The Arts in Development:

An Investigation of the Contribution of Contemporary Dance to Development in Urban Fiji

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Megan Allardice

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the contribution of the arts to development, taking the cultural turn in development as its point of entry. It treads new ground in that the cultural turn, largely, does not examine the specific area of 'the arts' as deliberate and heightened expressions of culture (Pérez González, 2008:11). Complementing the cultural turn's emphasis on agency and multiplicity, the thesis also argues for the location of the arts within the aspiration for choice and freedom (Kabeer, 1999: Sen, 1999), and it looks to alternative development for modes of 'doing' development. These are models driven by concerns for participation, therefore, recognising agency, diversity, freedom and voice. A model is developed delineating three possible levels of contribution of the arts to development and suggesting that the inherent value of the arts underlies and unlocks the economic and other instrumental values that they also possess (McCarthy *et al*, 2004:37-39).

This research uses a qualitative research methodology. Fieldwork was carried out in Suva, Fiji, with a focus on Vou Dance Company, a part-time, semi-professional dance group. Qualitative methodology was appropriate to the research because it responds to the importance that is placed on the search for values and meanings within the understanding of development as freedom as well as in the cultural turn and alternative development. Three methods of data collection were used. These were observation, participant and key informant interviews, and a participatory dance workshop.

The research findings established a multifaceted definition of development and supported all of the types of contribution of the arts suggested by the model developed in this thesis in attaining development. The members of Vou and other respondents emphasised the importance of choice and perceive themselves as responsible for making choices available to others. A balancing of the economic contribution of the arts against values regarded as 'inherent', particularly those relating to preservation of elements of (traditional) culture, alongside the negotiation of hybrid contemporary identities, was consistent across all respondents. An analysis of national, regional and global policy documents revealed alignment of policy at all levels to these twin emphases of economy, and heritage and identity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
AFS	American Field Service
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (United States of America)
CPA	Council of Pacific Arts
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
EU	European Union
FAC	Fiji Arts Council
FAVC	Fiji Audio Visual Commission
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HIVOS	Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation (Netherlands)
IGP	Income Generating Project
NAFTA	North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement
NCBBF	National Council for Building a Better Fiji
OCACPS	Oceania Centre for Arts, Culture and Pacific Studies
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
SAAT	Southern African AIDS Training
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community
TRIMs	Agreement on Trade-Related Investment Measures (of the WTO)
TRIPS	Agreement on Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (of the WTO)
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USP	University of the South Pacific
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZWW	Zimbabwe Women Writers

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The arts have entered development discourse[1] via the cultural turn in development. This is a body of literature that looks to the culturally influenced causes of human aspiration and human behaviour, thereby rejecting macro-level, structural understandings of development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:64). The cultural turn is founded on the valorisation of "cultural worlds and maps of meaning" (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:64) as constituent of development, but also of cultural manifestations or products as a means to achieving development (that is, as a development tool). Thus, there is a shared belief that culture is a significant factor in development (Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006:231) but there are different views of how this comes to be realised. In relation to these opposed understandings, I entered into the research process with the belief that culture is constituent of and inherent to development. This position was based on my own interest in the arts, in particular, my experience of working with and observing contemporary dancers in a developing country setting (as will be discussed shortly). However, the fieldwork process that I undertook and my research findings have led me to acknowledge and re-evaluate the second view, that culture also contributes to development in instrumental ways (McCarthy *et al*, 2004: 1-3).

Although the cultural turn in development lays the groundwork for consideration of the arts, as specific and deliberate expressions of culture (Pérez González, 2008:11), its theorists (for example, Nederveen Pieterse, 2010: 64-82; Schech and Haggis, 2008; Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006; Simon, 2006; Appadurai, 2004:59-70) tend not to comment directly upon the arts. As my research is about this narrower category of 'the arts' and I am concerned with the application of the arts in development practice, I have also looked beyond the cultural turn for theoretical frameworks that support an analysis of the arts in relation to development. These are found in other areas of development literature and in the literature on the arts but, as I note in my literature

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[1] Throughout this thesis, I refer to 'development' as the subject of a development discourse, at the centre of the academic discipline of 'development studies' and the practice of international development. It is necessary to distinguish this development at the society level that is, additionally, driven by dynamics between groups of 'developed' and 'developing' nations at the global level, from the notions of personal development that are often central to literature on the benefits of the arts.

review, there is a dearth of literature that brings these two together. Within the development literature, I draw on notions of freedom and choice (Sen, 1999; Kabeer, 1999) as well as the assemblage of approaches known as 'alternative development'. In the literature around the arts, there are two key areas discussed. The first is the multi-level impacts of the arts, but this discussion is located outside of the international/social development context (for example, McCarthy *et al*, 2004). The second area is the instrumental contributions of the arts, particularly as 'theatre for development' (Prentki, 1998). Jane Plastow's (2009) writing on dance in development in Ethiopia is rare in its efforts to examine inherent values of the arts in development. Plastow, while at the same time challenging instrumental, donor-driven uses of the arts, find that dance creates conditions of freedom and inclusion.[2]

Plastow's findings resonate with my own observations, made during eighteen years spent in Zimbabwe, of the intersections between the arts and processes of development. It was possible for me to make first-hand observations because I was actively involved in arts (literature, film and dance) practice and administration. Some relevant aspects of this experience are discussed in the next section.

Personal Background and Research Interest

I lived in Zimbabwe from 1992 to 2009. During this time, I worked in various positions in the country's clearly distinguishable 'development sector'. On occasion, my work also crossed over into the arts and culture sector. For example, I was the national coordinator of a non-governmental women writers' organisation from 1992 to 1994, as well as undertaking a number of short contracts in this sector as a development consultant between 1997 and 2009. Outside of my employment, I was involved in creative writing and film projects, and from 1999 was first a dancer with, and later Director of, a contemporary dance company. From this perspective, I had ample opportunity to observe the interrelationships between the arts and development, and to note a rather limited, instrumental focus on the use of the arts in the service of development, through the transmission of (often didactic and donor-driven) development messages.

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[2] These are among the five inherent values of the arts in development that I examine in my model (Figure 2) in Chapter 2, and my findings and analysis in Chapters 4 and 5.

From my point of view as an artist,[3] such treatment of the arts seems to miss a huge part of their potential; from the point of view of development, I observed that this 'arts for development' approach did not always have the desired impacts. Two cases from my own experience illustrate this. Firstly, in 1993, as the National Coordinator of Zimbabwe Women Writers (ZWW), a non-governmental, women's arts organisation, I was asked to organise an 'AIDS writing workshop' in a small town in the northwest of Zimbabwe. While ZWW had a set of objectives covering the promotion of women's literature and literacy[4] (www.hivos.nl/dut/community/partners/10000953), the interest in HIV and AIDS came from the funding partner.[5] The attempt to impart both writing skills and information crucial to the, then nascent, response to HIV in Zimbabwe was not successful and, in fact, resulted in the spread of misinformation.[6] Clearly a focus on HIV had been imposed as a funding condition and ZWW's lack of experience in this area threatened to have an impact that was, at best, neutral and, at worst, very negative in development terms. At the same time, the imposition of HIV as a theme on the workshop participants, I believe, undermined the value of the workshop in enabling women's voices.

Secondly, in 2006, a work I had commissioned for Tangled Tribe Dance Company was transformed into the 'Bopoto'[7] edu-dance project when a volunteer working with the company secured funding for community performances of the work from the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Harare. The original dance/theatre piece (by choice of the choreographer) dealt with HIV and property grabbing, as well as having some spiritual references. These themes resonated with the company's dancers, who responded well to the choreography, enjoyed the piece and were paid for their work. The community performances were followed by plenary discussions with the audience of the issues presented. The company members had no skills in facilitating such discussions and the choreography was not designed to lend itself to attitude and behaviour change. My concern, therefore, is with the way in which a project that

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[3] This point of view is reflected in my positionality as a researcher, as will be mentioned again in Chapter 3 on methodology.

[4] In line with the notions of empowerment, participation and particularly voice that are central to alternative development approaches and the cultural turn in development.

[5] Southern African AIDS Training (SAAT), a Canadian HIV prevention organisation with no commitment to or interest in culture generally, let alone the arts.

[6] A ZWW Executive Committee member took the initiative to stop a plenary discussion of HIV issues in order to stop this.

[7] Grumbles or complaints in the Shona language.

began as an artistic response to the realities of the choreographer and dancers was then co-opted by the development process (in the form of a donor).

My unease with these instrumental approaches, which seem at the same time to fail in development terms and to undermine what I see as the great potential of the arts, has led me to explore alternative values of the arts in development. This exploration is at the core of my research, as outlined below in my research aim, research questions and choice of methodology.

Research Aim, Questions and Methodology

The aim of this research is to contribute to a broader understanding of the ways in which arts practices intersect with development practices, informed by the experience of actors in the arts sector in Fiji.

My research responds to the primary research question and three sub-questions, stated below:

> Given the increasing discourse arguing the value of the arts within development processes, in what ways could and do the arts in Fiji contribute to the understanding and achievement of 'development'?
>
> 1 How is 'development' conceptualised by a group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?
>
> 2 In what ways do the arts, in particular contemporary dance, contribute to the achievement of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?
>
> 3 To what extent do arts and/or culture policy at the Fiji national, Pacific regional and global levels respond to the demands of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

I adopted a qualitative methodology, which was appropriate to my interest in meanings, specifically those the participants attached to 'development', as well as dance itself as a mode of expressing meaning. Within the qualitative paradigm, I

used an arts-based approach, drawing upon my own experience and that of the participants to employ dance as the direct means of enquiry and data generation. Thus, my methodology was comprised of a participatory dance workshop and focus group discussion with the members of Vou Dance Company (to answer Sub-question 1); and observation of Vou Dance Company and participant interviews with company members, as well as key informant interviews in the arts and culture sector (to answer Sub-question 2). The basis of the answer to Sub-question 3 came from the key informant interviews, in which respondents referred to various policies, and I later carried out a document analysis to gain a more detailed understanding of policy at different levels.

In order to contextualise my research questions, I provide, below, some background on Vou Dance Company followed by a review of the history and current situation in Fiji, particularly as these relate to issues of culture.

Background and Context

Vou Dance Company

Founded in 2007, Vou Dance Company describes itself as "a contemporary Pacific dance company, to investigate our Pacific Island identities within today's high-tech globalised society through movement" (www.voufiji.com). The company comprises Director, Sachiko Miller, a fulltime musician and seven dancers coming from traditional/cultural dance and contemporary dance backgrounds. As well as investigating identity through dance, Vou Dance Company has been involved in more message-oriented work around climate change. The company has performed throughout Fiji and in Indonesia, India, Australia and New Zealand. Alongside its normal rehearsal sessions and occasional paid performances within the tourism industry, during the period of my fieldwork, Vou was developing new work in preparation for a tour to China in September and October 2011.

Vou is a multicultural group that actively demonstrates young people from different cultural backgrounds working together and sometimes dealing directly with issues of cultural identity. Furthermore, the company members seek to promote dance and music as career options that will enable a new generation to move beyond the

ethnically differentiated occupational choices that have been made in Fiji over many generations (Nilan, 2006; Patricia interview, 27/7/11; Joseph interview, 1/8/11; Sachiko interview, 2/8/11). As such, they are strongly engaged with their national context, given that ethnic identity and ethnically determined politics have had a divisive impact on Fijian society since the mid nineteenth century. This history of culturally based lack of cohesion and current efforts to overcome it, within which Vou Dance Company consciously locates its work (Eddie interview, 28/7/11; Patricia interview, 27/7/11; Sharleen interview, 27/7/11), are discussed below.

The context of Fiji

Ethnic and cultural divisions have had a profound, and generally negative, impact upon Fiji's history and development. However, there is some evidence from what is taking place in Fiji today at various levels that an open minded engagement with culture, as well as the deliberate application of the arts, has potential for the establishment of a multicultural national identity in which diversity is valued in itself and as a means to development (UNESCO, 2005:1-2). A repositioning of ethnicity and cultural identity as positive forces could have beneficial effects in terms of ensuring a greater level of political cooperation and stability, and could contribute to maximisation of the country's economic potential.

Culture and the negotiation of cultural identity have been central to Fiji's colonial and postcolonial history (Gaines, 2011:169-170) and have a continuing impact upon current attempts to build a multicultural identity (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11; Nilan 2006:2). The history of the Pacific region (or Oceania) is one of frequent crossings – of oceans, cultures, ethnic groups, knowledge and technology – and the inhabitants of Fiji had long had contact with other Pacific peoples (Anderson, 2003:36; Hau'ofa, 1993:6-9). However, the arrival of Europeans in the mid nineteenth century was their first contact with others who were racially distinct (and visibly so) with a different value system and a different god. The initial European settlers arrogated (the best and most profitable)[8] one-fifth of the country in the expectation that the indigenous population would be available and exploitable for plantation and other types of labour (Knapman, 1987:3). In line with European

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[8] Knapman (1987:48) points out that a portion of the land taken had already been planted in cash crops by the indigenous owners.

capitalist assumptions of individualism as an advanced state, they framed this as an opportunity for Fijians to 'free' themselves from a hierarchical traditional system ruled over by the chief (Scarr, 1973 in Knapman, 1987:3).

However, the settlers were deprived of the envisaged local labour through a policy of 'communalism' for the Fijian population,[9] administered through a system of indirect rule. This was essentially a codification of traditional social and power structures, which Lal (2002:153) refers to as "paramountcy within parameters", that is, power was granted to the extent that it supported and served colonial administrative aims. Typical of this form of indirect rule (see, for example, Murisa, 2010: 34-35), the colonial government engaged the local chiefs to collect a produce tax from the rest of the population. This destabilised traditional Fijian culture, undermining the rights of the people to protection and support from their leadership, and shifting the accountability of the chiefs from their own people towards meeting the needs of the colonial administration.

The solution proposed for the settler sugar plantation owners was the importation of indentured labourers from India. This began in 1878 and 60 000 Indians had been brought into the country by 1916 when the practice was stopped (Anderson, 2003:36). Many of the labourers stayed on, moving into urban areas as small business owners and civil servants or leasing land (which they were not, and still are not, allowed to own) for farming from ethnic Fijian owners. Meanwhile, ethnic Fijian (communal) land ownership was secured, changing from an inherent to a legal right through the Native Land Ordinance of 1880 (Davie, 2007: 261)[10] and the establishment of the Native Land Trust Board (Lal, 2002:157). While Lal (2002:157) claims that ethnic Fijians are very (constitutionally and legally) secure in their ownership of land and this contributes to a "vibrant cultural identity", Hereniko (2003:78) perceives present-day ethnic Fijian fears of losing their land, and therefore

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[9] Introduced by the first colonial Governer, Sir Arthur Gordon (1874-1880) and mirroring the philanthropic and humanist discourse of the time (Davie, 2007:258-259; Veracini, 2008:190-191).
[10] The Ordinance had different (and generally controlling) effects for different racial groups. It secured ethnic Fijian ownership of the remaining land, thus preventing further acquisition of land by European settlers. However, Fijian ownership was conceived as communal rather than individual. At the same time, it denied franchise to Indian settlers.

their cultural identity.[11] These feelings of insecurity have been mobilised in the staging of military and civilian coups, as discussed below.

The period since independence in 1970 has seen four coups, all of which were driven largely by ethnic differences and dissatisfactions (Connell, 2007b:86). A perceived lack of protection of ethnic Fijian interests facilitated the overthrow of Prime Minister, Timoci Bavadra, who was seen as a puppet for Indian interests (Hereniko, 2003:80) in 1987, and Indo-Fijian Prime Minister, Mahendra Chaudhry in May 2000 (O'Sullivan, 2011:96). Both Rabuka, who led the coups in May and September 1987, and George Speight, the civilian leader of the 2000 coup, claimed to be the 'voice of the people' and Speight acted out his claim, cultivating support among rural people and the urban dispossessed (Hereniko, 2003: 84-86). However, the coup of December 2006 had a more intra-ethnic dimension as Prime Minister, Laisenia Qarase, was accused of promoting an indigenous elite while ignoring the needs of ordinary Fijians (O'Sullivan, 2011:95).

Fiji's economy is also deeply affected by cultural factors, which define the ways in which an individual engages with the economy, including their occupational choices (Nilan, 2006:4), as well as having an impact (when expressed as military coups) on international relations.[12] The circular linkages between culture and the country's economy are particularly evident in Fiji's tourism industry, which shows the negative impacts of the culturally based divisions in Fijian society, while also drawing on culture as a resource in the creation of its product. Since 1998, tourism has been Fiji's greatest foreign exchange earner (Rao, 2002:405).[13] Political instability inevitably has an impact upon tourist arrivals, affecting earnings in the tourism

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[11] The extent to which land ownership is central to ethnic Fijian identity can be illustrated by unpacking the word 'vanua'. 'Vanua' means 'land' but many other significations are ascribed to it, including the area a person or a people identify with and all that lives upon it, as well as the "social and cultural system – the people, their traditions and customs, beliefs and values and…institutions…of harmony, solidarity and prosperity" (Ravuvu, 1983 in Kerstetter and Bricker, 2009:703). Thus vanua embodies 'worldview', 'lifeline' and 'survival' (Hereniko, 2003:78).

[12] Following the 2006 coup, Australia, New Zealand, the United States and the European Union imposed sanctions against Fiji and it has been expelled from the Commonwealth, as also happened in response to the coups in 1987 (Ratuva, 2011:104).

[13] This is somewhat contingent because the high level of foreign ownership of tourist facilities renders the sector vulnerable to withdrawal of investment in the event of political instability (Rao, 2002:405, 412) as well as causing foreign exchange leakage. Therefore, sugar is the more consistent earner and Connell (2007b:86) finds that remittances from Fijians working abroad also make a significant contribution.

sector, with knock-on impacts on the rest of the economy (Harrison, 1998:10; Rao, 2002:417, 419-421). The tourism product gains its unique appeal from the incorporation of 'Fijian culture' on many levels, from the Fijian 'friendliness' exuded by local staff (Rao, 2002:407) to the exhibition and performance of Fiji's cultural traditions. The latter raises issues of authenticity (Cohen, 1988: 373-380; Smiers, 2003:117-118), as well as representativeness, given the emphasis on indigenous traditions (Rao, 2002:419) in a country in which around half of the population is of Indian, rather than indigenous, origin.

These are cultural divisions in the broad sense but deliberate efforts to move beyond them are taking place within a structured cultural 'sector'. Its concern with the building of a multicultural national identity is one of the reasons the current military government receives some approbation at home, despite international censure.[14] This project is the responsibility of the Department of Natural Heritage, Culture and Arts, reporting to the National Council for Building a Better Fiji (NCBBF) (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11). At the same time, independent and semi-independent arts organisations are engaged in actions, which they tend to frame as the 'creation of opportunity', to promote the arts in ways that both encourage cross-cultural communication and respond to the country's economic challenges (Vaikoso interview, 5/8/11; Swarmy interview, 8/8/11). The Fiji Audio Visual Commission, for example, promotes Fiji as a location for international films (export sector), encourages local film making through the annual Kula Film Awards (domestic sector) and has led the development of a cross-cultural film dance style through the Kula Dance Awards, which then becomes one of the selling points of Fiji as a film location and source of talent. These efforts by artists are documented extensively in my findings and analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 because Vou Dance Company is also engaged in them. The conceptual differences between the arts (represented in this discussion by film and dance) and culture (as the broader category with which I began this section) are examined below.

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[14] Other reasons are its efforts to combat corruption (Ratuva, 2011:112) and attempts to put in place a process of popular (although obviously not electoral) democracy through the People's Charter under the National Council for Building a Better Fiji (NCBBF) (Ratuva, 2011:114).

Concepts and Definitions

Below I establish definitions for the concepts of 'culture' and 'the arts', and look at the interrelationships and tensions between them. These are demonstrated graphically in Figure 1.

Figure 1 The Culture-Arts Relationship and Tensions
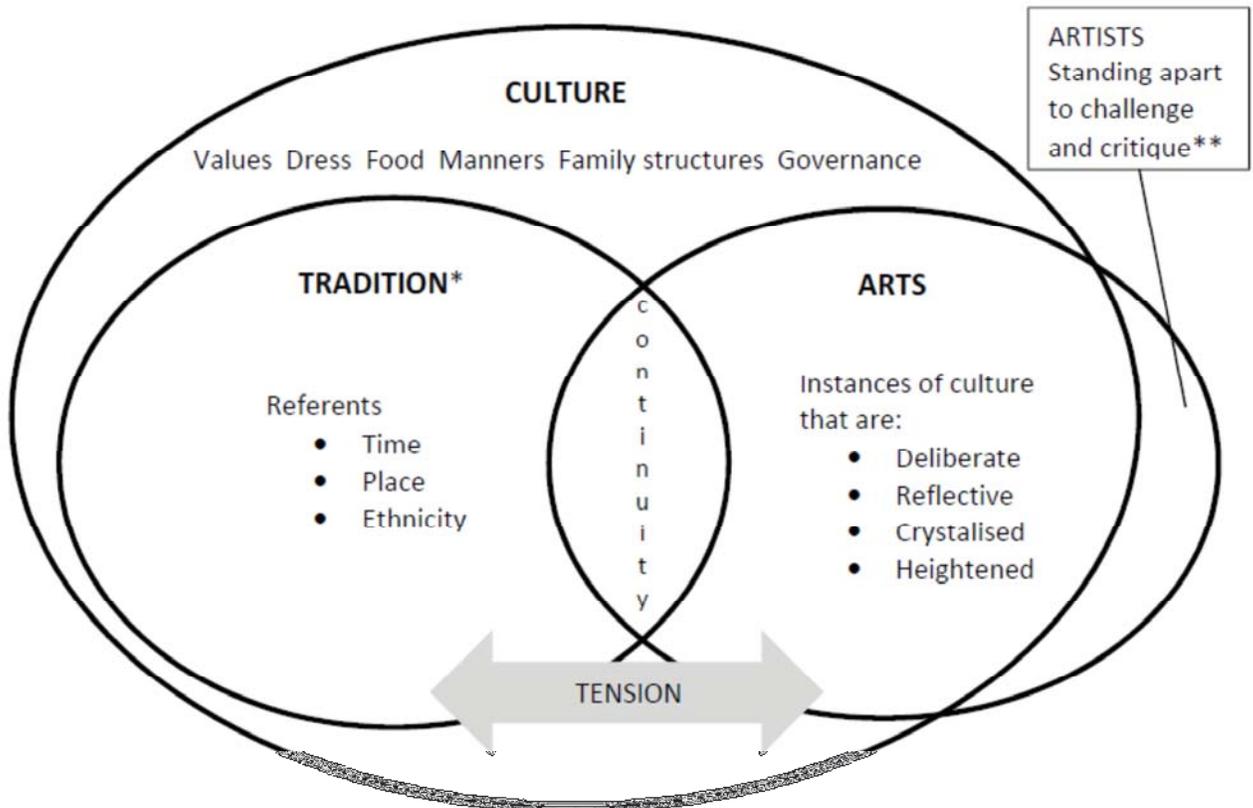
* See, for example, Quanchi (2004:8-9), Nederveen Pieterse (2007:142-143)
** See, for example, Gaulke (1998:16), Denzin (2003 in Finley, 2008:73)

Source: Author.

Culture

When using the term 'culture', I refer to a defining characteristic of human social groups, encompassing both the behaviours and outputs of groups and the individuals within them, and the rationale, as they see it, for what they do and make. Culture shapes human relations not only within, but between, social groups and it is here that the links between culture and the processes of development are most evident. These links are recognised in the cultural turn in development as, firstly (within groups), influencing values and desires and, therefore, conceptions of what development

might mean (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:64). I note in relation to this, that Appadurai (2004) identifies the capacity to aspire, to hold values and formulate desires, as a cultural capacity. It is a capacity that is future oriented and, therefore, aligned to development, which is "always seen in terms of the future – plans, hopes, goals, targets" (Appadurai, 2004:60), rather than opposed to development by being locked into the past. Secondly, culture is implicated in power relations (between groups) expressed as colonialist and modernist cultural hegemony (Finley, 2008:74; Schech and Haggis, 2008:51). Culture is a source of identity, incorporating elements of both persuasion and choice. It reflects and is dependent upon links between the present, and the past and future. Therefore, culture incorporates tradition, which contributes to broader cultural elements such as values, family structures, governance, manners, dress and food, but not definitively. As such, tradition is a factor in the formation of multiple and shifting cultural identities (Quanchi, 2004:8-9; Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:142-143; Teaiwa, 2012:76-82).

Noting that culture is what makes us human, Hawkes (2001:3-7),[15] suggests different operational levels of culture. Firstly, the underlying "values and aspirations" of a group or the "learned and shared understandings among a group of people… about what everything means" (Omohundro, 2008:46).[16] The second level is the "processes and mediums" through which shared values, aspirations and meanings are received and expressed. Hawkes separates this process level from a third level of cultural products or outputs, the "tangible and intangible manifestations…in the real world". For the purposes of this research, I find this a less useful distinction, given that my research focuses on a genre (contemporary dance) in which I observe developmental impacts and development research data arising from both the process and the product.

Culture is defined by time and place but also by deliberate, chosen identification, which is to say that cultural identity is an outcome of ongoing processes of negotiation (Varshney, 2002 in Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:32). Therefore, many

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[15] My definition draws on that provided by Hawkes (2001:3-7), firstly, because he considers culture from a development perspective with a particular emphasis on sustainable development, and secondly, because his argument for culture as a 'pillar of sustainability' informs the cultural policy discourse at the Pacific regional level (see, for example, Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2010:32-33).
[16] Omohundro says that culture is not "the observed behaviour itself" but this is not Hawkes' view and certainly my source of research data is the behaviour by which humans indicate their cultural bases.

theorists and practitioners warn against static views of culture (for example, Sen, 1999:31; Sachiko interview 2/8/11) and the colonial freezing of cultural identities (Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:33-34). However, to fix upon a particular historic point and the particular form of cultural expression relevant to that point is also to assert a choice in terms of cultural identity, as will be reflected in my research findings. Hereniko (Field Notes:7E) cites Albert Wendt's comment that 'the only authentic culture is the one you are living in right now' but this denies the possibility of any reference to the past and therefore, of "learned and shared understandings" at the underlying level of culture (Omohundro, 2008:27). As Hereniko points out, such a view robs culture of its human resonance, thereby losing a "whole layer of meaning" (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11).

Culture then, is a broad contextual concept, marked by contest and negotiation, within and in relation to which I locate 'the arts' more specifically. If culture is negotiated, then the arts as "avenues of expression" (Stevenson, 2000: 105) represent one means of negotiation.

The arts

My specific research concern is with 'the arts', by which I refer to a subset of culture that includes dance and other performance genres, visual and audio visual arts, and literature. This range of activities and outputs is embedded in culture but distinguished by the intention of the creator, their particular point of view and their attitude in relation to culture and the surrounding society (Pérez González, 2008:11). An artist is, inevitably, grounded in their own culture, noting that this is a phenomenon constantly in flux as a result of their own choices and a myriad of other forces. From this standpoint, they may choose to celebrate, preserve, challenge, reject or even denigrate their culture. Weber (2008:44) comments that art "makes us look". It does so because artists reflect upon (usually social) issues and, through their work, crystalise and heighten or highlight these in "instances of concentrated communication [that are] incisive and engaging" (Stupples, 2010, e-interview).

Thus artists produce from their own culture and they also, through their art work, have an impact upon and change their culture. Hicks (1998:100) speaks of artists having "a profound cultural impact", while performance artist, Bonnie Sherk

(interviewed by Burnham, 1998:26) sees art practice as "a tool for cultural transformation and human survival". These notions suggest that art is about necessary cultural change and they are ambitious in their claims. The urgency that they imply refers back to the understanding that culture assures and asserts humanity (Hawkes, 2001:4), therefore, the survival of individuals and groups is premised on cultural engagement and the exercise of cultural agency (Arias, 2006a:167). However, I believe that work can be produced by artists, with reflection and intent, which produces positive but only small or incremental impacts (Sommer, 2006:4; Finley, 2008:75), as will be demonstrated in my fieldwork findings.

Within my research interest in the arts, I explore the ways in which they analyse, comment upon and draw attention to issues of development, thereby having an impact upon the broader culture (in response to my second sub-question on the ways in which the arts contribute to development). This distinction is important to the consideration of policy (in response to my third sub-question) because the government of Fiji is engaged in efforts to clarify and disaggregate the arts and their practice from the broader areas of culture (and notions of traditional culture) and (university taught) humanities. Their aim is to enable recognition of the contribution of the arts specifically in national processes, such as shaping a national identity (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11).

Conceptual tensions

Given that my research participants are artists working in a contemporary form, in the context of a country in which tradition and its forms underlie the current low level[17] political crisis, some tensions between the concept of culture and the concept of the arts are evident. These exist in the relationship between traditional forms, usually associated with 'culture' in the sense of the culture of a specific group as it existed at a specific point in (past) time,[18] and contemporary[19] arts, because of their

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[17] I characterise it as such because, although there was an identifiable crisis point (the coup of 2006), the ongoing situation shows signs of a move back towards electoral democracy (www.beehive.govt.nz) and I observed that, for many people, the political situation appears to have little bearing on their day-to-day lives.

[18] Or is presented as having existed, through the "self-conscious proclamation and invention of the past to support the powerful in the present" (Quanchi, 2004:9). Note that Teaiwa (2012:76-82) demonstrates the creation of a cultural tradition among Banabans relocated to Fiji that asserts the position of the powerless, rather than the powerful.

capacity to reflect and comment on broader culture and to innovate. Hereniko (interview, 26/7/11) suggests that it is every artist's dream not to feel constrained by the dictates of society but, where cultures seem threatened (Mancillas, 1998:337), the existence of seemingly unconstrained contemporary artistic expression and challenge may heighten this perceived threat, particularly where contemporary genres are seen as 'foreign' or 'western'. However, in my fieldwork in Fiji, I found a conceptual bridging of this divide and practical efforts to demonstrate the complementarity of traditional and contemporary forms (observation and interviews, Vou Dance Company, July-August 2011), thereby establishing continuity and preserving those elements of past culture that remain important or meaningful (Hereniko interview, 26 July).

Structure of the Thesis

In this chapter, I have introduced the notion that the arts have a contribution to make to the processes of development. I locate the grounds of this discussion in the cultural turn in development, while my conceptualisation of development draws on notions of development as freedom, and alternative understandings and ways of doing development. My personal background in the arts and development influenced my choice of a research question and methodology. Therefore, this background is discussed before I introduce my research aim and research question and discuss my choice of a qualitative research methodology. My fieldwork was carried out in Fiji and focused on the work of Vou Dance Company. The history and objectives of Vou are outlined and I provide a background to Fiji, which highlights the interrelationships between issues of culture and identity, and the country's historic and current circumstances. Finally, I define and differentiate two key concepts – 'culture' and 'the arts' – which are used throughout my thesis. Regarding the structure of the rest of the thesis, Chapter 2 is a literature review, structured around the three sub-questions to my main research question. Thus in the review I look at the ways in which development has been defined in the literature over time, the various discourses around the contribution of the arts to development and, finally, at issues of arts and culture policy. In Chapter 3, I introduce my research methodology,

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[19] Of the current era and, therefore, open to and reflecting a range of global influences, often expressed in hybrid content and form (Smiers, 2003:125).

discussing my choice of a qualitative mode of enquiry and the specific qualitative methods I employed, including one 'arts-based' method. The findings of my one month fieldwork visit to Fiji in July and August 2011 are presented in Chapter 4 and these are drawn together with my literature review and analysed in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes my thesis and reflects upon the implications of this research for development policy and practice, including further development research.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

My research interest is in the contribution of the arts to international development. As suggested by my focus on contemporary dance, I am concerned with the arts as specific instances of creative expression, and therefore, a narrower area of activity than that described as culture.[20] The literature dealing with my topic directly is limited. Hence, my literature review approaches the topic somewhat indirectly, seeking to discover a theoretical background at the intersection of development theory and the literature on the benefits of the arts, mainly in areas other than development. Three interrelated strands of development theory are examined and these underlie the consideration of my first research sub-question on how development is conceived. They are (1) Sen's (1999) notion of development as freedom, (2) the body of literature comprising the cultural turn in development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010: 64-82), and (3) the postmodernist grouping of alternative development approaches (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010: 83-109). I then turn to a different area of literature to answer my second research sub-question on the contribution and impact of the arts, noting that the literature generally focuses on benefits of the arts in terms of either personal or community development, and generally in a western or 'developed' context. Finally, my third research sub-question is concerned with policy. If a vision of development is established and the contribution of the arts to attaining this is identified, it is policy at various levels that facilitates the arts making this beneficial contribution. Therefore, the nature and importance of arts and culture policy are discussed in the final section of my literature review.

Concepts of Development

> Development thinking if considered carefully is a series of improvisations and borrowings, zigzagging over time, a hybrid project intellectually and politically, and not nearly the consistent edifice that both its adherents and opponents tend to consider it. (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:77)

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[20] See definitions in Chapter 1. By 'culture' I mean the underlying and shared worldview, values and aspirations of a group, while 'the arts' form a subset of culture, distinguished by the intention, point of view and attitude of the artist.

In this section, I draw on the development literature to provide a theoretical background to the practical visualisation and definition of development by research participants that forms the conceptual core of my research findings and analysis. Three areas of development theory are examined. The first is the notion of development as freedom (Sen, 1999), which I treat as aspirational (Appadurai, 2004: 59-70). That is, I assume a society of freedom and choices to be universally desirable and I shall later examine this in relation to the responses of research participants. The second strand is the cultural turn in development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010: 64-82), a body of largely theoretical development literature within which there is space for consideration of the contribution of the arts and, by extension, discussion of arts funding. The third strand is alternative development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010: 83-109) which, although it also generates theory, I have treated as predominantly prescribing and guiding development intervention. These three are linked by their shared rejection of modernist understandings of development as progress, driven by economic growth (Shanin, 1997:65-71). Therefore, before discussing the more multiple and subjective theoretical streams within which I locate my research I shall briefly outline the unilinear approach of development as progress.

Development as progress

Development as a problematic and a rationale for action has its origins in the all-encompassing idea of 'progress', described by Shanin (1997: 65) as "the major philosophical legacy left by the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries". The underlying tenets and values of progress are that science and technology are the source and the proof of moral superiority, and that they create conditions of material wealth and comfort which are desired above all else by all humans everywhere. In other words, wealth is equal to human happiness (Shanin, 1997:65-66). Many writers consider Point 4 of the inaugural speech of United States President, Harry Truman in 1949 as seminal in translating this ideology of progress into the apparent inevitability of development (Esteva, 2010:1-2; Rist, 2002:70-72).[21] Development, as progress was to be realised through a series of technical measures aimed at increasing economic growth. Yet development so conceived was depoliticised and robbed of its historical

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[21] Alternatively, development has been viewed as an extension of colonialism, being based upon the same rationale and perpetuating essentially colonial objectives (McMichael, 2008:41-46). That is, the disingenuous rationale of bringing progress to the non-western world and the objective of domination of people and institutions, and appropriation of resources, by westerners.

content as it discounted the contribution of colonialism to the relative economic positions of nations (Rist, 2002:74, 78).

This background has had discernible impacts in terms of culture, three of which I discuss here. Firstly, the process of colonialism was implicated in the social and cultural lives of colonial subjects (Firth, 1997:253, 257-258). Truman's 1949 speech supplanted European colonial dominance with US economic and political hegemony (Rist, 2002:75-76). As with colonialism, this has become cultural hegemony as well. This modernist development paradigm was framed as dispassionately economic (Esteva, 2010:15), yet it was driven by American culture, the apogee of which, in the context of international development, was consumption (Illich, 2010:96; Latouche, 2010:279, 284; see also Smiers, 2003:33).[22] Thus demand was generated for goods that developing countries often do not produce, thereby creating markets for those who do produce such goods, including cultural and artistic products. Smiers' (2003:33) discussion of the American film industry and Nederveen Pieterse's (2010:70) designation of "McDonaldization, Disneyfication and Barbification" demonstrate that the influx of such products and the ideology they represent strike at the core of cultural life and identity, with impacts upon how and what we eat, learn and play.

Secondly, the process of cultural globalisation (Schech and Haggis, 2008:51; Potter, 2008:192-194; Barbero, 2006b:38) described above has been reinforced by the legalised forms of market-oriented economic globalisation (Smiers, 2003:15). The World Trade Organisation (WTO)[23] Agreement on Trade-Related Investment Measures (TRIMs) deems regulation of foreign investment illegal, meaning that developing countries cannot prevent investment in areas such as education, the media, tourism or the arts, that are politically or culturally sensitive (Khor, 1996:308). Meanwhile the Agreement on Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) globalises "the patenting of all new processes and products, and facilitate[s] selective corporate appropriation of natural resources and indigenous or community

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[22] American culture generally is, of course, much broader than this and many of its elements have no relationship to development discourse or practice. Furthermore, in the more specific category of the arts, there are spaces for stepping outside of and challenging prevailing cultural values (see Figure 1). Nevertheless, there were strategic economic reasons for the promotion of consumerism, above other values, as universally good.

[23] The 1994 successor to the Truman era General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

knowledge" (Keet, 2000:26; see also García Canclini, 2006:87). These culturally impacting trade rules have provoked protest in both developing and developed nations.[24] Significantly for my research, much of this protest takes cultural or specifically artistic forms (García Canclini, 2006:89; Schech and Haggis, 2008:52).

Thirdly, the locus of development efforts within the economic growth paradigm was the nation state (Mamdani, 2009:623; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:68)[25] and economic development was measured at this aggregate level (Esteva, 2010:8-9; McMicheal, 2008:46-48). That nation states should be buttressed by development has profound cultural implications. The superimposition of national boundaries in the colonial era had already severed intracultural networks by, in many instances, literally cutting through and dividing territory inhabited by a culturally coherent group (Mamdani, 2002:494-495). Meanwhile intercultural contacts, including across great distances, for example in the migration of labourers from India to work on Fijian and Mauritian sugar plantations (Gaines, 2011:167), were created within the newly and artificially constructed states. The result has been both cultural schism and loss of culture, and the formation of new hybrid identities (García Canclini, 1995:xxiv-xxix; McGuigan, 1996:141; see also Nederveen Pieterse, 2007 on 'multiculturalism'). The ongoing impacts of colonially imposed cultural mixing have been discussed in relation to Fiji in Chapter 1.

These three, then, are broad cultural implications but the narrower category of 'the arts', which I locate within culture, also has the potential to embody and perpetuate ideology and the arts have been exploited in this way. Morris (2005:38-39) demonstrates this in her discussion of the modernist American ethos of George Balanchine's "large, bold and confident" ballets. Balanchine was a Russian émigré; his arrival in America, naturalisation as an American and ascendance as an artist both

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[24] For example, at the level of international trade, Canada succeeded in excluding a broad range of its cultural products from the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1992, although this was viewed as unfair and threatening by the United States, particularly those in the film industry (Larrea, 1997:1107-1108). Meanwhile the implementation of the WTO agreements tends to favour the economically strong member states, but many citizens within these states feel threatened by globalisation, particularly in terms of their cultural identity (Rogers, 2000:85-86).

[25] These were generally constituted under colonialism and retained in their colonial configurations after independence (Mamdani, 2009:623). As such, they have become the locus of attempts to define or establish 'national cultures', which Nederveen Pieterse (2010:65) shows to be embedded in a homogenising, and therefore marginalising, political discourse.

truly modern and truly American represented a victory of the ideology of liberal capitalist democracy. More sinisterly, Saunders (1998 in Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:146) says that "the CIA promoted abstract expressionism as a counter to Soviet realism during the cold war". Soviet realism was openly message driven and ideological while the perspective of abstract expressionism is not clear, yet the latter is still open to manipulation in support of a specific ideology.

In this section I have discussed the modernist development paradigm, its roots in the notion of progress and it's perception of development as a unilinear process of achieving economic growth. In doing so, I have considered the particular implications that this has for culture and the arts. I turn now to the challenges to this paradigm, focussing on the three interrelated areas of postmodern development theory – development as freedom, the cultural turn and alternative development – most relevant to the focus of my research on the arts in development.

Challenges to the modernist development paradigm

The modernist development paradigm that was pervasive in the 1950s and 1960s was overtaken in the 1970s and 1980s by neoliberalism.[26] But the focus remained on economic growth as the basis and indicator of development. By the 1990s, however, challenges arose to the privileging of economic growth over all other human aspirations. These fall under the general category of postmodernism (Simon, 2008:119-123) or post structuralism (Peet and Hartwick, 2009:197-198, 220). Postmodernism can be traced to the response of artists to their acknowledgment of complexity across all fields of human experience, which coincided with post-structural tendencies in the social sciences, including development studies (Simon, 2008:120). Therefore, it is a relevant frame within which to examine the relationship between development and the arts. Postmodernism rejects the modernist meta-narrative and questions the notion of 'truth' (Haraway, 1991:181), asserting instead multiplicity in terms of viewpoint, voice, representation and comprehension. Thus it represents an ontological shift.

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[26] The belief in the rationality of capitalism (that factors of production do not go to waste) and the efficiency of markets for regulating relations between humans, and that individual (economic) self-interest best ensures general welfare. Neoliberalism therefore advocates free trade. It grants a minimal role to the state and no role to citizens beyond that of consumer (Peet and Hartwick, 2009:78-83).

Furthermore, at an empirical level, many observers claim that the modernist development project "did not work" (Sachs, 2010:xv; Esteva, 2010:2-3). Others, from a less absolutist standpoint, question "why development interventions fail" (Nustad, 2001:484), suggesting that the empirical fact of their failure is not necessarily implicit in the model. Evidence of the failure of modernist and neoliberal development, even in their own terms of gross domestic product (GDP) and economic growth, is available from the institutions at the heart of the economic development industry. For example, Fiji, the site of my research fieldwork, is one of the few Pacific nations for which economic (GDP) growth figures are available over a long period (see www.worldbank. org/ddp). Aside from the economic impact of the coups in 1887, 2000 and 2006, which caused marked falls in GDP growth, Gounder (2001:1010) notes that economic growth in Fiji declined throughout the 1980s and that the political instability from the latter part of this decade had a constraining effect on aid inflows.[27] The growth-based development model, which included a structural adjustment exercise, beginning in the late 1980s (Akram-Lodhi, 1996:264-273), has not ensured significant economic development for Fiji. Nor has it put the country in a position to withstand internal shocks, such as changes of government, or external shocks, such as declining international aid flows (Gounder, 2001:1018).

It is within a postmodern ontological position that I locate the three development theoretical strands that underlie my research debate and analysis. Development as freedom, the cultural turn in development and alternative development are further united by their rejection of the centrality of economic growth in development and their quest for development objectives with greater human meaning. I discuss these three approaches below.

Development as freedom

The notion of development as freedom comes from Amartya Sen (1999). Sen is an economist and not averse to economic growth, yet he repositions economics as one contributor to development,[28] which is conceptualised in non-economic terms – as

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[27] Important for Fiji, given that aid funds "represent a very significant part of the national income" (Gounder, 2001:1018), as they do for many small island states.
[28] Discussing democracy as a form of freedom, for example, Sen (1999:43-49) suggests that freedom supported by economic growth ensures the most durable development but freedom alone represents development, while economic growth without freedom does not.

constituted by freedom. For individuals, this means the freedom to live lives "they have reason to value" (Sen, 1999:285). However, given that development studies is concerned with the development of societies, it is important to note that the freedom of even one individual represents a small quantum of development, and development is increased by an increasing number of individuals becoming free. That is to say, development is cumulative (Sen, 1999:30-31; see also McCarthy *et al*, 2004:4).

In addition, the freedom of individuals to participate in the economy, and social and cultural life has an impact on the nature of political arrangements and processes, which in turn may increase economic, social and cultural freedoms (Sen, 1999:31). Sen's 'freedom' and the notion of 'choice' (Kabeer, 1999:437-438)[29] are potentials which, interact with the prevailing social and economic conditions, to produce actual choices made or actual freedoms achieved, through the exercise of agency. Agency, then, reflects an enabling set of conditions in which it is possible to act (choose) as well as an underlying desire to act (Ortner, 2006:152) to achieve ends that "can be judged in terms of [the agent's] own values and objectives" (Sen, 1999:19). Therefore, agency is relative within a network of negotiated social relations and it is in negotiating that agents engage with and shape their society and the choices available to them (Ortner, 2006, 151-152).

In the introduction to this chapter, I described freedom as an aspiration and noted that Appadurai (2004:59) locates the capacity for aspiration within culture. Thus, culture is the basis of freedom and there are also many instances in which freedom or choice, exercised as agency, take on cultural or artistic forms. Sommer (2006:2) speaks of the role of culture in the cyclical process of engagement leading to political change, leading to enhanced opportunities for engagement. She describes culture as, "a wedge to open up the civil conditions necessary for decent politics and economic growth…towards the goal of emancipation". Engagement by means of culture, and often specifically through arts practice, has been described as 'cultural citizenship' (Barbero, 2006a:31). It is brought about by the exercise of 'cultural agency', defined

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[29] I equate Sen's 'freedom' to Kabeer's notion of 'choice', on a number of grounds stated by Kabeer herself (1999:438,439, 457) – a distinction between positive and negative freedoms (Sen, 1985:218-220) which Kabeer (1999:438) also applies in her discussion of agency; the notion of capacity to make choices (Kabeer, 1999:439), compared to Sen's (1999:18-20) concept of capacities; the emphasis by both writers on contextual variables (Kabeer, 1999:457; Sen, 1985:200-202).

by Arias (2006a:167) as empowerment through cultural practices (see also Pérez González, 2008:29-35). The characteristics of empowerment and agency distinguish cultural citizenship from forms of citizenship founded in 'governmentality' or compliance (de Vries, 2007:31-32; Foucault, 1991:95).

The cultural turn in development

The cultural turn in development arrived concurrently with other postmodern approaches that reflect a shift in emphasis from the hegemonic grand narratives of modernist development towards micro approaches and the recognition of diversity (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:64). Whereas culture was deprioritised in favour of neoliberal economics in the 1970s and 1980s, the cultural turn has tried to positively reinstate culture in the development discourse.[30] Within the cultural turn, development is not conceived as simply the "acquisition of Western cultural traits and values", as in modernist approaches. Neither is it bounded by culture in the sense that cultural traditions are viewed as static and discrete (Schech and Haggis, 2008:51). Instead, development is thought to draw upon tradition as well as contemporary experience, valorising the complex and individualised "maps of meaning" (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:64) of all the actors in development.

True to its recognition of diversity, the cultural turn itself has different strands and different understandings of the significance of culture in development. For example, culture[31] is located quite differently in Radcliffe and Laurie's (2006:231) statement that "[i]ncreasingly, development looks to culture as a resource and as a significant variable explaining the success of development interventions", and in Simon's (2006:14) view of the "value of approaching culture as a social process rather than a static or immutable entity or ensemble of facts, material objects and rituals". Whereas 'culture as resource' suggests development as the end towards which culture is deployed, Simon's view privileges the process that is culture, into which development may be inserted, thereby being absorbed into the complex flow towards ends that are culturally, rather than developmentally, defined.

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[30] Culture having been present but regarded negatively in the discourse of the 1950s and 1960s as a determinant of traditionalism and, therefore, a barrier to modernist development (Schech and Haggis, 2008:51).

[31] The underlying and shared worldview, values and aspirations of a group and the various ways, including through the narrower category of 'the arts', that they express these. See the Concepts and Definitions section in Chapter1for an expanded definition.

Therefore, development within the cultural turn is conceived as diverse in its demands and manifestations. It is shaped by the agency of actors and their self-representation, rather than by structures of power and knowledge (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:64; Schech and Haggis, 2008:53). Development so conceived is aligned to postmodern approaches, among which I have chosen to explore alternative development, an approach that shares with the cultural turn a concern with conceptualising what development is and how it might be achieved.

Alternative development

Alternative development is informed by postcolonialism and post development thinking. It takes on board the postcolonial critique of mainstream development's understanding of north-south relations and concern with issues of representation (text and discourse) and self-representation or voice (McEwan, 2008:124-128; Haraway, 1991:156; Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:7, 31). This is important to my research if dance as a process or activity is perceived as a form of voice, and dance as an output is seen as a form of text. With post development, alternative development shares a rejection of grand narratives and unilinear notions of truth, in favour of "multiple, divergent and overlapping interpretations and views" (Simon, 2008:120), as well as a recognition that development 'has not worked' in the economic sense discussed above (Escobar, 1988:438-439; Sachs, 2010:xvi; Esteva, 2010:2-3). However, both post development and postcolonialism have been criticised for their lack of a programme for social change and improvement.[32]

Alternative development seeks to fill this gap by responding to the necessity to "change the world" (Nederveen Pieterse, 2000:187). Nederveen Pieterse (2010: 84) describes it as both a critique and "a series of alternative proposals and methodologies". The imperative to act is based in the right of poor and marginalised people to development (Shetty, 2005:73) and the existence of a desire for the fulfilment of this right (de Vries, 2007:32-40), and implies responsibility for those in privileged positions (Matthews, 2008:1035; Appadurai, 2004:62-63). Philosophically, alternative development is founded on a belief in the centrality of poor people in their own physical, cultural and economic location (Nederveen

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[32] The critique of postcolonialism centres on its theoretical nature and the perception that it is delinked from the realities of the developing world (McEwan, 2008:127), while critics of post development writers find that they essentialise development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:118-119).

Pieterse, 2010:85-86), and their right to determine their own development needs and aims (Chambers, 1983:141-145; Sen, 1999:19; Shetty 2005:74).[33] The principles arising from this philosophy – freedom, choice and agency (Nerfin, 1977 in Nederveen Pieterse 2010:85)[34] – align alternative development to Sen's (1999:5) and Kabeer's (1999:438) conceptualisations of development. Meanwhile, there is concern with participation, empowerment and voice (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:86; Corbridge, 1998:144-145; Simon, 2006:15) that suggests a particular range of people-oriented, practical approaches, as exemplified by Chambers (1983 and elsewhere). In research terms, this emphasis suggests the use of open-ended, small-scale, qualitative methodologies, as discussed in Chapter 3.

In summary, this thesis argues for the importance of a postmodern understanding of development, as driven by the needs of people, rather than the exigencies of economics, and therefore, diverse in terms of objectives and methods. Such an understanding rejects modernist notions of development as progress driven by economic growth. Instead, development as freedom, the cultural turn in development and alternative development are actor-driven approaches with a shared focus on agency, participation and voice. These aspects are pertinent to my examination of the arts as deliberate and expressive means of engaging with society. In the next section, I develop a model that expresses the types of contribution that the arts can and do make to development as conceptualised above.

The Contribution of the Arts to Development

The value of the arts in development processes may not be obvious beyond their instrumental use, by which I refer to the use of the arts as an economic (income-earning) or didactic (message-bearing) tool in development. However, the motivation for my research comes from my observation that the arts appear to make an inherent contribution to development. Indeed, a number of different views of the relationship between the arts and development emerge from the literature and I examine these here as the theoretical basis for answering my second research sub-question. They centre on: (1) art as inherently valuable in all social processes (McCarthy *et al*, 2004: 37-

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[33] Shetty discusses the right to participation as the basis of the realisation of all other rights.
[34] Nerfin speaks of 'citizen politics' as a counter to the direction of either the state or the market.

52);[35] (2) art as livelihood and, therefore, a means to economic development (UN General Assembly, 2011:5-6; UNCTAD, 2008), and (3) art as a means to development through the transmission of specifically 'developmental' messages (Plastow, 2009:35-41). McCarthy *et al* (2004:37) create a link between these types of contribution when they suggest that it is the inherent value of the arts that underlies and unlocks the instrumental values that the arts also encapsulate – as a source of income and in the dissemination of development messages. Rather than dichotomising inherent and instrumental uses, their model (2004:4) shows a scale from one to the other.[36] Drawing on McCarthy *et al*, as well as Sen's (1999) discussion of development as freedom, I illustrate the contributions of the arts in development in Figure 2, below, before turning to a discussion of each of these types of contribution.

Figure 2 shows the relationship between inherent and instrumental contributions of the arts to development. On the left-hand side are listed the five types of inherent contribution of the arts that I explore in more detail below. Of these, freedom (which is interlinked with the other inherent values of the arts) is understood by Sen (1999) to be constitutive of development, indicating that the arts contribute to development in inherent ways. Enrichment of lives, drawn also from Sen's (1999:10) notion of lives people "have reason to value", is also interlinked with the other inherent contributions of the arts. Additionally, it flows through to the right-hand side of Figure 2 because it encapsulates the value that potential viewers and audiences place on the experience of the arts, which may range from a simple desire for entertainment to a wish for self-improvement or personal enrichment. If the arts are not perceived as having this inherent potential for enrichment, then they cannot attain instrumental values. Where a message is embedded in the artwork, it is this inherent capacity of the arts to provide positive experiences that renders them an effective vehicle for the message.[37] Likewise, it is their positive perception of the value of the arts that encourages people to spend money on attending arts events or purchasing arts products, and this unlocks the arts' economic potential.

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[35] The literature in this area in particular is prone to the constraint, mentioned in my introduction to this chapter, that it deals with development of individuals, rather than with the broader social development that is the usual focus of development studies.

[36] McCarthy *et al*'s model also shows (on the horizontal axis) a scale from private to public benefits. I incorporate this into my discussion of development as cumulative (p21).

[37] Willingness to 'attend' in Figure 2 refers to both being in attendance at an event and paying attention to what is being conveyed.

Figure 2 Inherent and Instrumental Contributions of the Arts to Development
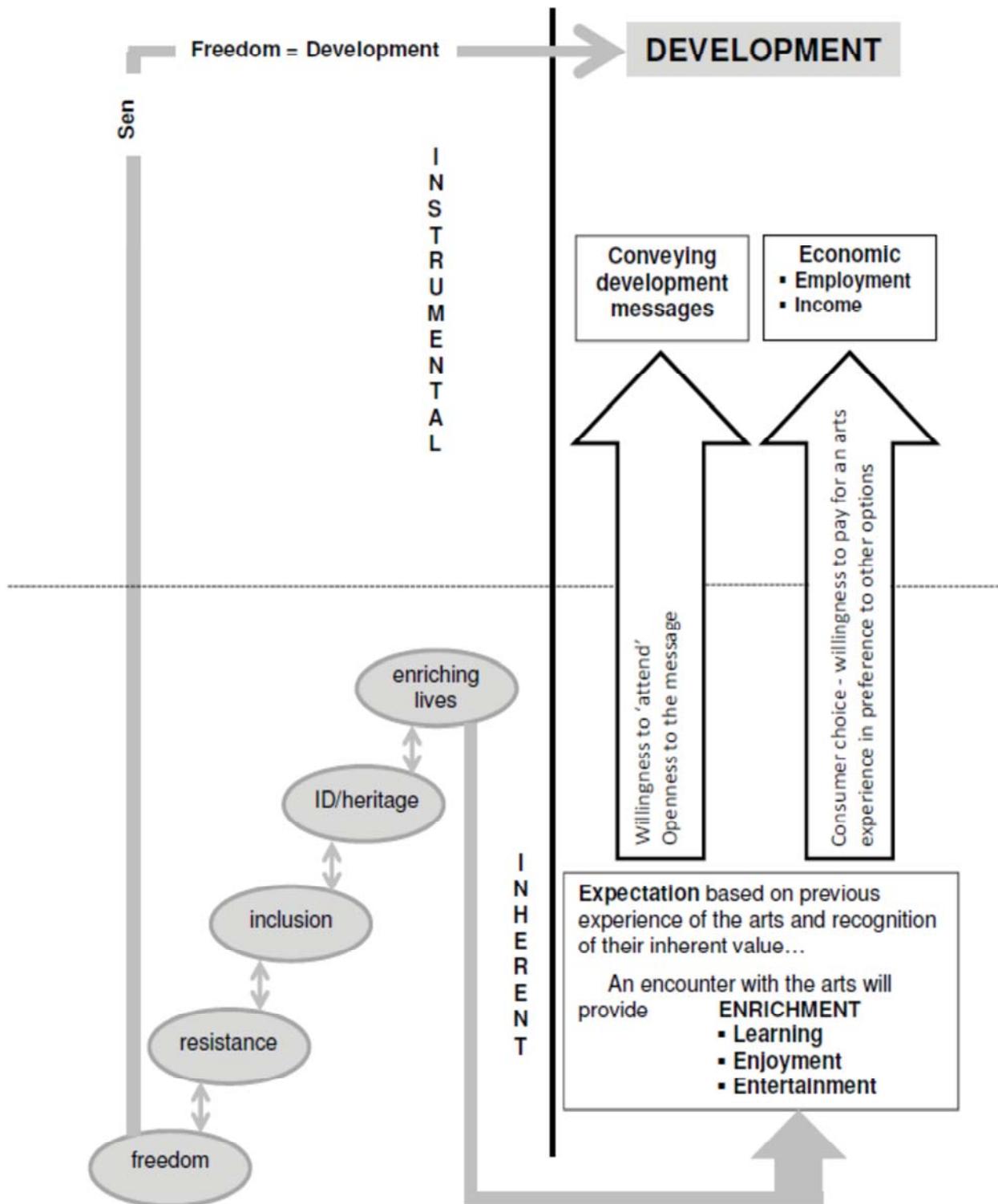
Source: Author, drawing on McCarthy et al (2004) and Sen (1999).

Inherent contributions – art as development

> The dance was itself an unfolding of a mythological peace statement, so it wasn't about peace, was it? …the whole thing is around peace, not for peace, or about peace, but experiencing peace. (Anna Halprin)[38]

Within an understanding of development as shaped by concerns for freedom, agency, choice, empowerment, participation and voice, the arts might offer spaces for self-definition by subalterns (Arias, 2006a:167; Teaiwa, 2012:76-82), including the definition of their own 'problems' and solutions in the form of a message. This, then, creates opportunities for the wider society to receive and engage with the message because development is concerned with society-wide change. Yet, I believe the most deeply inherent function of the arts is illustrated in Navarre's (1998:124) discussion of the response of artists to HIV. He points out that, "Even if the health crisis is not the topic of an artwork, that does not mean that the creator of that work is not up to his or her ears in AIDS and its meaning." That is, an artist's response may not broach an issue directly, but is still shaped by the context in which it is formulated, as well as the reality of those who view it (see also Steinberg, 1998:51-54 on the work of dancer, Anna Halprin). This suggests that art can insert itself at less conscious levels and contribute in less obvious – inherent, rather than instrumental – ways to a mode of development that is defined by and responsive to the diverse aspirations and needs of citizens. In Figure 2, I suggest five inherent areas of contribution of the arts to development, namely freedom (Sen, 1999; Kabeer, 1999), inclusion (Stupples, 2010; Goler, 1998:226-227), assertion and reclamation of identity and heritage (Nederveen Pieterse, 2007; UNESCO, 2001),[39] resistance (Lemmon and Read, 1998:vii; Gaulke, 1998:16), and enriching and giving meaning to lives (Sen, 1999; Geer, 1998:xxvi). These categories form the basis for analysis of my research findings.

Pérez González (2008:6) asserts that the "arts and culture are essential to the sustainable development of contemporary societies" and McCarthy *et al* (2004:37-52) attempt to explain how this works for the inherent contributions of the arts, suggesting three mechanisms. Firstly, around an artwork there exists a

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[38] In an interview with Janice Steinberg in Burnham and Durland (1998:51-54).
[39] In relation to this, see also Nederveen Pieterse (2007:142-143); McGuigan (1996:141-142) on hybrid identities, and Cohen (1988:374) on authenticity.

'communicative cycle' comprising expression by the artist of their particular insight, and reception and interpretation of this by the audience or viewer. The artwork makes knowledge or understanding available by enabling the voice of the artist, and it allows participation by the viewer in the interpretation of the work and sharing of their understandings. Secondly, art offers languages through which it is possible to express subjective experience that may not be communicable in everyday language. This has implications for the inclusion (see Figure 2) of outsiders or 'others' (McEwan, 2008:125), and particularly for cross-cultural communication (Pribyl, 2010, e-interview). Finally, McCarthy *et al* examine the aesthetic experience of the arts, analysing this on a scale from private to public benefits. 'Captivation', the initial engagement with the artwork, results in personal growth, which McCarthy *et al* describe as 'expanded capacity for empathy', finally leading to the creation of social bonds. This describes the process illustrated on the right-hand side of Figure 2, whereby an experience sought because of a personal belief in the value of the arts flows through to social transformation.

Looking more specifically at the role of artists, Durland (1998:xviii) notes an "impulse by artists to locate themselves in the concerns of the world around them". These 'citizen artists'[40] contribute to the development of their societies in a number of ways. They may act on their own behalf or on behalf of others, articulating a cause or making visible a social movement (Schwarzman, 1998:273), as has been the case with much activist cultural work around HIV (Lippard, 1998:132); they may facilitate the expression of agency by others, by making available the artistic means for such expression (Schwarzman, 1998:277; Leonard, 1998:263); or they may have a broader environmental impact on community regeneration (Hicks, 1998:97) or by creating a "spiritual connection that people are willing to fight and die for" (Schwarzman, 1998:273). Thus citizen artists are engaged participants in their own societies and communities, and they create opportunities for the engagement and participation of others.

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[40] A term that I consider comparable to Barbero's (2006a:31) 'cultural citizens', discussed above, noting that Barbero writes of the expression of cultural citizenship through what I consider specifically 'arts', rather than broadly 'cultural', practice.

As they engage, artists may overtly challenge existing conditions and social structures (Pérez González, 2008:3), raising issues around, for example, neoliberalism and economic globalisation (Esche, 2005, in Pérez González, 2008:3; Afzal-Khan, 2001:67) or entrenched gender inequalities (Gaulke, 1998:17). However, reflecting theories of agency as operating within power relations, (Ortner, 2006, 151-152), artists also work within systemic constraints and the arts may be viewed (particularly by the state) as "either superfluous or dangerous" (Mancillas, 1998:337). Artists may then take less overtly resistant positions, exploiting the openings that Sommer (2006:4) labels 'wiggle room', in order to bring about multiple, small-scale and incremental changes.

Within development institutions, there is some support for the notion of the arts and/or culture making an inherent contribution to development. The HIVOS Arts and Culture programme in Central America, for example, is founded on the belief that "supporting artistic expression for its own sake will generate a positive developmental effect on society". In an evaluation for HIVOS, Wilson-Grau and Chambille (2008) identify successes of the programme in terms of identity, strengthening of the cultural sector, and a commitment to arts and culture education. Similarly, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) posits culture as "an engine of development", drawing on comments of the Director General in his report of 1977-78, and as "one possible autonomous means of development" (2007:103). As an intergovernmental organisation, UNESCO is concerned with the national level and links the "flourishing of culture to the development and wellbeing of the nation as a whole".

Likewise, the 2004 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*, focuses on a "freedom-based defence of cultural diversity", (2004:23). The notion of freedom as development comes from Sen and is not conceived instrumentally, that is, Sen (1999:3-11) conceives of freedom as constituting development rather than as causing or bringing about development. However, the UNDP's 'freedom-based' defence tends to treat culture as instrumental in development, noting that culture "can play a role in economic growth". As such, the UNDP report reinstates economic growth at the core of development and relegates culture to simply the means of getting there.

This is at odds with much of the literature of the cultural turn, particularly Simon's (2006:14) suggestion that culture is (or should be) the end that development serves. This unwillingness to move away from economic growth concepts of development is common to other UN agencies as well, as I discuss in relation to UNESCO below.

Economic contributions – art as income generation

To use the arts for economic benefit is to instrumentalise them, that is, to practice the arts not for their own sake but to achieve some other objective. McCarthy *et al* (2004:31-33) suggest that this economic use is distinguishable from other instrumental uses of the arts because its benefits are predicated on direct involvement and do not create public goods. [41] At the global (UN) level, the idea of art and culture as economic contributors has purchase. This is discussed in detail in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) *Creative Economy Report, 2008*. The remit of UNCTAD is trade, and therefore economic, but the report is co-published by UNDP, suggesting that this agency also ascribes (at least partially) an economic development role to the arts. The report defines the 'creative industries' as the dynamic centre of a 'creative economy', situated within "contemporary thinking about economic development" but concedes, "the large majority of developing countries are not yet able to harness their creative capacities for development gains" (2008:4-5). Furthermore, UNESCO is engaged in this focus on economic growth, although culture is UNESCO's remit and other values of culture are recognised.[42] A Note by the Secretary General from 26 July 2011 speaks of the economic benefits accruing from the 'culture sector' and UNESCO is engaged in the 'creative industries' and 'cultural economy' discourses. Thus, once again, culture comes to be seen instrumentally rather than as the basis of society towards which development, including economic development, should be directed (Simon, 2006:14).

I see two major risks with the concept of the arts as economic development. The first is theoretical and relates to the manner in which it locks the arts into the concept of

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[41] Benefits available to the whole community or society regardless of any individual's actual involvement.
[42] The objective that appears on the homepage of UNESCO's website is 'Building peace in the minds of men and women' (www.unesco.org) and the values of intercultural dialogue in peace building and cultural ecology, for example, are recognised (UN General Assembly, 2011:5-6).

'culture as resource' (Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006:231; UNDP 2004:39; UN General Assembly, 2011) and the convergence of this view with an economic growth model of development. The second risk is strategic and relates to the application of the arts and culture as so many 'income generating projects' (IGPs) and the limitations of the IGP/microfinance approach (Ahmed *et al*, 2011:9761; Mayoux, 1999:958-964). The danger of inserting culture into this mode of funding is that it recognises only the economic value of culture. Therefore, if the project fails in economic terms, the further implication is that culture and cultural product have no value.[43]

As noted at the beginning of this section on economic uses of the arts in development, such uses are instrumental in creating direct benefits for those involved (often individuals for whom profit or employment are created). I turn now to those instrumental uses of the arts that aim to generate broader social benefits.

Instrumental contributions – art for development
Non-economic instrumental uses of the arts are those that employ the arts as a tool for development, primarily in the transmission of development related messages. The use of the arts for development can be considered in terms of either the product – what is said (the message) and how this is received by the audience; or the process – how the content is arrived at and shaped into some form of artwork. The process may empower through participation and dialogue, aligning it to alternative development approaches, in which case the content of the work is also likely to reflect the worldview and concerns of the participants. However, my interest in my research topic was sparked by my observation that the arts are sometimes used in development in ways that are disempowering. In such cases, the message is central to the work and it comes from the funding agency (Plastow, 2009:35), rather than participants being involved in defining their own information needs. Furthermore, Plastow notes that the message is transmitted to a passive audience and, therefore, may inform but is not likely to empower audience members.

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[43] Notwithstanding the observation that cultural enterprises that are not viable economically may offer social opportunities for sharing of skills and knowledge, and community inclusion (Huffer interview, 22/7/11).

The privileging of the message in an artwork raises a further tension, between the imperative to get the message across and concerns for artistic quality (Lippard, 1998:132; Chimedza, 2010, e-interview). [44] However, Lippard questions this dichotomy, arguing that "expressive, expressionist, ironic, beautiful or 'idealist' art" complements rather than undermining more direct or didactic forms. If, as is argued above, it is the expectation of a positive artistic experience that encourages people to engage with any artwork, then the better the quality of the work, the more open the audience will be to the message. In addition, the positive experience will feed back into their expectations of art experiences for the future (McCarthy *et al*, 2004:44-47; see also Figure 2).

A major use of the arts as a means to bring about development is in 'theatre for development'. Prentki describes this as, most simply, "theatre used in the service of development aims", but elaborates that it is dialogic and change oriented. Theatre for development centralises culture in development processes that seek to be responsive to the specific and self-articulated needs of communities (Prentki, 1998:419). Several writers demonstrate its effective use in working with sensitive or inaccessible issues, bearing out Prentki's (1998, 419) claim that theatre for development "creates a 'safe space' of fiction in which those who are habitually marginalized can not only find, but also use, a voice to effect change". Examples are given by Mienczakowski (2000:129-135) on alcohol abuse, and Afzal-Khan (2001:71-86) on the combined impacts of capitalism, patriarchy and fundamentalism. Theatre for development encompasses Brecht's 'popular theatre', described as "intelligible to the broad masses…unmasking the prevailing view of things as the view of those who rule…assuming [the masses'] standpoint" (Brecht, 1974, in Prentki, 1998:423). It is, therefore, located firmly within the participatory paradigm espoused by Chambers (2004:7) and, more broadly, in the realm of alternative development.

To summarise, I have reviewed inherent, economic, and other instrumental uses of the arts in development, and suggested that it is the inherent value of the arts that unlocks their economic and message-bearing potentials. Pérez González (2008:6)

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[44] Chimedza comments that "funds allocated to development by international donor agencies and governments…tend to focus on art aimed at specific development project objectives. These project objectives, generally, have nothing to do with art."

asserts that the arts are essential to sustainable social development. This is so because they offer both a channel of communication and a range of 'languages' for the reflexive sharing of the artist's insight. The notion of the 'citizen artist' reinforces the potential of the arts as a form of social engagement that strongly reflects the values of alternative development. Although there is institutional credence for the inherent value of the arts in development, this is seldom categorical and a tension exists between this viewpoint and arguments for the economic contribution of the arts. I suggest that a focus on their economic potential implicates the arts in the neoliberal, economic growth model of development, while other instrumental uses of the arts, if they promote externally-driven messages, are founded in modernist assumptions of western epistemological superiority.

My thesis seeks to move beyond the modernist and neoliberal models of development by considering a number of different values of the arts and the alternative development models to which these potentially contribute. It is within these alternative development models that I find contributions of the arts that can be considered inherent. However, this is not to deny that the arts can contribute to improving lives economically, nor to undermine the examples of participatory, dialogic and potentially empowering, instrumental uses of the arts that exist, particularly in the field of theatre for development. Having looked at the literature discussing concepts of development and that discussing the contribution of the arts within an alternative development approach, I now turn to a consideration of the nature and contribution of policy.

Arts and Culture Policy[45]

In this section, I provide the theoretical background to my third research sub-question on the responsiveness of policy in Fiji to local conceptualisations of development. Policy provides the link from development theory to implementation

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[45] A debate exists around whether cultural policy should be separate from the general social policies of a government, and also whether, within cultural policy, there is a need for a discrete policy on the arts (see Hawkes, 2001:11, 27 on culture as integral to development policy; Yencken, 2001:iii arguing for specific cultural policy; Stevenson, 2000:34-35 and McCarthy *et al*, 2004: 37-38 on dedicated arts policy). Because my research seeks to describe and match policy to stated needs and not to be prescriptive, I do not engage with this debate in my thesis.

and outcomes, as the blueprint for governments serving their people.[46] It is through the implementation of policy that culture and the arts are expanded and strengthened, and it is through the implementation of policy that development (however conceived) takes place. The links between these two processes are examined in this section, firstly within the frame of the cultural turn in development, mindful of Nederveen Pieterse's (2010:72) assertion that the cultural turn has its greatest impact in the discourse on development policy. Secondly, I explore the links between policy formulation processes and the operational approaches of alternative development. Generally the implementation of policy is dependent on funding and, therefore, I look in this section at how funding of culture is justified and what this reveals about understandings of the value of the arts and culture.

Some writers make the point that culture necessarily forms the broad context in which policy making and implementation are played out. While Hawkes (2001:17) asserts that working within a cultural frame enables a "balanced intellectual process…of articulating our visions of the future and devising pathways of achievement", McGuigan (1996:14)[47] sees culture as constituting a particular field of government, in the broad sense of governance or social management. Cultural policy, therefore, is political and involves contesting values and interests (Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:16). Furthermore, there are irrational aspects of the policy-making process, such as ideas and values, expediency and public preference (Belfiore and Bennett, 2010:122, 135), and gaps between policy rhetoric and actual policy formulation (Kovacs, 2011:322). Policy making as a process may struggle to keep up with the reality on the ground and the demands of citizens (Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:98) and McGuigan (1996:49-50) observes that the very 'officialness' of government policy renders it conservative and attracted to maintaining the status quo.

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[46] This is true at the national level. In my analysis section, I also consider policy at the regional (Pacific) and global levels but policy making at these levels makes little direct reference to the people served, instead operating as a guideline for states. There is also a lively discourse around decentralised policy at the municipal and local community levels (for example, Stevenson, 2000:96-122; McGuigan, 1996:95-115; Bonet *et al*, 2011:4-5) but these subnational levels are beyond the purview of this thesis.
[47] Drawing on Tony Bennett (1992) 'Putting Policy into Cultural Studies' in Grossberg, L., C. Nelson and P. Treichler (eds) *Cultural Studies*, London and New York: Routledge.

Within the cultural turn in development, there are a number of areas that cultural policy can be expected to respond to. First is the two way relation between culture and the development of societies (Schech and Haggis, 2008:50-51). Hawkes (2001:12) stresses the interdependence of sustainable societies and sustainable cultures[48] (see also Pérez González, 2008:6). Indeed, if culture is at the core of society (Simon, 2006:14) then the sustenance of the values and meanings culture represents is essential to sustaining the future. Therefore, culture needs to be central to development planning in terms of providing policy content concerning culture and the arts (Hawkes, 2001:1).

The second factor that cultural policy should be responsive to is the shift from macro to micro approaches (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:64) or, in arts-related terms, from modernism to post modernism (Simon, 2008:120), and the need for policy to be specific to locale. This is demonstrated in policy driven attempts to place culture at the heart of urban identity.[49] Although some of the models are based on 'world class' standards and international art forms (Stevenson, 2000:85), others seek an inward and outward projection of distinctively local forms. Matarasso (1997:99-107), for example, discusses the policy and public sector support of Belfast's community-based arts sector, in particular community theatre. Importantly, Belfast became known to itself as a city in which exciting community theatre took place, and this later became the basis of the city's international reputation as well.[50] Likewise, Sommer (2006:2) shows that Bogotá, Columbia, under the guidance of its mayor, moved "beyond economistic deadlocks" in a programme to tap the 'power of culture' through entertainment, educational programmes, interactive civic games, and public performances and happenings.

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[48] Citing Principle 1 of the Action Plan of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development, Stockholm, Sweden, 30 March - 2 April, 1998.

[49] I have chosen urban examples here because my own fieldwork is urban-based but policy should also be responsive to the specific and locally defined needs of smaller populations, such as villages and communities.

[50] Although Belfast is in the United Kingdom, I consider this case relevant to a discussion of culture in development because Matarasso (1997:98-99) demonstrates that, during the time of heightened political/religious 'troubles' throughout the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s, Belfast exhibited many of the features of an underdeveloped city – deindustrialisation, high unemployment, poverty, ghettoisation – all played out in a context of violent conflict.

Finally, the programmes just described draw upon and contribute to the identity of the communities in which they are implemented (Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006:233; Hawkes, 2001:19-20). They contribute by both consolidating and expanding local culture, that is, drawing on existing ('traditional') culture as well as introduced elements in the formation of hybrid contemporary cultures (Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:142-143; McGuigan, 1996:141-142). For policy then, it may be necessary to create opportunities for cultural interchange (expansion). However, given the almost inevitable homogenising impact of globalised, essentially western, culture in most parts of the world (Barbero, 2006b:38), it may be even more important to create spaces for the validation and consolidation of traditional and local elements in the hybrid mix.

Above, I examine alternative development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:83-109) as the operational frame through which the cultural turn in development is put into practice in ways that are agent-driven and participatory. Kidd (2012:16-17) refers to public culture and democracy as mutually constitutive, yielding 'cultural democracy' (Arian, 1982 in Kidd, 2012:17) as a framework for policy making. This suggests the need for highly participatory forms of democracy that recognise and draw strength from cultural (racial, ethnic, gender and so on) plurality (Bowen 1997:7; Hawkes, 2001:1, 16). Nevertheless, representative or party political democracy of some sort forms the national political context in many states and Smiers (2003:200) suggests that the policy formulation process should begin within political parties, with formation of party policies on culture and the arts, before being expanded to the national and local levels. Although Smiers does not elaborate a feedback mechanism from national and local debate to party policy, this approach would prioritise and draw attention to culture as an issue that voters must engage with. However, it may also exclude those who do not feel empowered by, or are disengaged from, or marginalised by, political processes (Hawkes, 2001:16; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:65).

A major policy concern is public funding of the arts. Bonet *et al* (2011:5) claim that the "existence of cultural policies is the historical result of a social consensus on the necessity of supporting the arts" (see also Stevenson, 2000:17; McCarthy *et al*, 2004:xi). This attitude corresponds to understandings of the arts as a public good

possessed of inherent value. However, the 'new managerialism' in arts and culture in the public sector (McGuigan, 1996:67) locates the arts and culture within a broader commodification trend in which "all value is ultimately reduced to exchange value" (see also Stevenson, 2000:71, 79). This shift has spawned notions such as 'cultural industries' and the 'creative economy', signalling an instrumental (and specifically economic) understanding of the value of the arts and culture (McGuigan, 1996:75). Implicit in this is the need to justify arts and culture funding in terms of its impacts (Belfiore and Bennett, 2010:122). Where these are not demonstrable, the arts have tended to attach themselves to more socially or economically powerful agendas (Grey, 2002 in Belfiore and Bennett, 2010:121). However, the perception of culture as primarily of economic value creates the risk in government budgeting (as a reflection of policy) that culture will be moved from the expenses (public goods) side of the ledger to the income (contribution to GDP) side. Were this to occur, the imperative to fund culture on grounds of its inherent, or even its non-market instrumental, value would fall away (Stevenson, 2000:79; Caust, 2003:52).

Although artistic and cultural activity may indeed be justified in economic terms, deliberate policy is needed to ensure access and representation for both practitioners and audiences (Rowse, 1985 in Stevenson, 2000:23-24; Smiers, 2003:200). Often in developing countries the national budget is so constrained as to make this argument seem irrelevant. However, policy expresses the direction a government wishes to move in and should also reflect the aspirations of those governed. It is important that policy be in place for two reasons. Firstly, so that cultural and artistic needs are recognised in the allocation of whatever resources are available (Smiers, 2003:202) and, secondly, because, under the Paris principles[51] and 'aid effectiveness' agenda, development intervention is expected to align to the policy of the recipient country. Therefore, if government policy is to support culture and the arts, development partners are also obliged to consider this area of intervention.

In summary, policy provides an essential link between a vision of the sort of society that people aspire to and programmes designed to work towards achieving this vision. Above, I have considered the general nature of policy and policy formulation

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[51] The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) principles 1 and 2 – developing countries 'own' their development policies and donors are expected to 'align' with these.

processes, considering the links between cultural policy and development policy within the frame of the cultural turn and alternative development. In particular, I considered the importance of arts and culture policy in funding for the arts, including as a means of shaping relations with outside (international) funding agencies.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have drawn together literature dealing with conceptualisations of development with literature on the contribution of the arts to development. In the first case, I focused on postmodern understandings of development within the literature, specifically development as freedom, the cultural turn in development and alternative development. In terms of the types of contribution of the arts to development, I examined inherent, economic and other instrumental contributions. I have found that the inherent contribution of the arts underlies the other roles they potentially play. Furthermore, it is the various inherent contributions of the arts that are most closely aligned to the model of development highlighted in the first part of my literature review, that is, freedom (of expression) and, therefore, multiplicity and specificity, as advanced by the cultural turn and alternative development. Finally, I discussed arts and culture policy as the mechanism by which theoretical understandings are translated into development practice by governments and their partners. In the next chapter, I outline the research methods that I employed during my research fieldwork in Fiji in 2011, locating these within the qualitative research paradigm.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter is centred on the fieldwork I carried out in Suva, Fiji, in July and August 2011. In it, I discuss the methodology underlying my research approach and the planning process that I went through in line with this approach. The methodology is qualitative and is, therefore, responsive to the demands of alternative development for recognition of contextually specific knowledge as well as multiple ways of knowing (Simon, 2008:120; Walters, 1995:77-79), and to the culturally determined meanings with which people imbue social experience (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:64). Qualitative research makes particular ethical demands of the researcher. The ways in which I responded to these demands and the ethics process I undertook are also outlined in this chapter. In the second part of the chapter, I describe the particular qualitative research methods utilised during my fieldwork, from which my research data were generated. In order to situate the fieldwork component of the research, I now turn to a discussion of my research aim and questions.

Research Aim and Questions

Aim

My research aims to contribute to a broader understanding of the ways in which arts practices intersect with development practices, informed by the experience of actors in the arts sector in Fiji.

Research questions

My research responds to the primary research question and three sub-questions, stated below:

> Given the increasing discourse arguing the value of the arts within development processes, in what ways could and do the arts in Fiji contribute to the understanding and achievement of 'development'?

> 1   How is 'development' conceptualised by a group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

2   In what ways do the arts, in particular contemporary dance, contribute to the achievement of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

3   To what extent do arts and/or culture policy at the Fiji national, Pacific regional and global levels respond to the demands of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

The fact that these questions seek meanings and interpretation from research participants, and that my focus is the highly subjective area of the arts, suggest that a qualitative mode of enquiry is appropriate to answering my research questions. The nature and implications of qualitative enquiry are discussed below.

Qualitative Enquiry

This research is qualitative in design. Qualitative research is most frequently employed in the social sciences and arises from the realisation that the quantitative methodologies used in the natural sciences do not adequately capture the complexities and nuances of social life (Punch, 2005:56-57). Qualitative enquiry is grounded in a social constructivist ontology that asserts that there is not one single truth, but multiple realities (Punch, 2005:134; Greene, 2010:67-68). Epistemologically, this implies "acceptance of multiple forms and conceptions of knowledge" (Sabatini, 2009:116) and "multiple forms of evidence" (Eisner, 1997:39). Therefore, qualitative enquiry eschews the aim of objectivity, in favour of recognising "different and often competing subjectivities", including those of the researcher (Mayoux, 2006:118; O'Leary, 2010:30). Because qualitative research seeks a holistic understanding of society and social processes (O'Leary, 2010:114), it is concerned with context. Social contexts are characterised by particular arrangements that mediate access to resources and power, including the power of 'knowing' (defining truth) and the power of 'saying' or having the authority to speak (Punch, 2005:135).

Qualitative research makes demands of the researcher with respect to issues of process, power, and proof. Firstly, process – how the research is conducted – is as important to qualitative research as the outputs. Within qualitative research, the

process is one whereby access to subjective realities is gained through intensive contact between the researcher and the researched, often in a fieldwork setting (Eisner 1997:32; Brockington and Sullivan, 2003:57), with an emphasis on the depth of data, rather than breadth of the sample. Fieldwork demands of the researcher the ability to interact with the subjects of their study and to do so empathetically, to not only observe actions but to gain access to their meanings.

Secondly, by intervening in a social situation, which is inevitably defined by particular relations of power, the researcher takes on a responsibility to be alert to such power relations and to actively seek out the views and meanings of those who have little power or who are oppressed (O'Leary, 2010:23; Punch, 2005:135-136). In doing so, researchers need to be aware of their own (often privileged) positions within the power structure of their research setting, and to counter this by transparently acknowledging their position and reflecting upon the ways in which it shapes their interpretation of the actions and meanings of those whom they observe (O'Leary, 2010:114; Laws, 2003:27).

Thirdly, the outcome of qualitative enquiry is an interpretation by the researcher, possibly with inputs from, or verification by, the research participants (O'Leary, 2010:115). Thus it generates new theory, rather than testing a pre-existing hypothesis. Therefore, qualitative 'proof' is a matter of 'credibility', persuasion by reason and the "power to elicit belief" (O'Leary, 2010:114; Eisner, 1997:39). A common method of attaining this is through triangulation.[52] However, Blumenfeld-Jones (2008:181) notes that even multilayered enquiry "cannot assure that the conclusions made will be 'correct'", thereby highlighting the tendency of qualitative research to produce dialogic (Eisner, 2008:9), provisional and even contradictory (Harraway, 1991:149) findings.

Qualitative methodology was particularly relevant to my research into the contribution of the arts to development because development is a social process,[53] driven by differing understandings, objectives and desires. An enquiry into

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[52] Collecting the same, similar or comparable data from two or more different sources (O'Leary, 2010:115; Laws, 2003:280-281).
[53] Notwithstanding the fact that it has often been regarded as providing primarily economic or technical solutions (Rist, 2002:74).

development requires the sensitivity to nuance, complexity of social relations, multiplicity of meanings and contradiction that qualitative approaches offer. Specifically my research engaged with the meanings participants associate with 'development' by seeking a definition from them. Within this, I look specifically at the arts, an area of social activity that (Eisner 1997:6) describes as "paradigm cases of qualitative intelligence in action". The arts attempt to understand and express the subjective and contextual (Cole and Knowles, 2008:67) 'qualities' of human experience and these cannot be understood meaningfully in quantitative terms.

Thus qualitative methodology is appropriate to an enquiry into the arts and, conversely, the arts have much to contribute as a means of qualitative enquiry, through the body of approaches known as 'arts-based methodologies'. These represent "the merging of cross-disciplinary social science research with the creative arts" (Leavy, 2009:2; see also Knowles and Cole, 2008; Dallow, 2005:136) and employ arts practice as a means of enquiry (method).[54] Researchers of artistic practice itself are engaging in such enquiry in various genres (Leavy, 2009). What is less common is the use of arts-based methodology as a form of enquiry into subjects outside of the arts. It is this lacuna that my research seeks to address. Arts-based methodologies seek out, enable or amplify a range of voices (Finley, 2008:74). I have chosen to explore this potential through the use of contemporary dance, which Blumenfeld-Jones (2008:183) describes as useful in social science research because it is not "circumscribed by a specific vocabulary" (see also Plastow, 2009, on her work with women in Ethiopia), but selects consciously from the limitless range of movement and other elements[55] available to express meanings (Opacic, Stevens and Tillmann, 2009:1570).[56]

In summary, I have discussed the nature and demands of qualitative research, and looked at the potential of this approach within my enquiry into the contribution of the arts to development, including through the application of an arts-based method.

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[54] Cole and Knowles (2008:67) also speak of 'arts-informed' methodologies, in which the arts and the people and activities surrounding artistic production are a source of information rather than a direct data collection method.

[55] For example, vocalisation or acting, as well as aspects of performance, such as staging, costumes and lighting.

[56] In contrast to traditional forms within many cultures and more studied classical forms, including ballet, within European cultures.

Having established qualitative research as an appropriate approach, I examine below the principles of qualitative enquiry that guided my research preparations and my relationships with research participants in the field.

Guiding Principles of the Research

> Reserve my subjectivity and I do not become a value-free participant observer, merely an empty-headed one. (Peshkin, 1985:280)

Qualitative methodologies demand of the researcher that they recognise and acknowledge areas in which their particular positioning may have an impact upon what they see and how they interpret it. In this section, I discuss my own researcher position and how this plays out in terms of reflexivity, power and reciprocity, the aspects of qualitative enquiry that I consider most pertinent to my fieldwork.

Positionality

As mentioned in Chapter 1, my linking of development to dance arises out of eighteen years spent in Zimbabwe. During much of this time I worked in the development sector, while, at the same time, being first a member and later the director of a contemporary dance company. On the basis of this experience, I argue that involvement in dance can have positive impacts for individuals and their society. Although I observed benefits that are inherent to the practice and experience of the arts, the priorities of international funding partners in Zimbabwe over the period that I was there indicated an increasing perception that the value of the arts lies primarily in their instrumental and economic contribution. This background underlies my choice of both research topic and methodology.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is described by O'Leary (2010:30; see also Laws, 2003:27) as "a conscious effort to take [our own worldview] into account as we enter into the research journey". My research falls within this reflexive 'tradition' (O'Leary, 2010:30). Because I have located the research within the cultural turn in development, within which representation and the power of representing are key concerns, I am cognisant of the sense ascribed to reflexivity by Nederveen Pieterse (2007:143) of "problematizing the politics of representation". Hence, it is necessary

to acknowledge analytically the impacts of my own cultural influences, not only on how I observe and relate to others, but also how I report my observations and relationships. My research is concerned with development, particularly in Fiji, as it is perceived and experienced by a group of urban, semi-professional dancers; it is not about *my* experience of either dance or development. Therefore, I have attempted to avoid what Brockington and Sullivan (2003:66) label "extreme reflexivity" or privileging the researcher's self-reflection over the voices of research participants, and to heed their warning that this compromises attempts at "enabling alternative perspectives". This is particularly important, given that the perspectives of the research subjects are central to answering the first of my research sub-questions.

Power

The issues of power that are highlighted in qualitative research (Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens, 2003:149-153; O'Leary, 2010:27-29) are a particularly important consideration for research in development studies. This is because the critique of development is, in large part, a critique of political and economic power (Rist, 2002:69-79; Esteva, 1992:6-25) and the rights assumed to accompany this – to define values, meanings and priorities for those with less power through the "appropriation of discourse" (Foucault, 1972:68).

However, my fieldwork experience bears out the suggestion of Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens (2003:149-151) that the researcher does not necessarily have 'power over'[57] the research participants in every situation. My two major participant groups were the members of Vou Dance Company, and a number of key informants in Fiji's arts and culture sector. The dance company is well established and highly regarded in its own setting (*MaiLife* magazine, January 2011), and has something of an international reputation, so neither the company as an entity nor the individual members are powerless. I arrived with some background in dance, which the company members were aware of but which was never discussed in detail. As such, I believe the dynamic was that of a shared common interest, rather than a power-based researcher-subject

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[57] A phrase coined by Rowlands (1997:13) in the context of her discussion of different levels and types of power.

relationship (Teaiwa, 2012:70).[58] The key informants I interviewed were all at director, principal officer or regional advisor level within their organisations, which did not place me in a position of power in relation to them. They were members of an 'elite' in the sense used by Scheyvens, Scheyvens and Murray (2003:183), as evidenced by their regional and local linkages as well as their positions in the local context. My familiarity with arts issues in a developing country context enabled me to share a 'positional space' (Mullings, 1999:341) with the interviewees and I was able to use this common space to talk about issues of development.

Reciprocity

In the context of cultures in which reciprocity is a cultural norm, to give as well as to receive is an important means of showing respect and building trust, thereby establishing the semi-insider status crucial to gaining a deep understanding of a social group through interviews and observation (Stewart-Withers, 2007:119-120).[59] When I spent time with Vou Dance Company at dance-related events, I was included in the catering arrangements and encouraged to share their favourite treats. Therefore, I was pleased to be able to provide lunch during the workshop that I held with the dancers. I also assisted by taking photographs during the Intercontinental Hotel performance, which are now on the Vou Facebook page. In addition, I was concerned that the dance workshop I held should be of some benefit to the participants, and that they should enjoy it and discover something about themselves and about the practice of dance. I believe that the participants did enjoy and learn from the workshop.[60] It is reported on their Facebook page as 'fascinating' in a post from lunchtime on the day of the workshop and the participants expressed satisfaction with having an opportunity to reflect and comment upon aspects of their society.

The three issues just discussed – reflexivity, power and reciprocity – are ethical principles of qualitative research that relate to the position of the researcher in relation to their research subjects. There are also principles guiding the behaviour of

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[58] Dancer and academic, Katerina Teaiwa finds, in her work with Banaban participants, that she "kept turning to dance as a way to establish rapport with people".
[59] The Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations Involving Human Participants (2006:16-17) contrasts recompense or reimbursement, which are acceptable and may be culturally appropriate, with inducement or encouragement to take part in the research, which is deemed unethical (and may also distort the research findings).
[60] On reflection, there were ways in which I could have increased the benefits for some of the dancers by easing them through the process. These are picked up below in the discussion of the workshop.

researchers in the field to protect both research participants and the researcher. These are governed by a formal ethics process, which is described below.

The Formal Ethics Process

In preparation for my fieldwork, I undertook three tasks necessary to the granting of formal ethics approval. Firstly, I read the Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations Involving Human Participants (2006). The Code identifies a number of key ethical principles which researchers must adhere to. These are: respect for persons; minimisation of risk of harm; informed and voluntary consent; respect for privacy and confidentiality; avoidance of unnecessary deception; avoidance of conflict of interest; social and cultural sensitivity; and justice (see also Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens, 2003:141-149). With this in mind, my second task was to complete the Development Studies in-house ethics approval process. I completed the in-house ethics form and submitted this to my supervisors. An internal ethics review meeting was then held with my two supervisors and one other departmental staff person. Several issues were clarified at this meeting, including those concerning informed consent, potential harm to participants, storage of research data, and promising access to information. Once my supervisors were satisfied that I understood my ethical obligations, my third task was to make an application to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee for my research to be granted 'low risk' status. This involved completing the low risk form and screening questionnaire. The research was deemed to be low risk and permission to undertake the research was granted. During the fieldwork phase, all research was undertaken in line with the Code of Ethical Conduct (2006). As well as the issues discussed with my supervisors, mentioned above, three other issues required deeper exploration. These are the principles of informed consent, minimisation of potential harm, and confidentiality. They are discussed in greater detail below.

Informed consent

It was necessary to make contacts and to be clear about who I was going to work with before leaving for Fiji. Therefore, I had been in touch with the Director of Vou Dance Company, introduced my research to her and gained her approval to work with the company well in advance of my fieldwork trip. However, according to the

principle of informed consent, it was important that the individual dancers in the company not feel obliged to take part in the research simply because it had been approved by their Director. Therefore, I made a point in my first direct meeting with the participants to outline their right to request not to have observations concerning them as individuals reported in the research findings and to decline to be interviewed if they so wished. At this point I also made available my introduction sheet (see Appendix 2), which outlines the nature and aims of the research, as well as the rights of participants. None of the dancers asked to be excluded from any part of the research, including the one-day dance workshop, which was held outside of their normal work schedule and was, therefore, completely voluntary. The participants were educated, urban professionals (either as dancers or in other professions) and students. Therefore, I consider that they were well able to understand the nature of their participation and to judge any potential repercussions for themselves.

Potential harm and confidentiality

The current political situation in Fiji[61] also raised ethical issues around potential harm to participants and confidentiality. The dance workshop that I held with Vou Dance Company, in defining a desirable development direction for Fiji, inevitably produced some clear political responses. Once again the participants (specifically in the workshop) were informed of the option to request that any part of their response not be recorded. In other instances where key informants reflected upon potentially contentious political or race-related issues. these were individuals who also comment publicly on such issues in the normal course of their work. Therefore, the level of potential risk of harm to the respondents was not increased by such comments being recorded in my research findings.

To recap, reflexivity, power and reciprocity are the principles of qualitative research that I consider most relevant to my research. In addition, the formal ethical procedures that I undertook in advance of my fieldwork highlighted ethical principles of particular relevance to the situation of my research participants within current circumstances in Fiji, namely, informed consent, minimisation of potential harm, and confidentiality.

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[61] Described by Ratuva (2011:106) as 'suspended democracy'. Fiji is led by a military government which deposed the former, democratically elected, government in a coup in 2006. See the background to Fiji in Chapter 1 for further detail.

Methods of Data Collection

My choice of a qualitative mode of enquiry is driven by the capacity of qualitative methods to capture the allusive nature of the arts and their potential for multiple interpretations (Eisner, 1997:29, 108-109). Furthermore, my research question sought meaning, understanding and depth, and it is qualitative, rather than quantitative methods that generate this sort of data. Of the four specific data collection methods I chose, (1) observation, (2) a dance workshop, and (3) key informant interviews, are essentially qualitative and the findings are drawn from a small sample group with an emphasis on richness of the findings and in-depth analysis (O'Leary, 2010:113-114). In addition, I carried out (4) a document analysis prior to and on return from my fieldwork, in order to answer my third research sub-question concerning policy.

The methods relating to each of my sub-questions are elaborated in Table 1 and expanded upon individually below.

Table 1 Methods of Research by Research Sub-Question

Research Sub-Question	Related Research Methods
1 How is 'development' conceptualised by a group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?	Undertake a dance workshop with the members of a Suva-based, contemporary dance company in order to establish elements of their vision of development for Fiji
2 In what ways do the arts, in particular contemporary dance, contribute to the achievement of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?	Observe the work of a Suva-based, contemporary dance company Undertake interviews and informal discussions with Vou Dance Company members and key informants

Table 1 *Continued*

Research Sub-Question	Related Research Methods
3 To what extent do arts and/or culture policy at the Fiji national, Pacific regional and global levels respond to the demands of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?	Critically review national and regional policy documents and related literature to explore official policy directions and priorities, and compare these to the priorities expressed by members of a Suva-based, contemporary dance company Conduct key informant interviews to establish a richer understanding of arts and culture policy and practice at the national, regional and global levels, and compare these to the priorities expressed by members of a Suva-based, contemporary dance company

Observation

Observation is an ethnographic method with links to anthropology (Punch, 2005:151). It uses in-depth exploration "to understand society from the inside" and makes "no claims to be statistically representative" (van Donge, 2006:180-1984). I undertook observation that was 'semi-structured' (O'Leary, 2010:210), as I did not collect specific data systematically but I was alert to behaviour and interactions that I felt had something to add to an understanding of the contribution of the arts to development. These are the surrounding aspects of work in the arts that Mason (2008:280) considers[62] as contributing to the "distinct form of knowledge" yielded by the arts. As such, the model of the types of contribution of the arts to development that I had begun to develop from the initial stages of my research served as a notional template.

My observations were carried out in a completely 'candid' manner (O'Leary, 2010:210). I met Sachiko Miller, the company Director on my second day in Fiji, in the company office, during the day. In that meeting we spoke briefly about the direction of my research and how I hoped to work with the company. At this time, I gave Sachiko a copy of my introduction sheet. That evening, I attended the first of

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[62] Along with direct artistic outputs.

many Vou rehearsals.[63] At the beginning of the rehearsal, about fifteen minutes was devoted to an introduction and meeting session. Sachiko introduced me and spoke briefly about my background in dance. I then introduced my research, including the right of company members to not participate. Fortunately none of them took this option as it would have been logistically challenging to observe rehearsals that all members are required to attend, while ignoring some of the participants. Finally, each of the company members present (all but one of the dancers) introduced themselves, focusing largely on how they had come to join the company.

I remained a 'non-participating' (O'Leary, 2010:210) observer during company rehearsals. I was occasionally asked for my opinion of particular pieces of work and concerning the performance that I attended in Natadola but I kept my comments very brief. As performing artists, the Vou company members are used to being in the public eye. In addition, there are frequently others in the studio observing their work – parents of students, family members, former company members and friends – so I feel that having a researcher/observer in the studio had minimal impact on their behaviour. On two occasions I took photos of the company. These were during the performance at the Intercontinental Hotel in Natadola on 21 July[64] and during a presentation on career opportunities in dance and music by some company members as part of the Marist Brothers Boys' Secondary careers week.

The primary site of observation was within Vou Dance Company but, because I had never visited Fiji before, I also constantly observed the broader society and reflected upon the operation of the dance company in this context. The events and processes of Vou Dance Company that I observed are outlined in Table 2, below.

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[63] I have used the term 'rehearsal' to refer to the meetings of the company, which take place from 6pm to 8pm, Monday to Friday, because this is the term most commonly used by the company members. In fact, these sessions include a range of activities, as described in my research findings.
[64] See Vou Facebook page, www.facebook.com/pages/VOU/209242065530.

Table 2 Observation of Vou Dance Company

Date	Event
18/7/11 - 11/8/11	Regular rehearsal and training sessions, three times a week
18/7/11 - 11/8/11	Company members teaching Pacific and contemporary dance classes with children and teenagers
21/7/11	A trip to Natadola,[65] including planning and logistics, and a paid performance by the company at the Intercontinental Hotel for (mainly foreign) hotel guests
29/7/11	A DVD, PowerPoint and verbal presentation (plus informal dance performance) by company members at Marist Brothers Boys' Secondary as part of the school's careers week

Other events that I was present at and observed are outlined in Table 3, below.

Table 3 Observation of Other Events

Date	Event
19/7/11	Two lectures presented at the OCACPS at USP to visiting American undergraduate students[66]
19/7/11	A presentation (also for the visiting American students) of dance, visual arts, carving and poetry by artists of the OCACPS
29/7/11	The Kula Schools Dance Awards, organised by the FAVC and held at the Fiji National Stadium, which I attended with members of Vou Dance Company
4/8/11	A presentation by Prof. Vilisoni Hereniko at OCACPS, USP on the four theme areas[67] for a first year Pacific Studies course that is compulsory for all USP students from 2012, incorporating dance, drama, music and spoken word performances
4/8/11	A performance of Indonesian dance by regional participants in the two-month Indonesia cultural exchange scholarship programme, held at the Suva Civic Centre, at which I met up with Vou company members[68]

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[65] Two hours' drive from Suva.

[66] 'Settlement and Colonization of the Pacific: Western Contact, Self-Determining and Independence Movements' by Dr. Frank Thomas, and 'Contemporary Issues in the Pacific: Traditions, Capitalism and Globalization' by Prof. Vilisoni Hereniko.

[67] 'Original Peoples and Settlement', 'Colonial Contact', 'Pacific Cultures and Globalisation', 'The Pacific Diaspora'.

[68] A number of former and current members of the company have received scholarships and taken part in this programme in the past.

Table 3 *Continued*

Date	Event
8/8/11	The second meeting of the Working Group to Propose a Fiji Culture Day, hosted by the SPC, which I attended as an observer with Sachiko Miller of Vou Dance Company
10/8/11	A meeting organised by SPC and hosted by USP to discuss the establishment of a network/think tank of Pacific cultural researchers, in which I was invited to participate

A dance workshop

I conducted a full day dance workshop with most of the members of Vou Dance Company – seven dancers (including the Director) and Joseph who is the musician attached to the company – on Saturday 6 August. This was an arts-based method because the dance work produced in the workshop constituted the data yielded by the method. This was a more direct means of data collection; I actively structured the situation which I was to observe, led a warm-up session, planned and initiated the activities that took place, interacted with the participants around the work they produced and its meanings, and facilitated a focus group discussion following the creative dance exercise. O'Leary (2010:180) says of direct data collection methods that they "put the researcher in charge", asking what they want to know, how they want it. However, as will be seen from the description of the workshop below, the workshop participants explored themes, rather than specific questions, and presented their 'answers' in dance. Thus, they were active constructors of meaning (O'Leary, 2010:114) and my level of control over the form and content of the data was fairly limited.

The workshop process

The workshop began with a 20 minute warm-up, which I led. This was followed by a 'dance exploration' to examine the participants' conceptualisation of 'development' through an expressive form that they are familiar with. The vocabulary available to them through their experience as semi-professional dancers includes contemporary dance, Pacific and Fijian traditional dance movement, and the Indian 'Bollywood' style. Drawing on this vocabulary, they were enabled, through the participatory

dance exercise and follow up discussion, to voice their own perceptions of development, particularly as it applies to Fiji, thereby adding to broader understandings of this concept.

Categorisations of Fiji's level of development by international development agencies[69] were shared with the participants and, in light of these, they were asked to explore the following through dance:

1   Their response to the descriptions of Fiji presented
2   Their understanding of 'development' as a process
3   Their vision for Fiji.

I then asked the participants to:

1   Write down up to five ideas or responses to the discussion topics[70]
2   Create a movement or short movement sequence to represent each of the ideas
3   Create a movement sequence combining all of their movements or shorter
     sequences.

Each of the participants then performed what they had created to the others, firstly breaking down their work into the representation of each separate idea. After each participant had presented their individual ideas through movement, the other participants attempted to interpret the movement in an informal guessing game. Participants suggested a meaning and the person who had created the movement affirmed, negated (in very few cases) or added to the suggestion that had been made. The person presenting then performed their full sequence.[71]

Some of the participants found the processes of thinking through issues and creating material much easier than others. After more than 30 minutes, two participants had still not begun experimenting with movement so I suggested that they leave off the

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[69] The World Bank categorises Fiji as a 'lower middle income, developing country'(at 86 on the Human Development Index, the highest position in the 'medium' range) (http://data.worldbank.org), while the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in 2010, rated Fiji as having a medium level of human development (http://hdr.undp.org).
[70] A3 paper, pens, magic markers and crayons were provided.
[71] The purpose of this was to create space for the realisation of their creative expression and enable the other participants to appreciate their work, that is, it served artistic rather than directly research related objectives (in line with my comments on reciprocity above).

note-making process and just stand and begin moving. For one, this appeared to unlock his thinking and he produced two clear concepts in movement. The other was only ever able to produce a minimal and very literal output. Because the aim was to collect the response of participants (as data) to the issues raised, I did not want to shape their work. Therefore, I adopted a hands-off approach at this stage. On reflection, to have given this dancer more guidance would have increased his enjoyment of the exercise, thus answering to the reciprocity demands discussed above, and also enabled him to produce richer data.

The exercise was concluded with a focus group discussion (Laws, 2003:298) in which the participants reflected upon the content of their expressions in dance and their experience of the process. Other development issues that had not come up in the dance exploration were also raised and discussed. Because both the advantages and the limitations of this arts-based method are so closely tied to, and illustrated by, the actual data generated, an analysis of the use of this method is included in my analysis of the research findings in Chapter 5 (see p104).

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews

Key informant interviews

The purpose of the key-informant interviews I conducted was to gain a broader picture of the arts and culture in Fiji, in different sectors – national/government, non-governmental, academia – as well as at the regional level and a view from an international partner. These interviews formed a contextual background for the data I gathered from Vou Dance Company and, in some cases, enabled triangulation of this data.

The interviews were of around 45 minutes and conducted in the workplace of the interviewee. Generally I kept the mood relaxed, in line with Punch's suggestion (2005:172) that in-depth interviews are conversational. This was aided by my familiarity with issues of art and culture, which enabled me to keep conversation flowing despite my limited knowledge of how these issues play out in the Fijian and Pacific context. I had prepared guiding questions in every case but frequently put these aside to follow up on something the interviewee had said. Usually, I returned to my questions towards the end of the interview to ensure that everything had been

covered. Thus the prepared questions also served the function of a checklist of issues that I wanted to discuss.

The sampling approach for the first few interviewees was 'purposive' (Laws, 2003:358) and took place before I left New Zealand. Once I arrived in Fiji, these key informants and other people I met were able to suggest additional interviewees. This selection process is referred to as 'snowballing' (Laws, 2003:366), meaning that the interviewees initially identified are asked to suggest others with shared characteristics.

The key informants I interviewed are listed in Table 4, below.

Table 4 Key Informant Interviews

Interviewee	Role in the Sector	Place	Date
Elise Huffer	Regional Advisor, Culture, Secretariat of the Pacific Community	SPC Offices, Nabua	22/7/11
Vilisoni Hereniko	Director, Oceania Centre for Arts, Culture and Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific	USP	26/7/11
Tulevu Tora	Dancer, Oceania Dance Theatre	OCACPS	2/8/11
Meretui Ratunabuabua	Principal Cultural Officer in the Department of Natural Heritage, Culture and Arts; Chairperson, PIMA; Consultant for the Regional Cultural Strategy	Colonial Lodge	3/8/11
Lai Veikoso	Director, Fiji Arts Council; Director, Conservatorium of Music	FAC offices	5/8/11
Florence Swarmy	Acting Chief Executive Officer, Fiji Audio Visual Commission	FAVC offices	8/8/11
Denis Decraene	Counsellor for Cooperation and Culture, Embassy of France	Embassy of France, Suva	11/8/11

Participant interviews

In addition, I conducted participant interviews with all of the members of Vou Dance Company. Although I was observing the company members throughout my

fieldwork and they also took part in the dance workshop, Quinn (2010:243) points out that interviews produce a sustained personal narrative and enable voices that might be less prominent in observed social settings. Indeed, the company members spoke about performances and tours of the company, their reasons for being involved and what it meant to them, thereby providing information that would not have been available from my observation.

The Vou Dance Company members interviewed are listed in Table 5, below.

Table 5 Vou Dance Company Interviews

Member	Role in Company	Date
Sachiko Miller	Dancer/Musician/Director	2/8/11
Patricia Naisara	Dancer/Dance Manager	27/7/11
Eddie Soro	Dancer/Dance Manager	29/7/11
Mereia Tuiloma	Dancer	8/8/11
Sharleen Ali	Dancer/IT	27/7/11
Tevita Soro	Dancer	27/7/11
John Peckham	Dancer/Documentarist	27/7/11
Robert Paterson	Dancer	27/7/11
Joseph Whippy	Musician/Head of Music School	1/8/11

The methods described above yielded rich and informative data of relevance to my first two sub-questions. However, my final sub-question asks 'to what extent' policy responds to local understandings of development. Although this is also a qualitative question, the answer needs to be based in factual information about the content of relevant policy documents. Therefore, I carried out a document analysis to gather data appropriate to answering this question, as described below.

Document analysis

My final method of data collection was document analysis, which assisted me in answering my third research sub-question regarding policy. Although most of the documents reviewed had originally been mentioned in interviews by the key informants, I preferred to follow them up in detail later, rather than to break the flow

of the interviews. A sample of the documents that I reviewed critically appears in Table 6, below.

Table 6 Documents Analysed

Source	Title	Date
Fiji Arts Council	Briefing Paper	undated
SPC	Valuing Culture in Oceania: Methodology and Indicators for Valuing Culture, Including Traditional Knowledge, in Oceania	2010
SPC/UNESCO/CPA	Evaluation of the Festival of Pacific Arts	2010
UNCTAD/UNDP	Creative Economy Report, 2008: The Challenge of Assessing the Creative Economy, towards Informed Policy-Making	2008
PIF Ministers of Education	Action Plan for Implementing Education for Sustainable Development in the Pacific Islands, 2008-2014	2007
UNESCO	Education for Sustainable Development (www.unesco.org)	undated
ACP/EU	ACP-EU Support Programme to Cultural Industries in ACP Countries - Guidelines for Grant Applications	2008
SPC	Regional Framework for the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Culture	undated
UNESCO	Pacific World Heritage Action Plan, 2010-2015	2009
PIF Secretariat	Pacific Education for Sustainable Development Framework	2006

In summary, utilising a variety of data collection methods is important in qualitative research as it allows for triangulation between sources and for the creation of a rich in-depth picture. As shown, I used three qualitative data collection methods during my fieldwork. In addition, I carried out a document analysis to clarify and build upon references made to policy in the key informant interviews. Throughout this section, I have noted how each method was utilised in answering particular research sub-questions. I now turn to a discussion of how the data were processed after my fieldwork phase.

Data Analysis

Following my fieldwork, I undertook analysis of the data, beginning by completing transcriptions of all interviews from the field.[72] This process enabled me to reacquaint myself with the content of the interviews and gain a sense for the findings that would emerge. Laws (2003:377) notes that, when working with qualitative data only, it is "best to think in terms of themes which emerge". My first sub-question was answered primarily using the data from the dance workshop recorded in my field notes. As my notes were concise, I was able to read through them, cluster related responses and synthesise them into a definition without the need for independent coding. I used the themes in my existing model (see Figure 2) to code my field notes and interview transcripts but I tried to remain alert to data that either expanded or contradicted my existing understanding of the contribution of the arts to development. However, rather than falling outside the model, the data suggested the relative importance and prioritisation that ought to be given to each theme and sub-theme. I chose to cluster the data on a computer,[73] creating a number of thematic files into which I dropped relevant interview extracts and field observations. This allowed flexibility (Laws, 2003:380-381) as some items fell under more than one theme and it was relatively easy to move material around and search for theme words. During this process, I also pulled out data relating to policy issues, although, as noted above, these were not analysed directly, but formed the basis for a further document search to answer my third sub-question.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I first outlined the qualitative methodological underpinnings of my research, paying some attention to arts-based methodologies as a particular qualitative form which I found appropriate to research concerning both development and the arts. Qualitative research is ethical (O'Leary, 2010:137; Finley, 2008:71) and I consider in this chapter those ethical issues of particular relevance to my research and the formal ethics approval process that I went through in preparation for my fieldwork. I also discuss in this chapter the assemblage (Law, 2004:41) of methods I used during and after the fieldwork phase. In the chapter that follows, I examine in detail the findings generated by these methods.

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[72] Having begun this process while still in Fiji.
[73] Using a word processing, rather than a dedicated data analysis, package.

Chapter 4

FIELDWORK FINDINGS

In this chapter, I present the findings of my fieldwork in Suva, Fiji, during July and August 2011, as they relate to the main research question,

> Given the increasing discourse arguing the value of the arts within development processes, in what ways could and do the arts in Fiji contribute to the understanding and achievement of 'development'?

This overall question spawns three specific sub-questions concerning the meaning of 'development', the various areas of contribution of the arts, and issues of arts and culture policy. These are examined consecutively below.

A Definition or Vision of Development

Research sub-question: How is 'development' understood by a group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

The definition of 'development' elaborated in this discussion is drawn directly from the data generated by those members of Vou Dance Company who took part in a dance workshop on 6 August 2011. The workshop is described in Chapter 3. This arts-based research method was designed to enable the voices of the dancer/ participants and, in the best case, to create 'unguarded' moments (Weber, 2008:45) in which they might examine issues that they would not usually discuss. Because the method is qualitative, the findings constitute my interpretation, as the researcher, of short dance sequences created and performed by individual participants. In addition, the other participants offered their 'readings' of the dance sequences and all interpretations were then verified by the participant who had performed. Through this process, the participants came up with elements that, collectively, comprise a definition or vision of 'development' from their particular perspective.

The elements of a definition of development are:

- **Engagement with the present and future, informed by the past**

Joseph (Sequence 1) A vision for Fiji. The performer (the company's musician) used props – two traditional Fijian musical instruments, a conga drum and a guitar – and moved between them to illustrate his relationship to modernity (represented by the guitar) and tradition (represented by the other instruments). Although his body expressed a need to reach the guitar, he was constantly drawn back by the other instruments. When he managed to engage with the guitar in its own space he was unable to play it properly but, when he gathered the other instruments around him, he smiled and played a melodious tune.

Patricia (Sequences 2 and 3) Growing inclusively from a strong base. In the first short sequence, the dancer started from a low, strong base (deep plié) and moved upwards with collecting motions of the arms. In the second, she spun at middle level (standing) also gathering her arms inwards and vocalising – 'come, come come…'

- **Unity and cooperation across racial and other barriers for peace**

Sachiko (Sequence 2) Working together for peace. This includes the merging of the ethnic groups in Fiji. The idea was expressed through extreme bodily tension as the dancer fought with herself to bring her two hands together in front of her body and interlock her fingers.

John (Sequence 1) A vision of Fijians working together. Fijians don't know yet which direction they are going in but, if they work together, they will all go in the right direction. The sequence showed a transition from erratic and confused movement to confident movement in a clear direction, that is, it was focused on what could and should happen in the future.

- **Self-sufficiency, including a return to the land and traditional lifestyles**

Eddie (Sequences 2 and 3) Self-sufficiency and living from the land and sea. It was observed that Fiji has 'millions of acres of land'. The movement for the second sequence was stylised but recognisable, for example digging motions, as is frequently used in the traditional Fijian *meke* form.

Robert (Sequence 1) A vision for using and living from the land. The dancer who created the sequence is also a farmer. His movements were drawn from the actual practice of planting, cultivating, harvesting and using the produce, as well as grog/kava drinking (perhaps as a celebration in the context of this positive vision) in the manner of the traditional Fijian *meke*.

- **Social and economic stability and inclusion as bases for growth**

Eddie (Sequence 4) A vision of Fiji growing from strong roots and being stable enough for everyone to be able to express themselves freely. The sequence was based on the Japanese Butoh style of dance and incorporated small particular movements of the hands within an overall movement of the whole body from a low and grounded position (deep plié) to upright and fully extended. Other interpretations of the sequence were: Fiji growing from a strong base and reaching out into the world, while also negotiating on its own terms; and Fiji moving from chaos to stability.

Tevita (Sequence 2) A vision of unity for Fiji. Bringing the people and the different ethnic groups together. The dancer used curved movements, reaching out then drawing his hands and arms back into himself.

- **Freedom of thought and expression, and medium of expression**

Sachiko (Sequence 1) The need for everyone in Fiji to wake up and open their minds. This builds upon the assumption that a developed society is one that appreciates arts education and free thinking.

John (Sequence 2) A vision of Fijians using freedom of thought and expression to think outside the box and find creative solutions to the country's challenges. The dancer created a box shape using arm movements then used his whole body to expand beyond this shape.

- **Integrity and transparency**

Sachiko (Sequence 3) Freedom of expression, in the context of trust, integrity, honesty and transparency. The dancer expressed transparency or having nothing to hide by briefly exposing her breasts and buttocks.

- **Freedom from oppression and militarism**

Eddie (Sequence 1) Development as fast and confident then slowing, stopping and eventually moving backwards. Forward movement, expressed as walking forward, initially rapidly with shoulders back, then slowing, beginning to slump and eventually creeping tentatively and beginning to walk backwards. From the backwards walking the movement changed into less controlled backwards rolling, as though being moved by other forces – the sea, outsiders or locals in power.

Sachiko (Sequence 5) Fijians shooting themselves in the foot. This had both literal and metaphoric meanings. By fighting among themselves, Fijians are going backwards. There is a tendency to pick on the weaker and less empowered members of society, for example women, who have no support base and cannot fight back. The sequence included movement backwards through space, aiming and firing movements as a reference to broader militarism, military rule and frequent coups, as well as exaggerated miming of someone actually shooting themselves in the foot, accompanied by falls, rolls and vocalised swearing.

Mareia (Sequence 3) A vision for Fiji of reaching peace, love and happiness by putting aside the negative. The end state was expressed through simplified mime while the act of putting aside negative influences was expressed through more abstract movement of the whole body.

- **Active participation and engagement**

Patricia (Sequence 1) Five steps forward and ten steps back. Fijians have lost their vision and now just do whatever is easiest. The forward steps were represented as open and honest, walking confidently towards the audience, while the movement backward began facing the audience but quickly turned away from them and ended with the dancer walking into a wall.

Patricia (Sequence 4) Pulling each other down. The dancer performed an upward and outward movement representing a plant. Each time a limb extended too far it was quickly withdrawn with a twisting movement, showing the plant attempting to flower but the flowers being snapped off. Eventually the dancer fell to the floor, suggesting those attempts at flowering that simply fail because of the surrounding conditions.

Tevita (Sequence 1) and Mereia (Sequence 1) Going with the flow. We do not observe what is going on around us and react to it or fight back, but prefer to just go with the flow. Mereia's sequence incorporated gentle horizontal arm movements commonly found in Pacific women's dance (referring to the movement of the sea), while Tevita also used gentle movement all on the same level.

Clarification and debriefing

A short clarification and debriefing session took place following the creative dance exercise. One further issue that had scarcely come up in the interpretation and discussion of the dance sequences was raised at this point, namely economic development. A short discussion of economic aspects of development ensued but it should be noted that I was the one who pointed out that these had not emerged in the dance sequences. When prompted in this way, the participants suggested that Fiji needs foreign investment but is currently not investable because of the unstable political situation. One participant also stated that Fiji is "not producing anything that anyone wants" (Field Notes:41M). At the conclusion of the debriefing session, some participants said it had been exciting to have an opportunity to work with issues that are generally taboo in Fiji.

The contributions of the dancer/participants during the workshop create a complex and multi-faceted definition of development, although it is possible to identify common elements. They generally expressed dissatisfaction with the current situation, citing militarism and oppression, ethnic divisions, and social and political instability as particular areas of concern. In addition, the three dance sequences that dealt with participation and engagement all showed that this is not happening in the current situation in Fiji. Yet the participants expressed a belief that the solution must come from Fijians themselves, drawing on natural and cultural resources – traditional knowledge and contemporary creativity – to build a stable and unified future. The complexity of the definition reached by the workshop participants arises, in part, from the nature of the workshop, which was designed to elicit individual responses. However, it also suggests an underlying right of choice and bears out the notion that development might mean different things to different individuals and groups, each of which has a valid claim to articulate and attain it. It is against this multilinear

conception of the meaning of development that I examine below the possible types of contribution of the arts in attaining such development.

Contributions of the Arts to Development

Research sub-question: In what ways do the arts, in particular contemporary dance, contribute to the achievement of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

This research sub-question was answered by means of participant interviews with the members of Vou Dance Company (most of who were also participants in the dance workshop outlined above) and key informant interviews with other significant players in the arts and culture sector, as well as by observing the work of Vou Dance Company.

In the model developed in Figure 2, below, I suggest three types of contribution that the arts make to development. These are (1) a range of inherent contributions, namely those relating to freedom, the enrichment of lives, assertion and reclamation of identity and heritage, inclusion, and resistance, as well as their contribution to (2) economic development, and (3) instrumental uses of the arts to convey development messages. The fieldwork data presented below are discussed according to this model, noting that the model draws on McCarthy *et al*'s (2004: 4) suggestion that the instrumental benefits of the arts underlie all other benefits.

The inherent contribution of the arts to development

In Figure 2, I list a number of inherent functions of the arts in development, namely: freedom; inclusion; enrichment of lives; reclaiming or assertion of identity and heritage; and resistance or challenge to the existing order. Although the area prioritised by nearly all the dancers, as well as several other informants, was the preservation and sharing of traditional Fijian culture, all of the inherent contributions of the arts that I suggest in my model were mentioned by Vou Dance Company members, either in interviews or discussions, or during the dance workshop. These inherent contributions of the arts are discussed sequentially below.

Freedom

In terms of the components of development in the definition arising from the 6 August dance workshop, the concept of freedom is particularly relevant to:

- Freedom of thought and expression, and medium of expression
- Freedom from oppression and militarism
- Active participation and engagement

Sen (1999) conceptualises development as freedom in his seminal text, and the process of development as one of removing 'unfreedoms' or constraints, thereby expanding 'substantive freedoms' (1999:3-8). Relevant to my research is the issue of freedom of expression and particularly the use of contemporary dance[74] as a form that facilitates this. All of the dancers I spoke to (members of Vou Dance Company and one from Oceania Dance Theatre) recognised this as an opportunity. I observed that Fijians do not generally have a strong awareness of themselves as 'developing'. Therefore, they did not articulate the freedom generated by dance in development terms, but spoke of dance as therapeutic and, as an escape from frustrations which engenders positive feelings (Tulevu and Glen in a presentation to AFS students, OCACPS, 11/7/11, Field Notes:7F-G). On the same occasion, dancers Pelu and Katarina described dance as 'another way of expressing oneself' and 'another language'. Tevita of Vou Dance Company adds,

> When I do contemporary [dance], I… try to express myself more and I've got more freedom. (Tevita interview, 27/7/11)

These comments suggest that development through dance would be a result of enabling the voice of the subjects. This was supported by Fiji Arts Council Director, Lai Veikoso, when I asked him about the various needs that the Council responds to,

> I guess, building on the positive and…also having the opportunity to have an equal voice, or your voice to be heard in an artistic way. (Veikoso interview, 5/8/11)

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[74] Used here in the sense of both a tradition of 'contemporary' dance style, traceable to Martha Graham and others (Opacic, Stevens and Tillmann, 2009:1570), and modern Pacific dance.

The benefits discussed by respondents above accrue primarily at the personal level. To be considered developmental at the broader social level, they may be seen as elements of a cumulative process of development, as discussed in the previous section. That is, one way in which societies attain development is through the development of an increasing number of individuals (Sen, 1999:30-31). However, this is more likely to be the case in conditions of social equality. Otherwise the opportunity and benefit presented by the arts may only be made available to an already select or advantaged group. I discovered a dual response to this limitation within Vou Dance Company. Firstly, the dancers are concerned with sharing the opportunities they have been given through the arts (Field Notes:35), both through outreach work and as sharing in performance. Their outreach work includes the classes for young people run at the Vou studio[75] (Field Notes:6; Sachiko interview, 2/8/11). Mereia, in fact, described the teaching of children's classes on behalf of the company as "an honour" (Mereia interview, 8/8/11). It also includes engagement through events such as the Marist Brothers Boys' Secondary School careers week presentation that I attended with some of the company members (Field Notes:31). Sharing through performance, on the other hand, is less a matter of sharing opportunities and more to do with transmitting experience and emotion…with communicating. Vou dancers, John and Sharleen say,

> I kind of like the fact that, when you dance, you just let it go and just enjoy yourself and just give the crowd your best and how you feel about dancing and all this kind of emotions and all. (John interview, 27/7/11)

> …if I portray that I'm angry and I'm sad, you can see that I'm angry and sad. That's what I feel and I will make it...make sure that you feel the same way kind of thing. So I believe that if you...if you feel it on the inside, a person can see it on the outside. (Sharleen interview, 27/7/11)

Secondly, the company itself has brought together people from different socioeconomic backgrounds, described by Director, Sachiko as ranging from "below the poverty line" and not knowing "where they're going to eat the next day" to "middle class" and private school educated (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11). In the

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[75] Also an income earner for the company.

process, and given Vou's emphasis on creating economic, among other, opportunities, membership of the company appears to have had an equalising effect in socioeconomic as well as other more qualitative terms, such as sharing of responsibility and leadership roles (personal observation).

In the current discussion of inherent contributions of the arts to development, it is possible to see the other potential contributions – economic and instrumental – as constraining freedom, particularly freedom of expression, or representing 'unfreedoms' in Sen's (1999) terminology. Economic unfreedom is illustrated in Sachiko Miller's comment about choreographing work to perform at a James Bond theme evening for corporate clients,

> I hate doing this kind of stuff but…we have to do that kind of thing because they're a big client of ours who pays all of our bills. (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11)

Yet, preparedness to do commercial work, with the limitations this imposes, allows Vou Dance Company to avoid being influenced or used in an instrumental manner by outside agendas, for example those of development agencies. As Sachiko Miller puts it, "If there is a message, it's our message" (Field Notes:10A).

Importantly, the Oceania Centre for Arts Culture and Pacific Studies (OCACPS) at the University of the South Pacific (USP), which was established by Epeli Hau'ofa, presented from its inception a model of a space for absolutely unfettered artistic expression. This was discussed by Sachiko Miller, and Vilisoni Hereniko who was appointed to as Director of the Centre in August 2010,

> …he [Hau'ofa] set up the Oceania Centre sort of in retaliation to over-academicising Pacific thought. He thought it should be practice-led and – you know – sort of whatever you wanted to make from your heart. (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11)

> … there's no other place I know of where there is a group of artists, most of who have no formal education, who are working collaboratively, and working together to...to create art that is…is contemporary, that really knows no

boundaries – you know – and I think that is every artist's dream, not to feel constrained by the dictates of the society or – you know – the policies of an institution, and that was how the Oceania Centre was founded by Epeli Hau'ofa, to create a safe space for creative work, a space in which there'd be no discrimination and no prejudice and people could do whatever art they wanted to do. (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11)

The dancers operating within OCACPS (as Oceania Dance Theatre) receive a living allowance and an additional fee when they perform – about four times a month – from USP funds (Discussion with Tulevu, Field Notes:26D-N). Tulevu, one of the dancers, told me that they are not under great pressure to perform and do not seek performance opportunities proactively; clients come to them. Thus they retain much of the freedom that Hau'ofa originally envisaged.

However, there are also tensions inherent in this, in terms of development understood as not solely an outside imposition, but also a desire (de Vries, 2007:26) of the citizens of 'developing' countries. A situation of complete artistic freedom with no academic or training component tends to leave artists in a static position in terms of the standard of their work, and the ways in which this might give them access to the broader global society and the possible benefits of engaging with development. Sachiko Millar comments,

> I think like the Oceania Centre, it was really good philosophically but, in practice, it kind of let everyone down at the end of the day because they do need some kind of qualification…the dancers that are there are amazing and they've been dancing really well for the last ten years but now what do they do? (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11)

Likewise, when I questioned Vilisoni Hereniko about the directions in which he would like to take the Oceania Centre now, he identified a need and a desire for increasing professionalism, responding,

> Formal training...One of the things we're working towards is a BA in Pacific Music and Dance.

Regarding the response of the artists to this shift he told me,

> …they're very hungry for it. They want it – you know – they welcome it and, yeah, they're very grateful for it." (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11)

If, as I have suggested above, enabling voice is a means to development, then the acquisition of artistic skills represents an opportunity for artists to use their voices with greater impact. That is, training has the capacity to empower artists as both representatives and critics of their societies.

Inclusion

The notion of inclusion is reflected in the definition of development built up by the participants in the dance workshop I conducted on 6 August, particularly in the following elements:

- Unity and cooperation across racial and other barriers for peace
- Social and economic stability and inclusion as bases for growth
- Active participation and engagement.

The participants saw inclusion contributing to both social development – peace and participation, or broad-based 'democracy' – and economic development. Multicultural inclusion is also clearly visible as an objective at policy level and shapes the context in which activity in the arts takes place. Specific policy responses to this objective are discussed in the section on arts and culture policy below (in response to my third research sub-question). Inclusion as an aspiration also appears at other (non-government) levels, although it was not possible for me to determine the link between government policy and the activities of independent actors. Vou Dance Company, for instance, has no direct link to government policy but inclusion is demonstrated as a value in its work, both in the way the company operates and in its creative output. A number of the dancers expressed this in interviews. Joseph, for example spoke of 'fellowship' and said that membership of the company,

> …made a huge difference in terms of friends. The friends that I have here…they're more like family to me…it is easier also to lean on each other when needed and to help each other. (Joseph interview, 1/8/11)

Mereia met incomprehension and rejection from friends when she committed her time to dancing with Vou but told me,

> For me personally is I feel more appreciated in Vou. (Mereia interview, 8/8/11).

Although predominantly ethnic Fijian, the company is to some extent ethnically mixed. The feeling of being supported has enabled the company members to overcome what, in broader Fijian society, might be divisive differences. I observed the company members joking about racial differences and stereotypes (Field Notes:10B). Sharleen told me,

> I'm from an Indian background so dance is quite a oh-my-god at times. (Sharleen interview, 27/7/11)

Yet she seems to have found a place within the company, playing a particular role in introducing Indian dance styles and movement, while also convincing her parents that this is a valid career choice.

In her interview, Patricia characterised dance practice, specifically dance activity among women, as playing a direct role in breaking down racial barriers,

> I always thought that the reason the two cultures came together was through women's dance. The new genre of…the hybrid genre that we have in Fiji is a fusion of Fijian and Indian…It's the women who have taken the first step and it was through dance that women took the first step, that Fijian women started doing Indian dances and Indian women started doing Fijian dances. (Patricia interview, 27/7/11)

Hybridity or fusion characterise Vou's dance output. As Sharleen says,

> Our first Bollywood number is actually a Bollywood-comtemp', it's not a full-fledged Bollywood number. We've got – you know – kicks and rolls and stuff in it…So we want to try and fuse contemp' with all kinds of dance. (Sharleen interview, 27/7/11)

The performance by Vou that I attended in Natadola included the Bollywood-contemporary piece that Sharleen mentions, as well as Fijian traditional, (western) contemporary, and pieces fusing contemporary and Pacific traditional movement and music (Field Notes:14C). Hybrid forms also occur in other dance events, such as the Kula Dance Awards (Field Notes:33-34), as well as in other art forms and broader cultural life (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11).

Enriching and giving meaning to lives
In the understanding of 'development' formed by the dancers during the dance workshop, the element of active participation and engagement suggests a role for the arts in enriching life and giving it meaning.

My interest in the contribution of the arts to development is driven by the notion of people having something to live for, or Sen's (1999:10) 'lives that people have reason to value'. Several of the dancers spoke about membership of Vou as enriching their lives, giving them something to do and somewhere to go. The founder/Director of the company, Sachiko Miller says,

> I think it's made my life. This is my life. It gives my life purpose and meaning. (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11)

Other members of the company also relate positive experiences,

> MT…it's like life changing for me and I get to do something I love…my life is full – school – studio – home – school – studio. So I hardly even…I hardly go to town now days. Like the things I used to do, window shopping, mucking around, I hardly do that anymore.
>
> MA   Are you happy with that?
>
> MT   Yes. (Mereia interview, 8/8/11)

> It's a good thing...good thing. It gives me more to do, more to think about, more…it gives me a bigger perspective on...dance and everything. It keeps me interested in what we do every day, keeps me wanting to come back. (Robert interview, 27/7/11)

Tevita, additionally, comments on his work with Vou Dance Company as providing global links:

> I guess if I wasn't dancing now I'd probably be at home doing nothing. Dancing has really opened up...opened up my eyes I guess coz it has shown me a lot of things...apart from schooling, you can do a lot of things with dance. You can travel places; you can do different things; you can meet new people…I guess it's really pushed me...like I went for a scholarship to Indonesia and, without me being in Vou, I guess I wouldn't have gotten that. It's the dancing part of it that pushed me to the scholarship and got me meeting new people and all that stuff. (Tevita interview, 27/7/11)

Through observation, I was able to verify that participation in the life of Vou Dance Company has meaning and importance for the members. Furthermore, I noted that they model behaviour in terms of leadership, commitment, collaboration and sharing. These behaviours potentially contribute to development in the wider society, particularly when engagement is seen as an important component of development. [76] For example, Patricia says,

> It helped me with my time management…It's helped me learn to manage people. It's helped me learn to work with others…I've learnt social skills – you know – being able to deal with people who are different…it's helped me to understand people better and not to be so quick to judge, and it was through dance that I found this…the company really, that I found this… (Patricia interview, 27/7/11)

Although most of them have work or study commitments during the day, the company members turn up reliably for rehearsals between 6 and 8pm, five nights a week, while some are there earlier to run children's classes on behalf of the company. The rehearsals are run by the dancers themselves, often in the absence of the director (who travels frequently), and involve a high level of concentration and physical effort. Although Patricia and Eddie are joint dance managers, all members lead exercises during the rehearsals and all have particular responsibilities when they tour or perform.

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[76] As it was in the definition of development formulated by the dancer/participants in the dance workshop of 6 August.

They work collaboratively, relating to each other as artists – sharing ideas, physical space, and physical and moral support – and company members. Following performances, the dancers conduct a feedback session in which each comments on the quality of the performance and it is common for individuals to take responsibility for errors or weaknesses in the performance (for example, Field Notes:13A-C).

The activities of the company that are not related to their own training and performance work suggest that, as a company and as individuals, they recognise the value of dance to others as well. Activities such as speaking at a secondary school careers week and teaching in the Vou Dance and Music School reflect a belief that young people (students) also need meaningful activity and a range of opportunities. Some stressed the simple benefits in terms of physical fitness, for example, Tevita in his address to secondary students at the Marist Brothers Boys' Secondary careers week (Field Notes:31). A 'passion' for dance among young people was also identified (Eddie interview, 28/7/11; Patricia interview, 27/7/11) and it was asserted, for example by Joseph in an address to Marist Brothers Secondary School students, that it is possible and important to follow this (Field Notes:31). Generally the argument in favour of dance as an activity that is personally fulfilling was combined with the economic rationale presented by the dancers but Patricia relates the story of a school friend who was very capable academically but wanted to take up a career in music and attempted suicide when his parents resisted this. Youth suicide was also the theme of one of the entries to the Kula Schools Dance Awards. Patricia says,

> Kids are committing suicide because they feel like there's no other option. We want to be able to…I mean there's so much that having this other option can change – reducing suicide rates, reducing mental illness in teens…young people, giving kids that extra option, saying 'there's something else you can do'. (Patricia interview, 27/7/11)

The Education for Sustainable Development programme of the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts, recognises this need for holistic development of children and frames it within the national development imperative. [77]

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[77] As is shown in the discussion of arts and culture policy in Chapter 5, this national level policy reflects policy directions at the regional and global (UNESCO) levels.

The Fiji Arts Council is working closely with the Ministry on the establishment of this programme. The Council's Director, Lai Veikoso told me,

> … our government is very serious about the holistic approach where kids are encouraged to participate in many other things, not just academic but also in arts in all its forms, in sports in all its forms, and where they can get to develop all their skills and talents… (Veikoso interview, 5/8/11)

This focus from inside the formal education system is being matched by the educational objectives of groups such as Vou Dance Company. Patricia Naisara and Sachiko Miller discuss this in the interviews I held with them and Sachiko stresses the important role of non-governmental players in reinforcing the implementation of policies that recognise the arts as a component of development (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11). Patricia stresses the fact that incorporating the arts makes education more appropriate to the development situation,

> …there's other things that are better for our own development as a country…the schools – you know – we can introduce a dance…performing arts component into schools, maybe kids have a better option…maybe kids have a better chance of surviving through school and surviving out here in the real world… (Patricia interview, 27/7 11)

Assertion and reclamation of identity and heritage

Every person I interviewed saw the assertion and/or preservation of Fijian, and sometimes Pacific, identity as a pre-eminent contribution of the arts. Within Vou Dance Company, all of the dancers, including the one member who is of Fijian Indian origin, stressed the importance of preserving (ethnic Fijian) traditional culture, particularly the *meke* dance form. As elaborated below, this answers to two of the elements of Fiji's development envisaged by the dancers in the 6 August dance workshop, namely:

- Engagement with the present and future, informed by the past
- Self-sufficiency, including a return to the land and traditional lifestyles.

Asked about the contribution that Vou Dance Company makes, John Peckham, one of the dancers, replied,

> Showing them that Fijian culture is still alive because, in Fiji right now, we have forgotten about the culture...where we come from and everything that has happened in the past…and the dance that we used to do in the past…to bring it back to life... (John interview, 27/7/11)

The company has taken very seriously the learning of a *meke*, the traditional dance form performed by a group of people engaged in a common activity, such as fishing or going to war. The original function of a *meke* was internal, to give the participants in the shared activity psychological strength, and the *meke* are specific to the village they come from. In July 2009, the members of Vou travelled to Silana village on Ovalau Island, about 65km (by road and ferry) from Suva and stayed in the village for four days. During this time, they underwent a ceremony of three to four hours in which a spirit medium (the traditional custodian of the *meke*) conferred upon them the right to use the *meke* danced in the village, which demonstrates fishing activity (Discussion with Eddie, Field Notes:7A-C; see also Teaiwa, 2012:70). Eddie stated that the custodian was happy to teach them the dance as the middle-aged people of the village have nearly all migrated to Suva and there was a fear that the *meke* would be lost. Urbanisation has been very rapid, with the population of Suva growing from 20 000 to 300 000 in a period of ten years (Field Notes:14B; Huffer interview, 22/7/11). It is traditional, when a child is born, for the parents to return and introduce the child in their home village but it is uncertain that this will continue as a generation that has grown up in Suva produces its own children (Huffer interview, 22/7/11). Mereia, for example, told me that she had been to her parents' village only once, ten years previously (Mereia interview, 8/8/11).

The company sometimes has to explain the process they went through to learn and gain rights to perform the *meke* when they are challenged by local audiences (Field Notes:7B).

A number of the dancers considered preserving and performing *meke* as the most important aspect of the company's work (Robert, Patricia, Tevita interviews, 27/7/11). As explained by Sharleen,

> ...our own traditional roots, they're like dying out, like slowly they are dying out…every single traditional *meke* that I've seen is beautiful but I...I don't think people actually see the worth in it. (Sharleen interview, 27/7/11)

It is through gaining this appreciation of ethnic Fijian traditional dance that Sharleen has developed a greater interest in her own Fijian Indian traditions and in learning classical Indian dance, having previously trained in the modern film-based 'Bollywood' style.

A major forthcoming project of Vou is to record on digital video the *meke* from all the villages in Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, the two main islands of Fiji. This documentation process is John's specific responsibility within the company (John interview, 27/7/11).

In presentations made at the Oceania Centre for Arts, Culture and Pacific Studies at USP, Director, Vilisoni Hereniko, discussed the negotiation of multiple cultural identities which is necessary for Fijian and Pacific people, noting that, although he is well travelled and experienced and holds a senior academic position, he is not allowed to speak out when he returns to his home village on Rotuma. Hereniko quotes former OCACPS Director (and founder), Epeli Hau'ofa, "Identity is not a box we are stuck in; identity is the roots we grow from" but Peter, a visual artist working with OCACPS, observed that, although culture does provide roots, it can also drag people back. Painting is the means by which Peter 'negotiates discomfort' (Hereniko presentation, 19 July, Field Notes:5A), using stories and legends from his own village and traditional colours to explore day-to-day urban life in Suva and his feelings of "culture shock".

Joseph Whippy, the fulltime musician with Vou Dance Company, explored the impact of tradition in his own artistic life in a short performance work created during the dance workshop I held with Vou members on 6 August. This represented a three-

way negotiation as Joseph comes from a strictly Christian background (although within a church in which music plays an important role). He had earlier told me,

> There's not much struggle between the church and culture. It's just some fanatics…who tries to drive away culture in saying that culture is about demonic influence. But when we…when we sit down and think about it, really culture is what makes us what we are and that's something I do not want to lose, even…even if I am in this field or even if I am at church… (Joseph interview, 1/8/11)

In their own lives and in the context of the company, the dancers of Vou make strategic choices about how they engage with tradition and what they draw from it. Eddie explains how this plays out in the work of the company,

> Vou means 'new' – yeah – so we're trying to bring in something new…some new kind of style of dance but we also want to maintain that…that identity, that culture of who we are. We are Fijians and also there's a big number of Hindu Fijians so we're…our dance is a mixture of Indian, Fijian and the modern type of hip-hop and contemporary style of dance. So, we're trying to maintain who we are but also bring in who we are now too… (Eddie interview, 28/7/11)

Although the members of Vou express a strong commitment to preserving traditional culture, issues of authenticity and commoditisation arise, both from the type of cultural fusion that Eddie describes above and from the fact that, as Sachiko Miller puts it, "we're quite a commercial group" (Field Notes:10A). This is negotiated within the process of 'engagement with the present and future, informed by the past' that the dancers identified as an element of development during our 6 August dance workshop. Vilisoni Hereniko raised these issues during his presentation to American students on 19 July, noting that one response to the issue of how to make money is to sell one's culture (Field Notes:7C-D). This is particularly relevant to Fiji where tourism contributes around 20 percent of GDP (Reserve Bank of Fiji in Narayan and Prasad, 2003:6). The risk lies in cheapening or degrading the culture when the same form is used but the meaning differs widely between local daily or ceremonial acts and commercialised performance of the same act. A pragmatic response is to

'reconcile the soul with the wallet' and to attempt to achieve 'autonomy' rather than authenticity (Hereniko, Field Notes:7D). That is, control of the process of negotiation rests with those for whom the culture is a root source and they determine the need that they wish culture to fulfil. The extreme view is represented by Samoan writer, Albert Wendt, cited by Hereniko in his presentation – 'the only authentic culture is the one you are living in right now' (Field Notes:7E). I discussed this with Vilisoni Hereniko during my later interview with him. He responded,

> …cultures evolve and change and – you know – how do you respond to the changes in the larger society…So, I think Albert Wendt's comment does not take into account, for me anyway, the importance of a continuity with the past and knowing why the present is the way it is – alright – and its link with the past. But I think it's a...it's a healthy reminder to those of us who are in the arts to be aware that what we do needs to be relevant always to the present. So, I think cultures...you know, contemporary cultures, should always try and preserve, to use your word, what is important and meaningful – you know – from the past but I think there's many aspects of the traditional cultures that are best done away with… (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11)

An emphasis on the preservation and celebration of cultural identity is in line with the policy direction of the country, as implemented by the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts. This has a bearing on my third research sub-question and, therefore, is discussed in greater detail shortly in the section on arts and culture policy.

Resistance

The dance workshop held with members of Vou Dance Company on 6 August comprised a form of resistance in that it offered an opportunity to explore issues that are generally supressed in the current situation in Fiji. In addition, several elements of the definition of development established during the workshop suggest that resistance is a component of the development process. These are:

- Unity and cooperation across racial and other barriers for peace
- Freedom of thought and expression, and medium of expression
- Integrity and transparency

- Freedom from oppression and militarism
- Active participation and engagement

I consider resistance here at two levels, firstly, the dancers defying cultural/ethnic and gender expectations by choosing to join a dance company and, secondly, the potential of artistic content and output for resisting oppression and other social ills (see Teaiwa, 2012:76-82). Some data gathered during the dance workshop is examined within the latter discussion.

Several of the dancers of Vou Dance Company faced and overcame resistance from their families to career choices that did not meet the social, professional, cultural or religious expectations of their parents. Eddie (who was working in a bank during the day at the time of my fieldwork), Sharleen (an Information Systems student) and Joseph (who works fulltime as a musician with Vou) discuss this in their interview responses,

> …my Mum and Dad used to tell me you need to become a bank manager, you need to become a doctor or you know, lawyer or whatever…Actually I kind of did the whole banking degree for my Mum coz she kept saying to do it so I did it…But I've realised that I really want to dance and I really love to manage the group…I've made up my mind to actually do it…quit the bank… (Eddie interview, 28/7/11)

> I'm from an Indian background… I told [my parents] about my career in dance before I went to New Zealand in April. They were a bit – you know – taken aback by it…They're like 'OK, fine, if you want to do that as your career, we're OK with that as long as you have something to fall back on', so I'm doing my degree at the same time. (Sharleen interview, 27/7/11)

> …at first because of my background…in church, and church music and secular music don't kind of go together, and so there was this resistance but then I began to explain what I do and what I was doing and when they began to understand, that is when there was that acceptance…not all of it but understanding between me and my family. (Joseph interview, 1/8/11)

It is clear from the three quotes above that the dancers are prepared to resist the expectations of their families to some degree but also that this is a negotiated resistance in which they are prepared to make compromises.

The Fiji Audio Visual Commission also supports young people in resisting traditional career choices by making them aware of arts-related options in the film industry, particularly through the Kula Schools Film and Dance Awards. Commission Director, Florence Swarmy told me,

> Our families groom their children to become professionals – you become a lawyer, you're going to be a doctor, you're going to be this – because that's how you're going to make your living. You're going to have a good lifestyle if you become one of those professionals. I think that's exactly what we're trying to…to show here is not everybody can become a doctor or a lawyer...So we're just trying to nudge people really, to get them thinking about – you know – their latent talents and thinking about developing them… (Swarmy interview, 8/8/11)

Turning to artistic output as a form of resistance, I noted that, in their daily lives, the Vou Dance Company members do not demonstrate open resistance to what they see as wrong in their society. However they did do this in the context of the dance workshop. As workshop participants, they developed short sequences that expressed: faltering, circular or negative development because of power struggles, corruption and lack of vision (Eddie Sequence 1, Sachiko Sequence 4, Patricia Sequence 1, John Sequence 2); Fijians shooting themselves in the foot or undermining their own development by fighting among themselves (Patricia Sequence 4), including the culture of militarism and oppression (Sachiko Sequence 5); a lack of development direction because Fijians are not working together (John Sequence 1); and the frustration of reaching for a better life and society and being thwarted by the surrounding conditions of social division, oppression and economic constraints (Mereia Sequence 2).

Vilisoni Hereniko, Director of the Oceania Centre for Arts, Culture and Pacific Studies is one who believes that the arts are a source of resistance to oppression but,

"it's hard to document...to measure because people don't always admit that they have been changed or influenced by what they read". He cites the case of Samoan novelist and poet, Albert Wendt being told by a politician friend that Wendt's novel, *Pouliuli* (1977), which deals with corruption, "had really helped him see Samoa differently and really challenged him...provoked his own thinking" (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11). However, I did not observe the arts, and particularly dance, being used strongly in public presentations in resistance to the current situation in Fiji.[78] It seems that this was not always the case. Hereniko observes,

> I think the Fiji coup of 1987 produced some very interesting art commentaries…about the political situation but...I think subsequent coups have not had the kind of impact in the arts in terms of the visual arts because I think some – you know – the artists are practicing self-censorship and they may not want to get into problems...with the present regime. (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11)

Thus, Fijian artists cannot be said to be driven by outside agendas; the country's major trading and development partners, Australia and New Zealand, both condemn the current military regime but this is not reflected in the work of local artists. However, neither are they acting on their own concerns about the political social or economic situation in the country, although the participants in the 6 August dance workshop expressed dissatisfaction about militarism and oppression, ethnic divisions and lack of transparency in their dance sequences and in the debriefing session that followed this exercise.

Overview of the contributions of the arts to development
There is evidence of a range of inherent contributions of the arts to development. These include: the arts as an expression of freedom, both in terms of the freedom to participate in artistic life and in the content of the work produced; as a means of inclusion, with multiculturalism being of particular importance in Fiji; the contribution of the arts, in the broader context of culture, to giving meaning and value to the lives people live; as a means of establishing, exploring and asserting

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[78] The Kundru exhibition by three painters was one example which I saw but I was not able to analyse it closely or speak to any of the artists.

identity, especially as this is grounded in cultural heritage; and as a form of resistance, again through both the product of artistic endeavour and the act of participation. Among the members of Vou Dance Company, the contributions related to identity and heritage were considered the most important and these are also a high priority at the national policy-making level in Fiji.

The arts in economic development

The respondents in this study saw economic development as a major area in which the arts have a contribution to make. There is a disjuncture between this and the fact that economic development was only mentioned briefly when a definition of development was being articulated during the dance workshop with Vou company members on 6 August. In this section, the contribution of the arts to economic development is considered in terms of both employment creation and its economic output in the form of cultural product, noting that these two potentials are often combined. That is, individuals are employed in the sector, producing arts or cultural products, as in the case of the dance and film subsectors discussed below. In this section, I look first at a number of government actors in the arts and culture sector – the Department of Natural Heritage, Culture and Arts, the Fiji Arts Council (FAC) and the Fiji Audio Visual Commission (FAVC) – and, later, at perceptions and experience of the economic potential of the arts among members of Vou Dance Company, an independent player in the same sector.

Government policy perspectives

At the policy level, in the Department of Natural Heritage, Culture and Arts,[79] the culture sector is described as having great potential for employment creation, although I was told that this is not being realised currently despite the government generally prioritising economic development. There is a tension, in terms of policy and programmes, between this economic imperative and a stated desire to preserve and keep alive the country's cultural heritage. This is explained more fully below in the section on arts and culture policy (responding to research sub-question 3).

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[79] In the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts.

Perspectives of government-linked agencies

The Fiji Arts Council, one of the three heritage management agencies under the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts (Veikoso interview, 5/8/11), also has a mandate to build a 'professional arts sector', creating economic opportunities for artists through promotion and marketing, audience development and appropriate protection of intellectual property. In line with the policy of the parent ministry, the Arts Council seeks to balance these economic imperatives with "the preservation, revival and practise of indigenous art forms and knowledge systems" (FAC Briefing Paper, undated:3-4). Furthermore, the Council seeks to create space and provide support for both traditional (indigenous) forms of expression and more contemporary forms. Lai Veikoso, Director of the Fiji Arts Council says,

> …we try to strike the balance between that [expressive forms] and also keeping our traditional cultural heritage alive and, yes, it's important to address and maintain a balance. (Veikoso interview, 5/8/11).

Also engaged in a range of arts activities and strongly driven by economic objectives is the Fiji Audio Visual Commission, a government agency mandated to "promote and develop the local audio visual industry". The commission directed its initial promotion efforts through the Los Angeles office of the Fiji Trade Commission (for access to Hollywood) and subsequently set up its own branch there (Swarmy interview, 8/8/11). It has also courted Indian (Bollywood) filmmakers, largely by facilitating their entry through removal of visa requirements. In this case, less attention is paid to local cultural expression, and 'development' via the sector is conceived largely in economic terms, "as services we promote for tourism and for…for development generally" (Swarmy interview, 8/8/11). Promotional activity focuses on Fiji as a location and Fijians as lower level cast and crew, and the Commission's website boasts "the world's best crews are only 3 hours away in New Zealand and Australia" (www.fijiaudiovisual.com).

However, the FAVC does consider the local (monetary) impact of foreign investment in this sector. Florence Swarmy, FAVC Director reports,

> …after the production of the Anacondas, we did an economic impact study. It was independently done but was eventually endorsed by the Reserve Bank and

the Ministry of Finance, and it showed that, for every foreign dollar that was spent here, it generated 2.57 dollars' worth of economic activity and close to three…four times equivalent jobs during the time of production. (Swarmy interview, 8/8/11)

In addition, the core activities of the FAVC have created spin-off events directed at developing local talent through localised opportunities for artistic expression. These are the Kula Film Awards and Kula Dance Awards for school students, which aim to "ignite the untapped potential of future filmmakers and other creative talents of Fiji's young people" (www.fijiaudiovisual.com). As Florence Swarmy notes,

> …we didn't just want to throw them off at the deep end, to say 'look, hey, go and make a film' and we're going to judge you on it. We were going to provide very intensive training. (Swarmy interview, 8/8/11)

For the dance awards, training is provided by members of the Oceania Dance Theatre. The dance award entries are richly multicultural, frequently combining 'Hollywood' (western, including hip-hop), 'Bollywood' (modern Indian) and 'Bulawood' (modern Pacific) dance styles, music and costumes. The main objective remains an economic one, as Swarmy describes it,

> …what we're trying to do is just alert our young people to…to different music and dance forms there are and show them they can merge it to make a new product. (Swarmy, interview, 8/8/11)

Artist perspectives

The members of Vou Dance Company view their work with the company as an economic opportunity for themselves. The company does not generally seek funding for its work but attempts to support itself through the Vou Music and Dance School and through paid performances (tourism sector, diplomatic and private events). Director, Sachiko Miller, told me that the group, although it is a dance company, incorporates other art forms, particularly music, which they regard as more saleable than dance (Field Notes, 10A).

The need for the company to support itself financially has an impact on the type of work it does, ruling out large-scale productions, such as those undertaken (with funding support) by the USP based Oceania Dance Theatre, and necessitating made-to-order commercial material. For example, in the time that I was observing the company, the female dancers spent two rehearsal sessions working on dance pieces to the theme songs of James Bond films, to be performed at a James Bond theme evening event for a commercial client, "a tour company in Nadi called Rosie…they bring in big corporate groups" (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11).[80] I note above that efforts in the film subsector are currently directed towards employment of Fijian nationals in relatively low level positions which may provide (generally short term) economic advantages without being particularly empowering. Likewise, Vou Dance Company and other artists work within the tourism sector as contractees of tourist facilities, the majority of which are foreign owned (Rao, 2002:405, 412).

Vou Dance Company works for two hours each evening, Monday to Friday. Most of the members are either studying or working during the day but many of them aspire to work fulltime with Vou. Sachiko Miller has done so since founding the company in 2007 (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11) and Joseph Whippy has run the Vou Music School on a fulltime basis since 2009, as well as performing with the company (Joseph interview, 1/8/11). During the time that I was observing Vou, Eddie resigned from a banking job in which he was using his university qualification, to become the third fulltime company employee, in a management role (Eddie interview, 28/7/11). Representative of the others, Patricia, who is currently studying law, told me,

> I'd be more than happy to come [into a fulltime position with the company]…I could do it fulltime, I would, if I was given the opportunity, I would. (Patricia interview, 27/7/11)

The dancers are also keen to promote dance as an economic opportunity to others, stressing that you can make a living doing what you love. Eddie and Joseph comment,

> One of Chiko's [Sachiko Miller's] main goals was to…to bring out dance as a…job, as a career path, not a…hobby, you know. So we are trying to tell

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[80] This is discussed above as a source of artistic 'unfreedom' (Sen, 1999:3-8) in the section on freedom as an inherent role of the arts in development.

everyone that you can actually make a living from this…from doing something you love to do… (Eddie interview, 28/7/11)

And also it helped me in terms of having a future – you know – and depending on something that I love doing…something that I'm really interested, and Vou has given that to me. (Joseph interview, 1/8/11)

I attended a session of the Marist Brothers Boys' Secondary School careers week with Vou musician, Joseph and dancers, Patricia, John, Tevita and Robert. In their presentation, the Vou members stressed that dance and music are viable job options and that it is important to create a career out of doing what one loves or is passionate about. Tevita backed this up by listing a few well-known and successful local musicians as models. Therefore, in putting forward an economic argument for participation in the arts, the dancers also invoke concepts of freedom and choice (Sen, 1999:5; Kabeer, 1999:438) as broader indicators of social development. These two concepts, then, come together in the notion of maximising human potential for development. One of the advantages pointed out by the Vou presenters was that a career in the arts (based on their own experience) offers opportunities to travel, meet a range of people and experience other cultures (Field Notes, 31-32). Tevita spoke of careers in dance and music as suitable for those who do not do well academically and Patricia also suggests,

…it's not all about becoming a lawyer or doctor or a scientist or whatever else…there are opportunities for kids who are not academic – you know – there's somewhere else they can go; there's something else they can do. (Patricia interview, 27/7/11)

However, this is not borne out in the experience of Vou members, suggesting that arts careers have legitimacy in themselves and are more than simply a refuge for those unable to do well in any other field. All of the company members have secondary education and have had tertiary opportunities. Sachiko holds two bachelor's degrees; Eddie has a degree in banking; Joseph has a tertiary music qualification; Patricia and Mereia are currently studying Law and Sharleen is studying Information Systems and hoping to take up a dance degree if this becomes available at the USP (Eddie interview, 28/7/11; Joseph interview, 1/8/11; Patricia and Sharleen interviews,

27/7/11; Mereia interview, 8/8/11). Therefore, the company members have opted for dance from a position of having other possible choices (Field Notes:6-7).

I noted a somewhat proselytising approach among the Vou members in relation to careers in the arts. As Eddie put it, "we're just trying to spread the word here" (Eddie interview, 28/7/11). This indicates to me that they see themselves as having a responsibility to contribute to their society by promoting the arts as opportunity and consider that this is important to the development of their country. Generally they do not express it in these terms themselves, although Patricia continues (from the quote above),

> …this is what Fiji needs, another option because everyone seems to think that doctor, lawyer, politician is where you go…but there's other stuff and there's other things that are better for our own development as a country.

Therefore, with regard to the economic contribution of the arts, while most governmental and independent actors have artistic or cultural preservation objectives, these are balanced, and sometimes outweighe,d by economic objectives based on the productive or income generating potential of the arts. As arts practitioners, the members of Vou Dance Company perceive economic opportunities both for themselves and for others, and regard opening up and raising awareness of these opportunities as a process of development.

Instrumental uses of the arts

Instrumental contributions of the arts imply the arts being used for some other purpose, rather than being seen as a constituent, or evidence in themselves, of development. The economic contributions of the arts just discussed are a particular instrumental use, in which the arts are directed towards economic development (McCarthy *et al*, 2004:31-33). Other instrumental contributions, which I discuss now, involve the employment of the arts in the transmission of specific development messages.

In Chapter 1, I looked at two experiences I had with such instrumental uses of the arts in Zimbabwe in 1994 and 2004 – an 'AIDS writing workshop' which was

mutually limiting in its contribution to women's writing and to Zimbabwe's fight against HIV, and an edu-dance project that used contemporary dance/theatre to highlight a number of developmental issues without conveying a clearly applicable message. In the first case the project was driven by a donor; in the second, it was co-opted by one. This took place in a situation of very significant donor presence[81] and the perception of 'development' as an over-riding national aim.

In making arrangements for my fieldwork in Fiji, I began to realise that development as a perceived objective is not prevalent in the Pacific generally (Rochelle Stewart-Withers, pers comm) or in Fiji (discussion with Allan Alo, Field Notes:1). Sachiko Miller, told me that there is no funding for the arts in Fiji (e-mail correspondence, 9/6/11) and Elise Huffer, Advisor for Culture in the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) concurred (Huffer interview, 22/7/11). I saw no evidence during my stay in Fiji of donors who concern themselves with the arts but have clearly defined 'development' objectives. The SPC, a major regional development player, through its Suva-based Human Development Division, offers support to arts and cultural projects but is itself seeking financial support from the EU under its 'cultural industries' budget, that is, on the basis of the economic potential of the arts and culture (Huffer interview, 22/7/11). Specifically in the field of dance, the French Embassy is a major supporter of the Oceania Dance Theatre, which does have significant funding and mount large productions. The Counsellor for Cooperation and Culture in the Embassy says that, in line with French foreign policy, the Embassy's priority is culture (Decraene interview, 11/8/11). This was confirmed, from the recipient point of view, in a discussion with one of the members of Oceania Dance Theatre (Discussion with Tulevu, Field Notes: 26D-N).

I observed that, independently of the influence of outside agents (such as donor organisations), the members of Vou Dance Company are working with and around dance as a means to achieve a particular vision of development, comprising (economic) opportunity, tolerance, national unity and self-sufficiency. This vision has been explored in more detail above. In this case, dance and the arts themselves are the message which they promote actively through both dance (performance and,

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[81] For example, Zimbabwe at the time hosted nineteen UN agencies alongside numerous international non-governmental organisations.

teaching) and other means. It is a message that they are strongly convinced of and they gain satisfaction from seeing it succeed. For example, I attended the Kula Dance Awards with several members of the company. As outlined above, the awards grew out of recognition of the links between dance and (particularly Bollywood) film, and have gradually incorporated a range of dance styles, including contemporary dance. At the time, I noted,

> …the discussion in the van on the way home – general feeling that the standard of the dance has improved year by year and particular pleasure at increased amount and standard of contemporary dance incorporated into the pieces – a feeling that Vou can take some credit for this and that they have a mission to introduce and strengthen contemporary dance in Fiji. (Field Notes:34)

I have tended to argue that message based instrumental applications are a limiting way to use the arts because this does not get to their deepest and most transformative value.[82] The most immediate transformative effects of arts practice are personal and individual (applying to the practitioner), contributing to Sen's (1999:10) notion of lives that people have reason to value. Vou dancer, Sharleen comments,

> Ever since I've got into Vou, my life has just been happier...just... yeah...this is the place I come to like totally de-stress and just sort of take everything out. I was previously known as a very angry and negative person. Since I got into Vou, everyone's telling me that I can do it...Before it was I can't, I can't… (Sharleen interview, 27/7/11).

However, I also observed, during several Vou rehearsals, qualities among the company members that demonstrated effective and responsible citizenship and a concern with the wellbeing and strengthening of their society. Examples are their concern with creating opportunities, discussed immediately above and in the previous section, as well as behaviour demonstrating leadership, sharing of ideas, problem solving, decision making, cooperation and mutual support (Field Notes, 10B; 13A; 13C; 14; 26B). This was evident both in their dance activities and in the

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[82] As mentioned above in relation to my experiences in Zimbabwe and considered (by contrast) in the discussion of the arts as being imbued with inherent values that have little to do with their outward messages (Navarre, 1998:124) (see p28).

business of running the company. It was supported by Lai Veikoso, reflecting on the work of the Conservatorium of Music, of which he is the founding Director,

> We've seen changes in kids that is just unbelievable. We've…we've pulled kids out of the streets and just gotten them so far. Now they travel the world…we've taken them from situations where the family economy is just…just so low and the parents are struggling to put them through school. So with that situation, the music school has been able…to rebuild their lives – you know – rebuild their focus and give them another hope… they've come back a lot more mature… They think outside the box and so I'm so glad that music is not only teaching music, it's also teaching them a sense of accountability, a sense of adulthood and discipline and commitment… (Veikoso interview, 5/8/11)

This may, then, have a broader social impact if sufficient individuals are offered opportunities, as explored in my literature review when I draw from Sen's (1999:5) 'development as freedom' to argue that development is cumulative in both numeric and synergistic terms. Lai Veikoso suggests this when he moves from the foregoing discussion of impacts on individuals to,

> …we've moved people – you know – to greater heights and so hoping that in the very near future…that it [the Conservatorium of Music] can be a big institution that can create impact in many lives in the community. (Veikoso interview, 5/8/11)

My fieldwork findings suggest also that more instrumental use of the arts in a development context does have potential for society-wide change. For Vilisoni Hereniko, Director of OCACPS at the University of the South Pacific, this is a particular attribute of the arts as a message medium,

> …arts and culture are more likely to touch people at the deepest level – you know – in terms of tapping into their emotions, their psychology...the sensibilities… To me those are much more effective in transforming people's lives and challenging them to think about the world differently...to broaden their understanding of human nature and…and other ways of being. (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11)

Vou dancer, Patricia Naisara, also speaks of the subtle ways that dance can influence change, at the same time highlighting the inherent value of the arts as underlying their effectiveness when used in an instrumental manner (as illustrated in Figure 2),

> …what better way than through dance and through cultural dance? We can send off a message without hammering it in their face or yelling it. We can dance it. They'll watch it and understand…they'll want to watch it.

The members of Vou Dance Company seem to draw satisfaction from knowing that they add to their society through the direct promotion of culture and the arts, and by modelling intercultural understanding within the company. At the same time, other dancers feel they have a responsibility to share information and, therefore, gain satisfaction from creating and performing message-based work. Of the four major productions of Oceania Dance Theatre (all with significant French funding) over the past few years, two have dealt with 'developmental' themes, chosen by the company (Discussion with Tulevu, Field Notes: 26D-N; Decraene interview, 11/8/11). The first, 'A Love for Life' (2006) deals with silence and HIV, while 'Where to Utopia?' (2008) looks at environmental issues, particularly climate change. Tulevu, a dancer with the company, sees a progression over the life of the company, away from a focus on pure entertainment to more serious work, some of which he sees as driven by donors in terms of the themes explored. Within this, Tulevu says that he enjoys both the message-based pieces that the company performs and more freely expressive work (Discussion with Tulevu, Field Notes: 26D-N).

In summary, instrumental use of the arts as I had originally conceived it – to convey, often externally determined, development messages – is not common in Fiji. Development oriented partners are generally not working with artists and other partners, such as the French Embassy, are concerned with culture rather than development. Instead, dance and other arts are the message which Vou Dance Company in particular promotes, in the belief that the arts offer opportunities and choice and that these are constitutive of development. Related to this are the observable impacts in terms of good citizenship within the work of the company. In this context, the dancers themselves are committed to the sort of engaged development that they envisaged during the dance workshop, or contributing to their

society, and therefore gain satisfaction from performing work that they feel will benefit their society. Sachiko Miller says of their work, "if there's a message, it's our message", reinforcing the idea that the company and its members are motivated to intervene towards a better society.

Policy at the National, Regional and Global Levels

*Research sub-question***:** To what extent do arts and/or culture policy at the Fiji national, Pacific regional and global levels respond to the demands of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

In interviews and discussions with the members of Vou Dance Company, I found coalescence around two key types of contribution that they ascribed to dance, and to some extent the arts generally. These were economic or commercial functions – making a living from their art form; and preservation of Fiji's traditional culture as the basis of identity. Encapsulated within the latter is the value of inclusion, which the dancers demonstrate in their work within the company, including the style and content of their artwork, and which a number of them also spoke about in their interviews. The same tendencies were clear from the discussions of government policy with an officer of the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts, and the Director of the Fiji Arts Council, and of Pacific regional policy with the Cultural Advisor of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community. National policies are discussed in this section with some reference also to regional and global policy. The discussion is expanded to incorporate further regional and global policy directions (based on a post-fieldwork document analysis) in Chapter 5.

Policy and the economic contribution of the arts
The importance of the economic contribution of the arts as one side of a balanced policy on arts and culture is unquestionable in the context of Fiji, although, as the respondent below suggests, the outcomes of this are yet to be fully realised. The Principal Cultural Officer in the Department of Natural Heritage, Culture and Arts, Meretui Ratunabuabua reports that,

> …there's two main areas that Government is responsible for and that's for the preservation, promotion and development of culture and arts in all its forms.

The second is for the potential that the sector has for employment creation…The sector has a lot of potential. (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11)

She continues,

In terms of government priorities, the priority's always been economic development. They haven't recognised the potential for the sector in terms of its economic potential but – yeah – it's been on economics and commerce, trade…getting funds for the country at the macro level.

The other side of this balanced policy approach is an emphasis on the valorisation of intangible cultural heritage, by the Ministry and Department, in collaboration with UNESCO. As I discuss in more detail above under inherent contributions of the arts, Meretui Ratunabuabua comments that it is possible to marry "conserving for future generations but also looking at income generation activities" (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11).

Policy and the assertion and reclamation of identity and heritage
The vision of the Fiji Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts is 'A national identity that celebrates and promotes Fiji's cultural diversity and unique traditional culture in all its forms' (www.culture.gov.fj). The Ministry has two main areas of activity and, as outlined above, priority is given to economic development concerns. However the other area is the 'preservation, promotion and development of culture and arts' (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11). I have disaggregated economic and preservation functions in my breakdown of the contributions that the arts may make but, when I asked whether there is a perception that conserving or preserving culture also contributes to its economic potential, I was told,

That's the realisation that we're trying to create awareness on. [Currently] it's either conservation or it's development, but we can marry the two. (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11)

Three programmes of the Ministry illustrate the preservation and promotion policy thrust in practice. The first concerns preservation of national cultural heritage sites, with initial emphasis on gaining national heritage site listing for Levuka, the original

capital of Fiji, under the National Heritage 'pillar' of the NCBBF. This national level process of preserving the site is tied into international processes as the Ministry is also seeking listing of Levuka as a world heritage site by UNESCO on the basis of its "outstanding universal value". (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11).

The second programme focuses on preservation of intangible cultural heritage, aiming to identify those individuals or groups in communities who possess traditional skills or knowledge that are in danger of being lost. The project is implemented at community level (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11). It highlights a tension between cultural concerns and the demands of 'development' as articulated in the alternative development discourse (Parnwell, 2008:112-113), in that the Ministry found it was necessary to gain the permission of the *vanua* (chief) to enter a community and that community members then appointed a spokesperson. As such, a kind of representative, rather than direct, participation (as would be desired by proponents of alternative development) is achieved.

The third example is the 'one laptop per child/genealogy' project under the Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) programme of the Ministry. This is a regionally linked programme as it is Fiji's national level response to the Pacific Education for Sustainable Development framework developed by ministers of education in the Pacific Islands Forum (http://www.sprep.org). The project has both a future focused technology component – making 'green' laptop computers available to every school child – and a past focussed genealogy component, with the first activity of the children (at Class 3) being to carry out a series of interviews and other research within their extended family and construct their family tree (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11). The family tree work is also aligned to, and supported by, UNESCO's global level Memory of the World programme. Also at the regional level, the four-yearly Festival of Pacific Arts embodies the concept of growing outward from cultural roots. Commencing its guiding principles with, "We, the indigenous peoples of the Pacific, assert our cultural identity, rights and dignity", it goes on to list specific principles including 'collective voice, 'protection of cultural heritage', 'creation of dynamic new arts', 'a culture of peace' and 'cultural development within the social, economic and political development' of the member countries (Leahy, Yeap-Holliday and Pennington, 2010:24).

Underlying the policy emphasis on preservation and promotion of culture are notions of inclusion. These give rise to some specific policies, as discussed below.

Policy on inclusion

Meretui Ratunabuabua, Principal Cultural Officer in the Department of National Heritage, Culture and Arts pointed to instances of inclusion as a policy objective when I asked "To what extent is the Department recognising Fiji as multicultural or bicultural?" Ratunabuabua traces the location of the Department within the Ministry of Fijian Affairs, which later became the Ministry of I Taukei Affairs, with a focus on "revival of traditional knowledge and skills". Alongside this was the Ministry of Multi-ethnic Affairs, "which looked predominantly at Indian affairs…to revive Indian culture in Fiji" but which was dissolved in late 2010 (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11).

The shift towards more genuine and inclusive multi-ethnicity is borne out in the formation of the National Council for Building a Better Fiji (NCBBF) (Ratuva, 2011:114). The NCBBF is engaged in developing a multicultural national identity through such activities as seeking to identify a national icon, and changing names of schools where these were ethnically divisive,

> So there's no more Indian School, no more Nabua Fijian School… and also, as far as the citizens…We're all, whether you're Fijian, Indian, Chinese, whatever, we're all Fijian now. (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11)

These initiatives are operationalised through the Department of Natural Heritage, Culture and Arts, now located in the Ministry of Education which became, as a result, the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts. It works with the National Archives on the Memory of the World Programme, which, among other things, documents the history of Fiji's indentured Indian labourers (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11), thereby validating this group as a component of Fijian social and economic history. The Department also works in schools to implement the Ministry's policy on (conversational level) multilingualism,

…for Fijian or I Taukei, Hindustani and English to be compulsory in schools…what is hoped is that everybody learns each other's language. (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11)

This responds to a need expressed for some time, for example by writer and academic Subramani, in an interview with Vilisoni Hereniko where he notes the power of multilingualism both to unite Fijians across cultural divides and to establish a distinct Fijian identity (Hereniko, 2001:188-89, 193-95). Hereniko reiterates this in the interview I conducted with him during my fieldwork,

…that would be the fastest way to get the races – you know – understanding each other and having a deep respect for each other…I certainly think that that would be the best way to achieve harmony in Fiji. (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11)

Specific mention of 'the arts' in the designation of the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts, and the Department itself, was made under pressure from the departmental level, to facilitate a movement beyond the concept of 'culture', which tends to be interpreted fairly narrowly as traditional culture and its preservation (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11). The Fiji Arts Council, one of three heritage management agencies under the Ministry, shares this broader mandate to "develop and promote visual, performing and fine arts, as well as traditional and contemporary craft" (FAC Briefing Paper, undated). The arts, then, represent a space not aligned to any particular, ethnically defined 'culture' in which a range of cultural influences, including those from outside Fiji, may be explored and combined.

Above I have considered two areas of policy implemented by the Government of Fiji, to some extent in the context of regional and global policy directions. It is these two policy emphases that most clearly reflect priorities expressed by the members of Vou Dance Company as they discussed the contributions of the arts in achieving the sort of development that they envisage for Fiji.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed the findings of my one-month fieldwork visit to Fiji. The discussion is structured around my overall research question examining the intersections between arts practice and the practice of development, and particular sections within the chapter respond to my three research sub-questions, concerning meanings of 'development', the contributions of the arts to development, and the function of arts and culture policy. In the next chapter I draw these findings together analytically with the theoretical material from Chapter 2.

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

In this chapter I draw together the literature on development and the contribution of the arts to development discussed in Chapter 2, with the findings of my research outlined in Chapter 4, locating the findings within the framework also established in my literature review. That is, (1) the cultural turn in development as the theoretical space in which culture and the more specific category of the arts have entered development studies, (2) alternative development as a guide to action, and (3) a society founded on freedom and choice as an aspiration. In doing so, I suggest answers to my main research question and three sub-questions, which are outlined below,

> Given the increasing discourse arguing the value of the arts within development processes, in what ways could and do the arts in Fiji contribute to the understanding and achievement of 'development'?
>
> 1 How is 'development' understood by a group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?
>
> 2 In what ways do the arts, in particular contemporary dance, contribute to the achievement of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?
>
> 3 To what extent do arts and/or culture policy at the Fiji national, Pacific regional and global levels respond to the demands of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

This chapter examines each of these questions in turn. Because one of my data collection methods was arts-based and such methods have rarely been used in the field of development studies, I also analyse the use of this method in terms of the particular type of data it generated as well as its limitations.

Sub-question 1: How is 'development' understood by a group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

This research seeks to contribute to understandings of the concept of development from a specific viewpoint within a developing country. The major way in which it has done this is through a participatory dance workshop. The workshop took place in Fiji, which is defined as a middle income developing country, and enabled a small group of Fijian citizens to explore and state what they felt development would mean for them and their country. Although I worked within an alternative development model, borne out in my choice of a participatory, localised and qualitative methodology,[83] this is my own standpoint; the normal position of the research participants is not focused on 'development' concerns, however conceived. As such, my request that they consider, in the context of a participatory dance workshop, what development meant for them, pushed them both to use dance for a new purpose – as a mode of enquiry on my behalf – and to explore issues that they would not often explore. In the event, they acknowledged this as a positive opportunity (Field Notes, 41L).

A definition of development

To reiterate, the contextualised definition of development for Fiji established by the artist/participants in the dance workshop of 6 August was:

- Engagement with the present and future, informed by the past
- Unity and cooperation across racial and other barriers for peace
- Self-sufficiency, including a return to the land and traditional lifestyles
- Social and economic stability and inclusion as bases for growth
- Freedom of thought and expression, and medium of expression
- Integrity and transparency
- Freedom from oppression and militarism
- Active participation and engagement

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[83] Recalling Nederveen Pieterse's (2010:85-86) description of alternative development as founded in a belief in the centrality of poor people in their own physical, cultural and economic location, as well as the assertion of the right of people to determine their own development needs and aims (Chambers, 1983:141-145; Sen, 1999:19; Shetty 2005:74). This necessitates the use of participatory methods at the local level. While quantitative participatory methods do exist, qualitative methods are concerned with and driven by the values and meanings of their subjects (O'Leary 2010:30) and, therefore, complement the underlying philosophy of alternative development.

The varied emphases of this definition support understandings of human society, consistent with the cultural turn in development, as diverse in terms of values and desires (Simon, 2006:10; Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:98-99). Although the various components of the definition are not directly contradictory, they do tend in different directions, thereby demonstrating diversity of values and desires. For example 'a return to the land and traditional lifestyles' demonstrates a more static notion of the value of tradition than an 'engagement with the present and future' that is simply 'informed by the past'. Meanwhile 'freedom of thought and expression', and 'active participation and engagement' suggest development that does not necessarily have any reference to tradition or the past. The elements I have just highlighted have a direct relationship to the culture and development discourse, in which 'culture' can be seen to span a scale of meanings. At one end is the bounded concept of culture encapsulated in Nederveen Pieterse's (2010:65) discussion of national cultures referred to in Chapter 2, [84] which he suggests promote the cultural hegemony of politically and numerically powerful groups (see also Quanchi, 2004:8). This tendency can be seen in the case of Fiji, discussed in Chapter 1, as historically, Fijian nationalism has been an assertion of ethnic Fijian culture and identity (Hereniko, 2003:80, 84-86; Gaines, 2011:170-171; O'Sullivan, 2011:96). Nevertheless, more recent efforts[85] have been directed towards the deliberate establishment of a multicultural national identity (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11).

At the other end of the scale of meanings is the concept of culture as individualised (and free) expression. Individualism is often viewed as a western concept or 'obsession' and particularly an obsession of artists (Smiers, 2003:3-4) but Smiers also suggests that the right to individual expression may be tempered with a sense of social responsibility. Therefore, it is significant that the members of Vou Dance Company were at least as concerned with participation and engagement, as with the claim to freedom of expression. They demonstrate a form of citizenship that is expressed through direct engagement with their society through their art work. This is in line with Barbero's (2006a:31) notion of 'cultural citizenship', defined in Chapter 2 as exercising agency through cultural or artistic practice, implying

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[84] Within the discussion of concepts of development (p18) and arts and culture policy (p36).
[85] Under the non-elected military government and operationalised through the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts.

reflection upon and critique of the society. But even more evident among the members of Vou is citizenship asserted through a range of ancillary activities that they are engaged in as a consequence of being artists and members of the company, including teaching and creating opportunities for young people, and providing a role model through their public persona (*MaiLife* magazine, January 2011).

A number of aspects of the definition of development established in the workshop indicate actions, reflecting how the participants see themselves interacting with their society. By including participation, engagement, cooperation, inclusion and self-sufficiency in their definition of development, the Vou company members position themselves as development actors in what can be seen as an alternative development mode. As a strategy, alternative development emphasises participation (Chambers, 2004:7), which is embedded in the workshop participants' definition of development. In fact, they engaged in a participatory activity to define development, which they then defined in such a way as to enable further participation. As an extension of this, the company members can be seen to exercise agency (Kabeer, 1999438), expressed in their definition in terms of engagement and self-sufficiency, in the daily processes of keeping the company running. This involves administration, conceptualising and developing dance work, promoting their product and performing regularly, as I observed throughout my fieldwork visit (Field Notes, 10B, 13A-C, 26A-C, 27A, 28A). Thus they demonstrate agency as an underlying desire to act (Ortner, 2006:152), and a perception of their ability, as well as the actual ability, to "define goals and act on them" negotiated within existing fields of power (Kabeer, 1999:438).

Agency is exercised by the members of Vou Dance Company in the context of the culture sector[86] of Fiji. In this national context, characterised by 'suspended democracy' (Ratuva, 2011:106) and military oppression, it is useful to consider García Canclini's caution against "over-estimating the impact of the dominant on popular consciousness" (1992, in Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:70). From the time that I began arranging my field visit to Fiji, I became aware that, despite a very negative

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[86] In the Concepts and Definitions section of Chapter 1, I defined culture as the behaviours and outputs of groups and individuals. arising from their values and aspirations, but the 'culture sector' is distinguished by outputs/products, processes and institutions, rather than behaviours.

view of Fiji's ruling military government by outsiders,[87] many Fijians view the current government quite positively (particularly in respect of its efforts to overcome corruption). In addition, I did not encounter public shows of military power, such as military vehicles on the roads or personnel on the streets. Thus, many Fijians seem able, in García Canclini's term, not to allow military dominance to rule their consciousness. This is significant for the future of Fiji because Vou Dance Company, as well as other groups and individual artists, are still able to exercise 'cultural agency' (Arias, 2006b:251). Arias speaks of the empowerment of subjects who are "often peripheral and subaltern" but I do not wish to claim that the members of Vou are subaltern or that the group is peripheral. Indeed they are quite central, being well known both within the culture sector and more broadly (*MaiLife* magazine, January 2011; Field Notes, 31-34). However, their exercise of agency creates cultural spaces and negotiates choices (Ortner, 2006:151-152) for others, for example, by providing training and performance opportunities in contemporary and traditional dance for young people,[88] and a project to record traditional dances as cultural expression (John interview, 27/7/11). Although these actions do not constitute a direct challenge to 'the dominant', they do ensure the sustained existence of cultural opportunity and artistic expression in a time of relative crisis, so that artists and civil society actors generally are able to take their place and will be able to continue working as and when the political circumstances change.

The preceding discussion is based on the elements of development that the participants in an arts-based research activity – the 6 August dance workshop – identified at that time. In already pursuing this vision of development, the members of Vou Dance Company exercise cultural agency (Arias, 2006b:251), being empowered to act by their involvement in the arts. Furthermore, they can be regarded a cultural citizens (Barbero, 2006a:31) because it is the arts that enable their engagement with and contribution to their society. However, there are two other aspects that clearly form part of their conceptualisation of development, but were exposed through other methods. This indicates that, although the dance workshop yielded useful data, my research overall benefitted from the use of other methods as

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[87] The New Zealand and Australian governments, for example, have placed sanctions on the current military regime.

[88] Although it is true that many of these are also not subaltern.

well. The use of an arts-based method is discussed below and the limitations of the method are included in this discussion.

The use of an arts-based method

My decision to use an arts-based method, namely the dance workshop held with members of Vou Dance Company, is a matter of methodology. However, it is in the findings produced by this method that both the potential and the limitations of the method become evident. For this reason, the method itself is analysed here in relation to the findings. As an example of an arts-based method, the dance workshop was qualitative, falling within methodologies that recognise multiple sources of data, multiple forms of evidence and multiple interpretations of the data (Sabatini 2009:116; Eisner, 1997:39; Cole and Knowles, 2008:67), and being small-scale and concerned with the cultural worlds and meanings of actors (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:64). As stated in my methodology section, arts-based, and particularly dance-based, forms of enquiry have seldom been used in development studies research.

In line with the practical application of alternative development (for example, Chambers, 1983:184,188-190), the workshop was participatory and sought to bring out the views and voices of the participants. Specific to arts-based research is Weber's (2008:45) assertion that it "works well because we do not have our guard up". This was reflected in the comments by workshop participants, that using contemporary dance as a method enabled them to explore (political) issues that are generally taboo and are seldom discussed in Fiji (Field Notes, 41:L).[89] Given that the questions the participants were asked to explore[90] were open ended, so as not to predetermine the response, the strength of this method was that it generated a particular type of data that might not otherwise have been available. In terms of findings, then, the method created space for an emphasis, in the participants' definition of development, on political and social change at a structural level, as well as enhanced opportunities for citizens to contribute to such changes.

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[89] The extent to which this might indicate self-censorship is examined in a later section on freedom and resistance as inherent values of the arts in development.
[90] (1) Their response to the categorisation of Fiji by the World Bank and UNDP; (2) Their understanding of 'development' as a process; and (3) Their vision for Fiji.

Nevertheless, the cumulative findings of the other qualitative methods that I used – observation and key informant interviews – point strongly to two further elements that are clearly part of the same participants' understanding of development, although they were scarcely highlighted in the dance-based data. Firstly, although it did not come out of the of the dance workshop definition, the issue of choice is consistently demonstrated as important in the behaviour of company and its members, as well as being highlighted in a number of the interviews. As an aspiration, the multifaceted nature of the vision of development reached in the workshop tacitly suggests a demand for choice; development is not defined narrowly but opened up to include a range of possibilities.

In Chapter 2, I examine the parallels between choice (Kabeer, 1999), which is the term generally used by my research participants, and freedom as posited by Sen (1999:5) as constituent of development. I assume the two terms here to represent the same aspiration. In the literature (Kabeer, 1999:437-438; Sen, 1999:190), choice and freedom are linked closely to the concept of agency. Thus in the exercise of agency discussed above – making day-to-day and longer term decisions about what the company does – the members of Vou Dance Company make choices on their own behalf and act upon them (Kabeer, 1999:438). Furthermore, in opening up dance as an opportunity for the company's own students and other young people, they create situations of enhanced choice for others. It is the latter aspect that the dancers stress most strongly in their interviews. Patricia, for example, says "I mean, they may not even choose the option but to just have it makes so much difference because they can know that they've made the choice themselves, the choice hasn't been made for them." (Patricia interview, 27/7/11).

The second element that comes from responses gathered outside of the dance workshop is economic development (discussed in more depth below in the section on the contribution of the arts to development). The notion of economic development appears in only one of the components of the definition of development from the workshop, and even there in combination with 'social stability' and 'inclusion'. Indeed, in synthesising the workshop outputs, I drew this sole mention of economic development from the debrief/focus group session following the participants' dance presentations, rather than from the presentations themselves. Furthermore, although

some participants stated with certainty that Fiji does need economic development, and specifically foreign investment, these comments followed my mention of the fact that the economy had not been raised up to that point (Field Notes:41M). However, economic considerations came up frequently in the interviews I conducted with Vou company members and it was clear from my observation that economic concerns (among other objectives) drive the operations of the company. Vou is a 'commercial group' (Sachiko Millar, Field Notes, 10A) which has a major emphasis on both providing an income for its members and creating economic opportunities in the arts for others, particularly young people (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11; Joseph interview, 1/8/11).

Their vision appears to encompass economic development, according to a fairly conventional, growth-based model that is outwardly oriented, enabling global or at least regional integration (for example, Patricia, Field Notes:41M on the need for foreign investment; Sachiko interview, 2/8/11 on export of Vou's 'product'). Culture in this view is perceived as an economic resource, rather than economic activity being seen as an expression of culture and cultural values (Gibson-Graham, 2005:12-13; Connell, 2007a:124). It is possible that this reflects the urban setting of the research, which is characterised by commercial activity that is driven by profit motives rather than social bonds, within a modern business centre (central Suva).[91] In addition, the experience of most of the participants of metropolitan centres such as Auckland may have strengthened this perception.

In this section, I have demonstrated that the use of a range of qualitative methods was important in order to gain a comprehensive overall answer to the research question 'How is 'development' understood by a group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?' These methods yielded a definition or vision of development that encompassed opportunities for action or the exercise of agency – engagement, participation, inclusion – towards a better Fijian society, characterised by choice, peace and stability (including economic stability). Such a society was assumed to be grounded in cultural identity and values, recognising that these are not uniform for all Fijians.

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[91] This appeared to be true even of semi-formal and informal roadside trading as well as trading in the large fresh produce market close to the port of Suva (personal observation).

Sub-question 2: In what ways do the arts, in particular contemporary dance, contribute to the achievement of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

In my model of the contribution of the arts to development (Figure 2), I suggest three major levels at which the arts contribute: (1) as inherently valuable; (2) as contributors to economic development; and (3) as instruments in the achievement of development. In this section I first discuss the inherent contribution of the arts to development, reflecting the view of McCarthy *et al* (2004:4, 37) that it is these inherent values that underlie and unlock the other contributions that the arts potentially make. I elaborate some inherent contributions of the arts to development, focussing (in line with the emphasis of my research findings) upon their contribution to the establishment of identity, noting this as a central concern of the cultural turn in development. I also consider freedom and resistance, as well as inclusion and the enrichment of lives, as areas of impact for the arts in development that are supported by my findings. Secondly, I discuss the arts in economic development as a function suggested by almost all interview respondents – members of Vou Dance Company and key informants – and evident in the work of Vou. Finally in this section, I briefly look at instrumental uses of the arts in development.

The inherent value of the arts in development

My interest in my research topic began with the conviction (arising from my own experience) that the arts, through their direct impact on practitioners and broader impact on audiences, contribute to development. This contribution is both broader than the benefits achieved through economic and other instrumental uses of the arts and, at the same time, supports the effectiveness of these other uses. It is possible because of qualities that inhere in the arts themselves – in the experiences of both practice and viewing – as discussed by McCarthy *et al* (2004:39-52). The idea of the arts as inherently valuable in development is supported within the cultural turn in development by Simon's (2006:14) notion that culture (encompassing the more specific category of 'the arts') is the end towards which development ought to be directed, which is to say that to strengthen culture is to develop. Furthermore, field evidence exists of the growth of confidence, questioning and self-valuing as a consequence of participation in arts projects (Plastow, 2009:37) and my own fieldwork findings offer evidence of what I have characterised as empowered or

engaged citizenship. Throughout the research, I have identified five areas in which the inherent value of the arts is demonstrated – reclamation and assertion of heritage and identity, freedom, inclusion, enrichment of lives and resistance. Although I found evidence of all of these types of contribution of the arts in Fiji, it was assertion and reclamation of identity and heritage that all participants – artists and key informants – felt most strongly contributed to the development of their society. This will now be discussed further and will be followed by a discussion of the other areas in which the participants also suggested that the arts make an inherent contribution to development.

Assertion and reclamation of identity and heritage

Within the clear emphasis of the research participants on issues of heritage and identity, there are two tendencies discernible. The first reflects the discourse, discussed in Chapter 2, on preservation of cultural heritage, captured in the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972 and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003. Preservation of, at least certain elements of, traditional (ethnic Fijian) culture in a static form that is perceived as authentic was a stated objective of most of the members of Vou Dance Company. In the case of the *meke* learnt by the company members during their four-day visit to Silana village, its authenticity comes from its transmission through a line of cultural guardians and the ceremony that marked the handing over of knowledge of the dance to the Vou dancers. The dancers have sometimes been called upon by local audiences to justify their possession and performance of the *meke* (Discussion with Eddie, Field Notes:14A-B). The passing on of this *meke* occurred in the context of a quite reasonable fear of traditional dances being lost as a generation of rural Fijians who might have been expected to keep up the traditions moves to the urban areas.[92] This underlies another project of Vou Dance Company to record and document *meke* from all the villages of Vanua Levu and Viti Levu (John interview, 27/7/11).

The definition of development that the members of Vou formulated in the participatory dance workshop certainly included this preservation imperative, going

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[92] The population of Suva and the adjoining Nausori Corridor is thought to have grown from 20 000 to 300 000 in the past ten years (Discussion with Eddie, Field Notes:14B; Huffer interview, 22/7/11).

so far as to suggest a 'return to traditional lifestyles', and the company members seem to feel responsible for the task of preservation. However, in taking on this responsibility, viewed within the context of the overall work of the company, they seem to respond to a rather broader element of their definition – engagement with the present and future, informed by the past. As such, they retain the choice of what is still "important and meaningful" in traditional culture, as a basis from which to create work that is relevant in the present (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11; Sachiko interview, 2/8/11) and that presents Fijian culture as 'living' (John interview, 27/7/11).

The other tendency is a much more fluid negotiation of hybrid identities[93] (Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:142) that incorporate traditional heritage(s) with a range of contemporary inputs. Most of the members of Vou Dance Company spoke of having to convince their family that the arts offered an acceptable career choice. Joseph, for example, used explanation and dialogue to gain 'understanding' (rather than 'acceptance') from his very church-oriented family when he moved into secular music in his work with Vou (Joseph interview, 1/8/11); Sharleen overcame resistance in the context of her Fijian Indian family and has since found that her experience with the company has brought her back to an interest in her own cultural roots and Indian classical dance (Sharleen interview, 27/7/11). A common negotiating tactic is to trade off meeting the demand of parents for formal education in another field against the right to commit themselves to working with Vou as their career preference (Eddie interview, 28/7/11; Sharleen interview, 27/7/11; Patricia interview, 27/7/11).

Processes of negotiation were also evident from my key informant interviews and suggest that this is a fact of life for many Pacific people.[94] It is manifested, for

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[93] 'Hybridity' in the culture discourse (for example, García Canclini, 1995:xxv) refers to the combination or fusing of formerly discrete cultural structures (at the group/societal level) or practices. It occurs in an unplanned manner, through exchange processes such as migration, tourism and globalisation (Smiers, 2003:85; Appadurai, 2004:62), but may also be deliberate and consciously planned. The description of particular art works or styles as 'hybrid' (for example, Norridge, 2010:416-419) places them within this notion of deliberate, chosen hybridity, although they may also reflect unconsciously hybrid elements. Hybridity as a process is fluid and hybrid identities remain in flux, that is, they are multiple, being different things at different times.

[94] There is bound to be a degree of bias here caused by the fact that my fieldwork took place in an urban setting and one with many regional and global linkages. It is likely that people in rural and isolated areas have far fewer facets of identity to negotiate (see, for example, 'Life Beyond the End of the Road' in *MaiLife* magazine January 2011, p52-53).

example, in OCACPS Director, Vilisoni Hereniko's, shifting between the role of recognised (film and theatre) artist and academic, and his role as 'son of the island of Rotuma', where he has no particular status and no right to speak out (see Varshney, 2002 in Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:32). Hereniko examines this notion through a 'shape-shifting' character in his play 'Fine Dancing', in which the main character discovers her true identity through dance (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11; unpublished manuscript, 2011). Lai Veikoso, Director of the Fiji Arts Council, had to reconcile Polynesian/island 'shyness' and laid back approach with the stringent demands of formal music in his own training and now seeks to support his students as they work through similar contradictions (see also Eddie interview, 28/7/11; Sachiko interview, 2/8/11). Thus, the arts may be seen as a potential source of conflict, which the Vou company members in particular speak of having to negotiate in establishing identities. Yet this negotiation is not taking place only because they have chosen to be contemporary artists; it is part of an inevitable process of social and cultural change over time.[95] The arts, therefore, also represent a medium of negotiation that enable revaluing of tradition (Sharleen), reconciling multiple roles (Hereniko) and developing new ways of being and surviving in modern settings (Veikoso).

Enrichment of lives and inclusion

In my interviews with them, all the members of Vou spoke of membership of the company as enriching or giving value to their lives (Sen, 1999:285). This is expressed cogently by Sachiko, who told me, "I think it's made my life. This is my life. It gives my life purpose and meaning." (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11). Some spoke of their involvement with the company as simply giving them something to do when they would have expected to be "at home doing nothing" (Tevita interview, 27/7/11) or "muck[ing] around in town or window shopping and all that" (Mereia interview, 8/8/11). Others demonstrated the value they place on membership of Vou by incorporating it into already full lives as students or in the workforce (Eddie interview, 28/7/11; Patricia interview, 27/7/11; Sharleen interview, 27/7/11). Thus belonging to the company fulfils their own vision of development (from the workshop) in terms of engagement with the present and future, inclusion, and active participation and engagement.

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[95] Accelerated and accentuated by globalisation (Potter, 2008:192-194) as well as by Fiji government policies on, for example, multiculturalism (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11).

Inclusion or a feeling of community is identified specifically by some of the company members as a benefit of their engagement in the arts (Joseph interview, 1/8/11; Mereia interview, 8/8/11; Sharleen interview, 27/7/11). This demonstrates an inherent value of the arts that is particularly important in a context of social divisions because it creates an enabling space for such divisions to be overcome. Beyond this inherent value, inclusion was also perceived by the company members (in their definition of development) as a contributing factor in economic growth, presumably in the sense of maximising the available human potential.

Freedom and resistance

The definition of development reached by the participants in the dance workshop of 6 August supports Sen's (1999) argument for development as freedom and is in line with Appadurai's (2004:63) notion that freedom (as an aspiration) reflects a cultural capacity. Freedom is a strong component of the definition, appearing as 'freedom of expression', that is, freedom to do something, 'freedom from oppression', in line with Sen's discussion of removal of the sources of 'unfreedom' (1999:3-8), and 'active participation and engagement'. This last is a manifestation of agency and choice that both exploits existing freedoms and has the potential to lessen the constraints to freedom. Placing these elements within the overall definition formulated in the workshop (and including the extra elements that I have drawn from the findings of other research methods) shows freedom to be a key aspiration but one that is envisaged as being desirable in conjunction with other aspects of development, such as economic growth, recognition of tradition, peace and transparency. Thus it recalls Sen's (1999:43-49) finding that freedom[96] without economic growth does represent development but that economic growth in addition to freedom creates the most durable form of development. In the interview I conducted with Sachiko Miller, the Director of Vou Dance Company and the only member with a western arts training, she focused on creation of opportunities for artists to make a living as members of Vou, alongside the opportunities that are created for artistic expression in its own right (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11; John interview, 27/7/11).

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[96] Stated as 'democracy' in the particular discussion.

Both the workshop data and interview responses also show a balance of priorities between a vision of freedom (of expression – a primarily individual freedom) and the recognition by the participants of responsibility to their society. Their notion of responsibility is often discussed in terms of enhancing the options or choices (Kabeer, 1999:438,439, 457) of others or, to use Sen's (1999:18-20) terminology, enhancing their freedoms. This balancing of priorities was borne out frequently in the individual interviews I conducted with the same group of participants. For example, Mereia and Tevita both speak of the importance of the company's work in providing skills to youth and making them aware of opportunities in the arts (see also Field Notes, 31-32, recording the company's participation in a secondary school careers week), while Patricia highlights the role of dance in bridging ethnic and gender divisions (Patricia interview, 27/7/11).

As such, the company members act as cultural or artistic citizens (Barbero, 2006a:31; Durland, 1998:xviii) and achieve a level of participation and engagement, as also envisaged in their definition of development. However, in their dance outputs, they do not overtly resist the power situation in Fiji or directly challenge the constraints imposed by military governance and the suspension of democracy. Therefore, the workshop that I conducted with this group was an exceptional case in which they examined and critiqued aspects of their own society within a relatively closed and protected space (although the participants were aware that I was collecting research data). Rather, their resistance takes place, at an individual level and within the company, in terms of the non-conventional career choices the members have made (Nilan, 2006:2) and the choice to operate within a company in which cross-culturalism is a social and artistic norm. This fairly understated resistance achieves a wider impact through their presence and work with others in the community (Durland, 1998:xxiii). Nevertheless, the participants expressed satisfaction with the opportunity to openly examine and comment upon their society in the context of the workshop, suggesting that, along with other artists in Fiji, they exploit spaces for safe or acceptable engagement, consciously working towards incremental positive changes (Sommer, 2006:4; Finley, 2008:75), while also practicing a degree of self-censorship (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11).

As has been elaborated in this section, the research participants identified assertion and reclamation of identity and heritage as the area of greatest importance among the various areas of inherent contribution of the arts to development. They engage with their cultural heritage (which in itself varies according to the background of the individual) in different ways, all the time exercising agency in choosing the form of their engagement, and advocating the value of engagement as a process. In summarising their discussion of inherent values of the arts, McCarthy *et al* (2004:52) draw these values together as "engagement with the world".[97] Although the Vou company members do not identify the values they ascribe to the arts as 'inherent', I have imputed this from their emphasis on engagement in the process of development. A project of cultural preservation is formalised within the work of the company but, outside of this, the cultural heritage of the company members forms just one component of the identities they negotiate for themselves. The valorisation of the background and experience of individual members engenders feelings of inclusion while the range of cultural influences within the work of the company broadens and enhances the options for identity formation without totally displacing the traditional values and cultural forms of each member. The participants also recognise the arts as inherently valuable in asserting freedom and resisting oppression, although they engage only in subtle forms of resistance. The choice to be in a dance company can, in itself, be seen as an act of resistance which opens up other inherent benefits in terms of inclusion and the creation of lives of personal value.

The arts in economic development

I have already noted a disjuncture between the findings arising from the participatory, arts-based dance workshop and the other qualitative methods – observation and interviews – with respect to the economic contribution of the arts to development. The dance workshop data can be seen as 'unguarded' (Weber, 2008:45) and focuses on cultural, including traditional, as well as social aspects, within an overall vision of freedom. Yet the more deliberate responses of the same participants in individual interviews show a clear perception of the arts having an economic function. For example, Sachiko Miller, the Director of the company, says, "I want to create sustainable career paths for these people. I want them to be

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[97] Reinforcing the notion of artistic citizenship (Barbero, 2006a:31; Durland, 1998:xviii).

professionals in what they do." (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11, see also Mereia interview, 8/8/11, Eddie interview, 28/7/11). Therefore, I find economic development to be implicitly included in any definition or vision of development attributable to the members of Vou Dance Company, especially given that the interview dat,a in particular, is specifically stated and less open to interpretation (by the researcher) than the workshop data.

This view of the arts as a contributor to economic development falls within the wider creative economy/creative industries discourse (UNCTAD, 2008; UNESCO, 2001), in which culture is treated as a resource for development (Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006:231), rather than development being seen as contributing to culture (Simon, 2006:14). This global level discourse is also picked up at other levels and, in the key informant interviews I conducted, was identified as a major contribution of culture, with specific mention of the arts, by a senior officer of the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11). This has implications for arts and culture policy, as discussed in the section below, and means that the economic contribution of the arts is also recognised by quasi-government bodies such as the Fiji Arts Council (Veikoso interview, 5/8/11; Fiji Arts Council, undated:3). The economic contribution is stated even more strongly by the Fiji Audio Visual Commission, which grew up under the auspices of the Fiji Trade Commission in Los Angeles and is mandated to "promote and develop the local audio visual industry" (Swarmy interview, 8/8/11). Thus the opportunities and choices that acting FAVC Director, Florence Swarmy speaks of are career opportunities and opportunities to make and sell cultural product – as Fijian talent, particularly dance, inserted into foreign productions and, increasingly, as local film products (Swarmy interview, 8/8/11).

If one takes a strictly economic view of the creative industries, then cultural products may be judged solely in terms of their market value and the issue of authenticity does not arise. However, my research findings make clear that, although there is considerable emphasis on the economic contribution of the arts to development, their role in the preservation of cultural heritage and establishing identity is equally important. This is true of all respondents, that is, Vou Dance Company members, and representatives of government and quasi-governmental organisations, the University

of the South Pacific and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community. Here authenticity becomes an issue, particularly in the context of the tourist industry, which is a major outlet for Fiji's artists. But authenticity itself is a contested notion which may imply anything from strict adherence to traditional values and behaviours, to Albert Wendt's 'culture we are living in right now' (cited by Hereniko, Field Notes, 7E). Within this range, preservation might be concerned with conserving 'the authentic' as something outside of or untouched by modernity (Cohen, 1988:374, citing the views of MacCannell, 1973). But Cohen states that the notion of authenticity is socially constructed and, therefore negotiable. As such 'preservation' might also imply adding meanings and may take the form of conscious self-representation (Cohen, 1988:382; Keesing, 1989:23; Teaiwa, 2012:76-82), in line with Hereniko's suggestion that autonomy may be more relevant than authenticity in considering how artists engage with their cultural heritage (Field Notes:7D).

Vou Dance Company's work negotiates both ends of the scale, from strict cultural authenticity to complete contemporary mélange (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009:75-77), as well as the middle ground. John, for example, is responsible, on behalf of the company, for recording on digital video traditional *meke* from every village on the two main islands of Fiji. This project has no commercial objective but seeks to preserve (ethnic) Fijian heritage, which traditional cultural guardians fear is being lost (John interview, 27/7/11; Discussion with Eddie, Field Notes, 14A-B). Much of Vou's repertoire could be described as 'fusion', placing it within global trends in contemporary dance, for example among companies in Uganda and Zimbabwe (Tangled Tribe, 2004:3) and dancers descended from other cultures working in the west (for example, Norridge, 2010:416-419 on the work of Akram Khan). This mode, known as 'hybridity', is represented, for example, by a dance piece by Vou Dance Company blending Bollywood (Indian) and contemporary styles (Sharleen interview, 27/7/11) as well as an exercise I set for the company in which they created a modern *meke*, using traditional movement and music to comment on contemporary urban situations (Field Notes, 41N; Patricia interview, 27/7/11).

In this "cut 'n' mix zone of selves and others" Nederveen Pieterse (2007:142), the members of Vou Dance Company are able to overcome some of the barriers that have caused division in Fijian society throughout the history of the country (Lal,

2002:148-166; Connell, 2007b:85-87). This is in line with their vision for Fiji defined in the participatory dance workshop, particularly 'unity and cooperation across racial and other barriers for peace', 'social stability and inclusion' and 'freedom from oppression'. They demonstrate cross-cultural cooperation in the way that the company operates, and constructive, collaborative creativity in the process of making dance work. The space in which the latter takes place is potentially dialogic (Blumenfeld-Jones, 2008:179) – allowing of conscious questioning and challenge – and psychologically 'liminal' (Turner, 1982:20-59) or 'nascent' (Mienczakowski, 2000:138) – facilitating empathy and personal transformation. Thus it is a space in which otherness may be broken down and elements of alternative identities internalised.[98]

Finally, the company does purely commercial work that makes no reference to Fijian-ness, however understood and expressed, for example a performance for a James Bond corporate theme event that they rehearsed during my visit (Field Notes:27A; Sachiko interview, 2/8/11). By setting conscious objectives that are met by these different kinds of work, the members of Vou exercise agency (Kabeer, 1999:438) and assert an underlying claim to freedom of choice, which is to say that they have autonomy (Hereniko, Field Notes:7D).

Overall, therefore, the frequent mention of the economic benefits of the arts by members of Vou Dance Company in their interviews, and their clear commercial intentions for the company, have led me to include economic development in the definition of development that I attribute to this group as research participants. Yet, their definition does not in any way fall within notions of progress (Shanin, 1997), given that the economic role they ascribe to the arts in development is just one of a number of areas in which they see the arts contributing and, as such, presents another option and contributes to freedom and choice. In particular, the members of Vou counterbalance the demand for economic development with a desire preserve their cultural heritage and to incorporate this into the formation of hybrid identities (Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:142; McGuigan, 1996:141). Thus, inherent and economic contributions of the arts are those recognised by the members of Vou Dance

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[98] These are the same qualities of the arts that underlie their effectiveness in qualitative research (see discussion of arts-based enquiry in Chapter 3).

Company and they do not really use dance as a means for the transmission of specific development messages. Nevertheless, despite very constrained arts funding, some message-based art work is being produced in Fiji and respondents outside of Vou commented upon this. Therefore, this instrumental contribution of the arts to development is discussed briefly in the next subsection.

Other instrumental uses of the arts

Nederveen Pieterse (2010:72) refers to "Culture with a big C", by which he means the instrumental use of culture (or more precisely in the example he gives, the arts) to attain development, for example, using theatre to "popularize family planning or AIDS containment". My interest in my research topic arises, in part, from my own unsatisfactory experiences with this kind of donor-driven (Plastow, 2009:35) use of the arts. My fieldwork in Fiji did not yield a lot of data on this type of contribution by the arts, largely because "there is no funding for the arts in Fiji" (Sachiko Miller, pers comm, 9/6/11), at least not of the type dedicated to the transmission of specific development messages.

Nevertheless, I did gain a richer understanding of the potential of 'art for development' as a result of my fieldwork visit to Fiji and my interactions with people (mainly artists) there. Firstly, I note that artistic expression is a field of negotiation anyway and the exigencies of keeping a commercial dance company running financially narrow the options considerably. Thus Sachiko Miller told me that, for Vou Dance Company, "if there's a message, it's our message" (Field Notes:10A) but the company also finds itself doing purely commercial work that has very little resonance for its members, for example choreographing and performing material for corporate events (Field Notes, 27A). Secondly, and by contrast, the Oceania Dance Theatre receives substantial funding, with a major contributor being the French Embassy in Suva (Decraene interview, 11/8/11). Of the four productions of this company in the past few years, two have dealt with themes that could be linked to development – global warming and HIV prevention – while the other two were on more general themes. In a discussion I had with Tulevu, one of Oceania Dance Theatre's dancers, he told me that he enjoyed doing both types of work, that is, message-driven and more open ended (Field Notes:26D-N). Indeed performing 'development' art with a message that the artist believes in can satisfy a desire for

community engagement and contribution, thereby increasing their sense of a life they have reason to value (Sen, 1999:285).

Perhaps, then, two things are important, firstly not to assume that external agents have a monopoly on 'development' concerns and that local people do not understand or are not concerned with issues such as climate change or HIV (the two themes chosen by Oceania Dance Theatre) (de Vries, 2007:25-26). Therefore, the process of prioritising an area of concern and developing a message, and who is involved, are fundamental methodological issues, suggesting a need for alternative development approaches that facilitate the participation and voice of the subjects of development. Secondly, if the arts are considered to be "effective in the transmission of development messages and in transforming people's lives and challenging them to think about the world differently" (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11), it is worthwhile to maximise this potential, both in terms of the message and in terms of the art. Vou Dance Company member, Patricia, notes of the use of dance in development, "We can send off a message without hammering it in their face or yelling it. We can dance it. They'll watch it and understand…they'll want to watch it." (Patricia interview, 27/7/11). Thus the message needs to be relevant (perhaps developed through participatory means) and well informed, noting that one of my initial concerns about instrumental uses of the arts was the danger of spreading misinformation.[99] But the message should also recognise the allusive and metaphorical nature of the arts (Eisner, 1997:29, 108-109), and the opportunities they present, in an alternative development context, for audience members to have freedom of interpretation and choice in how they act and react. Furthermore, the greater the quality of the art or the ability of the artist, the more convincingly the message is presented and this has implications for where development intervention in the realm of the arts might usefully be directed.

Therefore, although the data generated in relation to this component of my model of the contribution of the arts to development were limited, the experience of carrying out the research brought about a notable shift in my own thinking on instrumental

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[99] Arising from an 'AIDS writing' workshop in 1993 in which the imposition of HIV/AIDS as a theme, without the provision of necessary information (which admittedly was in short supply at that time), led to the sharing of ill-informed and potentially damaging information (see the personal background and research interest section in Chapter 1.

uses of the arts. It has caused me to recognise some value in such approaches and to consider how this might be maximised, as well as how the potential harm that I discuss in Chapter 1 as underlying my research concern could be minimised.

Sub-question 3: To what extent do arts and/or culture policy at the Fiji national, Pacific regional and global levels respond to the demands of development as conceptualised by this group of urban, semi-professional dancers in Fiji?

In this section, I examine the extent to which policy in Fiji responds to the vision of development established throughout my thesis, primarily on the basis of data from the participatory dance workshop, and the areas of contribution of the arts prioritised by my research participants. I also consider how national level policy can be located within regional and global policy thrusts, noting that policy at each level is the mechanism by which development thinking is translated into planning and the implementation of programmes on the ground.

In interviews and discussions with the members of Vou Dance Company, I found that the development contributions they ascribed to dance, and to some extent the arts generally, coalesced around economic or commercial functions – making a living from their art form; and preservation of Fiji's traditional culture as the basis of identity. In addition, they saw the arts as contributing to choice and freedom, which they view (as expressed in their definition of development from the participatory dance workshop) as constitutive of development. Choice and freedom are manifested through the exercise of agency and could be expected to be expressed in policy and programming in terms of 'empowerment' (Kabeer, 1999:436-438) but the language of empowerment did not arise in my interviews with government and quasi-governmental officers. Figure 3, below, summarises my overall findings on policy relating to the arts and culture in development and illustrates the links between the various levels of policy. It is evident from Figure 3 that, although concerns with choice or freedom are not articulated in policy, the other two areas of contribution that were prioritised by the Vou company members – economic contributions, and preservation of heritage and identity – are also identifiable as priorities at every level of policy.

Figure 3 Arts and Culture in Development - Policy Flows and Directions
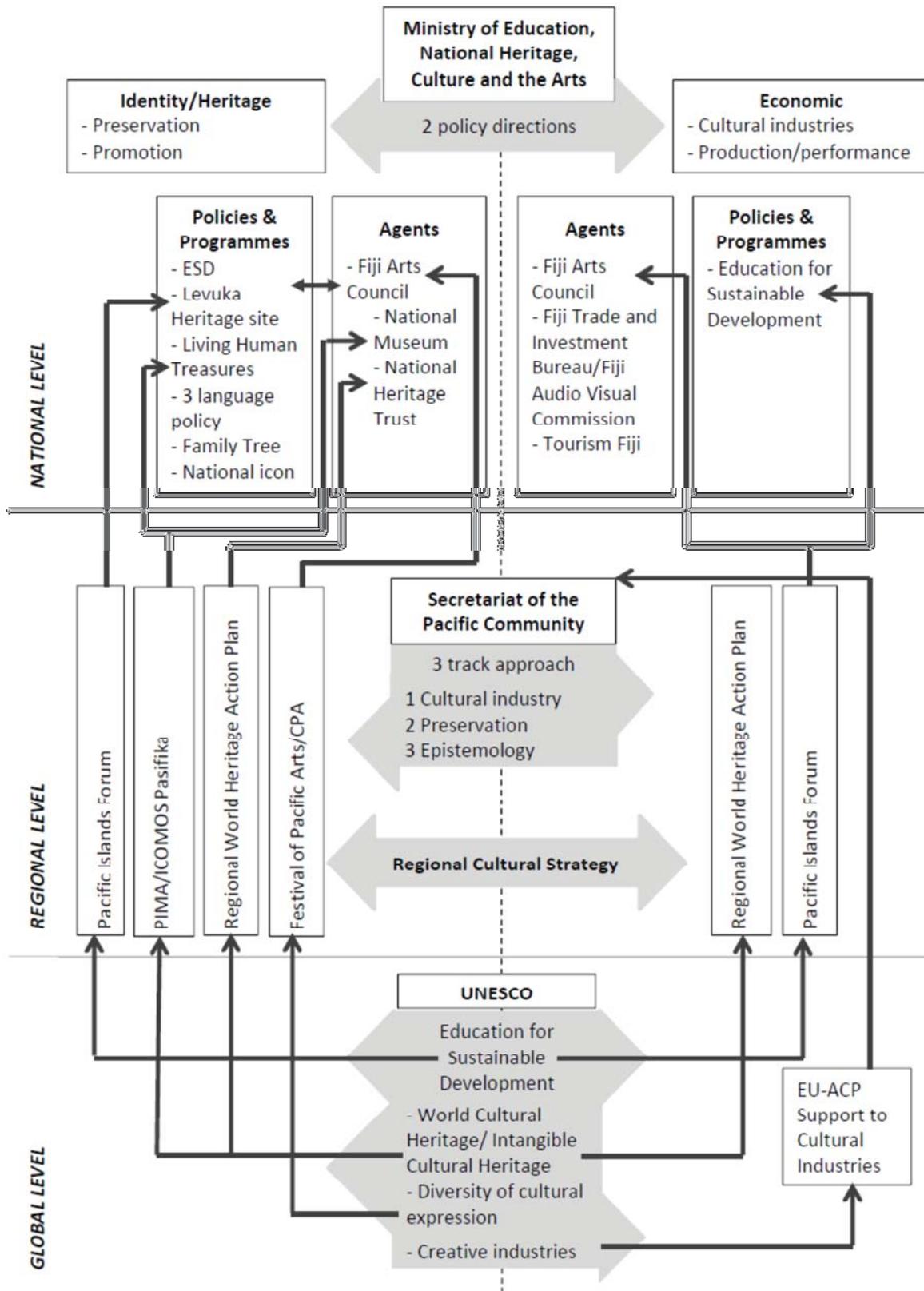
Sources: Interviews with Elise Huffer, Meretui Ratunabuabua, Lai Veikoso (July/August, 2011);

www.unesco.org; www.forumsec.org; webgate.ec.europa.eu.

Globally, policy is driven by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). A key area of UNESCO policy, which has impacts on policy at both the Pacific regional level and the national level in Fiji, is education for sustainable development (ESD).[100] Among UNESCO's ESD principles are cultural diversity and indigenous knowledge, and also poverty reduction. The ESD focus has been picked up by the Pacific Islands Forum and is expressed in the Pacific Education for Sustainable Development Framework, 2006, which stresses "locally relevant and culturally appropriate education" to "meet current and future social, cultural, environmental and economic needs and aspirations" (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2006:3). Within Fiji, ESD is a policy of the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts. It is implemented through, among other agencies, the two departments of the Ministry and the Fiji Arts Council, and aims to provide broad-based, holistic education to maximise the range of children's skills towards their own, and ultimately the nation's, development (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11; Veikoso interview, 5/8/11). At each level, ESD has both an economic and a cultural heritage rationale, building on the concept of 'sustainable development' itself, in which culture is seen as underlying economic development, and economic development being unstable and valueless removed from its cultural context (Hawkes, 2001:vii; Huffer interview, 22/7/11).

A series of UNESCO conventions deals primarily with the identity and heritage aspects of culture and the arts.[101] Pacific regional acceptance of the two heritage related conventions has resulted in the Pacific World Heritage Action Plan, 2010-2015, sponsored by UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention. The Plan envisages protection and enrichment of the heritage of the Pacific region and focuses on the uniqueness of the region's heritage, the concept of 'indigeneity' (perhaps problematically for Fiji), and "the inseparable relationship between communities, cultures and environment that underpin sustainable development" (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2009:1-2). The major thrust of the plan is heritage and identity, the only economic component being "Assisting communities to develop and

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[100] Currently a focus under UNESCO's Decade for Sustainable Development, 2005-2014 (www.unesco.org).
[101] These are the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972, the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2003, and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, 2005.

implement environmentally sustainable economic growth through heritage-related enterprises". In the logframe appended to the Plan, Fiji is not allocated any actions with direct economic goals or impacts. Fiji's world heritage policy is enacted in the submission of sites[102] for inclusion on UNESCO's World Heritage List, and the Living Human Treasures project of the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts. The latter focuses on, "identifying people who have the knowledge and skills that may be in danger of disappearing…who are talented and are known by the community to have this knowledge or skill that should be transferred" (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11).

While those I spoke to during my fieldwork seldom specifically mentioned the UNESCO convention, both protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions tacitly underlie policy at the regional level. This is particularly true of the Festival of Pacific Arts which seeks to strengthen Pacific identity as a whole, while also celebrating the internal diversity of the region's cultures. The Festival combines "the protection of cultural heritage" and other references to the past and tradition, with "the creation of dynamic new arts". At the national level, aside from its participation in the Festival of Pacific Arts, Fiji's policy emphasis in on recognising and celebrating cultural diversity, acknowledging that cultural intolerance in the past has undermined the country's development, particularly by causing political instability. The three language policy of the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts, which prescribes the teaching of I Taukei (ethnic Fijian), Hindi and English in schools from primary level, is an example of this (Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11; Hereniko, 2001:193-197; Hereniko interview, 26/7/11).

The policy direction at regional and national levels is also grounded in the UNESCO discourse on creative industries, which takes into account a notable and expanding contribution to GDP by the creative industries (3.4% globally and higher in some developing countries), as well as their further contribution in the context of tourism (UNESCO, 2011:4-5). The economic potential of the culture sector has been

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[102] Initially the original capital at Levuka, with plans to identify other sites later.

recognised by other global development players, such as the EU through the EU-ACP Support Programme to Cultural Industries in ACP Countries. The Secretariat for the Pacific Community, Culture Division was making an application to this programme at the time of my fieldwork (Huffer interview, 22/711), in line with the cultural industry track of the Division's three track regional programming. There is no clear relationship between the creative industries discourse at global level and policy at the national level in Fiji but some national level policies and programmes reflect an awareness of this potential. Examples are the Fiji Arts Council objective (among many others) to "generate new employment and develop the creative industry" (Fiji Arts Council, undated:3), and the goal of meeting economic needs and aspirations (along with social, cultural and environmental ones) stated in the regional ESD plan, 2008-2014, and implemented in Fiji's national ESD programme.

In summary, it appears that arts and culture policy at the national and regional levels responds to two major areas also highlighted in the vision of development held by the small group of artists who participated in this research. The priorities of the research participants – economic development and preservation of culture – are shared by the institutions directing arts and culture in Fiji and the Pacific, as well as by regional events such as the Pacific Festival of the Arts. Although the research respondents seldom articulated a link, these policy directions are in line with global level discourses, particularly within the relevant United Nations bodies. Nevertheless, the participants who took part in, and formulated a vision of development through, a participatory dance workshop also emphasised aspects of choice or freedom, and they reiterated this in their interviews. As artistic citizens, they have begun to achieve this aspiration, on their own behalf and on behalf of others, but they do so largely outside of the policy visions articulated at any level.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought answers to my three research sub-questions by analysing the findings of my fieldwork (and a document analysis in the case of Sub-question 3) within the framework established in my literature review (Chapter 2). Firstly, I considered a definition of development established by the research participants during an arts-based data collection exercise (the 6 August dance

workshop). This definition is consistent with understandings of development existing within the cultural turn and alternative development discourses, as diverse, engaged, participatory, and locally driven, and therefore grounded in culture. Secondly, I examined the different types of contribution that the arts make to development, categorised as inherent, economic, and other instrumental contributions. Although the responses of participants suggested that the arts contribute to development in all of these ways, the greatest emphasis was on the assertion and reclamation of identity and heritage, and the economic contribution of the arts. Furthermore, an ongoing tension was demonstrated to exist between these two areas of focus. Thirdly in this chapter, I considered arts and culture policy and the extent to which, in the context of Fiji and at the regional and global levels, this is likely to recognise and maximise the potential contribution of the arts to the type of development envisaged by the members of Vou Dance Company.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND PRACTICE

This research aimed to contribute to a broader understanding of the ways in which arts practices intersect with development practices, informed by the experience of actors in the arts sector in Fiji. I considered my research question within the cultural turn in development, given that culture represents the broader conceptual context within which I locate the arts, and I worked with an understanding of the meaning and nature of development that was derived from the research participants, particularly a small group of urban, semi-professional dancers. The findings of my research indicate that the three key contributions of the arts in development thus conceived are: (1) as offering choice (freedom) for those who take part, which may enable them to enhance the choices of others; (2) related to heritage and identity, as a means of both preserving traditional culture and negotiating hybrid contemporary identities; and (3) economic, as a source of income and provider of employment.[103] The first two are inherent contributions of the arts to development, while their economic contribution is an instrumental one.

Choice and freedom are the most aspirational (Appadurai, 2004) of these contributions of the arts to development but also the contribution for which the dancers of Vou Dance Company themselves take much responsibility. For all of the members, having made the more or less contentious choice to pursue a dance career, membership of the company has offered opportunities to use dance, and the activities that surround dancing in the context of a small company, to work towards their vision of development. This vision or definition of development is multifaceted and directed towards a range of development objectives, indicating that they conceive of development as complex and contextual, and implying an alternative development understanding. Their definition incorporates a vision of how they would like Fiji to be, that is, the demands they make of development, which are peace, economic and

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[103] The importance of preserving traditional culture was clearly stated by the participants in their interviews, while the evidence for formation of hybrid identities comes more from my observation of the company at work. A demand for choice was evident in the outcomes of the dance workshop, was articulated by the participants in their interviews and was demonstrated in their (observed) behaviour.

social stability, inclusion and freedom. In addition, their definition prescribes their relationship to their society and role as (artistic) citizens in achieving this vision of development through active participation and engagement. As such, they express a notion of social responsibility which is also borne out in their behaviour as individuals and, at a collective level, in the work of the company. On the basis of this, they choose to engage and to take action towards their self-defined objectives, thereby exercising agency within the limitations of the prevailing conditions (Kabeer, 1999:438; Ortner, 2006:151-152). However, the challenge that they mount to those aspects of Fijian society that they perceive as negative – ethnic division, corruption, militarism – is, in most cases, subtle rather than openly critical or resistant, exploiting such freedom as does exist (Sommer, 2006:4) to build for the future.

Each of the other two contributions of the arts to development emphasised in the research presents contradictions in development terms but these are ameliorated precisely by the fact that the respondents balance economic interests against a concern with issues of heritage and identity. A singular emphasis on the economic contribution of the arts would imply that material wealth for its own sake was the overall development objective, in keeping with unilinear modernist notions of progress (Shanin, 1997:66) and, even within the cultural turn, suggesting culture as resource (Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006:231; UNESCO, 2001:5-6). On the other hand, an emphasis only on the preservation of traditional culture could be seen as 'anti-development' (Peet and Hartwick, 2009:236) – resisting both outside influences and the inevitable internal evolution of cultures and societies (Hereniko interview, 26/7/11). In practice, both their traditional culture and their specific contemporary art form are a resource for the members of Vou Dance Company, and one that they exploit economically But by also emphasising the inherent value of reclaiming and asserting heritage and identity – for example, "culture is what makes us what we are and that's something I do not want to lose" (Joseph interview, 1/8/11) – they position its economic value as a means to an end (Sen, 1999:186-188). This end might be development, as understood by the research participants and falling within alternative development thinking, but it also does not preclude Simon's (2006:14) notion of culture as the end towards which development should be directed.

This twin emphasis in Vou Dance Company's approach does demand that they resolve issues of authenticity. In the effort to preserve traditional culture, these revolve around the problem of establishing a point in time that cultural beliefs and practices can be considered pristine and, therefore, worthy of preservation, while their economic exploitation of traditional culture could be seen as threatening authentic traditional practice by commoditising it and divorcing it from its original meaning (Smiers, 2003:117-118; Cohen, 1988:372-383). This is a further space in which the members of Vou Dance Company have to exercise choice and agency, and in which they can be seen to meet different objectives at different times. Although they preserve specific traditional *meke* in their customary form and with due respect to the community owners, they are also prepared to create new *meke* based on contemporary life and they do frequently incorporate the movements of the *meke* into their contemporary fusion dance style.

I reviewed and analysed arts and culture policy because it is policy that guides development intervention by both governments and their development partners. Therefore policy provides a vital link between development theory and development action. I discovered strong coherence between policy directions in the arts and culture at the global, regional and national levels. Furthermore, policy at all these levels is aligned to the emphasis of the research participants on preservation of culture, and economic uses of the arts, although this appears to be coincidental. Groups of artists in Fiji are not required to register or state allegiance to any government policy and the Director of Vou Dance Company was unaware of how closely the company's efforts to offer opportunity and training in the arts matched government efforts by the Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts and the Fiji Arts Council (Sachiko interview, 2/8/11; Ratunabuabua interview, 3/8/11; Veikoso interview, 5/8/11).

My findings and analysis, therefore, demonstrate that the arts make three important types of contribution to development in Fiji, according to a locally derived definition of development, and to have other potential roles that were less strongly felt by the participants in this particular research. Current arts and culture policy in Fiji has been found to match closely two of the three priorities of the research participants and this reflects policy thrusts at the regional and global levels. These findings have implications for development policy and practice, which I now consider.

Implications for Development Policy and Practice

Given the alignment between the development priorities expressed by the members of Vou Dance Company, and arts and culture policy at the national and regional levels, development assistance – both material support and technical assistance or capacity building – could be usefully concentrated at the policy level and directed to the effective implementation of existing policy, Of course there are political implications to this sort of direct government support, which could not be effected without removal of the sanctions currently imposed upon Fiji by key regional development partners.[104]

Furthermore, although there is currently little or no direct financial support to artists in Fiji from development partners,[105] I believe there are three areas in which such support would be desirable. The first is direct support to artists to create art. Sachiko Miller's comment that "if you have to ask for funding you are not producing anything that anybody wants" (Field Notes: 10A) represents Vou Dance Company's commercial approach. However, it does not recognise the range of contributions of the arts to development that are inherently valuable but have no certain market or commercial value, that is, the creation and existence of art as a public good (Smiers, 2003:198). Direct support to artists is justified by this latter argument. Secondly, and more in line with an economic objective expressed by the research participants, in particularly the members of Vou Dance Company, limited-term start-up or capacity building support to artists and arts groups would respond to the demonstrated contribution of the arts in in providing livelihoods in the present, and economic and career opportunities for the future. Finally, in the context of arguments for the effectiveness of the arts in conveying development messages, funding of development message based (instrumental) art work may be appropriate for those artists who request it. Such support must recognise (as illustrated in Figure 2) that the inherent value of the arts underlies their instrumental values (McCarthy *et al*, 2004: 4, 37-39) and, therefore, the better the quality of the art, the better it fulfils this

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[104] At the time of writing up this thesis, there were indications of a softening of New Zealand and Australia's stance on the Fiji government with the visit of Foreign Affairs ministers, Murray McCully (New Zealand) and Bob Carr (Australia) and others, to Fiji under the auspices of the Pacific Islands Forum Ministerial Contact Group from 30 April to 1 May 2012 and McCully's subsequent assertion of encouraging signs of progress towards democracy and constitutional rule (www.behive.govt.nz).
[105] The French Embassy provides funding, for example to the Oceania Dance Theatre, but this is understood as cultural, rather than development, cooperation.

message-bearing role. In addition, this sort of support should not bring with it a particular development message determined by the donor.

The arts concentrate or heighten the process of formation of hybrid identities (Pérez González, 2008:11; Nederveen Pieterse, 2007:142), which this thesis demonstrates is an important experience of the participants. In light of this, the provision of scholarships, or support of arts exchanges, would be a valuable area of development intervention. It is important that any such intervention recognise that Fijian participants are not only recipients of other cultures in such processes, but also have cultural values and unique forms of artistic expression to offer.

This thesis makes an input to the discourse underlying and guiding international development work. Given the limited size of the sample and a likely urban bias, but also acknowledging the productiveness of the arts-based method used in this research, I suggest below areas of further research to confirm, broaden and enrich the current findings.

Recommendations for further research

This research focused on a small group of participants in the context of urban Fiji who, although they spanned divides of race and economic class, also had much in common, particularly in terms of their aspirations. Methodologically, the research was grounded in the arts and made use of one particular arts-based method. Further research could build the body of evidence for the contribution of the arts to development by: (1) broadening the range of perspectives gained, either within Fiji or across regions, by working with dancers in other companies, dancers in another urban area (particularly Nadi in Fiji, where the country's tourism industry is concentrated), dancers based in non-urban areas, and/or artists in disciplines other than dance;[106] (2) carrying out a specifically gendered examination of the contribution of the arts to development, focusing on women in the arts and the impacts of women's art, in light of the assertion of one research participant (Patricia interview, 27/7/11) that women's dance initiated the break-down of ethnic barriers in Fiji, and related findings from

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[106] Both my own previous experience working with dancers in Zimbabwe and the work of other researchers in other regions, for example, Stupples (2011) discussing Nicaragua, suggest that the experiences and priorities of artists from other regions would provide a richer understanding of the concept of development and the contribution of the arts to achieving it.

Nicaragua by Stupples (2011); and (3) further use of arts-based methods in the examination of questions of development, given the rich data generated by the participatory dance workshop held with the members of Vou Dance Company.

Conclusion

This research has shown that the arts have the potential to contribute to processes of development in a range of ways but some of the ways in which the arts could contribute are not well recognised by development organisations and practitioners. As a result, the potential contribution of the arts is not optimised. This conclusion of the research has been reached by pushing the boundaries of existing theoretical and methodological frameworks, firstly through an exploration of 'the arts', a specific subset of the broader category of 'culture' that is normally the focus of the cultural turn in development, and secondly, by employing an arts-based research method, a specific qualitative form that has rarely been applied in the field of development studies. In the research findings, the arts have been shown to contribute to economic development and to contribute in other instrumental ways, primarily through the transmission of development messages. Both of these types of contribution were recognised and valued by the research participants. More fundamentally, the arts were shown to contribute in themselves (inherently) to development because they exemplify values and processes – freedom, inclusion, identity formation, resistance and, overall, the enrichment of lives – that are constitutive of development. It is the expectation of enrichment, as an inherent value of the arts, which renders the economic and other instrumental contributions of the arts possible and effective. This thesis, therefore, ends with an invitation, to those seeking an alternative model of development that is pluralistic and responsive to the differentiated needs of individuals and societies, to recognise and enable the potential of the arts by engaging with the inherent contributions of the arts to development. To do so, it is necessary, firstly, to understand inherent features of the arts as constitutive of development and, secondly, to acknowledge that the value people place on the arts in enriching their lives underlies the capacity of the arts to contribute to development in more instrumental ways. In order to maximise this potential, the challenge is to create conditions of artistic freedom and opportunities to attain artistic quality.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 **Schedules of Interview Questions**

Appendix 1a

Schedule of Questions for Prof Vilisoni Hereniko, Oceania Centre for Arts, Culture and Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 26 July 2011

You've been in this position for a little under one year, although you have a long connection with USP
- What about OCACPS attracted you to the job?
- What would you like to add or what directions would you like to take the Centre in?

You spoke yesterday about issues of identity and negotiating multiple identities
- What do you feel is the role of a regional learning institution such as USP in this process?

The name of OCACPS incorporates both 'arts' and 'culture'
- What do you think is the relationship between these two concepts and in what ways do they interrelate?

What is your response to Albert Wendt's comment, which you cited yesterday, 'the only authentic culture is the one you are living in right now'?

What do you see as the impacts that Fiji's politics and Fijian culture have upon each other?

Would you like to comment on race and race relations in Fiji, particularly how these shape culture?

What do you think people involved in the arts and culture offer to society and the development of society that no-one else can contribute (what makes them special)?

My interest is in the contribution of the arts to development. An economic contribution is claimed and the arts are used quite widely in the transmission of development messages.
- What other, perhaps more inherent, contributions do you think the arts play in the development of societies?

Do you see a link between the development of individuals and the development of broader society and, if so, how would you characterise this?

My specific interest is in dance
- How do you see the practice and experience of dance bearing out the comments you have made in our discussion - please reflect upon your film, 'Just Dancing' in relation to this?

Schedule of Questions for Elise Huffer, Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 22 July 2011

Please tell me your full job title, and tell me a little about yourself and the background to your being in this position.

Please give me a brief background of SPC from the point of view of your experience with the organisation.

Is 'development' a primary objective of SPC and in what ways do you feel the organisation contributes to the development of the nations it serves?

What do you think is the importance or benefit of a regional approach, particularly given the nature of the Pacific region?

Please tell me about the culture division of SPC
- The rationale for its formation
- Its objectives
- How it achieves these
- Successes and lessons learnt.

How do you feel the culture division contributes to the overall work of SPC?

What do you think is special about the arts and culture?

Schedule of Questions for Meretui Ratunabuabua, Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts, 3 August 2011

Please explain what your role and responsibilities are as Principal Cultural Officer in the Department of National Heritage, Culture and Arts.

Can you outline briefly the Fiji government's policy on National Heritage, Culture and Arts, and/or can you point me to any key policy documents?

What do you believe is the understanding of National Heritage, Culture and Arts that underlies government policy?

Let's break down what we are dealing with. What do you see as the differences between 'national heritage', 'culture' and 'arts', and what are the interrelationships between them?

What programmes are being implemented by the Fiji government in the area of national heritage, culture and the arts?

In what ways is the work of your department linked to that of the broader Ministry which also covers the areas of education, youth and sport.

You seem to wear many hats. Would you tell me about some of the other roles or positions you hold in the arts and culture sector?

Please tell me about the Regional Cultural Strategy
- What are its main components
- What stage has it reached
- Why do you think it is important
- What have the challenges been?

How closely are the Regional Strategy and Fiji's policy and practices aligned?

Would you give me some background on the ESD programme?

Is there anything else you think I need to know?

Schedule of Questions for Lai Veikoso, Fiji Arts Council, 5 August 2011

Please tell me a little about yourself and the arts and culture activities you are involved in.

Can you give me some background on the FAC, its history, aims and objectives, achievements and challenges?

What is the status of the FAC in relation to government?

What are the specific policies of the FAC and how closely do these align to government arts and culture policy?

What are the needs that the FAC responds to, e.g. for preservation of culture, for creation of a cultural economy, for freedom of expression, and how are these balanced against each other?

Please tell me about the Conservatorium of Music, its history, aims and objectives, achievements and challenges, and what is its status?

What contribution do you feel the Conservatorium of Music makes to Fiji?

What other arts and culture activities are you involved in?

Fiji is categorised as a 'developing country' (although in the upper middle income group). What is your response to this categorisation?

What do you think is special about the arts and culture and do you see them making any particular contribution in the development of nations and people - can you give examples from Fiji?

Is there anything else you think is important or that you would like to discuss?

Schedule of Questions for Florence Swarmy, Fiji Audio Visual Commission, 8 August 2011

Please tell me about yourself, and your background and experience in the culture sector.

What are the aims and objectives of the Fiji Audio Visual Commission, what is its history and what have some of the successes and challenges been?

What does your current position involve?

Please tell me about the Kula Film Awards - history, rationale and how they have evolved.

At what stage was the dance section added to the awards and what was the link to film?

Why were schools and school children made the focus of the dance awards?

How do you think the schools and individual students who take part benefit from involvement in the dance awards?

Can you suggest any benefits to Fiji as a nation, or its people, arising from the practice of film and dance or the arts generally?

Do you see these benefits also playing out at the regional level?

Is there anything else you think is important or would like to talk about?

Schedule of Questions for Denis Decraene, Embassy of France, 11 August 2011

Please tell me a bit about yourself and your position and responsibilities within the Embassy.

What arts and cultural events has the French Embassy supported in Fiji over the past few years?

What is the policy or rationale behind your decisions on what to support?

Please explain to me the relationship between the French Embassy and the Alliance Française in the context of support to arts and culture.

Does the Embassy or the Alliance Française in Fiji have a regional as well as a national role
- Which events have you supported in other countries in the region
- Which events have you supported at regional level?

I'd like to discuss your mode of support, having been told by a local dancer that your approach is 'hands off' or non-interfering.

I believe that of the four productions of the Oceania Centre that the French Embassy has sponsored in the past few years, two have had a clear 'development' theme and the other two have not
- How important do you feel it is to transmit development messages through the arts and/or how important do you feel the free expression of the artist is?

Is there anything else you think is important or that you would like to add?

Appendix 1g

Schedule of Questions for Vou Dance Company Members

Please tell me about yourself
- Name
- Age
- Occupation (other than dancer)?

Where do you come from and what is your family like?

When did you join Vou and how did that come about?

What activities have you been involved in with Vou since you joined?

What difference (good or bad) has membership of the company made in your life?

How do you see the future of the company and how do you relate this to your plans for your own future?

How do you see Vou and you as a member contributing to Fiji, now and in the future?

How do you see Vou and you as a member contributing to the Pacific region, now and in the future?

Is there anything else you would like to discuss or add to what you have already said?

The Contribution of the Arts to Development:
An Investigation of the Contribution of Contemporary Dance
to Development in Urban Fiji

Introduction and Information Sheet

My name is Megan Allardice. I am a Master's student in Development Studies at Massey University, New Zealand. My supervisors are Polly Stupples (PhD candidate) and Dr. Rochelle Stewart-Withers.

Introduction. The arts have been used to a limited extent in the international development process, most notably as a tool for relaying development messages, often designed by outsiders in accordance with their own understanding of what development actually is. Although this can be an effective participatory development approach, I believe that the arts also contribute in an inherent or intrinsic to development. Therefore, my research fieldwork seeks to establish, firstly how people in Fiji conceive development and how they see themselves in relation to this. Secondly, I would like to explore the contribution of a particular art form (contemporary dance) to achieving development as locally defined.

Method. My research employs an 'arts-based' methodology, the components of which are: observation of the work of a contemporary dance company based in Suva and active throughout Fiji and internationally; participatory dance workshop sessions to explore definitions and understandings of development; interviews with key informants in the arts and culture sector in Fiji.

I would like to tape interviews because this will allow me to be more accurate but this is not a requirement. All (audio and video) tapes and transcripts will be stored in a locked case in my accommodation in Suva and will then travel with me back to New Zealand where they will be stored securely at the university. I am prepared to change the names of people and places to preserve anonymity if any interviewee wishes this.

I will use the material from our discussions and interviews in conjunction with current theories about development and the arts to write my Master's thesis. If you wish, I shall send you a summary of my research findings once they are complete.

Participant rights. You are under no obligation to participate in this research. If you choose to, you have the right to; decline to answer any particular question; withdraw from the study at any time; ask any questions about the study at any time during participation; provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher; be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded; ask for the audio/video tape to be turned off at any time during research activities.

Project contacts. If you have any questions about this project, please contact me at meganallardice@clear.net.nz or at the Colonial Lodge, 19 Anand St, Suva, or my supervisors, Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers R.R.Stewart-Withers@massey.ac.nz or Polly Stupples pstupples@gmail.com

University Ethics Committee Statement. T*his project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone +64 6 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz.*