

# We Do(n't): Explaining Fijian-Indian Intermarriage in Fiji

Portia Richmond<sup>1</sup>

## *Abstract*

*Historically, Fijians and (Fiji) Indians have been portrayed as political opposites. This paper explores whether this political opposition is mirrored in the social sphere of marriage. Factors influencing intermarriage form the focus of the study. The paper argues that physical and legal segregation promoted by colonial policy played a critical structural role. Cultural and religious differences, particularly Indian mores, contributed to the separation. Segregation and difference, rather than opposition, appear to characterize Fijian-Indian relations. However, as education, modernization, urbanization and globalization take hold in contemporary society and interactions increase, prospects for increased Fijian-Indian marriages become greater.*

## **Introduction**

Fijians and Indians<sup>2</sup> are the dominant figures in everyday practices, discourse and imagination concerning Fiji. Politically, they have commanded, dominated and polarized key issues of national

---

<sup>1</sup> I thank all those who contributed to the content and the behind-the-scenes support for the original thesis from which this paper emerges, and the Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, for professional development support.

<sup>2</sup> The use of terms 'Indian' and 'Fijian' has been a subject of long debate in Fiji. The terms are used here only for convenience of reference, with no implication for any political outcome or solution by the use or non-use of these terms. This paper has not been written to promote intermarriage as a solution to Fiji's social and political problems; its objective is to illuminate where the two communities stand in relation to one another, and offers windows into a greater understanding of Fiji's social milieu.

significance throughout Fiji's recent history. But what of ordinary social relations? Is this polarization mirrored in the social sphere? A study of Fijian-Indian miscegenation or intermarriage<sup>3</sup> provides one window into this question. The study of intermarriage can help determine the extent to which two culturally dissimilar groups mingle or assimilate. Do Fijians and Indians meaningfully interact to the point where marriages between them are regular?

Marriage is, after all, one of the most intimate realizations of human relationships. In an ideal marriage, one expects total commitment between two people to an institution that is both universal and fundamental, requiring negotiation and compromise, and a constant working through differences in personality, values, and goals, even within culturally-homogenous unions.

Marriage also rarely exists in the one-to-one cosmos of the marital pair. Extended families, the community, and at times even national interests, are involved. Societies worldwide have historically regulated the kinds of marriages undertaken, enforcing culturally acceptable degrees of endogamy and exogamy. Historically, intermarriage – inter-religious, inter-caste, inter-cultural, inter-racial – has been resisted and in some cases, legislated against. In an endogamy-leaning society, an exogamous union defies the social standard. To what degree can a couple transcend evident cultural differences to make a go of marriage? To what degree will a cross-cultural couple risk family or community censure?

That marriages are rare between Fijians and Indians has long been reinforced in Fiji's literature by travellers, entrepreneurs, officials and academics. Numerous one-liners simply state, 'Marriage between Fijians and Indians is rare' (e.g. Coulter, 1942: 67; Gillion, 1962: 155). The rate of Fijian-Indian intermarriage as captured in the 1996 census data is estimated at 0.93% (Richmond, 2003).

In 2002, I interviewed intermarried persons, religious and community leaders, government officials, academics, and other individuals, to capture a snapshot of twenty-first century ideas on Fijian-Indian marriage<sup>4</sup>. The research is exploratory and not a defini-

---

<sup>3</sup> 'Intermarriage' in its strictest sense is confined to legal unions. Where 'intermarriage' is used in this paper, it refers to marriages or de facto unions between Fijians and Indians.

<sup>4</sup> Interviews were undertaken over a period of two months in Suva, Nadi, Lautoka, Tavua, and Hawaii towards my MA degree in Pacific Studies at the University of Hawaii. There were twenty full interviews, 45 per cent with fe-

tive study.

The interviews highlight the conjugal experiences of inter-married couples, including cultural conflict and in-law antipathy and/or acceptance. The stories emerging from the interviews reveal circumstances, reasons and factors which contributed to the choice of partners. Some excerpts from interviews with Fijian women married to Indian men<sup>5</sup> follow:

It was hard in the beginning. I worked hard to keep the family going and also to prove to my in-laws that I could save and provide for my children.

Informant A1

Marriage to an Indian is hard. Marriage to a Muslim is hard.

Informant G1

My in-laws have been good to me. My mother-in-law looks after our children...People don't find it unusual that I am married to an Indian because they know about it, they are used to it.

Informant O2

His mother did not make an effort to attend our wedding. My family too was very reluctant but they fulfilled their obligations to me. I can clearly remember the people on his side of the family who attended the wedding...(However) as soon as the baby was born my mother-in-law seemed to come around.

Informant V1

This article explores the factors that have contributed to and/or inhibited Fijian-Indian marriages, and seeks to determine whether social polarization reflects Fiji's Fijian-Indian political divisions.

---

males and 55 per cent with males. 25 per cent were Fijian females and 15 per cent Indian females; 25 per cent were Fijian males and 30 percent Indian males. Although the interviews took place in urban settings, four interviewees recounted rural experiences. Professionally, interviewees included a mixture of entrepreneurs, civil servants, housewives, university lecturers, teachers, NGO employees, a taxi driver and a politician. Twenty-seven short interviews or discussions also took place with people who did not wish to undergo the full interview process but consented to have their opinions recorded.

<sup>5</sup> I was unable to obtain interviews with Indian women married to Fijian men. This difficulty reflects the lower instance of such marriages.

## **Colonialism**

Without Fiji's specific brand of British colonialism, Fiji's history (and the history of intermarriage) would have followed a different course. Early colonial policy to preserve the Fijian race and culture kept them in villages under a native administration. A colonially-inspired model of the 'Fijian way of life' was imposed on disparate cultures and peoples (Robertson and Sutherland, 2001). Today, Christianity, communalism, and the top-down authority of chiefs are viewed as the traditional way of life (Kaplan, 1988).

The presence of Indians is also determined by this peculiar brand of colonialism. Indians were brought to Fiji to undertake plantation work that Fijians were spared from. Upon arrival, Indian workers lived under a separate administrative system. The rigours of agricultural work allowed for little recreational time, including interaction with Fijians.

The British strategy privileged the Fijian with 'tradition' and exploited the Indian as an 'agricultural implement' (Naidu, 1980). Moreover, they lived in separate locations: the Fijian in the village and the Indian on the plantation estate. Fijian and Indian concerns were lesser players in the greater colonial plan.

Not only did the two communities live apart, but the colonial administration legislated to keep it that way. Indians were forbidden from living in or near Fijian villages (Mayer, 1963), and Fijians were punished for sheltering refugee Indians (Ali, 1979). Naturally, the lack of regular interaction contributed to an absence of intermarriage.

The colonial government's divide and rule apartheid policy set in place a structural framework which promoted the segregation of Fijians and Indians.

## **Culture: Social organization**

Culturally the people are diametrically opposed. On the one side was the communal, on the other, a more individual, nuclear type family. The communal character attributed to Fijian culture is described as a social structure wherein kinship ties to the extended family within the village and between villages are reinforced through ongoing social, cultural and economic obligations and exchange relations. Cooperation is sought and expected regarding land

use, birth, death and marriage rituals, food preparation and exchange, and village-wide chores and activities. The communal aspect is apparent in the occupation of a bure by a nuclear family and other relatives. The traditional Fijian family structure is not portrayed as a nuclear unit (the nuclear family being equated with that of individualism).

There is a perception that the Fijian household receives constant visitors where an unspoken 'open house' policy functions. Under the Fijian custom or *kerekere* (literally 'to request') one cannot refuse requests for material items from relatives or neighbours. According to Indian informant F1, 'Marriage into a communal arrangement would mean uncertainty about one's possessions because everything there is communally shared.' This is one aspect of Fijian culture which differs markedly from the Indian, and conforms with the common stereotype that Fijians are a sharing people and Indians are tight-fisted. Another Indian respondent said, 'An Indian woman will think about what will happen if she marries a Fijian. She will know that she will inherit a whole family and there'll be people coming and going and they'll never have any money for themselves'. Therefore for some Indian families, the communal character of Fijian culture is a deterrent to marriage. While contemporary Fijian life is significantly urban, the basic kinship principle does not seem to have changed dramatically.

Indian culture, by contrast, is identified as individualistic and oriented to the nuclear family model. Indentured immigrants came to Fiji mostly as individuals, with men outnumbering women. Some marriages occurred between these individuals. Few family units immigrated (Gillion, 1962). Upon leaving the mother country, migrants also left behind a familiar setting in which the social structure was based on intricate, tightly-structured village arrangements, where kinship ties were strong and centred around hierarchical authority, the caste group and the village (Mayer, 1973: 5). The conditions of plantation life that greeted the immigrants did not allow for the development of similar social models. There was little recourse to an established network of kin when in need (Gillion, 1977; Lal, 1992). Further difficulties amongst Indians included barriers of language, disparate regional origins, and religious differences.

New liaisons and kin relations had to be forged in the plantation environment. The new family composition consisted of a wife, a husband, and their children. New associations also formed between

men on indenture ships which developed into lifelong ties like that of brotherhood (Lal, 2000). As labourers completed their indenture tenure and sought to make a living on farms, they set up home in scattered homesteads (Gillion, 1962). Hence the individual character of Indian settlement is largely a product of the indenture system and economic necessity. Furthermore, although it is perceived that Indian families are nuclear in organization, it is not uncommon for grandparents and other relatives to also reside in the family home.

Interviewees emphasized differences in social structure as a core barrier to intermarriage. From the Indian point of view, the unspoken issue appears to be a uni-directional sharing of material goods; it would be interesting to further extract whether the 'sharing' is reciprocated in other ways. Despite the emphasis on difference, there appear to be similarities: communal decision-making was customary (but unable to be continued with for the resettled Indians); and in the composition of the home.

### **Attachment to culture**

In addition to being perceived as 'very different', both the Fijian and Indian cultures are also described as 'very strong'. This viewpoint implies cultural rigidity, an inability to be flexible or open to change or new influences. 'When people get rid of their rigid attachment there will be more intermarriages' (Fijian informant T2).

In particular, the Indian culture is singled out by Indian informants as being more reserved and strict than the Fijian; for being in a state of cultural freeze, for 'while there has been a holding on to the past since indenture, culture in India itself keeps changing' (Indian informant L1). Given the unsettling experience of life in the plantations, immigrants probably sought refuge and solace in familiar cultural rituals and values (Ali, 1981). With geographic distance and an absence of ongoing contact with the homeland, it is also likely that the cultural memory of labourers remained stationary in the remembered past.

Fijian culture is not exempt from internal criticism either. 'Fijian culture froze when the colonials arrived' (Fijian informant W1). Critics and scholars alike have often reflected upon the wisdom of Gordon's protectionist policy for the Fijian community (Kaplan, 1988; Lal, 1992).

The above discussion on attachment to culture is fruitful when

put in the context of general Fijian-Indian social relations. It illuminates one stumbling block to improved interaction between the two groups. It alludes to specific customs or values that hinder greater mutual understanding, and ultimately deter intercultural marriage. Some of these specific customs and values are outlined below.

### **Marriage practices and values**

Marriage is a key institution in Indian culture and is highly valued across all Indian religions (Smith & Jayawardena, 1959: 349). In Hinduism, marriage is a sacrament; to be unmarried is to be unholy (Kapadia, cited in Lateef, 1985: 13). The Islamic tradition encourages marriage to foster social order, to promote the family, and to regulate sexuality (Minai, cited in Lateef 1985: 17). Given the fundamental importance of marriage, considerations of matrimony with persons of other races, religions, or ethnicities become serious in the Indian worldview.

#### *Attitudes to general intermarriage*

Endogamy is the favoured form of marriage in wider Indian society. Marriage within one's own religion, caste, ethnicity and race is generally preferred. Hindus still generally marry Hindus, and Muslims only Muslims. Thirlwell's 1960s study (1996: 113) on a South Indian Labasa settlement reveals a specific hierarchy of preferred spouses: a South Indian must marry, first, a cross-cousin, second, other relatives, third, other South Indians, and fourth other Indians. In the case of Punjabi and Gujarati males who came to Fiji as free settlers, wives were arranged for from continental India, not from the pool in Fiji. For Muslims racial exogamy is tolerable so long as the inmarrying partner becomes a convert.

Interestingly, exogamy across caste and religious boundaries did occur during indenture. The primary reason was the shortage of available and compatible marriage mates. However, the overriding pressure is for marriage to remain within religious, ethnic and racial confines even today (Lateef, 1993; Singh, 1998).

There appears to be no overriding authority or dogma in Fijian culture that determines attitudes towards mixed marriages. Fijians are perceived to outmarry more to European, Indian, Chinese and other families (Cato, 1955). It would seem, at least superficially,

that there is no active or vocal opposition to intermarriage. Beneath the surface however, lies a tacitly-accepted hierarchy of suitable spouses for Fijians. 'It's OK for Fijians to marry a European, and a Polynesian, but it's not OK for them to marry Indians...And even if you marry a Fijian who is not a blood relative, at least it's a Fijian. There seems to be a social order: the whites at the top, then the semi-white and so forth' (Fijian informant P2).

### *Arranged marriages*

One significant obstacle to marriages between Fijians and Indians is the practice of arranged marriage, for long a core aspect of social life in India and in Fiji's Indian community.

If an Indian woman in contemporary Fiji has a meagre education, has no paid employment, or works in low-paying jobs, she has little choice but to accept this form of wedlock (Lateef, 1985). The woman is economically dependent on her parents' benevolence and relies on an arranged marriage to secure her future as a wife. It is also perceived that arranged marriages are more predominant in rural areas (Benson, 1977), due to factors such as poverty, isolation and inferior access to education.

Arranged marriage is seen as practical. 'Arranged marriages also work out well because you know that your parents know your in-laws. Indian parents are quite willing to intervene if anything goes wrong...For instance, I know of a girl who had an unhappy marriage; as soon as her parents found out that her husband was not treating her well, they took her back home' (Indian informant C1). Having one's parents involved provides a sense of security to the child in the possible scenario of a marriage going wrong. However, Lateef (1990: 59) contends that where there is domestic violence in the marital union, the powerful ideology that stresses the importance of permanence in marriage means that women's sufferings are tolerated and taken for granted.

Arranged marriages are undergoing transformations today. The modern variant on the arranged marriage is the 'arranged love marriage' (Lateef, 1993). These transformations illustrate that the custom of arranged marriage is capable of change, carrying possible implications for intermarriage.

Traditional Fijian marriages were also arranged in the past (Ravuvu, 1983). Marriages were commonly organized between cross-



cousins. Marriages were still being arranged by parents into the 1930's (Benson (1977: 12). By then considerable numbers of Indians were present in Fiji.

During the early part of the 1900's, thus, given that arranged marriages were the norm in both communities, marital associations between members of those groups were difficult to come by.

### **Love marriages**

'Love has no barriers', state all informants. Even during the early part of last century, there is documentation that Fijians were undertaking new forms of courtship and matrimony (Brewster, 1922). Fijians today have the freedom to choose their own spouses. But even earlier elopement was resorted to when parents disagreed with a match (Ravuvu, 1983). These elopements might be viewed as variations on the 'love marriage', and as such, challenged the traditional convention of marriage.

Love marriages also seem to be increasing within Indian culture. Love marriages represent a dramatic change from the ideology and values of traditional arranged marriages. Lateef (1993) asserts that most love marriages occur amongst the urban, educated elite.

All of the intermarriages I was privy to evolved from love. In one case, the relationship began as a mere friendship. Despite the overt hostility of the Indian parents, the Indian man still pursued the Fijian woman, eventually marrying her. In another case the Indian man fell in love with his Fijian best friend's sister.

Root (2001: 6) argues that love is the primary motivation behind interracial marriages occurring in the USA. Love seems to transcend barriers of racism, fear and hatred. Love is involved in a quiet revolution that challenges long-held culturally-ingrained negative attitudes and feelings about the 'other'. In Fiji, informants talked about love not only in terms of intermarriage, but also in terms of creating better relations between people in the wider community.

The number of Indian women-Fijian men associations is significantly less than the converse. The explanation might lie in the finely defined role of Indian females in society. Married women have a higher status than unmarried women (Lateef, 1990: 47). To this end, women were traditionally reared to become housewives and mothers. Regardless of the level of education attained, females

are expected to get married and raise children (Shameem, 1992). The ideology of purdah is integral to this process. Lateef (1990: 44-5) accords three essential elements to purdah: the segregation of the sexes, the protection of women's sexuality, and the maintenance of family honour. While men are granted unrestricted movement within the public sphere, women are confined to private, domestic spaces. In these spaces, certain behaviours are required of women. They are expected to be obedient, quiet, demure and unobtrusive. They are taught to cook, to clean and to serve their families and their husbands without complaint. In order to protect the family honour, they are not allowed to go out or to mix freely with boys. Fathers and brothers take special care to ensure that daughters and sisters abide by these regulations. Education is significantly connected to purdah. Women with limited education have a reduced chance of paid employment, thus are economically dependent on families, making conformity to purdah a necessity. Females with greater financial independence are freer to make their own choices. While Indian girls in urban areas are freer than rural girls, purdah is still a norm in Indian society. Therefore, since women are restricted in their movements, the probability of meeting Fijian males in a social context is still at a minimum.

One reason for more numerous instances of Fijian women marrying Indian men stems from the observation that the Fijian woman has chances of social interaction with boys. 'We lived in a village on the western side near a hotel surrounded by Fijians...Every Christmas and New Year there used to be celebrations. You would pay 50 cents to dance the taralala in those days. And of course there would be no Indian girls to dance with, so...people got involved and some got married. There was reluctance by Indian parents to let their daughters out' (Indian informant E2). Unlike in Indian culture, where purdah effects a host of restrictions on women's contact with men, the Fijian culture does not carry the same restraints. Hence communication between Fijian women and Indian men is less restricted, allowing for possible marriages between them.

Traditional Fijian culture was, however, structured around the authority of the male and the male line. Nayacakalou (1955: 47) asserts that Fijian women are considered socially inferior to men. The role of the woman is to serve her husband and his family unit (Ravuvu, 1983). The transition from the older values to modern values including greater financial independence is expected to water down

the gender based social hierarchy. But whether the status accorded to women in Fijian societies has changed is still not clear. None of the Fijian female informants advised that escaping from Fijian male dominance was a reason for them to marry Indian males.

In three of the intermarriage case studies the women went to considerable lengths to assimilate or incorporate their husbands' culture into the family lifestyle, including religious conversion, preparing Indian food, wearing Indian clothing, and conversing in Hindi. Geraghty's (1997), on the other hand, observed that it is the increasing indigenization of the Indian man (i.e. his assimilation to Fijian mores), that is responsible for the increased Indian man-Fijian women ties. The closer reality would be that both, the man and the woman adjust to make the intermarriage last.

### **The attitudes of parents, families and the community**

The reaction of parents, the extended family, and the wider community can have a negative impact on an intercultural marriage. In some cases, it is a powerful deterrent. Other individuals ignore or attempt to cope with the adverse situation in the hope that hostile parties come around.

Fijian informant A1 had been seeing an Indian for several years when his parents found out about their relationship. The parents then organized an Indian wife for him, threatened to approach the police, and send him overseas. Opposition continued even after grandchildren were produced. The husband was dependent on his parents' goodwill since he was also involved in the family business. The animosity displayed by her in-laws provoked the wife into proving that she was independent and could save, care and provide for her family. Although she attained this goal, her parents-in-law did not appear to have ever accepted her.

The spectre of the Indian mother-in-law looms large in several respondents' stories. In an all-Indian family arrangement, the relationship between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law can be fraught with tension (see Lateef, 1985; Lateef, 1990). The prospect of a non-Indian daughter-in-law not only jars with the customary dislike for any kind of intermarriage, but also raises potential cultural conflict. Here is one account: 'My mother-in-law did not want me because I'm Fijian...I don't like my mother-in-law because she's always saying bad things...We lived with her and everyday

there were fights with her. Even my husband had fights with her' (Fijian informant G1). But in one out of the four studies, there appears to have been a good relationship between the Fijian wife and her mother-in-law. In this case the lady lived with her in-laws for 5 years.

When posed with the question, 'How would you react if your son or daughter married a Fijian?', two Indian respondents (male and female) answered positively: they would be receptive to a Fijian son- or daughter-in-law. However, the opposition of Indian families to the idea of an Indian woman dating or marrying a Fijian man was raised by at least four respondents.

The reactions of Fijian parents and families to these unions appear to be more relaxed and less antagonistic. Two of the Fijian women married to Indians spoke of their families' support despite initial reluctance. One Fijian mother simply said that all she wanted was for her daughter to be happy. A Fijian father-in-law claimed he was pleased his daughter was marrying an Indian because obligations for Indian weddings are fewer.

Considerable resistance was displayed by two Fijian families towards the prospect of an Indian daughter-in-law. While incidences of Indian women marrying Fijian men are low, there are no reported cases of Fijian men of chiefly rank marrying Indian women. In the latter, social resistance would tend to be higher. Traditionally, descent is traced through the male line (Ravuvu, 1983: 7). Rights and privileges are based upon membership to the father's mataqali. Rights to land, identity and heritage are integral to this membership. A marriage between a Fijian high chief and an Indian woman would produce a mixed-race off-spring, thereby creating a nightmarish situation for chiefly title succession. The idea of the children being registered as Fijian and gaining titles, even though they are part-Fijian, is anathema to high-ranking families, for the families want to keep the title pure (Fijian informant P2).

One bittersweet story involves a Fijian man-Indian woman alliance. Despite the happiness of the marriage and the begetting of two offspring, the Fijian family's disapproval was so strong that a divorce had to be arranged. Yet despite this, '...the love was still strong. They still see each other quietly. That's how strong it is' (Indian informant S1).

According to the 1996 census, Fijian women outmarry more than Fijian men (Richmond, 2003). Due to the greater importance of

the male line, and because women traditionally marry out of their own clan, marriages to men of other races are probably not perceived as significant losses.

Undeniably, one could argue that parents are more conservative and more traditional in attitudes and values. The generational jump from parents to children often reflects a loosening of attitudes and values, due to greater access to education and the children's modern ideas. Hence, the reactions of siblings to Fijian-Indian marriages appear to be more positive and favourable, and sometimes directly contradictory to their parents. The brothers of one Indian man actively sought reconciliation between their parents and their sister-in-law, but when the parents' acceptance was not forthcoming, sought instead to concentrate on their relationship with her. Sympathetic siblings can also be useful in helping to break the knowledge of partnerships to parents.

The attitudes displayed by parents, families and communities run the range of possibilities, from outright hostility to open acceptance.

### **Dating and sexuality**

The difference between dating and getting married is crucial. Dating implies curiosity, experimentation, and temporary alliances (Root, 2001: 17). Marriage entails permanence and the extended family and all that it involves. A study of dating practices is important in the light of intermarriage because dating can lead to marriage. Furthermore, much can be revealed when dating patterns are compared with spousal selection patterns.

An overwhelming response from the respondents has been that sexual liaisons are not uncommon between single Indian men and Fijian women. Naidu's (1979: 212) study on Taveuni asserts that most men have their first sexual experience with Fijian girls. Since Indian girls are restricted to the home, especially at night, Indian men walking around the towns at night only come across Fijian women (Indian informant S2). In some cases, casual sexual liaisons evolve into meaningful relationships eventuating in marriage. However, the overriding reality is that Indian men conform to customary endogamy. Such is the strength of Indian marital culture and ideology. 'Indian boys want to explore and they can do it with (anyone)...But in the end they marry Indian girls' (Indian informant F1).

According to the strictures of *purdah*, Indian girls are not ex-

tended the freedom to go out on their own. Similarly, premarital sex is forbidden in the broader Indian culture (Indian informant B1). Girls who engage in premarital sex are stigmatized (Indian informant A2; Singh, 1998). Although Indian girls do experiment sexually in contemporary Fiji, it is most likely to be conducted discreetly, without the parents' knowledge (Indian informant Y1). It is also likely that they do not engage with Fijian men in these activities.

### **Domestic violence**

There is a strong, prevailing perception that Fijian men are aggressive towards their wives. 'Fijians are tall and strong, maybe Indian women are frightened,' Indian informant H1 said jokingly. 'Fijian men are not good. They always hit their wives. They go out and drink, have grog and then beer, then come home and hit their wives.' Indian informant F2 contends that the Fijian man is obligated to socialize frequently with his mates, drinking grog etc. This perception would not endear Fijian men as sons-in-law to Indian parents.

However, domestic violence towards women and wives is not the preserve of Fijians. Lateef (1990) writes on the Indian ideology that defends the use of violence against women in order to keep women under control. In the course of research, only one interviewee made a passing reference to physical abuse from Indian husbands: 'When a married woman has an affair, an English husband will just ask for a divorce. A Fijian man will...(she makes boxing gestures), and an Indian man will...(she makes a neck-cutting gesture). That's why they don't want Indian daughters to marry a Fijian' (Indian informant L1).

Ravuvu (1983: 109) argues that Fijians are generally gentle and humble. The values instilled during upbringing include respect, deference, compliance and humility. Indeed, according to several people's perceptions, Fijian men are quite mild mannered.

Domestic violence seems to cut both ways in this discussion. No one group can claim exemption from this phenomenon.

### **Stereotypes regarding money and Housekeeping**

'No. I don't want to be penniless. I don't want to be beaten up' (part-Indian informant O1, on being asked if she would marry a Fijian).

Providing for one's family is important to Indians. Indians

needed to be thrifty and economical to survive. The inability of Indians to own (native, inalienable) lands coveted for agriculture compelled them to be frugal (Chappell, 2003: personal communication). They do not have recompense to a social system in the same way that Fijians do for economic support.

Many Indians believe that Fijians cannot save their money. Not only will a Fijian husband spend most of his wages on booze, but his relatives will take it off you (Fijian-Indian informant B3, Indian informant J1). These negative beliefs about Fijian men and their ability to provide for the family discourage thoughts of inter-marriage. 'One thing you can say about Indian girls...They need a husband who can provide them with security. Security is very important to them. They need a husband who will always be there' (Indian informant F1).

The Fijian female informant O2 who is married to an Indian had the following comment: 'Fijian women married to Fijian men would have to go out and get the food, unlike Indian men who always provide it. It is good to be married to an Indian. My husband likes to make sure we have enough in stock.'

Indians girls are brought up to be good housewives and mothers. A particularly high standard of skill and level of cleanliness in housekeeping is an ideal. These skills enhance a woman's desirability in marriage. An Indian husband is socialized to expect the maintenance of these standards in his household. Consequently, the Fijian woman who has not been educated this way might fall short of the high demands placed upon her in marriage to an Indian. This is put forward as one factor precluding Indian man-Fijian woman union: 'A Fijian wife just has to cook, just do a bit here and there. For an Indian, never mind Muslim or Hindu, they are the same culture, they have to clean constantly. Here, there. It's all in your hands, it's all in your hands' (Fijian informant G1). As noted earlier, the Fijian woman is credited for her ability to adapt. In most of my case studies, the Fijian woman has learnt to cook Indian food (well).

### **Other cultural issues**

One issue that academics deal with when discussing inter-marriage concerns the 'future of a race or ethnic group'. Inter-marriage mixes groups. While hardly in the minds of those who are in love and are determined to marry, this issue tends to be raised by others

looking at intermarriages. Thus, in Fiji, the issue would be whether the Fijian race would be threatened with extinction if there were more intermarriages, particularly when the Fijian population is well under 0.5 million. One informant stated: 'I disagree with those who are afraid that the Fijian culture is dying. Culture is always evolving, always changing. Those who say that are playing on people's fears' (Fijian informant T2).

Concerns about the purity of one's (racial) heritage, genealogy, or title also weigh as factors deterring intermarriage. In the case of an Indian woman marrying a Fijian, the registration of the children as Fijian (because the father is Fijian) might cause problems for the family especially in the case of a titled lineage. 'They won't even want a part-Indian to get the title. It's like they want to keep it pure' (Fijian informant P2). Issues of purity of race is debatable. Fijian informant P2 asserts that the notion of purity even within the Fijian race is ridiculous, for 'Lauans have mixed with Tongans. That is impure. And yet Ratu Mara is considered Fijian.' Fijians are a heterogeneous people, as are the Indians. In the context of intermarriage, loyalty and pride in the Fijian race or culture might prevent them from considering wedlock to a non-Fijian.

Language can be important to understanding culture. It is implied that if one can master the language of another culture, this would break down barriers leading to improved social relations (Indian informant S2). Several of the Fijian wives interviewed could converse in Hindi. Some had grown up in Indian neighbourhoods and attended Indian schools. While the ability to speak the language of the spouse does not directly contribute to increased chances of marriage, it appears to ease the inmarrying partner into new cultural circumstances. In one case, the ability to speak Hindi was key to impressing her prospective mother-in-law (Indian informant K1).

### **Personal appearance**

Physical attraction is integral to choosing a spouse. Interestingly, during research, people only referred to the physical qualities of the Fijian; none was forthcoming about the Indian. Perhaps personal appearance is not a key issue; or perhaps, politeness prevails. The hair of the Fijian female is the focus of attention. The changes (young) Fijian women are making to their hair, straightening and tying it back, are emphasized. In fact, one sees more Fijian women in



the salons today than Indians (Indian informant E2). It is also coincidental that these hairstyle changes approximate the straight Indian hairstyle. On the whole, the Fijian woman today is presented as a desired object of beauty. Indian respondents pronounced Fijian females as 'fine', 'presentable', and 'neat'. Only one informant considered the larger build of the Fijian female unattractive. Passing references were made to personal hygiene and scent.

The Fijian male, on the other hand, is noted for being tall and hefty, and by inference, strong, tough and rough. This feature, combined with the ingrained stereotype of Fijian men as wife beaters, is seen as a barrier to their desirability to the smaller-framed Indian woman.

Literature provides some clues about Fijian attitudes towards the Indian physique. Cato (1955: 20) reports that 'Fijian girls laugh at the skinny Indians.' Similarly, Spate (1990: 117) comments on Fijians being 'mightily afraid of Indian slimness.' However, the Indian female is sometimes viewed as an object of desire, as is the case in Manoa's (1979) observations growing up in a Fijian village.

### **Recreational contact**

A study conducted in a New England industrial community determined that recreation was one of the most frequent ways to meet one's future marriage partner (Barron, 1946). In Fiji, people are still perceived to interact within their own ethnic group although traditions are slowly being transformed.

One informant considered it important to specify sports in enhancing intermarriage. The sugar town of Ba hosts a large number of Indian residents. 'Sport is big in Ba, soccer is big. That is where you have lots of interaction. The Indian boys play. Fijians are friendly people. Fijian girls are more outgoing, freer, they talk to boys. They see one there, they look here. You have soccer, netball and then you have couples...Before you know it some get married' (Indian informant S1).

Soccer in Fiji is dominated by Indians, although the game is becoming more popular amongst Fijians. Netball is played by Fijian females. Sportspeople are likely to train or play alongside one another after school and during weekend competitions. Indian females, however, do not participate in sports in any meaningful way. Geraghty (1997) asserts that Indian culture does not encourage female

participation in sport.

Socializing in a nightclub, at parties or attending religious or festive occasions are other leisurely activities that abet interaction between Fijians and Indians.

Conditions are, therefore, ripe for increased contact between Indian men and Fijian women.

## **Religion**

The Christian faith is the dominant creed in Fiji, accounting for 58 per cent of the total population (1996 census figures, in Ratuva, 2002: 15). Hinduism is next at 34 per cent, and Islam follows at 7 per cent<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, Christians represent over half of the population of Fiji. Indians and Others comprise 13 per cent of the total Christian population. Hinduism and Islam are almost exclusively observed by Indians. This gives a racial character to religion. Fijians tend to be Christians, and Indians Hindu.

Given that religion touches upon the spiritual centre of many cultures, the issue of religion is meaningful in the context of intermarriage. Different religions preach and embody different approaches to marriage and the family. Within each religion there are varying degrees of freedom with regard to rules, conventions and rituals. Sects or divisions within each major religion add to the complexity. The three predominant religions in Fiji are distinct in dogma and practice. Religious difference, thus, is construed to be one of the greatest barriers to intermarriage. 'Religion is also a big factor. Hinduism and Islam are so totally different from Christians (Christianity)' (Indian informant F1).

1996 census data shows that the majority of marriages between Fijians and Indians occurs when the head of household (presumed to be male) is Christian. Specifically, it predominates when the Indian male is Christian, and since most Fijians are Christians, the simple conclusion is made that the greater number of intermarriages occur when both of the individuals are Christian (and belong to the same denomination). A similarity in religious convictions and contact

---

<sup>6</sup> For easier representation, the separate Christian denominations have been grouped together under Christianity. A closer denominational analysis reveals that Methodism (36 per cent) is the most popular religion, followed by that of Hinduism (34 per cent), other Christian religions (13 per cent), Catholicism (9 per cent) and Islam (7 per cent).

through regular attendance at church services work as factors encouraging greater marriage opportunities.

Some informants raised the issue of hypocrisy in the practice of some Christians: 'Fijians are hypocrites. 70 per cent are Methodists. In the church you learn that you should love one another. Except, it seems, for the Indians' (Fijian informant P2). 'As a religious person, it's one thing to espouse something and another to practise it' (Fijian informant T2). Some elements of the Methodist faith align themselves with the conservative, tradition-bound nationalism that has recently been seen to embrace anti-Indian sentiments. Marriages with Indians probably are not accepted within these circles.

It is also important to note that Christianity (along with Western contact) has had a major effect in changing Fijian culture. Previous cross-cousin marriages and chiefly polygamy have disappeared and have been replaced with Christian/Western-style marriages now. The introduction of Christianity, therefore, has had a major influence in bolstering Fijian-Indian marriages.

Islam is perceived to be the strictest of the major religions on marriage. Conversion is required for an in-marrying spouse. Muslim women are discouraged from marrying non-Muslims for fear that they might have to change their religion (Benson, 1977). The children produced in this marriage must also be raised as Muslims. In two scenarios involving the union of a Fijian woman into a Muslim family, conversion was not forced upon the women. One respondent stated: 'My husband was a Muslim. The children were also brought up Muslim, but I didn't convert straight away. I was a Christian, I was a strong Christian, but I started reading about Islam. I couldn't really learn from the other Muslim women because I didn't speak Indian, or Urdu...I came to Islam on my own...My husband did not force me to convert. I did my reading, and I realized this was what I wanted to do. I hope to do the *hajj* in the future' (Fijian informant A1). In another case, a Fijian woman was required to convert before marriage. Although the woman seems to accept that this is her duty as the wife of a Muslim, the daily reality of being a Muslim is difficult to endure, involving prayers five times a day and complying with certain dress codes and hairstyles.

It is also believed that Muslims do not consider race as an issue. 'Muslims are blind to ... race, they see ... religion. A marriage with a Fijian means a gain for the religion. But it's also a question of identity. A Muslim will say he is Muslim, but a Hindu will say he's

an Indian. For the Muslims, their religion becomes their race' (Indian informant N1).

Another set of explanations emphasizes the similarity between Christianity and Islam: 'Muslims and Christianity have the same origin' (Indian informant S1). Hence the religious gap between Islam and Christianity narrows; the Muslim-Christian couple shares a commonality in the concept of Christ, which eases the conversion to Islam.

There do not appear to be any Hindu philosophies or teachings that speak against general intermarriage, according to Indian informant B1. Anti-intermarriage sentiments are to be found nowhere in the scriptures. The Arya Samaj and the Sanatan Dharm are the two main Hindu sects in Fiji. The Arya Samaj can be loosely defined as 'reformist', while the Sanatan Dharm, which claims a majority of followers, can be generalized as 'orthodox'. Mamak (1978) asserts that mixed marriages are encouraged by the Arya Samaj, contrary to that of the Sanatan Dharm. A glance at the statistics shows quite the opposite: there were 104 Sanatan Dharm intermarriages in 1996 (understandable given the higher number of Sanatan Dharm devotees) but only nine Arya Samaj intermarriages.

Conversion does not appear to be as important a priority as it is for the Muslim faith. Fijian informant O1 did not have to convert from her Methodism upon marriage. In marriages between Christian Fijians and Indians, race may not be an issue at all. The important factor is instead the couple's shared spiritual beliefs. Race only becomes significant because race has much to do with religion in Fiji. It is understandable that given the current state of political affairs in Fiji, people might attach greater significance to racial, rather than religious, difference.

## **Politics**

Fiji's politics is attention-grabbing, especially when a coup occurs. It is also in politics where polarization between Fijians and Indians is most apparent. In this section the effects of the coups and land issues on Fijian-Indian marriages are examined. Fiji's first two coups occurred in 1987. 'Changes have been apparent since the 1987 coups. Indians woke up after the coups, they realized that they couldn't hold onto tradition. That is why they have been trying more to become part of the community' (Fijian informant P1). As sug-

gested earlier, a strong cultural attachment can constrict opportunities for intermarriage.

Since the coups Indians have been urged to consider a greater commitment to integration with the Fijian people (Jalal, 2001). However, countering this is the view that asks why Indians should engage with Fijians, especially since Indians have been treated poorly during and after the coups (Indian informant I1). Indian parents have become stricter after the coups (Lateef, in Shameem, 1992).

## **Land**

Since the early 1900s the protection of native land has been a priority for the governments of Fiji. Today at least 87 per cent of Fiji's land is inalienable and mataqali-owned. Indians can only lease this land which does not enable long-term security. Land is important to the Fijian for spiritual and material reasons, while for Indians it is the means by which they can ensure their sustenance.

Intermarriage has been posited as a way to resolve the land issue. Marriage to a Fijian might realize greater security for an Indian. One informant (J1) advised that 'Fijians won't want their son to marry an Indian because she might take all their land.' Furthermore, that the mixed-race offspring of an Fijian man-Indian woman marriage could inherit land also arouses fears amongst some Fijians.

While material possessions may be a key concern to Indians, land is a fiercely-guarded possession for Fijians. Obviously, availability and access to resources form prime motivations for people's behaviours and values.

## **Education**

Education has long been contentious in Fiji's history. Racially-segregated schools were promoted as early as 1910. Fijians and Indians were prohibited from attending each other's schools (Lal, 1992: 107).

Cross-cultural education is championed by many interviewees as a means to promoting multiracial tolerance, and by logical extension, to also creating opportunities for Fijian-Indian marriages. More multiracial schools began forming in the 1960s and 1970s. Fijians started attending Indian schools (several Fijian informants had

done so), and Indians attended multiracial schools. However Geraghty (1997: 4) questions whether multiracial schools enhance racial harmony, arguing that it doesn't necessarily mean 'much intimate understanding or appreciation of each other's culture.' On Taveuni, Naidu (1979) observes that while there is more interaction in multiracial schools, there is also a tendency for cliques to remain ethnically-oriented. Nonetheless most respondents felt that mixed schooling is an advantage, especially when it begins at the kindergarten level. Here, the mixed race school becomes a space in which Fijians and Indians can regularly mix. Monocultural/religious schools commanded great support and funding in Fiji.

Two informants who are educators commented on a notable change in Fijian attitudes to education. Prior to independence, education was singled out for the privilege of the chiefs. Since the 1980s, however, many more Fijians became serious about education, and are in fact 'beating the Indians and the Chinese' at the learning game (Indian informant A2). This commentary suggests that because many more Fijians are exposed to education and modern ideas, old traditions are breaking down.

Within the Indian communities, education has always been viewed as a means of escaping from poverty. It is seen as a way to achieving financial stability and security, and to achieving political and social equality. Indian girls, however, traditionally, were not exposed to modernizing ideas in education, nor socially exposed to people beyond that of the family's social circle. The reliance on arranged marriages appears stronger where educational attainment is low.

Similar levels of educational attainment are also spoken of as desirable in spouses, for some at least. While general research on intermarriage indicates that those who marry out tend to be highly educated at the tertiary level (Spickard, 1989), this appears not to be the case in Fiji. Half of the intermarriages did not ensue from interactions in the college or university environment.

Education is seen to be a prime instrument encouraging peoples of different cultures to have contact in the same space. Simultaneously, the education curriculum exposes students to liberal ideas and broad perspectives. Multiculturalism and language instruction are considered to be worthy outcomes of education, thus enhancing tolerance and mutual understanding.

## **Modernization**

Indians came to Fiji for economic reasons. Fiji's early colonial administration was required to boost economic growth, and the first governor sought the labour of Indian workers to drive a plantation-led economy. Many Indian workers left India to escape their own economic hardships. Without this critical historical migration, Fiji would not have a substantial Indian population. Immigrant plantation workers were also sought to safeguard the indigenous people from further decimation. Measles and foreign illnesses had contributed to a reduction in the Fijian population. The first governor introduced a series of protective measures which kept Fijians in the villages, where they could live and flourish according to their subsistence economy (although some men were allowed to leave the village for short periods of time (Bain, 1988)<sup>7</sup>.) The relegation of Fijians to a subsistence economy in the villages, and Indians to the market economy of the plantations, saw to a lack of meaningful interaction and socialization between the two races.

In Fiji, the process of modernization began with trade and missionization, but intensified with formal colonization under the British (Chappell, personal communication). Modernization and urbanization have affected many facets of Fijian life, including religion, social organization, residential concentration, and marital norms. The Indian culture, described as being the more rigid of the two cultures, is also bending to modern ways. The custom of arranged marriages is being transformed, and love marriages have also become more common (Lateef, 1993). Education is a significant component in the processes of modernization.

Modern ideas promote the values of universal love and racial tolerance. Increasingly, marriages between widely diverse races have become more common and acceptable in countries around the world, as people move around in search of employment, and as racial prejudices and ignorance weaken. Modernization in Fiji functions as a neutral third space in which Fijians and Indians can find commonality. Away from traditional constraints, modernization creates sites for new expressions in love and marriage, as people become more accessible to one another, and as modern ideas flow

---

<sup>7</sup> Some Fijians also worked (and lived) in the plantations alongside Indians (see Ali, 1979, Gillion, 1962).

throughout society.

The modern economy now appears to be a contributing force in increased cross-cultural socialization and intermarriage. Today's global capitalism requires geographic mobility and is increasingly bringing women out of the domestic arena into the workplace. Indian women are increasingly engaging in work-related activities outside the home (Indian informant J1), such as in the garment industry, as shop assistants, and as school teachers. In the 1996 census, the participation of Fijian women is recorded as higher for the subsistence sector, although participation in the money economy is almost as strong (Bureau of Statistics, 1998). Modernisation will see increasing proportion of females enter the labour market. This will see the rise of workplace and social interaction between people of different ethnic and religious groups.

There are several consequences for intermarriage associated with increasing female employment. Women who work tend to be more financially independent, and have stronger control over their lives away from parental influences (Shibata, 1998). Although not substantiated in the statistics, certain professions seemed to engage more often in Fijian-Indian marriages. Several respondents repeated the observation that Indian taxi drivers and Indian nurses (who have to complete their practical training in a Fijian village for one year) appear to intermarry more.

Another consequence of modernisation is the increasing urbanisation of the population. This brings the spatial sphere of interaction to the fore, as people of different races and religious groups share relatively constrained urban spaces, including residences. It is believed that residential proximity encouraged interaction and intermarriage.

Prior to the end of indenture, residential proximity did not exist. Indians had to stay in the plantations and were barred from living near Fijian villages. Fijians were encouraged to remain in the villages. One can, therefore, understand why intermarriage was almost impossible.

The majority of respondents state that most intermarriages have taken place in western Viti Levu. This region consists of the major urban centres of Ba, Lautoka, Nadi and surrounding areas. Relatively more intermarriages are also said to take place around the cane plantations of Labasa in Vanua Levu. One westerner (Indian informant H1) said, 'In the west they have lived amongst each other.



There's one Fijian family here, next to them Indian, another Fijian one across, another Indian there. They mix and then they fall in love.' Suva is the next site credited as a hotspot for intermarriage. This is understandable given that Suva is the capital of Fiji in which peoples of all cultures reside and work alongside each other.

### **The sex ratio theory and the numerical size of groups**

The sex ratio theory maintains that where the ratio of males to females is unequal within a homogeneous community, opportunities for mixed marriage should arise. This theory is intriguing in the context of indenture. Colonial authorities specified that for every one hundred males there had to be forty females embarking for Fiji (Gillion, 1962). Despite the apparent imbalance of males to females, Indian males still did not outmarry with Fijians. Due to legislation and the limiting conditions of plantation life, Fijians and Indians could not intermingle. Indian values and customs prevailing religious and cultural endogamy, and arranged marriages also prevented such marriages.

The numerical size of groups is often also considered in theories of intermarriage. Small groups tend to outmarry more. Barron (1946) refutes this concept outright, stating that in-marriage seems to persist more, despite expectations to the contrary. The Indian example is a case-in-point, for although Indians continued to represent the smaller group size during indenture, endogamy was still resorted to.

### **Intermarriage is merely marriage**

At the end of the day, intermarriages are just...marriages. Sometimes race, culture and religion have little influence on the getting together of prospective partners. Personal qualities simply play a greater part.

A tragic story of an intermarriage gone wrong became known to me during research. It involved an Indian female nurse and a Fijian man in Tailevu; the man committed suicide by hanging himself. 'There's a difference between being in love and being married, and the man probably found it hard to be married...The adjustment was probably too hard to take' (Fijian informant S7).

Here is a parting thought: 'Marriage doesn't come on a platter. And race might not have anything to do with a marriage. If there are

mixed marriages they come to it with an openness' (Fijian informant T2).

## Conclusion

The structural legacy of colonialism has had a huge impact on the phenomenon of Fijian-Indian intermarriage. Colonial legislation and policy mitigated against meaningful interaction – and for that matter, any kind of interaction – between the two races. The policy of protectionism for the Fijians and the confinement of Indian labourers to plantations meant that the two cultures not only did not mix on a regular basis or encouraged to mix, but also that the assortment of values, goals, and directions of the two developed and evolved according to different criteria in relation to the colony of Fiji as a whole.

With those separatist structures firmly in place at the end of Britain's administration of Fiji, Fijians and Indians appeared to have continued upon the paths of divergent political, social and religious norms. In terms of intermarriage, the separation is emphasized particularly through cultural and religious differences. Over time, however, education, modernization and urbanization have had the opposite effect by enhancing possibilities for intermarriage. Increased opportunities for social interaction through these processes, such as in the workplace, in the schools, and in shopping areas, enable more Fijian-Indian marriages.

## References

- Ali, A. (introduction) (1979) 'Girmit: The Indenture Experience in Fiji'. *Bulletin of the Fiji Museum* (5).
- Ali, A. (1981) Fiji: 'The Fiji Indian Achievement', in A. Ali (et al) *Pacific Indians: Profiles in 20 Pacific Countries*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific; pp. 22-32.
- Bain, A. (1988) 'A Protective Labour Policy? An Alternative Interpretation of Early Colonial Labour Policy in Fiji'. *The Journal of Pacific History* 23(2): 119-36.
- Barron, M. (1946) *People Who Intermarry: Intermarriage in a New England Industrial Community*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Benson, C. J. (1977) *Richness in Diversity: An English Language Book for Form 6*. Suva.
- Brewster, A. B. (1922) *The Hill Tribes of Fiji: A Record of Forty Years' Inti-*

- mate Connection with the Tribes of the Mountainous Interior of Fiji with a Description of Their Habits in War & Peace, Methods of Living, Characteristics Mental & Physical, From the Days of Cannibalism to the Present Time.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.
- Bureau of Statistics (1998) *1996 Fiji Census of Population and Housing: General Tables.* Suva: Parliament of Fiji, Parliamentary Paper No.43 of 1998.
- Cato, A. C. (1955) 'Fijians and Fiji-Indians: A Culture Contact Problem in the South Pacific'. *Oceania* 26(1): 14-34.
- Chappell, D. (2003) Personal communication.
- Coulter, J. W. (1942) *Fiji: Little India of the Pacific.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Daily Post. (2003, May 3) 'Till Death Do Us Part'.
- Geraghty, P. (1997) 'The Ethnic Basis of Society in Fiji', in B.V. Lal and T. R. Vakatora (eds), *Fiji in Transition: Research Papers of the Fiji Constitution Review Commission, Volume 1.* Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific; pp. 1-23.
- Gillion, K. L. (1962) *Fiji's Indian Migrants: A History to the End of Indenture in 1920.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Gillion, K. L. (1977) *The Fiji Indians: Challenge to European Dominance 1920-1946.* Canberra: ANU Press.
- Jalal, P. I. (2001) Fiji's 2001 Election: Rebuilding a Fractured Nation. Suva: Parkinson Lecture, University of the South Pacific, Wednesday 19 September, 7.00pm.
- Kaplan, M. (1988) 'The Coups in Fiji: Colonial Contradictions and the Post-Colonial Crisis'. *Critique of Anthropology* 8(3): 93-116.
- Lal, B. V. (1992) *Broken Waves: A History of the Fiji Indians in the Twentieth Century.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lal, B. V. (2000) *Chalo Jahaji: On A Journey Through Indenture in Fiji.* Suva and Canberra: Fiji Museum and Division of Pacific and Asian History, Australian National University.
- Lateef, S. (1985) 'Marriage: Choice or Destiny? The Case of Indian Women in Suva, Fiji'. Suva: Paper delivered to the Pacific History Association Conference.
- Lateef, S. (1990) 'Rule By the Danda: Domestic Violence Among Indo-Fijians'. *Pacific Studies* 13(3): 43-62.
- Lateef, S. (1993) 'Indo-Fijian Marriage in Suva: A Little Love, A Little Romance, and a Visa', in R. A. Marksburly (ed), *The Business of Marriage: Transformations in Oceanic Matrimony.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press; pp. 205-30.
- Mamak, A. (1978) *Colour, Culture and Conflict: A Study of Pluralism in Fiji.* Rushcutters Bay: Pergamon Press.
- Manoa, P. (1979) 'Across the Fence', in Subramani (ed.), *The Indo-Fijian Experience.* St Lucia: University of Queensland Press; pp. 184-207.
- Mayer, A. C. (1963) *Indians in Fiji.* London: Oxford University Press.
- Mayer, A. C. (1973, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed) *Peasants in the Pacific: A Study of Fiji Indian Rural Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Naidu, V. (1979) 'The Plural Society Thesis and Its Relevance for Fiji'. Masters

- Thesis, Suva: Department of Sociology, University of the South Pacific.
- Naidu, V. (1980) *The Violence of Indenture in Fiji*. Suva: World University Service in association with the School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific.
- Nayacakalou, R. R. (1955) 'The Fijian System of Kinship and Marriage, Part I'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 64(1): 44-55.
- Ratuva, S. (2002) *Participation for Peace: A Study of Inter-Ethnic and Inter-Religious Perception in Fiji*. Suva: Ecumenical Centre for Research, Education and Advocacy.
- Ravuvu, A. (1983) *Vaka i Taukei: The Fijian Way of Life*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Richmond, P. (2003) 'Never The Twain Shall Meet?: Causal Factors In Fijian-Indian Inter-marriage'. Unpublished Masters thesis, Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i.
- Robertson, R. and W. Sutherland (2001) *Government by the Gun: The Unfinished Business of Fiji's 2000 Coup*. Annandale: Pluto Press.
- Root, M. P. P. (2001) *Love's Revolution: Interracial Marriage*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Shameem, S. (1992) *Indo-Fijian Women of Suva: The Untold Story*. Suva: South Pacific Peoples Foundation (documentary video).
- Shibata, Y. (1998) 'Crossing the Racialised Boundaries: Inter-marriage between 'Africans' and 'Indians' in Contemporary Guyana', in R. Breger and R. Hill (eds), *Cross-Cultural Marriage: Identity and Choice*. Oxford: Berg; pp. 83-100.
- Singh, S. (1998) 'Indo-Fijian Women's Sexuality and Resistance. 'Flirting' with Foucault: A Critical Feminist Analysis of Foucauldian 'Resistance''. Masters of Arts (Sociology) Thesis, Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Smith, R. T and C. Jayawardena (1967) 'Caste and Social Status Among the Indians of Guyana', in B. M. Schwartz (ed.), *Caste in Overseas Indian Communities*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company; pp. 43-92.
- Spate, O. H. K. (1990) 'Thirty Years Ago: A View of the Fijian Political Scene: Confidential Report to the British Colonial office, September 1959'. *Journal of Pacific History* 25(1): 103-24.
- Spickard, P. R (1989) *Mixed Blood: Inter-marriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Thirlwell, P. J. (1966) 'Inter-Religious Relationships in a Fiji Indian Community: Hindus and Christians'. Thesis, Diploma of Anthropology, Sydney: University of Sydney.

**Author:**

**Portia Richmond**, 107/10 Pyrmont Bridge Rd, Camperdown NSW  
2050 Australia. Email: portia\_richmond@hotmail.com