

Original Paper

Dreams and Dilemmas of Internally Displaced People: An Intricate Reality of a Nomadic Lifestyle

Wahab Ali^{1*} & Ruveni Tuimavana²

¹ Associate Professor in the Education Department at the School of Humanities & Arts, The University of Fiji, Fiji

² Lecturer in the Education Department at the School of Humanities & Arts, The University of Fiji, Fiji

* Wahab Ali, Associate Professor in the Education Department at the School of Humanities & Arts, The University of Fiji, Fiji

Received: February 26, 2020

Accepted: March 8, 2020

Online Published: March 17, 2020

doi:10.22158/jecs.v4n2p1

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22158/jecs.v4n2p1>

Abstract

Land tenure is an important variable impacting the vulnerability of people staying on leased land the world over. Land tenure-ship security is widespread in countries where the land is owned by the state or traditional people. The problem in securing a tenured land manifests itself in a number of ways that accentuate environmental and socio-economic impacts. Mounting evidence of reduced tenure security shows that affected communities are often unable to evolve equitably and enjoy long term economic stability. In the Fijian context, many displaced Fijians have moved on and settled in the periphery of towns and cities thus changing the socio-economic equilibrium of the environment. A qualitative study using a case study research design was undertaken to establish the perceptions of a group of sugar cane farmers who had become victims of non- renewal of their land leases in 2002. Findings reveal that expiry and non-renewal of land leases leads to social, economical, cultural, political and even psychological and emotional consequences on internally displaced people. The article outlines the pain and agony of the displaced farmers and how they have made integral adjustments to cope with the challenges of resettling in new environments. Having faced the adversities of extradition and then resettling, the dilemmas of ensuing nomadic journeys present a more daunting unfolding for many - only that they have realized it as a fact of life.

Keywords

land tenure, native land, displaced people, girmityas, internally displaced, migration, indigenous people, culture and tradition

1. Introduction

Land tenure is viewed as an important variable impacting on vulnerability of people living on leased land. Vulnerability can occur either where land tenure is perceived to be insecure, or where uncertain tenure results in eviction from land, especially when alternative livelihood and housing options are unknown (Reale & Handmer, 2011). According to research, tenants living on customary land are often located in rural areas and do not have access to tap water, infrastructure and access to electricity and road (Chagutah, 2013). According to Ubnik (2007) the lack of tenure security for farmers and the problematic effects on farmers' livelihoods are well established. Stable and long term land lease enables farmers to have peace of mind and allows them to invest more on their farms. Well planned investments yield better results and farmers are able to contribute effectively towards the economic growth of a country. However, while Atwood (1999) agrees that a stable long term land tenure is vital for investment and increased productivity, he believes that other factors such as farming knowledge, use of viable technologies and adequate labour are all important in reality. Lal, Lim-Applegate and Reddy (2001) are in concurrence with Atwood (1999) that longer tenure is desirable as shorter tenure and inadequate security discourages farmers to invest and undertake capital improvements on the farm. Land has always been a sensitive issue in Fiji and is referred to as the *vanua* by the indigenous people in Fiji commonly known as the *iTaukeis*. Out of Fiji's population of 884,887 people, 54% are *iTaukeis* while 38% of them are Fijians of Indian decent (Indo-Fijians) who are descendants from Indian labourers (*girmityas*) who were brought to the region by the British in the 1800s. Remaining 8% are the people of other races who have made Fiji their home (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2017). There are three major types of land in Fiji. Foremost there is freehold land (6%), which is managed by the Registrar of Titles and can be sold or leased. The second type is the state or crown land (4%) and is managed by the Registrar of Titles and can be sold or leased. Thirdly there is the *iTaukei* land (89.75%) which is managed by the managed by *iTaukei* Land Trust Board (TLTB) and which can be leased but it cannot be sold (*iTaukei* Land Trust Board, 2018). Most of the farmers live on native land and suffer the most when their leases expire and are not renewed. This study intends to highlight some of the hardships and challenges faced by the people who are internally displaced due to non renewal of land leases. Land is the fulcrum around which Fiji revolves for all its agricultural, economical, social and cultural needs. Land rights are the primary flashpoint of ethnic conflict between *iTaukei* and Indo-Fijians and the root cause of the political instability that has led to multiple coups since independence (Dodd, 2012).

At the outset, it is vital to understand the historical and political context of land tenure in Fiji in order to understand the land lease system in Fiji. The indigenous Fijians or the *iTaukei* have been generous in Fiji in allowing the Indo-Fijians to lease their land for farming. The leases are given under Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act (ALTA) which is an act of Fijian Parliament and it sets out legal requirement for leasing agricultural land in Fiji. These leases are for 30 years and previously farmers would get a new lease with increased rent on unimproved capital value (UCV) of the land value (Naidu & Reddy, 2002). It must be noted that ALTA does not provide for leases to be extended or renewed so the tenant

has no option but to seek a new lease from the landlord or simply vacate the land. Another legislation (with respect to) land leasing is the Native Land Trust Act (NLTA). This is similar to ALTA but has a maximum term of 99 years and mainly given for housing and development. This lease can be renewed on mutual basis or the tenant may seek a new lease or vacate the land (Sharma, 2017). The iTaukei Land Trust Board (TLTB) is a statutory body that is in charge of administering all native land and looks after the issuing of leases, and collecting and distributing rents to the land owners. The late Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna was the leading figure in the discussions with the Legislative Council, Great Council of Chiefs and other stakeholders which led to the set up of TLTB in 1940.

1.1 Aim of the Study

Land has always been a sensitive issue in Fiji, but it has taken on a new dimension since the 1987 military coups and more so late 1990's when the leases under the 1966 ALTA began expiring. This paper intends to provide a better understanding of some of the challenges faced by farmers who get internally displaced by non renewal of land leases. This study intends to find out the perceptions of such people and how they have been able to adjust to new environment and new ways of living.

1.2 Research Questions

To ascertain the views of displaced farmers about their feelings and experiences in the whole process, the study adopted the following overarching question:

What are the internally displaced farmers fears and concerns about the non-renewal of their land leases?

This study further explores the challenges faced by internally displaced farmers in migrating and resettling in another place. With this in mind, the study was further guided by the following underlying questions:

- What were some of your emerging concerns about the expiry of your land lease?
- What were some challenges you faced in relocating to another location?
- How has the relocation affected your livelihood and social obligations?
- What are your views about going back to farming?
- What changes could be made so that ALTA is more farmer-friendly?
- What have you learnt from this experience?

The foregoing underlying questions assisted in getting a better understanding of the feelings and challenges faced by displaced farmers.

1.3 Significance of Study

There are several reasons why this research is considered to be significant. There has been a paucity of previous research regarding the concerns and challenges faced by displaced farmers in Fiji. This study will contribute to local literature on the subject, which in turn could be used by relevant authorities in improving their understanding of such farmers so that they can be appropriately assisted in resettling and earning a decent livelihood.

Findings will be helpful to medical authorities so that appropriate counseling and guidance can be

provided to the displaced farmers and assist them in stress management. This study will provide important insights into understanding displaced farmers and also assist them in getting prepared for displacement and resettlement. Findings will no doubt be helpful for the education authorities and parents in assisting students of displaced parents adjust themselves in new schools and cater for special mentoring for such students.

Furthermore the study makes contribution through its findings by revealing the challenges and concerns faced by displaced farmers. This information can be helpful to authorities that can assist them in re-settling in new location. Notably, the findings will be of great value to farmers' organizations in establishing certain funds for the assistance of displaced farmers. All in all, findings will help in a better understanding of the plight of such people and assist in integrating themselves as worthwhile members of the society.

The following section provides a robust corpus of literature on land lease expiry and the concerns and challenges faced by displaced farmers.

2. Literature Review

Land tenure is an important variable impacting the vulnerability of the lease holders and the investments that they have done on the land. According to Crocombe (1968) land tenure refers to the way in which people obtain, use and distribute their rights for others to use their land. Land tenure security is considered essential for long term viability and economic growth which in turn reduces poverty and in Honduras more than 50000 new land titles have been issued between 2011 to 2017 (World Bank, 2018). Empirical evidence from studies undertaken in sub-Saharan and Asian countries reveal that insecure land tenure inhibits farmers to do major investments on their farms. This is because they know that there is lack of security and this leads to low production and economic benefits for the farmers (Goldstein & Udry, 2008; Jacoby, Li, & Rozelle, 2002; Kumari & Nakano, 2015). It is reasonable for farmers not to invest in planting new crops when they know that their leases would not be renewed. However, there are several studies that shows where there are long term land tenure, there is high production rate and farmers are seen investing on their farms (Banerjee, Gertler, & Ghatak, 2002; Deininger & Ali, 2008). Similarly, after decades of colonization, the sub-Saharan African countries have debated over the use of customary land for agricultural purposes so that they could capitalize on technological farming tools for increasing productivity. However, the small and ad hoc style was failing to provide the farmer with security of tenure and therefore impeded agricultural progress (Ubink, 2007).

Unfortunately, several conflicts in many parts of the developing world can be traced to disputes over land ownership, land use and land tenure ship. Findings from previous research reveal that after independence, new governments of many countries distributed the land previously owned by colonists back to the people (Amman & Duraiappah, 2004). However, all land was not distributed equally but along other lines and presence of exploitation as condoned by the colonists continued favouring a

section or local elite community (Kirk, 2000). Likewise, Amman and Duraiappah (2004) are assertive that rapid introduction of foreign land tenure and market institutions has caused large segments of the population to be marginalized. This is because only elite and privileged classes were able to take advantage of the benefits of these changes. China has a number of land tenure systems for farmers and one such law is the Property Law (PL) which was adopted in 2007. According to Ma, Heerink, Ekko van, van den Berg, and Shi (2013) the PL allows farmers with perpetual privileges to retain and inherit their rights even after the expiry of their 30 year tenure ship. The PL further treats farmers rights as usufructuary because usufruct rights provide a better protection to the needs and interests (Ma et al., 2013). It must be established that secure land tenure security is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to enhance investment and production (Ubink, 2007). This is because there may be other factors such as lack of technological knowledge, finance, labour and difficulty in acquiring loan but these are beyond the scope of the current study but presents a solid launch pad for future research.

Literature in regards to Fijian land tenure system clearly spells out the regulations and legislations that dictate the leasing of all native land. Because iTaukei land cannot be sold, the solution to the problem of access to iTaukei land has been leasing. The native land in Fiji is owned by land owning units or mataqali and they have about 60 members but number varies greatly by province wise (Dodd, 2012). The lease money derived from the tenants is collected by iTaukei Land Trust Board TLTB and distributed equally amongst the members of the mataqali. The following sentiments expressed by Volavola (1995) captures the very essence and highlights the centrality of land to iTaukei cultural identity:

For the Fijian community, their land is an extension of themselves. It is part of the Fijian soul, and the concept of the "vanua" - the land and the people - lies at the heart of Fijian identity. Land represents life and sustenance, race and culture, and Fijians cling fiercely to their ownership of it (p. 49).

It can be realized from the above quotation that land and is not just soil and dust within a given boundary but there is a reciprocal relationship between it and the landowners. The iTaukei see themselves as the guardians of the land and preserve it for them and their future generations. Similarly Tuwere (2002) outlines this symbiotic relationship that vanua as a mother shares with its occupants as it holds life together and defines meaning. Vanua equates more than the mere land as it embeds itself in the iTaukei identity. The land has its own ancestral stories that ooze with mana, which are passed down from generations to generations through oral history. The land is their life source as it safeguards their totems, ancestral spirits, and sources of food and other basic necessities of life. Alienation of land through modern land tenure system means to be cut off from one's source of life or mother. Additionally Nabobo-Baba (2006, p. 83) highlights custodian role of the occupants of the vanua; safeguarding wealth and its language. Wealth in this sense is not limited to economic well being but to the spirit, kinship, skills set, artefacts, food security, environment, etc that contribute to the overall sustenance of the vanua. Moreover, land is also viewed central to political identity and this misconception and fear of getting alienated has led to a number of coups since 1987.

Various discourses on land tenure in Fiji reveal that land has been a fundamental source of political instability and conflict between Indo-Fijians and iTaukei. The 1987 and 2000 coups were all launched by iTaukei elites primarily to prevent newly elected Indo-Fijian led governments from political supremacy and fear of land reforms that may threaten their existence. This fear of Indo-Fijian and political skepticism led to expiry of thousands of ALTA leases to Indo-Fijian cane farmers after 1999. The immediate focus of the Indo-Fijian dominated Chaudhry government on land reforms in the year 2000 confirmed these suspicions after his government approved a compensation of \$28,000 for farmers whose ALTA leases had expired. These actions led to the civilian coup and the overthrow of Chaudhry government in 2000. The centrality of land and ethnicity in Fijian politics means land reform provokes bitter reactions and this retort has had a huge impact on the political development of Fiji. The regulations about the iTaukei land are now very well entrenched in the 2013 Constitution of the Republic of Fiji.

The land tenure system has enabled the iTaukei people to lease out part of their land and get substantial revenue in terms of lease money. At the same time they are advantaged at not losing their land outright. The iTaukei people are at a win win situation as while they still own the land, they are able to earn revenue from it and at the same time they are able to maintain their land-based customs and traditions, which are based primarily on the preservation of family and kinship ties (Rakai, Ezigbalike, & Williamson, 1995). Way back in 1995 Rakai et al., were concerned as to what would happen if the leases were extended or new leases were not given. They were concerned about compensation issues for the outgoing tenants, mass relocation, future of the tenants and the socio-economic status of the country (Rakai et al., 1995). On similar note, Davies and Gallimore (2000) believe things would be much better if there was better proviso in ALTA that presented better incentives to the land owners to lease their land. Their study proposes a rent structure that provides better incentive to the landowners to lease out their land and the similar incentive to the tenants towards viable productivity, and perceptibly a more fair share of gross agricultural proceeds (Davies & Gallimore, 2000). Similar sentiments have been shared by Rakai et al. (1995) that although the iTaukei remained the land owners, they have been unable to capitalize on the use of their land fully resulting in the conspicuous economic disparity between them and the relatively landless Indo-Fijian communities.

None the less, it must be established that majority of the Indo-Fijians living on leased land have been die hard farmers. Subsequently their plight also needs to be considered. Foremost the Indo-Fijian farmers living on the iTaukei land also need to be appreciated and acknowledged for their contribution towards nation building. They should be recognized for their hardships and the difficulties they face in raising their families on the meager income they get from their crops. For example, due to the diminishing nature of the land tenure system it often gets difficult for them to secure bank loans for farm developments. According to Rakai, Ezigbalike and Williamson (1995) the situation gets worsened as many of the lands are not very fertile and located in remote and inaccessible areas. The farmers get further affected by natural disasters like flooding, cyclones and extreme draughts that damage their

crops and drastically negatively affecting their livelihood. Despite the various hardships, they have toiled the land and have been able to educate their children and grandchildren and enjoy a reasonable standard of living. Almost all existing Indo-Fijian farmers are either the sons or grandsons of the girmityas. Subsequently, the reality finally dawned on them as majority of the landowners refused to renew their leases between 1997-2005 (Naidu & Reddy, 2002). According to Naidu and Reddy (2002) between 1997 and 2001 some 4,222 leases on native land had expired and TLTB had returned 2,031 leaseholds back to the landowners and was in process of reverting further 2,039 leases back to the mataqalis. There has been mass “eviction” of Indo-Fijian farmers during this period and families got scattered as some moved to suburban areas in search of other means of livelihood while some moved to wherever they could get land to rebuild their lives again.

The crisis of internally displaced persons constitutes one of the most worrying humanitarian crises in many developing economies in the world (Ejiofor, Oni, & Sejoro, 2017). Likewise, literature with regards to the plight of the displaced farmers shows their reluctance to part with their leased land as they have developed a bonding with the flora and fauna and hold a strong emotional connection to the place (Sharma, 2018). He further claims that the land reflects the socio-cultural remnants where self-esteem, security and identity are all associated with it. According to Sharma (2018) losing the land is seen a social stigma because of which many farmers suffer from sleeplessness and mental stress. On similar note, Ejiofor et al. (2017) warns that anything that reduces the quality of life, such as conflict, scarcity of vital resources, displacement or demographic pressures, infringes on human security is considered a threat to human security. According to Ejiofor et al. (2017) internally displaced persons hardly get assistance from their governments which exposes these people to economic, health, personal and environmental threats. More so, the involuntary movement of the farmers from their places of habitual residence as a result of events which are threatening to their lives or their safety can be termed as forced migration (Benz & Hasenclever, 2009).

3. Research Methodology

Given the purpose of the research, a case study research design was adopted for this study. The case study approach allows in-depth, multi-faceted explorations of complex issues. The study was about establishing the hardships and challenges faced by internally displaced farmers in migrating and resettling in another place. Case study is considered a robust research method particularly when a holistic, in-depth investigation is required (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). This study falls within exploratory case study as the topic is of great interest to me as a researcher and will later metamorphose into a more comprehensive research involving mixed methods approach. Semi-structured interviews were held and member checking was done before the interviews were transcribed in verbatim. Semi-structured interview did not limit respondents to a set of pre-determined answers but allowed them to discuss and raise issues that otherwise may not have been considered. Quinn and Halfacre (2014) also used semi-structured interviews when investigating farmers’ attachment to their land in South Carolina.

In line with the views expressed by Fontana and Frey (1994) all ethical procedures were followed and the participants have not been identified in order to maintain high level of confidentiality and anonymity. To further maintain the ethical practices relevant information such as the aim and the purpose of the study were communicated well in advance to the participants of the present study. Credibility and trustworthiness were gained through member checking, interpretation of thick data and sound audit trail during the data analysis process.

3.1 Research Sample

Selecting research sample is an imminent issue frequently raised by researchers and students (Minichiello, Aroni, & Hays, 2008). According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2006) researchers are always concerned with what can be labeled as an adequate size for a sample especially in qualitative research. For the purpose of this study, purposeful sampling strategy was implemented and 4 families were purposefully selected and 8 individuals volunteered for the interviews. The qualitative information was transformed into quantitative data where ever possible and analyzed using thematic approach (Creswell, 2014). Table 1 shows the interview participants.

Table 1. Interview Participants

	Father	Mother	Son
Family A		√	√
Family B	√	√	
Family C		√	√
Family D	√		√

4. Findings and Discussion

This section presents the findings based on the themes derived from research questions and emerging issues derived from interview transcription. Since the findings were quite overlapping in nature, they are presented in a thematic approach based on the following questions:

- What were some of your emerging concerns about the expiry of your land lease?
- What were some challenges you faced in relocating to another location?
- How has the relocation affected your livelihood and social obligations?
- What are your views about going back to farming?
- What changes could be made so that ALTA is more farmer-friendly?
- What have you learnt from this experience?

The foregoing underlying questions assisted in getting a better understanding of the feelings and challenges faced by displaced farmers. It must be established that majority of the Indo-Fijian farmers used to stay in extended family units. They used to stay with their married sons and grandchildren in separate houses on the land. As such it must be established that evictions are a complex exercise and at

times the concerns and dilemmas associated with all affected are not realized in appropriate manner.

4.1 Participants

Findings reveal that all the evicted families are staying on the outskirts of the main cities in Fiji. They seem to have well adjusted to the new life style and most of the men folk are working in shops and companies and earning a decent living. The ladies in the families are staying home while a few are working in the town too. Table 2 shows the list of the families who were evicted from their land.

Table 2. The Evicted Families

Family	Year of Eviction	Father	Mother	Son(s)	Daughter(s)
A	1999	Died 2 years after eviction	Alive	4 sons. 1 son staying with mother with his family. 3 sons staying in different locations with their respective families	3 daughters. All married
B	2000	Alive	Alive	1 son married with a son. All staying together	1 daughter married
C	2001	Died 6 years after eviction	Alive	5 sons all married and have 2 children each.	2 daughters. Mother staying with the youngest daughter
D	2001	Alive	Alive	3 sons. All married. All staying separately but in one locality. Parents staying with eldest son	1 daughter enrolled in a tertiary institution

It needs to be established that it may look like the eviction of 4 families but actually it affected the lives of 34 people (excluding grand children and daughters that were married prior to eviction). Findings reveal that in all cases the farmers were living in extended family units. Unfortunately, the eviction led to the disintegration of family bonding as many members of the families had to move to different locations. The findings are discussed in 3 phases; the pre-eviction period, the eviction and resettlement phase and the Nomadic Realization Phase.

4.2 The Pre-eviction Period

An eviction is a legal process in which a landlord removes a tenant from a rental property. In this case the pre-eviction period means the period between being notified that the lease would not be renewed till the actual eviction takes place.

4.2.1 The False Hope

Hope is a feeling of optimism or a desire that something good would happen while false hope can mean to look forward to something that has a strong chance of not happening. Table 3 shows some of the common themes derived from the interview transcripts.

Table 3. Farmers Hope of Lease Renewal

Comment	Frequency	Percentage
Knowledge of Mataqali	7	88%
Hopeful that the lease will be renewed	5	63%
Negotiations with Mataqali	6	75%

Often people are optimistic despite all odds as was the case in this situation. Findings reveal that majority (88%) of the farmers were always hopeful that their leases would be renewed or they would be given new leases. This is because most (63%) of them stated they knew their mataqali and used to have very cordial relationship with them. A few (38%) of them even stated that their mataqali had told them not to worry as their leases would be renewed. However TLTB had issued notices to them that their leases would not be renewed. However, they were hopeful that their mataqali would give them new leases. According to Respondent A, he was hopeful till the last moment that his lease would be renewed. Respondent F was quite emotional and stated that “Members of my mataqali often visited my house and my family tried their level best to make them happy with whatever little what we had. But they betrayed us too and finally we had to move”. Land tenure and uncertainty surrounding the renewal of leases has been a problem for farmers for quite a while and this insecurity has been labeled as the main cause for the dwindling confidence in sugar cane farming (Naidu & Reddy, 2002).

In this case, farmers failed to realize that any agreement with members of the land owning units without the consent of TLTB becomes null and void. There is no legal basis for these arrangements as section 8 of the Native Lands Trust Act empowers only TLTB to grant leases and consider renewal and non-renewal of native leases (Ministry of iTaukei Affairs, 1985). Negotiations need to be genuine and authentic and according to Kupfer (2017) using any kind of dishonest tactics or manipulative techniques when negotiating shows a lack of integrity. Disingenuity and not operating from a place of integrity often lead to failed negotiations. Despite being informed that their leases would not be renewed, majority (88%) of the farmers continued negotiating with the landowners hoping that they would agree to extend the lease or issue a new lease to them. Almost all the farmers had made 2-3 trips to TLTB office in Lautoka to discuss their cases with respective officers. At times even after waiting for hours to be served, they remained dejected realizing that they would have to vacate the land. Then came the grace period when they could dismantle their houses but there was still hope that their leases would be renewed. However, their hopes were quashed when they saw the notices pasted on the doors that they needed to vacate land.

4.2.2 The Attachment

There is no doubt that we tend to create a bonding to the environment, people and the place we live. According to Anton and Lawrence (2014) the emotional attachment that we tend to have with the place can be defined as an emotional bond between people and their environments. Majority (75%) of the

farmers got emotional when talking about their emotional attachment they had to the places of their birth and the intimate memories of their loved ones who are no longer with them. A female respondent about the age of 79 stated that “I would have liked to die at the place of my in-laws (girmityas) then to move over to the new place. My husband had planted different types of lemon trees and various fruit trees not found anywhere”. While another respondent stated that she missed the sound of the gushing of the creek and the chirping of the birds early in the mornings”. Literature entails that place attachment is a symbolic relationship with the place which is formed by giving the emotional meanings and common sense to a particular place and how people perceive and relate to them (Altman & Low, 1992). Farmers were also attached to their crops in the farm. Quinn and Halfacre (2014) sum up this attachment as a feelings of peace and safety when they are on their farms. Attachment to place is multifaceted, and includes physical (Stedman, 2003) and social (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001) dimensions. This is predominantly true for farmers, who not only live and work on their farms but they see it as a tool for recreation and socialization for their family.

The standing crop on the farm was a concern too as it needed to be harvested before eviction. The harvesting gang have a schedule of harvesting sugarcane as such it was a concern whether they could harvest their standing cane or not. Majority (75%) of the farmers had already cultivated the ratoon and felt sorry to see their crops standing on their lands. Farmer B lamented about leaving the different fruit trees his father had planted on the farm and those planted by him. All the farmers stated they were emotionally attached not only the place but to plants and the animals that live there. More so the memories of growing up with extended family members and celebrating many festivals together would linger in their memories for years. Recent research has shown place attachment and connectedness to nature are important drivers of understanding farmers emotional attachment to the place. According to Herman (2015) this connectedness to nature is enchantment in an affirmative way to their very existence and this bonding expands beyond reality. Developing place attachment to one’s home and local area is beneficial as it gives them a sense of belonging and ownership (Anton & Lawrence, 2014) but in this case only as memories merely to be cherished and treasured for years to come.

Land is more than a place to grow crops; farms are locations with history, symbolic meaning, and repositories of emotion. Although literature is light, researchers have demonstrated farmers often have deep embedded place attachment (Kuehne, 2013; Quinn & Halfacre, 2014)

4.2.3 Searching for New Location

While there was still hope that situation may change and they may get new leases, they also had a plan B. In between having negotiations with landowners, farmers had also started scouting for alternative places to resettle. With limited freehold land and associated high cost, the displaced farmers opted for any type of land. This is despite they had undergone severe economic, social and psychological trauma with the loss of their land. They had no choice but to resettle on iTaukei land again (Naidu & Reddy, 2002). It was interesting to note that the extended members of a family wanted to stay together but things did not work out for many. As such majority of them came to terms that if the leases were not

renewed, they were prepared to be separated as long as they could find another place to live. In one extended family, there were five brothers their spouses and children all staying together with their parents. However, after the evacuation all the five brothers are now scattered and living in different parts of Viti Levu. Findings reveal that though farmers had started looking for alternative dwellings, they also had certain concerns about the new place. In 2000 the Government had allocated a sum of \$20 million for the settlement of displaced farmers and had successfully identified relocation settlements but all farmers could not be assisted because of the political upheavals of 2000 (Naidu & Reddy, 2002). For only having a place to live is not good enough for a farmer who has worked on the farm for years. They also did not know about the new place and majority (88%) of them was worried about earning a livelihood. Most (75%) of them decided to retire or do some casual work while other family members would find some paid employment in the vicinity. Some (38%) of them stated that they feared about the safety and security of their household and the family members. Respondent D stated “Here we open the windows at night and sleep peacefully but we do not know the new place. Here also we know everybody but we do not know anyone there”. As such it can be established that the evacuation brought along with it many other problems that the departing tenants had to come to terms with. Despite all the worries and fear of unknown the farmers as heads of their respective families kept the spirit high in the family. According to majority (75%) of them keeping the spirit high amongst the family members was the toughest decision for them. According to all the respondents they found refuge in prayers as they believed that a family that prays together gives them increased peace, love, especially during these difficult times.

4.3 The Eviction and Resettlement Phase

This section discusses the eviction and the resettlement phase of the migration course. Evictions are an instrument used by landowners to get their property and in this case the land for personal use.

4.3.1 Eviction

After weeks and months of speculations, the dreadful day arrived and farmers started loading their stuff and vacating “their” land. When the farmers saw the notices, they knew that they had to leave the place they had called home for all their lives. Most of the farmers had themselves on the land and had never thought that a day would come when they had to leave the place. Although the dismantling had started a week earlier majority of the farmers (75%) stayed on the land till the very last day. One of the respondents recalled his father’s parting words “Why do we have to go now, I am sick and would like to die here as my parents did. Why can’t a man even die in peace? I will have to start all over again”. Respondent F had the following to say “It was a very touching moment leaving the place that we knew was a home for us for generations. My great grandfather (Aja) was a girmitya who had settled on that place followed by my grandfather and father. We could only take out the roof as my father had upgraded the house into 4 bedroom concrete house. We also had our own borehole and used to get free water all year round. We just did not leave the structures behind but part of us has remained back there”. One of the respondents stated “After we dismantled the house, we were asked to remove the foundation

too, so we had to hire a digger to dig a hole and bury the foundation”.

Eviction comes at a heavy cost and leads to loss of a much used livelihood. According to Mntungwa (2014) farmers not only get displaced but they lose a means of livelihood that they have been so used to and leads to stress and emotional breakdowns. Given the rapid pace of globalization, technological revolution, and virtualization of spaces and relationships, people have still got an intimate relationship with their land, especially the farmers (Lewicka, 2010). Previous research has established that people do have special attachment to the place and nature they live in, with a special attachment to their farms (Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2005). Moreover, none of the farmers in the current study received any relocation assistance from the Government. In 2000 the Fiji Labour Party-led People’s Coalition Government had made an allocation of \$28000 per lease holder whose lease would not be renewed. Some 203 farmers received this assistance but the scheme was later abolished by the Soqosoqo Duavata Lewanivanua (SDL) Party-led Government (Naidu & Reddy, 2002).

4.3.2 Socio-Economic Implications

Being evicted and resettling in another location is not an easy task as it all costs a lot of money. Before farmers moved to a new place they should have acquired or bought a property or land. Many farmers used their dismantled materials to build their houses but again they had to pay for land and buy certain new building materials. The consequences of eviction are many and severe. Beyond being a leading cause of family homelessness and residential instability, socio-economic issues are the most apparent ones (Desmond & Gershenson, 2016). Majority of the respondents were initially concerned about their livelihood but were quite pleased later. The findings in this section are quite interesting as while the family elders were still concerned and worried about being evicted, their sons and other family members had well adjusted in the new environment. According to Respondent H, previously he used to cut sugar cane and work on the farm. He used to get about \$100 to \$140 per three weeks. Now he is a delivery person in a hardware shop and is earning \$160 weekly. Moreover his wife is also working in the town and earns \$120 weekly. He was able to send his son to a tertiary institution and now he is working as an air con technician. His youngest daughter is attending a tertiary institution nearby. There were similar sort of ‘happy stories’ everywhere. Table 4 shows the comments of the respondents as per the interview transcriptions.

Table 4. Socio-economic Biases and Benefits

Comment	Frequency	Percentage
Pleased with the current location	6	75%
Earn a better standard of living	7	88%
Have all basic amenities	8	100%
Should have settled here earlier	6	75%
Have increased family income	7	88%
Prepared to go back to farming	2	25%

All the respondents agreed that they had access to basic amenities such as having a decent house, with tap water, electricity, access to road and transport. They have easy access to hospitals and Government services and children are able to go to good schools. According to Respondent G, he used to cart water for his family from a nearby creek and a well that often used to get dry about 4 times a week. They were located about 35km from the nearest town but now they are only about 5 km from the city centre. Quite a lot (75%) of them were pleased with their current location as they could catch a bus every 15 minutes and have easy access to taxis and carriers. Similarly majority (88%) of them stated that they were economically better off as most of the family members were working and earning reasonably well as compared with when they were on farm. Respondent F stated “it used to be months when we could see money as we had to wait for cane payment but now we see cash every day. While my sons are working in town I have planted some vegetables like bean and coriander that I sell it on the road side to get \$20 to \$25 daily”. The findings are similar to that of Naidu and Reddy (2002) that after initial days of facing financial and housing difficulties, the resettled farmers in Navua had established themselves well as they were able to sell their cash crops on the roadside and earn a decent living. The displaced farmers in their study also hoped they should have made this move years ago. On a similar note, Respondent G stated that she has been able to buy new pots and plates, furniture, fridge and other white good that was “always a dream” for her.

While all of them faced problems initially in settling down, they had very well adjusted themselves because they were able to get jobs and started earning wages. As time went on they were able to educate their children and extend their houses. Majority (75%) of them declined to go back to farming even if they would be given new leases. They seem to have adjusted themselves quite well and looked forward to staying there though they did not have secure leases. According to Respondent C his family was content as they had a “Tenancy at Will” and were prepared mentally for the next exodus. A Tenancy at Will is property tenure without a lease and can be terminated at any time by either the tenant or the owner. It allows the tenant to stay and is required to a certain amount to the TLTB. There is no doubt the evictees’ are usually poor people and are left more susceptible to hardship and destitution due to the displacement. According to literature the end result for these people are quite disturbing due to their vulnerability and being further excluded (Roberts & Okanyab, 2018). However, the current study shows that despite being displaced, the farmers and their family members have been able to overturn the biases into benefits and settled in for a new lifestyle for themselves.

4.3.3 Adapting to New Environment

Adapting to a new environment has been a challenging task to majority (75%) of the farmers. They had been sociable people and some (38%) of them had been active members of their religious and cultural groups. Moreover, they used to know all the people back where they stayed but it was all different in the new place. Previous research reveals that relocating to new environment leads to potential social/psychological impacts to members of relocated households particularly due to changes in the new environment and the emotional attachment to a particular home or neighborhood (Quinn &

Halfacre, 2014). Previous research (Kumari & Nakano, 2015; Sharma, 2018) further reveals that residential relocation can have serious adverse effects, particularly for certain groups of residents as was in this case, majority of the farmers were over 60 years old. People having disabilities, and elderly ones often have particular difficulty adjusting to required relocation. Elderly persons have particular difficulty adjusting to new surroundings and establishing new social ties.

Resettlement studies have raised a significant amount of attention in academic circles and it is often viewed as a source of severe emotional and environmental stress, which can jeopardize relations with the native populations (Egré & Senécal, 2012). However, the previous view is contentious to some extent as in this case while one mataqali was not renewing the leases, there was another who was willingly giving his land for resettlement. According to Respondent D, she was pleased that the matqali at the new place was accommodative and even allowed her to get 3 plots of land where all her sons could stay in close vicinity of each other. As time went on, things started falling in place and today all the family members have settled down well in their new lifestyle. The perception that evictee households have of the social cohesion within their relocation settlement is an indicator of their sense of duty and obligation towards each other (Wegerif, Russell, & Grundling, 2005).

4.4 Nomadic Realization Phase

This section highlights the realization phase where the displaced farmers have expressed their views about their understanding of ALTA and the consequences of the expiry of land leases.

4.4.1 Understanding ALTA

It would be unfair to underestimate the magnitude of the problems that relate to the use of agricultural land in Fiji. The ALTA has the land laws very well entrenched in its bylaws but farmers hope that a time may come when it would become more user friendly. Table 5 shows some of the suggestions respondents made in regards to ALTA.

Table 5. Comments in Regards to ALTA

Comments	Percentage
Increase ALTA land tenure ship to 99 years	70%
Automatic renewal with increased rental	60%
Outgoing farmers should be well compensated	100%
ALTA should be renewable	80%
Government should replace land to landowners so farmers could stay	20%

All the farmers believe that all displaced farmers and their families should be well compensated so that they could start up their lives again. According to one of the respondents they should be financially assisted so that they could purchase a new lease and build a decent house for their family. Many of the farmers considered the option that would allow for the renewal of ALTA and some even suggested that

the annual rental could be gradually increased. Some farmers even suggested that the tenure ship could be increased to 99 years while a few suggested that the farmers could stay on the land while the Government could replace it with the State land to the land owners. This would allow the farmers to continue living on the land. However, they know that ALTA will remain and they have to adapt their living style accordingly. There is mounting evidence that shows that reduced tenure security of customary systems are often unable to evolve justifiably (Ubink, 2007). Table 6 shows that majority of the land is owned by iTaukei land owners and most of it is governed by ALTA.

Table 6. Distribution of Land in Fiji

Type of Tenure	Freehold	State Land	iTaukei land	Total
Percentage	8%	5%	87%	100%

The leases given under Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act (ALTA) are mostly for agricultural land in Fiji. These leases are for 30 years and previously farmers would get a new lease with increased rent on unimproved capital value (UCV) of the land value (Naidu & Reddy, 2002). It must be noted that ALTA does not provide for leases to be extended or renewed so the tenant has no option but to seek a new lease from the landlord or simply vacate the land. The 2017 population estimate shows that the iTaukei population has increased and as such it is normal that they will require more land for its people (see Table 7). Official statistics along ethnic lines are unavailable as the current Government discourages using ethnicity as a stratification variable. It prefers all to be seen as Fijians.

Table 7. Population Estimate According to Ethnicity

Ethnicity	1996	2007	2017
iTaukei	393575 (50.8%)	475739 (56.8%)	548630 62% estimated*
Indo-Fijian	338818 (43.7%)	313798 (37.5%)	283164 32% estimated*
Others	42648 (5.5%)	47734 (5.7%)	53093 6% estimated*
Total	775077	837271	884,887

* The estimates were calculated based on previous increases and is for discussion purpose only.

It can be assumed that in years to come the iTaukei population would increase and as such they would require more land for building houses and for farming. This may have an impact on the renewing or giving of new leases to the existing cane farmers. However, changes can be made to legislations but it needs to be understood that governments cannot restructure land tenure overnight. According to literature the process takes a great deal of time and has encountered both political resistance and technical problems (Nystrom, 2007). The Fijian Government in 1999 made certain suggestion to the then Native Land Trust Board (NLTB) in regards to ALTA but was not approved. The proposal for

amendments were rejected in its entirety as it was viewed as government's insensitivity towards the realities of the landowners (Naidu & Reddy, 2002). As such the legislations remained as it is and such is the case not only in Fiji but in other parts of the world.

4.4.2 Awaiting the next Exodus

It has finally awakened in all the farmers the meaning of staying on leased land. Now they are aware that whether they have a lease, a tenancy at will or as squatters, they will have to vacate the property one day. They have come to terms with the notion of nomadic lifestyle forever. Majority of them suggested that there was no future for them in Fiji and need to educate their children and try to send them abroad. However, some of them stated that they could have a better future if they planned their lives well. According to them the iTaukei people were viewed as very considerate and understanding and "what if one evicted us, the other provided us a place. They are good hearted people and I would never leave Fiji". As stated earlier, majority of the respondents have resettled on iTaukei land and have Tenancy at Will arrangement while a few just pay monthly rentals to their landlords which is sort of "vakavanua" arrangements. This vakavanua arrangement is where individuals request permission directly from the itaukei to use the land by a ceremonial presentation of sevusevu and with some cash (Rakai et al., 1995). Although this is not a recognized practice, many such settlements have erupted after the massive non renewal of leases following 1997.

The iTaukei and the Indo-Fijian community have co existed together for over a century. While there have been racial differences, the Bainimarama Government has brought about reforms and legislations to eliminate the racial divide by bring in the common identity as Fijians for all citizens in Fiji. Even there has been change of heart and the iTaukei landlords have started renewing many of the leases. They have even requested evicted farmers to return and take up farming again. Moreover there were some who had got residential leases and had stayed back and now have got farming leases from the iTaukei land owners. None the less, majority of the respondents have decided not to return to farming as they have settled well in their new locations. The findings are quite in line with that of Naidu and Reddy (2002) about Fijian farmers perception of their future. The nomadic lifestyle has been referred as a sort of "Girmit" meaning one had to move on after expiry of lease to another farm and then denuded again and thus the cycle continues evolving (Naidu & Reddy, 2002). In essence, all the respondents agreed that one day they will have to vacate the current dwelling place and move on and the cycle would continue till eternity.

5. Limitations

Naturally, studies do have certain limitations and in this case it was the single method used to collect data. The results in this study could not be verified by other means such as observations and other independent measures as only interview were used in the study. Moreover, the sample only included four families as such the findings may not be generalizable to the entire population of displaced farmers. Consequently, these results should be viewed as a snapshot of displaced farmers' perceptions of the constraints and

challenges of eviction and relocation. Thus, the exploratory findings present a solid platform for debate and discussion for further in-depth research on the subject matter. The concerns of the land owners and other parties are not considered in this study as the scope is limited to the plight of the displaced farmers. However, there is room for further study in this regard.

6. Implications and Conclusions

The consequences of being evicted can be devastating for the livelihood of farmers as it is often accompanied by the loss of work, income and homes and the unanticipated loss of access to land for food production. Some of the emergent concerns of the evicted farmers were their safety and security of the family and relocation. The current Government has done a lot about resettlement of displaced farmers but a lot more can be done. Subsequently, following implications have arisen in light of the findings:

- All iTaukei land under ALTA agreement cannot be renewed but new leases can be given at the discretion of the landowners;
- The Government should allow for relocation benefits for the displaced farmers for resettlement;
- Relevant authorities should have counseling services for displaced farmers so that they could be relieved of stress and emotional attachment;
- More awareness of iTaukei land and responsibilities of TLTB for the farmers to create better understanding and working relationship;
- Foster improved relationship between land loads and tenants for better understanding
- Farmers to be given ample notice and they should not get involved in bogus discussions
- The TLTB could assist in identifying places where displaced farmers could move to and begin their lives again
- Introduction of resettlement and reintegration initiatives and assistance programs

The Indo-Fijian farmers understand and appreciate the value of land and its place in iTaukei system. The concern of Indo-Fijians has been with security of tenure, while that of iTaukei has been not to lose control of the land they own. While the farmers felt saddened when their leases were not renewed, they are appreciative of those landowners who have given their land for them to build their houses. They know now that despite the differences, there are many commonalities amongst the two major ethnic races in Fiji. They share and take part in each other's festivities and cultural activities and are used to drinking kava from the same bilo. It can be concluded that despite the fears and concerns, the evacuees have settled in well for the time being-till the next exodus.

References

- Altman, I., & Low, S. (1992). *Human behavior and environments: Advances in theory and research*. V. 12, *Place attachment*. New York.: Plenum Press.
- Amman, H. M., & Duraiappah, A. K. (2004). Land tenure and conflict resolution: A game theoretic

- approach in the Narok district in Kenya. *Environment and Development Economics*, 9(3), 383-407.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1355770X03001268>
- Anton, C. E., & Lawrence, C. (2014). Home is where the heart is: The effect of place of residence on place attachment and community participation. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 40, 451-461.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2014.10.007>
- Atwood. (1999). Land registration in Africa, Report of a Delegate Workshop on Land Tenure Policy in African Nations *DFID Land Rights and Sustainable Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons and Ways Forward in Land Tenure Policy*, 664-665.
- Banerjee, A., Gertler, P., & Ghatak, M. (2002). Empowerment and efficiency: Tenancy reform in West Bengal. *Journal of Political Economy*, 110(2), 239-280. <https://doi.org/10.1086/338744>
- Benz, S., & Hasenclever, A. (2009). *The Global Governance of Forced Migration*. Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions 2009 14-19 April, Lisbon, Portugal (Workshop No. 27). University of Tübingen/Germany.
- Chagutah, T. (2013). Land tenure insecurity, vulnerability to climate-induced disaster and opportunities for redress in southern Africa. *Jàmá*, 5(2), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/jamba.v5i2.79>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Crocombe, R. G. (1968). *Improving Land Tenure*. New Caledonia, Noumea: South Pacific Commission.
- Davies, J., & Gallimore, C. L. (2000). *Reforming the Leasing and the Use of Agricultural Land in Fiji: An Economic Incentive Approach*. Retrieved from <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO0006/S00062/reforming-the-use-of-agricultural-land-in-fiji.htm>
- Deininger, K., & Ali, D. (2008). Do overlapping rights reduce agricultural investment? Evidence from Uganda. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 90(4), 869-882.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8276.2008.01171.x>
- Desmond, M., & Gershenson, C. (2016). *Who gets evicted? Assessing individual, neighborhood, and network factors*.
- Dodd, M. J. K. (2012). *Reform Of Leasing Regimes For Customary Land In Fiji* (Bachelor of Laws (Honours)). University of Otago, New Zealand.
- Egré D., & Sénécal, P. (2012). Resettlement Studies and Human Environment Impact Assessment of Water Control Projects: Similarities and Discrepancies. *Impact Assessment*, 8(3), 5-18.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07349165.1990.9726051>
- Ejiofor, O. C., Oni, S., & Sejoro, J. V. (2017). An Assessment Of The Impact Of Internal Displacement On Human Security In Northern Nigeria (2009- 2016). *Acta Universitatis Danubius. Relationes Internationales*, 10(1).
- Fiji Bureau of Statistics. (2017). *2017 Census Report*. Retrieved from <https://www.fijisun.com.fj/2018/01/10/fiji-bureau-of-statistics-releases-2017-census-results/>

- Goldstein, M., & Udry, C. (2008). The profits of power: Land rights and agricultural investment in Ghana. *Journal of Political Economy*, 116(6), 981-1022. <https://doi.org/10.1086/595561>
- Herman, A. (2015). Enchanting resilience: Relations of care and peopleplace connections in agriculture. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 42, 102-111. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2015.10.003>
- Hidalgo, M. C., & Hernandez, B. (2001). Place attachment: Conceptual and empirical questions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21, 273-281. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jevp.2001.0221>
- Hildenbrand, B., & Hennon, C. (2005). Above all, farming means family farming. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 36(3), 357-366. <https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.36.3.357>
- iTaukei Land Trust Board. (2018). *Native Land Distribution*. Retrieved from <https://www.property.com.fj/news/Native-Land-Distribution/>
- Jacoby, H., Li, G., & Rozelle, S. (2002). Hazards of expropriation: Tenure insecurity and investment in rural China. *American Economic Review*, 92(5), 1420-1447.
- Kirk, M. (2000). The evolving role of the state in influencing property rights over grazing resources in sub-Saharan Africa. In N. McCarthy, B. Swallow, M. Kirk, & P. Hazell (Eds.), *Property Rights, Risk, and Livestock Development in Africa*. FPRI and ILII.
- Kuehne, G. (2013). My decision to sell the family farm. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 30(2), 201-213. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-012-9393-7>
- Kumari, R., & Nakano, Y. (2015). Does land lease tenure insecurity cause decreased productivity and investment in the sugar industry? Evidence from Fiji. *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 60, 406-421. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8489.12133>
- Kupfer, C. (2017). *Why Your Negotiations Fail: Lack of Integrity*. Retrieved from <https://www.coreykupfer.com/2017/05/24/negotiations-fail-lack-integrity/>
- Lal, P., Lim-Applegate, H., & Reddy, M. (2001). *ALTA or NLTA: What's in a name? Land Tenure Dilemma and the Fiji Sugar Industry*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/23520647_ALTA_or_NLTA_What's_in_the_Name_Land_Tenure_Dilemma_and_the_Fiji_Sugar_Industry
- Lewicka, M. (2010). What makes neighborhood different from home and city? Effects of place scale on place attachment. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30, 35-51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2009.05.004>
- Ma, X., Heerink, N., Ekko van, I., van den Berg, M., & Shi, X. (2013). Land tenure security and land investments in Northwest China. *China Agricultural Economic Review*, 5(2), 281-307. <https://doi.org/10.1108/17561371311331133>
- Ministry of iTaukei Affairs. (1985). *Native Land Trust Act [Cap 134]*. Retrieved from http://www.paclii.org/fj/legis/consol_act_OK/nlta206/
- Mntungwa, D. (2014). *The Impact of Land Legislation on Farm Dweller Evictions*. Retrieved from <http://www.mobile.wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/15305/My%20Dessertation%20%28Autosaved%29%20Connie%201.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

- Nabobo-Baba, U. (2006). *Knowing and Learning: An Indigenous Fijian Approach*. The University of the South Pacific: Institute of Pacific Studies.
- Naidu, V., & Reddy, M. (2002). ALTA and expiring land leases: Fijian farmers' perceptions of their future. *A Ford Foundation funded project*.
- Nystrom, S. L. (2007). *Risk and Time in a Land Lease Economy*.
- Quinn, C. E., & Halfacre, A. C. (2014). Place Matters: An Investigation of Farmers' Attachment to Their Land. *Human Ecology Review*, 20(2), 117-132. <https://doi.org/10.22459/HER.20.02.2014.06>
- Rakai, M. E. T., Ezigbalike, I. C., & Williamson, I. P. (1995). Traditional Land Tenure Issues For Lis In Fiji. *Survey Review*, 33(258), 247-262. <https://doi.org/10.1179/sre.1995.33.258.247>
- Reale, A., & Handmer, J. (2011). Land tenure, disasters and vulnerability. *Disasters*, 35(1), 160-182. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7717.2010.01198.x>
- Robertsa, R. E., & Okanyab, O. (2018). Measuring the socio-economic impact of forced evictions and illegal demolition; A comparative study between displaced and existing informal settlements. *The Social Science Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2018.12.003>
- Sharma, M. (2018, Mar 31). Dynamics of Land Acquisition: A Story from Punjab. *Economic and Political Weekly*.
- Sharma, S. (2017). *The Control and Protection of Native Lands in Fiji*. Retrieved from <https://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=13153>
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Stedman, R. C. (2003). Is it really just a social construction? The contribution of the physical environment to sense of place. *Society and Natural Resources*, 16, 671-685. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920309189>
- Tuwere, I. S. (2002). *Vanua: Towards a Fijian Theology of Place*. University of the South Pacific and College of St John the Evangelist: Institute of Pacific Studies.
- Ubink, J. M. (2007). Tenure Security: Wishful Policy Thinking or Reality? A Case from Peri-Urban Ghana. *Journal of African Law*, 51(2), 215-248. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021855307000307>
- Volavola, M. (1995). The Native Land Trust Board of Fiji. In R. Crocombe (Ed.), *Customary Land Tenure and Sustainable Development: Complementarity or Conflict*. Noumea: (South Pacific Commission).
- Wegerif, M., Russell, B., & Grundling, I. (2005). *The reality of farm dweller evictions in South Africa*. Polokwane North, 0750, South Africa: Nkuzi Development Association.
- World Bank. (2018). *The World Bank Annual Report 2018 (English)*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group. Retrieved from <http://www.documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/630671538158537244/The-World-Bank-Annual-Report-2018>
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Designs and Methods* (3rd ed.). New Delhi: SAGE Publications Inc.