the exclusive day) for church, school and other community group fundraising. This generally entailed selling cooked food such as rice with a *soup* (‘soup’, a cooked topping such as greens, tinned fish etc) for roughly 70 vatu a plate. On one occasion, four separate fundraisers were run on the same Friday. Individual households would often make their own small ‘fundraisers’ during the week, selling items such as *laplap* for 20 vatu a piece in order to earn money for school fees, soap or other expenses. Again, the main purpose of these smaller fundraisers was redistribution of cash income within the village, and fundraisers were most commonly held by less financially well off households. The popularity of fundraisers was a new phenomenon not evident during the 1980s (Gerald Haberkorn, pers comm, 2nd September 2014) and perhaps linked to the increased ‘need’ for imported foodstuffs (D’Arcy 2011) and other consumer items.

On top of these weekly commitments, there were church attendance and activities to be seen to. Those who worshipped on Sundays generally worked in their gardens on Saturdays and vice versa (Figures 4.11 and 4.12). In Liro, a predominantly Presbyterian village, Saturdays had the eerie feeling of a ghost town as the village was deserted for gardening activities. Weekdays too had their share of church related activities, with at least one activity such as worship, prayer meetings or church cleaning scheduled daily. Therefore, while the chief remained in charge of organising work groups and related activities, it was the church that exerted the greatest control over weekly organisation.
Within the Liro Area, there were three religions, Presbyterian being the largest and ‘first’ church to enter Paama (there was some contention and competition over whose ancestors welcomed the first missionaries), followed by the SDA, and Assemblies of God (AOG). With their similar worship timetables, the Presbyterians and AOG members often worked together, and attended each other’s events. This was perhaps more beneficial for the AOG Church whose congregation numbered roughly ten. The SDA Church however was often in conflict with the other two religions due to their observation of the Sabbath from Friday dusk until Saturday dusk. As Lind (2010) has noted, the main function of these different religions often seemed to be to provide opportunities for disagreements, and in 2011 one of the chiefs in Tavie had allegedly refused to allow any new churches into his village as he was tired of inter-church bickering. Similarly, several Liro Area villagers had changed church affiliation after quarrelling with others from their previous church. As mentioned above, Presbyterians generally socialised together and supported each other’s businesses. Presbyterians often claimed that SDA store owners overpriced their stock, however a survey of store goods and prices provided no evidence to support this claim. SDA Church members similarly tended to socialise together. Consistent with Lind’s (2010) observations therefore, Paamese kinship was not purely a product of biology but also depended on cooperation and working together, with church affiliation acting as an important marker.

4.9 Conclusions

Paama is in many ways both typical and atypical of outer islands throughout Vanuatu. Notable for its high rate of outmigration and mountainous terrain, Paama’s physical infrastructure and transport links to elsewhere are limited, as is common for outer islands. Much like other small islands, the local economy is centred on subsistence agriculture. While
the weekly activity schedule for Liro Area villages is perhaps more involved than for other islands (Hess 2009; Wilson 2013), social organisation is based on a blend of traditional patrilineal alliances and church affiliations, and is thus similar to that reported for other areas of Vanuatu (Eriksen 2008). As much as any other island therefore, Paama provides a suitable study site for examining patterns of contemporary mobility. While recognising the uniqueness of Paama, its similarities to other outer islands make it possible to apply many conclusions about Paamese mobility and experiences of urbanisation to other island populations.
Chapter 5: Methodology

The author with extended Paamese family members, Paama 2011
Fieldwork for this project involved three distinct phases; (1) collecting baseline data, (2) onsite fieldwork with rural Paamese, and (3) onsite fieldwork with Paamese living in Vila. This chapter outlines each of these phases, provides rationale for the chosen methodologies, and considers practical and ethical issues. The value of using longitudinal data will be addressed, and the inherent flaws of chosen methodologies are acknowledged.

5.1 Longitudinal data

As a longitudinal study, there were a number of ways in which this research benefitted from association with a previous researcher. Where original researcher(s) and their research outcomes are well regarded by the community under study, those who conduct subsequent research may benefit from a community’s familiarity with researchers and their ways (Cahn 2002; Cliggett 2002; Kemper 2002a; Crow 2013). Roughly 45 years after Camilla Wedgwood’s work on Manam Island (Papua New Guinea), Nancy Lutkehaus ‘returned’ to work in the same villages, and found herself treated as Wedgwood’s granddaughter. The immediate kinship ties that resulted from this connection helped to ‘place’ Lutkehaus within the village, and provided the Manam with greater agency as they incorporated her into the Manam moral community (Lutkehaus 1989). Similarly, following the same ‘road’ as Haberkorn helped Paamese to understand why I had landed in their midst. Such associations are not always positive however, and in circumstances where kinship ties result in expectations of previously established exchange relationships, frustrations may arise (Cliggett 2002). Similarly, preconceptions about how research ‘should’ be done based on a previous researcher’s habits can prove trying (Cahn 2002; Cliggett 2002). Fortunately, this was not the case for the current research, and associations with Haberkorn (where he was remembered) were overwhelmingly positive.

The quality and type of notes that provide baseline data influence the analysis that can be carried out by subsequent studies. Where a restudy is carried out by a different researcher, it is vital that field notes and other records are understandable (Foster et al. 1979; Kemper 1979). While some find themselves working with well documented notes (for example Lutkehaus 1995), others have sought to make sense of a puzzling array of odds and ends (for example Larcom 1983). Association with the original researcher can prove useful, but is not always possible (Foster et al. 1979). Pre-existing data therefore greatly influence the types of longitudinal research that are feasible. The baseline data for this research was provided by Gerald Haberkorn’s (1987) thesis *Port Vila – Transit station of final stop? Recent
developments in ni-Vanuatu mobility, along with his (1989) monograph based on the same data. Haberkorn saved many of his original field notes, and these were used to supplement data available in his finished thesis. In November 2010 I spent a week in Noumea with Haberkorn and his field notes. While the tyranny of technology ensured original interview transcripts stored on old reels were impossible to access, I was able to make copies of other documents including coding sheets, the original questionnaire and various notes and observations from the field. One of the most useful documents to come out of this trip was Haberkorn’s census of Liro Area Paamese which provided a record of who had been living where in 1982-3. Referring to this census throughout my own fieldwork made the process of tracking mobility much easier, as I was able to ask the whereabouts of specific families or individuals who had ‘disappeared’ from the island. Of course, people were not always traceable and I had no way of accounting for individuals or families who may have lived on Paama for an extended period after 1983, but had left by 2011. Nonetheless, the ability to refer to these two specific points in time provided a much richer data source than would have been possible using a single ‘snapshot in time’ approach. Similarly, the availability of baseline data reduced problems associated with the accuracy of recall regarding individuals’ whereabouts in the past.

After completing my own fieldwork, I was able to use baseline data to compare the processes of 30 years ago to those occurring in 2011. While it was not possible to assign responses to a given individual or family (ie in 1982 Mark was saying x, but in 2011 he was saying y), I was able to compare the ways in which ideas and behaviours had changed within the Paamese population as a whole. Modelling my own questionnaire on Haberkorn’s original, and updating for the passage of time (mobile phones, for example, were not a consideration during the 1980s), ensured consistency in subject matter discussed during interviews. Inevitably, some topics raised in the past were not pertinent in 2011, and other issues that had not arisen in 1982 proved to be of great interest in 2011. Interviews were therefore kept loosely structured, and were adapted throughout the research process.

5.2 A note on rural vs urban

While this thesis presents ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ data separately, in Vanuatu the ‘rural’ and the ‘urban’ do not exist in isolation, but rather are deeply intertwined with a steady flow of goods, people and information travelling back and forth between the two spheres. This interconnectedness has been widely commented upon (Mitchell 2002; Lind 2010;
Thorarensen 2011), yet there remains a tendency to treat the rural and urban as separate. The easiest way to challenge this rural/urban dichotomy is perhaps visually. Half of the images in Figures 5.1-5.8 were taken in rural locations on Paama, while the other half were taken in and around Port Vila. While some images, such as Figures 5.3 and 5.4, may be easily attributed to rural and urban locations respectively, without referring to captions, others are difficult to place.
It would be incorrect to suggest that life in rural areas is identical to that of urban areas; structural and other factors such as the concentration of services in town make this impossible. However, as the photos in Figures 5.1-5.8 suggest, there are certain similarities between the two locations that are often glossed over. Thus, in 2011 some urban residents lived almost subsistence lifestyles, while in rural areas some successful businessmen lived on the island with many of the trappings normally associated with urban lifestyles (large brick houses, fridges and so forth). There is thus a ‘blurring’ of the line often used by outsiders to divide the rural from the urban, and as will be emphasised throughout this thesis, ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ areas together comprise a single multi-local social field. This social field is maintained through the ongoing flows noted above: people, goods and information move between the two locations and embody rural-urban interactions. Thus, while they may be geographically separated, Paamese remain socially connected.

5.3 Rural fieldwork

Fieldwork on Paama, the supposed place of origin and return for all Paamese migrants, took place from late March – late June 2011. My time on Paama was coordinated by a friend of Haberkorn’s, a long-term urban resident who, upon my arrival in Vila, called ‘home’ and arranged for me a family, a house, and a ticket on one of the twice weekly flights to Paama. I based myself out of Liro23 where my Paamese family lived, and was treated as their daughter and incorporated into the web of daily life. For my part, I tried to act as a daughter was expected to, assisting (when allowed) with chores, visiting the garden, and addressing kin by the appropriate singaot (kinship term).

I arrived on Paama on a Sunday, and was taken from the airport to Liro’s weekly Presbyterian Church service. This timing was fortuitous, as I was given the opportunity to introduce myself and explain in Bislama, the lingua franca which I already spoke fluently, why I had come to Paama. As a result, a large majority of the community from Liro, Asuas and Voravor

23 The village this thesis refers to as Liro, comprises what Paamese would classify as the two villages of Liro and Seneali. The decision to treat these two villages as one was made for several reasons. Firstly, households from the two villages are not geographically separate. For example, a Seneali household may be located between two Liro households and vice versa. Secondly, due to their geographical locations and history of working together, the activities and opportunities available to Liro and Seneali households are virtually identical. Seneali households attend the weekly Liro community meetings, and during my time on Paama there were only one or two exclusive meetings of the Seneali nakamal. Thirdly, there is a degree of fluidity of membership between the villages, as illustrated by two brothers who technically belonged to Seneali. As there were two of them, when Liro and Seneali were divided, for example in the case of differing requirements for community work, one would join Liro and the other Seneali. If however, only Seneali had work to be done, both worked for Seneali. Finally, treating Liro and Seneali as a single village was consistent with Haberkorn’s (1987) thesis.
(Liro Nesa has its own Presbyterian Church) were made immediately aware of my presence. I then spent a week familiarising myself with the rhythms of daily life, making myself as visible as possible to the community. During this time I met with the Area Secretary who coordinates all research and volunteer work on the island, and spoke at Liro’s weekly *nakamal* meeting. I was thus able to introduce myself to villagers, and explain the road I had followed to come to Paama. I encouraged villagers to ask questions and comment on my research until they were satisfied as to my intentions. All of this served the dual purpose of acclimatising myself to the villages and the villagers to me.

### 5.4 Rural sampling technique

Fieldwork was conducted in Liro and the surrounding villages of Liro Nesa, Asuas and Voravor, the same four villages in which Haberkorn worked during 1982. Using a census approach, at least one adult was interviewed from every Paamese household in each of the Liro Area villages. Most interviews were conducted one on one, however occasionally husbands and wives were interviewed together. This sometimes meant that men spoke for their wives, but this varied between individuals, and overall did not present a problem. Non-Paamese households, for example teachers from other islands working on Paama, were excluded. These accounted for only a minority of households, and their exclusion was consistent with the sampling technique used by Haberkorn (1987). Five elderly villagers were not interviewed due their advanced age and associated loss of mental clarity. In these instances general data about the whereabouts of their family members was collected from others. The total number of rural Paamese interviewed in 2011 is summarised in Table 5.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After accounting for every household, I went back and ‘filled in the gaps’ with people I had not spoken to during the initial round of interviews. This was particularly important for capturing the opinions and experiences of young single men, who villagers had automatically discounted from the initial sample group. Traditionally, it is only adult males who should speak in public and whose opinions are seen to carry the most weight (Lindstrom 1990; Lind

24 Unless otherwise indicated, varying totals (N) shown in the following chapters reflect the number of individuals for whom data were available.
2010), and hence young men’s ideas and experiences were not considered pertinent. Similarly, as young men were outside my normal social group, which comprised mainly women, they proved harder to access via casual conversation and daily social interaction. By specifically requesting interviews with young males therefore, I was able to correct for this bias.

An attempt was made to interview an equal number of males and females, but this was difficult for several reasons. Firstly, when only one spouse had migrated away from Paama, it was generally the wife (and children) who were left behind. Therefore, over the four villages there were more female only households than male only households. Secondly, women tended to outlive males, and there were more widows than widowers, again contributing to the number of female only households. Thirdly, life in Vanuatu is organised very much along gender lines, so it was ‘naturally’ assumed that I was more interested in speaking to women than to men. Lastly, as Haberkorn (1987) observed, and as is common throughout Vanuatu (Douglas 2002; Bowman et al. 2009), women performed the majority of daily work on Paama; they looked after the children, visited the gardens, completed the household chores, prepared the meals, attended committees and church groups, organised fundraisers, participated in VANWODS, and were often asked to prepare meals for groups of visitors. Many of these were time consuming tasks requiring an input of manual labour, and when another ‘domestic task’ arrived in the form of an interview with a *waet misus* (white woman), it naturally fell to the women to participate. As noted above, I was able to correct for this gender bias to some extent by requesting interviews with specific males. Nonetheless, there remains an excess of females over male participants in the rural sample, which reflects the demographic make-up of the villages.

5.5 Urban data collection

After leaving Paama, I spent approximately five months in Port Vila (July – November 2011) interviewing urban Paamese. While in Vila, I lived in an apartment in Tebakor, but spent most of my evenings and weekends with two families, one who lived in Manples informal settlement, and the other in Freshwota, a formally established residential suburb. As a result, I was able to gain valuable insights into daily life in two very different urban environments. It is important here to note the variety of housing tenure types and living conditions amongst Paamese in Vila. Unlike previous studies into urbanisation in Vanuatu which have concentrated on a single urban area (for example Mecartney 2001; Mitchell 2002), I worked
in a number of different locations throughout Vila. This was in large part determined by the fact that urban Paamese live all over Vila, and are not restricted to a single settlement site (Figure 5.9\textsuperscript{25}). The urban ‘field’ was therefore anywhere Liro Area Paamese resided and/or frequented. As I spent longer in Vila, I came to appreciate the importance of capturing this diversity of urban experience. A summary of the areas from which participants were drawn is provided in Chapter 9.

\textsuperscript{25} Figure 5.9 shows the location of all Paamese in Vila, and not just the subset of Liro Area Paamese. Details of where Liro Area Paamese lived in Vila are discussed in Chapter 9.
Figure 5.9: Residential location of Paamese living in Vila, 2009
Source: Haberkorn (pers comm, 1st September 2011)
In Vila snowballing was used to locate and recruit Paamese who identified as belonging to Liro Area villages. In 2011, the Paamese urban community was big enough that no single person knew exactly where every individual from the villages in question lived. To compensate for this, I used three main gatekeepers, both male and female, from different villages, and of differing social status, to assist in locating their family members and requesting interviews. These gatekeepers were all long-term urban residents who had varying levels of knowledge when it came to the whereabouts of their kinsfolk. Without the invaluable help of gatekeepers, the process of locating urban Paamese would have been much longer and more difficult than it proved.

In Vila I used both my own rural census and Haberkorn’s 1982-3 census to identify potential participants who were ‘missing’ from Paama. While Haberkorn had some record of families who had no immediate kin remaining on Paama, my own census did not include many urban residents who had been away from the island long enough that little was known about their circumstances. Similarly, in 2011 rural residents were generally vague in their knowledge of second and third generation urbanites. This was one respect in which gatekeepers were particularly useful, as they were able to identify long-term urban residents, many of whose existence I was unaware. The total number of urban Liro Area Paamese interviewed in 2011 is summarised in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Total number of urban Paamese interviewed by gender and migrant generation, 2011

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Generation</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As discussed above, traditionally when a Paamese woman married she took up residence in, and was considered a member of her husband’s village. Therefore, a Liro Area woman who married a man from elsewhere would no longer ‘belong’ to her natal village. In 2011, this was not necessarily true, and many urban Paamese were in marriage-like relationships, living together with the woman’s family. Furthermore, the prevalence of inter-island marriages (Section 8.5), marriage breakdowns and single parents, meant that children who traditionally

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26 Unless otherwise indicated, varying totals (N) shown in the following chapters reflect the number of individuals for whom data were available.

27 This arrangement was most common in cases where braedpraes had not yet been paid, and hence kastom exchanges had not been completed.
would have belonged to their father’s village/island, did not necessarily identify in this manner. For the purposes of this research therefore, a person was considered to be Paamese and belong to the Liro Area villages if they identified as such, and kept up contact with/were known to other Liro Area Paamese. Urban dwelling women from other islands or villages who had married Liro Area men were included in the sample if they had spent time living on Paama (other than brief visits), and were identified as Liro Area women by themselves and others. Similarly, women who had married partners from elsewhere were included if they still identified as being from their village of origin, and continued to participate as members of the Liro Area community. This was consistent with the classification criteria used by Haberkorn (1987).

In 1982-3, the urban Paamese community was much smaller than in 2011, and consequently, Haberkorn was able to interview almost every urban Paamese from the Liro Area. By 2011, the Paamese population had grown significantly, and it would not have been possible for me to do the same within a reasonable timeframe. Consequently, a judgement was made as to when I had interviewed ‘enough’ participants. This was based on several factors. Firstly, findings had been consolidated, and nothing significantly ‘new’ or ‘different’ was being learnt, and secondly, the flow of interviews had slowed to an intermittent trickle. Finally, the time constraints imposed by PhD fieldwork meant that after eight months in the field, it was time to move on to the next step in the research process.

5.6 Interviews

The national pastime of Vanuatu is storian (story-telling), and people tend to talk around, rather than specifically to a point. Semi-structured interviews were therefore chosen as the most appropriate methodology, and conversation (interviews) flowed most easily when I was able to bring up issues and questions relating to key themes as they arose, rather than following a set order of questions. Using this method, interview questions evolved over time as I learnt more about the local context, and new and interesting topics arose. As a result, there was some variation in a few of the peripheral topics that were covered. Overall however, this did not present a problem as in every survey or questionnaire there are always some non-responses.

Throughout the interview process, a narrative or autobiographical approach was employed. This ‘ethnographic style holistic approach’ (Skeldon 1995: 92) has commonly been adopted by geographers studying migration in less developed countries due to its many benefits, not
least the opportunity to glean more information than would be possible from a strictly structured questionnaire (Miles & Crush 1993). Using this approach and listening to how individuals talked about migration and migrants, allowed me to contextualise mobility, and understand what it meant from the local perspective (Halfacree & Boyle 1993; Findlay & Li 1997; Findlay & Stockdale 2003). Migration decisions are not made in isolation, nor are they made in the instance immediately prior to migrating. Rather, they form part of the everyday life of a community, and are influenced by other events in an individual’s life course. Listening to stories about migration therefore provided insight into the manner in which family members and friends may influence the decision to migrate, and helped in understanding an individual’s intentions and motivations for migrating (Halfacree & Boyle 1993; Vandersemb 1995). Importantly, inviting individuals to tell their stories gave agency and voice to those who are often voiceless (Miles & Crush 1993; Vandersemb 1995), and was congruent with the oral culture of Vanuatu (Vandersemb 1995). As Lawson (2000) has argued, listening to the narratives of those who live ‘on the margins’, provided important insights into ambivalent experiences of migration and modernity. Finally, this autobiographical approach was used in Haberkorn’s (1987) original study and therefore provided a consistent point of comparison.

Despite its utility, the autobiographical approach is not without disadvantages. In collecting life histories, problems of recall occurred, and participants presented an edited rather than a complete autobiographical history. Focusing on specific events in detail, rather than collecting broad overviews of an entire life story, reduced errors in memory and provided more accurate data (Haberkorn 1987; Miles & Crush 1993). For this reason, Haberkorn (1987) restricted his research to employment and education related moves. As feminist geographers argue however, economic explanations have commonly been over-emphasised in the study of migration (Silvey & Lawson 1999), and may detract from other important social, economic and political factors, such that they are often ignored (Sayad 2004). Furthermore, the economic rationale behind migration assumes that all individuals, regardless of culture, are affected by the same economic motivations. Supposing economic factors have been accurately identified as primary contributors to past ni-Vanuatu mobility, it cannot be taken for granted that this is still the case. Indeed Sayad (2004) claims there are no instances where employment related migration has not evolved into family migration. Furthermore, as Haberkorn (1987) pointed out, migration is both influenced by and influences the setting in which it occurs. Therefore as changes, social, political and economic in nature, have occurred
over the past 30 years, it is reasonable to assume that these changes in setting have both been influenced by, and influenced Paamese mobility.

Bearing the above in mind, rather than restrict research to employment and education related mobility, I enquired about all significant moves. It would of course be foolish to assume that participants could accurately recall every single move they have ever made, particularly in the case of highly mobile individuals. Nonetheless, this would be a problem faced regardless of the type of mobility under study, and the focus was on ‘significant’ moves rather than every instance of mobility. Using this technique, I was able to build a more complete picture of contemporary Paamese mobility and capture phenomena that may otherwise have been missed. This was particularly the case amongst the older generation or other individuals who no longer worked, or were not involved in education, yet were still mobile.

In examining past migration experiences, it is important to recognise issues relating to genuine lapses in memory, post-facto rationalisation, colouring of past events, and editing of information presented to the interviewer. The use of longitudinal data to some extent reduces these problems, as it allows for examination of what participants were saying ‘then’ and how they are talking about migration ‘now’. Particularly relevant to this research was the inability of Paamese to recall information in chronological order (Miles & Crush 1993). Ni-Vanuatu have a different understanding of time to the Western world, and problems of recall, particularly in relation to dates and time frames of moves were encountered. Similarly, information that would be taken for granted in a Western context, such as dates of birth, and the number of children and grandchildren in a family, often required a concerted effort to recall, and in some instances the information was simply not available. Inability to recall dates and time frames was particularly problematic on Paama, where villagers had very little need of such information. As Miles and Crush (1993) have noted however, pressuring individuals to recall information can result in participant frustration, and in some cases distress. After struggling to pin down timeframes of moves, I decided to work with local concepts of time, and moves were classified as significant based not on duration, but the manner in which an individual talked about them. Similarly, Paamese were classified as either usual rural or usual urban residents based on their own classifications and those of family members. In a few instances, usual rural residents reported family members had recently left for Vila or Santo to find work. As they were unclear about the residential status of the individual – if they found work they would stay, if they did not, they would come back
to Paama – the recently departed have been classified as only temporarily absent from the island.

5.7 Language use

All interviews were conducted in Bislama, a Pidgin English that functions as Vanuatu’s lingua franca. This was in part a practical choice, as many Paamese, particularly those with limited education and/or exposure to town life, spoke little to no English. The use of Bislama therefore minimised problems associated with the use of translators such as the filtering of information and limits to direct communication (Gade 2001; Watson 2004). On Paama, there were several older women who had only a basic knowledge of Bislama, and in these instances translators were used to obtain simple demographic and socio-economic data. Information requiring their personal opinions was not collected as it was likely to be lost in translation and/or influenced by the views of the translator. Importantly, my knowledge of Bislama helped to build rapport (Veeck 2001), and upon my arrival on Paama, many villagers noted with delight that I could speak Bislama proficiently. In several instances, Paamese appeared worried about the prospect of an interview until they learnt that I knew Bislama and they would not need to grapple with English. In Vila, I came across several Paamese who were fluent in English, however their interviews were conducted in Bislama, as I noted that they spoke with greater confidence in the lingua franca.

There were of course, some difficulties associated with the use of Bislama. As a language with no genders and no tenses, at times it proved frustrating to try and elicit the information I was after. In such circumstances I rephrased and repeated my question until it had either been understood, or seemed it never would be. At times, I felt I was fighting a losing battle, trying to construct complex sentences in a simple language. In these instances, I definitely felt that my choice of language had decreased my power in the interviewer-participant relationship (which in itself was not necessarily negative) (Miles & Crush 1993).

Despite widespread knowledge of Bislama (many urban born ni-Vanuatu now speak it as a first language), when in groups Paamese tended to speak the Paamese language. This was at times frustrating, particularly on Paama where Bislama was rarely spoken in casual conversation unless I was being addressed directly. As I spent more time around the Paamese language however, I began to understand common words and phrases, and while I was unable to follow a conversation, it was often possible pick broad subject areas – food being a
common theme – which helped me to understand the kinds of things people talked about when they were not talking to me.

5.8 Participant observation

Participant observation was used to complement other data collection techniques, and facilitated a more comprehensive understanding of the research context (Cloke 2001). This methodology allowed for the correlation of information gathered during interviews, a particularly useful technique in cross-cultural settings. By observing the comings and goings of Liro Area Paamese, I was able to familiarise myself with the practicalities of contemporary mobility, and how it was perceived and functioned in daily life. Similarly, participant observation provided a more detailed understanding of the ways in which Paamese interacted with one another, and made ends meet – I observed many one-off informal economic activities that were missed by other data collection techniques. This in turn led to further discussions about mobility and related topics, and aided in a more situated and detailed understanding of contemporary Paamese mobility and urban experiences.

5.9 Gender

As noted above, my gender influenced not only who I interviewed, but also my general social interactions with other Paamese. While this resulted in a greater familiarity with women’s mobility than men’s, this does not necessarily represent a problem. Migration research, both within Vanuatu and further afield, has been dominated by males, and the few detailed studies into migration in Vanuatu have all been written largely about men by men (for example Bedford 1973; Bonnemaison 1977; Bastin 1985; Bonnemaison 1985; Haberkorn 1987). This focus on male mobility is reinforced by an emphasis on work related migration, where work has been defined as labour in exchange for wages. Despite the ni-Vanuatu classification of kinship obligations as ‘work’, and the important role of domestic and other unpaid tasks, this work (performed largely by women) has been excluded from analyses of labour related mobility. Similarly, as women have historically participated in the wage labour market to a lesser extent than men, their mobility has been mostly ignored by previous studies (Jolly 1987).

Although men have traditionally dominated long distance moves, ni-Vanuatu women have been highly mobile over shorter distances. This is related to their mobility in marriage, whereby a married woman would traditionally move to her husband’s place. In this manner,
women were often the first to move to new areas, creating roads along which their kinsmen followed. Eriksen (2008) therefore argues that mobility represents a female rather than male form of sociality. This is consistent with the commonly held characterisation of men as trees, rooted to their place of origin, and women as birds or sticks who fly away, or can be thrown to a new place where they establish their own roots (Bonnemaison 1994; Lind 2010). The ability of women to move and create connections in new places is considered one of their great strengths (Bolton 2003), yet female voices remain muted in analyses of ni-Vanuatu migration.

This study therefore represents a departure from past studies into Pacific mobility. Not only does it address Kemper’s (1971) all important temporal aspect of rural-urban migration, but it is one of the first studies of Melanesian mobility to be written from the perspective of a female researcher. Vanuatu is a gendered society, and particularly in rural areas, women will work together and spend more time with their sisters (both classificatory and biological) than with their husbands. By virtue of my gender, I was therefore allowed much greater access to the lives of women, who are often shy about speaking their opinions in public (Lindstrom 1990; Lind 2010), than previous male researchers. While I spent less time participating in social and other activities with males, as the gender more accustomed to voicing their opinions and being listened to, this has not resulted in a significant data imbalance. It is one of the aims of this research that women’s voices are no longer muted when it comes to Pacific migration.

5.10 ‘Insider’/‘outsider’ research

The researcher’s status with respect to the research subject influences the types of information obtained. While ‘insiders’ are able to use their existing knowledge to gain a more detailed understanding of the research context, ‘outsiders’ have greater objectivity and may be granted access to more privileged information due to their perceived neutral status. However, no researcher can be considered purely ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’, and most sit somewhere between the two (Mullings 1999). This was particularly true of my fieldwork experience, as I often trod the line between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’. As noted above, I was incorporated into, and became a classificatory daughter of Liro Area families on Paama and in Vila. I sought to fit in, and in this respect was considered distinct from expatriates and tourists. In many ways however, I was still very much an outsider; I looked physically different, was completely incompetent when it came to most daily chores, and couldn’t speak the local language. I was
therefore wholly reliant on others for the most simple tasks such as obtaining drinking water. In many ways therefore, I was powerless with regards to the intricacies of daily life. Nonetheless, I continued to hold power through my selection of the research topic as ‘worthy’ of academic study (Katz 1994), and the final editorial control held over what ‘evidence’ is presented and how it is framed (Staeheli & Lawson 1994). I have attempted to represent the views of a broad section of the community, by including data from eloquent as well as non-eloquent speakers (Vandersemb 1995). Even so however, decisions have been made as to what is ‘important’ and not, and I have approached the subject matter with my own set of cultural understandings and assumptions.

Despite the great warmth and hospitality of my ni-Vanuatu family, my own status remained somewhat ambiguous. It is unusual for a woman in Vanuatu to reach her late twenties without having children and/or being married. I was both childless, and although I had a ‘man’, unmarried. On Paama in particular, there was no one else at the same life stage as me, and depending on the situation I was either classified with the 13 year old girls who, like me, were childless and unmarried, or with the mothers who held a higher status. On Mother’s Day, for example, as a guest I was treated as a mother, and sat at the mothers’ table and ate with them. The only other woman of marriageable age, a local villager, who had neither husband nor child, was put in charge of organising the children to sing and the men to cook, and when it came time to eat, sat on the floor with the children. Twyman et al. (1999) describe a similar situation conducting fieldwork in Africa, where locals were unsure how to place the researcher, again a female without a man or child to accompany her.

Despite all of this, I believe that I in many ways, had the best of both worlds. Although I knew that I could never truly be Paamese, during my fieldwork I was accepted as a woman-Paama (Paamese woman) and a member of the Paamese community. In Vila in particular, my knowledge of the island helped to reinforce my status as a woman-Paama. As a white female researcher, I had access not only to women by virtue of my gender, but also to men thanks to the status associated with the important work of doing ‘development’. I was able to belong by participating in daily activities and events, and this greatly assisted my ability to contextualise the information that was presented to me. At the same time, as an outsider I was able to ask naive and silly questions. I was thus, as Mullings (1999) has described, both an insider and an outsider, and able to play each role appropriately in order to investigate topics of interest.
5.11 Conclusions

Research methodologies were chosen taking into account local cultural contexts, and the utility and requirements of longitudinal data. While benefits may have been gained from learning the Paamese language, or conducting comparative fieldwork with the Liro Area community on Santo, constraints imposed by the nature of PhD research meant this was not possible. Nonetheless, I was able to spend sufficient time in the field to minimise cultural and linguistic issues, and to collect data from both women and men on Paama and in Vila. There were no real constraints to adequate data collection, or to comprehension. Having outlined the manner in which data were collected and analysed, the next chapter discusses Liro Area villages’ demography and livelihoods in 2011, and provides a comparison with life of the early 1980s.
Chapter 6: Paama: the rural setting and livelihoods

Making laplap, Paama 2011
Regardless of whether they have ever set foot there, all ni-Vanuatu identify with a home island. It is from here that every journey is said to begin, and also where it should end. While this does not reflect the reality of many Liro Area migrants, the island provides an appropriate starting point for examining contemporary Paamese mobility. This chapter introduces life on contemporary Paama, and considers what has and has not changed in the generation since Haberkorn (1987) conducted his fieldwork. Island demography and livelihood opportunities are first discussed in order to provide the context for what Paamese are (or are not) leaving behind.

### 6.1 Village demography

Between 1982 and 2011, the number of households in Liro Area villages remained roughly the same (Table 6.1), as most nuclear families with an interest in maintaining an island presence ensured that one family member lived on Paama to safeguard family land and other resources. This is a common strategy throughout Vanuatu, and Lindstrom (2011) has described similar behaviour amongst Samaria villagers from Tanna. On Paama, looking after land and other interests was traditionally the duty of the firstborn son. However, in 2011, this role usually fell to the child with the fewest other commitments, often the one who could not find a ‘good’ job in town. While this responsibility was generally given to sons, in 2011 several daughters were also fulfilling this caretaker role. Their position however, was somewhat more precarious than sons, who as the traditional inheritors of land could, in theory, return to the island and take over the houses and garden land which their sisters had been tending.

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28 In Bislama, one’s home island is generally referred to as aelan (the island), rather than by name. Paama will thus be referred to as both Paama and ‘the island’ in the following chapters.

29 Unless otherwise indicated, varying totals (N) throughout this chapter refer to the number of individuals for whom data were available. A summary of rural Paamese interviewed is provided in Table 5.1.
**Table 6.1: Number of resident households and average household size 2011 and 1982**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Number of Resident Households 2011*</th>
<th>Average Household Size 2011^</th>
<th>Number of Resident Households 1982#</th>
<th>Average Household Size 1982#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liro</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liro Nesa</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asuas</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voravor</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liro Area</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Haberkorn (1987)

* Consistent with Haberkorn’s (1987) methodology, only Paamese households were counted i.e. teachers and other government employees from different islands were not included in census counts. In 2011, there were approximately nine teacher households and one nurse household in the Liro Area.

^ Figures represent average household size at time of interview. Temporary absentees were not included in this count. Vaum Secondary School encouraged students in Year Ten to board at the school, and return home on weekends. Year Ten students were counted as members of their village household, as parents were still expected to support them during the week, paying boarding and meal fees.

In 2011, Liro Area households had on average fewer members than in 1982. This was due to an increase in the number of couples and widow(er)s living alone while their grown-up children had moved elsewhere. Larger households consisted almost exclusively of young families and their dependent children. Looking after elderly parents was again a task that would traditionally have fallen to the eldest son. However by 2011, many migrant children were well established in other locations, often with employment, and were less interested or able to move back to the island (Case Study 6.130). Some dealt with this by sending a child to live with their grandparents on Paama, a common strategy employed throughout Vanuatu (Lindstrom 2011; Wilson 2013). This served several purposes. Firstly, children were able to provide practical assistance for elderly individual(s) through house and garden work. Secondly, their presence on the island absolved parents of the need to return themselves, and, thirdly, reinforced the grandchild’s island identity while providing a visual reminder of the parents’ commitment to, and stake in island life. Finally, sending children to the island where the cost of living was lower reduced financial strain on urban households.

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30 All names used throughout this thesis are pseudonyms.
Others who could not (or did not wish to) return to the island attempted to bring their elderly parent(s) to live with them in Vila or elsewhere, with varying degrees of success. While this strategy risked the potential loss of access to island based resources (elderly parents were often the last remaining members of the nuclear family on Paama), it was generally employed by those who in all likelihood would never return to live on the island themselves, and with employment and (often) land elsewhere, the benefits outweighed the risk. In 2011, several widows had recently returned from one or two years living with their children in Vila or Santo (Case Study 6.2). While some planned to continue making such visits, others considered themselves too old to travel, and wished to remain on the island. In these instances, rural Paamese did what they could to help support the elderly individual, completing difficult chores and sharing food, all the while muttering about how so-and-so’s children did not look after them.

**Case Study 6.1: Return to Paama to care for elderly parents**

Sarah and Mark lived on Paama with Mark’s parents and their two young children. Mark, the second born son, grew up on Paama. Sarah grew up with relatives on Malakula, while her parents lived and worked in Vila, and had spent six years living in Vila herself. They met while Mark, who was Sarah’s strei (‘straight’, correct or true) husband according to kastom, was working in Vila. In 2008, they returned to Paama in order to look after Mark’s still agile, but ageing parents. This decision was made for them by Kim, Mark’s older brother, and the firstborn son in the family. Traditionally this care role would have fallen to Kim and his wife. However, Kim held a steady, well-paid job in Vila and owned a piece of urban land upon which he was building a large permanent house. Mark on the other hand, had been working sporadically in construction and lived in Blacksands informal settlement. It therefore made more ‘sense’ for Kim to remain in Vila where he could provide for his parents through remittances – the large permanent house he had constructed for them on Paama, and the solar lighting systems he had installed provided a practical example of this. It was decided that Mark could best contribute to his parents’ wellbeing through his physical presence on the island. Kim made arrangements accordingly, and Sarah and Mark returned to Paama with their children.
Household continuity, that is the presence of households that were the same as or clearly descended from those of 1982, was greatest for the villages of Liro and Liro Nesa (Table 6.2). The smaller village of Voravor where outmigration was highest and the number of empty houses was greatest (Figure 6.1, and Section 7.1), had both more ‘new’ households (households that weren’t present in 1982) and more ‘disappeared’ households (households that were present in 1982, but had no clear descendant households in 2011) than other villages. Of the total number of disappeared households, 22 had household heads who had died without leaving an island replacement (all relations had either already established separate island households by 1982, or were no longer living on Paama by 2011), nine household heads had migrated elsewhere (seven of these to Vila, and one each to Epi and Malakula) and three household heads had died and their partner had migrated elsewhere, the sequence of events being unclear. ‘Other’ households belonged to the family of a nurse and teacher, who presumably had been posted elsewhere by 2011. Two of the five Liro Area families classed as temporarily absent in 1982 were again living on Paama in 2011, however it was unclear what had become of the remaining three.

Case Study 6.2: A widow without family on Paama

Mary, a widow, was approximately 80 years old and lived alone on Paama. Her adult daughter and two sons all lived in Vila, and had done so for an extended period. The eldest son, Noel, held a prestigious job, and had built a large, mostly complete, Western-style brick house on Paama. He had never lived in this house, but had used it once or twice when he came to visit his mother. Instead, he rented it out to visiting volunteers who found themselves stationed on the island. Mary preferred to stay in her own house, a dilapidated corrugated iron dwelling without a well or access to electricity. In 2011, Mary had just returned from two years spent in Vila with her children. While they wanted her to remain permanently in town, Mary chose to return home to Paama. She had decided that her most recent visit to Vila was to be her final urban stay, as she was old now, and wanted to remain on her island. Mary was still able to make a small garden close to her house, and was relatively agile. Her children sent her anything she needed, and were able to contact her via other family members’ mobile phones. Nonetheless, there were many forms of support – for example, assistance in the garden - that could not be provided via remittances, and thus as she grew older, a greater responsibility for her care fell on her fellow villagers.
### Table 6.2: Household change 1982-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Number of Disappeared Households</th>
<th>Percent Disappeared Households</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Migrated</th>
<th>Dead &amp; Migrated</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liro</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liro Nesa</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asuas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voravor</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Calculation based on number of households present in 1982.*

---

**Figure 6.1:** Abandoned houses belonging to long-term migrants were a common sight in Liro Area villages, Paama 2011

In 2011, there were slightly more Liro Area women (160) than men (149) resident on Paama (Figure 6.2). This was in part due to the male dominated nature of circular migration. However, taking into account temporary absentees\(^{31}\), the female population (171) was still slightly higher than the male population (166). This can be attributed to the greater longevity of women, with 19 widows\(^{32}\) and only two widowers classed as usual rural residents.

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\(^{31}\) Consistent with Haberkorn’s (1987) methodology, temporary absentees were classified as those not in residence at the time of fieldwork, whose primary place of residence was the village, as identified by other usual rural residents. Those who had left the island for Vila/Santo, but had not yet established themselves there, were classed as temporary absentees, as villagers still considered them a part of the rural community. This was most common amongst young adults.

\(^{32}\) All but one of these were elderly.
The male rural population remained relatively constant over the two study periods, with a total of 153 and 166 male residents in 1982 and 2011 respectively. Similarly, the total female population of 163 in 1982 had only increased by eight, to 171 in 2011. Again, this was linked to the practice of leaving a single family member, their spouse and (young) children on Paama to look after rural interests, while the rest of the family resided elsewhere. However, while the rural population remained a similar size, temporary absenteeism had decreased in significance, with only 17 males and 11 females temporarily absent in 2011. This was almost half the level recorded in 1982, when 41 males and 19 females were temporarily away from Paama (Figure 6.3). While males tended to circulate for employment, females fell into two categories; those who travelled for employment (many of these participated in the RSE scheme), and those who travelled to spend time with family (primarily widows visiting urban based children). Significantly, periods of temporary absenteeism which generally lasted one to two years in 2011, were much longer than has been previously recorded for Vanuatu. During the 1960s-70s (Bedford 1973) and 1980s (Haberkorn 1987), circular migrants spent an average six months away from home. However, while this was once linked to agricultural seasons, evidence from Paama and elsewhere within Vanuatu suggests this association was largely historical (Bedford 1973; Bastin 1985; Haberkorn 1987). Longer periods of absenteeism in 2011 reflected not only the decreased reliance on agricultural calendars for determining moves (already evident during the 1980s), but also the larger kin networks able to support temporary absentees in destination areas.

33 A further seven males and three females had participated in circular migration in the past, and planned on future (temporary) absences from the island.
There are two possible explanations for decreases in temporary absenteeism in 2011. Firstly, many of those who were classed as temporarily absent in 1982, may have since established themselves elsewhere, and thus become permanent absentees. Secondly, it is likely that by 2011, rural based circulation had decreased in significance. From Haberkorn’s rural census of 1982, 35 individuals (30 males, five females), primarily household heads and/or their spouses, can be identified as temporary absentees (Table 6.3). Many of these individuals were already aged in their thirties or forties by 1982, and almost half were dead by 2011. Of those who survived, only four males were still participating in circular migration; two were absent in Vila and identified as circular migrants by other Paamese, and two were present on Paama, but believed they might participate in employment related temporary migration again. For these men, circular migration represented a longterm livelihood strategy (Case Study 6.3, and Section 6.8). Six individuals who were classified as temporarily absent in 1982, still resided in their ‘temporary’ homes in 2011; three remained in Vila, while two were living on Epi, and one on Malakula. It was not possible to determine the location of death for deceased individuals, and hence ascertain whether they had continued circulating, or settled permanently away from Paama before they died.
Table 6.3: Location of 1982 temporary absentees in 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location 1982</th>
<th>Vila</th>
<th>Santo</th>
<th>Malakula</th>
<th>Epi</th>
<th>SE Ambrym</th>
<th>Paama</th>
<th>Dead</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vila</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (1)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE Ambrym</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5 (2)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11 (2)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Numbers in brackets represent those still participating in employment related circular migration in 2011.

Case Study 6.3: Circular migrants

Aged 49, Morris had been supporting his family via circular migration for over three decades. After failing the Year Seven entrance exam, Morris was taught carpentry by his father, who was himself a carpenter. In 2010, Morris had returned to Paama for Christmas after two years working in construction in Vila. As his construction job had ended, Morris decided to remain on the island. While he had no concrete plans to do so, he intended to return to Vila in the future to work. If another construction job became available, his urban family members would send word that there was work waiting for him. When he stayed in town, Morris relied upon his extended kin network to provide accommodation. Vila was the only location Morris travelled to for work, as this was the sole place such employment was available, since Vila based construction teams tended to move to other islands as necessary to complete local projects.

Morris’ earnings were the family’s primary source of income, and in 2011 they were living mainly off his savings. Other economic activities were limited to fishing and selling garden produce, mats, and cigarettes. The latter had been purchased by Morris while in Vila. Morris’ goal was to earn money in order to pay his daughters’ school fees, and, when employed, he sent regular cash remittances back to Paama. Morris felt he needed to travel to Vila to find work, as it was difficult to accrue large sums of money on the island. While he was away, his wife remained on Paama to care for their children and look after the garden. Carpentry was a sought after skill on the island, and although wages were lower than in town, in 2011, Morris was able to earn a small rural income through his work on the new youth centre under construction in the Liro Council Area.
The importance of two hitherto primary destinations for temporary absentees, plantation work on Malakula and employment on ships, had greatly decreased by 2011, and contributed to lower rates of temporary absenteeism. Nonetheless, circular migration remained possible, primarily through RSE or construction work, and absences generally lasted as long as it took to complete a particular project. Therefore, while circulation remained possible, the preference for this form of mobility had greatly decreased by 2011.

6.2 Age structure

The age structures of Liro Area villages are shown in Figures 6.4-6.9. Ni-Vanuatu place less emphasis on age than do Western cultures, and many Paamese were therefore unable to provide their exact age, or that of relatives. A summary of unknown ages by gender is provided in Table 6.4. Where a parent could provide their child’s school year level, an estimation of age was made. In some instances, dates of birth provided by villagers differed from those recorded in Haberkorn’s census. Where a child was relatively young in 1982, Haberkorn’s dates have been used, as parents had a better knowledge of ages for children under five years old. Where adults provided different ages for themselves in 1982 and 2011, an average age was calculated. There was no pattern to these variations, and this generally did not affect the five year age bracket to which villagers were assigned. Nonetheless, age data only represent a ‘best estimate’ scenario.

![Figure 6.4: Liro Area Population, 2011](image-url)
Figure 6.5: Liro Area Population, 1982  
Source: Haberkorn (1987)

Table 6.4: Summary of unknown ages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approximate Age</th>
<th>Liro</th>
<th>Liro Nesa</th>
<th>Asuas</th>
<th>Voravor</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly#</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Roughly covers ages from 18-60 years.  
#Roughly those aged over 60 years.
Figure 6.6: Population distribution of Liro, 2011

Figure 6.7: Population distribution of Asuas, 2011

Figure 6.8: Population distribution of Voravor, 2011

Figure 6.9: Population distribution of Liro Nesa, 2011
From the above population pyramids, it is evident that population was concentrated in the younger age groups. This was consistent with household composition; larger households contained a number of young children, a pattern unchanged since 1982. There was little indication that Paamese were living for longer in 2011, a fact attributed by villagers to the influx of unhealthy (store bought) foods and associated lifestyle diseases. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, outmigration accounted for the sharp decrease in young adults present on the island. While already notable in 1982, the decrease was less pronounced than in 2011, and affected males more than females, a reflection of changes to gendered mobility norms. While it remained high, in 2011 the dependency ratios of 1.0 for the de jure and 0.99 total (including temporary absentees) populations had decreased since 1982 when they were 2.0 and 1.5 respectively (Haberkorn 1987)\textsuperscript{34}. This was consistent with smaller average household sizes in 2011, and decreased engagement in circular migration. A more balanced de jure adult sex ratio in 2011 (92) as compared to 1982 (84) similarly reflected the reduction in (male) circular migration. Taking temporary absentees into account, the sex ratio was slightly more balanced in 1982 (100) than 2011 (95) due to the relatively larger number widows (17) than widowers (2) living on the island in 2011.

6.3 Marital status

In Vanuatu, marriage is almost universal once individuals reach their mid-twenties. While it was generally accepted that couples would often produce one or more children before marriage, there existed a strong (church influenced) social pressure for rural residents to marry. Therefore, of all Liro Area residents of or above marriageable age, only 14% (10) of males and 6% (5) of females, had never married or were not living in a marriage like relationship. As noted in Chapter 4, traditional marriage involved a system of sister exchange, and while the theoretical importance of marrying according to kastom was widely accepted, in 2011 few rural Paamese had wed traditional marriage partners. Hess (2009) has described a similar scenario on Vanua Lava. Close proximity to Epi, Lopevi\textsuperscript{35}, Ambrym and Malakula meant it was not uncommon for Paamese men to marry women from these islands, and in 2011, only a minority of marriages were to partners from other locations (Table 6.5). Those who had married women from islands further afield including Erromango and Banks, had met their partners during periods living away from Paama.

\textsuperscript{34} Consistent with census calculations (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011), dependency ratios consider the working age population to be those aged 15-59 years.

\textsuperscript{35} As the island of Lopevi no longer has any permanent inhabitants, those identifying as man-Lopevi in fact live in a number of locations, most notably on Epi.
Table 6.5: Place of origin of Liro Area women, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of origin</th>
<th>Women (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambrym</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erromango(^\wedge)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lopevi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paama</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanna(^\wedge)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^\wedge\)Men have not been included in this table, as discounting government employees and one exception, all men resident in the Liro Area in 2011 were living in their place of origin.

\(^\wedge\)One woman-Erromango and one woman-Tanna both had a Paamese parent, and hence were considered half Paamese.

In 1982, Haberkorn (1987, 1989) reported that increasing braedpraes was contributing to outmigration of young men who could not raise funds locally to pay for their marriages. As young men were able to earn relatively larger incomes in town, and use the money to pay higher braedpraes, a feedback loop was created whereby rising braedpraes not only necessitated, but was fuelled by outmigration. By 1982, marriages had become expensive enough that they were rarely performed (Gerald Haberkorn, pers comm, 2nd September 2014). In 2011 however, group weddings, where several couples were married in the same ceremony, had become common both on Paama and elsewhere in Vanuatu (Hess 2009). These group weddings reduced the economic outlay required by individuals\(^{36}\), and as a result, concern over braedpraes had diminished. Instead, school fees had come to represent the most pressing economic concern for villagers (Sections 6.4 and 6.9). Concern over school fees, which were paid by both men and women, reflected both changing mobility norms, and increased female migration (Chapter 7).

In 2011, it was uniformly reported that braedpraes payments conformed to official rates set by the Malvatumauri, however individuals often seemed unsure of the exact price they had paid, and were likely providing answers they knew to be ‘correct’. Nonetheless, while marriage still involved great expense relative to rural incomes (Section 6.9), in 2011 men

\(^{36}\)While braedpraes itself remained unchanged (ie each male was still required to pay for his own wife), the cost associated with organising wedding feasts and other celebrations was reduced.
showed a general lack of concern over these costs. In fact, 18% of ever married households reported their braedpraes payments had not yet been completed, and a total 21% of men had paid braedpraes in instalments over a period of several years. Most of these unpaid marriages dated from the late 1990s onwards, with the longest period of non-payment being 26 years. Only 30% of these ‘delayed payment’ marriages had been, or were planning to be financed by off-island work, indicating that braedpraes no longer represented a motivation for leaving the island. Contrary to tradition, in just over half (53%) of the households who had not yet paid braedpraes, the husband wanted to pay for his wife without family assistance, as she was marrying (and ‘belonged’ to) him and not his family. A total 16% of ever-married households shared this view. This attitude was most concentrated amongst younger, more recently married men, however evidence from Papua New Guinea suggests that it may not be an altogether new belief (Macintyre 2011). Others claimed it was the family’s responsibility to assist with braedpraes payments, explaining it was their fasin (‘fashion’, way of doing things) to do so.

(i) So far only I have paid. I thought about it and decided that I wanted to pay by myself because my wife belongs only to me.37 (Male, 37 years, married 2005)

Not only were husbands less concerned about braedpraes payments, but many parents were beginning to appreciate the advantages of long-term support over a one-off payment. As noted above, traditionally after marriage a woman was not expected to support her own parents, and help was instead channelled to her husband’s family. However, as female education levels have risen, ongoing financial and other support from daughters, many of whom may have access to their own income, has become more valuable and expected. In 1982, Haberkorn (pers comm, 12th October 2011) found only one example of a married daughter, a nurse, who continued remitting to her parents. In contrast, by 2011 daughters were commonly sending remittances (Section 6.11). By refusing to accept full braedpraes payments, parents ensured their daughter and her husband would continue to provide (valuable) ongoing support over an extended period.

(ii) We have been telling our daughter that if she has a boyfriend, we don’t want him to pay a braedpraes for her. We think this because we’ve seen that when people pay braedpraes for a woman, they lose too much money. Afterwards, the woman has been

37 Direct quotes are translated from the original Bislama as accurately as possible, taking into account the context of comments and observations. Original Bislama versions are provided in Appendix D. Numbers shown in-text correspond to these translations in Appendix D.
paid for, but who will look after the man’s family, who will look after the woman’s family? What’s the point of paying all this money? (Female, 51 years)

Thus, by 2011 there was a shift away from completing braedpraes payments as women’s opportunities for and participation in wage employment had increased (Chapter 9), and their ability to contribute to the ongoing wellbeing of their natal family was recognised. This was particularly the case for families with fewer children, where the continued support of a married daughter could make a significant difference (Case Study 6.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Study 6.4: Reduced braedpraes payments</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David and Thelma lived on Paama with David’s elderly mother. They had two children who had survived into adulthood. A third daughter had died some years ago, after becoming handicapped as a result of illness. Their son lived and worked in Vila, while their daughter was employed as a teacher on Malakula. While she was not yet married, David and Thelma had told their daughter that should she find a boyfriend, they did not want him to pay a braedpraes for her. Rather, they would prefer that she and her future husband provided them with ongoing support and assistance. With only one son, and potentially only one child to rely on in the future, by refusing to accept a braedpraes payment, David and Thelma ensured their future security, and reduced the pressure their son would face as their sole provider of support.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4 Level of education

For rural Paamese, levels of educational attainment were heavily influenced by structural factors (Figure 6.10), and the vast majority of adults interviewed had completed their education in Year Six. This was commonly attributed to three main reasons: an inability to pay further school fees, lack of on-island facilities, and not passing the exam that had once existed for entry into Year Seven. In 2011, the Liro based Vaum Secondary School taught Year Seven through to Year Ten. However, this was a recent development, and in the past attending secondary school required relocation to a different island, which proved a barrier for some. Many of the older generation attended the missionary school that existed on Paama during their childhood. The most highly educated villagers had all received some form of formal bible school training, which had generally been completed in conjunction with a high school education. The only adult to attend tertiary education was a police officer who had only recently been posted to Paama.
In 2009, the Vanuatu Government announced the waiving of school fees at the primary school level, and in 2011 this policy provided a valuable reprieve for Liro Area parents. This, in combination with easy access to on-island secondary schooling, and the greater need for education to ensure ‘good’ employment (preferably something office based), meant that as for elsewhere in rural Vanuatu (Taylor 2008b), greater emphasis was placed on ensuring children were in school for as long as possible. School fees were thus commonly cited as the most pressing financial concern for parents. Liro Area villagers believed that more children were enrolled in school in 2011 than had been previously and, according to the principal, only three school age children were unable to attend due to financial reasons. It is therefore likely that the average level of education amongst usual rural residents will increase in the future.

(iii) *The first thing that you have to invest in is school fees, because if you don’t pay school fees, you ruin your childrens’ future [...] Our priority is the children.*

*Everything else is less important. After you’ve paid for school fees you can work on other projects. They can wait. But children only have one chance to get their education. That’s it. If you miss out, you don’t get a second chance, so education has become the priority* (Male, 42 years)

Importantly, education provided a potential means for accessing social prestige, as it increased the likelihood of securing a ‘good’ urban job, which in turn made remitting less of a financial burden. Supporting on-island family and contributing to community events via remittances brought prestige for migrants and their families. As has been described for
successful businesses in Samoa therefore, educational success was not valued in and of itself, but rather for the access it provided to cash incomes and social outcomes (Cahn 2008).

6.5 Access to garden land

Paama is a small island with a large population. According to estimates by Siméoni and Lebot (2012), access to good arable land\textsuperscript{38} on Paama roughly equates to 2 ha/household. This is among the lowest areas anywhere in Vanuatu, and is considerably below the national mean of 10.2 ha/household. Despite an increasing reliance on imported foodstuffs, Paamese households relied heavily on subsistence agriculture to provide the bulk of their daily food requirements (D'Arcy 2011), and land access was thus closely linked to food security. Outmigration from Paama, which maintained the population at a relatively stable level, and in turn ensured adequate access to garden land, therefore involved an element of survival (Haberkorn 1987). In 2011, this was widely acknowledged by rural residents, and while maintaining that it would be ‘better’ if all Paamese lived on Paama, they agreed that the island was small, and the large scale repatriation of migrant Paamese would most likely result in land shortages.

(iv) A lot of people have left. There are only a few of us who are still on Paama, but the land belonging to everyone who has left is still here. They don’t use it [so we can]. But I think if everyone came back one day, [...] there wouldn’t be enough land for everyone. (Male, 76 years)

In 2011 subsistence agriculture functioned as the mainstay of Paamese livelihoods, and villagers unanimously reported that they currently had access to enough land to provide for their household’s food requirements. However a small minority were unable to plant sandalwood or other cash crops due to land constraints. Others expressed concern over what might happen in the future should the population increase.

(v) Right now we still have enough [land] because a lot of Paamese live in Vila. So it means that we are still able to make gardens. One day, maybe around 2020, things will start to become tight. (Male, 43 years)

\textsuperscript{38} Accessible good arable land is defined as the area of good soils accessible without constraints (ie not under lease or used for plantations) per household (Siméoni & Lebot 2012). This figure assumes that land is divided equally between households, and does not reflect the reality of the situation. Nonetheless, it adequately demonstrates the limited land area available for on-island agricultural production.
In 2011, sharing was an important means for maintaining adequate access to land. Arrangements were flexible, however only crops that could be harvested and removed were permitted to be planted on borrowed land. Upon harvesting, it was expected that those borrowing the land would show their appreciation by giving a little food to the land owner. However, this was not compulsory, and it was up to the individual as to whether or not they chose to show their appreciation in this manner.

During the 1980s, it was *tabu* (‘taboo’, forbidden) to sell food crops that had been planted on borrowed land (Haberkorn 1987). In 2011, this was no longer the case, and both food and kava were planted on land belonging to others, and sold to earn *smol vatu*. However, profits from sales remained minimal (Section 6.9). Using borrowed land to erect dwellings or plant trees, both acts which implied a greater degree of permanence, was less common.

In 1982, 51% of households in the Liro Area planted all of their gardens on their own land, while 30% planted more than half their gardens on others’ land (Haberkorn 1989). Similarly, in 2011 34% of households gardened on borrowed land, or sometimes used others’ land if invited. Of these only 14% were exclusively using others’ land, while 85% were using others’ land in combination with their own. More than half (55%) of all households either had land in use by others, or let others use their land (for planting gardens) if they were asked. Use of others’ land was not necessarily a reflection of a given household’s own land holdings. Rather, villagers were often invited to use land belonging to others, or utilised land they were minding for absent relatives. In general, villagers were happy to share their land with others, and doing so was considered a part of Paamese culture.

(vi) They have [their own land], but our culture is different. If you are a part of my family, and you want to work on my land, you come and ask. It doesn’t matter if you have your own gardens, your own land, but if you want to work [on my land], you come and ask, and you can. You use the land while the food is growing, but the land belongs to me. (Male, 54 years)

Should absent family members return to Paama, those using their land would have to cede use to the rightful owners. To many however, this was an unlikely, and somewhat amusing scenario, as demonstrated by the response below, when a villager was asked whether her brothers would take their land back, should they return to Paama. Land left in the care of others was therefore technically usufruct.
(vii) Yes. I don’t know. [Laughing] Will they come back, or won’t they? But there is a lot of land, so even though it’s their land, they are kind hearted and let us work on it. Yes, my brothers wouldn’t sabotage us. (Female, 45 years)

While in 1982 some Liro Area families were functionally landless (Haberkorn 1987), no-one self-identified as such in 2011. Although it is likely that some families were still functionally landless, this was not perceived as a significant problem. The main issues associated with lack of land ownership were potential insecurity, and the barrier to planting long-term cash crops. However, as kava, the main cash crop, was able to be planted on others’ land, this did not pose a serious problem. This was consistent with Haberkorn’s (1987) observation that only 44% of household in 1982 identified a lack of land as a barrier to participating in cash cropping, with issues including poor returns on work input considered significantly more important. Therefore, while it cannot be denied that Paama is a small island, high outmigration in combination with flexible land use arrangements ensured that land access did not pose a significant problem for Liro Area villagers.

### 6.6 Gardens under cultivation

In 2011, Liro Area households had an average of 3.1 gardens under cultivation\(^39\). This was a significant decrease from the average five gardens per household in 1982 (Haberkorn 1987, 1989) (Table 6.6). However, as gardens were of variable size, the average number of gardens may not reflect the area of land under cultivation \(\textit{per se}\)^40. Similarly, seasonal variation may account for these differences as fieldwork in 1982 was conducted at a different time of year to that in 2011. The presence of a twice weekly market in the Liro Council Area, and the importance of bread and rice, particularly in preparing communal or celebratory meals, may also have contributed to this decrease. In 1982, there was no local market house, and while very few Liro Area women sold produce at the market in 2011 (Section 6.8), it did provide them with an avenue for purchasing \textit{aelan kakae} (island food) when they were not able to visit their own gardens. Regardless, the fact that households unanimously believed they had

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\(^{39}\) D’Arcy (2011) reported that in 2011, households in Liro and Liro Nesa had an average of 3.3 gardens each. These figures however, were based on a partial village sample of 25 households from Liro and 24 from Liro Nesa.

\(^{40}\) Measuring and mapping land is a notoriously controversial activity. During his 1982 fieldwork, Haberkorn (1987) was warned to steer clear of land issues, and after drawing rough sketches of the four Liro Area villages, was asked to explain his behaviour at the \textit{nakamal}. For this reason, as well as issues of practicality, garden areas were not measured in 2011.
enough land for their own food requirements indicates that, again, land access was not an issue in 2011.

Table 6.6: Average number of gardens under cultivation by village 2011 & 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of gardens</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>1982*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liro Nesa Asuas Voravor</td>
<td>Liro Area</td>
<td>Liro Nesa Asuas Voravor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liro Nesa Asuas Voravor</td>
<td>Liro Area</td>
<td>Liro Nesa Asuas Voravor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Related to land access, disputes over land were not considered a significant problem in 2011. While small disagreements sometimes occurred, these could be readily solved in the *nakamal*. As is the case elsewhere in Vanuatu (Taylor 2008b; Hess 2009), it was only when money became involved, primarily in the form of land rents, that major problems arose. This was reflected in the ongoing disagreement over Liro Council Area ownership that had been in and out of court for several years, a common process for such disputes (de Burlo 1989). As of November 2011, the decision was still under appeal.

(viii) If you go and make a house and don’t pay [the landowner], if it is just free, it will be alright. But if you want to pay a small amount of rent to [the landowner], someone else will come and say that the land is theirs. They’ll argue because of this.
(Male, 61 years)

As land disputes were disagreeable, a number of villagers had made a conscious decision not to *toktok from graon* (talk/argue because of land). Consistent with Haberkorn’s (1987) observations, many villagers claimed land access issues were more common in South Paama. Perhaps most significantly, several women remarked that land disputes should be avoided because ‘God brings you into the world without land, and you leave without it; you cannot take land with you when you are buried’. Without debating the strong link between land and identity (Haberkorn 1987; Bonnemaison 1994; Hess 2009), it is interesting to note the modern overtones of these beliefs. As women did not stand to inherit land, their status may have influenced these statements, and they cannot be taken as a wider indicator of changing attitudes. However, for some at least, land did not represent the most crucial element of life and livelihoods.
6.7 Access to land elsewhere

In 2011, 21 individuals across 19 (23%) households owned land on other islands. This remained at a similar level to the 20% reported by Haberkorn (1987) for 1982. Land had been purchased by villagers themselves, or inherited from husbands or fathers, although two households owned land via kastom arrangements. Two villagers had purchased land in two different locations, but in general, land was concentrated in a single location (Figure 6.11).

Figure 6.11: Location of off-island land holdings, 2011 (N=21)

Land on outer islands was purchased prior to independence in 1980, either from kastom owners or French plantation owners preparing to depart the soon to be ex-colony. Up until the 1980s, this land was used primarily for planting trees and other crops that could not be planted on borrowed land (Haberkorn 1987). Urban land purchases were not common until after independence, reflecting the greater availability of land on outer islands prior to 1980 when constitutional changes recognised the inalienability of land. As independence approached, land disputes on Epi and elsewhere made the purchase of outer island land both less feasible and less appealing.

Ideological factors similarly influenced the location of land purchases. As the availability and appeal of plantation and agricultural work decreased (Vanuatu Young People's Project 2008), so too did the utility of purchasing land on outer islands. Instead, land in Vila, and more recently Santo, became both more readily available and more lucrative. The most common way to earn money from urban land was through the construction and letting of rental properties. Such properties not only ensured a steady income flow, but also filled a much needed gap in the urban formal housing market. All villagers who owned land in Vila
or Santo either wanted to construct a house (most commonly, this was identified as a rental property), or owned one (or several) already (Figure 6.12). Where other family members were caretaking off-island land, it was generally used for gardening. However, in several cases family members were living in already constructed houses on this land.

![Figure 6.12: Off-island land use 2011 (N=32): more than one response possible](image)

Some 10% of households had access to land on other islands that they did not themselves own. In most cases villagers had been invited to use this land by family, either classificatory or biological. Planting kava, an important cash crop, was the most common use for such land, however two households chose to plant food crops (Figure 6.13). When asked if they owned or planned to purchase land elsewhere, several villagers replied that this was something only migrants did, and they had access to their own kastom land on Paama. Again, for those left on Paama at least, access to land was not perceived as a problem.

![Figure 6.13: Location and use of off-island land owned by others, 2011 (N=8)](image)
6.8 Livelihoods

By 1982, all Liro Area households were in some way incorporated into the cash economy. Haberkorn (1987) commented on the universal ownership of store bought possessions including essential kitchen items, pillows and sheets, and the proliferation of European style houses. By 2011, ownership of electrical items such as televisions and DVD players was widespread, particularly within Liro where villagers had easy access to electricity via the province’s generator. As in 1982, the number of knives, forks and other ‘essential’ items did not reflect a family’s income, but rather their needs. Similarly, European style houses, while an indication of involvement in the cash economy at some point, did not necessarily reflect current incomes or wage earning opportunities.

In order to determine the variety of livelihood opportunities available on Paama, households were asked what strategies they employed to earn money. Data presented in Figure 6.14 illustrate this range of activities, however do not reflect their frequency. Therefore, while 20% of households sold fish, this occurred infrequently, and only two villagers employed by a small business owner to do so, fished on a regular basis. Similarly, although most women could weave mats, and 28% of households sold them, sales were sporadic at best. Only 18% of households, or 10% of the resident adult Paamese population, were engaged in formal employment that received a regular wage. This included a pastor, nurse aide, kindergarten teachers, policemen and the Area Secretary. However, considering the self employed (those who owned a store, or other small business), and those employed by other villagers to perform a given task on a regular basis, this figure jumps to 39% of all households. Such local private employment received token payments, whereas wages for formal employment ranged from 5,000-25,000 vatu/month – although these had not increased significantly since 1982. Payment of formal wages was often delayed, as in the case of a nurse aide who was back-paid for the first three years of her employment, or less than the official amount, as for a pastor whose income was determined by tithes. However, as in 1982, income itself was often less important than the prestige associated with holding a respected position in the community (Haberkorn 1987).

41 Despite the theoretically abundant supply of fresh fish, the popularity of fishing has remained low since at least 1982 (Haberkorn 1987). Rather, villagers more commonly consumed tinned fish as a part of their regular diets.

42 Small businesses involved villagers selling fuel or other store bought items from their house, or providing a service such as grass cutting with a whipper snipper in exchange for cash.
Figure 6.14: Livelihood strategies employed by Liro Area households, 2011 (N=83)
Access to (semi) regular rural wage employment had increased significantly since 1982, when only 18% of households and 8% of the adult population had access to some form of regular income (Haberkorn 1987) (Table 6.7). This was in part due to a diversification of livelihood opportunities associated with the recent establishment of Vaum Secondary School. While only one Liro Area woman worked as a teacher, other villagers were able to secure handyman, construction and other work. With the help of urban kin, various niche markets had also been cornered. One family was sent a whipper snipper by their urban son, and charged other villagers to trim their lawns, a service generally employed for larger, communally owned areas. Nonetheless, businesses remained similar in style to those of 1982 (offering goods or service for payment), and as in Samoa (Cahn 2008), many ‘copy-cat’ (or, as Paamese called them, ‘monkey’) businesses existed. Importantly, all self-employment opportunities required some form of outside input, whether a period of off-island work, or financial support from urban based kin. This kin-based support was ongoing in order to ensure the continued viability of businesses.

Table 6.7: Percent of households with a rural income earner, 1982 & 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liro</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liro Nesa</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asuas</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voravor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liro Area</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source: Haberkorn (1987)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Store owners, and others with semi-regular forms of income often prioritised economic activities over subsistence agriculture. As one store owner put it:

(ix) I don’t make a lot of gardens, because I have a store to run. That’s it, that’s why I don’t have more time to make gardens. (Male, 49 years)

During the 1980s, copra represented Paama’s main cash crop. However, as in similar small Papua New Guinean islands, poor economic returns from what is a labour intensive task, meant copra was generally an unpopular livelihood strategy (Hayes 1993). This remained true in 2011, and although high copra prices saw 58% of households participate in copra production (Figure 6.15), this was the first time in roughly 10-20 years that Liro Area villagers had made copra on a notable scale. Households not participating in copra production in 2011 were headed by older individuals, or single females who did not have the pawa
(‘power’, strength) to make copra themselves. As in 1982 (Haberkorn 1987), the availability of land for cash cropping was not itself considered a barrier to producing copra (or other cash crops). Rather, Paamese chose to deliberately disengage from copra production due to low or unstable copra prices and inadequate renumeration for the input required to produce the copra.

As has been recorded for elsewhere in Vanuatu (Taylor 2008b), by 2011 kava represented Paama’s most popular cash crop\footnote{Kava was generally sold in small quantities on Paama, however a minority of villagers sent kava to kin in Vila to sell on their behalf.}, and several men were operating kava bars within the Liro Area (Figures 6.16 and 6.17). However, while Wilson (2013) found sandalwood to be an important cash crop on Aniwa\footnote{This was linked to a particular entrepreneur on Aniwa with urban wood interests.}, on Paama in 2011, sandalwood was relatively new and only a handful of households owned seedlings (Figure 6.18). This was in large part due to problems of access (seeds could not be purchased on the island), and cost (many villagers found the price of 50 vatu per seedling to be prohibitive)\footnote{For most villagers the time investment for growing sandalwood (roughly 20 years) did not cause concern. A few villagers had planted ‘whitewood’ rather than sandalwood, another tree that could be harvested for timber. Seeds for whitewood were said to be more easily accessible than those for sandalwood.}. This was again consistent with Haberkorn’s (1987) observations that land access, although a limiting factor, was attributed little importance by villagers when they explained their disengagement from planting certain cash crops.
Due to a shortage of teacher housing, two Liro Area households were able to earn a reasonable income providing accommodation for teachers from other islands. One household charged 8,000 vatu/month for a room, although it had no lodgers during April-June 2011. The other charged 10,000 vatu/month and was occupied for the entirety of this period. Accommodation for visitors was offered through the Liro based Tavir guesthouse, established in 1989 (1,500 vatu/night for a bed), and a more recently established tourist bungalow located in Voravor (1,000 vatu/night). While the Tavir guesthouse was often full during my stay on Paama, the Voravor bungalow did not receive any visitors due to its greater distance from the Liro Council Area. Visitors were most commonly government or other officials who had business to attend to on Paama. While tourists had visited the island in the past, as for Aniwa (Wilson 2013) a lack of publicity, infrastructure and attractions ensured such visitors remained few and far between.

While only a minority of households sold livestock (chickens, cows and pigs) to generate income, most villagers who owned animals would sell them if approached. Some 22% of
households owned cows, and over half (58%) owned pigs (Figure 6.19). Rearing livestock (namely cows or pigs), was considered a means of saving money during community celebrations, particularly weddings, for which these animals were used. However, raising pigs was labour intensive due to the requirement not only to feed them, but also to ensure they did not escape from their pens. If an escaped pig destroyed another villager’s garden, compensation was expected. For this reason, many older individuals, single headed households, and those with other income earning opportunities chose not to keep pigs. The sharp decrease in pig ownership between 1982 and 2011 can thus be explained by the relatively greater access to cash earning opportunities, and associated ability to purchase pigs when needed. Cows were not commonly kept due to limited availability of grazing land, consistent with limited cattle ownership in the past (Haberkorn 1987). Chickens were by far the easiest animal to care for, as they roamed the villages, and lived off food scraps, and thus almost all households (97%) kept chickens. Furthermore, unlike cows or pigs, chickens could be more easily slaughtered to provide a meal, without incurring a great financial loss. Several older individuals had received chickens as remittances from kin with instructions to raise and sell them when they were ready.

Selling food was perhaps the easiest way to earn money, and generally done by women. Almost half (46%) of all households sold green kakae, while 18% sold cooked food such as laplap. However, while there was a regular market held in Liro, few households used this opportunity to sell food. Of those who specified sales, 28% sold food from their house, 23%
‘made a market’ (again often from their house), and 15% sold food to the school in order to pay school fees. Over several months of visiting the Liro market, I frequently observed Liro Area women purchasing items that they did not plant in their own gardens, or did not have time to harvest, however rarely witnessed them selling produce themselves. This lack of market participation was attributed to ‘shame’ and a reluctance to sell goods in public.

On Vanua Lava, Hess (2009) commented on the manner in which food was being sold for profit. In the past, only cash crops had been sold, whereas food had been used to maintain relationships. On Paama too, food transactions had become increasingly monetised, a fact lamented by many villagers.

(x) Yes, we sell things like food. If someone wants to buy something, we sell it to them. Now we sell food, but before we didn’t sell it, we would just give it away. If someone came, you would give them some food to eat. This is what life was like on the island before. You wouldn’t pay for food. But now, I’ve noticed that if you ask for food, you have to pay for it. (Male, 76 years)

Preparing and selling Western style foods including the ever popular bread and gato (a savoury fried bread) (Figures 6.20-6.22), had a greater barrier to entry than selling other foodstuffs, requiring not only the skills to cook the bread (many without access to an oven, used a sealed saucepan), but also the purchase of ingredients. One villager who knew how to make gato lamented:

(xi) But because I don’t have enough money to pay for flour, yeast, oil, all of these things, I don’t make them. I just make mats because I plant pandanus, so it’s easier for me. (Female, 21 years)

Those with enrolled children were able to sell food to the school at their own discretion, however others had to make arrangements to do so. Purchases were based on what the school kitchen required at any given time.
The requirement to purchase base ingredients meant the profitability of making *gato* and bread was questionable. Those who had access to flour via remittances were able to themselves make a profit, however for others economic inputs often equalled outputs. Regardless of how the ingredients were sourced however, profits remained low and ranged from roughly 600 vatu/week for small-scale production (approximately 30 *gato*/week), to 3,000 vatu/week (approximately 150 *gato*/week).

In 2011, there were eight stores of various sizes operating in the Liro Area. Establishing a business required considerable investment, and all stores received support through off-island work, whether by a migrant relative, or the store owner’s own past urban work experience. Small businesses thus operated in a similar fashion to those in Papua New Guinea, where investment in small enterprises was akin to other more traditional forms of kin collaboration such as *braedpraes* contributions. Organising and coordinating these investments was not a simple task, and required the skills of a leader (Curry 1999). Similarly, Liro Area store owners all held a position of influence in the village, whether through the church or chiefly titles. Paamese store owners were reluctant to reveal their profits, however as is common throughout the Pacific (Curry 1999; Cahn 2008), anecdotal evidence suggests that stores operated at a minimal profit (Figure 6.23).
Despite the almost universal existence of signs such as that in Figure 6.23, non-payment of accounts was rarely pursued.

(xii) Yes, it’s just family [who don’t pay their accounts], so I had to make a notice like this. [...] I feel a little bit bad because I think about my family, and they’re more important than money [...] So when family makes an account, you just note it down. When they think of it, they’ll come and pay. But you can’t stay angry with your family, they’re more important than money. (Male store owner, 41 years)

It was believed that stores ‘helped’ other villagers by bringing ‘development’\textsuperscript{47} to the island. Smith (2012) has recorded a similar discourse in relation to the construction of houses on Epi by returned RSE workers. Store owners were considered mean if they didn’t assist the elderly or less well off, and were expected to contribute items such as bags of rice whenever there was a community event. Doing so ensured that they were not targetted by nakaimas, and

\textsuperscript{47} I was never able to obtain a satisfactory local definition for the term ‘development’, perhaps because there was none. Most Paamese had an idea that it was associated with things like permanent houses, electricity and running water, and that it was a positive thing to aspire to. This uncertainty regarding the definition of development is not unique to Paamese, and has been commented on by Connell (2007), Smith (2002) and others, for the case of Papua New Guinea.
importantly assisted in enhancing social standing. Successful businesses were therefore measured in both economic and social terms (Curry 1999; Cahn 2008).

Circular migration for wage employment took several forms, and represented a livelihood strategy for 28% of households. For 30% of these households, a young, unmarried family member had either recently left Paama in search of employment, or had done so in the past, and thought they might do so again. Some 35% of households engaging in circular migration had an absent husband who was currently employed. One of these men was working on Santo, while the others were all located in Vila. Just over a quarter (26%) of circular migrant households had a member who was either currently working in New Zealand as a part of the RSE programme, or had done so in the past. Only 16% of individuals who were participating in circular migration for wage employment were female, and all of them were young and unmarried. As in 1982 therefore, circular migration for wage employment remained dominated by males.

Various irregular income earning opportunities were also available to villagers. Women were often asked to prepare gardens for planting, or complete other, similar work for small sums of money. Payments however, were generally channelled back into women’s communal savings, and used towards future activities (normally PWMU related), rather than put towards household needs. Young, able bodied men were often asked to carry store supplies from the Liro beach to their destination, or to assist in general hard labour such as clearing bush for planting gardens. For their efforts they either received a token amount of money (20-50 vatu each) or were fed by the employer.

6.9 Rural income

Using an income and expenditure survey, average weekly incomes were calculated for a subset of households in Liro and Liro Nesa (Figure 6.24). Regular wages and small business activities generated the largest incomes, however these were not available to the majority of households. Due to their proximity to the Liro Council Area where the school and other services were located, households in Liro had relatively greater income earning opportunities than other villages in the Liro Area. This was reflected by the higher average weekly incomes of Liro households (3,156 vatu/week) as compared to Liro Nesa households

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48 It was effectively mandatory that such ‘payment’ meals should include rice and/or other store bought goods.
49 Time constraints and logistics made it impossible to administer the survey more widely. This survey was jointly administered with Madeline D’Arcy, and results are also presented in D’Arcy (2011).
(1,816 vatu/week). Significantly, while selling kava represented the most popular livelihood activity, it did not account for a substantial proportion of weekly incomes, reflecting the sporadic, needs-only basis of kava sales.

![Figure 6.24: Average weekly income earned from different activities, 2011 (N=27)](image-url)

In 1982, there was little variation in income between Liro Area households (Haberkorn 1987). However, as has been noted for elsewhere in rural Vanuatu (Hess 2009; Wilson 2013) by 2011, there was evidence of rural stratification. While it was not possible to accurately estimate store profits, the owners of the five largest stores each participated in a number of other activities that generated significant incomes; one store owner was also employed as a handyman, another had a number of small businesses related to the store that employed other villagers, and the remaining three were earning income from rental properties either on or off the island. While this may be a reflection of the capital required to establish a small business rather than business earnings per se (Wilson 2013), there is no doubt that these individuals had much greater access to income earning opportunities than the average villager. Importantly however, the successful running of a small business was not an individual venture, and required the support and assistance of family members (Case Study 6.5).
In 1982, Haberkorn (1987) noted that Liro Area household expenditure regularly exceeded incomes earned from on-island activities. This was similarly true in 2011, highlighting the continued importance of off-island income sources to meet these expenses. Figure 6.25

Table 6.5: Concentration of means

Walter was the only one of his brothers who resided on Paama. He had never lived away from the island for a significant period, and since leaving school had worked a steady stream of on-island jobs before finally opening his own business. A prominent church member, in 2011 Walter was one of the Liro Area’s most successful businessmen. Not only did he own a store, but he also ran several off-shoot businesses, including a second-hand clothing store, a bread baking oven, and boats used for fishing and transport. Until TVL disconnected landline services, Walter owned one of the island’s only private landlines, which villagers were able to use by purchasing phone credit and paying a nominal fee for the privilege. As she had regular access to the base ingredients, Walter’s wife often made large batches of gato, which she sold at the store in order to raise money for school fees. As he was kept busy with the store itself, Walter employed his son and classificatory brothers to work in his various businesses. When a shipment of cargo arrived, Walter paid the village boys (in either cash or kind) to carry it from the Liro beach to his store. Importantly, whenever there was community work to be done, Walter contributed generously. He was understanding of the plight of the elderly, particularly those who had no close relatives remaining on Paama, and regularly donated store goods to them. While not the most economically profitable approach, by sharing work amongst his brothers, and supporting community work and events, Walter insured himself against the jealousies of others.

While Walter was the ‘face’ of his businesses, he relied heavily on family help not only to establish his store, but to keep it running. The store itself was co-owned and partly funded by a classificatory brother who lived and worked in Vila, and his Vila based son often sent remittances. Walter’s other son stayed on Paama to provide assistance that required physical presence on the island. In 2011, one daughter was away working as a part of the RSE scheme for the second time. Walter and his wife decided that she should participate in the scheme to assist the business, which had been in trouble before her trip. When they were in Liro, Walter’s adult daughters worked as cashiers in the store, however in 2011, they were all living elsewhere. Unlike some store owners, Walter made his own orders for cargo, and did not rely on urban relatives. However, without the urban contacts provided by his son and business partner, and support from other family members, Walter would have been hard pressed to run the store himself.
outlines average weekly expenditure for Liro and Liro Nesa households in 2011. At 6,350 vatu/week Liro households had a greater average weekly expenditure than Liro Nesa households (5,168 vatu/week). Regular payments for generator use accounted for some, but not all of this difference.

As the new school term started during the survey period, school fees represented the largest household expense (Table 6.8). Although school fees were not necessarily paid on a weekly basis, they were an on-going cost to be met by households with school fee paying age children, and were cited by these households as their main expense. School fees aside, at roughly one third of total expenditure, food accounted for a significant proportion of weekly spending, consistent with patterns throughout Vanuatu (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2012).

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50 In the case of adopted children, it was often unclear exactly who was paying for school fees. Generally both biological and adopted parents claimed the expense, and it is likely that both families were contributing to some degree.
Table 6.8: Typical weekly, monthly & yearly expenditures, 2011a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expense</th>
<th>Weekly (vatu)</th>
<th>Monthly (vatu)</th>
<th>Yearly (vatu)</th>
<th>Yearly ($AUD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biscuits</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,160</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,160</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church donations</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,040</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generator connection</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15,600</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market produce</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20,800</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinned fish</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,200</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School fees</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47,000-50,000</td>
<td>495-526</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aSource: (D’Arcy, 2011)

In general, villagers believed it was difficult to earn money on Paama (Figure 6.26), and they often contrasted their own situation to that of other islands where tourists were more common (and thus handicrafts could be sold), and larger gardens meant planting copra and other cash crops was more profitable. There was no particular pattern to these responses; it was not exclusively economically successful villagers who believed it was easy to earn money on Paama, nor was it necessarily the economically disadvantaged who considered it difficult.

![Perceived ease of earning money on Paama, 2011 (N=75)](image-url)
6.10 Number of livelihood strategies employed

On Aniwa, Wilson (2013) recorded an average of seven livelihood strategies per household. On Paama in 2011, this was slightly lower, and households employed an average of five livelihood strategies (Table 6.9). As most of these strategies were undertaken when needed rather than at regular intervals, this is a fairly significant difference which can be explained by several factors. Firstly, with high rates of outmigration and extensive kin networks located in urban areas, Paamese had relatively easy access to off-island income earning opportunities, and associated remittances. Secondly, whereas Aniwa was known for its sweet oranges, which were exported to markets on Tanna and in Vila, Paama did not produce a comparable niche product for export. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, due to the weekly timetable in Liro Area villages, Paamese had little free time to invest in a variety of livelihood strategies. In contrast, on Aniwa villagers devoted only one day per week to community work, leaving them a relative abundance of free time to use as desired. On Paama however, villagers would often comment that they were unable to perform tasks such as weaving mats, repairing broken canoes, or running their own small business because of the time demanded of them by community commitments (Section 4.8). As discussed above, this is a long standing situation (Haberkorn 1987, 1989), and may itself have encouraged a reliance on remittances and off-island work.

Table 6.9 Average number of livelihood strategies per household, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Liro</th>
<th>Liro Nesa</th>
<th>Asuas</th>
<th>Voravor</th>
<th>Liro Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average number of strategies per household</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(xiii) I might [make another canoe], but I don’t know, I don’t know because there is a lot of work [...] Every day, every day [there are activities]. That’s what it’s like. So you can’t do anything. (Male, 37 years)

(xiv) Yes, there are a lot [of activities], so we can’t do anything. You sit down, and they say ‘Oh, everyone is going to do some work over there, come on, let’s go.’ There are too many activities [...] Every day there is something on for one of the organisations, or the chiefs, or the mothers, or the youth... Because it’s like this, you don’t have the opportunity to do anything for yourself. We’re always just doing community work. (Female, 41 years)
Not only did community activities make it difficult for Paamese to invest time in individual ventures, but activities themselves often required expenditure. This placed further pressure on villagers who did not have easy access to cash incomes, and proved that despite claims otherwise, not everything on the island was free.

(xv) Paama isn’t like other islands, on Paama you can’t rest. There is never a time when people aren’t asking for money. All the time it’s money, money, money. They play the tam-tam to call a meeting, and we go and they say that we need to give money for something, or there is going to be a fundraiser. There are lots of commitments, lots and lots [...] When you have money, you can participate [...] but when you don’t have money here, it’s hard. You can’t attend all of the activities that are organised. (Female, 47 years)

6.11 Remittances from an island perspective

Due to difficulties associated with tracing remittances, Haberkorn (1987, 1989) did not provide detailed remittance data for 198251. While remittance flows were under-reported in the 2011 income-expenditure data above, remittances provided an important source of income and support for usual rural residents, and reinforced ties with absent kin. Thus, despite geographical separation, rural residents identified urban Paamese as one of the island’s most important resources.

(xvi) There aren’t any resources to make money with [on Paama]. That’s what it’s like... People go to town, they work, and they help their family [on Paama]. They send things to help their family. (Male, 59 years)

(xvii) It’s hard, I have to tell you, it’s really hard [to earn money on Paama]. But everyone who lives on the island, I can tell you that they’re better at saving their money than those that live on a lot of the bigger islands. I say this because a man-Malakula came and asked [...] how we earn money here. I told him that there wasn’t any way to earn money [...] We depend on our family who work in Vila and on Santo. They’re our resource. If they send us a little bit of money, we save it, or we make good use of it. But if you don’t do this, you find life is hard [...] That’s how it works

51 Usual rural residents often claimed to have sent items that urban residents had not received and vice versa. While this may reflect the unreliability of available transport, it also made it difficult for Haberkorn (1987) to accurately determine the reality of the situation.
for every family. Paamese live in Vila, but most of the time they also look after their family on the island too. (Male, 66 years)

In 2011, only three Liro Area households did not send remittances, and two did not receive them. This was due either to a lack of family elsewhere to exchange items with, or old age, and hence an inability to produce surplus foodstuffs to remit. All other Liro Area households both sent and received remittances, and as has been reported elsewhere throughout the Pacific (Connell & Brown 2005), remittances were most commonly sent to and from close kin. Thus, amongst Liro Area Paamese, children of migrants were the most important senders and recipients of goods (Figures 6.27 and 6.28). While still in school, children generally received remittances from their parents, and were not required to reciprocate. However, once a child completed their education, they were expected to repay their parents’ investment via remittances. Significantly, both daughters and sons sent remittances. This was a departure from social norms of the past when (married) daughters did not remit (Gerald Haberkorn, pers comm, 12th October 2011), and reflects increased female education and employment levels. Nonetheless, brothers, who traditionally relied on one another for assistance, continued to send and receive remittances at a higher level than did sisters. A few women felt unable to ask their brothers for help; however, this tabu was less strict than in the past.

![Figure 6.27: Recipients of remittances sent by Liro Area residents, 2011: more than one response possible](image)

52 As remitting represented a strong social norm, it is possible that more households did not remit, or did not do so regularly, but did not wish to draw attention to this.

53 Lind (2014) also comments on this phenomenon, noting that it is only referred to as an investment when the investment is seen to have failed, i.e. when children do not reciprocate by providing their parents with financial or other support.
It was difficult to elicit specific frequencies for sending and receiving remittances (Table 6.10), however they were most frequently sent in response to requests for specific items. Working with Ambrymese, Eriksen (2008) found young single women to be the most reliable remitters. However, while absent daughters regularly remitted goods to Paama, it was not possible to ascertain whether they did so with greater frequency than their brothers. Children were the only relatives identified as regular recipients of remittances. This was supported by field observations, where villagers were often sighted sending or preparing items for their absent children.

Table 6.10: Frequency of remittances sent from and to Paama, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Sent (%)</th>
<th>Received (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every now and then</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upon request</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I/they think of it</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When there is lots of food</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In exchange for items sent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When transport is available</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)*</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some households sent and received remittances to and from multiple sources.
As for remittances sent from Paama, the majority of those received were first requested by villagers. Such requests were not necessarily unsolicited however, as many households were asked to notify urban kin when, for example, their supply of rice ran out. These requests therefore, were aimed at coordinating the timing of remittances, rather than making demands. Children sent unsolicited remittances with the greatest frequency, and received the greatest number of requests, consistent with field observations. As noted above, this was associated with the belief that children should return the investment parents had made in their education and up-bringing. One close informant would regularly list the items she was planning on requesting from her children. While she did not always follow through with these requests, there was an expectation that her children would comply. Similarly, whenever it was perceived that an elderly villager was not being adequately supported by his or her family, it was the children who bore the brunt of the blame. It was thus relatively easy to ascertain from village gossip who did and did not receive remittances on a regular basis.

Absent husbands who were engaged in circular wage migration were some of the most regular senders of remittances. This was particularly the case where they were working towards a specific goal, had been absent for shorter periods of time (two years or less) and/or maintained close contact with their wife and family on Paama. In these instances remittances were generally sent fortnightly, or at whatever interval wages were paid. Men who had been absent for longer periods, and were not in regular contact with their families tended to be unreliable and erratic in their remitting.

While most households sent and received remittances to and from unspecified family members, these were the least frequent remittances, and generally occurred for special events. For example, items were sent from Paama at Christmas, or aelan kakae, mats and other items were specifically requested by urban kin. Similarly, villagers would sometimes make remittance requests for island based celebrations including Mother’s Day and church fundraising events. More households received remittances in exchange for items that they themselves had sent, than sent remittances in exchange for items received. Thus, sending remittances (generally aelan kakae) to off-island kin was used as a means of requesting items in return.

The expectation that urban kin should send remittances represented a strong social norm, and only a minority of villagers felt hesitant about requesting items from family members. These
were all women, three out of four of whom did not have grown children or other close family members living in Vila or Santo of whom they could make requests.

(xviii) Yes, but they’re all married [with their own families to look after], so we don’t ask them for things. We just keep to ourselves. It’s only when we go to Vila that they help us. But when we come back to Paama, they don’t really support us [...] I’m scared to ask them for things. (Female, 59 years)

The overwhelming majority of remittances were sent to and received from Vila (Table 6.11), which was not only the primary destination for migrants (Section 7.2), but also where goods and services were concentrated. Furthermore, there were regular and frequent transport links to Vila, which enabled a relatively safe and more reliable passage for goods. Santo came in at a distant second, however with the rising popularity of Santo as a migration destination (Chapter 7), it is likely that this will increase in the future. A minority of remittances were received from relatives working overseas: one brother, and several sons living in Australia (permanently) and New Zealand (the temporary RSE programme) all remitted to rural relatives. In the case of seasonal work, remittances received may have been under-reported, however it appeared that goods were preferentially carried with the individual upon their return to Paama, rather than actively remitted while the worker was away. International remittances were unidirectional, and no households sent remittances overseas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Remittances sent (%)</th>
<th>Remittances received (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vila</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrym</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erromango</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paama*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noumea</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not specified</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N)</strong></td>
<td><strong>115</strong></td>
<td><strong>113</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* One villager who had spent a period working on ships sent remittances to his parents on Paama while he was absent.

^Some households sent and received remittances to and from multiple locations.
Every island household that specified what they remitted sent *green kakae* (Figures 6.29 and 6.30), the most abundantly available and easily accessible resource on Paama, to absent kin. Although *green kakae* was readily available for purchase in Vila, as has been reported elsewhere in Vanuatu (Hess 2009) and the Pacific (Alexeyeff 2004), migrant Paamese believed that food grown on Paama was superior in both taste and nutritional value to that purchased from the market, and *green kakae* from Paama was therefore a valued commodity. However, there was no evidence to suggest that, as in Namibia, urban kin were reliant on these goods for survival (Frayne 2004). A minority of households sent prepared foodstuffs or livestock. Other items sent included clothes and mats. One government employee sometimes sent money to relatives on Erromango, as this was a resource she had better access to than her family.

![Figure 6.29: Remittances ready to be sent](image1)

![Figure 6.30: Remittances arrive at Liro beach, 2011](image2)

Items received as remittances were more varied than those sent (Figure 6.31), however foodstuffs remained the most commonly remitted item. Where the type of food received was specified, rice (62%), sugar (22%) and tinned fish (14%) were the most popular items. Rice was considered particularly important for supporting elderly villagers who were not strong enough for agricultural work. Soap, another basic necessity, was also common. Cash remittances were often directly deposited into villagers’ accounts by urban kin. For older villagers, and those who did not have bank accounts, money was transferred to store owners who then delivered it to its intended recipient. There was a heavy reliance on urban kin to provide items that were either unavailable or considered too costly to purchase on Paama. These were specifically requested as required.
6.12 Mobile phones

One of the most significant technological changes on Paama since the 1980s has been the introduction of mobile phone technology. Prohibitively expensive when they were first introduced, by 2011 mobile phones were somewhat more affordable. In April/May of 2011, Paama’s first Digicel and second TVL (Telecom Vanuatu Limited) tower were constructed. Prior to this, Paamese relied on the faint and unpredictable signal from neighbouring islands. While the signal provided by the new towers was not constant (at one point Digicel reception disappeared for a period as no one had put fuel in the generator to power the tower), villagers found it had become much easier to use their mobile phones. A total 80% of all households owned at least one mobile phone. Over half (54%) of these phones had been purchased recently, either at the Digicel tower launch party (Figure 6.32) or from visiting salesmen. Those without their own mobile phone were able to use others’ when needed. This was most common amongst the elderly. Some bought phone credit, or gave money to phone owners for their use, but this varied.

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54 The previous TVL tower had been short lived since it was constructed on unstable ground. I was told it had collapsed some time ago.
55 During fieldwork Paama’s two public phones were disconnected by TVL workers. I was told that this was part of a programme to discontinue landlines throughout Vanuatu. While this made economic sense, if mobile phone reception remains unreliable, it may cause communication issues in the future.
56 One villager claimed that she just used her phone to play games, and did not use it to make calls. In general however, mobiles were used for their intended primary purpose, as phones.
Despite recent decreases in the cost of both mobile phones and phone credit, villagers still found making calls to be expensive, and often relied upon receiving calls rather than making them themselves. Conversations were brief and to the point, and concentrated on exchanging important information rather than casually chatting.

(xix) But when you ring, you just have to tell them the important things. Whatever it is that you want to say, that’s what you say. You can’t just sit around gossiping, no - if you do this, your phone credit will run out. (Female, 36 years)

As a result of increased communication important information about significant life events such as births, deaths and marriages was received much faster than it had been in the past. Thus, when a villager from Tavie died in Vila, a funeral feast was organised within 24 hours of the event. Nonetheless, there was some unease over the potential health and environmental (primarily relating to gardens) effects of mobile phone towers, and due to their associated costs, many villagers expressed concerns over the ability of mobile phones to *kakae vatu* (eat money) if not managed properly.

(xx) Mobile phones are good. They’ve improved communication. It’s better than it was before. But I think that people need to understand and control the use of their mobile phones. If they don’t they will waste the small amount of money that they have. I think that it could become a problem with people losing a lot of money by paying for credit. But like I’ve said, there is a good and a bad side to everything. People just have to make good use of their phones […] The benefit is that mobile phones have really improved our ability to communicate compared to what it was like before. It was really hard to talk to people in Vila. It was really hard – you had to write letters.
So I’m glad that mobile phones have improved communication so much. It’s easy now to walk around, or sit in your house and talk to your friends. (Male, 66 years)

This convenience was much appreciated:

(xx) It’s good. Sometimes you’re just in your house and you can make a phone call. Before, we had to walk all the way to the public phone [in the Liro Council Area]. It was hard work to go all the way there. Sometimes we had to run [to answer the phone in time]. (Male, 59 years)

By facilitating communication, the main impact of mobile phone technology was to increase the ease of coordinating remittances. Phone calls were made to either request items, or notify recipients that an item had been sent. On one occasion when reception was down, a villager decided not to send her children the food she had prepared as she was unable to call to notify them. However, in combination with the reliable schedule of the ship Big Sista, telephones meant that in 2011, sending and receiving remittances had become much easier than in the past. Small stores similarly utilised mobile phone technology to order and coordinate stock. However, as is the case throughout Vanuatu, mobile phones were used to reinforce existing business and other relationships, and did not replace face to face contact or significantly alter the manner in which business was conducted (Sijapati-Basnett 2009).

### 6.13 Conclusions

For Liro Area Paamese, a high degree of continuity was evident in island life between 1982 and 2011. The longstanding practice of leaving a single representative from each family on the island to look after land and other interests, meant the number of households and population size remained roughly the same for both study periods. However, while population structures were similar, in 2011 population pyramids showed evidence of increased mobility of young women away from Paama. Temporary absenteeism had decreased significantly by 2011, and was directed primarily towards Vila and Santo. While young women circulated for RSE work, males continued to dominate this form of mobility. These and other matters relating to rural based mobility are explored in detail in the next chapter.

In 2011, access to garden land was considered sufficient, and was effectively facilitated by outmigration. As in 1982, disengagement from cash cropping (namely, copra production)
was not due to problems of land access, but to the low returns associated with high labour input. While land was commonly shared during both periods, in 2011 villagers sold kava and food crops that had been planted on borrowed land, a practice that was tabu in 1982. However profits from sales were not significant, and the planting of trees, and other activities that implied greater permanence, were still restricted. There was a high degree of continuity in the extent of access to off-island land, however the locations in which land was purchased had changed in response to structural and ideological factors. Thus, more recent land purchases were concentrated in Vila and Santo where land was more commonly available for sale, and health, education and employment opportunities were located.

Prior to and during 1982, increases in braedpraes payments had contributed to, and been influenced by male labour migration. By 2011 however, the evolution of group wedding ceremonies, which reduced the economic outlay required of individuals, together with the practice of delaying braedpraes payments, meant braedpraes no longer provided a reason for mobility. Instead, villagers’ most pressing economic concern was the payment of school fees. This was linked to the importance placed on receiving an education, and the avenue it provided for social prestige. While most Liro Area adults had completed their schooling by Year Six, this was likely to change in the future due to the newfound importance placed on education, the waiving of school fees for primary school education, and the existence of secondary school facilities in Liro.

In 2011, livelihood opportunities had expanded in response to increased infrastructure on the island, particularly the Liro based Vaum Secondary School. However, livelihood activities themselves remained roughly similar to those of 1982. Significantly, expenditure was still greater than income earned from on-island activities, and off-island income sources were still important. Off-island income was accessed via migration and remittances, which were most commonly sent to and received from close family members. While the introduction of mobile phones facilitated the flows associated with rural-urban interactions, they had not significantly altered the way businesses were run, but rather reinforced existing relationships. Evidence of rural stratification was present in 2011, as several small business owners employed others to complete tasks for them. However, such employment tended to reinforce existing kinship ties and obligations, and hence fulfilled both social (the assistance of classificatory brothers via income earning opportunities) and economic (generating income for the business owner) roles.
Therefore, while the obvious and expected aspects of island life had changed over a generation – access to televisions and DVD players was common, food transactions had become increasingly monetised – consistent with other studies of contemporary Pacific livelihoods (Birch-Thomsen et al. 2010; Mertz et al. 2010; Wilson 2013), many of the fundamental aspects of island life had remained constant. Small island livelihoods, like those on Paama, are both more sustainable and adaptable than often portrayed. The next chapter moves on to consider mobility from Paama, and the manner in which mobility norms have and have not altered over the same period.
Chapter 7: Rural based mobility

Observing the comings and goings from Liro beach, Paama 2011
From the previous chapter, it is evident that continuity and not change dominated many aspects of island life between 1982 and 2011. The current chapter builds upon this discussion to examine the mobility of Liro Area rural residents over the same period. It begins by investigating rationales for outmigration from the rural perspective, before considering rural residents’ own mobility histories. The future of rural based mobility and outmigration is examined via the plans and aspirations of soon to graduate high school students, and changes and continuities in mobility behaviour over the last 30 years are highlighted.

7.1 Why do people (in general) leave Paama?57

The past relationship between ni-Vanuatu rural-urban mobility and employment has been well documented (Bedford 1973; Bastin 1985; Haberkorn 1987), and a strong discourse persists in which urban residence is linked to and legitimised by ‘work’ (Mitchell 2002). It thus follows that when Liro Area Paamese were asked why they believed others left the island, half of all responses were ostensibly economic, and related either to work (29%) and/or the need to ‘find money’ (21%) (Figure 7.1). ‘Work’ however, covered a broader category of tasks than wage employment, and included ‘work’ relating to kastom ceremonies and family commitments. For many villagers therefore, ‘work’ was a duty to be fulfilled. Importantly, while many Paamese travelled to Vila for ‘work’, they did not necessarily actively seek employment. Rather, this movement was often in response to a family member sending toktok (talk, news) that they had located employment for rural kin, and ‘work’ related mobility was therefore somewhat more complex than the term implied.

![Figure 7.1: Reasons why other people were thought to leave Paama, 2011: more than one response possible](image)

57Unless otherwise indicated, varying totals (N) throughout this chapter refer to the number of individuals for whom data were available. A summary of rural Paamese interviewed is provided in Table 5.1.
Many villagers related outmigration and the need to ‘find money’ to the lack of resources available to do so on the island. Of those who specified a savings goal, paying school fees was the primary objective in roughly a quarter (26%) of responses, again underlining the importance placed on education. Despite this, and contrary to explanations for family members’ mobility (Section 7.2), no villagers believed that other Paamese migrated in order to pursue an education. Significantly, while past research has highlighted male wage labour migration (Bedford 1973; Bastin 1985; Haberkorn 1987), in 2011 it was women who placed the greatest emphasis on economic explanations, reflecting both changing social norms and their involvement in the urban economy (Chapter 9). Nonetheless, as in the past, women were more concerned with visiting distant family members, and making marriage related moves than men (Haberkorn 1987). Similarly, due to their traditional responsibilities as custodians of family land, men placed greater emphasis on land related explanations. However, only a minority (1%) of Paamese specifically linked this to land disputes, reinforcing that, at least for those left on Paama, such issues were not considered a problem.

Investment in land or houses elsewhere was deemed a reason both for departing Paama and for not returning. Similarly, not owning a house on Paama both motivated movement and provided a barrier to return.

(i) If one day everyone came back to Paama, the island would be too small. Everyone would fight over land. So now if someone wants to go and live on Santo they pay for land on Santo and they stay [...] Then this land is inherited by the owner’s family, the kids get it, and they can use it. (Male, 28 years)

Purchasing land elsewhere could also facilitate family chain migration.

(ii) When people realise that it is hard to stay on the island because they can’t earn money, they leave. The father leaves first, and when he has bought a piece of land in Vila or Santo, he sends word for his wife and children to come. They go and they live on the land he has bought. They build a house, and they stay. (Female, 45 years)

Casual movement attributed to an individual wanting to see the ‘bright lights’ of town, wokbaot (‘walk about’, wander around with no specific purpose), or just liking Vila accounted for only 6% of mobility reasons, while social issues including nakaimas were considered significant by 11% of villagers. Although most Paamese claimed not to believe in nakaimas, casual conversations whereby any misfortune was blamed on sorcery provided a different
picture. Similar attitudes towards nakaimas and misfortune are common throughout Vanuatu (Rio 2010), and, as on Vanua Lava (Hess 2009), most Paamese chose to err on the side of caution when it came to nakaimas. The small population and high outmigration from Voravor led some Paamese to believe nakaimas was at fault. The reasoning for this was circuitous; villagers left Voravor because of nakaimas, and the evidence for nakaimas was the high level of outmigration. While nakaimas was thought to be present in 1982, it was manifest via shark attacks targeting villagers from Seneali (Gerald Haberkorn, pers comm, 2nd September 2014). By 2011, these shark attacks were a distant memory, and talk and accusations of nakaimas were therefore fluid. Nonetheless, as for elsewhere in Melanesia (Curry & Koczberski 1998), beliefs about sorcery influenced Paamese mobility.

(iii) Nakaimas is a reason that lots of Paamese leave Paama. For example, if the two of us were disputing a small piece of land, and you felt that your life was in danger, you would just leave, because that way you're able to ensure that nakaimas can’t get you. But nakaimas is something that you can’t see or know, but still everyone believes in it. (Male, 53 years)

Some 9% of responses related outmigration to the ‘hard work’ that characterised island life. This was most common amongst women, who themselves performed the majority of physical labour relating to daily chores. Visiting migrants who did not participate in gardening or other island work were cited as evidence of this ‘laziness’. As Hess (2009) observed for Vanua Lavans, physically engaging with the land via subsistence activities reinforced the relationship between individuals and their home place. Liro Area outmigrants who refused to engage in these activities were thus spoken of disdainfully, and rural Paamese suggested that these migrants had forgotten their roots.

(iv) On Paama, we work really hard [...] To make a garden we have to clear the area, burn the rubbish, dig, plant the food. It’s not like we can just plant gardens without preparing the land first. [Migrants are] just scared to come back to Paama because of all the hard work. They’re scared [of hard work], but whose island is it? It’s their island. When they’re young, they live on Paama. When they leave, they think they can forget where they came from. (Female, 45 years)

In the past, a married woman’s mobility was largely determined by her husband, and throughout Vanuatu women were commonly depicted as passive movers (for example Bedford 1973). In 2011, the independent mobility of women had increased (Section 7.3).
However, when only one spouse from a married couple chose to migrate, it tended to be the husband. Older villagers often commented on this, and other changes to mobility norms.

(v) Before, it wasn’t like this, it was different […] Before, you couldn’t just move to Epi, because all of the man-Epi would kill you […] But now everywhere is more open. If someone goes and pays for land on another island, they can live there […] In the past, women didn’t go to Vila or Santo. They just stayed on Paama while the men went and worked. The men would send food and whatever else their wives needed. But now, Vila and Santo are open to everyone. Women go, men go […] Women go to Vila, they have children there, and they just stay. (Male, 76 years)

In order to investigate the role of life cycle stages on mobility, responses were examined by gender and age group (Figures 7.2 and 7.3). For the sake of comparison, data were reclassified into the same categories used by Haberkorn (1987)\textsuperscript{58}. In 2011, economic convenience, namely the desire (as opposed to the need) to find work elsewhere, was considered important by villagers of all ages; however while men across all age groups were concerned about land access, female villagers were not. This again related to the traditional role of males as inheritors of land. Both male and female villagers aged 15-24 years emphasised the importance of economic and social convenience\textsuperscript{59}. However young males, who were granted greater leeway when it came to experimenting with the possibilities of urban life, were also more interested in exploring urban lifestyles and attractions such as nightclubs\textsuperscript{60}. Economic needs, primarily the payment of school fees, were most important in the 25-44 year age group among both male and female villagers, reflecting the life cycle stage at which such expenses figured prominently.

\textsuperscript{58} Haberkorn (1987) classified ‘land purchased elsewhere’ under the category ‘no land’. However, it should be noted that in 2011, villagers who were acting as the family caretaker, and therefore presumably had easy access to land, were among those who had purchased off-island land. This was likely related to a perceived greater security associated with purchased land (where one holds a title) over family land (where oral histories may differ and other family members may make a claim). In 2011 there was a great deal of publicity about the benefits of registering land titles related to AusAID’s Mama Graon project.

\textsuperscript{59} Only a limited number of males and females aged 15-24 years participated in formal interviews. However, attitudes and aspirations were not significantly different from those encountered in casual conversation with individuals from this age group, and can therefore be considered representative of their age and gender.

\textsuperscript{60} It would also have been less socially acceptable for women to state that they wanted to enjoy the ‘bright lights’ of Vila.
Compared with 1982, in 2011 female villagers placed less emphasis on economic needs, such as an inability to earn money to meet daily expenses locally (Table 7.1). The inverse was true of economic convenience, reflecting the greater ease with which women were moving independently by 2011. This was particularly true amongst 15-24 year old women for whom changing social norms meant they were able to migrate with much greater freedom than their mothers or grandmothers. Social convenience figured more prominently in the 2011 data, reflecting the relatively larger kin networks present in urban areas. Urban attractions were of
limited importance to young women in 2011, perhaps due to the greater access to DVDs and other goods that were once available only in Vila. However, as young women were discouraged from participating in urban activities such as kava drinking (Taylor 2010) and nightclub dancing, they may have censored their responses. Lack of rural land was considered more important in 2011, due to the increased Paamese population.

Table 7.1: Women’s beliefs about others’ migration by age group, 1982 & 2011: more than one response possible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migration Reason</th>
<th>Female 1982</th>
<th>Female 2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-24 years</td>
<td>25-44 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic needs</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No land</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social problems</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic convenience</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social convenience</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban attractions</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Haberkorn (1987)*

As for females, male villagers (Table 7.2) considered economic needs more important in 1982 than 2011. This was also the case for land access, whereas social issues including boredom with island life and problems of jealousy were considered more significant in 1982. While it is possible that this was in fact the case, men might have felt more comfortable discussing such emotions with a male researcher, and thus feelings of dissatisfaction with island life were possibly underreported in 2011. As for females, males considered economic convenience to be of greater significance in 2011. Similarly, social convenience was emphasised across all age groups in 2011 except 25-44 year olds. In 1982, as their labour was often surplus to daily requirements, it was commonly accepted that young Liro Area men would spend a period of time in town (Haberkorn 1987). This remained true in 2011, and young males placed greater importance on the lure of urban attractions than they had done in 1982. While the small sample size may have skewed this data, by 2011 expanded urban kin networks ensured that the ease with which such travel was undertaken had greatly increased.

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61 Haberkorn (1987) noted that some rural households expressed relief when young males went wokbaot to town, as it meant fewer (unproductive) mouths to feed.
While the discussion above utilises clearly defined categories, villagers often cited a number of interrelated factors that contributed to mobility away from Paama. As Bedford (1973) has noted therefore, the above represents an over-simplification of the multiple factors that influenced mobility, and it must be emphasised that no one single reason was believed responsible for outmigration.

7.2 Mobility of family members

In a social context where open disagreement and conflict are avoided, true feelings are often not directly expressed. It can thus be useful to ask the same question about other people in general, when feelings can be expressed without fear of repercussions, as well as specific individuals (Macpherson 1985; Haberkorn 1987). Liro Area villagers were therefore asked both why Paamese in general left Paama, and why their own immediate family members (parents, siblings and children as appropriate) had chosen to migrate. Much of this information was vague – rural residents generally knew where family members were living, but there was less certainty over what they were doing or why they had migrated. As in 1982 (Haberkorn 1987), it was often difficult to get villagers to make the important distinction between reasons for migration and activity at destination. Similarly, while the island of origin of marital partners was generally known, and the number of children born to absent family members could be estimated, ages and sometimes even genders were not always known. Significantly, some of these ‘absent’ family members had been born and/or spent most of their lives away from Paama, and therefore had little real experience of island life. Second
generation migrants have therefore not been included in the data presented in this section, and are discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.

Hess (2009: 132) has commented that for Vanua Lavans, mobility was condoned only when it occurred ‘at the right time, in the right company, in the right manner and in the right place’. This was also the case for Paamese, and in 1982, Liro Area villagers’ mobility was socially sanctioned when an individual was doing something ‘useful’ in town; the most common ‘useful’ activities included working or attending school (Haberkorn 1987). This remained true in 2011; when discussing family members’ mobility, Liro Area villagers almost universally attributed some purpose to this movement. Family members were thus commonly either studying, working, had been sent for by other kin, or, in the case of women, had married a man from another island. Importantly, attributing purpose to family members’ migration provided a means of legitimising their absence.

As in 1982, in 2011 some Paamese parents were unwilling to let their children travel to Vila, particularly if it was thought they would behave badly. Parents commonly believed there was important work to be performed on the island, and thus if a child could not be ‘useful’ in town, it was better for them to remain on Paama.

(vi) *I told my son that if he went to Vila, he had to find a job and work. If he didn’t find work, he should come back to Paama, and make a kava garden.* (Male, 58 years)

(vii) *[My son] isn’t allowed to move to Vila […] If he wants to visit Vila, he’ll go, but just to visit, not to stay. Everyone in our family has left already, so he has to stay on the island to look after our land and work on it. And you know what it’s like in town now, life is hard. It’s better to stay on the island and do some work here first, so that he understands his land and how to use it […] There is work to be done here.* (Female, 49 years)

In 2011, some 145 males and 135 females were identified as being absent from Paama. As a patrilineal society, Paama represented migrant males’ place of belonging. In contrast, the majority (67%) of absent women were married or partnered (10%), and therefore ‘belonged’ to their husband’s place. While the majority of absent males (61%) were also married or

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62 These women are included in the analysis that follows as most left Paama while still single.
partnered (18%), as in 1982 the marital status of migrants related more to social norms – it was rare for adult Paamese to remain unmarried – than to mobility per se.\textsuperscript{63}

In 2011, Vila was the primary destination for both male and female migrants (Figures 7.4 and 7.5). This was consistent with 1982, and contemporary mobility patterns throughout Vanuatu (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011), and related to the location of kin networks, education, employment and health facilities. Santo represented the second most popular destination for Liro Area migrants, underlining its increasing appeal as a location that combined the best of town (employment opportunities, ability to purchase land) and island (lower cost of living) life. However, despite increased female mobility in 2011, as in the early years of ni-Vanuatu movement to Port Vila, migration streams to Santo were male dominated.

\textsuperscript{63} These statistics are based on data provided by rural residents about their family members. A more detailed discussion of the marital status of migrants is provided in Section 8.5.
Figure 7.5: Locations of ‘absent’ rural family members, 2011

Source: Adapted from LACITO (2003)
In 2011, women originating from Liro Area villages were living in a greater variety of locations than men, largely due to their relocating to their husband’s home island after marriage. These women were therefore not considered ‘out of place’. A total 18% of absentee men living on islands other than Efate were doing so for land related reasons including: acting as a custodian for family land, purchasing land themselves, or having been given land by friends from other islands. The latter category was most common amongst children who had grown up on these islands, generally as a result of their parents working there. Paamese males had often married women native to the island, further cementing their right to residence. No women were acting in similar custodial roles.

Most migrant Paamese (73% of males and 50% of females) were working in their place of destination (Figure 7.6). Despite women’s important role as remitters however, it was more acceptable for women to reside away from Paama without working than it was for men. Therefore, while 13% of migrant women were said to stap nomo (just be there), only 2% of men were in the same situation. Women migrated for marriage (21%) more than did men (2%), whereas more males (9%) than females (4%) were undertaking education or training. However, education related mobility was most likely under-reported, as it was common for individuals to remain in Vila upon completion of their course. More women (5%) migrated to visit family than did males (1%), reflecting the greater number of widows who were absent visiting family members, and the caring role mothers often played when children were ill. As discussed above, being ‘useful’ was therefore still an important means of legitimising absence from the island, and gender norms remained evident in these justifications.

![Figure 7.6: Migrants’ activity at destination by gender, 2011](image-url)
In 1982, there was a clear urban bias to Paamese migration, with 74% of all absentees located in either Port Vila or Santo (Haberkorn 1987) (Table 7.3). This bias persisted in 2011, with 79% of all Liro Area migrants residing in urban areas. As Taylor (2008b) observed for the Sia Raga of Pentecost therefore, Paamese kin networks and mobility were largely directed towards urban areas rather than neighbouring islands. Between 1982 and 2011, there was a 13% increase in urban dwelling males, associated with the decrease in opportunities such as employment on ships and plantation work in rural Vanuatu. For women, who participated less in these forms of mobility, the level of urban residence remained roughly the same.

Table 7.3: Location of Liro Area absentees 1982 and 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>1982 (%)</th>
<th>1982 (N)</th>
<th>2011 (%)</th>
<th>2011 (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban - Vanuatu</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural - Vanuatu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbouring islands</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ships</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra-island</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Absentees</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Haberkorn (1987)*

In both 1982 and 2011, only a minority of absentees travelled to overseas destinations. In 1982 visa agreements meant Noumea represented the primary international location of Paamese migrants. In 2011, changed visa and political conditions meant that international movement was now structured by the RSE program, and focussed on New Zealand, however

64 In 2011, while several (rural) Liro Area Paamese were attending maritime school on Santo and/or had previously worked on ships, none were employed in shipping at the time of fieldwork.
Paamese engagement in RSE work remained limited (Section 7.8). Mobility to rural destinations within Vanuatu had decreased significantly by 2011, again reflecting the decrease in desirability and availability of plantation work. In contrast, neighbouring islands were the destination of relatively more absentees in 2011, due to the establishment of families and wider kin networks there. Intra-island mobility was not evident in 2011, and accounted for only a minority of moves in 1982. A high degree of continuity is therefore evident in mobility patterns over both periods.

### 7.3 Young female mobility

The mobility of young women increased significantly between 1982 and 2011, and while there was a considerable group of young single males resident on Paama during fieldwork, no comparable group of females existed. Rather, virtually all of the young women who lived in Liro Area villages were either enrolled in school, or already married with children. Some villagers claimed that this was due to demography; there simply were no young, single Paamese women. However, results from the 2011 household census suggest otherwise. Rather, in 2011 young women were choosing and being encouraged to leave Paama. This was the result of several interrelated factors.

Firstly, as discussed in the previous chapter, in 2011 Liro Area parents placed a great emphasis on educating their sons and daughters. On average, young women, who were culturally expected to be more conservative than males, often went further in education than their brothers (Section 9.2). As education required a significant investment of time and resources, it was expected that qualifications should be used, and the debt repaid\(^{65}\). As was true for their brothers, educated women were encouraged to find employment (generally located in urban areas), and migrated accordingly. While young educated females had begun to migrate in 1982, this was still a relatively recent phenomenon (Haberkorn 1987). By 2011 however, such mobility was widespread, and further facilitated by the large established kin networks present in Vila. Not only did kin provide a watchful eye and a place for young women to stay, but they also assisted in finding appropriate employment. This included haosgel work for other kin in formal employment\(^{66}\), and gender appropriate formal sector

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\(^{65}\) As noted by Lind (2014) for Paama, and Carrier and Carrier (1989) for Ponam (Papua New Guinea), financing a child’s education was alternately considered an ‘exchange’ when the investment was repaid and a ‘debt when it was not.

\(^{66}\) Although common, haosgel work was less prestigious than formal employment, and therefore generally functioned as an intermediate source of employment while young women continued to pursue an education.
employment. Importantly, the kinds of employment that young, educated women desired were not commonly found on Paama, if at all (Section 7.12).

Once in town, many young women found a boyfriend, partner or husband, and established their own families. In some instances, children were sent back to Paama to be cared for by grandparents, and as Eriksen (2008) has described for North Ambrym, such arrangements provided an important connection linking urban Paamese with rural family members. More often than not, and even if their romantic relationship did not last, young Paamese women chose to remain in town. As women traditionally moved to their husband’s place upon marriage, there was little expectation that women would return to Paama. Importantly however, despite greater freedom of movement, status as a single urban dwelling mother carried with it a certain amount of stigma (Cummings 2009; Widmer 2013), and was therefore discouraged.

On Paama, there were few roles available to women outside that of the traditional mama; ‘the married, visibly Melanesian [island dress wearing], church-going, village dwelling mother who is respectful of both kastom and Christian (most often male) authority’ (Cummings 2013a: 33). This, along with limited recreational activities catering for young women, added to the appeal of town (Case Study 7.1). While a socially valued role, as elsewhere in Vanuatu (Cummings 2009), many young Paamese women were not ready to become a mama. Rather, as for males and perceptions of masculinity throughout Vanuatu (Taylor 2008c), increased exposure and access to DVDs, and the regular stationing of Peace Corps and other volunteers on the island meant Western ideals and depictions of femininity were relatively easy for young Paamese to access. Like Tongans in America (Small 2011), Paamese women were therefore able to assess their own cultural norms through a wider lens than was once possible, and were using mobility to explore new and different forms of modernity unavailable on the island. Much of the behaviour associated with youth in town (drinking kava, meeting boyfriends and so forth) was not condoned as such, however it was tolerated in ways it would have not been on Paama. While Cummings (2009) argues that young women in town were considered ‘out of place’ by others, young Liro Area women felt themselves to be ‘out of place’ and out of opportunities on the island; as one young woman employed as a teacher on Malakula put it, Paama was a place to spel (rest), but not a place to live. Through their mobility therefore, just as through their dress (Cummings 2009; Cummings 2013a), Liro Area

As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9, employment options were gendered and only certain types of employment were considered suitable for women.
women were experimenting with what it meant to be young, modern and female in Vanuatu at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Case Study 7.1: Young Liro Area women

In 2011, Leila aged 21, and the third child in her family, was one of the few young women resident on Paama who was not either of school age or already married. Leila’s eldest sister was employed in one of the few government positions available on Paama, while Maria, the second born in the family, lived and worked in Vila. Leila’s two younger brothers remained on Paama, while her father, a circular migrant, had been absent working construction jobs in Vila for two years in order to earn enough money to build the family a new house. Leila had a (secret) boyfriend who she had met at a church convention, however as he did not live on Paama, their contact was restricted to communication via mobile phone. Leila had visited Vila, however had never lived there for a significant period. On Paama she helped to run the Presbyterian Sunday School, and was a trainee kindergarten teacher. While Leila would have liked to visit Vila more permanently, her mother had decided that she should stay on Paama and use her skills there. Leila found there was little for young women to do on the island – the young men had football training, and weekly football matches to keep them occupied. Young women however, had no similar outlet. Leila was content to stay on Paama while she was working as a Sunday School teacher, as this was considered an important role. When she finished this work however, she wasn’t sure what she would do, and remained ambivalent about her future on Paama.

7.4 Return migration

As is common throughout Melanesia (Curtain 1980; Strathern 1985; Curry & Koczberski 1998; Eriksen 2008), a strong rhetoric of return existed amongst urban Paamese residents (Section 8.12). Nonetheless, actual return migration was limited, and in 2011 very few long-term migrants had ‘returned’ to Liro Area villages. For second generation migrants who had grown up in Vila or Santo, no men and only three women of Paamese heritage had ‘returned’ to Paama. These women had all relocated after marrying a Liro Area man whose usual place of residence was the island, and as for return migrants elsewhere in the Pacific (Lockwood 1990; Maron & Connell 2008), reintegrating into the rural community required a period of adjustment.
(viii) When I first came [back to Paama] I found it a little bit hard to adjust, I complained. I kept complaining, but my parents spoke to me. They said it was up to me to look after myself and to learn how to adapt to island life [...] So I tried my best, and I learnt how to live on the island. Now I’m glad to be living here. (Female, 26 years)

Consistent with the strong urban bias to Paamese mobility, return migration from outer islands was negligible. Five Liro Area men had been posted to live and work off-island for extended periods as policemen, teachers, pastors or other government employees. In each case, they took their families and children with them. Children who were born or had grown up on Malakula or Ambrym often chose to remain on these islands as adults, returning to Paama only to visit. Only three villagers had lived in Vila or Santo for 10 years or more prior to marriage, and had returned when their employment ended, and/or they were required to help care for rural relatives on Paama.

A total of seven Liro Area households had returned to Paama after an extended period living in Vila. Six of these had been established in Vila for a period of ten years or more, while the seventh had resided in Vila for roughly six years. Most households had returned to Paama a number of years prior to fieldwork. While, there is not always a clear pattern with regards to the age profile of return migrants (Maron & Connell 2008), most Liro Area returnee households comprised couples with their young children (older children often chose to remain in town). As for rural returnees in Nairobi (Falkingham et al. 2012) and Tonga (Maron & Connell 2008), the return of older migrants was uncommon, and only one household had ‘returned’ to Paama after more than twenty years working in Vila. The adults of this household continued to make regular trips to Vila to check on children and land, and could be better described as living between the two locations, rather than having returned permanently to Paama. However, this behaviour was uncommon, and while return migration is not always permanent (Maron & Connell 2008; Potter et al. 2009), for most Paamese the social and economic costs associated with relocation meant that remigration was not a feasible option.

Only two return migrant households had constructed a house on the island prior to their return. As on Pentecost (Taylor 2008b), building a house was both a practical consideration for Liro Area returnees, and provided a tangible symbol of their commitment to the island. Not having a house to come back to made the process of relocation significantly more
challenging, and returnees agreed that unless you prepared yourself, returning to the island was difficult.

(ix) It’s really expensive to come back to Paama [...] I left Paama in 1973 or 1972. I went to Vila, I stayed a long time and I couldn’t come back to Paama anymore. I tell people that they should do what I did. If your husband works, let him keep working. You go to the island first by yourself, and you can pay the community to build you a house [...] Once they build the house, you’ll have somewhere to live. Your husband can send you food while you’re making a garden [...] and when you see that there is enough food in the garden to feed your family, you tell them to come. If you prepare things like this, it’s easy [...] If you want to come back to the island, and everyone comes at the same time, it’s hard [...] because you have to pay for transport and other expenses. If you come one at a time, it’s easier. (Female, 59 years)

(x) Oh, when we wanted to come back, it was hard. We came, but we didn’t have a house, we didn’t have a kitchen, we came and we had to just sleep with my mother-in-law, we all ate together. The day after we came back, my husband started building our house. He worked really hard, and we were able to come and sleep in our own house. We didn’t have a kitchen though, which was okay when the weather was good because we could cook outside. But when it rained, we had to go and eat with my mother-in-law. It was like this for a while until my husband could finish making our kitchen. (Female, 45 years)

These accounts were consistent with reasons Liro Area villagers provided for outmigrants not returning to Paama; investment in land and houses, and holding work elsewhere were considered significant barriers to return. While some suggested that fear of nakaimas, laziness or a dislike of the island was to blame, owning land elsewhere was by far the most important consideration.

(xi) There are plenty of reasons [why people don’t come back]. Some of them, you know what it’s like when you live in town. You’re enjoying life in town, and then you have to come back to the island and start all over again. That’s what it’s like. If you come back to the island, you don’t have a house, so you have to build one. You have to make a garden... You have to do all of the things like this in order to start all over again, in order for you to succeed. But if you already have a house on Paama, or some family on Paama, you can come and stay with them and do things slowly. But if
you don’t have any family here, to come back and start from scratch again, it’s really hard [...] It makes it hard for people to come back. Maybe they live in Vila, and they have a good house already. Or maybe they just rent, but the life they’re living suits them... It makes it really hard for people to come back to Paama. (Male, 66 years)

As has been described elsewhere (Lockwood 1990; Maron & Connell 2008), amongst Liro Area households, reasons for return to Paama were diverse (Table 7.4). For most households however, several factors had contributed to their decision. Six out of the seven returnee households had a member who held a role of status in the community including a church elder, store owners (one current, one former), a shipping agent, two chiefs, a kindergarten teacher and a health centre employee. Considering the limited availability of these kinds of role, they were disproportionately represented amongst returnees. The two most recently returned households also owned property in Vila, a testament to their relative economic success. While return migration is not always associated with ‘successful’ migrants (Tubuna 1985), taking into account their roles in the community, and access to on and off-island resources including land ownership and small businesses, as for Tongans (Maron & Connell 2008), Liro Area returnees were generally ‘successful’ migrants (Case Study 7.2).

**Table 7.4: Primary reason for return to Paama amongst return migrants, 2011**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for return</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To care for elderly kin</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment ended</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tired of Vila</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To become chief</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total households (N)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Case Study 7.2: Return migrants**

Elder Daniel was the first born son in his family, and the only one of his siblings living on Paama in 2011. Together Daniel and his wife Elizabeth had three children, one of whom had died a number of years ago, while the other two lived away from Paama. On Paama, Daniel and Elizabeth looked after the family’s rural land, and cared for his elderly mother, who had become somewhat forgetful in her old age. While she nominally lived in her own house, Daniel’s mother relied heavily upon Daniel and Elizabeth’s support, and would not have been able to function without it.
Daniel and Elizabeth had not always lived on Paama, however unlike many of their rural counterparts who had spent only brief periods away from the island, Daniel and Elizabeth had spent 15 years living in Vila. In 1971, Daniel travelled to Vila, where he successfully applied to work in the police force. He worked with the police for roughly a year, before deciding he did not enjoy the job, then became a cashier at a store, where he remained employed for the next 14 years.

Although they lived together in Vila, Daniel migrated to town on his own and found work before Elizabeth joined him. Elizabeth was also employed in Vila, and worked as a haosgel for a masta (‘master’, generally used to designate a white employer) until giving birth to the first of her own three children. After having children, Elizabeth decided to devote her time to raising them, rather than working in paid employment.

While living in Vila, Daniel and Elizabeth did not visit Paama frequently, and only returned once in 1980 for their marriage. Despite this, Daniel used his earnings to purchase materials to build his own permanent house on the island, which was completed in 1979.

In 1986, Daniel and Elizabeth returned to Paama, however they had been considering and planning for this move since at least 1982 (Gerald Haberkorn, pers comm, 2nd September 2014). A number of factors contributed to this decision. Firstly, Daniel had been made redundant from his job, as post-independence the store did not have enough work available to continue employing him. Secondly, in Vila Daniel and Elizabeth were paying rent for a small house, whereas on the island they were able to live in their much larger, newly constructed house. Thirdly, as the firstborn son in the family, it was Daniel’s job to take the place of his father and look after the family land. As his mother was growing older, Daniel also felt he should be there to care for her. Finally, post-independence and without regular employment, Daniel and Elizabeth found life in Vila too expensive as prices for basic commodities such as food had risen steeply.

When they first returned to Paama, Daniel was able to use his savings to establish his own small store which he ran from his house. Daniel closed the store when he needed the money invested in it to pay school fees for his children. Daniel described himself as a ‘businessman’, and after their return to Paama, he had worked for a period as a clerk for the Presbyterian Church, and as the island’s councillor. In 2011 he had just begun working as a local shipping agent.

Daniel and Elizabeth only had one son, who in 2011 was living and working in Vila. They believed that in the future he too would return to Paama to take the place of Daniel, as Daniel had done for his own father. Their son’s feelings on this matter however, were not known.
7.5 Mobility histories

The following section examines the mobility of usual rural residents over their lifetime. As discussed in Chapter 5, it would be unrealistic to expect Paamese to accurately remember every instance of mobility over such a long period, and the focus therefore is on significant moves; mobility that Paamese themselves were able to recall, and considered important enough to recount. The data presented below refers to information provided by interviewees only. While data were collected for households as a whole, information regarding specific moves for absent household members was not judged reliable enough to include. This was consistent with Haberkorn’s (1987) methodology.

As noted by Lind (2014), in 2011 most Paamese had some experience of town life, and only 14% of Liro Area villagers had never lived or worked away from their home island. This does not mean that they had never left Paama; due to the location of health and other services it was rare to find a rural resident who had never left the island. Rather, they did not consider themselves to have spent significant periods of time away from Paama. Only four (22%) of these villagers were male, all of them aged in their thirties or below, and most had not ruled out the possibility for future mobility. Women who had not lived elsewhere tended to be older, and only two were aged 20-30 years. The rest were aged forty or above, reflecting women’s historically lower rates of mobility, and the past tendency for wives to remain on Paama while their husbands circulated for work; between 1953 and 1957 only 14% of men moved to urban areas with their wives. By the 1980s however, family migration was increasingly important, and more than 60% of urban Paamese men migrated to Port Vila in the company of their wives. This was related to a decrease in employment linked accommodation, increased urban wages and greater urban employment opportunities for women (Haberkorn 1987). By 2011 changing social norms linked to increased education and extensive urban kin networks, meant that young women were no longer waiting until marriage to migrate. Rather, as for young men, many young women left Paama while still single and

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68 The ways ni-Vanuatu talk about mobility differ from Western concepts of mobility and ‘living’ somewhere. Therefore, although a Western informant may consider staying with family in another location as having lived there (i.e. ‘I lived with my mother in Port Vila for a year or two.’) a Liro Area villager would generally consider a similar period away as a visit rather than time spent ‘living’ in town.

69 This includes three women from other islands, who spent their pre-married lives on their home islands and moved directly to Paama after marriage.

70 After leaving Paama I later came across the youngest of these men in Vila who told me he was in the process of applying for RSE work in New Zealand.
met their husbands and established families only after they had moved to town (Chapter 8). As a result, in 2011 the significance of family migration had decreased relative to 1982.

In 2011, a considerable 69% of villagers (69% of women and 70% of men) had lived or worked in Vila for a period. Gender norms were evident in this mobility, and whereas women ‘followed’ their husbands to Vila, men did not ‘follow’ their wives (Figure 7.7). For both males and females, work was the most common activity undertaken while resident in town. Women’s work was concentrated in *haosgel* and similar roles (70% of respondents), while men worked in a variety of (generally low-skilled) jobs including construction, retail and security. However, while the majority of villagers had worked in Vila, this does not necessarily mean they travelled to Vila for employment. Rather, Paamese commonly travelled to Vila for other reasons, and found employment as a by-product of their visit (Chapter 8).

![Figure 7.7: Activities undertaken in, and reasons for travel to Port Vila by gender, 2011](image)

Some 6% of women had spent significant time in town as children. Most of these women had not lived away from Paama since childhood, and their mobility had therefore been largely determined by others. No rural dwelling men had grown up in Vila. While males born in town were not landless, and nominally stood to inherit their father’s rural land, men living on Paama had generally been raised on the island. In most cases, their father had himself acted as a caretaker for the family land, before passing the task on to his son.

Reasons for leaving Vila varied by gender (Figure 7.8). While most (72%) men linked their decision to employment, only 24% of women explained their move in terms of work. In the
past women’s main period of mobility occurred before marriage, and thus 21% had returned to Paama in order to marry. Other reasons given by women for leaving town included to give birth or return a child to the island, because their husband had wanted to leave Vila, and because of poor health (either their own or their husband’s). While sons were expected to care for their elderly parents, a similar number of women as men cited this as a reason for departing Vila, and women would sometimes remain on the island to look after ailing in-laws, while their husbands continued to work in town.

In 1982, Haberkorn (1987) noted a strong urban orientation to rural women’s mobility. This remained true in 2011, and for women, mobility was almost exclusively directed towards Port Vila. Movement to other outer islands remained concentrated amongst older women, many of whom had travelled to Epi or Malakula as children to work on copra plantations with their parents. Most of this mobility was circular, and often took place annually, for example during school holidays. In contrast, 43% of men had spent significant time on Santo. Almost three quarters (73%) of these had been employed there, while the rest had attended various educational institutions including teacher training school and bible college. Education related moves were previously

Figure 7.8: Reason for leaving Port Vila by gender, 2011

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71 Women who were born on, and originated from other islands were not counted here, thus a woman who had grown up on Epi because she was a woman-Epi, was not counted as having lived on Epi.
of limited importance to Liro Area villagers (Haberkorn 1987), however as discussed above, this has changed in recent years. Reasons for leaving Santo were generally related to completing the course of study or work ‘finishing’. Those who had spent significant time on Santo had not done so in Vila and vice versa.

Roughly a third (30%) of male villagers had lived or worked in other locations (Figure 7.9). This mobility was largely related to employment (75%) or education (25%), although some had also visited family. Noumea was the primary international destination for migrants, and 16% of males were employed there during the nickel boom of the late 1960s. The physical evidence present on Paama via the number of Noumea-era houses, along with written records (Haberkorn 1987), confirm that this is an under-representation of the number of men who travelled to Noumea for work. However, over time the number of surviving workers has decreased. Malakula was the most significant internal destination (19% of men and 21% of moves), primarily due to postings related to government employment.

Only 24% of villagers could estimate the duration of their move(s), while several more were able to narrow it down to ‘longtaem’ (a long time) or ‘longtaem smol’ (quite a long time). Time away from Paama ranged from several months to 30 years. For those who provided a time frame, the average move was approximately seven years, with little difference between males (seven years) and females (6.5 years). However, excluding those who can be considered return migrants reduces this average to 3.4 years (3.5 years for females and 3.2

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72 ‘Finishing’ work can mean either the job itself finished, or the employee decided it was time to ‘finish’ whether due to boredom, disputes or other reasons.
73 Some men provided more than one explanation for their mobility.
74 One individual had lived on Malakula for two separate periods.
years for males). More recent moves averaged approximately two years, particularly in the case of those participating in construction labour, and widows visiting their migrant children. This was significantly longer than during the 1980s when Haberkorn (1987) found that most temporary moves did not exceed six months. Increased periods of absence from Paama in 2011 can be attributed to the relatively greater scarcity of employment (hence those moving for employment were more committed to seeing through contracts), and the wider urban based kin networks available to accommodate visitors (hence the burden of rural visitors was shared among a number of households).

In 1982, Haberkorn (1987) noted that occupational and educational status had little clear impact on mobility as employment requiring higher education and/or training generally demanded a long-term commitment, and thus did not support rural based mobility. Rather, usual rural residents tended to be employed in low skilled service jobs, the construction industry or on plantations. This remained true in 2011, however plantation based employment had largely disappeared, due to a combination of reduced availability and desirability. As discussed in Chapter 6, educational levels of villagers in 2011 were relatively homogenous, and in most cases limited to completion of Year Six or below. Those who had completed higher levels of education monopolised the few government positions available on the island, and did not engage in employment related mobility beyond ‘business travel’ to attend meetings or training sessions. Importantly however, as for Ponam islanders (Papua New Guinea) (Carrier & Carrier 1989), while it was believed that educated Paamese should migrate, mobility was not restricted to the well-educated (Section 9.2).

7.6 Recent mobility: 2006-2011

Recent mobility will be examined in two parts. Firstly, ‘conventional’ moves are considered for the period 2006-2011. An analysis of all moves (including casual mobility) over the 12 months preceding fieldwork is presented separately. Conventional moves comprise those usually reported in migration literature and relate to employment and education. However, as will be argued in Chapter 8, for many Liro Area migrants, casual moves formed the basis of long-term urban residence.
Between 2006 and 2011, 27% of all villagers interviewed had moved for either work or education⁷⁵. As in the past (Haberkorn 1987), this mobility was male dominated, and women accounted for just over a third (38%) of movers. However, as is evident from the population structure of Liro Area villages (Section 6.1), both young men and women were leaving the island. While women’s mobility tended to be unidirectional (they left and did not return), men more commonly undertook ‘conventional’ employment related rural based circulation. Rural based mobility was most common amongst males and females aged 35-50 years. Reasons for short-term mobility are outlined in Figure 7.10.

As in Vanua Lava (Hess 2009), the church played an important role in structuring inter-island moves. The most common reason for mobility by Liro Area villagers was involvement in church related work including meetings and conferences. This was generally unpaid, with moves lasting less than a month. Two women travelled to neighbouring islands to make copra, however this movement was unusual, and related to the higher than normal copra prices in 2011. Three villagers (two male, one female) frequently travelled to Vila to check on their rental properties and organise stock for island based stores. While only two males moved to pursue education or complete training courses, this is a misleading figure as many

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⁷⁵ Movement of family members is not included in this figure as villagers were not able to recall others’ mobility with any clarity. Those who were participating in the RSE scheme at the time of fieldwork are therefore not shown, and are discussed in Section 7.8.
villagers spoke of family members who had travelled to Vila or elsewhere to pursue education, but had not returned (Section 7.2).

Employment related circular migration accounted for only 10% of moves made by males, and entailed a period of up to several years working low skilled jobs in Vila before returning to Paama. No females had participated in these kinds of moves. In the 1960s-70s it was necessary for urban migrants throughout Vanuatu to periodically return home to maintain social prestige (Bedford 1973). However by 2011, large established urban kin networks meant participation in community events no longer necessitated rural presence, and life cycle events such as marriages and deaths were observed simultaneously in both Vila and Paama.

The decrease in rural based mobility evident above is in sharp contrast to mobility trends of 1982. Haberkorn (1987) used three categories to classify mobility styles; Stayers comprised villagers who did not move during the reference period 1973-82, Occasional Movers moved once or twice, and Frequent Movers were those who moved more than twice. During Haberkorn’s reference period, rural based mobility was a way of life, with Frequent Mobility practised by almost half of all males, and mobility of some sort practised by more than half of all females (Table 7.5). Stayers comprised the small minority of males, but just under half of all female villagers. In contrast, in 2011 only 6% of all villagers were engaging in frequent rural based mobility for the purposes of employment or education. Some 57% of this group were males, accounting for only 4% of the total rural based population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females (%)</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stayers</td>
<td>Occasional Movers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Haberkorn (1987)*

In 1982, male villagers who moved frequently were much younger than those who did not. This was attributed to young men’s need to accrue bridewealth for marriage, the lack of opportunities to do so locally, and their status as ‘unnecessary’ in the day to day life of the island (Haberkorn 1987). By 2011, young men (and women) were no longer participating in rural based mobility to the same degree, but rather were establishing themselves in other locations. This was linked to the reduced emphasis put on *braedpraes* payments (Section
6.3), and the decreased need to return to Paama for marriage, associated with the rise in stock of marriageable young women in town, both from the Paamese community and elsewhere.

The decreased frequency of rural based mobility for employment and education in 2011 was consistent with the decreased engagement in circular migration noted above. In 2011, circular mobility was only being undertaken by a small minority of Liro Area residents, and periods of absence had increased significantly since 1982. This was due to both structural (limited availability of plantation and other work requiring short-term mobility) and social (the unappealing nature of such work) factors. Similarly, increased kin networks in town supported longer periods of absence. Therefore, while Bonnemaison (1985) predicted that circulation would continue for as long as land remained an important part of identity, in 2011 changing structural factors meant that circulation had greatly decreased while the importance of land had not. However, as will be discussed in the next section, while circulation for employment and education had decreased by 2011, ‘casual’ rural circulation remained important.

7.7 Mobility over the last 12 months

From the above, it would appear that by 2011 rural based mobility was a thing of the past. However, considering casual moves and using the shorter reference period of the 12 months preceding fieldwork a very different picture emerges. During this period, only 29% of villagers (35% of women and 20% of men) had not travelled to any other locations. Five women had either not travelled in the last year, because they had done so the year before, or planned to travel to Vila for Christmas later in the year. For women, age was not a factor in determining mobility. In contrast, all but two of the men who had not travelled in the previous 12 months were older, and (generally) less physically mobile.

Some 40% of Liro Area villagers (31% of females and 55% of males) travelled to Vila in the 12 months preceding fieldwork. Five men (11%) and two women (3%) had travelled to Vila multiple times. Men travelled for more diverse reasons than women, and while visiting children was important for both male and female villagers, men travelled more for business related matters including attending training courses, meetings and organising cargo (stock) for island based small businesses (Figure 7.11). Women travelled most often for family reasons including visiting children or other family members, and health (this included travel for their own health as well as accompanying husbands or children on hospital visits).
Women’s mobility in particular was influenced by group projects or events. Thus, a number of Presbyterian women had travelled to Epi as part of the church’s outreach programme. Both male and female villagers who were involved in church groups or political parties often travelled for meetings. In these instances, fares were generally paid by the sponsoring organisation, or substantially subsidised or discounted. Conversely, some villagers who were heavily involved with the church were unable to wokbaot as they were kept busy with church responsibilities. Thus church involvement both enabled and constrained short-term mobility.

Vila was by far the most popular destination for short-term moves in 2011 (Figure 7.12). Relatively more moves made by women were to other outer islands. These were primarily to visit family members, or, in the case of Epi, attend church events. As elsewhere in Vanuatu (Bedford 1973) and Melanesia (Strathern 1972) therefore, the location of off-island family members played a significant role in directing villagers’ casual mobility. Those who travelled further afield, for example to Tanna or the Banks Islands, attended church or business related meetings and events. In addition, three women and three men had returned to Paama from time spent in Vila or Santo; all the men had been working in Vila, while the women had been staying with family.

**Figure 7.11: Reasons for recent mobility by gender, 2011:** more than one response possible

![Figure 7.11: Reasons for recent mobility by gender, 2011](image-url)
The destinations of moves in 2011 differed markedly from those of the 1980s when rural locations dominated male villagers’ mobility (Haberkorn 1987), and is a reflection of changed employment opportunities. During the 1980s men travelled to provide (largely) unskilled labour on plantations in North Malakula (27%), to Vila (23%) and were employed on boats (20%). In the 1970s-80s, rural-rural moves were dominated by married men, while rural-urban moves were made equally by both single and married men. Some 41% of women in 1982 moved to accompany their economically active husbands. In 2011, only one woman made such a move; her husband had recently found work in Vila and during fieldwork she made the move to ‘help’ him with domestic duties. This decrease in co-dependent moves reflects the process described above where young, single women were moving to Vila independently and marrying, often to men from other islands, while away from Paama. The reliance on husbands for mobility had therefore virtually disappeared.

**7.8 Impacts of the RSE program**

Despite providing a popular topic for conversation, participation in the New Zealand based RSE scheme in 2011 was relatively low. During the fieldwork period, five Liro Area villagers (two females and three males), all in their early to mid-twenties, were employed in New Zealand. There did not appear to be a community based selection process for participation, and all but two were repeat workers. A further three males (two in their mid-twenties and one in his mid-forties) had participated in the scheme once. Of these, it was rumoured that one had been sent back to Paama for bad behaviour, the second had started
work at the village co-operative and hence was too busy to return, and the third thought he might try and go again, but was not yet ready. Six households had family members living elsewhere who had participated in the program, and so had presumably benefitted indirectly via remittances.

Villagers were unclear why their family members had chosen RSE work. One woman had gone to help her father’s store, while one of the men, a repeat worker, wanted to earn the money to build a house. He returned from his first period of employment with a solar panel and a sound system, and paid for the materials to start making bricks (Figure 7.13). Another man had started a small business selling benzene and paid school fees and the *braedpraes* from his marriage seven years prior, while yet another had bought a generator and a sound system. Most returned workers had invested in some form of consumer electronics, portable DVD players being especially popular. Earnings were therefore used in a similar manner as has been reported elsewhere in Vanuatu, and were largely put towards meeting immediate needs (Connell & Hammond 2009; Hammond & Connell 2009; Connell 2010; Craven 2013).

Some 10% of adult Liro Area villagers expressed an interest in participating in the program in the future. Many had a preference for Australia’s Seasonal Worker Program (SWP) over the New Zealand version, but reasons for this were vague. Nonetheless, earning money was the primary motivation for wanting to apply, and it was generally agreed that wages and the

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76 Only one individual was able to estimate how much had been saved in New Zealand, 400,000 vatu.  
77 At the time of fieldwork Australia’s SWP was not yet open, however there was widespread knowledge of the pilot scheme and the potential for future employment.
exchange rate for the Australian dollar were higher than for New Zealand, and hence more appealing. This was consistent with motivations reported elsewhere (McKenzie et al. 2008; Connell & Hammond 2009). Five males had begun the process of obtaining passports and other documents. Two of these had made it as far as Vila, but became discouraged by the long waiting times, and returned to Paama before they could be employed. Others stated that it was too expensive to organise such documents and/or they were busy with other island based work and responsibilities. There was limited knowledge about the possibility of taking loans to pay for these expenses, and the lack of an agent recruiting from Paama provided a further barrier.\footnote{At one point, Paama had its own agent who came directly to the island to recruit workers. In 2011, he had given up this work, and instead was campaigning as an MP.}

(xii) No, it’s my understanding that there aren’t many people from the Liro Area community [who have gone to New Zealand]. For those of us on the island, sometimes it is hard to find the money [...] to pay for passports and other things [necessary to apply]. Those who live in town, they find it easier because they work and earn money, so they are able to pay their way to go. (Male, 66 years)

Participation in the scheme was most common among young, unmarried villagers who had few island based responsibilities, and mirrored participation in Noumea based work during the 1960s and 1970s. However, as mobility norms had changed by 2011, women now participated in this form of short-term international labour migration. The legacy of houses built from Noumea era wages lived on however, and in 2011 many Paamese believed that unless you built a house, you hadn’t really achieved anything by working overseas.

(xiv) Of everyone who works in New Zealand these days, not one of them has built a house here [...] They go, they come back, and I haven’t seen them do anything with their money [...] They’ve just bought things like TVs, generators and solar panels, but they haven’t built a house. It’s no good. (Male, 61 years)

(xv) This man here went to New Zealand for seven months, but he hasn’t achieved anything, he hasn’t built a good house. (Male, 32 years)

In the past, building a house was a fairly simple matter for the men who worked in Noumea. However, whether returned female RSE workers (who themselves do not inherit land) will do the same is yet to be seen. It may be the case that they will invest in family projects – one had
already used her earnings to save the family business – the payment of sibling’s school fees, or consumer items. However, due to limited participation in the scheme, it was not yet possible to ascertain the emergence of such patterns.

Despite limited engagement in the scheme amongst Liro Area villagers, as has been reported elsewhere (Connell 2010), Paamese viewed RSE work as largely positive, and it provided a means to access relatively high wages over a short period. A similar attitude to urban wage potential and ‘fast money’ was recorded by Bedford (1973) in the 1960s-70s. However, as domestic unemployment has increased alongside the rising cost of living, (limited) opportunities for ‘fast money’ have shifted offshore. While concern has been expressed regarding the social impacts of the scheme, including pastoral and other care for absent workers (Maclellan 2008) and negative impacts on sending communities (Craven 2013), this did not appear to be an issue for Liro Area villagers. However, rumours existed of Paamese who had behaved badly while away, including one man who had allegedly been jailed. Like urban residence, social norms existed regarding how one ‘should’ behave while away from Paama.

**7.9 Freedom of movement**

In 2011, presence in town was considered a privilege, and hence those whose behaviour was not judged appropriate or worthy of this privilege were sent back to the island by urban kin. Similar censorship has been recorded for Tanna, where chiefs have also used police to prevent women boarding ships leaving the island (Mitchell 2004), and have ordered women to return to Tanna for ‘improper’ behaviour in town (Jolly 1996). For Liro Area Paamese, mobility was subject to censorship for both males and females in rural and urban areas, as well as those residing on other islands. Thus, one couple returned from time spent in Vila because the wife had become friendly with another man, and several young men had been banished to Paama from Vila and Epi for smoking marijuana. In 2011, Paamese considered marijuana to represent a significant problem (albeit one that only afflicted males), and stories were rampant as to the kinds of violence and debauchery it caused; one young Paamese male was said to have held a knife to his father’s throat while high. Villagers were thus determined to stamp out its use, and prohibiting the mobility of users was considered an effective method for dealing with this, and other social problems including adultery and stealing.
7.10 Plans for future moves

In 2011, most usual rural residents planned to remain on Paama in the future, with several older villagers claiming that if they wanted to move to Vila, they would have done so already. As in 1982 when roughly 4% of women expected to engage in future circular mobility (Haberkorn 1987), in 2011 only 6% of women thought they might travel to Vila for a period. Most were interested in finding work, primarily to pay for school fees or other expenses. In 2011 no female villagers planned to permanently relocate to Vila, whereas 15% of Liro Area women had planned to do so in 1982 (Haberkorn 1987). This can be attributed to changing mobility norms. As noted above, in 2011 women who were likely to migrate to Vila generally did so independently while still young and single. The majority of women who resided on the island in 2011 were married with children, and therefore very few wished to relocate. However, several older widows had urban based children who wanted them to move to Vila.

(xvi) I’ve told them that I don’t want to go [to Vila] anymore. I’m old, I just want to stay [on Paama]. But they say, ‘No grandmother, you’ll still come and visit. We’ll pay for your plane ticket.’ [...] I told them it was up to them. But I’m done with [travelling to Vila], I just want to stay on Paama. (Female, 63 years)

In 1982, 78% of older males expected to continue living on Paama without engaging in circular migration. This was explained by their greater access to land, decreased likelihood of supporting dependants, and increased likelihood of receiving support via remittances from adult children. They were therefore the most likely group to be able to survive locally without themselves having to engage in employment elsewhere (Haberkorn 1987). This remained true in 2011, and only a very small minority of older males thought they might leave Paama in the future.

In both 1982 and 2011, younger male villagers with families were the most likely to engage in circular migration. However, due to the greater permanence with which young men (and women) migrated in 2011, there was a significant decrease in the number who expected to circulate, from 28% in 1982 (Haberkorn 1987) to 14% in 2011. During both time periods, it was not uncommon for men without families or other rural commitments to make rural residence contingent on finding employment in Vila. In 2011, male villagers employed in

79 Haberkorn (1987) used the specific time frame of future residential expectations within the next five years.
government or church positions (7% of male villagers interviewed), were less in control of their own mobility, but stated that they might live on different islands in the future, if they were employed there. Several men had ‘work’, for example, church commitments, that kept them on Paama, but claimed they might be interested in going to Vila once this had ended.

7.11 Household characteristics

The discussion above focuses on individual level characteristics and their influence on mobility. However, as in Ponam (Papua New Guinea) (Carrier & Carrier 1989), status and position within the family influenced mobility, and it is thus important to consider the role of the household. Firstly, in 2011 birth order affected who stayed on Paama and who migrated. Traditionally, firstborn sons were responsible for managing family land and resources. However, as noted in Chapter 6, where the firstborn son held steady employment in town, less established (generally male) siblings commonly returned to Paama to take on this role. Women did not inherit land, and while they often cared for in-laws, rarely did so for their own parents. Thus, if a family had only one son, with few exceptions it was he who stayed on Paama. Urban siblings often provided support via remittances. Acting as an urban based provider brought with it much prestige, however it was not always possible for those with lower incomes to fulfil this role. Importantly, children did not always return to Paama to care for ailing or elderly parents, and as discussed above, when all the children in a family held steady employment and/or were well established in Vila, they often attempted to convince their parent(s) to come and live with them in town.

The few households who had a member participating in ‘traditional’ circular migration (periods of work away followed by periods of on-island residence) tended to contain a number of school fee paying aged children. The adults of these households had limited means for generating on-island income, and did not have any kin living off-island who they could rely upon for support via remittances. In each case, the circulator was a male who had been participating in this type of mobility for an extended period. While some younger unmarried males also circulated, this movement was less goal oriented than for those with school fees to pay and other such commitments (Case Study 7.3). As discussed above, women were not expected to maintain the same ties to their home place as men, and thus when young women left Paama, they tended to do so on a more permanent basis. As in the past therefore (Haberkorn 1987), circular migrants in 2011 were predominantly male.
Importantly, access to on-island income for example, via a small business, did not exclude sons and daughters from mobility. Rather, as discussed in Chapter 6, small business ventures required outside input and support to ensure their viability. Furthermore, those with access to government employment were also the most able to afford school fees for further education, which itself required off-island residence.

As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, the role of kin in facilitating off-island residence was vital. Kin not only provided a place to stay, but also used their contacts to secure employment for usual rural residents. Those without access to strong kin support networks in Vila faced great difficulty in relocating to urban areas for an extended period (Case Study 7.4).

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**Case Study 7.3: Casual mobility of young men**

Like most males his age (29), Nigel had already spent a period living and working away from Paama. Most recently, Nigel had worked in town for roughly a year at one of Vila’s many tourist resorts, before he found employment on a ship for a period. In 2011, Nigel was living on Paama with his parents, and was a youth leader at the Presbyterian Church. His younger brother, Lewis, had lived in Vila since 2008, and was employed as a cleaner. Lewis had built a brick house on Paama with his earnings, which his parents John and Sarah were living in, and supported them with regular remittances. Youth leadership positions lasted for two years, and John had told Nigel that he should remain on Paama until he had finished his placement: work like this for the Big Man (God) was important, and Nigel had his whole life to go and work in other places. On top of his church work, Nigel was involved in the local football team, and completed various odd jobs for the Area Secretary. He was therefore kept busy on Paama, and the general consensus was that while he had important work to do on the island he should stay there. Nonetheless, as a young unmarried male with few responsibilities, Nigel’s permanence as a rural resident had not yet been decided, and should work become available in town, he would likely depart the island.
In 1982, Haberkorn (1987) noted that Liro Area men who had recently been mobile had several characteristics: no access to off-island plantation land; rural incomes of less than 10,000 vatu in 1982; no absent family members who could offer support via remittances and; were members of medium sized households. For the most part this remained true in 2011, however access to plantation land was not a factor, reflecting the age of villagers – land on Epi had been available to their fathers for purchase during the 1960s-70s but this was no longer possible in 2011 – and the relative insignificance of copra as a source of income. However, as outlined above, many of those who had recently participated, or were currently participating, in rural based mobility in 2011 came from medium sized households with limited means for obtaining rural based incomes either by themselves or via remittances. Importantly however, these characteristics did not, in either 1982 or 2011, guarantee circular mobility, but rather led to an increased likelihood of such movement.

**Case Study 7.4: The importance of family connections**

*jif* Michael’s family was unusual in that of his six sons, only one permanently lived away from Paama; Paul, the eldest, worked for the New Zealand consulate in Vila. Another son, James, had lived and worked in Vila on and off. However, in 2011 he had no plans to return to Vila in the near future, and was, for the moment at least, happy to stay on Paama. Michael’s other sons were all firmly settled on Paama. Thomas was married with a young daughter, and Simon, who was similarly married with children, was in training to take over his father’s role as *jif*. Simon was also the village bread baker, and was nearing the end of his term as councillor for the island. Arnold was away in New Zealand for the second time, and had used his RSE savings to start stockpiling materials to build himself a permanent house on Paama. Unlike many RSE returnees, he had not dallied in Vila on his way home the last time he returned from New Zealand, and his parents believed he would again hurry home upon return. Ernest, the youngest, was employed by his classificatory brother as a fisherman, and had applied to participate in the RSE scheme. All of the boys claimed that they weren’t really interested in town, and preferred island life. According to other villagers however, Michael’s sons did not have any close relatives willing to facilitate their movement to town, and without guaranteed kin support, were not able to migrate to Vila with any permanence.
In 2011, ten students (six girls and four boys) from Liro Area villages were completing Year Ten at Paama’s Vaum Secondary School. At the end of the year, they were required to sit an exam that would determine whether they could continue on to the final two years of high school education. These would necessarily need to be completed off-island as Vaum did not teach Years Eleven or Twelve. All these students had some urban experience, and most had visited Vila multiple times (Figure 7.14). All of the males had been at least four times, but there was no obvious gender related bias (a larger sample would be required to determine such patterns). Those whose parents lived in Vila, rather than on Paama, had visited town with the greatest frequency.

Most commonly, students had visited Port Vila during their school holidays. When asked what they liked about Vila, two enjoyed visiting their family. The majority (seven) had enjoyed seeing things that they could not see on Paama, namely cars and the big houses and stores (one male enjoyed watching all of the misus, a term used to describe white women). Only one student, a female who had been to Vila twice for holidays, claimed that she did not like anything about town.

When asked their plans for 2012, most students intended to continue their schooling (Figure 7.15). Two preferred to work, while a further two planned to work if they were unable to continue with study. Taking into account the lack of education and employment opportunities on Paama, it was therefore likely the great majority of the students would no longer reside on Paama in 2012.
The types of employment students aspired to would necessitate at least some time spent living off-island (Table 7.6). While it would be possible to work in a store either in Vila or on Paama, as discussed above, all Paamese store owners had either spent time working elsewhere to earn the start-up capital for their store, or had urban based investors. Similarly, while teachers and malaria technicians were employed on Paama, the limited availability of such positions meant that should students be successful in these fields, they would not necessarily be posted to Paama. Desired employment was influenced by parents’ experiences, and students generally wanted to work in similar fields to their parents.

Table 7.6: Desired future employment of Year Ten students, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment type</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaria lab technician</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N)</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asked where they would like to live in the future, half of the students (three females, two males) responded that they would like to live on Paama. The main reasons for this were that life was easy on Paama, and you did not need money to buy food. One of the males intended...
to look after his family land, while another said that Paama was his ples (place). Three students, all female, wanted to live in Vila in order to work and earn money (they wanted to work in an office, a store and as a teacher). The remaining two males wanted to live overseas; one to see what life was like in another country, the other because it was where misus came from. Students therefore had knowledge and experience of town, and it was likely that most would spend at least a period living in urban areas.

7.13 Conclusions

In both 2011 and 1982, mobility represented an important part of life for Liro Area villagers. While there was a great degree of continuity evident in mobility behaviours, in 2011 social norms relating to mobility had changed in response to wider societal change. This was especially apparent for gendered mobility norms. Thus, in 1982 independent mobility to town was an accepted stage in the lives of young males, whereas for young females such mobility was less common (Haberkorn 1987). By 2011 however, increased educational levels, employment opportunities catering for women, exposure to Western femininities, wider kin networks in town, greater familiarity with urban life, and a desire to explore possibilities not available on the island resulted in significant movement of young women away from Paama; young Liro Area women had become just as mobile as their male contemporaries. However, there was an expectation that males, as the traditional inheritors of land, should maintain strong ties with the island. Therefore, while males often returned to Paama, for females, movement to town was generally unidirectional. Nonetheless, despite the increased freedom with which both males and females moved to Vila, mobility restrictions still applied. Thus, if it was believed an individual was behaving inappropriately and/or abusing the privilege of urban life, family ensured they were sent home to Paama.

The strong urban bias evident in Paamese mobility in 1982 (Haberkorn 1987) continued in 2011. However, as urban life in Port Vila was widely acknowledged as being difficult and expensive, in 2011 Santo was emerging as an important alternative destination for Liro Area migrants as it was believed to combine the best of rural and urban lifestyles and livelihood opportunities. In contrast, movement to other rural areas, which had once represented an important aspect of rural-based mobility (Haberkorn 1987), had virtually disappeared by 2011 in response to decreased employment opportunities on other outer islands, and the undesirability of plantation work. Rural based circular migration had similarly decreased by 2011 due to fewer employment opportunities supporting circular mobility, and increased
urban based kin networks able to assist newly arrived migrants. Where it did exist however, as in the past circular migration was dominated by males.

Between 1982 and 2011 considerable continuity existed in household characteristics influencing mobility, and, as has been described by Bedford (1973), mobility varied with age, sex, status within the family and position(s) held within the community. However, although certain characteristics made mobility more likely, they did not guarantee migration. Similarly, there was no one single reason why Paamese left the island, but rather a combination of factors which contributed to mobility. Significantly, despite a strong rhetoric of return amongst migrants (Section 8.12), return migration was costly in both social and economic terms, and remained rare. Those who had returned to Liro Area villages therefore tended to be successful both economically and socially.

Options for international mobility were largely restricted to seasonal employment schemes, however limited engagement in New Zealand’s RSE programme meant its impacts had been minimal. Nonetheless, for those who had participated, experiences appeared to be positive. Considering aspirations of Year Ten students in 2011, it is unlikely that Liro Area mobility will decrease in the future, and most students interviewed were likely to spend at least a period living in urban areas. As in 1982 (Haberkorn 1987) therefore, in 2011 mobility was a way of life for rural-based Liro Area Paamese albeit with more diversity in who moved, and less diversity in migration destinations.

While detailed studies of contemporary internal migration are lacking for Vanuatu, other research makes passing reference to many of the processes discussed above; throughout Vanuatu there is a strong urban bias to migration (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011), circular migration has decreased (Lindstrom 2011), women are moving with increased freedom (Eriksen 2008), young women are exploring modernity (Cummings 2009; Widmer 2013; Cummings 2013a), and kin play an important role in enabling and structuring mobility (Eriksen 2008; Lind 2014). Without denying the existence of local variations in mobility systems and behaviour (Haberkorn 1987) therefore, it is not unreasonable to conclude that Paama provides a suitable case study for exploring trends occurring more widely throughout Vanuatu. Having considered mobility from a rural perspective, the next chapter examines the mobility experiences of urban Paamese.
Chapter 8: Mobility from an urban perspective
Having examined migration from a rural perspective, the current chapter considers the mobility of Liro Area urban residents. To determine the influence of migrant generation on mobility behaviour and experiences of urban life, second generation migrants – arguably Vanuatu’s first truly urban generation – are compared and contrasted to the first generation. The demographic structure of the Liro Area urban population is analysed, and mobility rationales are considered. Indicators of urban commitment including length of urban residence, and frequency of return visits are discussed and compared to trends from 1983. It is argued that these factors, in combination with future residential expectations and urban residents’ attitudes to urban and rural life, point to an increasingly permanent urban population.

8.1 Defining the second generation

According to most definitions, second generation migrants comprise those who are born in the host country (or in this case, city) to two immigrant parents. While it provides a starting point, such a narrow definition is not necessarily appropriate for qualitative research which focuses on the nuances of migrant experience (King & Christou 2010). Consequently, this thesis uses a wider definition of second generation migrants. While those who were born and grew up away from Paama were quite easily identified as second (or in some cases third or fourth) generation migrants, the classification of what have been called 1.5 generation migrants, in this case those who had spent some time on Paama as a child, was more complicated. Rather than employing an age cut-off, 1.5 generation migrants were classified according to the manner in which they spoke about their experiences of Paama. If migrants had spent little time on the island and had limited knowledge of rural life, they were considered 1.5 generation migrants. If however, they strongly identified with their childhood on the island, they were classified as first generation migrants. This approach was able to better capture the intricacies and variations in migration experiences than a more rigid age based classification system. Importantly, as all urban participants were adults, 1.5 generation migrants had necessarily spent an extended period in town, and thus had a thorough understanding of urban life (McAuliffe 2005).

80 Haberkorn’s (1987) fieldwork spanned 1982-83. While rural data were collected in 1982, urban data dates from 1983.
81 Unless otherwise indicated, varying totals (N) throughout this chapter refer to the number of individuals for whom data were available. A summary of urban Paamese interviewed by gender and migrant generation is provided in Table 5.2.
For the sake of simplicity, the following chapters refer to all migrants who are considered 1.5 generation or above as the ‘second generation’. While there are now third, and in some cases, fourth generation urban migrants living in Port Vila, in 2011, these individuals were still relatively young, and distinguishing them would have resulted in a sample size too small to prove meaningful. However, as these subsequent generations grow, they will provide further opportunities for research and comparison.

8.2 Second generation identity

For second generation migrants, identity was based on a combination of heredity and social organisation. As a patrilineal society, Paamese lineage identity was traditionally passed from a father to his children, and upon marriage females took on the place based identity of their husbands. In 2011 however, many second generation migrants identified as Paamese when only their mother was from Paama. This was largely a function of the community in which a child was raised, and was especially the case for children of single mothers who often had only infrequent contact with their father (Case Study 8.1).

Case Study 8.1: Second generation identity

Lisa, aged six years, and her brother Carl, aged four years, were born to a Paamese mother and a Banks Island father. Their parents had been together for roughly seven years, however in 2011 they had only just gathered the resources for Bill to make a kastom marriage ceremony in which he ‘paid’ for Jane and the two children. Bill did not have the right to take Jane to live with his own family until this payment was made. As a result, they had been living with Jane’s parents and siblings within a Paamese enclave in one of Vila’s many informal settlements. The two children had limited knowledge of their father’s language, and understood but could not speak the Paamese language. They spent the majority of their time with their Paamese relatives, visiting their father’s family for specific events. After their kastom marriage ceremony, Bill’s relatives expressed the hope that he and Jane would start living with them in another area of Vila. However, Jane laughed off this suggestion as they were well established at their current location. The two children, whose identity would traditionally be associated with their father’s island, identified as Paamese, and were only singled out as man-Banks in joking exasperation by the other Paamese children.

Kevin, aged 18 years, was born to a Paamese mother and a father from Futuna. He was an only child to his mother who had never married. While Kevin knew who his father was, he had limited contact with him, and had grown up living with his mother, her parents, siblings and
As in urban Papua New Guinea therefore (Barber 2010), for second generation urbanites in Port Vila, identification as Paamese was based upon social interactions rather than physical experience of the village itself. Nonetheless, those who either had not visited their island ‘home’ and/or did not join the community in fundraising, meetings and other events were widely criticised for their behaviour.

(i) Some people grow up, and you ask them ‘Are you Paamese’? When you ask them, they tell you where they are from on Paama, but sometimes, yes, they just say it, but they don’t really join in with other community members. (Male, 42 years, second generation migrant)

(ii) It’s common for people to say that they are Paamese. They just mention the name, Paama. They say they are Paamese, but what village do they come from? Lots of people now [...] are losing their family, they no longer work together closely with their family or the community from the village that they belong to [...] Lots of people just say they come from Paama, but they have never been there. (Female, 35 years, second generation migrant)

Writing in the late 1990s, Rawlings (1999) noted that very few urban ni-Vanuatu identified with town as their home ‘place’. In 2011, Liro Area urbanites similarly continued to identify primarily with their island village as ‘home’. Nonetheless, as Mecartney (2001) has described for residents of Blacksands informal settlement more widely, Liro Area Paamese were also identifying with certain parts of Vila. While this was true of both first and second generation migrants, identification with urban areas was more pronounced amongst the latter. Thus, one second generation male spoke of a time in his youth when he had belonged to a gang of ‘Freshwota’82 Boys’ whose main objective – despite the disapproval of their elders – was to

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82 One of Vila’s formally established residential areas.
enjoy *young laef* (‘young life’, a period in which it was somewhat acceptable to enjoy the bright lights of town, before settling down) together in the urban environment. Residential location, and not island of origin, provided the basis for membership of the group. In Blacksands in 2011, membership of the Liro Area enclave was based on a combination of island identity (most residents had some connection to the villages of Liro Nesa or Seneali) and place of residence: community membership was extended to individuals from other islands who lived within the area. One of these, a *man-Pentecost*, acted as the community’s elected *jif*, and chaired weekly meetings to discuss matters affecting residents. Significantly, while Liro Area Blacksands residents attended these meetings, many did not attend community meetings for their village of origin, and their participation in the migrant community was thus largely focused on their place of residence. While island identity had not been ‘lost’ therefore, in 2011 it was not the sole marker of identity in town.

### 8.3 Demography of Liro Area urban households

As for rural residents, a number of urban Paamese did not know their own ages, or those of other members of their household. To provide a more complete picture of the Liro Area urban population, unknown ages were estimated within a ten year margin of error based on the ages of parents, children and/or siblings as appropriate. Population structures therefore show Paamese of known ages with (Figure 8.1) and without (Figure 8.2) these age estimates included. Older household heads often provided information for their children who had grown up and established their own households, but not for their grandchildren. The estimated proportion of those aged 0-19 years (34%) (Figure 8.2) is therefore more likely closer to 42%, in line with the wider urban population (Figure 8.3) (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011).

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83 This included husbands and boyfriends of Liro Area women who would not traditionally have been considered ‘Paamese’.
84 All Liro Area candidates had allegedly declined the position.
85 Figures 8.1 and 8.2 show all individuals originating from households interviewed. This includes spouses and partners who did not originate from the Liro Area (although these represent a minority). Children who had grown up, married, and established their own households are also included in order to provide demographic data for as large a portion of the Liro Area urban population as possible.
The substantial proportion of males and females aged 20-39 years was consistent with outmigration trends from rural areas (Chapter 7), and reflects Port Vila’s wider population structure (Figure 8.3). Comparing Figures 8.2 and 8.3, the Liro Area urban population can be considered representative of the general urban population in terms of age and sex.
Excluding spouses and partners who did not hail from the Liro Area had little impact on population structure (Figure 8.4). While it would appear that women aged between 25–44 outnumbered males in the same age range, this was in part due to the cultural tendency to direct women towards the female researcher, hence this ‘excess’ of females may be merely a product of the sample. Furthermore, in 2011 there existed a number of unconventional female only headed households; some 6% of women were unmarried with children and living independently. This is slightly higher than the 4.3% reported by Chung and Hill (2002) in the late 1990s, and may reflect the greater frequency of divorce and separation in 2011, and the (relative) acceptability of such household structures. The significance of this household structure is underlined by the absence of such households in rural areas; the anonymity of town meant that after bad experiences with men, some women were choosing not to marry. Macintyre (2011) noted similar decisions amongst urban women in Papua New Guinea who were commonly economically active and able to support themselves independently. In contrast, Liro Area women who chose not to marry were generally at an economic disadvantage due to their reliance on a single income, particularly when it came to paying school fees (Case Study 8.2).

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86 Only two males (2%) were divorced or separated at the time of interview, and both of these were living with their parents.

87 Widmer (2013) noted that it would be ‘unthinkable’, both economically and socially, for a young unmarried mother to establish a household of her own. While this was true of young women, Liro Area women who headed such households in 2011 tended to be older, and while this was not considered an ‘ideal’ situation, it was somewhat accepted as one of the many troublesome social structures that existed in the urban environment.

88 In rural Liro Area villages in 2011, only one ‘single mother’ was living alone with her child. This was due to the death of her husband.
Case Study 8.2: Female headed households

Nina, aged 49 years, and her sister Estelle, aged 45 years, had been living in Vila for approximately 13 and 19 years respectively. Nina came to Vila to work as a haosgel for her mother’s cousin, and had two daughters to different fathers. Her eldest daughter had finished school in Year Ten (Nina could not afford the school fees), while the other was enrolled in Year Six in 2011. The girls’ fathers were not forthcoming with financial assistance, and Nina had used all her savings to pay school fees. Nina returned to Paama after her first daughter was born, but after nine months decided to come back to her life in Vila. She had not visited the island since.

Estelle followed the father of her four children to town. They never married, and after living together in Vila for a period, Estelle’s partner ‘ran away’ with another woman. Two of Estelle’s children had attended primary school on Paama, however Estelle had stayed in town in order to work and pay school fees. It was important to Estelle that her children receive an education, as she believed it was an investment in their future. In 2011, Estelle’s eldest daughter was married, her son had recently returned to Paama to stay with his grandfather, another daughter was working as a haosgel for relatives, and her youngest daughter was enrolled in Year Ten.

After their bad experiences with men, Nina and Estelle were uninterested in further relationships, and in 2011 had been living together for a number of years. In 2007 they left a previous rental property after a fire lit by a candle destroyed the property and most of their possessions. Due to the expense, they had not replaced important documents lost in the fire. Nina’s eldest daughter was unable to find work as she could not produce the certificate proving she had completed Year Ten.
Comparing 2011 data to the age and sex distributions of migrants in 1983 (Figure 8.5) shows an increase in the proportion of migrants aged 45 years and above, as migrants had aged in place; a significant proportion of Paamese interviewed in 2011 had been living in Vila since at least 1980 (Section 8.9). In both time periods, the relatively well balanced adult migrant sex ratios supported a pattern of long-term urban migrants rather than temporary (male) circular migration.

Together Nina and Estelle paid 16,000 vatu/month in rent, roughly a quarter of their combined monthly income; Nina worked two *haosgel* jobs, while Estelle cared for an expatriate’s child. To save money, they and their children walked to and from work and school. For Estelle, this meant a one hour one walk in each direction. In 2010, Estelle had participated in the RSE scheme, but at 65,000 vatu/year, her daughter’s school fees quickly consumed her savings. Nina and Estelle did not have access to garden land, and struggled to meet their monthly expenses. They had briefly tried selling cooked food to earn extra income, but stopped as they were unable to sell all that they prepared. Estelle dreamed of establishing a small business selling chickens. She had done the research, but could not foresee a time when she would have the necessary start-up capital.

Although their father had promised them access to his land on Paama, Nina and Estelle remained ambivalent about a potential return to the island. Among other considerations, their unconventional status as single mothers meant they were an easy target for village gossip. In town, Nina and Estelle were afforded a certain degree of anonymity, and their status as single mothers was more acceptable than on the island where social organisation was more conservative.

Comparing 2011 data to the age and sex distributions of migrants in 1983 (Figure 8.5) shows an increase in the proportion of migrants aged 45 years and above, as migrants had aged in place; a significant proportion of Paamese interviewed in 2011 had been living in Vila since at least 1980 (Section 8.9). In both time periods, the relatively well balanced adult migrant sex ratios supported a pattern of long-term urban migrants rather than temporary (male) circular migration.

![Figure 8.5: Urban based Liro Area population, Port Vila 1983](image)

*Source: Haberkorn (1987)*
In 2011, first generation migrants accounted for less than a third of the Liro Area urban population (Table 8.1), whereas more than half of all Liro Area urbanites were second generation migrants. This is consistent with Mecartney’s (2001) observation from the late 1990s that 54% of Blacksands residents were second or third generation migrants, and underlines the significance of natural increase in urban population growth.

Table 8.1: Liro Area urban residents and migrant generation, 2011#

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Males</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Figures include all those who originated from participant households, and not just the subset of Liro Area Paamese interviewed.

The population structure of second generation migrants (Figure 8.6) was predictably youthful. In contrast, first generation urbanites were concentrated between the ages of 30-64 years with a notable spike for females aged 20-24 years (Figure 8.7), and was consistent with patterns of rural outmigration (Chapter 7). First generation urban Paamese interviewed had a slightly higher average age (47 years) than did second generation migrants (35 years), reflecting the age structures below.

Figure 8.6: Population distribution of second generation Liro Area urbanites, 2011
While the majority of second generation migrants living in Vila in 2011 had been born and grew up in town, six (four males and two females) had been born and grew up on islands other than Paama. These migrants had all moved to Vila as adults (their ages in 2011 ranged from 23 to 57 years) and had spent between 2-30 years living in Vila. They will be discussed in more detail below. For now, it is enough to acknowledge the presence of second generation migrants in Vila who were not urban born. Haberkorn (1987) made no mention of such migrants in 1983, nor are they discussed elsewhere in the literature on urbanisation and migration in Vanuatu.

8.4 Household characteristics

In 1983 the 69 households documented by Haberkorn (1987) had an average of 3.8 members. In 2011, average household size (N=74 households) had increased significantly to 5.4 members per household. This is consistent with earlier findings by Chung and Hill (2002), and slightly higher than the Port Vila average of 5.1 (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2012). Increased household size was associated with the emergence of multigenerational families; of urban Paamese who still had at least one parent alive (N=68) in 2011, 53% had a parent living in Vila, while a further 28% of parents resided on Paama. As urban population size increased and housing options stagnated, many children remained living with their parents after starting their own families. In 2011, overcrowding was such that rumours were circulating about shift sleeping in Seaside, one of the oldest established residential areas in Vila.
(iii) Some people at Seaside, [...] there are some who don’t work. At night they drink kava until daybreak. Then, when those with jobs go to work, the unemployed go inside and sleep in their beds. (Male, 37 years, 15 years in Vila)

In 1983, 80% of Liro Area children (N=93) had been born and lived all of their lives in town (Haberkorn 1987). Similarly, in 2011, only 15 households (20%) had a dependant child (eight males and three females) living with kin on Paama. Two had been sent to Paama for perceived bad behaviour, while the others were either adopted or had been sent to stay with family. Several had simply gone to Paama for a holiday, and stayed when the school year began. A further four children were attending school in other locations. There was no pattern as to whether absent children belonged to first or second generation migrant families. Considering the above, household structures in 2011 implied a high level of long-term urban commitment.

8.5 Marital status

In both 1983 and 2011, marriage represented a strong social norm, and considerable continuity in marital status was apparent (Table 8.2)\(^8\); over both periods there was little difference in rates of marriage amongst 15-24 year olds and those aged 45 years and above. Slightly fewer 25-44 year olds were partnered in 2011 reflecting a delay in marriage often associated with education (students were expected to concentrate on their studies), and an extended period spent enjoying young laef. Migrant generation had little influence on marital status, and while more second (34%, N=22) than first (14%, N=7) generation males were unmarried, this was merely a function of age.

Table 8.2: Proportion of partnered migrants, 1983\(^8\) & 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Proportion partnered 1983 (%)</th>
<th>Proportion partnered 2011 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males (N)</td>
<td>Females (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24 years</td>
<td>11 (36)</td>
<td>42 (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44 years</td>
<td>90 (40)</td>
<td>94 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45+ years</td>
<td>100 (17)</td>
<td>88 (16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^8\)Source: Haberkorn 1987

\(^8\) 2011 data includes all of those who were identified by family members as having a partner (girlfriend, boyfriend or spouse). Figures include all household members for whom data were available.
Due to past mobility norms, many older females had moved to Vila when their own mobility was reliant on their husbands, and these women were thus necessarily married. In 2011, while having children out of wedlock was not frowned upon *per se,* it was expected that single mothers should settle down with a man who could (in theory at least) provide for them. In planning for the future therefore, urban parents generally commented that they did not need to consider unmarried adult daughters, as they would (eventually) marry. By contrast, and despite the social stigma associated with their decision (Cummings 2009; Widmer 2013), a small minority of single mothers clearly stated that they intended to remain single. Some of these women had taken matters into their own hands, and were purchasing land in Vila to provide for their own future security (Section 9.1).

In 1983, Haberkorn (1987) associated the high proportion of partnered females in the 15-24 year age bracket with mobility norms; young single women were discouraged from migrating alone. By 2011 this was no longer the case (Chapter 7). Rather, the proportion of partnered females can be explained by the high incidence of teenage pregnancy which brought with it social pressure for women to ‘find themselves a man’. This pressure was not extended to males who had children out of wedlock, reflecting wider attitudes about the gendered nature of ‘blame’ for teen pregnancies common in urban Vanuatu (Widmer 2013).

During the era of circular migration, males generally resided in Vila without their wife and children. Nonetheless, by the early 1970s, Bedford (1973) found 82% of married Shepherd Islander males were living with their wife in town. Rather than migrating as a family however, most males preceded their families to Vila. By 1983, 95% of ever-married Paamese lived in Port Vila with their spouses (Haberkorn 1987). In 2011, when many Paamese were marrying only after migrating to Vila, this had increased to 99%. While the presence of spouses in town may merely be a new facet of circular migration (husbands and wives migrating together), evidence from rural residents (Chapter 7) along with that presented by Haberkorn (1987) suggests otherwise. The endurance of this trend for close to thirty years can be considered one indicator of commitment to long-term urban residence.

By 2011, intermarriage with ni-Vanuatu from other islands had increased significantly. In 1983 just over half (54%) of married Liro Area men (N=50) had a wife originating from Liro Area villages, while the majority (80%) were married to women of Paamese origin. Haberkorn (1987) noted however, that these figures represented an underestimate of the rates

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90 This figure includes Liro Area women.
of interisland marriage, as women who married men from other islands, and thus were no longer considered ‘Paamese’, were excluded from this sample. Nonetheless, by 2011 rates of interisland marriage were more than double what they had been a generation earlier, and as is common for urban dwelling ni-Vanuatu in general (Sherkin 1999; Mecartney 2001; Chung & Hill 2002), almost half (48%) of all partnered Paamese aged 25 years or older (N=130) were in a relationship with a non-Paamese individual (Table 8.3). As would be expected, second generation migrants had a higher rate of marriage to non-Paamese spouses, accounting for 39% (N=31) and 66% (N=64) of first and second generation partnerships respectively. ‘Mixed’ relationships were often initiated in town, and reflected the wider population from which spouses could be chosen, and a desire for relationships based on ‘love’ rather than *kastom* arrangements.

**Table 8.3: Island of origin of partners to urban dwelling Liro Area Paamese, 2011**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin of partner</th>
<th>Partners (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paamese</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half Paamese</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other islands</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N)</strong></td>
<td><strong>130</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These were individuals identified as having one Paamese parent.*

For couples married to partners from a different island, town provided a ‘neutral’ place of residence (Mecartney 2001), where both partners had continued access to *wantok* networks, and were thus less socially isolated. Furthermore, as for Ambrymese (Eriksen 2008), some Liro Area migrants in mixed marriages were wary of relocating to unknown rural areas for fear of *nakaimas*. For others, issues including the complicated land claims sometimes associated with inter-island marriage (Connell 1988) provided practical barriers to relocation. More generally, as in Papua New Guinea (Goddard 2010), mixed marriages were often considered responsible for volatile relationships. Liro Area migrants believed ‘true’ *kastom* partners had greater responsibility to ensure relationships were maintained, whereas others were more likely to leave and/or play around. For various reasons therefore, increased inter-island marriages amongst Liro Area urban residents reinforced commitment to town.

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91 This figure includes all household members aged 25 or above for whom marital status was known.
(iv) Sometimes, when men marry a woman from another island, they just base themselves in Vila. When they marry a Paamese woman, they go to Paama. (Male, age unknown, 40 years in Vila)

8.6 Reasons for own migration

In the early 2000s, Lind (2014) noted that mobility from western Paama was heavily reliant upon the assistance and support of urban based kin who ‘enabled’ rural-urban migration. This was consistent with Liro Area migrants’ explanations for their own mobility in 2011, and the emphasis placed on family related moves (Figure 8.8)\(^\text{92}\). The growth of the second generation was reflected in the importance attributed to being born in Vila, while men emphasised employment related mobility more than women. Although it would be tempting to conclude that female mobility relied on family more than did males’, this was not the case. Finding employment (and earning money) relied heavily on kin networks (Chapter 9), and thus even male migrants who ostensibly travelled to Vila for economic reasons had their mobility facilitated by kin: a number of Liro Area migrants moved to town simply because they already had urban based family and/or did not have close relatives living on Paama.

(v) I just came because my mother was living in Vila. So I followed. I came to see her, and I just stayed. I don’t go to the island anymore either. (Male, 46 years, second generation migrant)

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\(^{92}\) Responses were classified according to Haberkorn’s (1987) categories:
- **Economic**: to earn money.
- **Employment**: to find a job, better work than in village, employment transfer, employment rotation.
- **Rural disenchantment**: trouble at home, wanted to experience Vila, fear of *nakaimas*.
- **Family**: Family took me along, family already in town, so I followed, accompanied a family member to town, visited family in town, attended a life cycle event and stayed.
- **Education**: attended secondary school on Efate, attended a course, failed and was ashamed to return home.
- **Hospital**: Accompanied ill/pregnant family member to hospital and stayed, came to care for ill family member and stayed, came for own health reasons and stayed.
- **Unclear**: Could not recall reason.
- **Land\(^*\)**: Not enough land, land disputes, to buy land.
- **Born in Vila\(^*\)**: Was born in Vila.

\(*\) These categories were not utilised by Haberkorn (1987), but were necessary in the classification of 2011 data.
While urban residents commonly spoke of *nakaimas* and its role in others’ mobility, only a minority cited *nakaimas* as a factor in their own migration. As for Samoans in New Zealand (Macpherson 1985) therefore, it was safer to project potentially controversial opinions onto others. While not exclusively arising from land related issues (jealousy leading to *nakaimas* could arise for any number of reasons), there was a close link. Thus, having too little land to support one’s family, as well as having ‘too much’ land and risking jealousy were both potentially volatile situations.

(vi) *We were born here, and we live here, but all Paamese still know that we have land. The reason that Paamese leave Paama is because those who have land are scared for their lives.* (Male, 40 years, second generation migrant)

Health played a more significant role in female than male mobility, and when medical facilities on Paama proved insufficient, pregnant women travelled to Vila to safely deliver their children. Providing care for sick relatives however, was not confined to females, and in some instances it was males who migrated to perform these duties.

(vii) *I just came because of my daughter. She was sick, she went to the hospital and they removed her appendix. Then they sent word that the two of us should come. My husband and I were living on the island. He came first, and I stayed on the island for*
Almost a third (29%) of second generation Paamese did not know why their parents had migrated to town (Figure 8.9). Economic reasons, namely to work and/or to earn money for school fees, were highlighted by a quarter (26%) of second generation urbanites as being important. Land related mobility was not mentioned, however nakaimas was cited by 9% of respondents as being a factor.

Significantly, responses in Figure 8.9 are not consistent with those given by first generation migrants for their own mobility (Figure 8.8). Second generation migrants possibly did not know, or were not interested in why their parents migrated to Port Vila. Alternatively, in attributing economic rationale to their parents’ mobility, the second generation may have been justifying their presence in town; as noted above, being economically active was a socially acceptable explanation for urban residence. Nonetheless, some second generation migrants possessed detailed knowledge of why their parents had left the island, and why they had not returned. This was commonly the case when nakaimas played a factor in mobility, and parents wanted to ensure their children were aware of any perceived dangers.

In 1983, no urban residents moved to Port Vila specifically to ‘find money’ (Table 8.4). However, in 2011 this accounted for 15% of males’ and 8% of females’ moves. This economic rationale was closely linked to education, with 100% of females and 63% of males

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83 Categories employed as above.
specifying that money was intended to pay school fees. Conversely, amongst males there was a 15% increase in ‘economic’ and 21% decrease in ‘employment’ related rationales between 1983 and 2011. This is likely to be linked, and may be due to wording of responses. By 2011 job rotation amongst males, a phenomenon associated with circular migration, was non-existent. While in the past males were often sure of their employment before arriving in Vila, by 2011 this was not always the case – thus the goal became earning money however possible, rather than filling a specific vacancy.

Table 8.4: Explanation for own move to Port Vila, 1983 & 2011: more than one response possible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for mobility</th>
<th>1983 (%)</th>
<th>2011 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Vila</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural disenchantment</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Haberkorn 1987

In 2011, due to women’s slightly increased labour force participation (Section 9.3), there was an associated increase in employment and economic related mobility amongst female Paamese. This mobility was often linked to informal *haosgels* work for employed relatives; more than half (56%) of women who cited ‘employment’ as the reason for their mobility had been sent for by relatives to work as *haosgels*. This again emphasises the role of kin networks in facilitating movement even when the stated reason for mobility was not ‘family’.

Significantly, in 2011 attending hospital, a reason that would not appear to imply permanence, accounted for 18% of female moves and 7% of male moves; by 2011 Liro Area Paamese had travelled to Vila for health reasons, and while there became involved in urban life and simply stayed.

Males participated more in family related mobility in 2011 than they had done in 1983, while women placed less emphasis on family linked mobility than in the past. Land related mobility
was non-existent in 1983, and accounted for a minority of mobility reasons in 2011, reflecting the increased population size in 2011 compared with 1983. Urban residents in general spoke more of the shortage of land on Paama than did rural residents, due to their more tenuous link to land they had left in the care of others, a discourse associated with an increased detachment from rural areas (Mitchell 2002), and some unfamiliarity with the realities of island life. Nonetheless, shortage of land was spoken of as a secondary concern rather than a motivation for migration itself. Mobility rationales therefore reflected changing structural factors and social norms between 1983 and 2011.

8.7 Second generation migrants from elsewhere

As noted above, six (14%) second generation migrants had grown up on other outer islands (namely, Malakula and Santo) before migrating to Vila as adults. For males, this mobility related to employment transfers, or a desire to seek work in Vila (Case Study 8.3). One woman had moved for education, while another had been sent for by family to undertake haosgel work. Thus, in all but one case, the move had been made for opportunities that were not available where they had been living previously, and it is likely that as migrant populations on outer island mature, this ‘second generation mobility’ will become increasingly common.

Case Study 8.3: Second generation migrants from elsewhere

Aged 34, Samuel was born and grew up on Santo where his family lived. His father left Paama before Samuel was born due to fears over nakaimas. He had warned his children about the dangers of sorcery on Paama, and told them that while they should visit the island, they should not argue over land. Instead, Samuel’s father purchased land on Santo that Samuel and his siblings had inherited. While Samuel’s own fear of nakaimas meant he did not want to live on Paama, he had visited the island three times: once as a child when he was sent to stay with relatives during the Santo rebellion, once to help prepare for Golden Jubilee celebrations in 1999, and once to wokbaot. None of these trips had exceeded several months. As well as Santo and Vila, Samuel had lived on Malakula for three years as a teenager, after following a family member there.

Samuel’s wife, Clara was also a second generation Liro Area migrant who had grown up on Santo. She too was concerned about nakaimas on Paama; however, whereas Samuel had visited the
In 2011, more than half (55%) of second generation migrants (N=38) had lived on Paama for a period\(^\text{94}\). Of these, the majority (85%) had either been born on the island, or lived there when they were young. A further two (10%) who had been born in Vila attended school on the island, while two more (10%) had been sent to stay with family on Paama for an extended period. Consistent with evidence from Paama (Chapter 7), no second generation migrants had spent extended periods on the island as adults.

Two thirds (67%) of second generation urbanites (N=34) had lived in locations other than Vila or Paama. This included those who had grown up on other islands as well as those who had been sent to stay with family for an extended period\(^\text{95}\). Almost half (43%, N=10) had spent time on Santo, while 22% (N=5) had resided on Malakula. Education and family were the most important factors in these moves (Table 8.5). Although educational facilities were concentrated in Vila, the education system\(^\text{96}\) coupled with a belief that it was sometimes

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\(^{94}\) This section considers time spent living on the island. Short-term visits are addressed below.

\(^{95}\) 1.5 generation migrants who were born on Paama and/or lived there for a period as a child before moving to Vila are not included in this figure.

\(^{96}\) If they passed the high school exam, students were allocated positions in schools depending on their results. Those with the best results attended well established and respected high schools such as Malapoa and Onesua
cheaper to send children to school on Paama, meant children did not necessarily attend school in town. Only five (22%) moves away from Vila had been made when the individuals were adults, and related to either employment or family. Except for recent arrivals to Vila who had grown up on other islands, these periods living elsewhere were insignificant in comparison to time spent in town, and generally lasted less than five years.

Table 8.5: Primary reasons for residence in other locations by migrant generation, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>1st generation (%)</th>
<th>2nd generation (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born/grew up there</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent to family</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit land</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N)</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A similar proportion (62%) of first generation migrants (N=50) had lived in locations other than Vila or Paama. Relatively more first generation migrants had lived elsewhere as adults, accounting for 44% (N=12) of moves. The majority of these had been work related, while four had been for education. Nonetheless these instances of mobility were again relatively short as compared to time spent in Vila, and averaged approximately five years for all moves. As for second generation migrants, moves were concentrated on islands that were easily accessible from Paama or Vila, where large populations of Paamese were established; Santo accounted for 34% (N=11) of moves, Epi for 25% (N=8), and Malakula for 13% (N=4). For all urban Paamese therefore, Vila represented the most important migration destination in terms of years of residence (Section 8.9), and mobility was strongly influenced by kin networks.

In 1983, Haberkorn (1987) found that most males aged 45 years and above had undertaken ‘considerable’ rural based mobility prior to settling in town. In 2011 only 16% (N=16) of urban Paamese had participated in past rural based mobility: 12 males and four females, all aged 40 years or above. Only two of these, both elderly males, had undertaken rural-rural based circulation as adults. This is consistent with evidence of decreased rural-rural-mobility on Efate, while others were sent to outer islands. Parents were sometimes able to influence where their children were sent, but this was not generally the case.
in 2011 (Chapter 7), and was linked to limited employment opportunities in rural areas, and an increase in urban based kin networks.

8.9 Length of urban residence

Long-term urban residence does not necessarily lead to urban permanence (Connell 1988; Small 2011), and an extended period spent in urban areas may even mean a greater likelihood of return as goals have been achieved: return migrants living in Liro Area villages in 2011 had all spent a number of years in Vila (Section 7.4). Nonetheless, the scarcity of such returnees supports the notion that for Liro Area Paamese at least, a return ‘home’ after a long absence was the exception rather than the norm.

In 1965, Brookfield and Brown Glick (1969) found migrants had spent a median 5-6 years living in Port Vila. By 2011, Liro Area migrants were spending extended periods in town: roughly three quarters of the Liro Area urban population had spent at least 15 years living in Port Vila\(^7\) as opposed to just one fifth in 1983 (Table 8.6). Similarly Liro Area migrants had spent an average of 23 years in Vila (males 25 years, females 21 years) in 2011, as compared to 10.5 years in 1983 (males 10 years, females 11 years), reflecting a stabilisation of the urban based Paamese population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years spent in Vila</th>
<th>1983(^8) (%)</th>
<th>2011 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 yrs</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5 yrs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 yrs</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 yrs</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15+ yrs</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^8\)Source: Haberkorn (1987)

Considering the average years spent in Vila by age group (Table 8.7) shows a significant increase amongst all age groups except women aged 55 years and above. This can be attributed to changes in female mobility patterns over the last 30 years and the age of second

\(^7\) In 2011 there were a number of older Paamese migrants who had participated in circular migration as young adults before settling more permanently in Vila in their later years. Most were unable to quantify how many years they had spent circulating, however this did not affect the category to which they belonged in Table 8.6, as in each instance the total number of years spent in Vila was 15 or greater.
generation migrants, most of whom were 40 years or younger in 2011. Therefore the increase in years spent in Vila in 2011 was not merely the result of a small group of migrants having spent many years in Vila. Longer periods were being spent in town by the Liro Area population as a whole.\(^{98}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Average years spent in Vila</th>
<th>1983(^a)</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-24 yrs</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34 yrs</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44 yrs</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54 yrs</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55+ yrs</td>
<td></td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Source: Haberkorn (1987)

Moreover, in 2011, Liro Area migrants had spent a greater proportion of their adult life in Vila than they had done in 1983 (Table 8.8). In both cases, this was significantly longer than the 30% of working life recorded by Bedford (1973) for Shepherd Islanders in 1970, and was in part linked to the increase in second generation migrants. The slightly lower proportion of adult life spent in Vila by females aged 45 and above in 2011 can be attributed to their later entry into rural-urban mobility; when they were experiencing young laef, mobility norms were such that it was less acceptable for single young women to migrate independently.

\(^{98}\) 2011 figures represent a slight underestimate of the number of years spent in Vila due to several older migrants who were unable to quantify years spent circulating between Paama and Vila in their youth.
Table 8.8: Proportion of adult life spent in Port Vila by age group, 1983 & 2011*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1983* (N)</th>
<th>2011 (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24 yrs</td>
<td>64 (23)</td>
<td>66 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34 yrs</td>
<td>73 (19)</td>
<td>68 (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44 yrs</td>
<td>53 (13)</td>
<td>48 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54 yrs</td>
<td>35 (7)</td>
<td>54 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 yrs +</td>
<td>38 (5)</td>
<td>55 (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Haberkorn (1987)

*Percentages were calculated using the same formula as Haberkorn (1987); (Years lived in Vila since age 15/(Current age – 15))x 100.

8.10 Urban-rural return visits

While visiting ‘home’ does not cause return migration, by reinforcing social ties with the home place such visits can facilitate more permanent return, and aide reintegration into the home social environment. More practically, visits can prepare potential return migrants for the realities of the home place (Duval 2004; Potter et al. 2009). In 2011, 50% (N=26) of urban dwelling Liro Area females and 40% (N=21) of males had either never visited Paama or did not do so anymore99. Only a minority provided an explanation for this lack of contact, but not having close family on the island and/or access to their own house were important reasons for not visiting. Being unable to take time off work was also a factor. Males, who generally earned higher incomes, were more concerned with economic constraints than females, but it was commonly acknowledged that visiting the island could be expensive, especially if accompanied by family (whose fares also had to be paid) and if carrying gifts (which was expected). Women also cited a fear of planes and ships and no other family members visiting (therefore they had no one to travel with) as reasons for their own lack of return.

(viii) When my parents were living on Paama, I used to go and visit them there when I had holidays, then I would come back [to Vila]. But now they are [living in Vila], I don’t go anymore. I just stay here [...] Our house [on the island] has a broken roof, the corrugated iron is rotten, so where would I stay? And all of my kids go to school, so I am working to build my house [in Vila] and pay school fees. Because life is hard

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99 Time frames were not specified for those who did not visit Paama anymore, however in general many years had passed since their last visit and/or it was too long ago to recall.
now, I have to concentrate on these things first. If I visited Paama, I wouldn’t have anywhere to go. (Male, 57 years, second generation migrant)

Having access to a house on the island was an important consideration. While it was not tabu to stay with family, it was not considered proper, and many felt uncomfortable relying on others for accommodation in their home place as they believed they ‘should’ have their own house. In 2011, the majority of Liro Area migrants did not have access to a house of their own on Paama, and thus most found it difficult to visit the island (Table 8.9). Not surprisingly, more first than second generation migrants either had access to their own house or were in the process of building a house on Paama. Nonetheless, a similar number of first and second generation migrants (50% and 58% respectively) had no housing on the island.

Table 8.9: Access to housing on Paama by urban Paamese, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
<th>1st generation (%)</th>
<th>2nd generation (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None/rotten</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently building</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family house</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Family houses such as those built by fathers or grandparents were generally inhabited by other family members living on the island, and hence were not considered appropriate accommodation for visitors who wanted their ‘own’ house.

Roughly two thirds (64%) of all women, and 40% of all men had visited Paama only once, rarely, or had not returned for a long time (Figure 8.10). More men (31%) than women (21%) had visited Paama multiple times. Similarly, while 17% of males visited Paama between two and four times, only 9% of women had done so. The greater number of visits to Paama by males was linked to the patrilineal inheritance of land, and the associated expectation that males retain contact with the island. Some widows felt they no longer had a right to access land or resources on Paama, and therefore no longer returned.

(ix) Because my husband is already dead, I wouldn’t want them to say ‘Your husband is dead already, what are you doing back here?’ (Female, 52 years, 22 years in Vila)
Migrant generation had little influence on the frequency of ‘return’ visits (Figure 8.11). Only three second generation (10%) and three first (8%) generation migrants had never visited Paama. A similar proportion of first (28%) and second (23%) generation migrants had made multiple visits. Almost half (43%) of all second generation migrants had visited Paama once or not for a long time, as had just over half (59%) of all first generation migrants. Relatively more second generation migrants had visited Paama two to four times. These visits often occurred during childhood, with some second generation migrants frequently spending school holidays on Paama. However, visits often stopped as children matured, and (secondary) education and/or work commitments became more demanding. Those who had not visited Paama for an extended period admitted they no longer knew what island life was like.

(x) I don’t know what it’s like there now. I’ve forgotten, because it’s been a long time since I last went. I was still young and attending primary school at the time. (Male, 26 years, second generation migrant)
Potter et al (2009) emphasised the importance of family in the maintenance of transnational ties amongst Trinidadian migrants. This was also true at a different scale for Liro Area migrants. Of those who had visited Paama multiple times, 85% had close relatives living on the island when they made these visits.  

\[(\text{xi})\] [Some people] don’t have any family on the island. Who would they stay with?  
[...] When you don’t have family on the island you go and you are just like a stranger.  
(Female, 47 years, Vila since 1980s)

Comparing this to 1983, in 2011 relatively fewer urban Paamese had never visited Paama, while more males had made multiple visits (Figure 8.12). This can be explained by the longer periods of urban residence in 2011; there had simply been more time in which to visit Paama. More males than females had never visited Paama in 1983 whereas the converse was true of rare visits. Thus, while it was common for urban Paamese to have returned ‘home’ at least once, doing so more frequently was a rare event over both time periods.

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\[100\] By 2011, some of these relatives had died or been brought to town. In these instances it was often reported that visits were no longer made to Paama as there was no one there to visit.  
\[101\] Haberkorn (1987) defines frequent visits as ‘more than twice’ and ‘rare’ visits as once or twice. 2011 data were classified slightly differently due to the longer average periods spent in Vila, and the ways in which urban Paamese spoke about their return visits. Nonetheless, it is still possible to meaningfully compare this data.
In 2011, over half of those who could recall the year of their last visit, had returned to Paama within the previous five years (Table 8.10). Roughly a quarter of females had visited Paama between 1991 and 2000, many coinciding with the Presbyterian Church’s ‘Golden Jubilee’ (100 year anniversary) on Paama in 1999. A number of families had visited Paama for this event, however most remained on the island for less than two weeks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of last visit</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
<th>1st generation (%)</th>
<th>2nd generation (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1990</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-2000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2005</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-2011</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't recall</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N)</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More first (61%) than second (41%) generation migrants had returned to Paama between 2006 and 2011. This was significantly fewer than the 83% of urban dwelling Shepherd Islanders who had visited their rural homes between 1965 and 1970 (Bedford 1973). As it was commonly believed by migrants and rural residents alike that migrants should visit Paama every year, not doing so was considered a failing. Thus, while five years may not seem overly long, social norms meant that such an absence was considered undesirable.

\[\text{(xii) It’s like I’ve said, 60-65% [of migrants] are already man-Port Vila, they don’t go back to the island anymore. But 40% or 35% are still man-Paama because they live}\]
here and they still go back to the island. When they have a long holiday in December, they go and stay with their family [on Paama] for the full month. (Male, 42 years, second generation migrant)

As noted above, special events such as the Golden Jubilee and opening of nakamals played an important role in initiating return visits (Figure 8.13). Women visited Paama more for social reasons including church events, weddings and Christmas, while men returned more for ‘business’ including land disputes, the opening of nakamals and to ‘invest’ in rural assets, by planting gardens (only one or two had planted cash crops), or checking on houses.

![Figure 8.13: Reason for most recent visit to Paama by urban Paamese, 2011](image)

First and second generation migrants visited Paama for similar reasons (Figure 8.14). More second generation migrants had visited Paama for Christmas, or to spell/wokbaot, as many spent their school holidays on the island as children. Special events such as church and nakamal openings were important for all Paamese in determining the timing of their trips.
In 1983, Haberkorn (1987) noted the lack of interest in eventual return to Paama; only 7% of all return trips were explained in terms of long-term rural strategies (Figure 8.15). As in 2011 therefore, most return trips were motivated by social reasons, and functioned to reinforce kin ties.

Although the number of shorter term urban residents was too low to accurately reflect their pattern of return visits, long-term urban residents had not ceased contact with the island (Table 8.11). While males visited Paama more frequently than females, there was a high level of variation in the number of return visits amongst long-term urbanites. Rather than being reliant on length of urban residence therefore, the ability and desire to return to Paama was influenced by having the means to do so (time off from work, economic resources) and a
reason to go (close family on the island and/or a house of one’s own). This is consistent with data from 1983 which indicated that male return visits were largely independent of length of urban residence, and close rural family ties were more important in influencing return, particularly in the case of females (Haberkorn, 1987).

**Table 8.11: Length of urban residence and number of visits to Paama by urban Paamese, 2011**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of visits</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; 5 yrs</td>
<td>6-10 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-4 times</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely/not for a long time</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1983, due to the frequent visits made by rural residents to Port Vila, urban Paamese were able to maintain close contact with rural family members without themselves having to travel; almost half (46%) of rural residents (N=170) had visited Port Vila in the year preceding Haberkorn’s (1987) fieldwork. Little had changed in 2011, and 45% of rural Paamese (N=110) had visited Vila during the previous year. Widespread access to mobile phones in 2011 meant it was easier than ever to share and exchange news at a distance. During both periods, large, well-established urban kin networks made it possible to participate in community activities without returning to Paama; the same life cycle events were commonly observed in both locations, and linguistic and emotional contact did not require mobility as it had during the years of circular migration. The use of Paamese place names in Port Vila, for example ‘Seaside Seneali’, further aided in fostering continuity with rural areas and a sense of ‘home’ in the urban environment (Eriksen 2008; Lind 2014). Thus, when asked about his contact with the island, one older Liro Area man stated that Vila was just like Paama – he lived in a quiet area in a community environment. This along with the demographic shift towards urban areas meant that many Liro Area Paamese had more relatives living in town than on Paama. They therefore did not need to return ‘home’, to feel at home.

**8.11 Recent mobility of urban residents**

Paama was not the only location visited by Liro Area migrants in the year preceding fieldwork; a total 28% of females (N=39) and 43% of males (N=44) travelled during this
period. Considering mobility to all locations reveals that while just under half of all trips were made to Paama, other locations were also significant (Table 8.12). Males travelled in greater numbers and to a greater variety of locations than did females. While nine males (47%) travelled to more than one location, only one female made multiple trips. Santo was a significant destination for males due to work related travel and the location of family members. Only two urbanites had participated in RSE work in New Zealand, and a further male had been to Australia as part of a church organised trip.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>1st generation</th>
<th>2nd generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambrym</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emae</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mystery Island*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paama</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanna</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N)</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Column totals are >Total (N) due to some individuals making multiple trips.

*SAn uninhabited island off the coast of Tanna popular as a destination for cruise ships.

Slightly fewer first (33%) than second (41%) generation migrants had travelled in the year preceding fieldwork, and migrant generation influenced the locations visited. The mobility of first generation migrants was largely directed towards Paama (50% of trips) and Santo (25% of trips) whereas second generation migrants visited a wider variety of locations with Santo accounting for more than half (64%) of all trips. Malakula and Paama were equally important locations for second generation mobility, each accounting for 36% of travel.

Reasons for travel differed along gender lines (Figure 8.16). Work was important for both males and females; however, as for mobility to Paama, females travelled more for social reasons including attending marriages and church related trips. Males travelled for a greater variety of reasons than females, and casual mobility (*wokbaot*) was more important for males,
reflecting gender norms\textsuperscript{102}. Again, for non-work related travel, having a family or land-related link to the destination was also important.

![Figure 8.16: Reason for mobility over the last year amongst urban Paamese, 2011](image)

Second generation migrants made slightly more work related trips (27\%) than first generation migrants (22\%) (Figure 8.17). \textit{Wokbaot} and family related travel were also more important in second generation mobility. This was largely due to several recently arrived migrants whose spouses and child(ren) remained on Santo. Life cycle events, including deaths and weddings, were relatively more important for first generation migrant travel. Interestingly, second and not first generation migrants made trips to visit land located elsewhere.

![Figure 8.17: Reason for mobility over the last year by migrant generation, urban Paamese, 2011](image)

\textsuperscript{102} One male in his mid-twenties had a special deal with Air Vanuatu and spent many of his weekends travelling to other islands for pleasure. He did not travel to Paama, as the flight schedule made it difficult to do so in a weekend, and more importantly, he was scared of \textit{nakaimas}. For most Liro Area migrants however, such hedonistic travel was beyond their means.
Overall, slightly more first than second generation migrants maintained ties with Paama via return visits. However, as in 1983 (Haberkorn 1987), this was a function of where close kin resided rather than a long-term rural return strategy. Only a minority of urban Paamese returned to the island to invest in rural livelihoods. This is consistent with evidence from second generation Tongan migrants (Lee 2009b), and second generation Greeks and Cypriots (King et al. 2009) where similar short-term visits did not necessarily lead to ‘return’ migration. Again therefore, the mobility of urban Paamese was largely structured by kinship ties.

8.12 Future residential expectations

In 1983, 80% of urban Paamese expected to reside in Vila in five years time (Haberkorn 1987). This was consistent across gender and age groups. In the late 1990s, working in Vila’s informal settlements and Blacksands respectively, Chung and Hill (2002) and Mecartney (2001) similarly reported that urban residents had little interest in returning to their rural ‘homes’. By contrast, in 2011 roughly half of all Lira Area migrants stated that they would like to live on Paama again one day (Table 8.13). However, only one urban resident provided a time frame (5-10 years) for this move, accounting for the significant increase in Paamese who intended to return to the island to live. As it is a strong cultural norm to want to return to the island, when a specific date was not required most urban residents answered that in an ideal world they would like to return ‘home’.

Table 8.13: Intention to return to Paama to live amongst Paamese urban residents, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Return to Paama?</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering future residential expectations by age and gender (Table 8.14), reveals that women were more ambivalent about return than men. This can be attributed to their reliance on (Paamese) husbands for land access on the island. Women aged 15-24 years were the least likely to plan on returning, consistent with the lack of young women in this age group resident on the island. Those aged 25-44 years were the most likely to want to return to Paama, as this was the period where more demanding child care generally occurred. The desire to return to
Paama reflected the belief that life on the island was easier, particularly in terms of access to food, one of the major and most resented expenses associated with living in Vila. There was a decline in the expectation to return in women aged 45 years and over, as by then many were well established in Vila, and the social and economic costs of return were considered too high.

### Table 8.14: Intention to return to Paama to live, Paamese urban residents, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24 yrs</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44 yrs</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45+ yrs</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was only males aged 45 years and above who were clearly more oriented towards return than staying, reflecting the ideal whereby one retires to the island. However, as noted in Chapter 7, urban children often preferred that parents ‘retire’ in Vila.

(xiii) [My father] wasn’t pleased [to come and live in Vila]. But we had to bring him here [...] when my mother died, there wasn’t anyone on Paama to look after him. So we told him that he didn’t have a choice and he had to come and live with us because he wasn’t strong enough to make a garden by himself. And we thought that he should come and live with us so that we could look after him until he [dies.] All of us brothers live here and we work, so it wouldn’t be right for him to live by himself and us to all live here. We would live well, but he wouldn’t, he would suffer, so that’s why we decided that he had to come. (Male, 41 years, 20 years in Vila)

Somewhat predictably, more first than second generation migrants claimed that they would one day return to Paama (Table 8.15). It would be tempting to assume that this was due to their greater familiarity with island life. However, as with second generation Tongans (Lee 2009b), previous experiences of Paama had little impact on second generation migrants’ attitude to return. Rather, the first generation’s greater access to housing, and associated decreased relocation costs played a factor. Nonetheless, only half of all second generation migrants categorically stated that they would not live on Paama in the future. Unlike Tannese residents of Blacksands however, who held fundraisers in order to send bodies home for burials (Mitchell 2002), for Paamese infrequent transport connections combined with the expense meant that burials occurred in town.
Table 8.15: Intention to return to Paama to live by migrant generation, urban Paamese, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Return to Paama?</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; generation (%)</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; generation (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While all migrants theoretically had access to land on the island, the longer they stayed away, the harder it became to exercise land rights, and by association, to return to the island. As for migrants from Mataso (Sherkin 1999), Liro Area migrants experienced real practical limitations in taking back land left in the care of others, and some were unsure of their rights to access such land.

(xiv) At this stage, I’m not sure if I will go and live on the island [...] because there are too many land related issues. If there is someone else working on your land, they claim to know that it is yours, but if you go and ask for it back, they might spoil you [with sorcery] because of it. I don’t want to get involved in land issues because I’m not looking to create problems. I think if you talk to them, and ask them to leave, it’s okay, but if they retaliate against one of your children instead of you... So we just let them work on our land, and when we go and visit the island they bring us a basket of food or something similar. They know that they are making gardens and living on land that doesn’t belong to them [...] If I were to go and evict those who are using our land, and then come back to Vila, I would be ruining their livelihoods and those of their family, because where would they plant food for their children to eat? (Male, 34 years, second generation migrant)

(xv) Yes, I have [land on the island]. But, I say I have some, but I’m not sure if... The land is there, I know I have it, but our [classificatory] big brother has his house on it. (Male, 35 years, second generation migrant)

As noted in Chapter 7, physically engaging with the land via subsistence activities reinforced the relationship between person and place. Garden metaphors, referring to the traditional connection with one’s land were therefore commonly employed by Liro Area migrants to express detachment from the island, and anticipated difficulties entering a social environment with many unknowns; urbanites generally knew names, but often could not recognise more
distant (rural) family members, and when a group of Liro Nesa mothers came to Vila to sell produce, I had a better knowledge of names and relationships than some of my urban Paamese friends. Nonetheless, while some second generation migrants confided that they had not learnt certain aspects of rural life such as gardening, they generally believed that they could learn when (if) they moved to the island.

(xvi) I think just because I have lived in Vila for a long time now, in town, if you were to go back to the island you would find it hard [...] For example, lots of us who live here don’t make gardens. So if you went to the island you would have to make a garden, and you would say how do I make a garden? Once I went with some other Paamese boys to the other side of Efate [...] We went to plant manioc and yams, so some of us planted manioc, and some planted yams. I was planting yams, and when I finished, I had a look around and saw some of the manioc cuttings had been planted upside down [...] If you were to go to the island and make a garden like this, you’d have to wait, I don’t know how many months, but your manioc would never grow.

(Male, 37 years, second generation migrant)

Consistent with 1983, in 2011 attitudes to return were largely independent of length of urban residence (Table 8.16). However, this may be due to small sample sizes for those who had spent 15 years or less living in Vila.

Table 8.16: Attitude to return by gender and years spent in Port Vila, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in Vila</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>(N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yrs or less</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5 yrs</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 yrs</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 yrs</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 15 yrs</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1983, explanations for why Liro Area migrants had moved to Vila were often different from those they gave for staying in town (Haberkorn 1987). While in 2011 only a minority of Liro Area migrants provided explanations for their ongoing urban residence, the difference between migration rationales and reasons for continued urban residence remained evident (Table 8.17). Due to small sample sizes however, the following data should be taken only as a general trend illustrative of these discrepancies. The statistics themselves conceal various
social norms that were commonly discussed when urban Paamese spoke about reasons for not returning ‘home’.

**Table 8.17: Explanation for continued residence in Port Vila by explanation for original move to town, 2011:** more than one response possible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for staying</th>
<th>Born Vila</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Rural disenchantment</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born Vila</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House/land town</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No family island</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse doesn’t want to</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiting for kids to mature</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scared of nakaimas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saving money before return</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No house/land on Paama</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer town life</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will move to different island</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too old to return</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For some, fear of *nakaimas* on the island proved a significant barrier to return. Such fears were often linked to the unknown aspects of rural life that arose after extended periods of urban residence (Case Study 8.4).

(xvii) That’s what it is, they are scared of nakaimas. I’m the same, I want to go but... I’m scared of nakaimas too. That’s what it’s like for those of us who live in Vila for a long time, when you go to the island, you can’t stay. I’m scared of this too. (Female, 67 years, Vila since before 1980)

(xviii) I’m scared to go and stay on the island [...] I’ve said that I think I will go and buy some land somewhere around here instead [...] I’ve lived in town a long time and I’m scared to go back to the island again. I went in 1998 and only stayed for two weeks, then I came back here. Because I’m scared of nakaimas. (Female, 35 years, second generation migrant)
Case Study 8.4: Reasons for not returning to Paama

Aged 67, Margaret was born and raised on Paama. As a child, she travelled briefly to neighbouring islands with her parents to work on copra plantations. Margaret married a Liro Area man, and when she was pregnant with her third child, Margaret was told by Paama’s resident nurse that she would need to travel to Vila to give birth. Margaret’s husband was working in Noumea at the time, however the nurse called him and told him to return to Vanuatu. When she was eight months pregnant, Margaret met her husband in Port Vila, where they remained after the birth of their son. Shortly after she gave birth to her fourth child, Margaret’s husband died. She believed his death was the result of sorcery. Margaret remained in Vila alone to work and look after her children, before returning to Paama.

After staying on Paama for about a year, Margaret’s brother-in-law asked her to return to town. When she arrived, he was in hospital and could not help her. Through her wantok connections, Margaret found employment as a haogel for an expatriate couple. She soon met and married a Paamese man who helped raise her four children and treated them as his own. Shortly after Margaret’s third child was married, her husband died. Again, she blamed this death on sorcery.

In 2011, Margaret was living in a Paamese enclave of Blacksands. Her eldest son lived on Paama, while her other children remained in Vila. Margaret had not worked for many years, and earned money by selling food from her garden. One of her daughters paid Margaret a token amount to wash her laundry, while the other paid her to care for her young baby while she herself worked.

Except for family events, Margaret rarely left the areas where her daughters lived. She travelled to Paama briefly for the Golden Jubilee celebrations in 1999, but had not been back since. Margaret claimed that this was because her children did not look after her properly; if they did, they would pay for her to regularly visit the island and for the gifts that she would need to carry with her. Importantly however, Margaret was concerned about the possibility of nakaimas on the island, and believed that when you had lived in Vila for a long time, returning to the island often resulted in death by sorcery. While sorcery could also occur in town, it was the unknown aspect of island based nakaimas that was feared. Due to the combined influence of these factors, Margaret believed that she would most likely remain in Vila until her death. However, if her son on Paama paid her fare, she would like to travel to the island for Christmas.
As discussed above, Liro Area migrants maintained much stronger ties with the island when they had close family (most commonly parents, children or siblings) living on Paama. Similarly, return was often dependent on the location of family members.

(xix) Before, I just stayed on the island, but all of my family travelled and came [to Vila]. But I stayed with my mother [on Paama]. But when she died, I left. Yes, I left and I came here, and I have stayed. Sometimes I think [...] about going [to Paama], but I think if I do go, who would I be going to visit? If my mother was alive, I would go and visit her. But it’s better if I just stay here [...] I have never been back to visit. (Male, 50 years, Vila 26 years)

(xx) I want to go, but... I don’t have any family that lives there [...] I’m scared to go [...] because I don’t want to go alone. If one day my parents go, I’ll follow them there. (Male, 30 years, second generation migrant)

Some Liro Area migrants planned to move to islands other than Paama. These were places such as Santo and Malakula where they had spent a significant amount of time and/or owned land. A few had connections or access to land through their spouse, who themselves preferred to move to their own place rather than to Paama.

(xxı) I don’t know where I will live in the future, but I think I will go and live on Malakula or Epi, I don’t know yet. Because if I were to move back to Paama now, there isn’t enough land. So we bought land in town so that we have somewhere to live [...] That’s the reason, just because of land on the island. If all of us returned to the island, there wouldn’t be anywhere to build houses, because there isn’t enough land. So yes, I have decided to live on Malakula. (Male, 53 years, Vila since 1970s)

As was the case in 1983 (Haberkorn 1987), in 2011 employment provided an important reason for staying in town. Work commitments similarly prevented other kinds of mobility including RSE work, that necessitated lengthy absences and could result in the loss of jobs. Importantly however, even where work was a factor in deterring mobility, the location of close family members still played a role, and urban residence itself remained independent of employment types and duration (Section 9.3).

Just as access to housing on Paama provided an incentive for return visits, buying land and/or building a permanent house in town were considered signifiers of urban permanence. Thus,
when urban Paamese spoke of those who had bought land in Vila, they often used the phrase *finis nao* (that’s it, it’s over).

(xxii) Some Paamese don’t go back anymore because they have bought land [...] For example, when there are too many boys in a family and all of them grow up and marry, when they share the land between all of them sometimes there isn’t enough [...] They share the land out so that some stay on Paama and some go to Vila and some go to Santo and they go and buy land. (Male, 40 years, Vila 21 years)

As noted in Chapter 7, only economically and socially successful migrants generally returned to Paama. Liro Area urban residents placed considerable emphasis on setting themselves up to be able to survive comfortably before any return to Paama could be considered. Some who owned land wanted to build urban rent houses to secure a steady stream of income, should they return to Paama, while others wanted to start a store or other small business on the island. Those with school aged children wanted to wait until their children were married and employed so that they could provide urban based support. Urban Paamese were therefore working towards various goals, many that would take time, before a return ‘home’ could be considered (Case Study 8.5), so explaining the difficulty in attaching a date to plans to return. However, as for transnational Caribbean migrants (Fog Olwig 2007), the longer one stayed away, the harder it became to realistically contemplate a return. While it was rarely admitted in public, as for Samoans in New Zealand (Macpherson 1985), those who had spent most or all of their lives in Vila recognised that a return to the island would be difficult at best, and some felt they had nowhere else to go.

(xxiii) The two of us can’t go to the island anymore [...] If we were to go, it would be hard work for us to set up our family there. So we just stay here, and we have bought land here. (Male, elderly, Vila since 1970s)

(xxiv) I should say that I will go back to the island, but it would be a little bit hard for me now, because I have spent almost my entire life in town. I think it’s the same for those who live on the island when they come to town, because they have spent their whole life on the island. I think they would only be able to stay in town for a day or two before they wanted to go back to Paama. They wouldn’t feel right in town. Because, I think the cost of living in town is too high, and it makes it difficult for those who live on the island to come and live in Vila. Us too, I think we would find it a bit difficult to go and live on Paama because they don’t have all of the things we are used
to there. You would have to start saving a lot of money again because you would need to start over and build a house and everything. (Male, 59 years, second generation migrant)

(xxv) Vila is my home now. Whether I like it or not, I stay. I just stay, because where would I go? [...] It is my home now because I don’t have anywhere else I could go. (Female, 56 years, second generation migrant)

Some migrants therefore felt themselves to be ‘stuck’ in Vila, and for these Paamese, urban permanence had evolved as an inadvertent outcome of town residence.

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**Case Study 8.5: Goals linked to urban residence**

Henry, aged 41, had been living in Vila since 1988. As the youngest of his siblings, Henry’s two brothers took on the responsibility of paying his school fees. There were few opportunities to earn money on Paama, and so his brothers migrated to Vila where they found employment. Henry attended primary school on Paama, and high school on Pentecost. When he failed the exam at the end of Year Ten, there was no one on Paama for Henry to return to, so he joined his brothers in Vila. Henry found work as a policeman, and in 2011, he was still employed by the police force. He attributed his extended urban residence in part to his long-term employment.

By 2011, Henry had met and married a woman from another island. Henry’s wife worked as a saleswoman in a Chinese owned store, and although her wages were low, her boss compensated for this by paying her children’s school fees. Henry and his wife lived in a modern style brick house on land they had purchased in 2004. They had paid for the land in full over several years, however had taken a loan to pay for house materials and construction. The need to pay off this loan provided further incentive for remaining in town.

Despite his long-term urban residence, and investment in land, Henry maintained strong ties with Paama, and visited every year at Christmas for a month. He often took his children with him, and although they did not have a house on the island, they were able to stay with one of his classificatory brothers. This was a reciprocal arrangement, as the son of this brother lived with Henry in Port Vila in order to attend school.

Henry had mixed feelings about the island. He enjoyed visiting Paama, and hoped one day to return ‘home’ more permanently. However, as he and his brothers all worked, when their mother had died recently, rather than return to Paama, they brought their father to live with them in town.
For some migrants at least, Vila was the preferred place of residence; ‘home’ was no longer on the island. For others however, it was not a straightforward decision, and they struggled with feelings of where they would like to live versus the structural constraints experienced on the island.

(xxvi) Yes, I like Vila, I think because I have been here a long time now, and I have become used to life in Vila, so I like it. Yes, I think it is something like this, because I have made my living and I am based in Vila, so I like it. Because when I go to the island, I stay for a while and then I feel like I want to come back to Vila, I am glad when I know I’m coming back. I think because it is my home. I have made my home here and I am glad of it. (Male, 53 years, second generation migrant)

(xxvii) I don’t like it here. I just stay because of work. I really want to go to Paama, but when I go, I feel like I don’t know where I want to live. I’ve been living in Vila a long time, but I don’t like it. When I go to Paama, I really like it there, but sometimes I struggle, so I think about Vila again. I feel that I need to go and earn money. (Male, 44 years, second generation migrant)

In 1983, Haberkorn (1987) recorded a number of perceived advantages to urban life, most importantly a better quality of life in town, and the availability of economic opportunities. In contrast, in 2011, when directly questioned, the majority of urban Paamese claimed to prefer the island where life was (in theory at least) free. There was great dislike of the costs associated with town life, and finding a balance between kinship obligations and a migrant’s own economic survival was often difficult (Chapter 9). Pacific nostalgia for ‘true’ rural homes has been widely commented upon elsewhere (Koczberski et al. 2001; Mecartney 2001;
Lindstrom (2011), and as for residents of Blacksands (Mitchell 2002), both first and second generation Liro Area migrants maintained a strong emotional attachment to their ‘home’ villages and the imagined simplicities of rural life. Nonetheless, migrants recognised that Vila provided opportunities unavailable on Paama.

( xxviii ) Yes, [I like Vila] because it has helped me to make a living and plan for my children’s future. If it wasn’t for Vila, I don’t know if my children would have been able to go to school. Because how would I [pay for school fees]? (Male, 48 years, second generation migrant)

In 2011, while roughly half of all Liro Area migrants dreamed of a return to the island, many comfortably identified with Vila as ‘home’. Others remained ambivalent, and felt trapped by the structural constraints of town versus island life. For all urban residents however, ‘return’ became increasingly difficult the longer they stayed in town.

8.13 Conclusions

While urban permanence is difficult to measure, in 2011 Liro Area migrants across all age groups had been living in town for longer periods than in 1983. The demographic structure in 2011 showed a stabilisation of the urban Liro Area population, already somewhat evident in 1983 (Haberkorn 1987). With few exceptions, in 2011 adult migrants lived in town with their spouses and children, and age-sex ratios were relatively balanced. Second generation migrants accounted for a significant proportion of urban residents, and there was general recognition of the difficulties presented by ‘return’ migration, and the limitations, both structural and social, associated with rural existence. Similarly, while many Liro Area migrants spoke of a desire to return to the ‘simple ways’ of the island, they had various goals to achieve before doing so, and were unable to provide a time frame for such moves. However, for many migrants, the longer they stayed away, the harder it became to return ‘home’. Along with evidence from rural areas (Chapter 7) this suggests that it is highly unlikely that most if not all Liro Area migrants living in town in 2011 will return to their island ‘home’.

Between 1983 and 2011, mobility rationales had altered in response to a combination of structural factors and changing social norms. More emphasis was placed on the role of land in motivating migration in 2011, reflecting increased population size and feelings of disconnection from the rural social environment. Kin enabled and were vital for mobility to
town, and the location of family members influenced return visits to Paama and elsewhere. As in 1983 (Haberkorn 1987), the reasons for continued urban residence were not necessarily the same as reasons for leaving the rural area. Were it not for the use of longitudinal data however, these changes and continuities would not have been evident.

Despite earlier predictions (Bedford 1973; Haberkorn 1987), there were more similarities than differences in the behaviour of first and second generation migrants. While more first than second generation migrants continued to visit Paama, for most this was due to the location of close kin rather than a long-term rural return strategy. First generation migrants had slightly greater access to housing on the island, however attitudes to rural and urban life were consistent between migrant generations. Despite their often limited experience of rural life, second generation migrants maintained their Paamese identity through participation in the multilocal community of Liro Area villagers. Nonetheless, both first and second generation migrants behaved in a manner that indicated long-term urban commitment, and there was little difference in their attitudes to ‘return’. Regardless of migrant generation therefore, by 2011 Port Vila had become a long-term home to Liro Area urbanites.
Chapter 9: Urban life and livelihoods

‘There is no work [available]’, construction site, Port Vila 2011
Having established the trend towards long-term urban residence amongst Liro Area migrants (Chapter 8), this chapter examines the nature of contemporary town life. The many different conditions under which urban Paamese live are emphasised via consideration of housing tenure types, access to garden land, educational attainment and employment types. Basic income and expenditure data are presented to illustrate the economic realities of urban residence, and the role of remittances is examined. Urban social organisation, including interaction with wantoks and other town residents is discussed, as are emerging forms of sociality, and the outcomes of increased periods of town residence are considered. Again aspects of continuity and change between 1983 and 2011 are highlighted to provide greater context for discussion.

9.1 Place of residence and land tenure types

For Liro Area migrants, residential location (Table 9.1) depended upon a number of factors; the location of kin willing to support new migrants (Figures 9.1 and 9.2); areas available for settlement at the time of migration; and the economic means of migrants. In 2011, most migrants interviewed belonged to households located in Freshwota (a formal residential suburb), Blacksands informal settlement and Manples informal settlement, reflecting both the size of these areas, and their significance as places of residence for Liro Area Paamese (Figure 9.3). Mecartney (2001) has commented on the continuity of island groupings resident in Blacksands between the 1970s and 1990s. This was similarly true for Liro Area migrants, and there was a high degree of residential stability between 1983 and 2011; Tebakor/Tagabe was associated with Voravor migrants, and many migrants originating from Liro and Liro Nesa resided at Seaside and Freshwota (Haberkorn 1987). In 2011, as more migrants arrived and different residential areas became available through either sale or agreement with landowners, Liro Area urbanites had moved into new areas as well.

103 Unless otherwise indicated, varying totals (N) throughout this chapter refer to the number of individuals for whom data were available. A summary of urban Paamese interviewed by gender and migrant generation is provided in Table 5.2.
Table 9.1: Location of Paamese migrants in Vila, 2011: participating households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Percent of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anamburu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverly Hills</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksands</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bladiniere</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club Hippique</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erakor Bridge</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshwota</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ifira Point</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawenu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manples (Tebakor)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nambatu Lagoon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohlen Whitewood</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaside</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simbolo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith (Tagabe)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socapo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stade</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tassiriki</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>74</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures 9.1 & 9.2: Due to kin ties, Manples settlement was home to a relatively large community of Liro Area Paamese.
Figure 9.3: Significant areas of Liro Area migrant residence in Port Vila and surrounds, 2011
Source: Adapted from Informal Settlement Upgrading Project (Simon Cramp, pers comm, 16th August 2011)
As noted by Goddard (2010) and Barber (2003) for informal settlements in Papua New Guinea, it was difficult to associate socioeconomic status of Liro Area migrants with housing type (Figure 9.4), and while Mitchell (2002) claimed that settlements in Port Vila were for people ‘without choice’ this was not necessarily true of Liro Area migrants (Case Studies 9.1 and 9.2). Rather, as described by Mecartney (2001), certain aspects of informal settlements, including low (or no) rent, and access to water (Figure 9.5) and garden land that reduced the daily expenditure associated with urban life, were commonly considered preferable to formal housing options.

Figure 9.4: A new car parked by the owner’s house at Manples settlement, Port Vila, 2011

Figure 9.5: Blacksands residents appreciated easy access to the river which they used for bathing, and washing clothes and cooking utensils, 2011
Case Study 9.1: Informal settlement residence by choice

Aged in his early 40s, Adam was born and raised on Paama, but had been living in Port Vila since 1989 when he travelled to town to attend school. When he first arrived in Vila, Adam enjoyed the novelty of town life (‘Mi stap krangke olbaot’, ‘I acted crazy/messed around’). Adam’s carefree attitude came to an abrupt end however, when he was visited by an uncle from the island who told Adam that if he was wasting his father’s fishing boat money, his father would stop paying school fees. Adam immediately became more serious about pursuing his study, and since then had involved himself heavily in church activities.

Adam had lived in two different locations in Port Vila. For a while, he resided at Manples settlement with his family (his mother, father and sisters had all joined him in Vila), but had left for several years after he met his wife Judy, as he was ‘scared of the mud’ at Manples. Together Adam and Judy rented a room in Freshwota for five or six years. However, when the owner of the room wanted to renovate, Adam and Judy had to leave. Tired of paying high rent in Freshwota, they returned to Manples to live with Adam’s parents, sisters and extended family. Adam and Judy constructed their own house at Manples in 2010. Although they were not meant to build permanent structures, their carpenter had laid a cement foundation. Adam and Judy were uneasy about this, as it meant if they were evicted, as many other residents of Manples have been, they would be unable to dismantle their house and reuse the materials to construct a dwelling elsewhere.

Tertiary educated and both employed in well paid, skilled office based positions Adam and Judy were anything but the stereotype of informal settlement residents. Their young son attended an exclusive English language preschool, and Adam hoped one day to send him to Australia for education. With his father’s encouragement, Adam had bought land in Freshwota which he had not yet built a house on. Adam believed that too many Paamese relied upon the idea that they owned land on the island, and were complacent about urban land access, despite their tenuous position as informal settlement residents. Adam and Judy therefore chose to live in an informal settlement not out of desperation, but rather made an informed choice based on the benefits and costs of residence in various locations, and the whereabouts of family members.
In 2011, Paamese lived under a number of different land tenure arrangements (Table 9.2). Almost half of all households interviewed resided on land purchased by a household or other family member\(^{104}\), again emphasising the importance of family in accessing housing. Roughly a fifth of households rented, while those living in Blacksands had an informal agreement with the landowner whereby they did not pay rent\(^{105}\). Paamese residing at Club

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\(^{104}\) In a minority of cases Paamese were caretaking land purchased by a family member who lived elsewhere, and was therefore not a member of the household.

\(^{105}\) This was in exchange for having elected the land owner as a local MP.
Hippique lived on land owned by the community as a whole. A minority (4%) of households had access to land via *kastom* agreements, while one household was caretaking land for expatriate employers. This was the only household living in employment linked accommodation, a decrease from the 23% (N=13) who had relied on such housing in 1983 (Haberkorn 1987). Thus, by 2011 employment linked housing, one of the major structural factors that had encouraged circular migration to town, was virtually non-existent.

### Table 9.2: Urban land tenure types, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land tenure type</th>
<th>1st generation (%)</th>
<th>2nd generation (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family member owns</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal agreement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community owns</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kastom</em> access</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>74</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering the migrant generation of household heads shows some variation in land tenure types. Twice as many first generation headed households rented than did second generation households, while the reverse was true for those living under informal land lease arrangements. Paying rent was increasingly considered undesirable, and thus only those with no other option did so. Furthermore, formally planned rental properties generally did not cater to extended families. Adult children therefore tended to leave these dwellings and seek their own accommodation upon marriage.

No second generation headed households had *kastom* agreements with landowners, similarly reflecting the era when these agreements were made. A comparable number of first and second generation headed households lived on land that either they or a family member had purchased. Just as for Shepherd Islanders during the 1970s (Bedford 1973), Liro Area

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106 This community was previously located at Elluk. When the land was bought and they were evicted, the community took the new (expatriate) landowner to court, where it was decided that he needed to compensate the community by purchasing a new plot of land for them.

107 By 2011, much of the housing once provided by plantations had been demolished, and replaced with new infrastructure.

108 ‘Formally planned rental properties’ here refers to dwellings built for the express purpose of being rented out. This is in contrast to those who lived on an area of land where they paid rent but constructed their own (impermanent) dwellings, such as at Manples.
Paamese considered purchasing land and/or housing a sign of urban commitment. Based on their investment in urban land therefore, a similar number of first and second generation migrants demonstrated a commitment to town life.

Over half (54%, N=74) of Liro Area migrants owned or had access to land other than their *kastom* land on Paama\(^{109}\) (Table 9.3). Significantly, four women, all of them single mothers who did not wish to marry, had access to land that could be considered theirs. One had inherited her father’s land in Vila when she and not her brothers helped him to pay the loan. Another reported that her father was willing to give her some land on Paama where she could build a house. A further two had purchased land in Vila themselves. While these women represented a minority, they demonstrate the ability of women in Vila to exist more independently than would be possible on Paama where their right to access land was determined by male family members. In 1983, no similar land purchases had been made by women (Gerald Haberkorn, pers comm, 2\(^{nd}\) September 2014), reflecting changing gender norms, and women’s greater access to employment and income streams of their own.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Distribution of ownership (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{st}) generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vila</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrym</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paama(^{a})</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoa</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{a}\) This was a female who would not traditionally have inherited land on Paama.

Second generation migrants held more land in locations where it could be purchased (namely Vila and Santo), than did first generation migrants who had greater access to land on outer islands via *kastom* agreements. As first generation migrants had more contact with these islands, their opportunities to forge such agreements were similarly increased.

\(^{109}\) While most only owned one piece of land, some households had access to several.
For those who did not own land, security of tenure was a concern – all urban residents knew tales of eviction, and could point out the places where they had occurred (Figures 9.6 and 9.7). As one Blacksands resident put it; (i) We don’t know if we will be here a long time, or only until next year, I don’t know. It’s up to the landowner. Anything he wants to do to us here [...] We’re in his hands. (Male, 55 years, 13 years in Vila).

![Figure 9.6: Evictions by traditional land owners](image1) ![Figure 9.7: And expatriate purchases](image2)

In 2011 therefore, there was no ‘typical’ housing type amongst Liro Area migrants. Urban residents were aware of the precarious nature of housing access, and where possible, sought to invest in urban land.

### 9.2 Level of education

In 2011, all Liro Area migrants had received at least some formal education, reflecting the availability of education on the island, and the emphasis placed on it. Levels of primary education remained similar to those of 1983, as did levels of secondary education amongst males (Table 9.4). Slightly more women had attended secondary education in 2011, reflecting the emphasis put on educating both sons and daughters. Haberkorn (1987) did not record any tertiary or further vocational education, however in 2011 a total 28% of men had attended some form of further training, as compared to only 8% of women. Thus, while girls in general went further, the males who did make it through secondary education had greater access to other education and training. For women, childbearing and associated care duties often provided a barrier to further education.
Table 9.4: Highest level of education Paamese urban residents, 1983 and 2011*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of education</th>
<th>1983 (%)</th>
<th>2011 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>22 7</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Primary</td>
<td>19 36</td>
<td>15 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Primary</td>
<td>34 48</td>
<td>36 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>24 9</td>
<td>21 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further (university/technical)</td>
<td>N/A N/A</td>
<td>28 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>153 111</td>
<td>47 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Haberkorn (1987)

*Level of education has been classified according to Haberkorn’s (1987) key where ‘Some primary’ includes those who attended mission or district schools, ‘Full primary’ refers to those who completed Year Six and ‘Secondary’ refers to those who completed at least three years of secondary education. Further education did not appear in Haberkorn’s (1987) data, but here refers to those who attended bible school, teacher training, university, or technical education such as INTV or CNS.

While the majority of second generation migrants had completed either full primary or secondary education, more first generation migrants had gone on to further education (Table 9.5). This reflected the greater expectation that first generation migrants firstly get an education, and secondly utilise it. Thus, some first generation migrants had travelled to Vila for educational purposes (Section 8.6) and family resources were specifically allocated for this. While parents of second generation urbanites also wanted them to *skul gud*, there was less pressure that they do so; children often *ronwe* (ran away) from school if they encountered difficulties, such as a teacher they did not like, and while parents were displeased with this behaviour, there was sometimes no one at home during the day to enforce school attendance. For others, the economic demands of urban life meant that, as on Paama, paying school fees was often a struggle. Furthermore, as second generation migrants had nowhere to aspire to (they had already ‘arrived’ in town), they did not need to justify urban presence through education in the same manner as first generation migrants.

Table 9.5: Highest level of education completed by migrant generation, 2011*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level completed</th>
<th>1st generation (%)</th>
<th>2nd generation (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some Primary</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Primary</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further (university/technical)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Level of education classified as above.
In 2011, urban Paamese had a higher average level of educational attainment than the urban population as a whole (Table 9.6). This was true up until secondary level where the pattern was reversed. For Liro Area Paamese, education was easily accessible on the island due to the location of a primary school, and more recently a secondary school in Liro. In contrast, some urban migrants from more remote islands would have had difficulty accessing educational facilities, especially secondary education. Due to its recent establishment however, many older Paamese did not have such easy access to secondary education and hence educational attainment drops off at secondary level. More male Liro Area migrants had gone on to further education than the general population, due to their early entry into urban life; a number of older Paamese males were sponsored by the Condominium Government to pursue further study in Fiji and elsewhere. Post-independence however, such opportunities have largely disappeared.

Table 9.6: Highest level of education Port Vila residents, 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of education</th>
<th>2009 (%)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preschool</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Primary</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Primary</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further (university/technical)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Not stated</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>15,821</td>
<td>14,734</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011
*Level of education classified as above.

9.3 Employment

Changing gender norms and greater access to education resulted in a slight increase (5%) in the number of economically active women between 1983 and 2011 (Table 9.7). Thus, while it was more acceptable for women to work, limited employment opportunities combined with childbearing, meant that actual increases in female employment were small. In contrast, by 2011 relatively fewer Liro Area men (72%) were economically active than in 1983 (96%). This was in part due to the ageing of the urban population; in 2011, 13% of males were retired, whereas retirement did not figure at all in 1983 when migrants were generally of working age and hence either economically active, or looking for employment. Similarly, as
employment opportunities decreased in 2011, unemployment increased; thus 13% of males and females were classed as unemployed as opposed to 4% and 3% respectively in 1983 (Case Study 9.3). This was slightly higher than the 9% recorded by Mecartney (2001) for Blacksands informal settlement in the late 1990s. Finally, consistent with household structures throughout Vanuatu (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011), while Liro Area males still generally functioned as the primary wage earner in 2011, in some cases their wives had more regular or secure employment (Case Study 9.4).

Table 9.7: Labour force participation of urban Paamese, 1983 & 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment status</th>
<th>1983*</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>2011</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M (%)</td>
<td>M (N)</td>
<td>F (%)</td>
<td>F(N)</td>
<td>M (%)</td>
<td>M (N)</td>
<td>F (%)</td>
<td>F(N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional technical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Skilled trade</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clerical</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sales</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Service</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Agriculture</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Transport</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Labour</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Informal sector</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically inactive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Housewife</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Student</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Unemployed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Retired</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Haberkorn 1987
Case Study 9.3: Unemployment in the urban environment

For those without steady employment, life in town was a struggle. Aged 69, Jonah had been living in Vila with his wife Poppy for roughly 30 years. Their two sons, both aged in their thirties, had been born and raised in town. Jonah had taken the boys to Paama and taught them the locations and boundaries of their family land, however they had never lived there. In 2011, Jonah and Poppy were living in Freshwota on land purchased by Jonah in 1999. Despite having lived on their land since 2000, their house was an impermanent structure akin to those commonly found in Vila’s informal settlements. Jonah and Poppy’s firstborn son Saul was single, and lived with them, while Adam was living and working on Santo with his wife and son.

Jonah had completed secondary school on Paama, and had learnt English and French from friends. He migrated to Vila to find work, and spent many years employed as a driver for a series of three different employers. However, in 2011 Jonah was unemployed, and had not been able to find work. He thought that he might be able to secure employment in 2012, but commented that there were not many jobs available. This was a departure from the past when everyone in town had been able to find work. Poppy and Saul were also unemployed, and the family survived on a combination of money given to them by relatives, remittances from Adam (they very rarely received anything from Paama), iceblocks sold from the house, and food that Poppy cooked and sold at kava bars. They had access to garden land at Teouma through one of Jonah’s classificatory brothers, where they obtained the food sold by Poppy. Due to the long distance to their garden however, Jonah and Poppy visited it only infrequently, hence Poppy did not sell food every day. Jonah believed he was lucky that his sons were already adults, as he would not have been able to pay school fees while unemployed.

Jonah was ambivalent about potential return to Paama. He had not been back to the island for over ten years, as the cost of the trip was prohibitive. When asked if he liked living in Vila he responded that he did not have anywhere else to go. He had built a house on Paama, although in 2011 it was in a state of disrepair. With few other prospects therefore, unless a member of the household was able to secure employment, they would continue to scrape by in the urban environment.
In 2011, there was a notable increase in males (9%) working in professional or technical positions as compared to 1983 (1%), reflecting their higher levels of educational attainment. There was a decrease in male employment in service and labouring positions, the less desirable professions. For women, there was a significant increase in service sector employment and a decrease in the labour sector between 1983 and 2011. This however may be due to the classification in 2011 of haosgels, a significant employment type for women, as service sector workers.

In 2011, both males and females were engaged in informal sector activities to a significantly greater degree than in 1983. Similarly, informal sector participation was notably

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110 Here the informal sector refers to activities that are mostly unregistered and unrecorded in official statistics and have little access to organised markets or credit institutions (UNDP 1999:80 in Mecartney 2001: 115). Business types classed as informal are consistent with those ascribed this status by Mecartney (2001). For
higher than the 9% of Blacksands residents who engaged in such activities in the late 1990s (Mecartney 2001). This was related to the decreased availability of formal employment opportunities in 2011, the high cost of living, and an increase in opportunities for informal sector work due to larger urban population.

In 2011, reliance on the informal sector was quite different for males and females. Only one elderly man depended on the informal sector as his sole source of income, while all others were supplementing formal sector wages. Male activities tended to be higher yielding, and included selling kava, establishing small stores, and renting out rooms or houses. Such activities often required an economic investment, and therefore were concentrated amongst higher income earners (Case Study 9.5). In contrast, all but four women relied on informal sector activities as their sole source of income. Women’s activities remained similar to those recorded by Mecartney (2001) roughly a decade earlier: selling food was the most common activity, while some were paid a token amount to perform domestic chores for kin. Informal sector activity was therefore associated with economically successful males and unsuccessful females.

### Case Study 9.5: ‘Successful’ migrants

Aged 37, Ken moved to Santo as a teenager to attend high school. After completing school, he found work as a salesman in a mechanical parts store. Ken worked in the store’s Santo branch for five years before his employer transferred him to Vila. In 2011, Ken had been living in Port Vial for 15 years, and held a managerial position. He owned a piece of (undeveloped) land on Santo which was cared for by relatives, and one in Vila where he lived with his wife, Isla, a woman-Efate. Ken had been able to save the money to invest in land while he was single.

Together Ken and Isla lived in a small house with their two school age children, and three young relatives (‘students’). In 2011, Ken and Isla were building a larger, two storey dwelling on their land. They had been working on this house for four years as Ken did not want to take a bank loan. He bought construction materials when he had ‘pocket money’ available, and relied on family members to provide labour. Although they owned land, Ken and Isla did not plant a garden in Vila.

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many this comprised selling or providing goods and services from the home. While a number of Liro Area Paamese dabbled in informal sector work in 2011, figures include only those who regularly engaged in informal sector activities.
Like Ken, Isla held long-term employment, and worked at an electrical supplies store. They earned extra income from a bus and a taxi, purchased with the aid of a loan. Ken had previously owned five buses, but due to ‘monkey business’ (the proliferation of identical businesses), he decided to reduce his fleet as it was becoming too difficult to make a profit. Ken employed a driver for his remaining two vehicles, and was able to earn a reasonable income. He also purchased kava from close relatives on Paama (brothers and uncles), and rented a place to sell the ‘juice’. He returned most of the income earned to these relatives; however as many drinkers purchased kava on credit, it was not possible to make a large profit.

Ken’s elderly parents lived on Paama in a house built by Ken, and equipped with solar lighting. They were cared for by Ken’s younger brother, Jerry and his wife, who had returned to Paama from Vila at Ken’s request. As Ken’s father had a store on Paama, Ken found it easier and cheaper to remit money rather than goods to the island, as he did not need to pay for or coordinate freight. Ken’s family infrequently sent foodstuffs to him in Vila when various crops were in season. On Paama, his parents spoke highly of the way Ken was able to support them, and were proud of his employment status.

Ken visited the island regularly, however due to his job was never able to stay longer than three or four days over Christmas. He lamented the fact that he had spent most of his life away from Paama, and had never learned the correct way to plant yams, or perform other island work. He thought he would like to move to Paama permanently when his children were grown and married. Ken had enjoyed town life when he was young and single, but despite his apparent economic success, he believed life in town was becoming harder, and was determined his children should obtain a good education; unlike in the past, secondary school was no longer sufficient to secure employment. Nonetheless, in many ways Ken represented what all migrants aimed for; he was employed in a good job, owned land in town, a house on the island, and was able to support and bring prestige to his rural family through remittances.

Migrant generation had little influence on employment type (Table 9.8). Relatively more first generation migrants were employed in professional or technical positions, reflecting their higher level of educational attainment, while fewer second generation migrants worked as labourers. This was consistent with the proportion of first generation migrants who had completed their education in primary school. Informal sector engagement was slightly higher among first generation migrants, with more first than second generation migrants engaged in significant income generating activities such as renting out rooms. However, this was more a function of employment type (having the start-up funds to invest) than migrant generation as
such. As in Papua New Guinea therefore, start-up capital was an important determinant of informal sector activities (Umezaki 2010).

Table 9.8: Economic activity by migrant generation, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economically active</th>
<th>1st generation</th>
<th>1st generation (%)</th>
<th>2nd generation</th>
<th>2nd generation (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional technical</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Skilled trade</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clerical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sales</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Service</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Agriculture</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Transport</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Labour</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Informal sector</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically inactive</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Housewife</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Student</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Unemployed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Retired</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among economically inactive urbanites, there were more first than second generation retirees reflecting their higher average age. While there were no first generation students, this was likely a result of sampling bias, as evidence from Paama indicates that a number of young Liro Area residents had left the island to pursue an education. Fewer first than second generation migrants were unemployed, reflecting the second generation’s reluctance to undertake labouring or other low status work, particularly when they had attained a reasonable level of education (generally high school). The perceived undesirability of labouring and other outdoor work was longstanding (Haberkorn 1987), and has been widely commented upon elsewhere (Mecartney 2001; Vanuatu Young People's Project 2008; Widmer 2013). Some migrants believed employment was available, but those with an education did not want to start at the bottom and work their way up. For some therefore, unemployment was preferable to manual labour. Simultaneously however, unemployment was considered undesirable, and there was a widespread belief that the unemployed should be ‘sent back’ to the island (Rousseau 2004). Nonetheless, in 2011 some Liro Area migrants chose low status work in preference to employment that demanded more of their time and/or
energy. This was most common amongst first generation migrants who had other commitments (namely, church responsibilities) that were considered more important than economic activity.

(ii) [For security work] you just stand there and look all around you. I think other kinds of work would be harder for me, [...] I think this work is good [...] because I have other work that I need to do for the church. (Male, 55 years, 13 years in Vila)

Similarly, some favoured seemingly low status jobs due to other associated benefits: one woman preferred haosgel work for expatriates over previous office based employment, as she was often gifted consumer items no longer needed by the family. Regardless of their employment type however, Liro Area migrants commonly disliked the need to ‘work by the clock’, and many dreamed of one day being able to disengage from formal employment.

To simplify employment data, Haberkorn (1987) classified employment types into high, medium and low prestige according to the status attributed to them by Liro Area Paamese. These categories are defined as follows;

- **High prestige (Categories 1-3):** All jobs requiring secondary or tertiary education, professional training, high salary, employment security and/or work in an office.
- **Medium prestige (Categories 4 & 5):** Lower level white collar positions including sales and service workers in hotel and tourism industries.
- **Low prestige (Categories 6-9):** All forms of unskilled labour including construction, security and agriculture. In 2011, haosgel work was classified as low prestige where the employer was a blakman (‘black man’, ni-Vanuatu) or family member, compared with similar work for a waetman (‘white man’, expatriate).

In 1983, less than a third of all economically active Liro Area men were employed in medium prestige positions, with 19% performing high prestige work (Table 9.9). In 2011, consistent with educational attainment, this had reversed to 34% of males in high prestige jobs and only 16% in medium prestige employment. The steep increase in males working in low prestige jobs in 2011 was related to the greater participation in informal sector activities noted above. A number of males were therefore engaged in high or medium prestige (formal) work as well as lower prestige (informal) work. Consistent with the lower number of labourers among

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111 Categories refer to those shown in Tables 9.7 and 9.8.
second generation migrants, relatively more first generation migrants were engaged in low prestige employment. As new migrants to town, the first generation had a greater need to establish themselves in Vila via any means possible (including undertaking less prestigious employment), while second generation migrants were able to rely on their parents and defer finding employment until something appealing came along.

Table 9.9: Level of prestige associated with occupation of urban Paamese, 1983 & 2011

| Occupation Type | 1983* | | | 2011 | | |
| | M (%) | M (N) | F (%) | F(N) | M (%) | M (N) | F (%) | F(N) |
| High Prestige | 19 | 12 | 14 | 5 | 34 | 13 | 9 | 3 |
| Medium Prestige | 28 | 18 | 9 | 3 | 16 | 6 | 56 | 19 |
| Low Prestige | 53 | 34 | 77 | 27 | 87 | 33 | 65 | 22 |

* Source: Haberkorn 1987

Table 9.9: Level of prestige associated with occupation of urban Paamese, 1983 & 2011

The greater number of females in low prestige positions in 2011 was similarly due to informal sector activities. There were relatively fewer women in high prestige employment in 2011 due to the scarcity of such positions, however there was an increase in female medium prestige employment due to the growth of tourism related employment, in hotels and the service industry.

Despite their importance in 2011, informal activities were generally ‘invisible’, that is, they took place in and around the home and relied heavily on kin networks: thus employed kin might pay an unemployed family member to perform domestic chores, garden produce was bought and sold, those who could sew were asked to make dresses etc. This ‘invisibility’ was consistent with Liro Area migrants’ informal activities in 1983 (Haberkorn 1987), and in Blacksands in the late 1990s (Mecartney 2001). In 1983 however, informal activities were undertaken by a minority of urban Paamese and were not considered to be supplementing urban wages. In contrast, such activities, even where individuals had other sources of income, were spoken of as significant in 2011. Again, this was associated with the increased cost of living and decrease in formal sector employment opportunities.

While remittances were received by most households (Section 9.5), recipients were expected to pay for freight, and as a result remitted foodstuffs often cost more than purchasing the same items in town. As in 1983 (Haberkorn 1987), remittances therefore did not contribute to the economic wellbeing of Liro Area urban households, and performed a purely social function,
reinforcing rural-urban kin relations. Similarly, as in 1983, urban households did not report any rural investments or assets from which they received income\textsuperscript{112}. Urban Paamese were therefore fully oriented towards urban sector employment for economic survival in town, as has been the case since at least 1983.

Comparing the 2011 Liro Area population with the greater urban population (Table 9.10) reveals a higher than average number of Paamese males in high prestige occupations. This was consistent with levels of educational attainment amongst Liro Area men. The 2010 Housing, Income and Expenditure Survey (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2012) did not include data for informal employment, accounting for the higher than average number of Liro Area migrants working in low prestige (informal) positions than the general urban population. Slightly fewer Liro Area females were working in high prestige occupations, as compared to the general population, while more were working in medium prestige occupations. This was again consistent with their level of educational attainment. Comparing Paamese migrants with those from Pentecost, Haberkorn (1987) noted their differing occupational profiles; migrants from Pentecost had a significantly higher level of engagement in high prestige employment than those from Paama. It is therefore likely that employment profiles vary between wantok groups, and is reasonable to conclude that Paamese do not represent an atypical sample of the urban population.

\textbf{Table 9.10: Level of prestige associated with occupation of urban residents, 2010}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation type</th>
<th>M (%)</th>
<th>M (N)</th>
<th>F (%)</th>
<th>F (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High prestige</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2410</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium prestige</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2970</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low prestige</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>7170</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3430</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2012

Historically, skilled employment (employment other than agricultural, plantation work or general labouring) played an important role in ni-Vanuatu urban residence. Bonnemaison (1985) recorded that low- or un-skilled wage labourers tended to participate in circular migration, while those with professional qualifications and employment preferred longer term urban residence. Similarly, Bedford (1973) found that just under half (40\%) of Shepherd

\textsuperscript{112} Haberkorn (1987) only remarked on one such household in 1983. In 2011, one male regularly received and sold kava from Paama. He sent the money he earned from this back to the island and made no financial profit from the arrangement.
Islanders who were working in skilled employment had been in Vila for at least four years and did not anticipate returning ‘home’ in the near future. In contrast however, in 1983 length of urban residence amongst Liro Area migrants was not directly related to the number of years in current employment, or the type of employment undertaken: those working in ‘low prestige’ occupations were not necessarily recent urban arrivals (Haberkorn 1987). This remained true in 2011, and long-term employment covered a range of industries including services, construction and professional positions. In some cases, skilled professionals such as those working in financial services and policy related roles, were working short-term contracts and regularly changed employers, reflecting the demand for these sought after skills. Several migrants who worked in the hotel and construction industries where employment was relatively abundant changed jobs regularly as more attractive remuneration opportunities presented themselves. Thus, some urban Paamese were making calculated decisions as to the best possible employment outcome.

For those who could estimate their length of employment, just under 40% had worked at their current jobs for two years or less (Table 9.11). A quarter of second generation urbanites and roughly a third of the first generation had held their current jobs for three to ten years. Slightly more second generation migrants had been working for eleven or more years at their current place of employment. However, rather than being related to length of urban residence, in 2011 long-term employment was associated with good working conditions, and several men described their long-term employers as being ‘like fathers’. Similarly, poor working conditions including low wages and bosses who were *strong* (‘strong’, strict) or ‘talked too much’ led to shorter term employment. Rather than risking confrontation, many dealt with undesirable employment simply by ‘running away’; they stopped turning up for work.

**Table 9.11: Years at current place of employment by migrant generation, 2011**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of employment</th>
<th>1st generation (%)</th>
<th>2nd generation (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&gt;1 yr</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 yrs</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5 yrs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 yrs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 yrs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15+ yrs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Those who had worked in a number of jobs tended to stick to similar employment types, and thus hospitality workers, particularly chefs, moved from restaurant to restaurant, *haosgels* moved between expatriate households and labourers moved between different unskilled positions. As noted above, some deliberately chose low skilled jobs with limited working hours when they had other more important commitments to attend to. Thus, as in 1983, unskilled labour was not associated with short-term, circular migration (Haberkorn 1987).

In 2011, 66% of those who specified how they found their present employment (N=32) had done so through personal connections, either a family member or friend. While this is lower than the 85% of Blacksands residents who relied on *wantok* connections to secure employment in the late 1990s (Mecartney 2001), it is probably an underestimate. Many Liro Area migrants who claimed they had simply applied for the position had a kin connection to the workplace. Kin networks were important for finding employment among both first and second generation urbanites, and male and female migrants. Significantly, kin networks were not geographically delimited; second generation migrants did not necessarily have ‘better’ connections than those who migrated as adults.

Occupation types were strongly gendered, particularly in lower prestige roles. Unskilled males worked in construction, maintenance and as security guards, while women tended to be employed in domestic roles. Clerical, sales and hospitality jobs were generally undertaken by both sexes, whereas positions of authority were dominated by males – in part due to their higher levels of educational attainment. Stepping outside these gender norms was neither encouraged nor rewarded; when she saw a female bus driver one Liro Area woman scornfully commented ‘What does she want? Rape?’. Thus, while female employment had increased since 1983, gender still dictated the structure of employment opportunities.

### 9.4 Income and expenditure

In 2011, males were earning more than double what they had in 1983 from their primary job, while female incomes had risen at a slower rate (Table 9.12). However, the cost of living also rose during this period, and urban residents often lamented the high price of daily necessities, particularly food. In 2011 Liro Area women earned between 8-20,000 vatu/month through informal activities where such activities represented their primary source of income. In
contrast, 37% (N=14) of economically active males received 10-80,000 vatu/month\textsuperscript{113} in informal incomes, in addition to the amounts shown in Table 9.12. These incomes were concentrated amongst Medium and High prestige employment categories, as these were the males with the ability to invest in ventures such as the construction of rent rooms\textsuperscript{114} and kava bars\textsuperscript{115} (Figure 9.8).

Table 9.12: Average incomes of economically active urban Paamese 1983 & 2011*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation category</th>
<th>1983\textsuperscript{a}</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High prestige</td>
<td>37,800</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium prestige</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low prestige</td>
<td>13,800</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Haberkorn 1987
*Primary source of income only.

Figure 9.8: Kava bar owned by a Liro Area migrant, Port Vila 2011

In 2010, the general Port Vila population was earning an average of 70,825 vatu/month, 41,000 vatu/month and 41,233 vatu/month for High, Medium and Low prestige occupations.

\textsuperscript{112} Figures represent gross income and not net profit, as migrants were unable to provide estimates for the latter.

\textsuperscript{113} ‘Rent rooms’ were dwelling constructed on privately owned land for the sole purpose of renting them out as accommodation to other urban residents.

\textsuperscript{114} Kava bars were commonly run from an individual’s house, while some chose to rent ‘windows’ (stalls) in areas specifically set aside for the purpose. Kava was either purchased in town or obtained from rural relatives, and sold by the shell. Women often sold cooked food for 20 vatu/piece at kava bars for drinkers to wasem maot (‘wash their mouth’, remove the taste of the kava). While in the past setting up a small business to sell kava required a licence, in 2011 these licences had been abolished, and the small scale kava bar industry was largely unregulated. Larger, formally established kava bars that catered to ni-Vanuatu and expatriates alike were not included in this category, however no Liro Area Paamese were involved in such enterprises.
respectively. Male urban residents earned an average of 61,000 vatu/month as compared to 42,200 vatu/month for females (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2012). This was roughly equivalent to the average formal sector earnings of Liro Area males in 2011 of 69,709 vatu/month. As a number of Liro Area women relied solely on the informal sector, at 28,125 vatu/month their wages were markedly less than for the general urban female population. For those who knew how much their spouses earned (most did not), spousal incomes averaged 34,173 vatu/month. Only one Paamese female earned significantly more than her husband; she was employed in a clerical position, having worked her way up from a cleaning position, while her husband worked as a chef.

Just as Chung and Hill (2002) described for Vila’s informal settlements, in 2011 there existed a variety of consumption and lifestyle patterns amongst Liro Area urban residents. With this in mind, income and expenditure data presented below consider only the items essential to daily survival, that were common to all households. The discussion that follows therefore provides only a partial picture of urban economic life in 2011.

Dividing the sample into two groups; Low and High income earning households who earned less than or equal to 50,000 vatu/month and 50,001 vatu/month or more respectively, provides a more realistic picture of monthly incomes (Figure 9.9). High income earners not only had spouses who earned almost double that of low income earners, but also earned significantly more through ‘other’ (generally informal) activities.

![Figure 9.9: Average household income for high and low income earners, urban Paamese 2011](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of income</th>
<th>Low income earners</th>
<th>High income earners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own income</td>
<td>19324</td>
<td>129182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse's income</td>
<td>21267</td>
<td>39731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other income</td>
<td>17438</td>
<td>42000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9.9: Average household income for high and low income earners, urban Paamese 2011

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116 This value was derived from the average income of economically active Paamese in 2011 of roughly 49,000 vatu/month.
The same distinctions are true of expenditure data (Figures 9.10 and 9.11); high income earning households had generally higher expenditure than lower income earning households. Low income earners spent more on transport, as they often lived in more marginal and harder to access areas at a greater distance from employment and educational facilities. Rents ranged from 1,700 vatu/month to 16,000 vatu/month, and largely depended on location rather than amenities or income level (Figure 9.12). Similarly, expenditure on electricity was often linked to place of residence, and the availability of a connection (either through UNELCO or informally through neighbours). High income earners spent significantly more on food, reflecting the prestige associated with eating store-bought imported goods. Regardless of income levels however, food represented the main expenditure item for all households. This is consistent with the expenditure of both rural and urban households throughout Vanuatu (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2012), and is similar to the situation elsewhere in Melanesia (Connell 1988; Barber 2003). There thus existed a great diversity in income and expenditure behaviour and capacities of Liro Area migrants.

![Figure 9.10: Average monthly expenditure on essential items for urban Paamese households, 2011](image)

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117 School fees and water bills have been averaged out to a per month figure, when in reality water bills were paid every three months and school fees were billed in lump sums each term. Thus, households experienced these sources of expenditure as more difficult than they would have were they averaged out.
Figure 9.11: Average monthly expenditure on essential items for low and high income earners, 2011

Figure 9.12: Formally planned rental properties often comprised a long building divided into a series of rooms. In 2011, a room in this property cost 16,000 vatu/month.

On average, urban Paamese had 57,505 vatu ‘left over’ per month after attending to basic necessities, but low income earners were left with only 25,749 vatu/month as opposed to the 144,419 vatu/month of high income earners (Table 9.13). This way of thinking about having money ‘left over’ however, is not so helpful, as it only considers the ‘essentials’ for survival
and does not take into account for example kava drinking\textsuperscript{118}, expenditure on clothing, contributions to community events, loan repayments, remittances etc. Time spent with both low and high income earning Liro Area households provided visible evidence that most households found it difficult to meet the costs of even the ‘essential’ items listed in Figures 9.10 and 9.11. As for residents of Port Vila’s informal settlements over a decade earlier (Chung & Hill 2002; Mitchell 2002), there was never enough money to go around, and some Liro Area Paamese frequently requested advances on their wages to cover basic needs.

Table 9.13: Income and expenditure per month on essential items for average sample, low and high income earners, 2011 (vatu)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income/Expenditure</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Low income earners</th>
<th>High income earners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total income</td>
<td>99,986</td>
<td>58,029</td>
<td>210,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure</td>
<td>42,481</td>
<td>32,280</td>
<td>66,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>57,505</td>
<td>25,749</td>
<td>144,419</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just as in urban Papua New Guinea (Strathern 1985; Umezaki 2010), cash played an integral role in Liro Area migrants’ social life. The expectation that urban households should contribute to community and other events made it difficult to plan and organise finances: (iii) \textit{So it means that it is a little bit difficult to organise your finances [...] because here there are always marriages, funerals... When relatives get married, you must give some money.} (Male, 23 years, second generation migrant). Some Liro Area households therefore tried to limit participation in community activities, contributing to the splintering of village communities (Section 9.6). Economic resources were instead concentrated on the household and/or nuclear family, and the emphasis was on individual income management: (iv) \textit{But I think that to live in town, you have to know how to manage your own finances by yourself.} (Male, 26 years, second generation migrant). This growing focus on the household rather than the wider village community is common in urban Melanesia (Eriksen 2008; Barber 2010; Umezaki 2010), but for Liro Area migrants, was not enough to alleviate economic strain.

In urban areas of developing nations, food gardens can function as a means of supplementing livelihoods (Thaman 1995; East & Dawes 2009), and provide an important source of food (Thornton 2009). In 2011, some 63\% of Liro Area migrants had access to gardens, either

\textsuperscript{118} While the 2009 census reported that one third of ni-Vanuatu consumed kava (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2011), most Paamese were reluctant to admit to this economically ‘wasteful’ pastime.
their own or belonging to kin (Figure 9.13). Due to the inclusion of kin owned gardens, this statistic is markedly higher than the 40% of Blacksands residents (Mecartney 2001) and the 29% of informal settlement residents (Chung & Hill 2002) who owned a food garden roughly a decade earlier. For many Liro Area urbanites however, gardens were often located at some distance from their place of dwelling, and the associated cost of transport meant many visited their gardens only fortnightly or monthly. Conversely, those residing at Blacksands and Club Hippique had relatively easy access to garden land, and were able to visit and rely on their gardens more frequently than others. Many long-term urban residents commented that vacant land close to their place of residence had once been used to plant gardens, but with increasing urban populations, was no longer available. Thus, as Mitchell (2002) noted for residents of Blacksands roughly a decade prior, garden land was becoming scarcer as a result of increased population, and options for partial disengagement from the cash economy were lessening.

Figure 9.13: Urban garden at Tagabe, Port Vila 2011

9.5 Urban remittances

In 1983, most Liro Area migrants sent remittances; 85% of males and 78% of females remitted goods or money to Paama (Haberkorn 1987). This remained true in 2011, and the majority of Liro Area urbanites, comprising 80% of males (N=41) and 77% of females (N=40), sent remittances to rural kin. A slightly lower proportion of second generation migrants (74%, N=29) sent remittances than did first generation migrants (86%, N=48), as the younger generation often relied upon their parents to remit on behalf of the family. As they found employment and parents retired, the second generation sometimes took over the role as remitters. A similar scenario has been described for second generation Tongan migrants, who
generally relied on their parents to act as remitters, and conduits of remittance requests (Lee 2007a).

Remittances were primarily sent to Liro Area villages; 88% of males (N=36) and 80% of females (N=32) who remitted did so to Paama, accounting for 90% (N=43) of first and 72% (N=21) of second generation remitters. A further 29% of males (N=12) and 35% of females (N=14) sent remittances to other locations\textsuperscript{119} (Table 9.14), corresponding to 23% (N=11) of first and 62% (N=13) of second generation remitters. These were generally places where close family members resided. For first generation migrants, Ambrym and Malakula were the most important ‘other’ destinations, while the second generation primarily directed such remittances towards Santo and Malakula.

Table 9.14: Locations other than Paama to which urban Paamese sent remittances, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Males (N)</th>
<th>Females (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambae</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrym</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongoa</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N)</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those who sent remittances to specific family members\textsuperscript{120}, urban males remitted the most to their brothers (classificatory and biological), followed by their parents (Figure 9.14). As noted previously, this was consistent with men’s role as caretakers for rural land, and traditional structures of social support. Women sent the most remittances to their parents and sisters, followed closely by in-laws and children – again consistent with women’s reliance upon their sisters for assistance. The relatively low rate of remitting to children and spouses was due to the concentration of such family members in town; as discussed above almost all urban Paamese were living with their spouses and children in Vila. The minority of remittances sent to locations other than Paama were concentrated on close family members.

\textsuperscript{119} Totals sum to >100% as some individuals sent remittances to more than one location.
\textsuperscript{120} Many merely claimed they remitted to ‘family’ and did not specify who received the goods they sent. In most cases however, this meant that goods were remitted infrequently to distant kin.
(parents, children, sisters and spouses), underlining the role kin’s location played in determining where remittances were sent.

![Figure 9.14: Recipients of remittances by gender, urban Paamese 2011](image)

While the first generation sent more remittances to unspecified family members, the second generation remitted mostly to close kin (Figure 9.15). Thus, 96% (N=26) of second generation remittances were sent to siblings, parents, grandparents, spouses, children and close friends as opposed to only 62% (N=32) of first generation remittances. As noted above, second generation migrants were often insulated from remittance requests from distant relatives by their parents, and therefore were able to concentrate their remittances on those with whom they had a personal connection.

![Figure 9.15: Recipients of remittances sent by migrant generation, urban Paamese 2011](image)
Remittances were received in Vila at a slightly higher rate than they were sent with 85% of males (N=39) and 83% of females (N=35) receiving rural-urban remittances (Figure 9.16). Although more first generation migrants remitted to Paama, migrant generation did not influence the likelihood of receiving remittances from the island. The majority of remittances were sent from Paama, accounting for 79% (N=33) and 73% (N=29) of goods received by males and females respectively. This corresponded to 90% (N=37) of first and 84% (N=21) of second generation migrants. A further 23% (N=9) of women and 21% (N=9) of males received items from other locations (Table 9.15). First generation migrants were more likely to receive remittances from Malakula, Santo and Ambrym, while second generation migrants received goods mostly from Santo. Again, these were locations where close kin resided: something of a mirror image of where remittances were sent to.

Figure 9.16: A crowd gathers as Big Sista arrives in Port Vila laden with remittances from Paama and elsewhere
Table 9.15: Other locations from which remittances were received by urban Paamese, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Males (N)</th>
<th>Females (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambae</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrym</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong> (N)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Disregarding remittances received from ‘general’ family members, males received most remittances from their brothers and parents, while females received items from their sisters, in-laws, parents and children (Figure 9.17). Significantly, while those with spouses living elsewhere remitted goods to them, they did not receive goods in return. While this does not mean remittances were never received, it underlines the insignificance of these flows.

![Figure 9.17: Senders of remittances to urban Paamese, 2011](image)

For both first and second generation migrants, roughly three quarters of all remittances were received from close family members; siblings, parents, children, grandparents or friends (Figure 9.18). First generation migrants received more remittances from ‘general’ family members and in-laws as they sent more to these relatives. More first generation migrants had parents and children living elsewhere, and hence remittances from these relatives were more
significant than for second generation migrants. Two second generation migrants infrequently received remittances from friends with whom they had formed kinship ties.

Although remitting was common and represented a strong social norm (Mecartney 2001; Chung & Hill 2002), most Liro Area migrants only sent remittances occasionally (Table 9.16). Those who remitted the most frequently did so to members of their immediate family. Thus, the three males who were living separately from their spouses remitted every pay day. Similarly, those with young children or parents residing elsewhere were regular remitters. As second generation migrants remitted mostly to close kin, they therefore remitted more frequently than first generation migrants. Thus, while 55% (N=11) of second generation migrants remitted at least once a month, only 17% (N=6) of first generation migrants remitted at a similar frequency. Nonetheless, the vast majority of remittances were sent once or twice a year or wan wan taem (’every now and then’, rarely). This was consistent with remitting from Blacksands during the late 1990s, where remittances were generally large and sporadic rather than regular, and were often sent only in response to specific requests (Mecartney 2001).

Figure 9.18: Senders of remittances to urban Paamese by migrant generation, 2011
Table 9.16: Frequency of remittances sent by urban Paamese, 2011*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>1st generation (%)</th>
<th>2nd generation (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monthly or more</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every 2-3 months</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once or twice a year</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wan wan taem</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In return</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upon request</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Column totals >100 as some migrants sent to more than one location.

As remitting represented a strong social norm, remitting items only upon request, and not meeting one’s obligations to rural kin was acknowledged by migrants as less than desirable. For many however, sending remittances represented a real economic burden.

(v) *It really isn’t good! [...] We only send things when they ask us, but we should send things when we think about our family. It means you don’t think about them, you just wait until they send a request, and then you think about them. I don’t think it’s right to act like this.* (Female, 47 years, period of urban residence unknown)

(vi) *We haven’t sent anything [to Paama] for a long time [...] When our finances are good, we send something small to our family. But we haven’t sent anything for a long time now because both of our boys are attending secondary school, so the school fees are expensive. And then we have to pay for food for ourselves too. So the bill for our food, plus the bills for electricity and water, it’s too much for us.* (Female, 35 years, second generation migrant)

Despite the difficulty that many Liro Area migrants experienced in allocating resources for remittances however, as for residents of Blacksands (Mecartney 2001), denying a request was not easy.

(vii) *They stay on the island and they look after our land. So they go and use our land to plant gardens, but at least we have the assurance that if someone tries to do anything to our land, our family is there. So if they need anything, even school fees or anything else, [...] they ask for it. We can’t tell them no.* (Male, age unknown, 22 years in Vila)
Remittances were received somewhat less frequently than sent (Table 9.17), and many Liro Area migrants only received food remittances when crops were in season (*taem blong fruit*). While 55% of second generation migrants sent remittances monthly or more, only 24% received remittances every two-three months or more. Migrant generation therefore had less influence on the frequency with which remittances were received than that at which they were sent. Significantly fewer urbanites requested remittances than had remittances requested of them, emphasising the role and social expectation of urban migrants as providers.

**Table 9.17: Frequency of remittances received by urban Paamese, 2011**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; generation (%)</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; generation (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monthly or more</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every 2-3 months</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once or twice a year</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wan wan taem</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In return</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upon request</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taem blong fruit</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When they want to</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Food was the most common item sent by migrants, and most responded to specific requests for goods (Table 9.18). Money was remitted by slightly more second than first generation migrants, again reflecting the greater tendency of second generation migrants to remit to close family members; money was not generally sent to distant relatives, or without a purpose (i.e. to pay for school fees/food/other economic commitments). Money was sometimes sent in place of food as it was easier (less coordination with ships/other transport) and more economical (no need to pay freight) to do so. Males, who generally earned higher incomes, remitted money more frequently than females. Other goods remitted included soap and clothes, or in a minority of cases, cement for constructing houses.
Table 9.18: Items remitted by urban Paamese, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item(s) sent</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
<th>1st generation (%)</th>
<th>2nd generation (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other goods</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items as requested</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Column totals >100 as most urban Paamese sent more than one category of goods.

Predictably, *aelan kakae* was the item most often received by migrants (Table 9.19). Two males also received kava, however only one received it regularly. There was virtually no difference in the items received as remittances between migrant generations.

Table 9.19: Items received as remittances by urban Paamese, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items received</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mats</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kava</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted above, there were significant economic costs associated with receiving remittances; recipients were expected to pay freight (approximately 500 vatu/basket) as well as transport from the wharf to their home (a minimum of 150 vatu). However, while it was cheaper to purchase island food from the market (approximately 500 vatu/basket), as for elsewhere in Vanuatu (Hess 2009) and the Pacific (Alexeyeff 2004), emotional associations meant that food from Paama was valued more highly than that purchased in the urban market. Nonetheless, the economic costs associated with receiving remittances caused some urban Paamese to request that rural kin did not to send them food. Unlike in Namibia (Frayne 2004) and Kenya (Owuor 2004), Liro Area migrants did not rely upon rural food remittances for survival.

(viii) Sometimes I tell them not to send things because of how much it costs to send things to Vila. Before [freight] was only 100 vatu, but now it is 500, 1000 vatu. So it’s hard for us, and I told them not to send food anymore. If we want to eat food from Paama, we’ll go and eat it on Paama [...] I told them to give me a [breadfruit] cutting
to plant here instead and I would plant it in the bush so that when the fruit was ready, I could just eat it here. I don’t want food to be sent from the island. (Male, born before WWII, Vila since 1970s)

Those who did not send or receive remittances either could not afford to, or, like residents of Blacksands (Mecartney 2001), had no close family on other islands with whom to exchange goods. Some had instructed elderly parents not remit; (ix) We have spoken to my parents and told them that they shouldn’t work hard anymore. Because now they are old, they shouldn’t go to the trouble of sending food to us. (Female, 35 years, 20 years in Vila)

In both 1983 (Haberkorn 1987) and 2011, some migrants claimed that remittance arrangements had changed over the years, and believed there was greater pressure on urban residents to support rural kin. As some felt increasingly disconnected from distant kin therefore, continuing requests for goods after, in some cases, decades in town, were met with frustration.

(x) Now, the island isn’t the same as it used to be. Before, if you sent something they didn’t expect it. [Now] some just put a basket on the ship and it arrives. You know already [...] They expect you to say, no I’ve sent you something too. (Male, age unknown, 20 years in Vila)

The frequency of remittances sent by type over the two study periods (Tables 9.20 and 9.21) shows a decrease in regular remittances of food and ‘other’ goods sent by males, and an increase in regular cash remittances. There was an associated increase in the proportion of males who remitted food and other goods only rarely or upon request. Women regularly remitted from all categories more frequently in 2011, consistent with the greater expectation that they continue contributing to their natal family. There was a general increase in the proportion of urban Paamese who never remitted cash or food, and a decrease in those who never remitted other goods. This can be attributed to the high percentage of urban Paamese in 2011 who only remitted items upon request. For those without close relatives on the island therefore, remittances were begrudgingly sent ‘home’ out of duty rather than desire.
Table 9.20: Frequency of remittances sent from rural areas by type, 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency#</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cash</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Goods</td>
<td>Cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely - when asked</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#Regularly: Every 2-3 months or more
Occasionally: Once or twice a year
Rarely- when asked: Not every year, predominantly when requests were made.

Source: Haberkorn 1987

Table 9.21: Frequency of remittances sent from rural areas by type, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency#</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cash</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Goods</td>
<td>Cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely - when asked</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#Regularly: Every 2-3 months or more
Occasionally: Once or twice a year
Rarely- when asked: Not every year, predominantly when requests were made.

Examine the frequency of remittances sent by period of urban residence shows a general increase in remittances sent by those who had been living in Vila for longer than ten years (Table 9.22). However, this was probably related to the significant increase in the number of individuals who fell into this category. The small number of shorter term urban residents who provided full details for this question makes meaningful comparison difficult. Nonetheless, it is evident from Table 9.22, that long-term urban residents continued to send remittances, albeit less regularly than in the past. Again this was related to family reunification, and an associated decrease in close family members living in rural areas.
Table 9.22: Period of urban residence and frequency of remittances sent by type, 1983 & 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item &amp; Frequency</th>
<th>Period of urban residence 1983</th>
<th>Period of urban residence 2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; 5 yrs</td>
<td>6-10 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash Regularly</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goods Regularly</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Regularly</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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*Source: Haberkorn (1987)*

In 1983, Haberkorn (1987) noted the high frequency of ‘indirect remittances’ such as providing accommodation for kin in urban areas, or paying school fees and hospital expenses for rural kin. This, it was argued, meant that fewer resources were available for sending remittances to rural areas. In 2011, ‘indirect remittances’ persisted, and providing support to rural visitors and/or new migrants was an obligation that came with the ‘privilege’ of town residence, and an inescapable social norm extended to first and second generation migrants alike. For urban households, ‘indirect remittances’ could represent a real burden. Declining to host visitors however, or asking them to pay their own expenses, led to disapproval by other kin: one second generation migrant gained a reputation for being ‘strong’ (‘strong’, tough or strict), after asking her husband’s family to contribute to food costs while they lodged with her. Therefore, while urban residents often resented the expense associated with visitors, they found it difficult to refuse.

(xi) Because lots of people come [to town] and then they realise that it is hard. So they come and just act as a burden to all their family in Vila. Because their family who live in Vila have children already who go to school [and have to support them], and people come and think they can find work, but work is hard to find. That’s why there are lots of people who come and one day they will eat at one house and sleep
there, and then they get up in the morning and wander around, and then in the afternoon they go and stay with a different family member. This is what most people do. (Male, 34 years, second generation migrant)

Nonetheless, in 2011, while rural kin continued to visit and expect support from urban Paamese, the greater concentration of nuclear families and close relatives in town meant that there were in general fewer close relatives living on other islands to provide with accommodation and/or remittances. Thus, while sending remittances was ‘universal’, the majority of migrants only remitted upon request, and many did so as a family unit; brothers and sisters worked together to provide goods requested, or a family might jointly put together a box of goods to be sent to rural kin at Christmas. This pooling of resources lessened the potential burden represented by remittance requests. As in 1983 (Haberkorn 1987) therefore, while for some migrants remittances provided a means for keeping options open for an eventual return to the island, for others they represented a duty and a means for deflecting unwanted urban visitors. Some sent remittances as a way to maintain the family reputation and attract social prestige, a practice also recorded in Papua New Guinea (Strathern 1985). Still others remitted to support siblings who had returned to Paama to care for ageing parents. Thus, while remittances provide an indicator of urban-rural contact, for Paamese they do not provide a measure of urban commitment.

9.6 Social organisation

As discussed in Section 9.1, whereas on Paama villagers lived together within a small and clearly demarcated area, migrants to town resided in a number of geographically distinct locations throughout Port Vila and its surrounds. While there were local concentrations of Liro Area migrants based mainly on family groupings, it was often lamented that villagers lived wan wan (dispersed) throughout Vila. Due to this geographical dispersal, some community relationships were not as close as they would have been in the smaller-scale village environment. Urban community meetings were sporadically held to organise events such as weddings and fundraisers, and discuss, and where appropriate, discipline individuals for unacceptable behaviour. These meetings were often poorly attended due to the time and

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121 Migrants who had spent time on Santo reported that the Liro Area community based there was similarly dispersed.
122 Community meetings were generally based on family groupings, but sometimes on the wider village. The attendance rate varied with families and relations between their members.
123 Unacceptable behaviour ranged from matters such as adultery, to viewing inappropriate material on mobile phones.
transport costs involved – although for some, whose daily interactions were concentrated on workmates and neighbours, it is likely that these meetings held less relevance than on Paama. Nonetheless, many migrants believed that only some Paamese respected their jif. This was attributed to both the community – some of whom, it was claimed, were more interested in drinking kava than attending meetings – and the jifs, who were accused of ‘playing around’ and not taking their job seriously. Jifs who were not of the ‘true’ chiefly bloodline were also thought to command less respect\textsuperscript{124}.

\textit{(xii) There are a lot of us, but we don’t cooperate well. One lives over there, one lives over there and there isn’t time to hold meetings. Some people you only meet when there is a death […] When there is a funeral, we eat together and then we go our separate ways and don’t see each other […] We don’t have cooperation like we used to have before. Like going to meetings and talking, making plans and saying that all of our family needs to work together for something, or to organise a fundraiser or something else, we don’t have this anymore. But before it was good. (Male, 48 years, more than 35 years in Vila)}

Despite this, Liro Area migrants generally knew of significant happenings concerning others from their own village, and while plans to, for example, attend weddings and funerals were not always carried through, there was a general sense that one ‘should’ attend these events. Knowledge of Paamese from villages outside the Liro Area was less detailed, and while there was some sense of a wider urban Paamese community, this was most commonly mobilised in opposition to other wantok groups: for example, Paamese considered those from Tanna to be volatile and disrespectful, traits that were not associated with being Paamese.

In some instances mobile phones provided a means for bridging geographical distance, and passing information between kin. However the cost associated with phone usage, and their high turnover (phones were frequently lost) meant phone communication was not always reliable. The recent introduction of no/low cost text messaging meant that many Liro Area migrants preferred to send messages rather than make phone calls. Nonetheless, for the most part mobile phones were used to reinforce existing close relationships (and for workplace communication) rather than for contacting more distant kin. Thus, young Liro Area migrants commonly sent messages to other urban kin or friends with whom they interacted regularly.

\textsuperscript{124} Some chiefly titles, particularly those relating to ‘high chiefs’, were under dispute, and thus there was some disagreement as to who should hold particular roles.
These kinds of messages did not appear to be sent to rural kin, perhaps due to the relatively recent arrival of (semi) reliable reception on the island. As described previously, due to their cost, phone calls tended to be brief and to the point, and augmented rather than replaced personal contact.

Just as for urban Ambrymese (Eriksen 2008) therefore, originating from the same village on Paama, did not guarantee close relationships in town, and Liro Area migrants tended to focus their energies on supporting and interacting with small core kin groups (commonly based on the nuclear family) rather than the wider Liro Area community. As noted elsewhere in the literature, social networks based on church membership (Eriksen 2005; Hess 2009; Widmer 2013), employment, and sporting clubs (Mecartney 2001; Kobayashi et al. 2011) were also important. Thus, some Liro Area migrants asked workmates to assist in, for example, wedding preparations, a role that would have traditionally fallen to kin. In many instances, close workplace relations were framed in kin terms: some men considered employers to be ‘like fathers’. New social relationships were therefore adapted to fit old ones, as friendships were described in kin terms. While for the majority of migrants, close family relations continued to provide the most important social network, there was a sense that the urban social environment had altered.

(xiii) Before, those of us in town, we were very close even though we came from different villages, because when you come to Vila you tend to be very protective towards each other [...] If there was an incident and something happened to one of us, if someone came and attacked one of us here, we could retaliate. But now we just mind our own business. Before, even though our island is small, we weren’t scared to fight to protect ourselves. But recently people have started to just look after their own families. This is one of the things that is happening that isn’t very good. (Male, age unknown, 22 years in Vila)

As a consequence of weaker community relations, it was becoming more difficult in 2011 to organise life cycle events that community members traditionally contributed towards. As a visible manifestation of weakening kin ties, this was considered problematic.

(xiv) If you have an event that you need to organise in Vila, it is hard. You can’t do it by yourself because you need the support of the community to help you - you need them to contribute a little bit of money to help with your work. So it means that now in Vila, there are lots of young men who have girlfriends, and they just live together
[without marrying]. Because there are no meetings, so who is there to help them organise a marriage? They have kids, two or three, and they just live together [without being able to marry]. This is the problem. Before it was good, but now life is hard. (Male, 53 years, Vila since 1970s)

Lack of frequent contact meant that many of the younger generation were not known by, and did not know, the members of their extended families, further contributing to the weakening of community relations. Some were unfamiliar both with those living elsewhere in Vila, and those who resided on Paama.

(xv) In my village [Seneali], there are some boys, I already don’t know who they are [...] I just know the members of my own family line. I know the children who come to town, but those who live on the island, I have to ask their names again and again to know who they are, or I wouldn’t be able to tell you. (Male, 54 years, Vila since 1970s)

Unlike on Paama where villagers were surrounded by members of their own family, in Port Vila, Liro Area Paamese necessarily lived amongst ni-Vanuatu from other islands. Whereas during the late 1990s, residents of Blacksands generally did not know or mix with neighbours outside their own cultural group (Mecartney 2001), in 2011 Liro Area migrants commonly interacted with their immediate neighbours. Furthermore, living in ‘mixed’ areas, such as Manples and Blacksands, meant that many Liro Area Paamese had a more intimate daily knowledge of those from different islands than from their own village, and some of the younger generation had forged firm friendships with these neighbours (Case Study 9.6).

Case Study 9.6: Growing up in a ‘mixed’ environment

Yvette, aged 14 years, had been born and grew up in one of Vila’s many informal settlements. She was the eldest of four children born to a second generation mother and first generation migrant father. Yvette had visited Paama only briefly as a child, and could not remember the trip, however was able to describe in some detail (including landmarks and the colour of nearby houses) where her family land was located on the island. She could understand, but spoke only limited Paamese language, and instead preferred to communicate in Bislama. Due to what was said to be her stronghed (‘strong head’, stubbornness), Yvette no longer attended school, and her parents had given up on trying to provide her with a formal education. Instead, Yvette was paid a nominal amount to work as a haoggel for her two employed parents. There was a sense of resignation
While Port Vila once provided a safe haven to escape sorcery (Tonkinson 1979; Mitchell 2011), by 2011 the widespread presence of ‘mixed’ migrants from different island groups meant town had also become a place where sorcery seemingly flourished (Mitchell 2000; Rio 2010; Taylor 2010; Lindstrom 2011). Many Liro Area migrants therefore avoided unfamiliar places due to the perceived risk of nakaimas that contact with strangers brought, and daily life was thus largely restricted to known places¹²⁵ and the local area in which one lived. Restricted spatial movement was further reinforced by the need for money; as for residents of Blacksands over a decade earlier (Mecartney 2001), most Liro Area migrants did not visit central Port Vila without a specific purpose, as there was little to do there that did not require cash. While some Liro Area migrants, particularly youth, aimlessly wandered the streets, consistent with Mitchell’s (2004) observations, this was frowned upon, especially if the wanderers were female, and was more common in residential areas than the centre of town. When they did wokbaot, Liro Area migrants tended to travel in groups for safety. Married women aimed to avoid unexplained absences from the home which could lead to accusations of adultery and/or domestic violence, while young women made sure they were visible and loud, particularly after dark, as appearing meek could, it was believed, invite rape. Once a relatively safe haven therefore, town had become a place where threats, both physical and magical, could lurk.

Urban residents had a variety of approaches to leisure time. For those who worked long hours up to six days a week, their day off was a chance to relax, and was generally spent doing not

¹²⁵ ‘Known places’ included workplaces and, and houses and yards of close family members.
much of anything in and around the home in the company of kin and close neighbours. The under-, un- and marginally employed, who had limited access to cash, similarly spent much time in and around the home. Playing cards was a popular pastime (Figure 9.19), and it was common to bet *smol vatu* (generally 10-20 vatu) on games, with winnings spent on necessities such as rice. Those who had access to televisions often watched (imported) soap operas and DVDs. Church attendance tended to be either regular and frequent, or not at all. Those who chose to attend however, were granted access to expanded social networks beyond *wantok* groups, and the associated opportunities and obligations. The economically successful were often amongst the most committed churchgoers, and many belonged to the ‘newer’ Pentecostal religions where teachings viewed prosperity as a blessing from God, and provided a framework for understanding and participating in the global economic system (Eriksen 2009; Thorarensen 2011). As a result, church based social networks not only cut across kin and island based groupings, but sometimes tended towards economic stratification.

Figure 9.19: Playing cards was a popular urban pastime, Port Vila 2011

Some leisure activities varied by location, and participation was often structured by place of residence, and not *wantok* membership; in Blacksands bingo was popular with *mamas*, while in Freshwota, boys participated in boxing training. In formally established suburbs, older males often joined residents’ associations where they attempted to improve the area’s physical and social amenities. Unlike on the island where males played soccer, and females played volleyball, in Vila young women also participated in soccer training and matches. Commitments requiring girls stay out after dark, and associated safety fears however, often resulted in parents calling an end to this pastime. Kava was commonly consumed in the evenings, and while Liro Area migrants preferred to patronise known kava bars/sellers, this
was not restricted to wantoks. Thus, at Manples, for example, Paamese often drank kava with their Tongoan neighbours. It was not ‘respectful’ for women to drink kava in public, however some purchased it to drink at home, claiming kava aided their digestion. Village and church fundraisers, which generally revolved around selling kava and food, were enjoyed by some, but to others they represented a drain on scarce cash resources. Similarly, while opportunities for organised entertainment such as Independence Day celebrations were eagerly anticipated by youth, many adults were ambivalent about the costs associated with attendance (buying refreshments etc), and the potential danger of being surrounded by strangers.

Among those lucky enough to be living with secure tenure, there was evidence of emerging middle class ideals, specifically an enjoyment of private space free of the interruptions associated with community living.

(xvi) Oh, Seaside is crowded. You can’t breathe properly, there are too many people. Here where I’m living, I feel good because the area is good, it is quiet and you don’t hear much noise. You live in your own yard by yourself. (Male, 54 years, Vila since 1970s)

As in Papua New Guinea therefore, class was related to lifestyle and the ability to consume, and middle class-ness was associated with being ‘modern’ and ‘developed’ (Gewertz & Errington 1999). Liro Area migrants however were often criticised and/or accused of ‘selfishness’ for expressing a desire for privacy, and not wanting extended kin to settle on their land. While those who enjoyed this idea of privacy were more likely to live on or own purchased land, there did not appear to be a strict spatial component to these attitudes, and class based ‘suburbs’ had not evolved. Nonetheless, those who were the most vocal about their enjoyment of private space tended to be knowledgeable in English, successful in their field of employment (either current or past), and held a certain amount of status as a result.

While close family ties remained important therefore, in 2011 more distant kin ties were weakening. For some migrants, relationships forged in the workplace and with neighbours held greater significance, and in some cases relevance, than those with distant relatives. Nonetheless, close kin relations continued to function as the most important social network. After close to three decades of urban residence therefore, Liro Area social organisation had adapted to urban conditions, resulting in less village based and more hybrid forms of social organisation and sociality.
9.7 Conclusions

In Vanuatu, urban residents are commonly stereotyped by politicians and the domestic media as unemployed squatters who fritter away their days drinking kava. While some Liro Area migrants were unemployed and resided in informal settlements, others living in the same location were employed, sometimes in positions they had held for years. Still others were unemployed and lived in formal housing, while some worked in skilled positions and resided on their own (purchased) land. Rather like similar such settlements in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea (Connell & Lea 2002), settlements covered a variety of socio-economic groups, since housing was cheap, and finding permanent, formal accommodation was difficult. Within the Liro Area population therefore, there were a variety of housing tenure types and employment profiles, and only a limited relationship between place of residence and employment. Instead, housing was determined by a combination of factors including areas available for settlement, migrants’ economic resources and, perhaps most importantly, the location of kin. Despite their variety of living conditions however, most Liro Area migrants experienced difficulty in budgeting for and meeting basic expenses.

The previous chapter highlighted the importance of kin in influencing mobility. Kin were not only vital in facilitating mobility to town, but integral to urban survival and instrumental in obtaining employment and housing. Nonetheless, in response to new living arrangements and social situations that arose in the urban environment, there was substantial evidence of the splintering of village communities. Thus, rather than working together with members of their village of origin, Liro Area urbanites most commonly concentrated their efforts on supporting their nuclear family and/or household. Furthermore, living in ‘mixed’ environments meant that some Liro Area migrants felt more comfortable socialising with known neighbours from different islands, than with members of their village who they rarely saw. Place of employment and church involvement similarly provided opportunities for forging kin like relationships. Liro Area migrant communities therefore, were far from being replicas of rural villages, and social relationships were adapted to the urban environment. Significantly, kin networks were not geographically delimited, and opportunities to access urban employment, for example, depended on kin connections rather than place of residence: second generation migrants did not necessarily have better urban prospects than the first generation.

Compared to the wider urban population, Liro Area migrants had slightly higher levels of education and, associated with this, greater engagement in high prestige employment. Slightly
more women were working in 2011 than in 1983 (Haberkorn 1987), and informal sector activity had increased along with the number of migrants who self-reported as being retired or unemployed. This reflected both the ageing of the urban population, and the decrease in availability of employment as urban populations had simultaneously increased: a new demographic Port Vila was emerging. Just as in 1983 (Haberkorn 1987), urban residence was not reliant upon being employed: working conditions and not length of urban residence influenced the duration of employment. Regardless of their workplace however, all migrants disliked the need to ‘work by the clock’.

Remittances were sent more regularly than received, emphasising urban migrants’ obligation to provide for their rural kin. Many urban households experienced great difficulty in meeting remittance requests, however most felt it was not possible to deny them: after almost three decades remittances were still coming from Paama, and social norms dictated that they required a reply.

Despite long-term urban residence and the large population of Liro Area migrants living in town, in 2011 urban life was difficult, and there did not appear to be a readily available solution to the many hardships faced by migrants. As opportunities to disengage from the cash economy lessened, and return ‘home’ became increasingly difficult, access to cash had become a necessity for urban survival. Similarly, as Paamese became more committed town residents, expanding social networks beyond wantok connections became a matter of practicality for those who lived, worked and worshipped with migrants from other islands. Nonetheless, despite the ‘rural’ community fading, hybridity was evident; kin ties remained the most important social relationship and where possible, continued to provide a social safety net.
Chapter 10: Conclusions

*Kastom* exchange ceremony for an inter-island marriage, Port Vila 2011
Using a longitudinal approach, and with a translocal theme, this thesis set out to examine contemporary Paamese migration and urbanisation within Vanuatu. Continuity and change were systematically investigated through the use of two detailed data sets collected roughly a generation apart. The current chapter reflects on how this research complements and contributes to existing knowledge of migration, urbanisation and the translocal connections that sustain these processes. Continuity and change are first considered from both rural and urban perspectives, and their relevance to achieving development on small islands is discussed. Conclusions are drawn about contemporary urbanisation and mobility, and the important contribution of longitudinal data in understanding these processes is highlighted. The relevance of findings to wider patterns of contemporary rural change, migration, urbanisation and globalisation are emphasised.

10.1 The view from Paama

This thesis contributes to a growing body of research that demonstrates, despite their seeming marginality, that outer island livelihoods are both more sustainable, and more adaptable than once believed (Sofer 2009; Birch-Thomsen et al. 2010; Mertz et al. 2010; Christensen & Gough 2012; Wilson 2013). Between 1982 and 2011, Paama’s population was maintained at a sustainable level via longstanding patterns of outmigration, which provided rural households with access to livelihood opportunities beyond the geographical limits of the island. Great continuity was evident in livelihood practices; subsistence agriculture persisted, copra production was generally limited, and small businesses generated minimal profits. Land-use arrangements had changed however, to accommodate increased monetisation of food transactions, and while it was tabu in 1982 (Haberkorn 1987), by 2011 impermanent cash crops such as kava and food crops intended for sale, were planted on borrowed land. Comparing Paama to other small outer islands demonstrates the importance of local conditions, both social and environmental, in influencing livelihood opportunities. Thus, while on Aniwa, for example, on-island livelihood strategies dominated (Wilson 2013), on Paama, the lack of a niche market, comparatively less free time to invest in income generating activities, and a long history of labour migration, meant rural households placed relatively greater importance on migration and off-island sources of income such as remittances. Although they were physically distant, migrants were still considered members of the Paamese community, and many continued to participate in rural life via translocal networks. The importance of migration is a common feature of outer island livelihoods; despite relatively greater engagement in on-island livelihood activities, on Aniwa too, migration was
significant, and some of the key local developments benefitted from the support of migrant kin (Wilson 2013). In order to ensure the continued viability of translocal flows as urban employment opportunities had decreased, in 2011 rural (and urban) Paamese placed greater emphasis on education as a means to accessing employment, than they had in the past (Haberkorn 1987), and as for other outer island populations (Christensen 2011; Christensen & Gough 2012; Wilson 2013), Paamese recognised that flexibility and diversity were useful in warding off vulnerability. From the above, it is therefore evident that development projects targeting outer islands must consider not only on-island resources, but also address the role of and resources provided through translocal networks.

Importantly, while in 2011 the island was home to only a fraction of the total population identifying as Paamese, this research confirms that those who remained on Paama had not merely been ‘left behind’ (Tan & Yeoh 2011). As custodians of family land and other on-island assets, rural residents played a vital role in the translocal Paamese community. Island life was not in decline, and just as in Southeast Asia, despite increasing urbanisation, rural places were not disappearing (Vandergeest & Rigg 2012). In 2011 rural Paamese were involved in a greater number and variety of non-subsistence livelihood activities than in 1982. Nonetheless, as in rural areas of Southeast Asia, agriculture and land remained culturally important (Cramb 2012; Rigg & Salamanca 2012; Vandergeest 2012): although not as prestigious as urban employment, engaging with the land via subsistence agriculture was considered a key part of Paamese identity, and those who did not garden were criticised for denying their origins, and by extension, losing their identity. Moreover, rural land ownership was widely considered potentially crucial to security. The continued importance of rural Paamese places and populations therefore demonstrates that increased urbanisation does not necessarily equate to rural decline.

10.2 A generation of mobility and urbanisation

Despite the growing significance of urban areas in the Pacific, they remain understudied. This research has therefore provided a rare insight into contemporary town life in Melanesia. In Vanuatu, as elsewhere throughout the Pacific, urban areas evolved as a colonial project (Connell & Lea 1994). Nonetheless, by 2011 it was evident that ni-Vanuatu had not simply adopted colonial ways of being in the urban environment, but that urbanisation had a distinctly Melanesian flavour: urban sociality, and access to employment and housing, for example, were commonly structured by traditional wantok connections, and mobility was
facilitated by kin. In 2011, in response to the novel spatial organisation of village populations in town, unfamiliar social situations resulting from greater contact with those from other islands, and freedoms associated with the relative anonymity of urban life, new ways of urban living had emerged. Urban household structures differed from those on the island, women were afforded greater independence than in rural villages, intermarriage with those from other islands was the norm, and while kin relationships remained important, they were not the only social networks to which migrants belonged; some interacted more frequently with workmates and close neighbours than distantly related kin, and the tentative emergence of class relationships was evident. Urban life was not merely a carbon copy of rural villages therefore, but had evolved its own distinctive, hybrid social organisation that blended traditional social structures with new urban ways. By 2011, Liro Area migrants had, on average, been living in town for decades, and the second generation accounted for a significant proportion of the urban Paamese population. Vila had thus become a ‘home’ and not a mere ‘transit stop’, a trend evident since at least 1982 (Haberkorn 1987). Importantly however, experiences of town were many and varied, as reflected by the variety of housing tenure types and working conditions within the Liro Area community. While blanket conclusions cannot be drawn about other Melanesian cities, the novel nature of urban life is common throughout the region, and it is reasonable to conclude that similar processes leading to hybrid social organisation are occurring elsewhere. In targeting policies to the urban population therefore, these new social forms must be accommodated.

This research confirms Kemper’s (1971) argument from Latin America that, although understudied, the temporal aspects of mobility are just as important as the geographical phenomena. Examining Paamese mobility over time, both continuity and changes in migration behaviour were highlighted. In 2011, as a result of increased access to global flows of information and technology via mobile phones, DVDs, volunteers and tourists, gender norms relating to mobility had altered to reflect wider social change; women were more mobile, and more independent in their mobility decisions than during the early 1980s when male labour migration dominated Paamese mobility. In considering women’s mobility over time, this research represents a departure from previous male focused studies of ni-Vanuatu mobility (for example Bedford 1973; Bastin 1985; Lind 2010). Had these studies given greater consideration to the mobility of women, it is possible that wider patterns of continuity in female mobility would be more evident. Regardless, by 2011, gender norms had altered such that for male and female Liro Area Paamese, mobility norms and rationales were
becoming similar. As established urban kin networks had increased, in 2011 family related reasons accounted for a greater proportion of mobility rationales than in 1982-3, while economic reasons for mobility had decreased. Likewise, the trend away from short-term circular migration already evident in the early 1980s, had continued, and as in 1982-3, migrants’ reasons for staying in town were not necessarily the same as those for leaving Paama (Haberkorn 1987). Rural household characteristics influencing mobility remained broadly similar, the expectation that migrants do something ‘useful’ in town persisted, and social norms dictated that ties with home were maintained. A great degree of continuity in mobility behaviour was therefore evident. By using longitudinal data to reveal enduring mobility norms, predictions can be made about aspects of mobility that are unlikely to change. Similarly, as migration streams evolve and/or are sustained over time, it is important that policy (and academic research) reflects current trends.

In 2011, despite increased periods of urban residence, many Liro Area migrants were reluctant to completely rule out the possibility of return migration to Paama. A generation ago, Tonkinson (1985: 141) claimed that similar attitudes amongst Ambrymese from the relocated village of Maat were used to ‘exploit[...] the basic ambiguity of being temporary sojourners who are in fact long-term absentees or migrants’. While in the past such attitudes may have been ‘exploitative’ – or at least considered so due to prevailing discourses of the time – in 2011, the rhetoric of temporary town residence was that of a mutually beneficial arrangement for urban and rural residents alike. Life in town was hard, but so too was life on the island; both locations had their own economic and social difficulties and challenges. By maintaining a discourse of impermanence, and of ‘difficulty’, urban residents were (theoretically) guaranteed access to rural resources through the maintenance of kin ties and obligations, and vice versa. Widespread access to mobile phones facilitated the exchange of goods and information that kept these ties alive. While the majority of long-term urban residents would not, and in many cases felt they could not, return to live on Paama permanently, the discourse of return played an important role in reinforcing translocal relationships. Although the exchange of remittances was not always economically beneficial to urban residents, maintaining these ties was a duty, and provided an avenue to social prestige.

Through consideration of second generation migrants and their experiences, this research contributes to an emerging field of enquiry into the influence of migrant generation on translocal ties. In 1983, Haberkorn (1987) commented on the rising number of second
generation children who had spent most if not all of their lives in the urban environment. As Bedford (1973) had earlier predicted, Haberkorn (1987) prophesised that these migrants would feel little connection with their rural ‘homes’, and in turn be less likely to keep up contact through, for example, remitting. Similar predictions have been made of transnational migrants’ children, both from the Pacific (Macpherson 1985; Lee 2007a) and elsewhere (Levitt 2002; Rumbaut 2002), and for the most part, evidence from transnational research has supported this assertion. In contrast to these studies, migrant generation was not a reliable indicator of Liro Area urbanites’ level of attachment to, or contact with rural ‘homes’.

Rather, remittance behaviour, visits to the homeland, and general contact between rural and urban residents through, for example, phone calls, was structured by kin ties and relationships; those with close kin (parents, children, grandparents, spouses and siblings) residing elsewhere acted to maintain these ties, while those without such ties were the least likely to display enduring attachment to Paama. Furthermore, there was no evidence to suggest that first generation migrants were less committed to urban residence than their children or grandchildren; almost all long-term urban residents could be considered committed urbanites. A great continuity in migrant behaviour therefore existed across the generations, suggesting that where maintaining translocal ties represents a strong social norm in the destination area, the location of close kin, and not migrant generation is the greatest influence in maintaining translocal networks.

10.3 The role of longitudinal data

This research is unique to the Pacific in its systematic use of detailed longitudinal data to compare and contrast experiences of urbanisation and mobility over two time periods. There were a number of advantages to this approach. Firstly, it allowed for a more detailed understanding of the ‘culture of migration’; the history and socio-cultural context of Paamese mobility (Cohen & Sirkeci 2011). Secondly, by going beyond a ‘snapshot’ view of mobility, it was possible to explore the ways in which Paamese mobility, and the flows that constitute, it were sustained or altered over time (Section 10.2). Thirdly, a consideration of rural-urban interactions over a generation demonstrated the longstanding nature of Paamese translocal behaviour, and confirmed Foner’s (1997) argument that translocalism, and the conditions that foster translocal behaviour, are not altogether new phenomena.

In the 1980s, Haberkorn (1987) predicted that economic change at the destination area would not be enough to radically alter mobility behaviour if not accompanied by social and political
changes in the home area. This has been borne out by 2011 data, and while changes to migration streams were evident, these were matched in and reflected by wider societal trends. Although many aspects of life in Port Vila in 2011 were difficult, migration to town continued, and a strong urban bias to mobility remained: there was no evidence of significant mobility away from urban areas. Without longitudinal data however, these and other changes and continuities detailed in the preceding chapters would not have been apparent. This was particularly true where changes were incremental – for example the relatively greater importance males placed on family reasons for mobility in 2011 – rather than absolute. Significantly however, as the discussion above demonstrates, continuity was just as, if not more important than change. The role of continuity over time is often obscured by longitudinal or return studies, which tend to have anticipated change and found it (for example Gewertz & Errington 1991; Bruner 1999; Keenan 2000; Small 2011). These restudies have generally been very short-term with time in the field limited to days or weeks. In contrast, by spending an extended period in the field, and collecting detailed data, this research has demonstrated that behind the veneer of modernity (increased monetisation, introduction of new technology etc), the stability of cultural practices is significantly more important. This again emphasises the relevance of considering the temporal aspects of mobility and related processes (Kemper 1971), and highlights the great value in detailed longitudinal studies predicting not only what might change in the future, but also what will not.

10.4 The wider context

In recent decades, academic interest in internal migration has waned, and although there has been some talk of establishing connections between international and internal mobility research (Skeldon 2006; King & Skeldon 2010; Ellis 2012), little has eventuated. By highlighting the flows of goods, information and people that sustain Paamese mobility, this research has provided potential points of connection with transnational studies that focus on similar flows (for example Glick Schiller & Fouron 1999; 2001). While Paamese mobility was largely limited to internal moves, fledgling engagement in the RSE scheme suggests that mobility norms and behaviour were common across scales: both internal and international migrants were expected to behave responsibly at their place of destination, remittances were sent, and ‘success’ was demonstrated via the construction of permanent houses on the island. For Paamese, internal mobility used the same ‘logic’ as international moves (Sayad 2004), and moves at the national scale provided opportunities to ‘practice’ for international moves.
(Cohen & Sirkeci 2011). Considering similarities and differences in migration flows across scales therefore may provide opportunities for lessening the gap between internal and international studies of migration.

Elliott and Urry (2010) have described the twenty-first century as a ‘golden age’ of mobility. Populations are moving more than ever before, and technology has facilitated new forms and opportunities for mobility. Although Paama is a small outer island, the Paamese community face many of the same issues experienced throughout the increasingly connected contemporary world. For Paamese, access to technology including mobile phones meant information was flowing faster and more freely than in the past, transport links were increasingly regular, and although internet use was limited (and in most cases non-existent), access to portrayals of the outside world had increased thanks to DVD technology. Nonetheless, culture persisted and hybridity had evolved; while in many respects Paamese were ‘modern’ people trying to understand and find their place in an ever changing world (Smith 2013), continuity with past practices and beliefs was apparent via sustained fear of nakaimas, and the enduring importance of wantok connections. The influence of seemingly distant cultures and nation states was evident in changed gender and mobility norms, and findings from this research, including the value of longitudinal studies, the importance of considering continuity as well as change, and the temporal aspects of migration, have relevance beyond the once quite isolated shores of Melanesia.
References


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Appendix A: Topics covered in interviews: rural sample

Demographic info:
- Name, age and place of birth.
- Names, ages and whereabouts of children, spouse, brothers, sisters and parents.
  - If known, children’s highest level of education and reason for ending schooling.
  - If family member(s) resident elsewhere, reason(s) for mobility and duration of absence from Paama.
  - Do they visit Paama? If so, how often? If not, why not?
- Year of marriage, kastom marriage or ‘love’ marriage? How much was braedpraes?
  - Who paid? Home place of spouse. If non-Paamese, where met spouse?
- Religion? How many times attend church per wk?
- Belong to any committees? Hold any other positions in the community?

Remittances and contact at a distance:
- Do you send things to/receive things from anyone?
  - What do you send/receive?
  - Do you have to request items, or do you receive remittances spontaneously?
  - Do people request items of you?
  - How often do you send/receive goods?
  - How do you send/receive goods (ship/plane/other)?
- How often do you talk to absent family members by phone?

Houses and land:
- Material(s) house constructed from (traditional/bricks/corrugated iron/other).
- Source of water (own well/own tank/community water supply).
- Access to electricity (connection to Liro generator/own generator/solar panels).
- How many mobile phones in the household? Digicel or TVL? When purchased? If no phone, how do you contact absent family members?
- Ownership of consumer items including boat(s), television(s), stereos etc.
- How many gardens planted? Plant what? Work in garden how often?
- Use own land to plant gardens or others’ land?
- Is there enough land on Paama?
- Does anyone else use your land for anything? Who? What? Why?
- Access to land on any other islands?
  - Type of access (purchased/family owned/kastom access etc).
  - How long have you had access to this land?

\[126\] Topics were covered as they arose naturally in conversation, and did not strictly follow the order outlined here.
What do you use the land for?

- Do you plant/produce any cash crops (copra/kava/sandalwood)? Why?
  - If make copra, do you do this every year? Why/not?
- Ownership of animals (cows/chickens/pigs).

Livelihood activities:

- How do you earn money?
  - Are there enough ways/opportunities to earn money on Paama?
  - Are there enough ways/opportunities to earn money in Vila?
- Employment history.
- Women: do you participate in VANWODS? Why/not?
- Separate income and expenditure survey also administered in Liro and Liro Nesa.

Education:

- Did you attend school? If no, why not?
- Where did you attend school?
- What is your highest level of education?
- Why did you finish school?
- What languages do you speak? Level of confidence in these languages.

Others’ migration:

- Why do people leave Paama?
- Why don’t people come back?
- Has Paama changed because of it?

Own migration:

- Have you ever lived/worked away from Paama?
  - Approximate dates and time frame, reason(s) for mobility, activity at destination.
  - If relevant, reason(s) for returning to Paama after extended absence. (Return migrants)
  - Was it difficult to return to Paama?
  - Did you already have a house/gardens etc on the island?
  - Did the community assist you when you returned?
- If claim have never lived/worked away from Paama:
  - Have you ever visited any other islands? Which islands? Why?
  - Did you wokbaot when you were young/before you were married? Where did you go? For what purpose?
- Did you travel for work or education from 2006-2011? Where? For what purpose?
- How did you travel there? Who paid? Who did you travel with?
- Did you travel anywhere over the last year? Where? For what purpose? Who paid? Who did you travel with?
- What do you like about Paama?
- What do you like about town?

Other:

- Is kastom strong on Paama? Why/not?
- Any other thoughts?
Appendix B: Topics covered in interviews: urban sample

Demographic info:
- Name, age and place of birth.
- Duration of urban residence.
- Names, ages and whereabouts of children, spouse, brothers, sisters and parents.
  - If second generation migrant, parents’ place of birth.
  - If known, children’s highest level of education and reason for ending schooling.
- If not clear already, who is your family on Paama?
- Year of marriage, kastom marriage or ‘love’ marriage? How much was braedpraes? Who paid? Home place of spouse. If non-Paamese, where met spouse?
- Religion? Attend church? If so, how many times per wk?

Visits to Paama:
- Do you visit Paama? If not, why not? If yes, frequency of visits.
- Year of last visit to Paama.
  - Travelled with who?
  - Mode of transport.
  - Reason for travel.
  - Length of stay.

Remittances:
- Do you send things to/receive things from anyone? Who?
  - Locations remittances sent to/received from.
  - What do you send/receive?
  - Do you have to request items, or do you receive remittances spontaneously?
  - Do people request items of you? What? Is it difficult to meet these requests?
  - How often do you send/receive goods?
  - How do you send/receive goods (ship/plane/other)?

Houses and land:
- Do you have land on Paama?
  - If yes, who looks after it?
  - Do you use any of it? For what purpose?
  - If others caretaking/using, what do they use it for?
  - If no land, why not?
- Do you have a house on Paama?

127 Topics were covered as they arose naturally in conversation, and did not strictly follow the order outlined here.
o If yes, when did you build it? Have you ever lived in it? Do you use it? When/for what?
o If no, do you plan on building one? Why/why not?
- Place of residence in Vila and land tenure type.
o How long have you lived here?
o Why did you choose to live here?
o Have you lived anywhere else in Vila? Where? Why did you relocate?
o Do you pay rent? How much?
- Material(s) house constructed from (traditional/bricks/corrugated iron/other).
- Access to water and electricity.
- Do you own land in Vila?
o If yes, when did you buy it? Where is the land located? If not living on it, what do you use the land for? Will you construct a house?
o If no land Vila, do you plan to/would you like to buy land?
- Do you own land anywhere else?
o If yes, when did you buy it? Where is the land located? What do you use it for?
- Do you plant a garden in Vila?
o If yes, where? Land tenure type and details.
o How often do you visit your garden? Do you eat much food from your garden, or do you mainly eat store food?
o Have you planted a garden in Vila in the past? If yes, where was it? Why did you stop?
- How many mobile phones in the household? Digicel or TVL? When purchased? If no phone, whose do you use?
- Ownership of any vehicles.
- Ownership of animals (cows/chickens/pigs).

Livelihood activities:
- Do you work? If not, how do you earn money?
o Employment type, employer, length of employment.
o How did you find your job?
o Is it easy to find work in Vila?
- Employment history.
- Basic income and expenditure data collected based on weekly/monthly estimates.
- If employed, any other (informal) ways of earning money?
- Does your spouse/child/other relevant household member work? If yes, where? Length of employment? Income?

Education:
- Did you attend school? If no, why not?
- Where did you attend school?
- What is your highest level of education?
- Why did you finish school?
- What languages do you speak? Level of confidence in these languages.

Others’ migration:
- Why do people leave Paama?
- Why don’t some people come back?
- Has Paama changed because of it?

Own migration:
- Why did you come to Vila?
  - If second generation, why did your parents come to Vila?
- Have you ever lived/worked away anywhere else?
  - Approximate dates and time frame, reason(s) for mobility, activity at destination.
- If claim have never lived/worked away from Paama/Vila:
  - Have you ever visited any other islands? Which islands? Why?
  - Did you wokbaot when you were young/before you were married? Where did you go? For what purpose?
- Did you travel anywhere over the last year? Where? For what purpose? Who paid? Who did you travel with?
- Will you return to Paama to live in the future?
  - If no, why not?
  - If yes, details of any plans.
- What do you like about Vila?
- What do you like about Paama?

Other:
- Is kastom strong in town? Why/not?
- Any other thoughts?
Appendix C: Income and expenditure survey

Household Name: ________________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Winim vatu</th>
<th>Week 1: 23/5</th>
<th>Week 2: 30/5</th>
<th>Week 3: 6/6</th>
<th>Week 4: 13/6</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vatu/karton i kam long yu</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Salem</em> ----- Kakae/agriculture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
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<td>Kava</td>
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<td>Fish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fundraiser</td>
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<tr>
<td>Copra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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</table>

| Pem vatu                                        |              |              |             |              |
| Store goods                                     |              |              |             |              |
| Kerosene                                        |              |              |             |              |
| Sugar                                           |              |              |             |              |
| Rice                                            |              |              |             |              |
| Tin fis                                         |              |              |             |              |
| Tin meat                                        |              |              |             |              |
| Soap                                            |              |              |             |              |
| Clothes                                         |              |              |             |              |
| Cigarettes                                      |              |              |             |              |
| Other                                           |              |              |             |              |
| Kava                                            |              |              |             |              |
| Fish                                            |              |              |             |              |
| Kakae blong garen/agriculture                   |              |              |             |              |
| Hospital                                        |              |              |             |              |
| Skul fees                                       |              |              |             |              |
| Jioj                                            |              |              |             |              |
| Mobile phone                                    |              |              |             |              |
| Other                                           |              |              |             |              |
| Generator                                       |              |              |             |              |
| Fundraiser                                      |              |              |             |              |
Appendix D: Bislama translations of in-text quotes

Chapter 6: Paama: rural lives and livelihoods

(i) Fistaem mi nomo mi pem yet, be mi stap ting ting se bae mi nomo mi pem from blong mi nomo. (Male, 37 years married 2005)

(ii) Mitufala i stap talem long girl blong mitufala, mitufala i talem se yu gat boyfriend, [...] Mitufala i no wantem se bae boyfriend blong yu i pem yu. Mitufala i stap gat tingting olsem from mitufala luk se taem ol i pem woman, ol i lusum tumas money. Afta, be taem dadi i pemaot woman i kam, be hu i lukaotem family blong dadi, lukaotem family blong mami? Afta, i pem bigfala money blong wanem? (Female, 51 years)

(iii) Yumi investem go long skul fistaem. From sipos yumi no pem skul fee, pikinini sakem aot em, yumit spoilem future blong em [...] Priority em i long olgeta. Nara development i kam behind. From after yumi winim period blong em, afta i gat inaf money, yumi save makem nara work we em i stap finis. Be em, em i gat the only chance we blong go karem education blong em. Em ia now. Sipos yumi mistem, be i nogat sekon chance. So education i kam priority. (Male, 42 years)

(iv) Fulap ol i aot. Be mifala i stap long aelan, smol nomo. Be ol graon blong olgeta i stap nomo. Ol i no work long em [...] Be samtaem sipos ol i kam, [...] graon i smol. (Male, 76 years)

(v) Nao ia, inaf yet from fulap man Paama ol i live long Vila. Makem se mifala i gat chance yet blong makem garen. Sometime, 2020 i maet, olsem ia, bae place i stap kam squeeze now. (Male, 43 years)

(vi) No, ol i gat be yu save, mifala, culture blong mifala i diffren, uh? Sipos yu wan family yu wantem work long garen blong mi, yu kam askem. Nevermind, ol i gat garen, ol i gat garen, ol i gat graon be sipos yu wantem work, yu kam askem ia, yu save makem. Blong taem kakae i stap go go i finis, be blong mi. (Male, 54 years)

(vii) Yes. Mi no save. [Laughing] Bae ol i kam, o ol i nomo kam bak? Be graon em i bigwan, be olsem long olgeta ol i gat wan heart we mifala i save work nomo. Yes, ol brother, ol i no save spoilem mifala. (Female, 45 years)

(viii) Sipos yu go workem wan haos long ples ia, yu no pem long [landowner], from em i free nomo, bambae i oraet. Sipos yu wantem givim ol smol rent long [landowner], em ia bambae wan man i kam talem se ples ia i no blong [landowner], i blong mi. Bambae yutufala i faet from em ia nao. (Male, 61 years)

(ix) Mi no makem garen tumas from mi gat shop blong ronem. Em ia now, that's why mi nogat moa taem blong makem. (Male, 49 years)

(x) Mifala, sam samting olsem kakae sipos wan man i wantem. Ale mifala i salem long em. Be nao ia mifala i salem ol samting. Bi fo ol i no salem ol samting ia. Mifala i givim nomo. Sipos wan man i kam, smol kakae ia, yu karem, yu go kakae. Em ia life blong mifala long aelan. Be blong pem ol samting, no. I kam kasem nao ia, mi stap luk, ol man, sipos i wantem karem samting, i pem. Nao ia mi luk laef long em i olsem. (Male, 76 years)
(xii) Yes, ol family nomo, so mi mus putum wan notis olsem [...] mi harem nogud smol, be from mi tingbaot family nao, em i more important long money [...] I gat family, taem ol i kaon, yu tekem notis nomo. Olgeta ol i tingting blong ol i kam pem, ol i kam pem. Be from, yu no stap, yu no kros from family em i moa gud bitim money. (Male store owner, 41 years)

(xiii) Maet, be mi no save, mi no save from we i gat fulap work [...] Evri day, evri day [there are activities], em ia now. Makem se yu no save makem wan samting. (Male, 37 years)

(xiv) Yes, fulap we yumi no save makem wan samting [...] Yumi sidaon bae ol i se oh bae ol i go work long ples ia, ale yumi aot, yumi go. Tumas activity. [...] Evri day i mas gat wan samting blong wan organisation i singaot, wan, jif i singaot o ol mama ol i singaot, youth, o... Yu makem olsem ia yu... I nogat chance blong makem wan gudfala samting. Yumi stap go from community work nomo. (Female, 41 years)

(xv) Aelan ia, i no olsem ol narafala aelan. Long ples ia, yu no save spel. Yu no save se bae yu no harem, wanem, money. Evri taem, harem, money, money, money. Tamtam i ring, yumi go, ol i talem money long samting ia, o makem fundraising. Fulap commitment, fulap, fulap, fulap. Taem man i talem se i nogat money, be i nogat. Yu no save go help. Taem i gat, i go [...] Be taem se yu luk se i hard, be yu no save go. Yu no save go attendem samting ol i talem. (Female, 47 years)

(xvi) I nogat resource blong vatu i kam aot long em. Mifala i olsem... Ol man nomo ol i go aot long town, ol i work, ol i helpem ol family. Ol i givim sam samting ia blong stap givhan long family. (Male, 59 years)

(xvii) Em i hard ia. Em i hard, mi must talem se, em i hard. Be ol man ol i live long aelan ia, olgeta, mi save talem se ol i wise moa, i bitim plenty ol big fala aelan long how blong keepem smol vatu we olgeta ol i takem. Mi talem olsem from mi, man Malakula i kam questionem mi long place ia. Se, ofala, mi luk long ples ia, yufala i kasem money olsem wanem. Se i nogat. I nogat road blong em [...] Mi se no, mifala i depend long ol family blong mifala ol i work long Vila, Santo. Olgeta nao ol i resource blong mifala family we i stap long aelan. Sipos ol i sendem smol vatu i kam, be em ia nao, yu must savem, o yu lukaotem gud blong makem se yu make gud use long em. Be sipos yu no wise blong savem, ah, yu ia bae yu faemen life i hard ia [...]Every family ia, em ia nao. Yu luk, man Paama i stap long Vila, be fulap time i lukaotem man, family too long aelan. (Male, 66 years)

(xviii) Yes be, from olgeta too ol i got ol woman, makem se mitufala i no askem olgeta too. Tufala i stap nomo. Taem nomo tufala i go long Vila olgeta ol i helpem mitufala. Bae mitufala i come stap, olgeta ol i no supportem mitufala tumas [...] Olsem mi fraet blong askem olgeta bigwan. (Female, 59 years)

(xix) Be taem yu ring nomo must save se talem important toktok nomo. Wanem nomo we yu wantem talem, ale yu talem em ia nomo. Be blong stap stori krangke, no. Sipos no, bae rifil i finis. (Female, 36 years)

(xx) Mobile em i gud. I improvem communication, uh? I bitim bifo. Be wan samting nomo mi luk se people ol i must understandem mo ol i must controllem use blong em. Sipos ol i not controllem bae i kakae tumas smol smol vatu we ol man i gat. Mi luk em ia, bae i kam olsem wan problem we people bae ol i faem se ol i lusum big money long pem ol rifil, Flex Card
ol kaen ia. Be olsem mi mi talem every samting i olsem bad saed blong em i stap, good saed blong em i stap [...] Good saed blong em, em i improvem system blong communication i bigwan. Comparem wetem life before, uh? We i hard blong toktok i go long Vila. I hard, i hard, yu must raetem letter [...] Be mi glad se em ia mobile i improvem system bigwan, uh? Man easy nomo walkabout, stap nómo long haos i save toktok long friend blong em. (Male, 66 years)

(xxii) Em i nice. Sometime yu stap nómo long haos, yu ring. Bifo, mifala i stap wokabaot long telephone i go long publik phone down ia. Oh, mifala i hardwork, go, kam. Afta, santhaem mi run. (Male, 59 years)

Chapter 7: Rural based mobility

(i) Tingbaot, sipos wan day we i happen olsem, bae se fulap man, man i go long aelan blong em, ples i smol. Ol i faet from graon ia now. I mekem se... nao ia man we i wantem, olsem i wantem go stap long Santo, ol i pem graon long Santo, i go stap [...] Olsem graon we i stap long em we i stap, ol family blong em nao, i stap karem nómo. Ol pikinini blong em ol i gerup, ol i karem. (Male, 28 years)

(ii) Taem wan fami luk se em i hard we i stap long aelan i no save kasem money. Makem se em i aot. Papa i aot fistaem i go stap. Taem i pem smol piece graon long Vila o Santo, ale sendem toktok i kam, ale woman blong em wetem ol pikinini ol i go nao. Ol i go, ol i stap long smol piece graon ia. Ol i makek haos, ol i stap. (Female, 45 years)

(iii) Long saed blong nakaimas, yes long Paama ating wan reason why ol man ol i move plenty, em ia nao. Taem sipos yumi stap go go be yumi stap disputem wan smol piece long land and yu we yu save bambae life blong yu i save danger yu just stap move nomo. From yu makem, blong makem se ol i no save kasem yu. Be nakaimas yumi no luk, yumi no save be yet ol man ol i believe se i work. (Male 53 years)

(iv) Yumi long aelan, Paama ia, yumi hard work we [...] Clinim grass, burnem doti, katem graon, plan. Yumi no save se graon i stap nómo olsem, yumi plan, nogat [...] Ating em ia nao, i makem nao olgeta ol i fraet blong come long Paama from work nómo. Be aelan blong who? Yu fraet se aelan blong who? Aelan blong yu. Taem yu smol, yu stap long aelan ia nao. Taem yu aot, yu go ia, yu ting se yu finis? Yu go, yu no wantem Paama. (Female, 45 years)

(v) Bifo i no olsem, i diffren [...] Bifo yu no save move i go long Epi. O yu ia, ol man Epi ol i kilim yu [...] Be náo ia, em i open nómo. Man i go, i go stap, sipos i go pem graon be i stap longwe [...] Be bifo, em ia ol woman, ol i no go long Vila, Santo. Olgeta, ol i stap nómo long aelan. Ol man nómo, ol i go work. Givim kakaem i kam, givim wanem olgeta ol i nidim i givim long em. Be náo ia, i open long evri man. Ol woman ol i go, ol man ol i go [...] Ol woman ol i go, ol i karem pikinini, ol i stap nómo long Vila. (Male, 76 years)

(vi) Mi mi stap talem long boy blong mi se, yu go long Vila, yu faenem work, yu work. Sipos yu no faenem work, yu kam. Yu brasem garen, yu planem kava. (Male, 58 years)

(vii) No, bae em i no save go long Vila [...] Ale, santhaem i wantem go visitim Vila, i go [...] blong visitim nómo be blong, no stap. From evriwan ol i aot long mifala makem se em i mas stap blong stap long smol graon blong mifala i usum, work long em, em ia now. Mo yu save nao ia long taon, em i hard life long taon. Stap long island em i moa good mo em i must
(viii) Mi kam, mi faenem hard smol blong stap long aelan, mi complain. Go go, mami, dadi tok long mi, se yu mas learnem blong yu live. Yu wan luaotem yu wan, living blong yu […] Ale mi traem best mi wan go gi mi lusave, mi just stap faenem aot now, save aelan i olsem, olsem. […] Nao ia mi glad mifala i stap long aelan. (Female, 26 years)

(ix) Ol expenses blong olgeta i bigwan blong ol i kam bak […] Mi aot long 1973 or 72, mi aot long Paama. Mi go stap long Vila go go, mi nomo save kam. Ale, mi talem long olgeta se yufala i makem olsem, taem yu wantem go long aelan, sipos husband blong yu i work, lego em i stap work. Yu yu go long aelan. Wetem aelan yu save pem community i makem haos blong yu [...] afta yu stap long em. Ale man blong yu i stap givhan long yu long kakae. Bae yu yu stap makem garen [...] Ale, lego i stap. Yu yu go karem go go, taem yu luk se, inaf nao blong family i kam, family i kam. Olsem yu nomo trouble […] Sipos yu wantem kam bak, kam long aelan, yufala everyone i kam, i hard. I hard from passage [...] Expenses long road, uh? Plane, ship, expenses. Ale wan nomo i go, afta wan moa olsem go go, last wan. Finis nao. Yu go stap. (Female, 59 years)

(x) Oh, taem mifala i wantem kam back, i hard ia. Mifala i kam ia, i nogat haos. I nogat kitchen. Mifala i kam, sleep nemot wetem mama blong em. Mifala i sleep together, kakae wan ples. Mi, taem mifala i kam today, mifala i sleep, daylight tomorrow, papa blong mifala i katem ol wood wantaem. Bae i workem haos blong mifala. Ale, olfala i workem, go go i finis, natangura i go, i workem gud, mifala i kam sleep. Mifala i kakae wan ples yet, i nogat kitchen yet. Be taem sun, mi save makem fire outside nomo. Be taem, rain taem, mifala i go long wan kitchen wetem olfala woman. Go go, olsem bae em i makem kitchen blong mifala i finis. (Female, 45 years)

(xi) I gat plenty reason blong em. Some, yu save, taem yu stop long wan laef long town, uh? Life, how you enjoyem life ia, blong kam bak long aelan, blong you start bakagen nao, yu save, uh? Em ia sipos yu kam long aelan, em ia mean se, yu nogat haos, yu must bildim haos. Yu must makem garen. Ol kaen samting olsem, em ia blong startem up yu bakagen, uh? Yu kam antap. Be sipos yu gat wan house finis long Paama, o wan family i stap long Paama, yu kam, yu stap wetem yu, yu stap bildimup yu. Be be sipos yu, yu nogat family i stap ia, blong come startem wan laef ia, i hard bakagen long yu [...] I makem se, ol i faenem i hard blong kam bak. Maybe ol i stap long Vila, ol i got one gud haos, o ol i stap rent nomo long wan haos we i no streit, be environment ia i streit long life blong olgeta finis. So i makem se ol i faenem i hard blong kam bak. (Male, 66 years)

(xii) No, long understanding blong mi, mifala insaed long community ia, i nogat plenty. Mifala long aelan i gat man i stap, be [...] i hard blong olgeta ol i faenem money, pem passport, ol kaen samting olsem, uh? [...] Olgeta ol i stap long town, ol i faenem easy lilbit from ol i work long money. OK makem, ol i save makem way blong olgeta blong go, kam olsem. (Male, 66 years)

(xiii) Olgeta ol i go long NZ today ia, long yumi long ples ia i nogat hoas. Olgeta ol i no makem any house yet [...] Olgeta ol i kam ia, mi no luk wan samting [...] Ol i pem ol skrin blong video o generator, solar, be i nogat haos. I nogud. (Male, 61 years)

(xiv) Papa ia i go long New Zealand, seven manis. I kam be i no changem wan samting olsem i makem gud haos. (Male, 32 years)
Chapter 8: Mobility from an urban perspective

(i) Samfala ol i grow up yu askem se yu blong Paama? Taem we yu askem em i se mi blong Paama wea, be somtaem yes, em i talen nomo be em i no really joinem ol uh member or samting. Male, 42 years, second generation migrant)

(ii) Plenty taem ol man ol i stap talem se mi blong Paama. Ol i go ol i mentionem name ia nomo, Paama. Se mi blong Paama be wanem village nao yu kam aot long em? Plenty man nao ia [...] ol i tusum family blong olgeta olsem ol i nomo go close long family blong olgeta mo long community we blong olgeta olsem long village we ol i kam aot long em. Ol i no go close tumas long village we ol i kam aot long em [...] Plenty ol i stap talem name ia nomo, Paama be olgeta ol i never luk Paama. (Female, 35 years, second generation migrant)

(iii) Yu luk sam man long Seaside, [...] Olgeta i gat some man ol i no work. Long night ol i dring kava go go, daylight. Afta ol man blong work, ol i go work, olgeta nao ol i go inside ol i go sleep long bed blong olgeta. (Male, 37 years, 15 years in Vila)

(iv) Somtaem, taem ol i karem narafala woman aelan, narafala woman, yes narafala aelan, ol i base long Vila nomo. Taem ol i karem woman Paama nomo, ol i save go long Paama. (Male, age unknown, 40 years in Vila)

(v) No mi kam nomo from mama blong mi i stap long Vila. Afta mi mi kam. Mi kam luk em nao, mi kam mi stap wan taem. Mi nomo go long aelan too. (Male, 46 years, second generation migrant)

(vi) Yes, mifala i born long ples ia, mifala i live long ples ia be still ol man Paama ol i save se mifala i gat graon. From reason from wanem ol man Paama ol i aot long Paama ol i kam long ples ia from graon, em ia we i gat graon, em i fraet from life blong em. (Male, 40 years, second generation migrant)

(vii) No, mi kam nomo from girl blong mi ia. Be fistae ia, i sick, em i go long hospital, ol i katem appendix. Ale ol i sendem toktok i kam se mitufala i kam. Mitufala tugeta, mitufala i stap long aelan. Olfala man i kam fistaem. Mi i stap nomo long aelan go go. Ol i sendem toktok i kam se mi mi kam, ale mi mi kam ia, mifala i stap long Manples kasem nao ia. (Female, 63 years, 27 years in Vila)

(viii) Yes, mi stap mi spel nomo mi go visitem papa tufala long aelan taem tufala i stap afta mi stap kam bak. Be nao ia tufala i kam long ples ia, mi nomo go. Mi stap nomo [...] Haos nao i lukluk i go long sky, kapa i rotten so bae mi go, mi live wea? Mo ol pikinini too ol i go long skul so mi work blong buildem haos em ia mo skul fee. From life i hard nao ia mi mi must stap makem ol samting ia nao. So sipos mi go long Paama be bae mi mi nogat ples blong go. (Male, 57 years, second generation migrant)

(ix) From dadi blong mi i ded finis, i nogud bae i se man blong yu i ded finis afta yu kam lukaotem wanem bakagen. (Female, 52 years, 22 years in Vila)
(x) Mi no save se i olsem wanem nao. Mi fogetem too from hamas yia mi go ia mi smol yet from mi stap long primary ia. (Male, 26 years, second generation migrant)

(xi) Mo family too i nomo gat long aelan. Bae ol i go ol i live wetem who? [...] Taem yu nogat family long aelan, yu go, yu olsem wan stranger nomo. (Female, 47 years, Vila since 1980s)

(xii) Em ia nao olsem mi talem. 60-65% ol i man Port Vila finis, ol i nom go bak. Be 40% or 35% ia, ol i still man Paama ia from ol i stap ia ol i go, ol i go. Big spel, December, ol i go stap wetem family full manis. (Male 42 years, second generation migrant)

(xiii) Em i no glad [blong kam long Vila]. Be mifala i must takem aot em nomo[...] taem olfala woman em i lus, i nomo gat man we mifala i ting se em i save lukaotem em. Makem se mifala i talem long em se bae i nomo gat choice bae yu must kam wetem mifala nomo blong mifala i lukaot yu form nao ia yu nomo strong blong makem garen. Mo mifala i ting se yu must kam wetem mifala nomo blong stap wetem mifala, mifala i lukaotem yu kasem wantaem we... [...] Mifala ol brother i stap ia, mifala i work so i nogud blong em i stap em wan, mifala i stap. Mifala i stap harem gud be em i stap harem nogud, i stap suffer so em ia nao mifala i decide se no i must kam. (Male, 41 years, 20 years in Vila)

(xiv) Be ating tingting blong go live longwe nao em ia nao olsem em i stap long question mark yet [...] From work blong graon too i tumas. Wan man i go stap long em be i talem se no, no blong yu be yu save se afta bae em i save talem graon blong yu em i save spoilem yu long wan samting [...] Mi no wantem toktok long olgeta from olsem mifala i no wantem lukaotem problem. Ating bae yumi tok long olgeta, yumi talem long olgeta ol i aot, i gud be bae sipos i no wan yumi bae ol i spoilem be wan long ol pikinini blong yumi. Makem se ol i stap taem mifala i go be ol i kam kam aot wetem kakae olsem ol samting olsem. Olgeta too ol i save se ol i stap makem garen mo ol i live long graon we i no blong olgeta. Ol i save [...] Olgeta we ol i stap long aelan from sipos se mi mi, mi go long aelan blong mi too mi ronem aot em ale mi blong mi kam stap long Vila, be taem bae mi mi ronem aot em makem se mi mi, mi spoilem man ia wetem family blong em nao bae em i go planem kakae blong pikinini blong em wea? (Male, 34 years, second generation migrant)

(xv) Yes, i gat. Be olsem mi talem se i gat, be mi no sure se... I stap be olsem mi save se i gat be bigfala brother i gat house. (Male, 35 years, second generation migrant)

(xvi) Ating nomo from mi live longtaem long Vila nao, long taon, makem se yu bae yu go long aelan yu harem bae yu faenem em i hard [...] Olsem fulap long yumi ol i stap, i no stap makem garen, uh? Olsem blong go long aelan ia bae yu stap makem garen yu se how long makem garen olsem wanem? Faenem aot se wantaem mifala i go karem long narasaed, karem sam boy long mifala long Paama [...] Mifala i go plan maniok, yam, yes putum sam long ol boy ol i planem maniok olsem ia, sam long mifala i planem yam. Mi stap planem yam, mi finis, mi wokbaot i kam go olsem i stap luk hand blong maniok i go down long graon ia. Mi luk hand long maniok ia i upsaid daon [...] Sipos yu go long aelan, yu stap makem wan garen blong yu olsem bae yu stap wait mi no save se hamas manis be, no maniok blong yu i nogud. (Male, 37 years, second generation migrant)

(xvii) Em ia nao, ol i fraet long nakaimas. Mi too mi wantem go be olsem ia nao. Mi stap fraet long nakaimas ia too. Yu save ol, mifala i stap longtaem olsem ia, taem yu go long aelan yu no save stap. Samting ia too mi stap fraet long em. (Female, 67 years, Vila since before Independence)
(xviii) Mi fraet blong go stap long aelan. [...] Mi se ating bae mi go pem wan graon sam ples long, sam ples i go longwe. [...] Olsem mi live long town longtaem mi fraet blong go long aelan bakagen [...] Mi mi go long 1998 ia mi go mi stap two weeks nomo afa mi kam ia. From em ia nao mi fraet long nakaimas. (Female, 35 years, second generation migrant)

(xix) Bifo mi mi just stap long aelan be ol family ol i stap kam olbaot ia. Be mi stap wetem mama blong mi. Be taem mama blong mi em i lus be mi aot nao. Yes, mi aot mi kam stap, be mi stap nao. Samtaem mi stap tingting [...] blong go be tingting blong mi se bae mi go, mi go luk hu? Sipos mama blong mi alive, mi go, mi go luk em. Be i moa gud nomo mi stap olsem mi takem olsem, uh? [...] Yeah, mi kam ia mi nome stap go olsem go lukluk kam bak. No, mi kam, mi stap stap. (Male, 50 years, 26 years in Vila)

(xx) Mi wantem stap go be... Ol i nogat wan family i stap longwe, uh? [...] Mi fraet blong go [...] From blong go stap mi wan. Sipos wan day tufala i go, bae mi folem tufala i go. (Male, 30 years, second generation migrant)

(xxii) Be em ia nao, mi no save weplas bae mi live long em. Be ating bae mi live long Malakula o Epi, mi no save yet. From nao from sipos mi move bak long aelan be graon nomo, graon i no inaf ia. Makem se mifala i pem graon blong ples ia be yu gat graon we bae yu stap ia nao [...] From reason, ol graon nomo long aelan. From mifala evriwan sipos i go long aelan, i nogat ples blong makem house. From graon i smol smol. Afta, talem se, yes, mi stap decide blong live long Malakula. (Male, 53 years, Vila since 1970s)

(xxiii) Samfala, ol i nomo go bak from ol i, ol i pem graon, uh? [...] Olsem papa i bonem tumas, tumas boy, uh? Bae i bonem tumas boy makem se taem ol boy ia, ol i karem ol woman, ol i karem ol woman, makem se taem ol i sharem graon long olgeta makem se samtaem graon em i, graon i smol [...] Ol i sharem olgeta olsem sam ol i stap long Paama, sam ol i kam long Vila mo sam ol i go long Santo ol i go pemaot graon. (Male, 40 years, 21 years in Vila)

(xxiv) Mitufala i nomo save go long aelan [...] Olsem mitufala i go ia bae em i hardwork bakagen blong setemup family longwe. Ale, mitufala i kam stap ia nomo. Ale mitufala i stap karem graon long ples ia. (Male, elderly, Vila since 1970s)

(xxv) Vila olsem home blong mi nao. Mi laekem o mi no laekem be mi stap. Mi stap nomo bae mi go where? [...] Olsem home blong mi ia from mi nomo save se bae mi go where? (Female, 56 years, second generation migrant)

(xxvi) Yeah mi laekem Vila ating nomo from we mi kam stap longtaem nao, makem mi get used long life long Vila i makem mi laekem. Blong talem se long aelan, yes ating em i wan samting olsem from mi makem living blong mi olsem base blong mi long Vila, i makem nao mi
laekem. From even sipos mi go stap long aelan go go, taem mi harem se mi kam bak long Vila, mi glad, mi se oh mi go bak. Ating from home blong mi. Mi makem home blong mi long ples ia, i makem nao mi glad long em. (Male, 53 years, second generation migrant)

(xxvii) Mi no laekem ia. Mi stap from work nomo. Be mi really wantem go long Paama be taem mi go long Paama mi faenem se no, mi no save weplas bae mi go, we mi stap long em, uh? Mi stap long Vila longtaem be mi no laekem. Taem mi go long Paama, mi laekem tumas be samaem mi struggle so mi tingbaot Vila bakagen. Mi se no mi must go earnem money. (Male, 44 years, second generation migrant)

(xxviii) Yes from se em nao i helpem mi from living blong mi wetem future blong ol pikinini blong mi. Sipos i no Vila mi no save bae ol pikinini blong mi, mi no save bae ol i skull o ol i no skull. From how nao bae mi [pem skul fee blong olgeta]. (Male, 48 years, second generation migrant)

Chapter 9: Urban life and livelihoods

(i) Anyway, mifala i no save from mifala i stap longtaem or next yia, mi no save. Em i stap long man long graon blong em. Any tingting we i wantem makem wetem mifala long ples ia blong makem wan samting [...] Mifala i stap long hand blong man nao. (Male, 55 years, 13 years in Vila)

(ii) Yu go yu stanap nomo eye blong yu nomo i open olbaot. Ating narafala work bambae i hard long mi blong [...] Mi mi ting se work ia em i gud long mi nomo [...] from mi gat narafala work ia blong makem blong church em ia nao. (Male, 55 years, 13 years in Vila)

(iii) Makem se sometimes i hard lilbit blong organaisem money [...] Sometimes from long ples ia evri taem i gat mared, i gat dead. Taem we wan family i mared someplace be yu must pushum money. (Male, 23 years, second generation migrant)

(iv) Be mi luk se life long town ia yu must save how yu managem yu wan nomo. (Male, 26 years, second generation migrant)

(v) Em ia i nogud we! [...] Taem nomo ol i askem, ale yumi sendem. Be yumi should sendem long taem we yu luk se yu tingbaot olgeta, sendem em i go. Mi se yu no tingbaot olgeta. Yu stap nomo, taem ol i sendem toktok i kam, ale tingbaot olgeta. Olsem mi luk se i no street olsem. (Female, 47 years, period of urban residence unknown)

(vi) Ating nao ia mifala i no sendem samting longtaem [...] Taem finance i gud be mifala i sendem smol i go. Be nao ia longtaem nao mifala i no give samting i go. From tufala boy, tufala evriwan i stap long secondary, makem se skull fee i go antap. Afta mifala i must pem kakae blong haos too. Afta bill blong kakae blong haos, afta plusum bill blong light, bill blong water, so em i tumas long mifala. (Female, 35 years, second generation migrant)

(vii) Olgeta ol i stap be even though, mifala i save that olgeta ol i stap lukaotem ol even property, graon. Olsem ol i go wokbaot, makem garen long ples long mifala be at least mifala i gat assurance olsem se if someone is coming or wanting to do anything be olgeta ol i stap so olgeta ol i stap, taem any samting, even skull fees or anything [...] mifala i no save talem no. (Male, age unknown, 22 years in Vila)
(viii) Samtaem mi say nomo makem, nomo givem, from rate blong em blong kam long Vila. Bifo em i 100 vatu, be nao ia i stap go long 500, 1000. Makem i hard long mifala, mi say nomo givim kakae. Man i wantem, i kam kakae long Paama nomo i kam [...] Mi no wantem yufala i sendem brefruit i kam. Givim new growth blong em i kam, mi planem long ples ia. Mi takem mi go stap plan long bus. mM go planem long bus be taem em ia i karem fruit, mi mi kakae breadfruit long ples ia nomo. Mi no wantem kam long aelan. (Male, born before WWII, Vila since 1970s)

(ix) Be em ia nomo mifala i stap tok long tufala i se tufala i no stap hadwork. From nao ia ol i stap kam olfala nao. Nomo hadwork blong stap sendem kakae i kam. (Female, 35 years, 20 years in Vila)

(x) Nao ia long aelan in nomo ol sem bifo. Bifo yu sendem samting in no expectem anything. [...] Sam ol i just putum nomo, basket i kam. Yu save finis. [...] So em i expectem blong yu talem se no, mi putum wan. (Male, age unknown, 20 years in Vila)

(xi) From fulap ol i kam be ol luk se em i hard. Makem se ol i kam blong makem burden nomo long ol family ol i stap long Vila. From ol family we ol i stap long Vila olsem ol i gat ol pikinini finis, ol i skul, ale olgeta ol i kam bakagen ol i kam ting se blong ol i faenem work be from work em i hard blong yu faenem. That way fulap ol i kam olsem bae today bae wan i kam kam aot long haos ale bae i kakae ale sleep ale bae i gerap long morning, ale bae ol i go wokbaot, long afternoon olsem i go kam aot long wan narafala family longwe. Olsem most long olgeta ol i stap makem nomo olsem. (Male, 34 years, second generation migrant)

(xii) Mifala fulap be ol i no cooperate good, uh? Em ia i stap longway, em ia i stap ia, from i nogat taem blong meeting. Some ded nomo, yumi mitim yumi [...] Taem ded, yumi kakae finis, yumi go wan wan em ia mi no luk yumi nao [...] Cooperation blong bifo ia i nomo gat. Olsem ol yumi go meeting toktok, toktok, makem plan se yes yumi ol family nakamal ia mi wantem wan samting or makem fundraising or wanem i nomo gat olsem life long nao ia. Be bifo em i gud. (Male, 48 years, Vila since finished Class Six)

(xiii) Bifo mifala i....i blong town ia. Mifala i very close even though mifala i kam long ol diffren villages, taem yu came long Vila be you tend to be very protective, uh? Long each other [...] Like sapos wan samting, wan incident i happen long ples ia wan blong mifala, wan man i kam kilim long ples ia, mifala i save retaliate. It took some time we i kam go go mifala i start blong mindem own business blong mifala. I gat, bifo mifala olsem even though island i smol, be ol people blong mifala i no fraet blong fight from protectem mifala nomo. But recently i kam go olsem people ol i just mindem ol family blong olgeta now. Which is, one of the, one rabbis samting aboutem village i takem ples uh? (Male, age unknown, 22 years in Vila)

(xiv) Be bae i hard too long somtaem sapos yu gat wan work blong yu long Vila ia, bae i hard. Yu no save makem work blong yu, yu wan. From yu must needem community blong helpem yu. Blong yumi sakem smol smol money blong makem work blong yu. Be makem nao, makem se nao ia long Vila ia, fulap long ol yangfala ol i karem woman ol i stap. From i nogat meeting, bae who i helpem em blong pem blong makem work blong em? Pikinini hamas, two, three ol i stap wetem olgeta ol i stap. Problem ia nao. Fistaem i gud be nao ia life i hard. (Male, 53 years, Vila since 1970s)

(xv). Mi long village blong mi ia i gat samfala boy olsem ol pikinini olsem ia em ia mi no save olgeta finis ia [...] Olgeta nomo long line blong mifala mi save olgeta. Be ol pikinini blong olgeta we ol i kam, ol i kam long ples ia mi save olgeta. Be olgeta i stap long aelan, mi
must go blong askem name bakagen blong save olsem be mi no save talem. (Male, 54 years, Vila since 1970s)

(xvi) Oh ples [Seaside] i fas. Yu no save pulum gud wind ia. Fulap man tumas. Ples ia mi kam stap long em, mi harem gud from ples i gud i kwaet, no stap harem tumas noise, yu stap long yard blong yu, yu wan nomo.