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A CASE STUDY OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF  
TOVULAILAI: A VILLAGE IN FIJI

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by

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"..... I determined ..... to experience and  
to go .... that it might be told that I  
made the voyage and saw with my eyes the  
things hereafter written, and that I  
might win a famous name ....."

Ferdinand Magellan (1520)

This piece of work is dedicated to my only  
brother, Panapasa, who died of witchcraft  
at the prime age of 40, only eight months  
after my field study.



## ABSTRACT

The 'Rural Development' programme in Fiji began about 1969, the eve of our independence, with the principal aim to raise the standard of living in the rural areas, in particular those who live in the villages. Consideration was given to involve the rural people closely and meaningfully with the planning, decision making and implementation of the programme. To date, because the need for development in rural areas is so great and due to the severe lack of skilled manpower, Fiji cannot do everything she requires especially in the areas of feasibility studies and research. This is why most of the works done in this areas were done mainly by expatriates who were in many instances, total strangers to the local scene and who may not have fully understood or appreciated the complex nature and the interwoven intricacies of the Fijian way of life. Compounding this problem is the lack of Fijian scholars who are interested in the areas of social research.

The basic aim of this present study is to examine the development of the village people and also to stimulate Fijian scholars to become interested in studying the development of their own people, especially of those who are in the disadvantaged rural sector.

This paper presents a case study of the socio-economic development of Tovulailai: a village in rural Fiji. The present study is an attempt to observe and explain the influences of the multiple outside forces, in particular those exerted by change agents and how these village people have responded and adapted to these social forces which are impinging upon them.

The needs which the people of Tovulailai felt and expressed were fully identified together with the various problems why these needs were not being fulfilled. People in this village needed to raise their general standard of living; improve their level of education; their health and general sanitation; to facilitate their access to urban markets; need to increase their sources of income; the need for adequate housing; the need for transportation and communication and

other infrastructural facilities. But, they cannot easily satisfy these needs because of the problems inherent in the present system. These problems are: the lack of good leadership; lack of education lack of good cultivable land; lack of access to urban markets; lack of good housing; lack of technical skills; lack of goods and services; lack of scientific agricultural techniques and low level of technology in the rural villages.

The non-structured intensive interview and observation research methods were used by this study in its attempt to examine and explain how the people of Tovulailai village are responding to the impact of social change agents in their attempt to meeting their pressing needs as expressed above. Furthermore, an attempt is made to determine how change agents themselves achieved results and how the mechanism of change within the client system functioned in diffusing and communicating the process of social change and how clients attain their goals in passing from one social state to another. All these processes are fully discussed in the text.

The implications of the study which can be used in other situations in Fiji are discussed in the concluding section of this paper. It is apparent that the central issue which emerged in the study is the very effective interaction between the change agents, the client system and the mechanism of diffusion of social change within the system to achieve the desired objectives in socio-economic development at the village level.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	INTRODUCTION	1
	Theoretical Approach . . . . .	3
	Initial Plans . . . . .	8
	Research Methods and Techniques . . . . .	9
	Organization of Field Work for Pilot Study . . . . .	11
	Major Areas Covered in the Master Questionnaire . . . . .	12
	Value of the Study . . . . .	13
	Format of this Paper . . . . .	14
	Conclusions . . . . .	16
II	THE FIJIAN CONTEXT-SETTING THE SCENE	18
	Geographical Location . . . . .	18
	Physical Structure and Relief . . . . .	19
	Climate . . . . .	19
	Population Composition and Structure . . . . .	20
	Fijians in the Cultural Context . . . . .	22
	National Economy, Employment and Income . . . . .	29
	International Trade . . . . .	31
	Foreign Aid . . . . .	32
	Commercial Agriculture in Relation to Economic Development:	
	i. Sugar . . . . .	33
	ii. Copra . . . . .	33
	iii. Bananas . . . . .	34
	iv. Rice . . . . .	34
	Other Crops . . . . .	35
	Livestock Farming in Fiji . . . . .	35
	i. Beef Cattle . . . . .	35
	ii. Dairy Cattle . . . . .	36
	iii. Pigs and Goats . . . . .	36
	iv. Poultry . . . . .	36
	Manufacturing . . . . .	37
	Conclusions . . . . .	37

Chapter		Page
III	TOVULAILAI: A VILLAGE IN FIJI	
	A Brief History of Tovulailai and its People .....	38
	Village Organization .....	42
	Cash Economy of Tovulailai .....	44
	Man/Land Ratio .....	49
	Manpower and Supporter/Dependent Relationships .....	50
	Agriculture .....	58
	The Influence of Agricultural Extension Officers .....	60
	Further Reasons for Low Agricultural Production .....	61
	Educational Development .....	63
	The Role of the Church .....	64
	The Chief .....	66
	The Role of Ceremony in the Village Way of Life .....	67
	In Summary and Conclusions .....	69
IV	THE ROLE OF CHANGE AGENTS	
	William Baker's Entry into Tovulailai Development .....	71
	Village Development Phase One:	
	The Baker Housing Scheme and How He Achieved Results .....	73
	Goal Attainment .....	78
	Phoenix Effects of the Baker's Scheme .....	78
	The New Concrete Housing Scheme 1975 .....	80
	Summary .....	81

Chapter		Page
	Village Development Phase Two:	
	The Co-operative and its Benefits .....	84
	Tabusoro Co-operative Society:	
	Mainspring of Phase Two Village Development .....	85
	i. The 'Adi Talei' .....	85
	ii. The Municipal Market Stalls .....	89
	Secondary School Hostel at Levuka .....	91
	The Development of Tovulailai as a Service Centre .....	95
	Financial Position of the Tabusoro Co-operative .....	98
	Summary .....	104
	Conclusions .....	114
V	LEADERSHIP AS A MECHANISM OF SOCIAL CHANGE	116
	Dual Leadership .....	118
	The Dominance of Ilaitia Radravu in the Mechanism of Social Change at Tovulailai .....	126
	The Modernized Village Organization Promoting the Efficacy of the Mechanism of Change .....	140
	Conclusions .....	151
VI	REVIEW AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS	154
	The Nature and Situation in Tovulailai Before Change .....	155
	Main Factors Which Changed the Situation in the Village .....	156
	Factors Which Facilitated the Development in Tovulailai .....	159
	New Socio Economic Level Which Results from Development .....	165
	Generalization for Theory .....	167
	What Can be Learned from the Study of Tovulailai Which can be Applied in Other Situations in Fiji .....	168
	Conclusions .....	172

## LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES AND APPENDIXES

Figures	Titles	Page
Fig. 1.1	The Administrative Structure under the Fijian Affairs Ordinance 1945-53 .....	25
Fig. 1.2	Diagram showing the Position of the Fijian Administration in the Government of the Colony, 1953 .....	27
Fig. 1.3	Modified Council Structure 1967 to Present .....	28
Fig. 3.1	Large Map of the Fiji Group (Nairai Island Encircled) .....	39
Fig. 3.2	Shows Nairai Island and villages which used to form the old <u>tikina</u> of Nairai .....	41
Fig. 4.1	Shows a Photograph of Tovulailai village taken during the Survey in January 1979 .....	79
Fig. 4.2	Showing the Retail Section of the Tabusoro Co-operative 1979 .....	86
Fig. 4.3	Showing Hostel Stage I and Stage II taken 1978 .....	93
Fig. 5.1	Shows a sketch of Tovulailai village - houses .....	142
<u>Tables</u>		
Table 1.1	Population Growth, 1966-76 by Ethnic Category .....	21
Table 3.1	Mataqali of Tovulailai .....	43
Table 3.2	Sources of Gross Income: Average earned on each item in 14 Households 1978 in Tovulailai .....	44
Table 3.3	Average Total Expenditure Patterns of 14 Households in Tovulailai (1978) .....	45
Table 3.4	Age Distribution in Tovulailai, 1979 and the words used by villages to describe the major categories .....	51
Table 3.5	Manpower and Dependency - <u>mataqali</u> Naivini .....	54
Table 3.6	Manpower and Dependency in <u>mataqali</u> Sauturaga .....	55
Table 3.7	Manpower and Dependency in <u>mataqali</u> Sauni .....	56
Table 3.8	Manpower and Dependency in <u>mataqali</u> Ramasi .....	57
Table 3.9	Office Bearers of the Church at Tovulailai, together with the <u>mataqali</u> to which they belong (1979) .....	65

Tables	Titles	Page
Table 4.1	The Task-Leaders in the Baker Housing Scheme (1952-56) .....	74
Table 4.2	The Daily Work Timetable during the Baker Housing Scheme .....	75
Table 4.3	Fees paid by each child attending school at Levuka and residing in the Hostel, 1978 .....	94
Table 4.4	Expenditure, Debts and part of the Income paid to the co-operative by members of <u>mataqali</u> Naivini, 1978-79 .....	100
Table 4.5	Expenditure, Debts and part of the Income paid to the co-operative by members of <u>mataqali</u> Sauturaga, 1978-79 .....	101
Table 4.6	Expenditure, Debts and part of the Income paid to the co-operative by members of <u>mataqali</u> Sauni, 1978-79 .....	102
Table 4.7	Expenditure, Debts and part of the Income paid to the co-operative by members of <u>mataqali</u> Ramasi, 1978-79 .....	103
Table 4.8	Shows the trend of increasing indebtedness at the co-operative in <u>mataqali</u> Naivini for two consecutive financial years 1977-78 and 1978-79 .....	105
Table 4.9	Shows the trend of increasing indebtedness at the co-operative by shareholders in <u>mataqali</u> Sauturaga for two consecutive financial years 1977-78 and 1978-79 .....	106
Table 4.10	Shows the trend of increasing indebtedness at the co-operative by shareholders in <u>mataqali</u> Sauni for two consecutive years 1977-78 and 1978-79 ....	107
Table 4.11	Shows the trend of increasing indebtedness at the co-operative by shareholders in <u>mataqali</u> Ramasi for two consecutive years 1977-78 and 1978-79 .....	108
Table 4.12(a)	Debts accumulated by senior co-operative employees 1977-79 .....	110
Table 4.12(b)	Debts accumulated by junior co-operative employees 1977-79 .....	111
Table 4.12(c)	Debts accumulated by 29 shareholders who are not employed by the co-operative 1977-79 .....	112



Tables	Titles	Page
Table 5.1	Heads of the various committees in Tovulailai 1979 .....	143
Table 5.2	Manager and crew of 'Adi Talei' 1979 ..	143
Table 5.3	Names, <u>mataqali</u> , salaries and wages of officers manning the co-operative ....	144
Table 5.4	Shows the distribution of wealth and human resources in relation to employment at the Tabusoro Co-operative 1979 .....	148

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

With increased tourism and improved communication, Fiji has been increasingly exposed to the outside world, with different sets of values, outlook and ways of life. This contact has resulted in the development of the aspirations of local people many of whom now want the goods and services currently enjoyed by people in more advanced countries. This widening of outlook and the increased aspirations of the people include not only a desire for more conspicuous consumer goods, such as radio, motor-boats, sewing and washing machines, motor cars and refrigerators but, more important, access to services and facilities often taken for granted in such countries as Australia and New Zealand, but which are unavailable to many island people, particularly those living in rural areas. According to the 1976 census over 63 per cent of the total indigenous Fijian population still live in these rural villages and they will continue to live there for some time yet. Hence, one of the major interests behind this study is to observe the people's responses and adaptations to the influence of the outside world.

Throughout the developing island nations of the Pacific, including Fiji, there is a current population drift into the urban areas. Relatively little research has been done on this but some of the causes would appear to be related to a desire to participate in the new life style of the towns; the slight increase in industrialization; displacement from the land resulting in high unemployment; improved level of education; curiosity about life in the cities; search for employment, the erosion of culture and traditional values and the loosening of kinship ties especially those of the extended family.

This rural-urban migration has created further problems in the urban sector, because industrialization is not proceeding fast enough to absorb all these people into employment. This influx of rural people into the urban centres has raised the number of unemployed and semi-employed quite substantially and has created housing shortages

which have resulted in the growth of shanty towns on the outskirts of the cities to cater for the overflow of rural people many of whom have become squatters (Walsh, 1978).

In Fiji, urban migration will increase steadily in the foreseeable future and all the social ills associated with it like crime, malnutrition, prostitution, street gangs and marriage breakdown will also increase to perhaps an unmanageable proportion unless drastic measures are taken to make the rural areas more attractive to live in or the urban areas less attractive to move to. At present, rural people are faced with more problems such as:- loss of direction and purpose; difficulties in satisfying their increasing desire for goods and services; lack of access to good cultivable land; lack of technical skills; under utilization of manpower; limited cash crop production and lack of access to markets causing a lot of frustration and disillusionment; anxiety caused through social dislocation, i.e. people who are displaced from their traditional rank and status by people with cash and good education; leadership conflict between old and new leaders and lack of knowledge in scientific agricultural methods and techniques. People in the rural villages desire to improve their standard of living; level of education; housing; health and sanitation; transportation and communication and other infrastructural facilities.

In the Fijian situation, it must be realized that unless the drive to deal with the country's economic and social problems is successful, it is likely that Fiji will be faced with increased political instability in the foreseeable future. Fiji today is officially placing rural development in its list of priorities. These pressing problems have urged me to make every effort to study the trend of development of my own people in the rural areas as a contribution to improving their standard of living and thereby at least slowing down the rate of rural-urban migration. Thus the main purpose of this study is to examine the impact of socio-economic forces on the people in the rural sector. Aware of the nature and effect of these forces we will be better equipped in stating and defining the problems and in devising strategies and policies to remedy them. Within this general area the dominant concern here is with the role of informal change agents - just how do they obtain results.

### Theoretical Approach

An approach to socio-economic development in a village community, country or society, must begin with an understanding of its people, and their way of life. This requires an examination of their resources (material, human and spiritual), their institutions, social organizations, aspirations and their choices. Every community has its own strongly held tradition upon which it has built itself and its own lifestyle. The observer must be fully aware of the strong sociological, economic, political and spiritual forces which have bonded the people together and which have helped to maintain the community in balance. Daily community activities are conducted within an interlocking, inter-dependent system of institutions, the family, religion, the Administration, education, health, political and economic. Therefore, changes introduced into any one institutional component automatically impinge on others. This is a way of acculturation in the mechanism of social change. The people who are changing do not do so in a vacuum: they respond and adapt to the multiple outside-forces which impinge upon them and from which they may select those compatible elements which they wish to integrate in order to modify their pre-existing social structures. Such modifications must promote and sustain a durable new lifestyle which they are striving to achieve.

Social theorists have up to now, failed to agree on the utility, validity and reliability of a universal theory of social change. Each and every social theorist is conscious that no theory of society could claim to be adequate if it fails to explain movement, variation, transformation and change in social life. Being aware of this inadequacy, it is not the purpose of this paper to delve into the history of theory development. However, possibly the most influential of the theoretical schools to manifest this deep-seated conviction in the desirability of a single theory of social change is functionalism. As the approach of functionalists has broadened and developed, it has revealed with growing clarity its real intent: to provide a unified theory of change and order, which will encompass in one framework the varied and changing structures, of history and society. This is not to say that the functionalist theory of change has done away with all its faults and weaknesses in explaining the phenomenon of social change.

The social system is a collection of social units that are functionally differentiated to solve problems and allow the pursuit of common objectives. Thus, individuals within the social structure have roles and statuses which are functional elements within the village social system. It has been observed during the study that the expectation of behaviour (role) of a certain person in a position (status) influences his behaviour. Thus, roles and statuses are closely linked and reciprocally affect each other. Hence, in the process of socio-economic change, when one is altered so is the other. This becomes very clear as we examine and discuss how the people of Tovulailai, the village in which this study is set, have been re-organized into new roles and statuses. In particular the behaviour of leaders as well as their followers is the central concern of this paper. An attempt will be made to reveal how a new mode of socio-economic behaviour is changing the village community of Tovulailai.

The problems of social change have to be defined in simpler terms to provide parameters within a specific setting to enable significant or meaningful explanations and the constitution of change strategies. By social change we simply mean the process by which alteration or modification occurs in the structure and function of a social system, or parts of it, undergoing change.

To this effect, the definition of socio-economic development pursued in this paper is as follows:-

"Development is a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system level in order to produce higher per capita incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization. Thus development corresponds to modernization at the social system level".

(Rogers and Burdge, 1972:13).

Factors promoting and inhibiting development are specified by the theory postulated by Jan Tinbergen. His work has been found relevant to this analysis. According to Jan Tinbergen:

"Although the prosperity of these (advanced) countries is directly due to their possessing both knowledge and a great quantity of capital goods, these are in turn the result of other factors which broadly speaking can be divided into those which determine the environment in which man is actively employed, and purely human factors. It is, of course, obvious that certain human qualities are needed if a modern developed society is to function properly. Now societies of this kind are distinguished by processes of production using durable capital goods and employing large numbers of people together. For this reason, among the qualities that are required of quite a high proportion of the population are an interest in material well-being, an interest in techniques and innovation, an ability to look ahead and a willingness to take risks, perseverance, and an ability to collaborate with other people and to observe certain rules". (Jan Tinbergen: 1967,26-27)

There are some very important points which can be examined from the above quotation. Tinbergen points out that economic advance can be achieved to a certain degree by the interaction and proper utilization of knowledge and capital goods, these in turn are the results of interactions between the environment and human factors. These factors are combined with the mode of production and viable utilization of human resources. Tinbergen thinks that there must be quite a high proportion of the population that possess the human qualities (see definition above) which are conducive to economic development if a modern developed society is to function properly. This paper will attempt to examine and discuss some of the relevant points which Tinbergen has put forward.

Some of the points outlined by Tinbergen are very controversial issues. However, in the case of Tuvulailai, some of Tinbergen's factors are quite relevant, for example, an aversion to complicated techniques, an inclination to routine habits, short sightedness and



fear of uncertainty and their indifference towards the betterment of material conditions. However, their relevance is a matter of degree and this is made explicit in some of the discussions in this chapter. Assuming possession of all the human qualities necessary for development, the critical question of whether the environmental factors are favourable in interacting and bringing into fruition the rightful elements which would promote and sustain economic development still remains.

Central to the pre-requisites for development which Tinbergen mentions is the diffusion of innovations and the role of change agents. Diffusion is the process by which new ideas are spread to the members of a social system. It is a special type of communication which brings about overt behaviour, i.e. the adoption or rejection of new ideas rather than just change in knowledge and attitudes. Theoretically, the link between planned change, and the diffusion of new ideas is provided by knowledge and theory which guide the general policies adopted.

The change agent is defined as an individual who invents, creates or introduces consciously or unconsciously new ideas which lead to the transformation or modification of social structure and functions of the changing system. When the agent is from within the social system, it is called immanent change and when the source of new ideas is from outside the social system, it is called contact change. Hence, immanent change is a within - system change phenomenon and contact change is a between system change phenomenon. The mechanism of change is a process by which these new ideas are communicated (diffused) to the members of the social system undergoing change. The consequences are that changes occur within the social system as a result of acceptance or rejection of the innovation.

Having discovered the nature of the social processes going on between the change agent and his contacts an attempt will be made to indicate the value of this knowledge in the construction of development strategy. Strategy involves the construction of a sequence of specified activities for causing any desired innovation to become successfully and durably installed in an on-going system. An essential activity before strategy construction is to identify and

activate the factors supporting change and to identify and control the factors thwarting change.

As revealed by the survey about 99 per cent of the people in this village would like to change from a subsistence economy to a cash economy life style in the hope that by so doing they will improve their standard of living. The survey which was carried out in this study also revealed that the people of Tovulailai want to improve their general standard of living, this includes improvement in housing; their access to education; increased cash earning opportunities; improved health facilities and sanitation; improved transportation and communication and infrastructural facilities like a reticulated water supply and electricity. This paper will attempt to examine in some detail the role of leadership in the diagnosis of needs; the definition and setting of objectives and the mechanism by which change is brought about in the pursuit of these objectives. Further, it will also attempt to examine whether change in this village is consciously directed by leader or leaders in the effort to attain desired goals.

However, it must be borne in mind that pursuit of economic goals is generally faced with obstacles and barriers and Tovulailai is no exception to the rule. These obstacles and barriers to economic development at Tovulailai will also be examined in the section which discusses leadership and in the conclusion.

As a consequence of historical events such as The Baker Housing Scheme, followed by its 'phoenix effect', The Nairai Housing Scheme, the abolition of the buli system and above all the emergence of a new leader, Ilaitia Radravu, Tovulailai has become what it is today. Tovulailai has risen out of all these to assume the role of an administrative and commercial capital of Nairai with Ilaitia Radravu as the sole mata (Island Council Representative) to the Lomaiviti Provincial Council. The government has actually bought a piece of land near the village to accommodate the official residences of the civil servants i.e. the health nurse, postal agent and the agricultural officer. On the commercial side, the Tovulailai Co-operative Society has developed both retail and bulk stores which provide a source of supplies for the co-operative stores in the other villages. The purchase of a boat has added to the success of Tovulailai's development.



This study attempts to carry out research at the micro-level. It covers the first decade of Fijian Independence and observes the peoples' responses to the socio-economic forces now impinging upon them and examines the emergence of some patterns of modern leadership which are essential ingredients of development. Moreover, I was keen to observe inferences of attitude change and people's motivations with regards to development and also to gauge at first-hand the capacities of the people and how they are utilizing the resources available to them as a base for the achievement of their goals.

### Initial Plans

I had intended to carry out a full-scale research on rural development in three Fijian villages. Each village would have been selected so as to be representative of an ecological zone; a producer of one of the basic cash crops, copra, bananas and sugar; of the province in which the village was located; a different degree of accessibility to urban markets and with a different degree of benefit from tourism.

The question of representativeness would have been based mainly on ecological and geographical factors. All other additional factors would have hung on these two, for example, it is partly because of geography that a village is located in a particular province and of ecology that a village tends to produce more of one type of cash crop than another. In many cases, however, there may be some overlap.

The first village, village A, was to have been representative of villages on one of the many small outlying islands quite remote from urban centres and markets and where the main means of transport is by boat. The main cash crop from this type of village would be copra - hence it would be located in a moderately wet zone (60 inches p.a. of rainfall). It is unlikely that tourism would be significant in such a village.

The second village, village B, was to have been representative of villages in the interior of Viti Levu, preferably in the banana-producing valley of the Wainibuka River. This village would be located

in the wet zone and banana would be its major cash crop. The main means of transport would be by lorry with some assistance from motor boats along the water-ways. This village also would be unlikely to reap much direct benefit from tourism. Contact with the tourist trade interests me because I regard this as one of the greatest money-spinners in Fiji today, and therefore one of the most powerful stimuli for social change.

The third village, village C, would have represented a village from the dry zone, sugar producing region. This village would be well exposed to urban influences and tourism. It would enjoy the facilities and amenities of urban centres. It would have modern means of transport and mass-media communication at its disposal. The central issue being pursued here is, how do change agents get results in these diverse situations.

After contemplating this idea, I paid a visit to Professor Watters, author of "KORO", and discussed my proposed research with him. Watters was very keen to advise me and suggested that it would be of some academic interest if I was able to replicate the studies he did at Sorolevu, near Nadi, as my village C in the sugar-producing zone and Lutu in the Wainibuka area as village B in the banana producing zone. Instead of Nacamaki which has been replicated by other workers, I picked Tovulailai on Nairai island as village A. The parameters of these three categories are specified partly by the nature of their geographical and ecological locations. One of the major differences is the cash crop each produces. The interconnections between them lie in the common language, culture, religion, land tenure and kinship patterns and in their subjection to a common administrative system. The idea was to analyse the differences in their mode of response to the impact of external influences to which they are exposed.

#### Research Methods and Techniques

The research was to have been conducted using personal interview methods. It was proposed that no less than 90 per cent of the households in each village would be surveyed. Initially, household censuses would have been taken in order to determine the human

resources of each household and of the village and at the same time to give an idea of the land population distribution. Furthermore, the household census would have furnished information on the supporter/dependent ratio giving an indication of the strength of each household in this regard. The household is the unit which looks after the welfare of the disabled and the dependent. It is important, therefore, to determine the supporting capacity of the household. The supporter/dependent ratio in each household, as well as each matagali was to have been analysed for this purpose.

The head of the household is the focal point of the social network within the household. His status, level of education and level of income would have been taken into account together with other supporters in the household. The social relationship network centres on the head of the household. The present standard of the household was to be evaluated by using income per capita, household items and dietary patterns as indices. Patterns of subsistence living and farming was to be studied in some detail. Cash income earned and patterns of expenditure were to be examined. Major cash earners like cash crops, livestock, labour were also to be assessed in some detail. The purpose of doing all the above was to determine how the change agents bring about changes in these aspects of life as a consequence of their contact and influences.

The initial plans to carry out a full scale research project as outlined above did not eventuate due to the lack of financial support resulting from some grave misunderstanding amongst personnel in the bureaucratic machineries of the Fijian and New Zealand governments respectively. The discussions to secure financial assistance lasted for almost two years. As a result of all this hassle, I decided to carry out, at my own expenses, a pilot study at Tovulailai village early in 1979. The difficulties which I have experienced in my attempt to secure financial assistance was revealed to the appropriate authority at Massey University by Professor Fraser who had helped me in the search for various sources of finance. Consequently, Massey University granted me permission to write a thesis to the value of two papers, using the material which I gathered during the pilot study. Material collected during the pilot study is presented here as the theme of this dissertation.

## Organization of Field Work for Pilot Study

The field-work itself started on January 5, 1979. I had two field assistants, Miss Nancy Ratumaitavuki, a Massey University undergraduate student who had already done introductory papers both in Sociology and Psychology and Miss Senikau Radravu, a school certificate graduate of Tovulailai. The latter was very useful as a guide and also in listing the names of members of households when we were taking the census. More important, she was able to counter-check any information which I suspected to be faulty. Because of the fact that I had included her in the research team, it was possible to spot more quickly false information. This was one of the safeguard techniques which I employed in my field-work.

At the outset, I was fortunate that I had a couple of advantages already in my favour: I knew the language and customs and I was already known to the people through kinship ties. Also my use of the traditional approach to the village, described below, eased my interaction with the people ensuring that it took place in a very amicable and relaxed atmosphere. This made the field-work much easier and quicker. The tools used in the field-work included a tape-recorder, a camera, a master questionnaire, 30 notebooks, a pocket calculator and a twenty-metre steel measuring tape which was used for crop counts in the teitei.

The interview questions were prepared on a master-sheet. The questions were purposely left fairly flexible. Each major section had a master question followed by sub-questions to be used as the interview unfolded. Any new sub-questions which arose in the course of the interview were noted and also clearly recorded on the tape as new questions. I conducted the interviews in the Fijian language and immediately translated them into English. These were recorded on paper by my first assistant Nancy who does not speak Fijian. The full interview was recorded on tape by my second assistant. This was the second safeguard technique I used. By using Nancy to record only my translation she could not anticipate the questions or the answers. This might have happened if someone who knew the language had been recording the interview. The third safeguard technique I used, was to record the full interview on tape to be used for counter checking during

the computation and analysis of the survey. The questionnaire though flexible, was quite exhaustive. It was designed to cover the major areas in which socio-economic change seemed to have occurred. It also attempted to reveal the key factors promoting or inhibiting these changes. An outline of the questionnaire is given in appendix C. Below are listed the major areas covered in the master questionnaire:

#### MAJOR AREAS COVERED IN THE MASTER QUESTIONNAIRE

- (1) Household Census - Code number 01 - 026
- (2) Residential set-up and house type
- (3) Status of the head of household
- (4) Levels of education
- (5) Sources of income
- (6) Supporter/dependent relationship
- (7) Subsistence Agriculture
- (8) Utilization of land and people/land ratio
- (9) Roles of the co-operative
- (10) Benefits of co-operative
- (11) Expenditure of income
- (12) Utilization of human and time resources
- (13) The impact of influences of tourism
- (14) Inferences of empathies and attitudes towards social change
- (15) The desire and motivation to change
- (16) Composition of meals and patterns of wants for exotic foods
- (17) Leadership patterns (traditional and modern)
- (18) Uniting factors and divisive forces
- (19) Obstacles or barriers to development at the village level
- (20) Loans/leases
- (21) Future aims and objectives
- (22) Role and value of education at the village (school and hostel)
- (23) Identification of change agents and mechanism of change
- (24) Development schemes and projects
- (25) Role of civil servants in the village
- (26) Village organization
- (27) Role of the church in the village organization and development
- (28) The role of ceremony



In the interview a non-structured approach was used. Questions were as non-directive as possible given the fact that information was required on a number of focal issues and specific events. Whilst there was similarity in questions dealing with specific areas, the depth of follow-up questions was dictated by the initial response of the respondent and the interest which it revealed. It is quite obvious that interest would vary significantly from person to person. Questions centred around the stated aims of the study. This method of data collection however, has certain advantages to the more structured approach where emphasis on goals, values, desires, social perceptions or attitudes are being examined.

Given the particular research method used and the fact that each of the individuals interviewed had his own perception of reality, the validity and reliability was difficult to test. In most cases, information from each of the interviewees was used to cross check particular incidents, particularly where conflict was involved. Where possible personal observations given the researcher's own bias, was used, together with documentary evidence where available.

Steps taken in processing and interpreting data and in making speculations and generalizations have proved difficult to validate given the nature of the research. Accuracy and objectivity require that faithful reports, as transcribed from interviews, should be entered as a record of data. During the field study, the interviewer consciously took into account how new ideas were introduced into the village; the communication pattern involved in the process of change; the characteristics of the individuals within the village social system and the nature of the pre-existing system.

#### Value of the Study

The main uses of this type of study are three fold: first, it is important to gather data for economic planners to enable them to devise policies for rural development rather than putting forward policies which are based on armchair speculations. This sort of study will furnish planners with information on available resources, production methods, marketing difficulties, sources of income,

transportation and communication problems and man/land ratios. Moreover, it will bring to light the availability or the lack of skilled manpower to support development at the village level and give insight into supporter/dependent relationships among the rural people who are mainly in the low income bracket. Likewise, other ministries will have a source of information about education, health, housing and water supply in a co-ordinated and comprehensive report.

The second use of the study is to inform the people themselves about their own development: showing them their potential capacity to develop; revealing to them the available resources which could be exploited for their own benefit; informing them where their strengths and weaknesses lie, so that they are better able to plan their future strategies more effectively and with greater purpose and sense of direction. Last, but not the least, the use of this study is to create interest and set the scene for more research in the future.

#### Format of this Paper

Chapter one, "Introduction" has set out the development problems facing the rural sector of the Fijian society. The scope of this paper is such that it cannot discuss these problems in minute detail. However, sufficient has been said to familiarize the reader with the problems facing Fijians in the rural areas. There was an explanation of how the pilot study was carried out at Tovulailai. The theoretical approach used has also been explained. The question of who wants to change and why and how they have responded to social change have also been briefly discussed.

Chapter one has hopefully brought out the central question pursued in this paper, that is, how change agents achieve their objectives and how the members within the system desiring change respond to the influences of change agents in their efforts to attain goals during the process of social change. An analysis of the general sequence of action which leads to goal attainment has been presented. Finally, chapter one concludes by stating the uses of this type of research in the future especially in the Ministry of Rural Development and how it sets the scene for further research.

Chapter two, "The Fijian Context" sets the scene at the macro or national level by briefly reviewing the relevant Fijian background including a brief discussion of Fijian culture followed by the historical transformation of Fijian local government. The national economy, employment and income are also reviewed very briefly as an introduction to what is taking place at Tovulailai village on the micro-level. Finally, agricultural production is given a cursory examination as a background to the study of Tovulailai.

Chapter three, "A village in Fiji" begins with an introductory section which deals with the location, geography, economy, social structure and organization of Tovulailai village. The discussion of the village economy brings into light the sources of income and the expenditure patterns. This is followed by the distribution of manpower in relation to the supporter/dependent ratio of households. The aim of this analysis is to bring into focus the supporting capacity of the households. There is little possibility of Fiji ever becoming a social "Welfare State" in the same sense as New Zealand, Australia or Britain. Therefore, the dependency of non-income earners is and will always be a fact of life in Fijian society, especially at the village level. The Fijian society lacks the resources to cater for a sophisticated welfare state economy. Hence, in the Fijian context, it is the household which caters for the welfare of dependent members.

Chapter three also deals with agricultural methods and the people/land ratio, in an attempt to examine the utilization of these resources in meeting the rapidly expanding needs of the people. The church and education are two very important institutions which are very much part of village life. The church functions as an integrating factor both socially and spiritually. Education is an avenue which has been pursued by village parents as a means for their future security. Through the introduction of a cash economy, village parents can foresee that one of the surest ways of earning a regular income is by investing part of their meagre income for the education of their children in the hope that they will thereby obtain regular employment. Custom and ceremony, through which the village pulsates as a dynamic functional social entity is also considered here.



Chapter four, "The Role of Change Agents" commences by discussing Baker as the prime mover of Tovulailai's development. The Baker Housing Scheme is considered in some detail. The officials of the co-operative society are also identified as change agents. The role of the co-operative and its benefits will be discussed fully. Finally, this chapter considers in some detail the financial position of the co-operative in relation to the economic behaviour of the shareholders. Emphasis is placed on the analysis of debts accumulated by shareholders and the significance of these in relation to the economic survival of Tovulailai.

Chapter five, "Leadership as a Mechanism of Change" covers the leadership issue. This study identifies leadership as a key factor in the process and mechanism of socio-economic change at Tovulailai, especially in the new leader Ilaitia Radravu. Forces of change coming into the village are generally handled by the leaders first and these are communicated to the sub-leaders below then via the committee system and then to the people. The leaders identified the group goals discussed and planned strategies to be actioned by exploiting the local resources available to them. Tovulailai people are organizing their manpower resources and trying to improve their level of skills so that they can tackle their own development problems. This is evidenced in the manning of the 'Adi Talei', the Tabusoro Co-operative store and market stalls. They have also organized regular paid labour in the attempt to distribute wealth among members of the community. All these are fully explained in the main text. Chapter six contains the summary and general conclusion of the study.

## Conclusions

The whole study sets out to observe rural development in the rural villages in an attempt to examine the question of how change agents implement their planned strategies and objectives and how the members of the system desiring change respond to the influences of change agents in their effort to attain their goals? Thus, the major areas covered by the study are the identification of agents of change with their influences and new ideas which they brought into the village; the processes and channels diffusing these new ideas within the village social system and the consequences which have been arrived at. The

study emphasizes the observation of factors promoting social change such as; peoples' interests in material well-being; their acceptance of modern techniques and innovations their ability to look-ahead; their willingness to take risks and perseverance and their ability to collaborate with other people.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE FIJIAN CONTEXT - SETTING THE SCENE

#### Geographical Location

The Fiji Islands lie between the Kingdom of Tonga and Vanuatu, formerly the New Hebrides. They are located between longitudes  $176^{\circ} 53'$  and  $178^{\circ} 12'$  west and the  $180^{\circ}$  meridian runs through the islands. With the exception of Rotuma, the main islands lie between  $15^{\circ} 42'$  and  $20^{\circ} 02'$  south. Rotuma is 670 kilometres north of Suva, Fiji's capital. Fiji thus lies in the same latitudes as Cairns, Tahiti and Rio de Janeiro.

The whole of the Fijian archipelago covers an area of 194,000 square kilometres, of which only about 10 per cent (18,200 sq km) is dry land. Of the 320 islands in the Fijian group only 100 are inhabited, some only temporarily while Fijians are engaged in fishing and collecting activities. Geographically Fiji is centrally located on sea routes between Australia and North America. Nadi is an important international airport and has become a major stopping place for trans-Pacific air routes as well as being the focus of a number of South Pacific regional services.

The first European visit to Fiji, by the Dutch explorer, Tasman, occurred about 1643. The English navigators James Cook and William Bligh, sailed through the islands in 1774 and 1789 respectively. However, the first Europeans to land and settle were the beachcombers, sandalwood traders and convicts from Australia, in the 19th century. Indians who were brought into the country as indentured labourers arrived between 1879 and 1916 and the Chinese came more recently than that. These events indicate the wide variety of contacts the Fijians have made with the outside world and cultures. Thus Fiji has become a meeting place of races and peoples of different cultures. People from Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia meet and to some extent merge. Racial groups from the continents of Asia and Europe, Indians Chinese and Europeans are more recent arrivals, and influence Fijian culture.

In many respects, Fiji has much in common with Hawaii. Both have recently become meeting places for various races and cultures. Both produce tropical produce and occupy strategic positions on overseas trade routes and communication links. The Fijian tourist industry does not yet rival that of Hawaii but it is already the second largest source of income.

#### Physical Structure and Relief

Most of the larger Fijian islands are of volcanic origin with associated layers of sedimentary rocks. The others are raised coral limestone lying above, or associated with, their volcanic base. Topographically, much of the centre of the larger islands consist of high mountains with steep slopes, and broken and rugged hills. About one third of Fiji's total landmass is too steep or the soil too poor to be used for agriculture. There is only a small area with gentle relief and these places are already intensively farmed or are covered with swamp or mangrove. It is not surprising therefore, that cash cropping is generally confined to the coastal plains and river valleys. The lack of access roads in the rugged interior poses a major problem presently being slowly overcome. But the difficult relief of Fiji increases road-building costs and distance from markets makes it very costly for farmers to transport their produce to the urban markets. Cash crop farming on the outlying islands is also limited because of transport problems.

#### Climate

Growth of a wide range of tropical crops is possible. Rainfall varies from 180 centimetres to 500 centimetres per annum. The hottest months are between November and March, with March being the wettest month in all areas. Regional differences in climate are reflected in the distribution of the two major cash crops, sugar-cane and coconuts. Cane achieves its highest sugar content during the drier mid-year months hence sugar cane is farmed heavily in drier, western Viti Levu and Labasa and Seqaqa in the northern Vanua Levu areas. The main copra producing areas lie in the wet eastern region where there is no distinct dry season. The island of Nairai, on which is situated the

village of Tovulailai, the subject of this case study, is located in this region. Here the well distributed rainfall encourages good yields the peak collecting season occurring after the wettest months. Other crops show a preference for particular climatic conditions. Bananas, dalo (taro), yaqona, voivoi, cocoa grow best in the high rainfall region.

#### Population Composition and Structure

The 1966 census showed Fiji's total population to be 475,681 this has increased up to 588,068 as indicated in the 1976 census, an annual growth rate of 2.08 per cent. In September 1980 the total population was estimated to be 638,000. This represents a growth of 2.06 per annum since the last census. Fifty three per cent of the growth took place in urban areas where 37 per cent of the total population is located. As shown in table 1.1 the Indians, who were brought to Fiji as indentured labourers, now make up over half of the total population (50.0%) while the indigenous Fijians, comprise 44.2 per cent. The 1966 census revealed that about 73.4 per cent of Fiji's population live in Viti Levu, the largest island. Vanua Levu, the second largest island, and its adjacent islands, had 17.6 per cent, while the remainder were distributed over the ninety odd other islands. About two thirds of the inhabited islands have fewer than 300 people living on each of them. The island of Nairai has 1,200 people. The population density for Fiji as a whole is over 27 persons per square kilometre. The distribution of people is therefore very uneven. This variation has been determined by a combination of historical and geographical factors. People choose to settle where they can gain a living from the land, from agriculture, or from occupations in urban areas.

On September 15, 1976, Fiji's population was 588,068, as compared with 1966 census figure of 476,727. This increase in population will put pressure on food production as well as housing and other facilities like education, health and employment. Figure 1.1 shows detailed population figures of 1966-76 by ethnic category.

TABLE 1.1: Population growth, 1966-76 by ethnic category.

Ethnic groups	1966 Census %		1976 Census %	
Fijians	202,176	42.4	259,932	44.2
Indians	240,960	50.5	292,896	50.0
Part-Europeans	9,687	2.0	10,276	1.7
Europeans	6,590	1.3	4,929	0.8
Rotumans	5,797	1.2	6,822	1.1
Chinese	2,149	1.0	4,652	0.8
Pacific Islanders	6,095	1.2	7,291	1.2
Others	273	0.4	1,270	0.2
TOTAL POPULATION	476,727	100	588,068	100

Source - Ministry of Information, 1977, "FIJI TODAY" p.3,  
Government Printer, Suva.

The indigenous Fijians are the most widely distributed among all the ethnic groups in Fiji. Physical factors such as relief, slope, soil fertility and nearness to rivers or the sea were important in deciding the location of settlement in the past. In less than two centuries of contact with new settlers and new methods of gaining a living under a capitalist system, the Fijian population distribution has changed drastically, slowly at first, but now with increasing rapidity. During the last two decades, there has been a steady movement of Fijians from Vanua Levu, Kadavu, Lau and Lomaiviti to Viti Levu as well as a movement within the Suva area. This pattern of recent rural urban migration is most marked in the wage-earning age group (18-44 years). It has also been observed that there is a steady change in village farming from subsistence to cash cropping or employment for wages. This is manifest at Tovulailai. In 1977 it was stated that, the number of Fijians living solely on subsistence crops had dropped to "one in every five engaged in agriculture, a decline of 10 per cent in the last ten years". (Donnelly 1972:116). It is certainly much less now.

The present distribution of the indigenous Fijian population, still related in many areas to a previous way of life, tends to isolate them in many ways from the main economic and social developments taking place in Fiji today. Freight costs for their produce to the main urban centres reduces their income and their isolation creates other associated difficulties, in education for example. New migrants from the villages moving into towns have to face very great changes and adjustments, in housing, dress style, food, working hours, forms of recreation, leisure and outlook. The whole pattern of urban life is quite different from that of the village. Today 14 per cent of all indigenous Fijians live in towns, 31 per cent compared with 37 per cent of the total urban population.

#### Fijians in the Cultural Context

Unlike other peoples in different parts of the world who live cheek by jowl with other communities from whom they are separated by a cultural gap, for example the Maoris, the Tahitians and the Hawaiians, the Fijians have scored two major achievements. On the one hand they have come to terms with the modern world as manifest in their



distribution in the Public Service and in the political positions which they hold. On the other hand they have succeeded in salvaging much of what was not only their language but their music and dancing. a view of life which includes a sense of balance and proportion, of courtesy, good manners and humour: a view which has a proper regard for the choices and priorities open to any human being in the conduct of his life. It includes a very large measure of tact, patience and concern for the personal integrity of others, and a refusal to be bullied, hurried or patronized.

A relatively slow rate of growth in the Fijian component of the economy, a less than rapid pace of acculturation has come about as a direct result of the so called inhibiting, constricting and paternalistic policy of the Fijian Administration over the years, and especially of its determination to safeguard the rights of the Fijians in their land. For a landless Fijian would be a contradiction in terms, of man of no consequence, without security.

The Fijian way of life, as seen expressed within the village setting, is based on extended family. Usually several of these form the land-owning unit or matagali. The household is the unit of economic production comprising the patriarch and his spouse together with their children and quite often their sons' spouses and their children. Village livelihood is based on a semi-subsistence economy and the exchange of goods and services is based on the custom of reciprocity which may take place in a casual manner or as ceremonially required as an obligation to one's kin. The conduct of such socio-economic transactions is fully understood by all the parties concerned. The responses of each party are triggered off by the pulsation of customs which are more or less automatic. Stemming from the reciprocal mode of exchange is the Fijian customs of kerekere or borrowing. Depending on the nature of the relationship, a relative may ask what he wants from his kinsmen without due regard to the cost, but both parties fully realize that such favour will be returned in due course to cancel each other's debts or create further obligations. Hence, reciprocity and kerekere are the basis of the Fijians' subsistence economy in the areas of exchange of goods and services. The custom of kerekere is still practised at Tovulailai, this is because the village social network is still very much kin-based which is



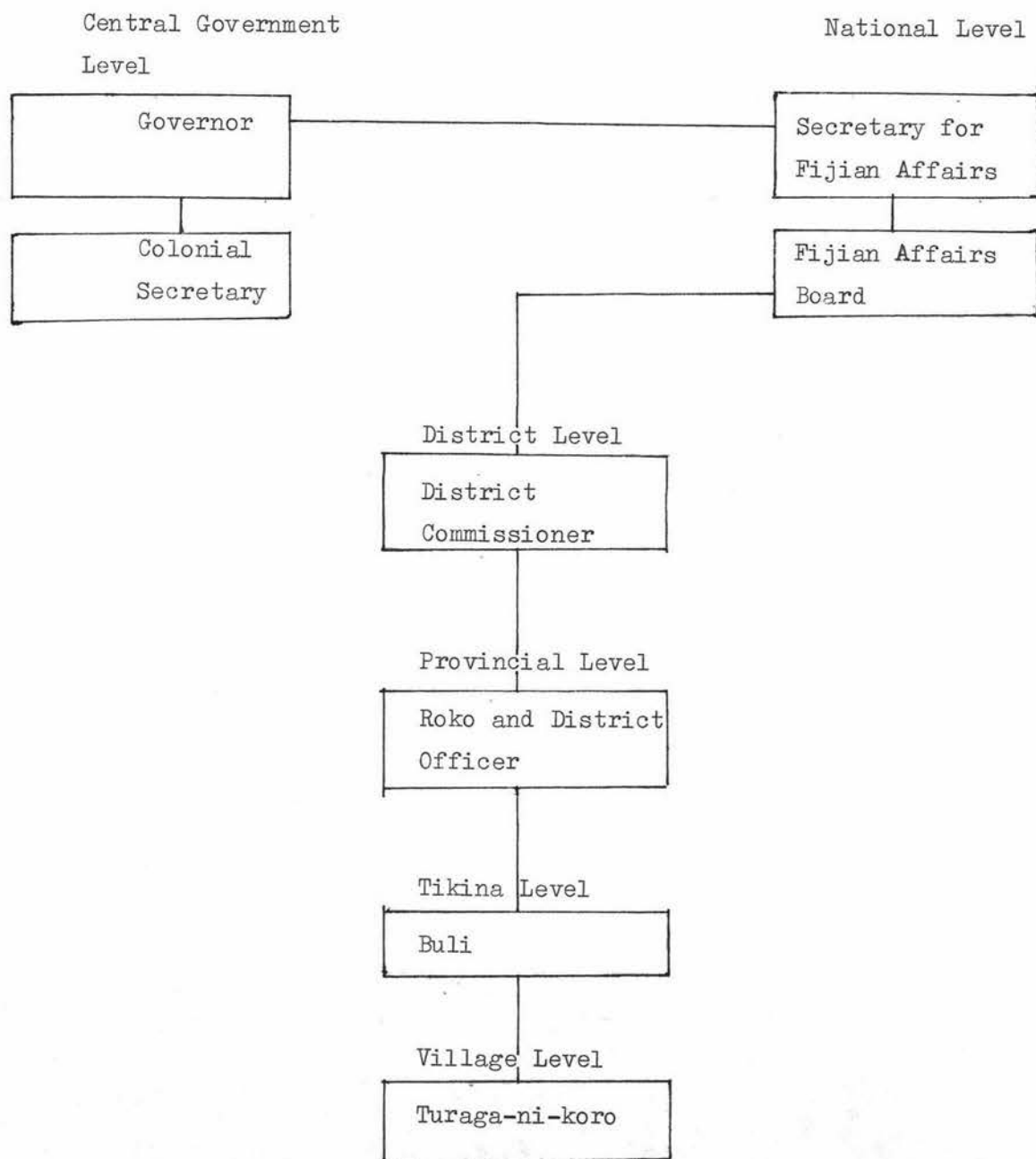
a supportive type of social relationship. But now the penetration of cash economy is slowly modifying this custom of reciprocity and kerekere. People are now receiving monetary reward for the cost of their labour. However, in most situations both the old and the new mode of exchanges are still practicable and useful when and where suitable.

Church activities and ceremonies play a prominent part in the day to day affairs of the villagers. Every Sunday is respected as the day of rest and worship, Sunday schools and church services are well attended. The support of church affairs is regarded as a public duty akin to the support of a tikina or village school. The Christian moral code is still strong in determining the puritanical mode of dress which has now become a part of Fijian tradition and in securing adherence to the overt forms of ritual behaviour.

The voice of the church in Fijian society carries a lot of weight and is listened to by authority and has become an important tool in decision-making even at government level. As Fijians are making their choices in the time of social change they will always be conscious of the fact that whatever the nature and quality of their choices and whatever the viability of that amalgam which will emerge out of a cultural blend, they will still be proud to call themselves the taukei (owner of the land) and they will have the courage to endorse the preservation of those enduring and meaningful elements of their cultural heritage which are vakaturaga (chiefly and respectable), vakavanua (in accordance with the traditions of the land) and vakalotu (that which is fitting with the christian faith and manner of the church). It will be seen later that the dominant leader in Tovulailai Ilaitia Radravu, has to some considerable extent achieved his position by building on these elements.

Three districts were formed in 1945, these were: the Northern, Southern and Eastern Districts, each under a European District Commissioner. To assist him a District Commissioner and had a Roko in charge of each of the thirteen provinces, District Officers (usually Europeans), Buli in charge of each of the tikina, and a turaga-ni-koro in each village. Thus the chain of responsibility was clearly set out from the Secretary for Fijian Affairs to the turaga-ni-koro. See figure 1.1. below.

FIGURE 1.1: The administrative structure under the Fijian Affairs Ordinance 1945-53.



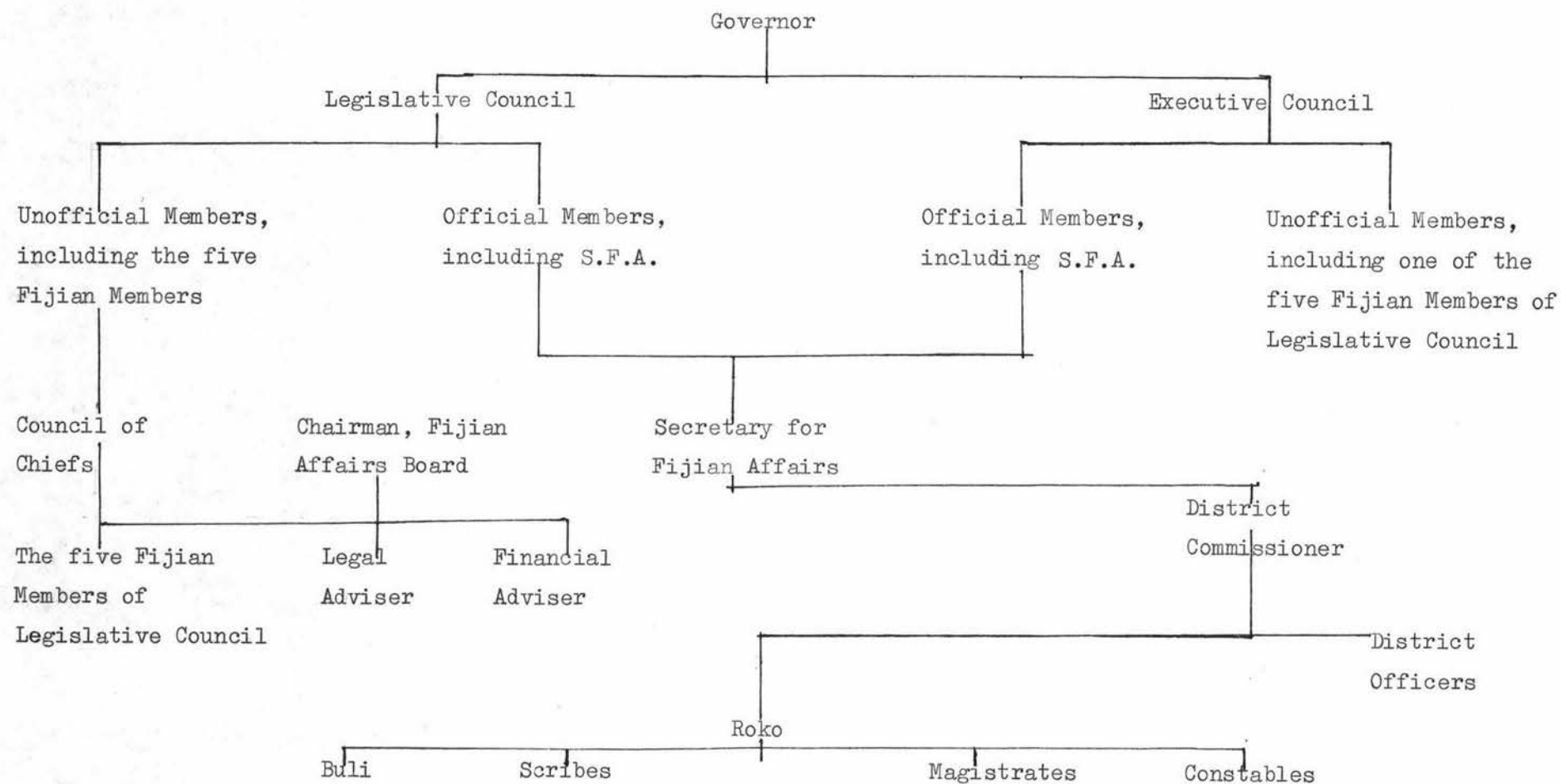
Source - Donnelly 1972:39

The Fijian local government of 1945 (Fig.1.1) under the Fijian Affairs Ordinance was designed by Sir Philip Mitchell, the then Governor of Fiji. This local government system was constantly being revised and additions and alterations were being made so that it interlocked with the central government, Figure 1.2 below shows the complete version of the Fijian Administration in 1953 linking up with the central government of the colony.

The Fijian Affairs Board was formed in 1953 (Fig.1.2) and was designed to be the link between the Legislative Council, the Council of Chiefs and the Executive Council. The S.F.A., being also a member of the government, was to be the direct link between the Board and the government. During 1967-68, the old tikina council disappeared and with it went the buli<sup>1</sup> system which was replaced by the mata (direct representative) who is elected by the villagers themselves to represent them at the provincial council. The roko remained, and they are now assisted by assistant roko. All provincial councils are responsible to the Council of Chiefs which in turn submits its recommendations to the Fijian Affairs Board. See figure 1.3.

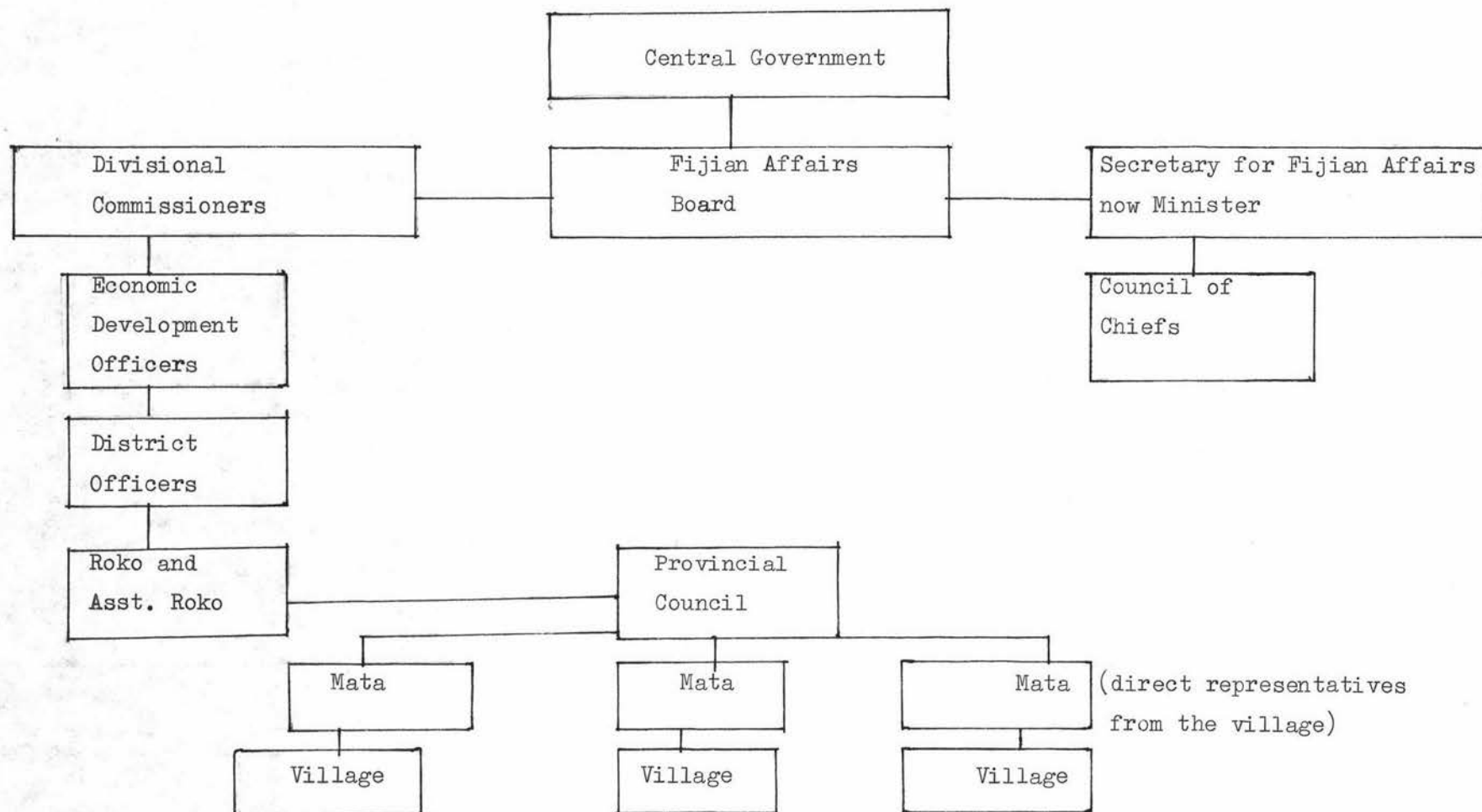
1. The Buli was the administrative arm of the Fijian Administration and was head of a tikina. Traditionally, only people of chiefly rank, who were also generally the better educated, were usually appointed to this position. The Buli System was abolished at the end of 1967 and replaced by the Mata System in 1968.

FIGURE 1.2: Diagram showing the position of the Fijian Administration in the Government of the Colony, 1953



Source - G.K. Roth 1953: 142

FIGURE 1.3: Modified council structure 1967 to present



Source - Donnelly 1972:41

Fiji was granted full independence in 1970 when it accepted a democratic system of constitutional government based on the British Westminster model. If independence is not to be a sham, a new nation should also be given the credit of having reached cultural maturity<sup>2</sup>, the right to state and solve its problems in its own way and in the light of its own genius, the privilege of making the final choice as to the kind of social and economic institutions that it wishes to adopt and develop. Whether, that is to say, an individual or a communal way of life will suit the people best is surely the prerogative of the Fijians to decide for themselves. To advocate a certain policy simply because it makes sense in a Western context, without taking into full consideration the conditions prevailing in the Fijian society, is tantamount to cultural arrogance. Fiji as an independent nation must try to fend for itself not only politically but also economically.

#### National Economy, Employment and Income

Fijian economy is basically agrarian and sugar is still the backbone of the economy. Sugar-cane, grown mainly on small holdings in the drier zone, is crushed and partly refined by the Government owned Fiji Sugar Corporation and remains the country's major export. Next to sugar are other export earners like copra, coconut oil and gold. Timber and forestry products are predicted to be great future export earners. Minor exports like cement, beer and cigarettes are slowly finding their ways into international trade. Tourism continues to be a big factor in Fiji's economy and is presently second only to sugar as a money earner. The main economic aim of the government is to break away from the country's dependence on sugar-cane and diversify into broader agricultural products and secondary industries.

2. The country has reached a level of cultural development, especially in education and politics, sufficient to cater for most parts of its development as an independent nation.

Fiji is attempting to reduce the gap between the value of Fiji's import and its exports. The government policy now is to impose duty on those imports that the country can produce locally, these include garments, cosmetics and footwear. A major objective of the present government is to place the greatest emphasis in development on those regions that have lagged behind during the first half of the present decade. This entails channelling - government resources to those mainly rural areas not necessarily showing the greatest growth potential. Meantime the government is striving to ensure the substantive growth of the overall economy while maintaining the policy of equal distribution of the national income.

It was revealed in the 1966 census, that only 33 per cent of the employed labour force were in formal employment. This figure grew to 43 per cent by 1976; the remainder were either in informal<sup>3</sup> employment or agricultural activities or joined the ranks of the unemployed, the 1976 census figure showed that over 94,000 persons were in this category. The latest figures revealed in the Fiji's Eighth Development Plan,<sup>4</sup> 1981-85, Volume One, shows that the number of people in formal employment has risen from 43,552 in 1968 to 76,000 in 1979 and the present employment growth rate is 3.0 per cent per annum.

In 1970, about 60 per cent of the work force were employed in primary industries, agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining. Only 12 per cent were employed in secondary industry, manufacturing, construction and engineering and the remaining 28 per cent were occupied in tertiary or service industries. About 43 per cent of those engaged in agriculture are occupied in sugar production, the processing of which employs 65 per cent of those in the manufacturing section. Thus, unemployment ranks as a very serious problem in Fiji and the economic and political future is closely related to its ability to create new jobs for over 5,000 school leavers who enter the labour market every year, many of whom remain without jobs.

3. This refers to those people who are self-employed on a minor scale, especially in the agricultural sector, and are not registered in the Inland Revenue as taxpayers receiving regular income, for example, private commercial farmers.
4. This is Fiji's third five-year plan (1981-85) since independence. Both Development Plans 6 and 7 were concerned with major social and economic problems facing Independent Fiji. DP8 attempts to translate national development into sectoral and regional development objectives and strategies.



In 1970, the average per capita income was about \$320. There is a very pressing need to increase rural incomes which remain much lower than the average. If the average real wage is accepted as an indication of urban standards, it appears that urban dwellers have improved their standard of living by 5.3 per cent per annum for 1970 to 1978. During the same period the per capita real income rose by some 3.5 per cent for the urban dweller compared to 0.3 per cent for the rural dweller. The 1977 household expenditure pattern in three different community settings, (1) urban, (2) rural non-village and (3) village - the following pattern is revealed: \$88.92, \$93.06 and \$44.24 respectively. Clearly substantial differences exist between communities, but these differences are narrowed once the subsistence, production - for own-consumption, element is included. For more detail analysis, refer to Fiji's Eighth Development Plan 1981-85, Volume one 1.3.17 and 1.3.18 page 10, 1980.

#### International Trade

It was trade which brought Fiji and Fijians in contact with the outside world and with capitalism. Fiji's economy is still highly dependent on foreign trade. Almost half the production of goods, services and other economic activity in the country is directed towards producing exports, particularly raw sugar. The value of Fiji's imports in the last decade rose from SF33 million to SF77.9 million. Exports over a similar period have risen from SF22 million to SF43.5 million dollars. Fiji has indicated an unfavourable trade balance, more money has been spent on imports than has been received for exports. The most important invisible export is tourism which now earns over SF22 million dollars annually.

Presently, Fiji tends to rely heavily on its few export items. Unrefined sugar, copra products and gold together make up 90 per cent of the total value of exports. The fluctuations in the income received by Fiji's major agricultural products is caused basically by world trading conditions. Most food items which are presently imported, could be produced locally in greater quantities. It is one of the major aims of the Fiji Government to encourage local production of agricultural products. This is an area in which rural farmers like those in the villages could participate in the overall development of their country.

In relation to the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji is an under-developed country. Capital, machines and often manpower, have to be imported. Today, Fiji is spending much of its income on capital goods and equipment for new hotels, industries and development projects. It will take sometime for Fiji to benefit from increased local production.

#### Foreign Aid

"Fiji is a small, developing island state, as such it cannot isolate itself from the outside world to achieve its basic development objectives. Fiji will have to continue to rely on external trade and aid relations, for economic as well as non-economic reasons. Given this interdependence with the international economy, it is however, desirable that all efforts are undertaken to achieve greater self-reliance".

(Fiji National Development Plan 8 2.1.07, 1980:19)

At the present stage of its economic development, most of the assistance received has come from the United Kingdom in the form of Colonial and Development Welfare fund grants, and also from other outside investors. Australian capital is the basis of most of Fiji's industry. Australia's growth as a Pacific power may force her into taking a greater interest in Fiji's development than it does at present. New Zealand on her part has continued to provide useful assistance in the fields of education, agriculture, medicine and defence. The pressing need for such development is made more urgent by Fiji's growing population and rapid urbanization together with its need to attain economic independence in order to validate its new political image and status in the world at large.

Fiji must not rely too heavily on foreign aid, but try to establish a firm base for its economy especially in the areas of agricultural production. This calls for the commercialization of agriculture on a much larger scale. Discussed very briefly below are the agricultural products which Fiji is presently producing and which show considerable potential growth.

## Commercial Agriculture in Relation to Economic Development

### i. Sugar

Sugar-cane is Fiji's most important cash crop. Raw sugar accounts for up to 75 per cent of the value of the country's export in normal years. Almost 30,000 people are directly employed in the sugar industry 26,000 of whom work on the farms. Other people work in the mills or help with the transport of sugar-cane. Fiji differs from other sugar producing countries because of its almost complete dependence on smaller farmers and its centralized milling system. The United Kingdom provides the greatest market for Fijian sugar with a guaranteed quote of 140,000 tonnes annually. The other markets are Canada, U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. One of the long-term major problems is the E.E.C. pricing control over outside products.

### ii. Copra

This comprises Fiji's second largest agricultural produce and has accounted for between 16-25 per cent of domestic export income during the last decade. The crop supplies the main source of income for nearly 10,000 Fijian village farmers who grow half the amount processed or exported. The remainder comes from larger plantations. The main copra-producing areas are the eastern and southern parts of Vanua Levu and Taveuni which contribute two-thirds of the total production. The islands of Kadavu, Lau and Lomaiviti supply the rest of the copra. The main requirements are well drained soil, plenty of rain and sunshine. With reference to Tovulailai (which is in the Lomaiviti Group), though copra is its major cash crop, it has only 58 acres of coconut plantation which is the smallest acreage of this crop, in relation to the other villages on Nairai. This means that the 215 persons from the 26 households in Tovulailai have to distribute this meagre but key resource amongst themselves i.e. 4 persons to every acre of coconut or 2.2 acres per household. The scarcity of this resource at Tovulailai is one of the main reasons why the people in this village concentrate their effort on the co-operative society, which buys copra from other villages. This will be fully explained in the main text.

Village production is less systematic than on the plantation. Recent changes have increased the volume of Fijian output. Production was stimulated after the copra subsidy scheme, CESS, was introduced in 1963. Partly as a result, over 6,000 tonnes of copra was marketed through the co-operative societies in 1967. At the village level, the copra can be sold through either the co-operative society or other stores. The Island Industries in Suva buy and process all copra and export its bi-products. The coconut oil is extracted and exported mainly to the United Kingdom and the rest is used locally for making soap. The crushed coconut meal is exported mainly to West Germany. The U.S.A. and Japan also buy copra products from Fiji.

### iii. Bananas

This used to be an important export crop between 1890 and 1914. A steady decline has been caused by the closing of the Australian market and also by the internal problems of production in recent years due to disease and lack of capital. The post-war revival of the industry met great difficulties and competition from the other banana-producing countries outside Fiji.

### iv. Rice

Rice is the staple food for half of Fiji's population. Rice growing is confined to the coastal lowlands under varied climatic conditions and cultivated mostly by Indians farmers. Both wet and dry varieties are grown. Two thirds of the 1970 annual production of 27,000 tonnes came from cane farms, either as a rotation crop on cane land or from special blocks of rice land, usually in well watered sites.

A pre-investment F.A.O. survey completed in 1970 used irrigation and mechanization to bring into better use 5,300 hectares (13,000 acres) in the Rewa Delta and 1,600 hectares (4,000 acres) at Navua. Farms would be 4 hectares (10 acres) in area rather than uneconomic small family holdings. Suitable areas in Bua and Macuata have already been surveyed and will come into use too.

## Other Crops

There is great interest today in crops which can be grown locally to reduce imports, save overseas funds and build up more a diversified export trade. Most tropical root crops find a ready market in Auckland which has a large Polynesian population. Ginger and passionfruit are locally processed for export, while tobacco leaf worth SF188,000 was sold to Australia in 1967. Cocoa export is now starting slowly. There are also great potentials in the commercial productions of tea and citrus fruits. As Fiji develops it must introduce more crops, but new crops require research and trials, new agricultural methods and tests with fertilizers. All these call for new techniques, capital investments and technical skills. It is vital for Fiji to find markets and financial assistance, and also to improve the transportation systems. (Kerr and Donnelly, 1973:137-216).

## Livestock Farming in Fiji

This aspect of farming is greatly hindered by lack of experience and partly by conservatism, especially among the Fijians. This is compounded by land tenure problems, shortage of capital, marketing difficulties and by the general lack of training and advice for farmers. The government is now taking steps to remedy these difficulties.

### i. Beef Cattle

Almost one quarter of Fiji's cattle are classified as working bullocks which are not raised primarily for beef. Most Indian farmers graze cattle and goats on leased holdings in the hill areas inland from the coastal cane land. The grazing methods and grasses are poor. Beef production is carried on in three forms: (i) The extensive ranch-type at Yaqara near Rakiraki where the Fiji Sugar Corporation keeps 5,900 Hereford and Brahman cattle on 7,300 hectares (18,000 acres); (ii) Small beef fattening farms of under 203 hectares (500 acres) are developed in Southern Western Viti Levu, close to Suva urban market; (iii) Co-operative farming - a few villages in Ra, e.g. the Uluisaivou Beef Scheme have started and the people are receiving both encouragement and assistance from the Government. (Kerr and Donnelly 1973: 137-216).

## ii. Dairy Cattle

Dairy farming is concentrated in south-eastern Viti Levu on the lowlands around Tailevu, Lomaivuna, Serea and Navua areas. Most dairy farms are located close to urban markets to which they supply whole milk for town supply, or for butter and ghee production. There are about 200 dairy farmers mainly Indians, Fijians and Europeans, serving Suva and about 900 workers are directly employed on the farms which vary from 15-250 hectares (40,600 acres). Herds number from 10 to 350 animals. Butter and milk are processed at the Rewa Co-operative Dairy Company's Nabua factory. (Kerr and Donnelly, 1973: 137-216).

## iii. Pigs and Goats

A few dairy farmers also raise pigs which are fed with skimmed milk left after cream has been separated. Most pigs are now bred in special piggeries, at schools, prison and other government institutions. Pigs are also reared in Fijian villages. Pork production rose to over 250,000 kgs (550,000 lbs) in 1969. The amount of imports fell accordingly. Output is chiefly for fresh pork sales. Local manufacture of bacon (5,000 lbs in 1967) and ham, is increasing. Goats are mainly raised by Indian farmers. About 20,000 goats are killed annually but goat meat cannot compete in price with New Zealand lamb which is exported to Fiji. (Kerr and Donnelly, 1973: 137-216).

## iv. Poultry

Poultry farming boomed concurrently with the hotel and tourist industries, caused by the great demand for eggs and poultry meat in hotels and restaurants. Most poultry farms are located near Suva where the greatest consumers are to be found. Most poultry farmers have reached overseas standards and scientific methods of production. The Koronivia Research Station supplies young chicks to farmers, but big producers rear their own or import them from Australia. Poultry producers have to face tough competition from overseas and attacks of poultry diseases which can cause heavy losses. (Kerr and Donnelly, 1973: 137-216).



In villages like Tovulailai, the raising of livestock such as poultry, cattle, pigs, goats are mainly for local consumption, especially during funerals, weddings and ceremonies. Sometimes these animals are converted into cash when they are sold.

#### Manufacturing

Secondary industries are beginning to be established, for example, breweries, tobacco, cement and clothing factories. These developments are not only increasing the government revenue to provide for expanded public works, education, sanitation and medical services. The 1977 budget called for a total spending of \$F203,720. Almost one third of this was allocated for development projects. The government is placing great emphasis on development in those regions that have lagged behind, mainly in the rural areas which are not showing the greatest growth potential. At the same time the government is attempting to achieve balanced development.

There is a considerable increase in new industries producing products which are planned both for local consumption and export. These include, aluminium products, agricultural equipment, boats, beverages, building materials, cement, cigarettes, footwear, jewellery, plastic, handicrafts, soap products, packaging materials, wood products and wrought iron products. There is also a fisheries base which includes a freezing plant and cannery, there are rice and timber mills, and there are servicing industries that include dry-cleaning, and laundering, electroplating, general engineering, civil engineering, marine engineering and slip-way management, real estate, advertising agencies and data processing by computer systems.

#### Conclusions

From this general brief and general review of the economic development of Fiji, the economic development of Tovulailai village at the micro-level can be viewed in its proper perspective. It will be noticed that most, if not all, the problems, experienced at the wider national level are also very important at the village or grass-roots level. In chapters 3, 4 and 5, the two will be more closely related in order that Tovulailai's progress and problems can be appreciated more fully.



## CHAPTER 3

### TOVULAILAI: A VILLAGE IN FIJI

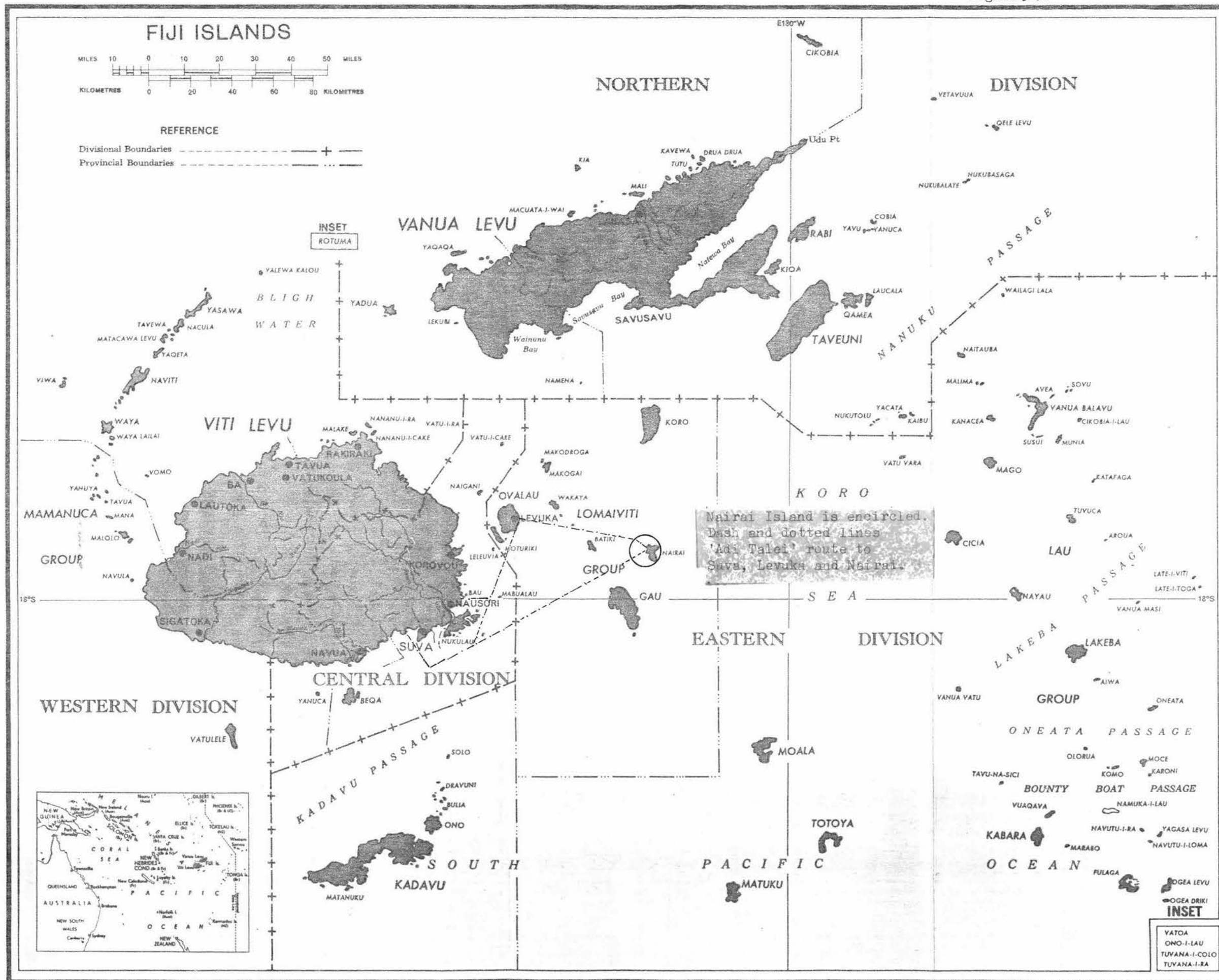
Nairai island (see Fig 3.1) can be reached by a motor vessel within eight hours from Suva, 96 kilometres away. It has a total area of 27.7 km<sup>2</sup>. The island has a single central hill range with various steep ended spurs projecting towards the sea giving an indented coastline and providing shelter for villages on the lowlands. Tovulailai village is situated on its west coast. It is about 0.56 km<sup>2</sup> and in 1979 had a population of 215 people. Almost 75 per cent of Nairai island is steep land, 6 per cent rolling land and the remaining 19 per cent flat land which is covered predominantly by coconut grove at the end of which are gentle hill slopes intermingled with lowlands where the people have their teitei. Nairai is located in the wet zone in the eastern region (180-200 cms average rainfall per annum) of the Fiji group. The soil is only of average fertility. The three major cash crops are, in order of importance, copra, voivoi and yaqona.

#### A Brief History of Tovulailai and its People

According to the testimonies of the villagers themselves, most of the Tovulailai people came from Tailevu, mainly from Naimalovau in the Rewa river delta. Thus Tovulailai is actually a village of migrants, the only true Nairaians being the people of Yavusa Qalitu whose chief is called the 'Ramasi'. The Ramasi people now form the mataqali Ramasi at Tovulailai. Even these Ramasi people originally came from the abandoned village of Dalice, about three kilometres up the coast from Tovulailai. It is of great interest to note that of those people who are presently listed as belonging to mataqali Ramasi, about 60 per cent of them are not legally<sup>1</sup> registered under that mataqali, they are men who married girls in that mataqali and stayed.

1. The people referred to here are legally registered under the mataqali of their father in the Vola-ni-kawabula (Native Register of Genealogy) at the Fijian Affairs Administration Office in Suva. The people mentioned above arrived at Tovulailai as adults, or in some cases their fathers before them, got married and have stayed in the village ever since.

Figure 3.1

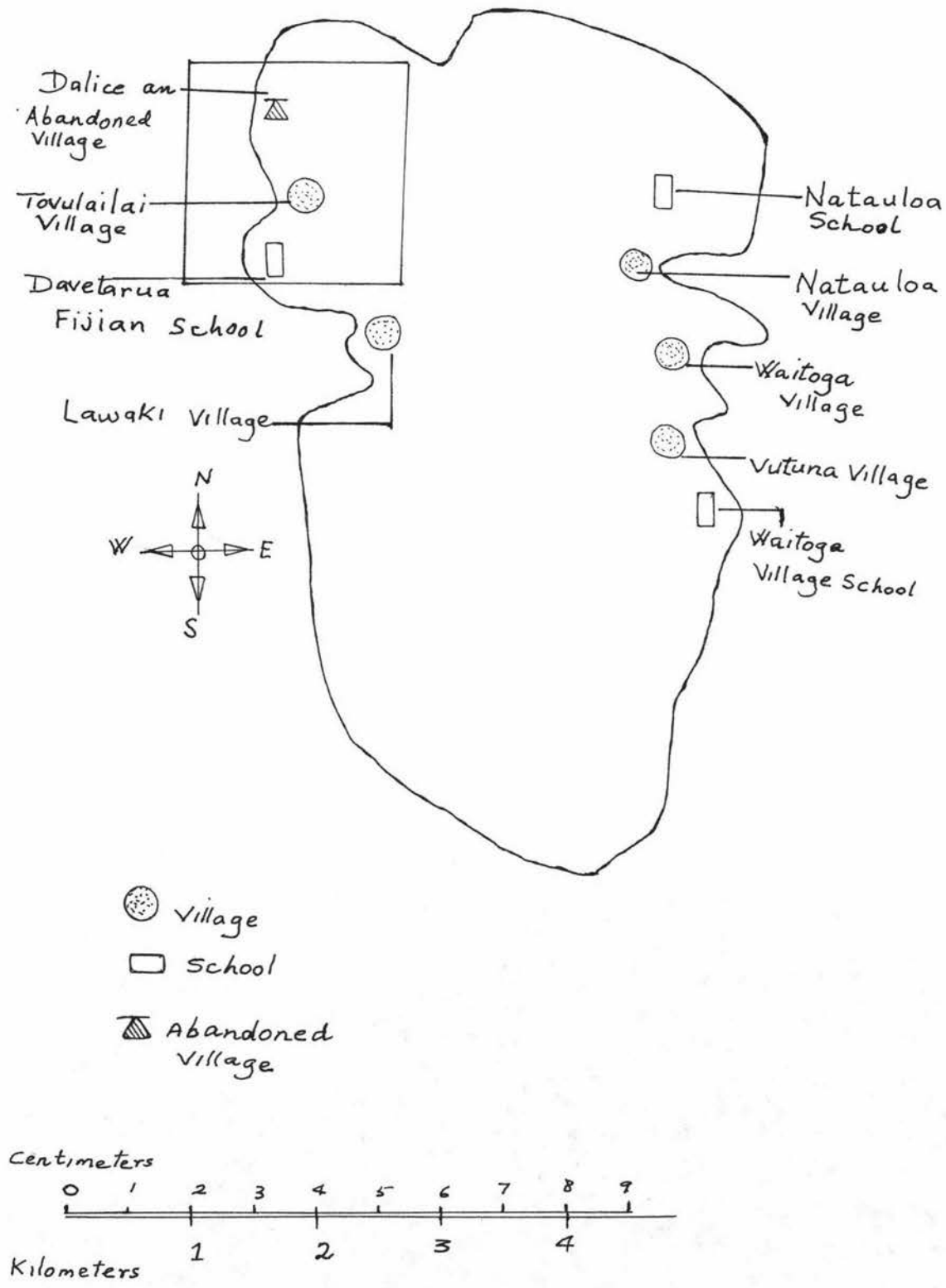


Twenty five years ago, Tovulailai used to be ranked as the second smallest of the five villages in the old tikina of Nairai (refer to Figure 3.2 ). In the early colonial days informal schooling was carried out by the Methodist Church Mission teachers. In 1930 formal schooling started on the island. Government trained and registered teachers took over from Mission teachers and the school became registered under the then Department of Education. The whole tikina then had only one school which was situated at Nataulua village, eight kilometres from Tovulailai. All the school children from the four villages walked daily to attend school at Nataulua village.

Nataulua was known as the village for the upper class i.e. the capital of the tikina or village of the chiefs. According to tradition, only people from Nataulua, because of their chiefly status, could be appointed as buli or assistant buli of Nairai and could reside officially in that village. There has, however, been at least one exception in Nairai. As far as I know, the only person outside of Nataulua who has been appointed to the full status of "Buli Nairai" (1946-47) was Ananaiasa Naucukidi of Tovulailai village. That one of their people should be elevated to such a chiefly status was a great honour for Tovulailai. This was the same Naucukidi who initiated the whole Baker Scheme in 1951, which will be discussed in this chapter.

The old tikina of Nairai now has an island council and is represented at the Lomaiviti Provincial Council by Ilaitia Radravu who comes from Tovulailai. Today, Tovulailai village has become the central point of activity for all the Government officials working in Nairai i.e., the agricultural officer, the health nurse, and the post and telegraph agent, all are officially stationed at Tovulailai. All business and commercial activities are also centred at Tovulailai which has developed to become the servicing centre for the whole island community in Nairai.

FIGURE 3.2: Shows Nairai Island and villages which used to form the old tikina of Nairai.



## Village Organization

The whole village is under the chieftainship of Ratu Waisale Rasauliwa, the present incumbent of the title Rokotuibau<sup>2</sup>. He is now 74 years old and is still very active. He has only one son, Ratu Inosi Ratete Rasauliwa, who will automatically be installed as the next Rokotuibau of Tovulailai when his father leaves the scene. The 'Ramasi' people, even though identified as 'Yavusa Qalitu', are now only functioning as a mataqali unit, subordinate to the authority of the Rokotuibau.

The twenty six households at Tovulailai are divided into five mataqali. These are shown in Table 3.1 below in their hierarchical rank and with their traditional roles. The chief's mataqali is Naivini of which the Rokotuibau himself is the head. Mataqali Sauturaga is second in rank, headed by Semi Radravu. Third in rank is Matanivanua mataqali headed by Asaeli Saravaki. This person is by tradition the mouthpiece of the chief, the Rokotuibau. Since this mataqali is now very weak it is combined with Naivini, the chief's mataqali. Next is mataqali Sauni, headed by Etuate Samu whose traditional title is the 'Mata-ki-Bau' or agent to the vanua of Bau. Finally the mataqali formed by the abandoned Yavusa Qalitu-na-Ramasi, whose chief is one Waisake Tewa whose traditional title is the 'Mata-ki-Nairai' or the agent to the vanua of Nairai. All these mataqali are still fully functioning in the traditional roles both within the village organization and outside it. The people of Tovulailai are sensitive and proud of their mataqali affiliations, identities and associated traditional roles. They pay very high respect to the respective heads of their mataqali and above all to their chief, the Rokotuibau. The allegiance to their traditional leaders and elders, give the people of Tovulailai a very strong sense of identity and pride. This contributes to the overall unity and solidarity.

2. 'Rokotuibau', incidentally is a title very similar to that borne by the high chief of Bau. The family of Sukuna, Jale and Dovi are the descendants of the Rokotuibau. By tradition, the Rokotuibau is the one that elects and installs the chief who will bear the "Vunivalu" title. Because the Tovulailai people originally came from Tailevu, there must be some historic connection with the Bauan chiefs.

TABLE 3.1: Mataqali of Tovulailai

Names of <u>matagali</u>	Head of <u>matagali</u>	Traditional ranking	Traditional title of leaders
Naivini	Ratu Waisale	1	Rokotuibau (Turaga-ni-Yavusa)
Sauturaga	Semi Radravu	2	Komai-nai-Bili
Matanivanua	Asaeli Saravaki	3	Mata-ni-vanua (mouth piece of the chief)
Sauni	Etuate Samu	4	Mata-ki-Bau (agent to the <u>vanua</u> of Bau)
Ramasi	Waisake Tewa	5	Mata-ki-Nairai (agent to the <u>vanua</u> of Nairai)

Source - Ilaitia Radravu and the Rokotuibau of Tovulailai

#### Note

1. Names of matagali (Yaca-ni-matagali), listed above are the matagali which still have surviving members and who are registered at the Native Land Trust Board in Suva.
2. Head of matagali (Turaga-ni-matagali) is generally inherited through one family but can be transferred to the eldest member of the matagali if the head family has become extinct.
3. Traditional title (Tutu vakavanua) is generally inherited by the head of the matagali but in a ceremonial setting all members of the matagali are conferred with the title to differentiate them from members of other social units or other matagali.



Nairai island has a total land hectareages of 2,773.4, out of this only 379 hectares are covered with coconut plantations. Tovulailai has only 23.4 hectares of coconut, the smallest hectareages of this major cash crop in the whole island. This is one of the main reasons why the people in Tovulailai are deriving substantial part of their income through wages. This is now going to be discussed in the cash economy life style in Tovulailai.

#### Cash Economy of Tovulailai

The present sources of income at Tovulailai village are the voivoi, handcrafts, copra, yaqona, wages, livestock, remittances and sales of small goods. About 14 households were selected at random to show their average income on each of these sources and the total will indicate their average earned income per annum. See Table 2.1 below.

TABLE 3.2: Sources of gross income: Average earned on each item in 14 households 1978 in Tovulailai

Voivoi	-	\$220.00
Handcrafts	-	48.00
Copra	-	48.00
Yaqona	-	33.00
Wages	-	524.00
Livestock/Fish	-	8.00
Remittances	-	37.85
Sale of smallgoods	-	12.14
		<hr/>
Total average income per annum.		\$931.56
		<hr/>

It will be noticed that banana is no longer the source of income that Watters (1959) observed it to be in other villages. At Tovulailai, neither yaqona nor copra earn much income. A new trend has now emerged in that wage earning is the greatest source of income for the average household. This is a very significant development, because there is surplus manpower (8.2 persons per household) and



inadequate land supply (6 acres per head) to cater for everyone in the long term, because the population will increase in the future but the landmass available will remain more or less constant. In areas like Nairai where land is scarce and soil fertility is mediocre, the people must create alternative ways of earning income. What is emerging at Tovulailai through wage labour is both of great interest and vital importance to the village people and development planners alike. Computed source of income figures serve as an index of local production as well as gross income in the village.

The people of Tovulailai's shares from the co-operative assets and profits are not assessed here, because I was only interested in what the household actually earns from the resources available to it outside the co-operative shares and profits. However, the co-operative shares and profits would raise the average income per household much higher, and it will throw a different light on the interpretation of the data. Furthermore assets and profits from the co-operative and its various auxillary services are not considered because they are constantly fed-back into the business to keep it going with the realization of the risks involved and the depreciation of assets is, of course, another important factor. These verbally reported income and expenditure patterns must be treated with some caution because people do not keep records and they are inclined to forget. Table 3.3 below shows average expenditure of 14 households in 1978.

TABLE 3.3: Average Total Expenditure Patterns of 14 Households in Tovulailai (1978)

Food	\$398.28
Payments of debts (mostly food)	160.99
Ceremonies/Visitors	35.07
Clothes	72.85
Local School	20.00
Church/Mission	17.50
Secondary School Fees	199.64
Travelling Expenses	90.28
Provincial Tax	7.57
Cigarettes/Tobacco/Kava	49.57
Total of average expenses	<u>\$1,051.96</u>

A substantial part of the income is spent on food as bought food quickly replaces subsistence food. More and more village people are relying increasingly on store bought food for everyday consumption which means that households have to find ways and means of increasing their income to meet this increasing demand. School fees make a heavy demand on household income, this reflects the emphasis which parents are putting on the education of their children. A comparison of the total from Table 3.2 and the one shown in Table 3.3, shows that these 14 households had overspent their incomes by an average of \$120.40 or 12.9 per cent of their incomes. This explains that the people are increasing their consumption of store foods but are earning insufficient incomes. Also they tend to neglect the cultivation of their own food crops and are relying heavily on short-cut supplies from the stores. The physiological urge to consume new tasty foods is reinforced by the psychological curiosity and novelty drive, i.e. the drive to discover new experiences is triggered off by the excessive desires to try out new exotic foods from the store, immediate gratification becomes paramount, superceding the delayed returns mentality.

It has also been observed that no provision is being made for savings. In most households annual expenditure cancels out annual income. Watters (1958) observed a similar trend at Nacamaki village where he came across only twelve persons who had savings and bank account at some stage. There were only about four persons at Tovulailai, who had deposited bank accounts which they paid through the Co-operative.

One must, however, appreciate the fact that it is very hard for the villagers to earn cash and whatever they do earn is inadequate to purchase all they need, so saving is still not possible for the majority of the village people. The rates and range of exotic goods coming into the village co-operative store has created the desire for western goods causing consumption rates to outstrip the earning capacities of the households (refer to Appendix B for a complete list of goods available at the Tovulailai Co-operative in 1980). The perpetuation of impoverished conditions and the persistence of a subsistence mentality has materialized in the immediate gratification of desired goals - resulting in the rapid consumption of wealth (money). This leads to little attention being given to long term planning and long term goals. Furthermore, there is still lack of initiative to

invest part of the incomes in productive purposes as far as the household is concerned. At Tovulailai the people seem to look to the co-operative to do almost everything for them rather than plan for their own savings. They are treating the co-operative as the alternative to a subsistence way of life. The consumption of exotic foods is also regarded by the people as a symbol of status. The common people tend to compete for status in this way because most of them cannot achieve it any other way. They become obsessed with the desire to purchase and consume whatever they can. Whether they are capable of paying for the goods is another matter.

A variety of exotic foods have become necessities rather than luxuries in this village. Not all the people possess equal opportunities, attitudes and work patterns that would enable them to earn sufficient money to satisfy their expanding wants. Income from cash cropping at Tovulailai, as far as my observation is concerned, will be totally insufficient to meet the demands for exotic goods. Copra sales are already on the decline, voivoi which is presently on high demand because of tourism, creates only a short term boom and fluctuates together with the tourism industry. The recognition of voivoi as a viable cash crop began in the late 1950s but really reached high demand during the last two decades 1960-80, when the tourist industry became fairly well established in Fiji.

Although voivoi is the major cash crop at Tovulailai there were no signs of its special cultivation as a cash crop. The household consumption of voivoi has now been redirected to earn cash for the household. As a result of this, plants are over harvested and eventually will die without being replaced. The same applies to yaqona which is prematurely harvested because of the need for cash with no deliberate planning in the planting of the crop. There were no signs of any livestock specially raised for cash purposes. It appeared to me that agriculture in the village has not yet emerged out of the subsistence stage. The people seem to know what they want and where to go but they slumber on rather than be awakened out of their sleep. For example, the people of Tovulailai have now bought a boat which calls at Suva and Levuka at least three times every month. This has increased one hundred fold the chances of the individual being able to sell his products directly in the Suva market, but, there is no indication whatsoever from any villager of the exploitation of this excellent

opportunity. They only rely on what the co-operative can do for them. This shows that there is no real change in the economic thinking and behaviour of the people, rather, it is treated as an exciting novel experiment. This means that once the co-operative collapses, the people of Tovulailai will begin to wake up but it may be too late and they will be pushed back making no real progress in real terms.

This is somewhat similar to a situation which Watters (1969) observed at Nalotawa village. Nalotawa people took up a joint venture with the neighbouring villages to construct a feeder-road to serve their areas. They thought the road would prove to be a panacea for most of their socio-economic problems, a piece of infrastructure which could be the springboard to transform their stagnant economic life and bring riches to all. Although there is no doubt of the very real economic advantage that feeder-roads can bring, the villagers had practically no specific idea as to how they might capitalize on the construction of such a road. Thus, according to Watters:-

"The people of Nalotawa are happy with their present lot, content merely to dream of a bright future created by such handouts provided by the government of the day". (Watters 1969:69)

My own observation at Tovulailai was that traditionalism and commercialism are compartmentalized and placed in their rightful niches<sup>3</sup> a mode of 'parallelism'<sup>4</sup>. The thing that really became very obvious was the persistence of subsistence agricultural methods which seemed to retard the economic thinking of the people. People are far too slow in adapting their agricultural methods to enable them to earn sufficient cash. They tend to be quite satisfied when most of their needs are met by working for only 15-20 hours per week, they strive to earn just enough cash and no more, as long as they enjoy a bit of both worlds, the traditional world embracing subsistence and the new

3. By rightful niches - I mean that generally, commercialism can function quite independently of tradition and vice versa.
4. A mode of parallelism carries the explanation further in the sense that commercialism and traditionalism have not quite merged - they are functioning on two different levels running side by side and have yet to intermix to become one way of life in actuality rather than just a desired utopia.

commercial world where capitalism is the paramount way of life. However, there is a very healthy sign of questioning the status quo, people no longer inhibit their dissatisfaction with the government especially in matters relating to rural development. For example, they are totally dissatisfied with services they received from the agricultural officer, so they asked the mata to recommend his removal from Nairai and his replacement by some one who can help them in methods of productions and marketing.

The livelihood of the household in the village can be realized only by the full utilization of the resources available to it. An important factor in agricultural production is the amount of good cultivable land which is made available to the household production unit. This study takes special interest in the man/land ratio as discussed here below.

#### Man/Land Ratio

As I have mentioned above, unfortunately I do not have the data, to make it possible to divide the entire 1,476 acres owned by the people of Tovulailai into the good cultivable lands and the poor non-cultivable portion. It is obvious however, that if the people of Tovulailai had to rely solely on their land for their livelihood then there would be a very serious land shortage at Tovulailai given the existing agricultural methods. Furthermore, this shortage would be more serious in some matagali than others. The people are not fully aware of this problem because they have not made any serious attempts at cash cropping. Hence, in the event of the co-operative becoming bankrupt, not unlikely in the light of evidence to be discussed later, they will have to do so to ensure their economic survival. This comes out very strongly in the section which deals with the analysis of debts.

The people of Tovulailai are in fact treating the wealth generated by the co-operative as a replacement for that produced from subsistence rather than as a supplement to the latter which has led to neglect of their previous livelihood. This means that the monetization of the village economy has led to the decrease in subsistence production. This may alleviate land shortage in the short-term but it



must not be totally overlooked that equitable land distribution among the rural people is a real and very serious long-term problem in Tovulailai and in Fiji as a whole.

Tovulailai village economy is based on the land and human resources which are both essential ingredients for economic development. The study attempts to analyse the distribution of these basic resources so that man/land ratio is determined and also the supporting capacities of the population within the mataqali and household are computed in terms of manpower units to bring to light the supporter/dependent relationships. This is discussed below.

#### Manpower and Supporter/Dependent Relationships

In 1979, the total population of Tovulailai was 215, 101 females and 114 males. These were divided among 26 households, an average of 8.2 persons per household. Table 3.4 shows a high youthful component in the population, more than 50 per cent of the people are below the age of 30 and almost 94 per cent are still below the age of 49 years. The manpower ratio is arrived at by dividing the total population of the mataqali by the total manpower units available. The reasons for working out manpower units is to determine the supporting capacity of each mataqali and in turn, of each household. About 85.5 per cent of the total population are capable of contributing some support for the household and 52 per cent of the population at Tovulailai are in the peak and prime-year of active support for the household.

According to the village people, there are two age groups which are fully dependent on the household, i.e. 76 and over (malumalumu/vakararavi) and the pre-school 0-5 age groups (vakararavi). Support for these age groups is always treated as a moral responsibility among the Fijian people. This is followed by two semi-dependent age groups, i.e. the primary and secondary school 6-16 years (vuli/veiqaravi) and the semi retired/retired 60-75 age groups (uabula/veiqaravi). The majority of people in this category are contributing to the overall support and welfare of the household to which they belong. However, the 6-16 age group claims the heaviest tolls on the household income. One of the heaviest burdens for the household unit is to furnish the

TABLE 3.4: Age distribution in Tovulailai, 1979 and  
the words used by villagers to describe the major categories.

Years	Number of people	Per centage	Villager's age categories	Manpower units
76 and over	1	0.5	<u>malumalumu/</u> <u>vakararavi</u> (aged/total dependency)	0
60-75	10	4.7	<u>uabula/vaka-</u> <u>tulewa</u> (semi dependency/ support)	5.0
50-59 } 17-49 }	8 94	3.7 } 43.7 }	<u>tudonu/veiqaravi</u> (peak years of supporting the household)	102
6-16	72	33.5	<u>vuli/talai/</u> <u>cakacaka</u> (semi dependency/ support)	36
0-5	30	13.9	<u>na lalai/vaka-</u> <u>raravi</u> (pre- school/early dependency)	0
	215	100		143

Supporter/dependent ratio for the whole village is 1:1.5



requirements in the school fees, uniforms and hostel accommodation for these school children. Thus, the two age groups 17-49 and 50-59 (52%) provided the peak of active life and support for the household (tudonu/veiqaravi). A detailed computation of the income and expenditure will be discussed in the chapter which considers the penetration of the cash economy. As I have mentioned above, respect and care for the elders are regarded by Fijians as moral responsibilities. This has been reinforced by Christian teaching. In discussing the village life and organization we cannot complete the scene without referring to the role of the church in the village organization and life style.

Since the household at Tovulailai is very much an integral part of the matagali both in identity and social location, I am here considering the household under the broad umbrella of the matagali which is the land-owning unit to which it belongs. The household is chosen as the unit of analysis because this is the productive unit of the village economic structure. In this sense, the individual is always seen and treated as a member of the household unit, not as an individual per se. His individuality is only an entity as a physical being and especially in the village setting.

The 6-16 age group makes some contribution towards the support of the household but it is also the group which makes heavy claims on the household income, \$199.64 on average, as figures, obtained during the survey indicated (see Table 3.3). This is the second highest item of expenditure - second only to what the household spends on food,

\$391.28 per year, on average, per household. This is fully explained in chapter five which deals with income and expenditure patterns. This school age group is also the second highest numerically both on mataqali and household basis, it makes up 33.9 per cent of the whole village population at Tovulailai.

About 77.6 per cent of the population at Tovulailai is below 50 years old i.e. 167 out of 215 i.e. 8.3 per cent are over 50 years. About 13.9 per cent are in the pre-school age of 0-5 years and 33.9 per cent in the school age group 6-16. This means that dependency on household is heaviest in the pre-school and primary/secondary school age groups, 47.8 per cent, and very much less on the old age group, only 8.3 per cent. However, the supporter/dependent ratio is only about 1:1.5 in each mataqali which is not excessive.

On average, land distribution at Tovulailai is on the ratio of 3.5 hectares per manpower unit available. Taking into consideration the methods of agriculture (semi subsistence) and the mediocre fertility of the land together with physical nature of the relief - there is theoretically a severe shortage of land in Tovulailai. People do not yet realize this problem because of the influence of the co-operative society, but sooner or later the people of Tovulailai will come to face facts with the land problems. However, it must be made clear that Tovulailai is not lacking in potential manpower resources, both sexes are capable of working in the teitei to increase production. Furthermore, the present situation in Tovulailai reveals that there is still lands available for cultivation.

The tables 3.5 - 3.8 show the age group/manpower distributions in relation to the supporter/dependent relationships in each mataqali.

TABLE 3.5: Manpower and dependency - mataqali Naivini

Age group distribution	Number of persons	Functional categories	Manpower units
76 years and over	0	height of dependency	0
60-75 years	1	semi supporter/ dependent	0.5
50-59 peak age )	2	} most active age group for supporting household	2.0
17-49 prime of )	10		10.0
life )			
6-16 primary and secondary schooling	7	semi supporter/ dependent	3.5
0-5 years pre-school	5	high dependency age group	0
	25		16

Supporter/dependent ratio 1:1.56

Table 3.5 above shows that 25 persons in 3 households - an average of 8.3 persons per household to share only 38.8 hectares (96 acres) of land amongst them equally 1.5 hectares (3.8 acres) per person or 32 acres per household. One must bear in mind that this 38.8 hectares does not yet exclude the non-cultivable land. This will bring the people of Tovulailai to face facts and reality of the situation sooner or later. However, in terms of manpower this mataqali is well catered for because it has 16 units of manpower to support a total of 25 persons giving a manpower ratio of 1:1.56 supporter/dependent, about 48 per cent of the mataqali population is in the high manpower unit category and only 20 per cent in the high dependency group and 32 per cent in the semi-supporter dependent age group.

TABLE 3.6: Manpower and dependency in mataqali Sauturaga

Age group distributions	Number of persons	Functional categories	Manpower units
76 years and over	0	height of dependency	0
60-75 years	2	semi-supporter/ dependent	1.0
50-59 years	3	most active age group for supporting the household	3
peak age			21
17-49 years			
prime of life	21		
6-16 years			
primary/secondary school age	17	semi-supporter/ dependent	8.5
43			33.5

Supporter/dependent ratio 1:1.28

Table 3.6 shows that the manpower dependency ratio in mataqali Sauturaga is only slightly better than mataqali Naivini. With a population of 49 in five households shows a distribution of 9.8 persons per household. Out of 68.4 hectares (169 acres) of mataqali land, it gives a distribution of 13.6 hectares (33.8 acres) per household and about 1.3 hectares (3.4 acres) per head, more or less on equal par with mataqali Naivini shows in Table 3.5. In terms of manpower distribution it comes to 48.9 per cent in the high manpower unit category which is more or less the same with that of mataqali Naivini. It also shows 38.7 per cent of semi-supporter/dependent and only 10.2 per cent of full dependency. This means the population of 49 persons in this mataqali is supported by 33.5 units of manpower i.e. a supporter/dependent ratio of 1:1.28, about 6.7 manpower units is supporting each household.

TABLE 3.7 Manpower and dependency in mataqali Sauni.

Age group distribution	Number	Functional categories	Manpower unit
76 years and over	0	height of dependency	0
60-75 years	3	semi-supporter/ dependency	1.5
50-59 years	0	Most active	0
peak age		age group for	
17-49 years prime of life		supporting the household	29
6-16 years primary/ secondary school age	16	semi-supporter dependent	8.0
0-5 years pre-school	9	high dependency	0
	57		38.5

Supporter/dependent ratio 1:1.48

Table 3.7 shows that land distribution on per household basis looks a little better at 37.2 hectares (94.2 acres) per household but when distribution per head is computed it is not much better than the distributions in the two previous mataqali, this mataqali shows 5.1 hectares (12.6 acres) per head. However, in terms of age-group and manpower distributions, Sauni is slightly ahead at 52.7 per cent of the mataqali population fall into the high manpower category in terms of supporter/dependent relation, only 16.3 per cent in the high dependency category and only 5.4 per cent in the sem-dependency. There is an average of 8.1 persons per household. This mataqali has a total manpower units of 38.5 to support the total population of 57 persons in 7 households. This means, 5.5 manpower units is available support 8.1 persons on average per household or a ratio of 1:1.48 on per head basis.

TABLE 3.8: Manpower and dependency in mataqali Ramasi

Age group distribution	Number	Functional categories	Manpower units
76 years and over	1	height of dependency	0
60-75 years	4	semi-supporter/ dependent	2
50-59 years    )	3	most active	3
17-49 years    )		age group for supporting the	34
		household	
6-16 years	33	semi-supporter/ dependent	16.5
0-5 years	11	high dependency	0
	86		55.5

Supporter/dependent ratio 1:1.54

Table 3.8 shows that the distributions of land per household is 19.2 hectares (47.5 acres) and with 2.4 hectares (6 acres) per head, out of the four mataqali, Ramasi shows the second highest distribution of land on both household and individual basis. In terms of age and manpower distribution, this mataqali has 43 per cent of the people in the higher manpower category, 19.7 per cent in semi-supporter/ dependent and about 16.3 per cent in the high dependency age group. This mataqali has 55.5 manpower units to support 86 persons in 11 households. That is, 5 manpower units per household to support 7.8 persons on average or a ratio of 1:1.54 on per head basis. With regards to land distribution this mataqali has one manpower unit for every 3.8 hectares of land which is not really very much.

Tables 3.5 - 3.8 show that, by Western standard generally, the average persons per household is quite high, ranging from 7.8 to 9.8 persons per household, an average of 8.5 persons per household. The available manpower ranges from 5 to 6.7 manpower unit per household, an average of 5.5 manpower units per household. This means that 8.5 persons on average per household in Tovulailai are supported by 5.5 manpower units, a ratio of 1:1.50. That is, every dependent person is supported by about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  persons, in the Fijian way of life this is absolutely necessary. The land/manpower distribution ranges from 1.5 hectares to 5.1 hectares per manpower unit available, an average of 3.1 hectares per manpower unit for the whole population of the village.

Closely related to the distributions of land and human resources, is the method of agricultural productions which at Tovulailai is still very much a semi-subsistence type. This will now be discussed.

#### Agriculture

As I have mentioned in chapter two, Fijian methods of agriculture vary according to land tenure patterns and local topography and soil types, climate and access to urban markets. In most cases a form of shifting agriculture is common practice in the villages - 'slash and burn' techniques is still prevalent even though it has been prohibited.

At Tovulailai, there is a very flexible pattern of land use. Any member of the village is free to use any mataqali land provided he does not unduly interfere with the owners of that land. Cultivation is still extensive rather than intensive. There is no real sign of the application of scientific agricultural methods and technologies. The only introduced agricultural tools commonly used by members of the household are the fork, weeding knife and spade. Very few changes in agricultural techniques have been built into the structure of the local economy or into the related long term expectations of the village, so that the cumulative in production and capital become the normal,



desired end<sup>5</sup>. This problem is compounded by the scarcity of specially good land as I have discussed earlier, thus, land hunger is prevalent at the village level and Tovulailai is no exception. There are already several ways of making land shortage felt, one way of responding to it is to encourage the education of the children so that their chances of finding alternative employment is increased. Another method of expressing the land hunger is by checking who in fact is legally registered in the Vola-ni-kawabula (Native Register of Genealogy), it has now becoming the practice at the village to displace people whose names do not appear on the matagali registered list, these displaced people are crowding the towns as squatters and marginal people. In other parts of Fiji, this land-shortage problem has been partially resolved by the government resettlement schemes' at Lomaivuna, Koro and Seqaqa where people are given land on a renewable lease basis. This may require a commercial attitude to agriculture which may result in greater production and create the determination to strive and attain a better life. In this sense, attitudes towards land are a significant criterion of the process of social change. There is little alternative in the future to a degree of the commercialization of land. By this is meant the leasing of land where this is possible and feasible. The application of scientific agricultural methods of cultivation of cash crops to increase per capita income in the rural areas. The only alternative for some people is to drift into town in search of employment which unfortunately is also scarce. One way or the other, they must endeavour to earn sufficient cash income in order to satisfy their increasing desires for consumer goods and services.

As previously stated Tovulailai people are still using semi-subsistence agricultural practices which are greatly influenced by their mode of thinking and economic behaviour. The crop combination is still the prevalent method where yaqona is inter-cropped with cassava, dalo, yams, kumala and other minor crops. During the survey (1979), I made it my duty to tour around almost all the teitei at Tovulailai and

5. This means - long term planning for agricultural production and accumulation of capital to become an integral part of the village economic life, thinking and behaviour, rather than looking for cash only when needs arise - once those needs are satisfied, they don't need to do any more until the next set of needs arises. In this sense, the processes of the cash economy is not treated as permanent but very temporary and transitory, not as a permanent desired end in perpetuity.

took crop-counts on those which I had randomly selected. Crops like yaqona and voivoi which are their chief cash crops, have completely failed to receive an adequate standard of husbandry<sup>6</sup>. These crops should be allocated to specially good plots of land and the planting of them should be planned to control overgrowth of weeds so that they bring good yields. Village people have received little advice from the agricultural extension officer in the commercial cultivation of these crops. I was quite amazed to see that the same old agricultural practices which we used 25 years ago when I was at the village, are still the methods which are presently practiced at Tovulailai today.

#### The Influence of Agricultural - Extension Officers

As I have stated earlier in this chapter one of the government civil servants residing permanently at Tovulailai is an agricultural extension officer. The officer concerned has been sought regularly by villagers to advise on new agricultural and marketing methods, but he appeared to be badly lacking in both experience and expertise in his field of work. The only advice given by the agricultural officer was to the three Naucukidi brothers, Isireli, Sevanaia and Jone. The brothers are distant cousins of the officer concerned. This new officer arrived in the village and advised his cousins to join together in a dalo plantation scheme for cash purposes. He was to be responsible for arranging the markets. The brothers took up the scheme and started planting dalo. The time came when the bulk of the crops reached maturity and were ready to harvest, but the agricultural officer had failed completely to arrange for any markets as he had promised. As a result the whole project ended in ruin and the dalo rotted away in the teitei and the whole of the eighteen months hard labour was wasted. From that day on, no one in the village had faith in the officer concerned because of his incompetence and unreliability. He did not seem to understand the harmful consequences of his behaviour. This type of incident was also observed by Watters in Lutu village (Watters, 1969:92) and by Rutz in the Waidina valley (Rutz, 1976:184).

6. This should involve some planning in the planting and harvesting of cash crops. These crops should be allocated to the best fertile plot in the teitei where they can receive special attention in the prevention of weed growth and fertilization or watering may be required. Young plants should be selected from good and disease-free stocks which have received special nursery-type treatment.

### Further Reasons for Low Agricultural Production

In addition to the reasons I have mentioned earlier, the present level of agricultural technology observed at Tovulailai still shows the use of digging sticks intermixed with the use of basic introduced tools comprising forks, spades, cane-knives, axes, copra knives and files. Even then, only 10 per cent of the households actually had a full set of these primary tools. A majority of the households have only a cane-knife for weeding and a fork for digging. The interaction between this low level-technology and the village people may be one of the reasons giving rise to the lack of agricultural innovations, hence, their economic thinking and behaviour remained very much at semi-subsistence level. In addition, the persistence of subsistence agriculture may be due to the fact that these primary tools are quite sufficient for meeting the people's basic needs i.e. food, water, clothes and shelter. The mediocre quality of the land and possible scarcity of the same in the near future may not warrant the introduction of more sophisticated tools like ploughs, rotary hoes, or tractors. Another hindering factor in agricultural development at Tovulailai is the distance to the urban markets, this has contributed to high costs in fares and freight. At the same time it discourages people from trying to introduce any elaborate agricultural methods or schemes. This may also apply to Nalotawa, but both villages have had their chance of breaking down the barrier of distance and accessibility to urban markets. Nalotawa had feeder roads constructed right near the village and in the case of Tovulailai they have got their boat which sails to Suva almost every week (see concluding chapter).

The fare to Suva and back is \$30 per person, in addition a person might have to pay for freight and also for his keep while staying in Suva. It would be much better if the co-operative became the market agent for the village produce. (see conclusion). Compounding the whole problem of agricultural development, is the level of knowledge and skills which are wanting at the village level, at present these are insufficient to cater for any scientific agricultural methods and techniques. The villagers would face competition from their Viti Levu counterparts in supplying the same markets with the same produce. However, one does not close the door completely, there is still enough room for products from the outlying islands like Nairai. Prices of

local foods in Suva are just too high which simply means that the demands are substantially high and the supply is lacking. Tovulailai people do not appear interested to take advantage of the availability of their boat for transporting their produce and the great demand for local food crops in Suva and Nausori markets.

The physical environment itself does not favour intensive agricultural methods. But this does not prevent altogether the application of scientific farming methods on a small scale in the pursuit of raising their income. Even though Nairai is located in the wet zone, the general topography, relief and soil types are not the best for any large-scale scientific farming. However, pests and disease control will be a phenomenal task in islands like Nairai which are quite remote from the urban areas thus lessening regular contacts with experts in this field. Generally Tovulailai is hilly with very little low land. The hills are covered with a very thin layer of poor stony soil and only gasau a tall cane-like reed (*Miscanthus floridulus*) and coarse mission grass (*pennisetum polystachyon*) grow there intermingling with native bushes and small streams of fresh water. Soils are not very fertile. Heavy rainfall washes most of the soluble soil minerals from the top layers of the soil. This leaching reduces the mineral content available for plant growth. The soil type is only suitable for temporary production of food or cash crops. After several seasons of cropping the land has to be abandoned and left to fallow or idle, in order to regain the fertility lost by cropping. There are very few cool shady places to rest during hot weather - so the people have to work only in the coolest parts of the day, that is, early in the morning (5-10 a.m.) and late afternoon (4-7 p.m.). People prefer to work in their teitei no more than 2 hours per day. Perhaps it is becoming too monotonous and there are no new methods or seed varieties to stimulate their interests. The very same cassava, dalo, yams which their grand-fathers and their fathers used to cultivate are exactly the same types which they cultivate. The only cash crops which appear to grow well at Tovulailai are voivoi, copra and yaqona, unfortunately the people very much neglect the planting of these crops.

The socio-economic factors hindering agricultural productions and development at Tovulailai are accessibility, lack of capital and sources of credit. On top of these there is a general lack of skill and

experience among farmers. The presence of the co-operative store has become a hindering factor in itself, in the sense that too many people become too preoccupied with it and it is demanding most of their valuable time which could be devoted to productive efforts in agriculture. Many of the people employed by the co-operative spent unnecessarily long hours at the store because they think it is enhancing their status. Furthermore, the co-operative store becomes a hinderance in the sense that people easily satisfying their needs by buying foods from the store instead of planting them. Agricultural production is therefore neglected and declines.

As I have stressed earlier, land at Tovulailai may soon become scarce and whatever is there is owned by matagali. Hence, no one individual can mortgage or place the land for loan security purposes. Transportation is very expensive, this sets limits on accessibility to urban markets. The only fortunate thing about the products which they produce like voivoi, yaqona and copra is that they are durable, all of which can be harvested, dried and stored away until the boat arrives to take them away. The distance from urban markets discourages people from producing perishable agricultural products like tomatoes, lettuces and cabbages. Unfortunately they are not even planting these vegetables for their own use to alleviate heavy expenses on food at the store and supply them with nutritious vegetables which they badly needed for a proper balanced diet.

#### Educational Development

As mentioned earlier, during the colonial days, the children used to attend the Nairai District School situated at Nataulua village, eight miles along the coast from Tovulailai. The children had to walk this long distance to school in the morning and return home in the evening. It was observed that more time and energy were used on travelling and less on actual learning. This was assumed to be one of the basic causes of the very low rate of secondary school entrance examination passes in the village. Throughout one whole decade 1960-70, only three children from Tovulailai passed the secondary entrance examinations. Consequently, this has caused a lot of concern and prompted the people to start their own school near the village. In 1970, the government



gave its approval and the new school was built only about two miles from Tovulailai, it is called the Davetaru Fijian School, with classes one to six. Within the first eight years of its running, the secondary school entrance passes have increased from 3 to 28 which is a massive improvement. Other factors such as good teachers, better equipment, more books and better teacher/pupil ratio may have contributed to these high passes. Sometimes better pupils are diverted from elsewhere for example teachers' own children are an important factor in the large increase in secondary school passes at Tovulailai. Parents in this village are placing great emphasis on the education of their children as their investment for the future.

The result of this high number of passes has boosted the morale and raised the parents' consciousness about the value of education. Many of the children who have gone through this new school have done well at the secondary school level and are now getting very good jobs in town areas. Another benefit which Tovulailai derived from the school is the influence of the teachers who have brought in new ideas and new methods of doing things. In addition, the teachers have brought in their incomes part of which they spend at the village co-operative and on boat fares. The teachers and their families have also participated fully in church activities and in fund-raising at the village, supplementing the efforts of other civil servants residing near the village. Young men and women of the village stand excellent chances of marrying a partner who earns regular and reliable income. In fact marriages between single teachers and village partners happen quite frequently.

#### The Role of the Church

At Tovulailai, the church plays a very significant role in spiritually uniting the people since their own modern leader, Ilaitia Radravu, is himself also the leader of their church, he is the pastor in charge of their parish. Every department of the church is very well organized and fully functioning in accordance with the overall pattern of the Methodist Church in Fiji. The uniting force of the church at Tovulailai is also very effective because all belong to the

Methodist faith, except for only one couple who stay outside the village as galala<sup>7</sup> farmers. Leaders of the church are listed in table 3.9

TABLE 3.9: Office bearers of the church at Tovulailai, together with the mataqali to which they belong, 1979.

Name of office bearer	Mataqali	Office
Ilaitia Radravu	Sauturaga	Head Parishoner for 2 villages
Josateki Labadai	Sauni	Head Deacon ( <u>Tuirara</u> )
Mrs Luisa Radravu	Sauturaga	Head Deaconess for Christian Ladies Fellowship
Masi Veretariki	Ramasi	Head of the Evangelical section
Isoa Radravu	Sauturaga	Head of Methodist Youth Fellowship
Mesake Rokoyago	Ramasi	Head of Sunday School section
Ratu Inosi Ratete	Naivini	Church Scribe and Treasurer

Source - Ilaitia Radravu, Pastor

It is noteworthy at this stage to observe in Table 3.9, the significant note play by the Radravu family in the area of church leadership. This will become more and more conspicuous in the course of this paper. However, the role of the church in a Fijian village

7. The term 'galala' is applied to independent farmers who stay outside the day to day affairs of the village. During the colonial days they were given special exemptions from communal duties. Today, any one who lives outside, independent of the village, is called galala.



is not only spiritual but is also psychological in its function. The Christian belief in divine power actually reinforces the traditional. 'fatalism'<sup>8</sup>.

The committee running the church at Tovulailai has created an atmosphere of love and mutual understanding among the people, but that is not to say it completely eliminates all forms of conflict. Spiritual life is a very important aspect of village existence and the people have told me that this is one of the most effective uniting factors at Tovulailai. In the first week of each month, each mataqali holds its own prayer meetings, in the evenings throughout that week (Monday-Sunday). This culminates in an inter-mataqali choir competition and fund-raising at the church on that Sunday evening. After four years of running these prayer meetings, they have observed that it has served unifying as well as spiritual functions, they have decided therefore to establish it as a permanent and integral part of the village way of life.

According to my informant Eroni Radravu, the hours dedicated to prayer meetings have increased to include 6 a.m. and 7 p.m. daily prayers at the church. This type of spiritual revival has transformed the lives of many village deviants. The men who used to mix home-brew beer and got drunk every Saturday have now stopped, they are going to church instead. They have also succumbed to the ruling of their elders and their chief who have prohibited the consumption of any alcoholic beverages in the village.

#### The Chief

Tovulailai has really been fortunate in having a chief who is very understanding and fully appreciative of what development is all about. He feels that there is almost no threat to his traditional position, power and authority because the people have made absolutely sure that their paramount chief is elevated to his rightful place and

8. Fatalism is the belief that all events are predetermined by arbitrary divine decree. This belief is commonly held by people in traditional societies. This belief is psychologically soothing because it explains all unexplainable events as decreed by divine power.

they have accorded him all the respect that is due to him. Consequently, the chief has made it easier for the young leaders to run everything concerning the development of the village and he has concentrated his efforts on matters relating to the vanua. Therefore, the conflict between the chief and the young leaders of the village is almost nil. The low level of conflict in leadership roles is one of the key factors explaining the success of the village's development.

#### The Role of Ceremony in the Village Way of Life

Closely associated with social ranking and titles are customs and traditions, the cultural threads which tie the village community into a pulsating and meaningful, functional social unit, for without these village life becomes a lifeless entity. I intend to use my own recent experience in Nairai as an example of this. Before commencing my study, I first went to my village, Vutuna, about six kilometres over the hills from Tovulailai, to announce and discuss my going to Tovulailai with the Tui Vutuna, the chief of my village. This was because of the vakavanua (customary) aspect of my visit to Tovulailai. I knew that my visit to Tovulailai would involve a lot of traditional ceremonies, partly because of my kinship ties with Tovulailai people but also because of my own social rank as the son of the Tui Vutuna. It is proper that I involve my yavusa Yavusa Qalilevu to escort me to Tovulailai and present me to the people there in the usual way according to custom.

The morning I was to leave my village for Tovulailai, the Tui Vutuna summoned the elders to his house. After explaining the matter to them, he called on one senior member from each mataqali in my village to accompany me and to perform the ceremonies on my behalf when we reached Tovulailai. My party then got together and travelled by boat reaching Tovulailai by mid afternoon. According to custom we went straight to the head of Mataqali Ramasi. This person's residence is the customarily designated place where the people of my yavusa (Yavusa Qalilevu) come to rest before they can see the chief of the village. The Ramasi's traditional title in relation to my yavusa is Mata-ki-Nairai (agent to Nairai) and his duty is to send one agent on our behalf to inform the Rokotuibau of our arrival. The Rokotuibau then sends his own agent to announce that he is ready to receive us.

On arrival at the threshold of the chief's house we made our traditional greetings of "Mudu-o!" ("Our respectful greetings reach the clouds"), and almost immediately the reply came from inside, "O-!", which simply means, "The respectful greetings are mutual". After the presentation of yagona or sevusevu, which in most cases is the first ceremony on arrival, a tabua was presented as our reguregu (paying last respects to the dead). In reply, the Rokotuibau, through his matanivanua (mouth piece) presented us with a tabua. This is called na-i-vakamamaca (drying ceremony) and was required because our party travelled to Tovulailai by sea. Then it was my turn to present two tabua as the ai dola ni cakacaka (seeking the approval of the people to allow me to conduct my research). This was followed by the presentation of another tabua from my party, this time it was for ai tataunaki vakaturaga. This presentation has a twofold meaning. Firstly, the people of the Yavusa Qalilevu are entrusting my welfare and safe-keeping into the hands of the local chief and his people. Secondly, it is the traditional way of begging for forgiveness or pardon from the people in the likely event of my falling in breach of the folkways and mores. The people were asked to allow me a certain latitude of freedom to act within the parameters of their moral codes. The chief then presented us with the last tabua called the na-i-vakatale (the send-off) ceremony which put his seal of approval on the greetings sent to the people from the Yavusa Qalilevu back to my village. The stage was now set for me to start the field-work. A welcoming church service was held for us on our first Sunday at the village, a further endorsement of the people's approval for me to carry out the study.

Ceremonies, therefore, are not only the media for customary social intercourse in the Fijian society but they also function as the re-affirmation of the individual's status, roles and social location. Within the setting and ceremonial proceedings, interaction is carried out by pronouncing and conferring traditional titles from the individual to the yavusa and vanua of the social hierarchy. Ceremonies give the high points to the rhythm of life, rules of custom through which the individual is given an assured place in society, a mild and sensuous climate which is tolerant of human frailty.

Ceremony is an inseparable part of village life: it penetrates every sinew and intricacy of village structure and social organization. Whether you come into the village for economic reasons, research or just a social visit, you have to manouver the same avenue in order to achieve your objectives in such a social milieu. Ceremonies also play a very important psychological function for they break the drudgery and monotony of village life. The gathering together of individuals on ceremonial occasions is very soothing and enhances the security of in-group and out-group identities. As Belshaw puts it:-

"It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the value of ceremony and ritual in Fijian eyes is a social as well as a cultural one. That is, whatever the specific contents of the ritual, the songs associated with it, the forms of speech, the context, values, and ostensible purposes which provide the occasion for holding it, the common element is the ceremonial recognition of the status of one social group and its members by individuals of another".

Closely associated with the value of ceremony and ritual in the Fijian culture are the values and influences of Christianity which I have explained above. As I have also indicated earlier, the people who were trained by missionaries were the people who carried out semi-formal education at the village level in the early days. Christianity was first introduced into Fiji as early as 1830 and has since blended into the Fijian way of life and now has become very much an integral part of the village organization. One can say that the missionaries brought many benefits to Fiji. If the Fijians had been left to face all the influences of Western civilization which had to come sooner or later, the results could have been disastrous. The missionaries enabled the Fijians to see that there was a good as well as a bad side to the Western way of life.

#### In Summary and Conclusions

At this juncture the first part of this paper is being brought to dovetail with the second part which begins in chapter four. As has been pointed out in chapter one, an approach to socio-economic development in a village community must begin with an understanding of

its people and their way of life. This required an examination of their resources (material, human and spiritual), the institutions, social organizations, aspirations and their choices. The discussions in the first three chapters have all been revolving around the aspects mentioned above. The introductory chapter spelt out the theoretical stance taken in this study. The initial plans for a large-scale research, methods and techniques were fully explained in the first chapter. Chapter two has been designed to set the scene in relation to the current social, political and economic climate prevailing at the macro level and pointing to the economic development in Tovulailai at the micro-level. Chapter three took up a discussion on the village which was the social system under study. The first part of chapter three introduced the physical geography and relief then led onto the village social structures and organizations; its cash economy; manpower and land distribution; agricultural methods; roles of the institutions like the chief, education, family, church and ceremony. This meant that before studying the economic development in Tovulailai through the influences of change agents in the second part of this paper, one had already been made fully aware of the strong sociological, economic, political and apiritual forces which have bound the people together and which have helped to maintain the community in balance. One had also been made aware that daily community activities were conducted within these interlocking inter-dependent system of institutions. However, we must bear in mind that people undergoing change did not do so in a vacuum but in response and adaptation to the multiple out-side forces which impinged upon them and from which they were selecting those compatible elements which would promote their chances of attaining the goals they were striving to achieve.

The second half of this paper will take up this issue in an attempt to answer the central question of how do change agents influence their clients and achieve results and how in turn the clients desiring change respond and accommodate the elements of contact change. The next three chapters will discuss two major phases of economic development in Tovulailai, by identifying the change agents concerned, their respective influences and evidences of their impact in the economic development of this village. Furthermore, the mechanism communicating and diffusing these change elements will be identified and discussed fully. Hence the second part of the paper now opens up by discussing the first phase of economic development in Tovulailai brought about by the influence of an outside change agent, William Baker.



## CHAPTER 4

### THE ROLE OF CHANGE AGENTS

#### William Baker's Entry into Tovulailai Development

Mr William C. Baker was the owner of a copra plantation about five miles from Tovulailai village. Mr and Mrs Baker resided permanently on the estate for many years. Most villagers worked for the Bakers at some time and everyone was known to them. They both spoke Fijian fluently and this had a great influence on the village people apart from trade, and helped to create an atmosphere of true friendship, attachment and mutual trust between them and the villagers. Towards the end of his active life, Mr William Baker decided to do something for the people as a memorial by which the people could remember them both when they were dead. He proposed to help the people of Tovulailai with a housing development scheme for a period of five years. Baker's entry into Tovulailai was made easy by the fact that his target for social change was a village comprising one yavusa owing allegiance to one chief. The chief, who was highly revered and respected had great personal interest in the Baker scheme, this inspired the people to follow suit in compliance with their chief's wishes.

Early in November, 1951, in the process of scouting for a point of entry, a village meeting was called to discuss the proposed housing scheme which Baker had proposed. Baker himself was present at the meeting to explain in detail what he had in mind and what would be involved in the whole operation. Baker was also explaining to the people of Tovulailai that the whole project was to be funded by the copra CESS fund. The then turaga-ni-koro, Ananaiasa Naucukidi was a very strong proponent of the scheme and he managed to convince the people to agree. Naucukidi being an ex-buli of Nairai, had little problem in bringing the villagers around to his way of thinking. In fact Baker and Naucukidi had been working quietly on the feasibility of the scheme for sometime before the opportune time arrived for them to make it. Since the villagers were tied to the Fijian Regulations they had to seek special permission from the Fijian Affairs Department

for special exemption or galala for the whole period of five years. This was in accordance with the Fijian Affairs Ordinance, the approval of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs was sought prior to the commencement of the Baker housing scheme at Tovulailai to allow the whole village to be exempted from all communal duties under the regulation to enable the people of Tovulailai to undertake this massive development project. Approval for exemption was given for the whole five year period.

The significance of ceremony in Fijian life has already been explained but it is appropriate to emphasize a very significant event which took place at Tovulailai just before the Baker Scheme got underway. There was a big ceremony called the tala yavu or the removal of the traditional sites and foundations made of earthen platforms and terraces. The relevance of this ceremony is very important in the sense that the once regarded conservative sector of the Fijian society, the village, under the influence of one man, Baker, suddenly changed overnight and accepted a transformation on such a grand scale. Even to the extent that they were prepared to forego the sacred sites of their bure which had been passed on from generation to generation. The siting, shape and size of the foundations carry sacred and symbolic meanings in the building of a vale or bure in Fijian villages. Also certain status and mana are always associated with each site which has become the permanent site for generation after generation of the same family. No one would build his house on any site which does not belong to him or to his social rank unless he presents the appropriate ceremony to the people who own the site. Those huge native-style houses would reflect, by their size, the height of their earthen platforms, "the rank of their occupants in the traditional hierarchy". Nayacakalou 1975:6.

The tala yavu ceremony involved the presentation of tabua and yaqona not only to the chief and elders of the yavusa but more important, to appease their forebears who had fallen asleep but who were watching in silence from their graves their places of residence being destroyed once and for all. The ceremony also called for the vukalou (ancestral gods) of the yavusa not to be offended (leva) when all the foundation sites were going to be destroyed. Because of its seriousness, the mana of the ceremony could actually cause death



if it were not done correctly or not done at all. However, the people of Tovulailai knew what was involved and did everything right. They were quite prepared to change and to remove what was archaic and outdated and replace it with those things which they thought suited the "modern times". Therefore, we must bear in mind the significance of the tala yavu ceremony which marked the getting rid of the old and the acceptance of the new, it was in itself a concrete sign of the great social transformation which was about to begin at Tovulailai village under the Baker scheme.

#### Village Development Phase One: The Baker Housing Scheme and How He Achieved Results

By January 1952, the Baker Housing Scheme was underway, everything about the running of the village was given over entirely to Mr Baker, including all the sources of income. Right from the outset, Baker picked out the key people in the village and placed them in charge of various tasks. Baker started a large village store with a capital of \$8,000 (£4,000). The two people he selected to run the store were the best educated in the village, both of them used to teach at primary school. The person who was in charge of the timber milling section was chosen because of his physique, a big, strong man about 2 metres tall and weighing no less than 127 kilograms, of the other two gentlemen, Tomasi and Josaia one was in charge of the teitei and the other was the leader for the copra section, they were also selected because of their physique, they were both literally dwarfs and they would not fit into the harder physical activities - so Baker placed them where they would be of maximum use. Table 4.1 shows the names of these task leaders, their mataqali and the particular tasks they were put in charge of.

With his managerial skills and experience, Baker was trying to utilize all the local resources which were made available to him. However, in the process of allocating positions of responsibility and leadership, Baker was very careful not to depart too much from the traditional ranking within the village system. He left the chief intact in his rightful place as head of the yavusa and used the two persons who were relatively better educated to run the store.

TABLE 4.1: The Task-Leaders in The Baker Housing Scheme (1952-56)

Name of task leaders	Name of mataqali	Task
Ratu Waisale	Naivini	Chief, head of the <u>vanua</u>
William Baker	Copra plantation owner	Manager
Ananaiasa Naucukidi	Sauni	<u>Turaga-ni-koro</u> and assistant manager of the scheme
Mosese Radravu	Sauturaga	Store manager
Osea Rabonu	Ramasi	Store keeper
Pita Beato	Ramasi	Lumber/timber milling
Josaia Kaiwai	Sauni	Copra production
Tomasi Sivo	Ramasi	Plantation supervisor of <u>teitei</u>

Source - Ilaitia Radravu

The people of Tovulailai became very time conscious and began to value the time available to them. Any free time outside the scheduled working hours, the individual would attend to extra work for his family. For example men used to get up very early in the morning, about 5 a.m., run up to their teitei and work there until 6.30 a.m., rush home again for a quick breakfast and be ready at 7 a.m. to commence their respective duties. Baker also worked out a work timetable which was strictly adhered to right throughout the scheme during 1952-56. See Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2: The daily work timetable during the Baker Housing Scheme

Time	Work and breaks
5 a.m. - 6 a.m.	Free time
6 a.m. - 6.50 a.m.	Breakfast
7 a.m.	All works starts
12 mid-day	Lunch recess
1 p.m.	Resumes all work
4.30 p.m.	Finish all work for the day
5 p.m. - 6 p.m.	Free time
6 p.m. - 7 p.m.	Evening meals
7.30 p.m. - 9.30 p.m.	Recreational activities
10 p.m.	Lights out bed time

Source - Ilaitia Radravu

Baker had explained to the people that there would be much sacrifice and risk involved and they would have to be prepared for these things. Baker made very sure that people understood their objectives so as to minimize doubt and confusion. Baker and those whom he had selected to be leaders, unanimously agreed that the clarity of the group goals and future objectives would facilitate the raising of peoples' consciousness. For one to be conscious of his future goals, he must have a clear definition of those goals. He must attempt to exploit all the relevant resources available to him and make a dedicated commitment to achieve his objectives. This means the making of sacrifices, and the suffering of some discomforts for delayed returns. Baker was constantly telling the people of Tovulailai, "There is no short cut to success". He was trying to instill into the people some aspects of Western philosophy by developing a high level of motivation, imparting to them the social values which emphasise a desire for excellence in order to acquire a sense of accomplishment through the surmounting of obstacles.

The people were quite prepared and willing to take up Baker's challenges. Every working person was paid the sum of 8 shillings (8s) per day, 4 shillings for his or her household and the other 4 shillings was paid into a pool<sup>1</sup> for refunding what Baker lent them to establish the store. A male had to be 18 years old and a female 22 years old before they could be employed and paid under the scheme. Every week each of the fifteen households received rations of basic necessities. These were sugar, kerosene and washing soap, the amount of the rations were dependent on the number of people residing permanently in each household. Any other consumer goods which were not considered basic necessities, the members of the household were free to purchase from their own earnings.

There were two timber-milling gangs in operation, one on the building site, the other working with lumbermen in the bush. All the native trees which were of appropriate size and quality were cut and milled by hand. The timber milling task force had to camp out in the bush and only came home during weekends to visit their wives and families and also to attend church services. By Monday morning they would all be back at the camp. Most food rations for the lumbermen were provided through the village store. The rest of the food would be supplied by the teitei section under the leadership of Tomasi Sivo. The inauguration of the housing scheme was on the 2 June, 1953, to coincide with the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. The first house of the scheme was built during the Coronation week to commemorate Her Majesty's accession to the throne.

The whole Baker Housing Scheme was financed by the CESS Fund. This was a scheme established and run by the Fijian Affairs Administration to apply both to Sugar and Copra production as far as the Fijians were concerned. It was agreed between the copra sellers and buyers that a certain amount of the cost per tonne of produce would be automatically deducted and deposited into the account of the seller. The seller in

1. Baker lent £4,000 of his own money to the Baker Housing Scheme. This money was used as capital fund for establishing a village store to run as part of the scheme. The whole idea was for the Tovulailai people (copra task force) to harvest copra from his Estate to refund the money. But Baker had still to pay the people because they were under exemptions, thus, 4 shillings was paid back to Baker and 4 shillings were paid to the individual as wages.

turn could withdraw this money to finance a project or development scheme such as the Baker Housing Scheme. The large store which Baker started at Tovulailai was devised to attract the sale of copra from other villages so that Tovulailai would reap the benefit of the CESS Fund derived therefrom. The more copra Tovulailai sold the more cash was deposited under their CESS account which in turn entitled them to a larger loan for their scheme.

The opportunity to sell copra locally and to buy consumer goods caused the people of Nairai to focus more and more attention on Tovulailai. People would call in to shop and sell their copra. Under the Baker Housing Scheme, the Tovulailai people bought a little launch and called it "Elena" (Helen) after Mrs Baker. Most of the time this boat used to be operated by the young Ilaitia Radravu, son of Mosese Radravu, who would call at other villages in the island to buy copra from the people. Then he would transport the copra to Tovulailai for storage ready for shipment to Suva. At this time, most of the boats coming from Suva would call in at Tovulailai to unload building material like timber, roofing iron and paint and also to deliver store goods. On the return trip, the same boat would load up copra bound for Suva. The tide for economic development slowly but surely began to turn in Tovulailai's favour.

Baker made sure that he used every human resource available to him. Most of the women were more or less full time on food preparation to feed their men right on time so that they would resume work as scheduled. Timber and roofing iron were brought from Suva and some from Levuka. The building team, comprising all local men was kept busy, they learned as they went along. Social life changed at Tovulailai, traditional functions such as funerals and weddings were substantially reduced both in terms of time and money spent on them. There was no excessive drinking of yaqona into the depths of the night. People went to sleep early so as to be fresh the next morning to resume duties.

The people began to learn how to use rations from the store more wisely to that they last until the next lot arrived. The lumbermen camping in the bush during the week were prepared to suffer the discomforts of staying away from their wives and children in order to achieve their objectives within the five-year exemption period. Overall

the people, perhaps for the first time, began to appreciate fully the value of time, a commodity which the Fijians had a different conception of, for the gauging of time to them was the natural rhythm of the universe, but now it could be measured meaningfully in seconds, minutes and hours. 'Day' and 'week' began to mean units of time. Everyday the people began to see that small dim light at the end of the tunnel became brighter and larger until the utopian Tovulailai became no longer a dream but the concrete fulfilment of their objectives. The Baker Housing Scheme was a major turning point in the history of Tovulailai and of Nairai as a whole.

#### Goal Attainment

That time finally arrived, the Baker Housing Scheme officially ended in December 1956, and by then 13 wooden houses and had been built, fully completed from the floor to the roof. On Christmas eve of that year, Mr Baker handed over the keys to the 13 completed houses as his Christmas present to the people of Tovulailai village. It was an event in their history that marked the day when the new Tovulailai became a reality. From this humble but very strenuous beginning, Tovulailai has evolved to become the centre for both government and commercial activities today. Mr William Baker's contributions to the development of this village was officially acknowledged by the Fiji Government when he was awarded an M.B.E. in the 1956 Queen's Birthday Honour's List.

#### Phoenix Effects of the Baker's Scheme

Since the Tovulailai project was a proven success Mr Baker was invited by the Tikina Council to start a Nairai Housing Scheme involving every village in the island. Baker agreed and he advised the people of Tovulailai to join in the Nairai Scheme when their own scheme ended in 1956. The Nairai Scheme was underway by mid-January 1954 and Tovulailai joined in 1957. The Nairai Scheme was also financed through the CESS Fund. It is however, beyond the scope of this paper to cover the details of the Nairai Scheme except in certain parts.



FIGURE 4.1: Shows a photograph of Tovulailai village taken during the survey in January 1979.



The large concrete building in the fore-front is the church. The government station is seen on the hill in the background. Note the bare hills behind showing the poor quality of the soil.



It was unfortunate that midway through the Nairai Scheme, in 1958 Mr Baker died. The then buli, Ratu Ilaijia Banuve, was appointed as the new Manager replacing the late Mr Baker. Almost immediately, corruption and favouritism begin to be prevalent. When the buli built his house, it was double the size of the rest of the houses built under the scheme. He used building material meant for two separate houses to build one large one for himself. He also did the same thing in another village, Lawaki where his elder sister married the chief there, the buli used the material meant for two houses to build a large house for his sister and brother in law. This meant that some people who had already been allocated houses had to go without. Corruption and mismanagement became so intolerable that in 1965 the Tikina Council was forced to find a new manager. By 1966, the young Ilaitia Radravu was appointed as the new manager and he occupied that position right up to the completion of the Scheme in 1975, when the allocation of houses in each village was successfully completed. At the end of the Nairai Scheme a new scheme was born (phoenix effect), this time only four villages are involved, Vutuna, Waitoga and Natauloa and Tovulailai. They will continue with the CESS fund to finance this new scheme. This time they are going to build concrete block houses instead of wooden ones.

#### The New Concrete Housing Scheme 1975

Yet another housing scheme, known as the Concrete Housing Scheme was started in 1975. To date, the Committee has already collected \$11,000 and soon they will be approaching the Rural Development Unit of the Fiji Military Forces<sup>2</sup> to start work on the stage I of the Scheme. The houses will be built in lots of five concrete block houses per village in each stage of the scheme with an estimated cost of \$60,000 for the first 20 hourse. The Development Committee is trying to introduce to the village the type of houses that are permanent and which are no different to the type built in urban housing areas. The

2. This was the government policy (30.20) state in Plan 7 (1978-80) page 226-7. That the Rural Development Unit of the Royal Military Forces will participate in this programme to assist people to complete larger projects which would otherwise be technically and physically beyond their ability to deal with. Over the Plan period Government expects to commit \$2.4 million under this programme.

committee hopes that this type of housing will add to the attraction of village life and also it will be another step forward in the social life of the people in keeping pace with the times. The committee of this new scheme consists of eithe people, two representatives from each village, under the chairmanship of Ilaitia Radravu with Ratu Inosi Ratete, also of Tovulailai, as secretary.

#### Summary

In diagnosing their needs, the people of Tovulailai have identified that there was a great need in the area of housing. They were fully aware of the constraints and limitations imposed by the physical as well as socio-cultural environments. In addition, they were also fully aware that the resources available within the system were insufficient to bring about their desired goals. They had to look outside the system and in the process of doing so, an initial contact was made with Baker as informal change agent.

Baker's point of entry into the village system was through Naucukidi, former buli of Nairai. This change agent's entry into Tovulailai was facilitated by the interplay of several factors, for example, the village social structures were flexible enough to absorb change; the people themselves were willing to accept change as indicated by the tala yavu ceremony; having one yavusa and allegiance to one chief; having the same religion; having the same language, culture and value system; above all the majority of the people had the same needs and desired goals.

Baker as a change agent, brought with him his culture; Western ideas; managerial skills and experience; entrepreneurial knowledge; capital cash and equipment; in particular his values and ability to process information. All these elements which Baker brought with him were essential for the fulfilment of Tovulailai people's desired goals but all of which cannot be furnished within the system, this is where the role of a change agene was of paramount importance in the village economic development such as the Baker Housing Scheme.

In constructing his strategies for the Housing Scheme, Baker had identified all the local resources and he was quite well aware of the factors which would promote as well as those which would inhibit the change process. Right from the beginning of the scheme, Baker organized all the available resources (material, human and spiritual) to fit into his planned strategies. He was able to identify the key people within the village system, he organized them into task forces and placed responsibilities and leadership roles on people who were best fitted for such positions.

On the part of the people of Tovulailai themselves, the majority of them had interest in their own material well-being and were very interested in new techniques and innovations: they were willing to look ahead and take risks; they have shown a substantial degree of perseverance as shown by the men who camped in the bush milling timber week after week for almost five years; also they were prepared to eat rations from the store for that same period; they have shown the ability to collaborate with other people and to observe certain rules outlined by the change agent. People were put on strict work schedule which they adhered to right through the five year period of the Baker Housing Scheme.

It is now clear that the complex combination of all these factors is what made the change agents achieve results. Baker made a great impact on the people because he was a person of some consequence, a model for the people of Tovulailai to emulate. The fact that he was a Westerner would increase the people's proclivity to persevere and adhere to certain rules in order to attain their desired goals. Baker achieved within the specified time period what he set out to do for the people and for himself. Phase one of Tovulailai's development materialized in thirteen completed wooden houses in December, 1956.

As an informal change agent, Baker made a tremendous impact on the thinking and confidence of the people he was dealing with. The Baker Housing Scheme marked a great change in the development of Tovulailai and such a scheme augured well for the future development of this village. This will become more evident as the discussion on the co-operative and its benefits unfolds.

In their capacities as government servants, co-operative officials have been identified by this study as formal change agents. The introduction of co-operatives into the colony in the late 1940s, was a deliberate attempt by the Fijian government to assist the Fijian people in developing their commercial skills, interests and understanding so that they could become more directly involved with the national economic development. The co-operative society has its own administrative headquarters in Suva and operates its own trading and commercial network with the village co-operatives of which Tovulailai pledges full membership.

The initial contacts made by Tovulailai people with the society was through Osea Rabonu who had personally visited the head office several times to discuss the possibility of opening a co-operative store at Tovulailai. As a result of this request, two members of the staff from the Suva head office visited Tovulailai in 1967 to explain the aims, rules and regulations of the co-operative society to the people of this village. Contacts with the co-operative became more regular until a few months later in 1967, when the co-operative finally got established in Tovulailai, only when Ilaitia Radravu agreed to close his store in favour of the co-operative. Radravu moved into the co-operative structure and became a very effective change agent in his own right, he played a dominant role right through the whole operation of the co-operative within the village development since its inception in 1967. This will become clearer as this paper attempts to discuss in some detail the resulting benefits derived from the activities of the co-operative society in the development of Tovulailai.

Almost a decade had elapsed from the time Baker had died to the day the co-operative officials, as change agents, introduced the co-operative society into Tovulailai. It was observed that their entry and ready acceptance were made easier because the scene had already been set for them by all the experiences which the people of Tovulailai had gained from Baker's influence. The commencement of the

co-operative at Tovulailai in 1968, marked the second phase of their economic development. The role of the co-operative and its benefits will now be discussed.

#### Village Development Phase Two: The Co-operative and its Benefits

As previously explained, Baker was thoroughly familiar with the life at Tovulailai. He knew the trading possibilities and general business climate which he was able to fit into his housing scheme in 1952. Tovulailai had only one product to sell for cash, copra. Baker organized, as part of the scheme, a task force solely dedicated to the production of copra to supplement the cash for running both the scheme and the store. He started up the store by putting in £4,000 of his own money which was refunded to him through the scheme (see chapter 3 footnote 10). This village store had almost everything that the people would want and there was no need for them to buy things from town or from any store in the other village in Nairai.

The people of Tovulailai learned a lot of things from this business. It was really the beginning of their whole development. That the learning process was not quite complete is shown by the fact that this village store went bankrupt only two years after Baker died. After the people had refunded Baker's money at the end of the five-year exemption period, Baker handed over the ownership of the shop to the people for them to run on their own. When this village store went bankrupt, it was replaced almost immediately by three mataqali based stores and these by three individual stores, all these, went bankrupt too, Radravu's store was the only one that survived. He agreed to close down his store in favour of a co-operative store. It can be observed that the people of Tovulailai had had some experience in running stores before the co-operative was introduced to the village in 1967. The people had learned some business methods from the store which had been established as part of the scheme, if everything was done honestly and reasonably efficiently, there would not be any need for everyone in the village to go all the way to Suva or Levuka to sell their copra and buy their supplies. They had proved during the scheme that all their business dealings could be done right at the village level. To this effect, Ilaitia Radravu who was nurtured and moulded



by Baker himself as a potential future leader of Tovulailai, made an impact on the development of the co-operative store to bring this idea to reality. This will become obvious in the discussion which follows below.

#### Tabusoro Co-operative Society: Mainspring of Phase Two Village Development

Radravu's move to the co-operative, led to another phase of development at Tovulailai. Apart from its great success in operating a retail and bulk store, the co-operative at Tovulailai has also expanded its operation into other areas. These included a boat, a secondary school hostel and market stalls. These operations will now be discussed in detail. (see figure 4.2 showing the retail section).

The establishment of the Tabusoro Co-operative Society has been described above. From its inception it has occupied the key position in the economy of Nairai as a whole and Tovulailai in particular. The distance of the island from urban markets, has led to Tovulailai being made the source of supply for consumer goods for the other villages in the island. However, the early stage of the co-operative society quickly revealed various problems notably shipping. Once the co-operative became firmly established at Tovulailai, appropriate steps were taken in 1976 to remedy the shipping problem.

#### (i) The 'Adi Talei'

At the end of the 1976 financial year, Radravu called a co-operative committee meeting and placed a proposal in front of them. He asked the committee whether they would allow a substantial part of the profits from the co-operative store to be set aside for the purchase of a boat. Radravu suggested the possibility of a partnership with Vutuna co-operative but they were hesitant. The people of Tovulailai knew about the collapse of the Waitoga shipping venture, it went bankrupt because of mismanagement and persistent conflicts over leadership. The people of Tovulailai decided to go ahead on their own because they felt that they had the manpower and leadership available to



FIGURE 4.2: Shows a photograph of the Tabusoro Co-operative building taken during the survey in January, 1979. The main part of the building in the fore-front is the retail section and part of the bulk store is seen in the background.



operate the new venture. The Baker scheme experience had also taught the people of Tovulailai to take risky decisions like that, it is part of the capitalistic ingredient of advance and progress. Tovulailai decided to go ahead by itself. The hesitation expressed by the Vutuna co-operative committee was mainly caused by the collapse of a similar shipping venture in the village of Waitoga, 3.2 kilometres along the coast from them, this happened only four years before. The Tovulailai co-operative committee determined to start the shipping operation on its own. They put forward \$2,000 towards the deposit for the boat. Radravu sought government aid and got \$5,000, then he arranged a loan with the Bank of New Zealand to meet the balance of \$13,000. The approved loan came through in January 1978 and they purchases the boat, the 'Adi Talei', from the Wong Shipping Company in Suva. After all the paper work had been completed, the ownership of the boat was handed over to the co-operative committee at Tovulailai in February 1978, and they took over completely the manning of the boat as described above.

The purchase of the boat accelerated the transportation of produce and consumer goods as well as passengers to and from the island. At the end of its first financial year of running the boat, the Tabusoro Shipping Company which had been established as an extension of the co-operative, earned \$42,615.25 as shown in the Shipping Balance Sheet II at Appendix A<sup>2</sup>. After subtracting all the expenses, they made a net trading profit of \$11,106.85. (see Balance Sheet in Appendix A<sup>2</sup>). It was initially agreed that the Shipping Committee pay \$400 per month to the B.N.Z., but because the boat was making such substantial profits, they rearranged with the B.N.Z. to pay \$1,000 per month. As a result of this, they managed to pay back the loan plus interest within the period of two years instead of the five years initially arranged. After paying off the boat, they hired a full time shipping clerk based in Suva. They hired one of their own men, Jone Masi Naucukidi<sup>3</sup> in a full time position to reside permanently in Suva. Jone resigned from his job at the Defence Club

3. The person referred to here is the son of Naucukidi who initiated the Baker Scheme. Jone's father is the person I mentioned in chapter 3 as the first non-chief to be elevated to the status of Buli Nairai (1946-47). Jone's eldest brother is Sevanaia who is the Invoice clerk at the Tabusoro co-operative. Jone has attained school certificate level.

as a barman to take up this position as Shipping Clerk. Tabusoro Shipping pays Jone \$50 per week plus a rent subsidy. The Wong Shipping Company from whom they bought the boat, allowed a small space in their Cumming Street office for use by the shipping clerk who, working alongside the experienced staff of the Wong Shipping Company, learns from them in the course of his duties.

The boat serves the whole island of Nairai and has made travelling to and from Suva and Levuka much easier. Isoa Radravu is responsible for the accounting and banking transactions of all the Tabusoro enterprises. The shipping clerk and the market stall manager, Inoke, do their own banking but they must furnish Isoa Radravu with all the details which are carefully recorded in the main ledger for the Government Auditor to check on a six monthly basis.

In 1978-79, the adult rate for a one way passage from Nairai to Suva was \$15, children half fare \$7. The total number of passengers allowed by law on the day sailing is 30 and 18 by night sailing. On fine weather, the boat is able to make, on average, \$850 on a full load (passengers plus freight charges) to Suva and \$400 on return to the island. This means on each completed trip (to Suva and return) the boat makes a turnover of about \$1,250. By making an average of four complete trips per month, the total gross earnings would amount to \$5,000 per month. The passengers are provided with one full meal per trip. Depending on the time of sailing, breakfast and evening meals may also be provided.

The purchase of a boat at Tovulailai undoubtedly has provided a new impetus in the development of the village. As Belshaw puts it,

"Systems of communications which permit the smooth movement of persons and at a different level permit the interchange of information and ideas both to spread knowledge and to ensure co-ordination, are essential institutional ingredients of an economy. Without such systems, markets will be partial or primitive, economic units will be unable to react to current conditions accurately and will tend to be immobile and inflexible, and there will be friction in co-ordination and contract which will result in wastage. There is no doubt that Fijians take advantage of communications where they can".

(Belshaw, 1964:280)

The system of transport and communication such as roads, boats, posts and telephone services are institutional devices which are regarded by the village people and planners alike, as part of the essential infrastructure of the new economic system of the village along with an effective flow of capital and credit and the development of ideas and technology. In the case of Tovulailai, because of distance from the urban areas, the absence of boat transport would have severely hampered the village system being articulated effectively with the outside market systems. Tovulailai would have been left in economic isolation. Lack of articulation with the urban centres holds village economic life back beyond the point at which it would otherwise be operative.

(ii) The Municipal Market Stalls

In 1976, Radravu negotiated with the Suva Municipal Corporation for the opening of a long-term market stall for his village co-operative. This was approved immediately and Mr Osea Rabonu, who was the store-keeper during the Baker scheme, was appointed as the first manager of market stalls. After only two years, he died and was replaced by his son, Inoke who received a weekly wages of \$43 per week plus a 10 per cent rent subsidy paid by the co-operative. The Suva market stalls have done very well and now they have opened one at Lautoka and another at Sigatoka markets. Since the Suva stalls are the busiest and are making good sales, the co-operative committee is thinking of hiring another person to assist Inoke. The bulk of the produce sold at the market stalls is voivoi (pandanus) and its bi-products for example ibe (mats) and rubu (baskets). In 1978, an unstretched bundle (butu) of voivoi was bought by Tovulailai Co-operative at \$1.60 each. The same bundle was sold at Suva market at \$1.90 each when the supply is plentiful. But, if the demand for voivoi is high, the same bundle can be sold at \$2.50. Over one thousand such bundles would arrive at the Suva stalls each month, the rate of sale being about 20 bundles, on average, per day. The stretched (walui) and coiled (cibini) voivoi, on the other hand, is bought by Tovulailai Co-operative at \$2.30 each and the same sold at Suva \$2.90 to \$3.30 depending on the demand. One of the best sellers is somo (stained voivoi). One coiled bundle of somo was bought by Tovulailai

Co-operative at \$6.00 and the same could be sold at Suva market for between \$10-\$12, 58 per cent profit for each bundle. In addition to voivoi, yaqona is sold occasionally only if the quality is good enough to compete with the yaqona sold in other stalls by Indian middlemen who generally obtain their supplies from Koro and Taveuni islands. Copra in its dried form is sold direct to copra buyers like W.R. Carpenters Fiji Industries.

The idea of showing the difference in prices is to indicate how a different outside middleman would have made substantial profits if the Tovulailai Co-operative had not employed its own man. But, Radravu and his committee were clever to employ their own men so that the village co-operative reaps whatever profits are derived from the market sales of their produce. Radravu has made a firm ruling that in any business venture his village enters into, they will supply their own manpower to run such venture, so that any benefits derived therefrom are returned to the people of Tovulailai and not to an outsider. Also, this will create a source of employment and a category of permanent wage-earners within the village community.

The successful management of the Tabusoro Co-operative at Tovulailai has been reflected in the establishment of two direct benefits i.e. (i) the successful purchase and reasonably smooth operation of the boat, Adi Talei (ii) the municipal market-stalls venture which is now fully operational. They have now diversified further to establish some long-term indirect benefits of their business operation, the prominent example of these is the secondary school hostel at Levuka, this will now be discussed.

The Tovulailai co-operative employs its own people as middlemen for the sale of its products at various municipal markets mainly Suva, Sigatoka and Lautoka. This applies mainly to voivoi (pandanus) and yaqona (kava) which are bought at the village by the co-operative and resold at the market stalls in the towns. Thus, the employment of permanent paid labour in operating the market stalls, school hostel and the boat is another direct manifestation of the co-operative benefit. Economic development has expanded rapidly since its inception at the village in 1968. The most important aspect of Tovulailai development are due to several factors which include ingenuity, foresight,

shrewdness and hardwork. The central pivot of all that has been achieved is Ilaitia Radravu, the leader who has taken the people of Tovulailai through the first decade of Independence.

#### Secondary School Hostel at Levuka

It will be recalled that one of the dominant concerns of the people of Tovulailai is the education of their children. With the increasing number of successful candidates from the local primary school and their entry to secondary school, accommodation became a problem. Most children from Nairai attend secondary school at Levuka and therefore plans were made to provide facilities there.

Due to the large number of passes in Secondary School Entrance Examinations, the School Committee decided to send most of these children to attend secondary school at Levuka, and because they were faced with accommodation problems, it was resolved that a school hostel should be built at Levuka. After repeated discussions with the Ministry of Education, Radravu was given assurance that they would receive some government assistance and the project was allowed to go ahead. Three men from the village went over to Levuka to assist Radravu to erect the first stage of the hostel which was opened in 1972. Radravu himself became the Manager as approved by the School Committee at Tovulailai, because of his position as the mata which makes his contacts with the government officials much easier. Radravu appointed his wife as the matron/warden and another woman from mataqali Sauni, Lusiana, to cook and look after the laundry for the children. Radravu saw that after running the hostel for two years, it was already in debt, he did not realize that the Hostel could become a very expensive undertaking. Radravu asked the government whether they could subsidize the running of the Hostel. In 1975, the government agreed on a dollar-for-dollar basis, i.e. every dollar given by the hostel committee, the government will put in a dollar.

The stage I of the hostel was financed entirely by the Tabusoro Co-operative at Tovulailai which granted over four thousand dollars (\$4,202.87). Stage II was completed in 1978-79, it was



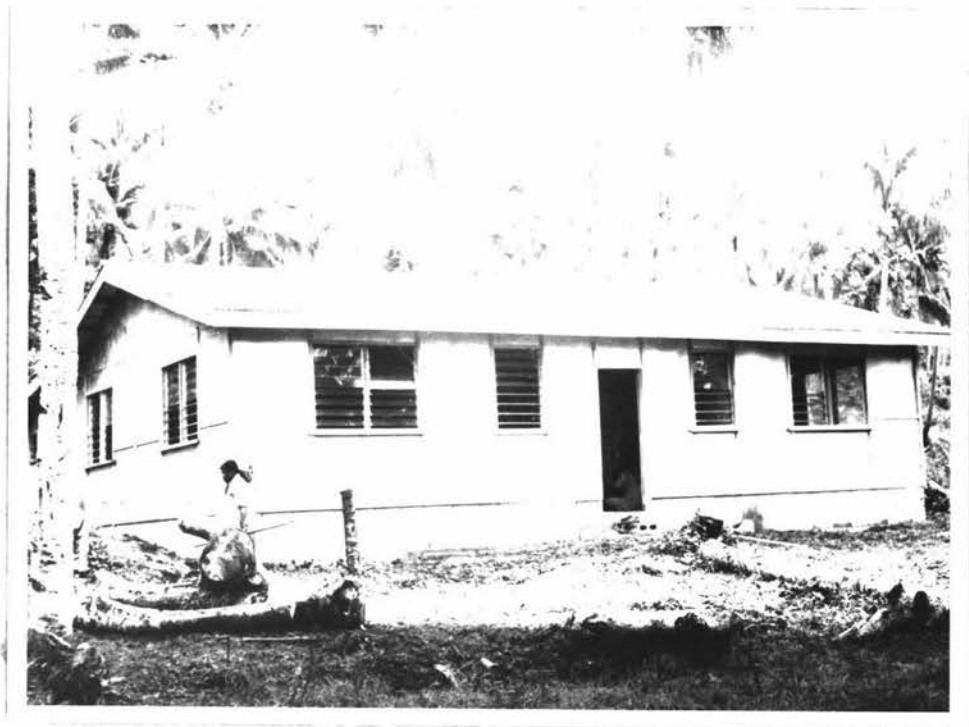
financed partly by the government (\$2,000) the Tabusoro Co-operative (\$2,000) and the pupils' parents (\$1,263.50) giving the total cost of \$5,263. Each stage of the hostel is partitioned into four major sections, each accommodating 6 pupils and a single room for the house prefect. There are two toilets and two shower rooms and a laundry room for each stage. (see Figure 4.3).

The hostel is now open to all the children from the island of Nairai who can afford to pay the fees and attend Secondary School at Levuka. All the children at the hostel are taken home during the school holidays and they return at the beginning of each term. The present hostel is already too small to cater for all the children coming from Nairai, thus further plans for stage III are already in the pipe line.

Realization of the benefits of education have now fully dawned on the Fijian parents. If the future means living on cash then they must find means of earning income. One of the surest ways of earning regular income is through education and getting permanent employment. This is one of the major reasons why parents are investing their income in the education of their children, even if they have to pay high school and hostel fees and send their children to attend school at Levuka.

There were 37 children catered for at the Hostel in 1977, 42 in 1978 and the maximum of 50 children in 1979. In 1979, the parents paid \$237.27 per annum for each child. (see Table 4.3 for detail). By 1979, during the survey, the hostel fees had increased to \$300 per annum for each child for the hostel fees. On top of these hostel fees, the parents still have to meet the school fees and uniform expenses. One can see that it is indeed a very heavy commitment on the part of the parents who have to make considerable sacrifice. It would belittle the status of the parents in one household if they failed to meet their commitments while the parents of other households are quite successful in supporting their children's education.

FIGURE 4.3: Shows the school hostel buildings at Levuka. Stage I was completed in 1972 and Stage II in 1978.



Stage I above completed in 1972.



Stage II above completed in 1978. Mr Ilaitia Radravu is on the extreme left.

TABLE 4.3: Fees paid by each child attending school at Levuka and residing in the hostel, 1978.

Family items	Fees charged
House	25.27
Food	160.00
Water rate	9.00
Electricity rate	5.00
Kerosene for cooking	10.00
Laundry	10.00
Boat fare	18.00
<b>TOTAL (per child)</b>	<b>\$237.27</b>

Source - Ilaitia Radravu, Hostel Manager

It will have been noted that, as in so many other activities, Ilaitia Radravu has played a leading role in the establishment of the hostel. A further analysis of his work and motivation will be given in the chapter which discusses the role of leadership.

The success of Tovulailai's development may not be entirely attributed to the effective leadership it has had or to the success of the co-operative and its benefits. The very presence of the administrative arms of the central government right within the village environment through civil servants who reside permanently there, the influences of the health nurse, the teachers, the postal agent and the extension officers have tremendous impact on the life of the people in Tovulailai. In addition, the introduction of modern organization such as the Rural Youth Club, the Women's Interests Club and the Young Methodist Youth Fellowship have all contributed to the progress of the village as a whole. To this effect, a detailed discussion is offered below.

## The Development of Tovulailai as a Service Centre

The development of Tovulailai as a service centre came about as a combination of several factors which really started from the Baker Housing Scheme and Ilaitia Radravu's leadership, which culminated in his election as the mata for the island council. In addition, it has now become a Fiji government development strategy to establish such service centres for each rural community and Tovulailai fulfills this role very well. Full analysis of the government's development strategies is discussed in Fiji's Eighth Development Plan 1981-85 volume one.

The office of the Post and Telegraphs Services was shifted to the village in 1952 when Mr Baker started his housing scheme at Tovulailai. By 1973, the government stepped in and took full responsibility and bought a piece of land near the village where it has erected a permanent building to cater for these services. By 1974, everything was fully operational and the post-mistress became a fully paid servant of the government. The next move is to establish a more permanent residence for the post-mistress so that the public can expect prompt and efficient services from the officer concerned.

The Post and Telegraph services have facilitated a direct linkage with urban relatives and business connections. For example, just by using the radio-telephone, one can order goods from any Suva shop or company. Banking facilities are also available for sending and receiving money. The village people can ring up their town relatives and vice-versa. These facilities have helped tremendously to expedite the development of Tovulailai and also of the island as a whole. Communication is made much easier. For example, during the time of the survey, a very sick man was brought into Tovulailai to stay close to the nurse for treatment. After two days the patient became critically ill and the nurse wanted a doctor as soon as possible. All she did was to use the radio-telephone next door in the post office and contacted the Levuka Hospital. A doctor was made available straight away, the nurse then contacted D.O. Levuka requesting any government boat which may be around the Levuka area to pick up the doctor and take him straight to Nairai and by about 6 p.m. that evening, the doctor was already examining the patient at Tovulailai. The patient would have

died if there had been no communication facilities available.

The medical health nurse, during the colonial days, usually resided at Natauloa, the village where the buli was. When the buli system was abolished in 1968, the health nurse was shifted permanently to Tovulailai where the mata resided. A new health centre and nurse's residence were erected at Tovulailai in 1975. Mr Radravu is presently negotiating for another assistant health nurse to alleviate the present workload of the senior nurse who is catering for the whole island. Nairai and Gau, a neighbouring island, share one doctor who resides permanently at Gau and travels occasionally to Nairai for a tour or sometimes on emergency calls.

The agricultural officer for the island of Nairai has also resided permanently at Tovulailai since 1970. The government has built an official residence on crown land just near the village where the rest of the civil servants' residences are also built. According to the mata the present officer is incompetent, indolent and irresponsible, the Ministry of Agriculture has been alerted about his defects and appropriate action will be taken to remedy the situation. According to the information I received, this particular agricultural officer has never helped the people in anything they have asked him to do for them, so they want him to be replaced by someone who can help not only the people of Tovulailai but the whole island community in matters regarding production and marketing methods.

Tovulailai Rural Youth Club - Mr Ilaitia Radravu himself is the Comptroller of Youth in the whole island of Nairai and he receives a monthly allowance from the Ministry of Youths and Sports for this position. The Youth Club at Tovulailai village is run by a Committee for Youth under the chairmanship of Mesake Rokoyago. In 1974, the club erected a concrete building which is called the Community Hall and which is used by the village as a whole. The Club also has its own teitei (gardens) of yams, dalo and yaqona. During the survey, I toured the garden areas and made a crop count. There were 500 dalo plants, 200 yaqona plants and 250 mounts of yams.

According to Mr Radravu, the Nairai Youth Club was to host the Fiji Youths' National Conference in October, 1979, and was to have taken place at Tovulailai village. Most of the food crops which will be used for the National Youth Conference, will come from the Youth Club's teitei. The major cash crop the club is involved in at the moment is yagona, yams and dalo can also be sold if they can find markets for them.

Rural Women's Interest Club - Mrs Luisa Radravu (Ilaitia's wife) plays a leading role in the main activity of the club which involves the learning of home economics and handicrafts. Child care, diet, cooking and general hygiene and homecrafts are also emphasized in the undertaking of the women's interests (Soqosoqo Vakamarama<sup>4</sup>).

Trained homecraft and cooking teachers from the Women's Interests Regional Office (Eastern) have already been to the village teaching women these skills. The aims are not only to raise women's interests and skills but also to acquire these skills as a source of income, especially in the area of handicrafts which have a sure market at the tourist stalls in Suva. From the village womens' point of view this movement plays an important role in revitalizing traditional handicrafts and learning modern skills in cooking, economics and general homecraft.

Tourist Guide Venture - According to Radravu, the people of Tovulailai had started on a Tourist Guide business venture in an attempt to extend the activities of their co-operative society. They had actually had their first lot of tourists to visit the village and they were entertained with a large feast and meke (dances). But, after their first experience, the people of Tovulailai found that this type of business venture would be very expensive and time-consuming. Also,

4. Womens' interest organizations (Soqosoqo Vakamarama) started about the mid fifties with sole purpose of raising womens' consciousness, irrespective of colour, race or creed, especially in the fields of social welfare, cultural exchange, understanding and tolerance. This included the imparting of knowledge to women in the fields of Homecrafts, Handicrafts, Home Economics, Home Science and family planning. Among the Fijian women it also embraces Christian Fellowship.



from the tourists point of view, it is a bit too far to travel and the facilities at the village were too primitive, especially in the area of sanitation and privacy. So, the tourist idea died at its inception. However, the most important aspect, was the initiative which the people have taken at least to try something new rather than not to try at all. This shows the spirit of adventure and enterprise which are two of the most important ingredients of development and progress.

Through the important role the co-operative is playing in the present stage of development at Tovulailai, the extent of penetration of the cash economy is very conspicuous. The degree of success or failure attained by the co-operative must be judged on its success in transforming the village community, in widening its field of external contacts and in fitting it to contribute more fully to its own internal development and to Fiji's as a whole. The co-operative should not be regarded as an alternative to the communal way of life rather it should be treated as an auxillary organization to educate and modify the attitudes and economic behaviour of the people.

In all of these developments the role of Ilaitia Radravu in one or other of his capacities has been crucial, sometimes also that of his wife. The whole issue of leadership will be taken up in chapter five. However, as has been said earlier, that when Radravu moved into the co-operative he became a very effective immanent change agent in his own right. His effectiveness in that capacity had been enhanced by his election to the position of mata which had widened his sphere of influence and had opened up various areas of experience and avenues of contacts with the outside systems and influences.

The importance of the co-operative in most of the development described above is very great indeed, much would not have occurred if the Tabusoro Co-operative Society had not lent financial assistance. This dominance of the co-operative requires that its own financial foundation be investigated. This will now be attempted.

#### Financial Position of the Tabusoro Co-operative

It must be noted that the accumulation of excessive debts at the co-operative was an unanticipated consequence of the influences of

change agents. The significance of these debts in determining the future of their co-operative, so central to the economic life of Tovulailai, requires that they be analysed and discussed in some detail.

Excessive and long outstanding debts are one of the early symptoms of poor economic management. This is a very important factor which is posing a real threat to the future economic survival of Tovulailai and of Radravu's leadership and those who are guided by him in various areas of responsibility in the present village organization. The people of Tovulailai themselves regard the effects of unpaid debts as the major element responsible for the bankruptcies of various stores that have already been operated in the village at various stages in its development. The debt epidemic has not yet been eradicated and it is now showing definite signs of creeping back, slowly but surely, into the present financial situation of the village. The extent of these unpaid debts is such that if the problem is not controlled it will undermine the whole financial position of the co-operative. Unpaid debts are partly an outcome of the excessive desire for exotic goods and a consequent tendency to incur high expenditure and outstrip their earning capacity and resources.

Tables 4.4 and 4.7 list by mataqali the co-operative shareholders showing their expenditure, income and the amount of unpaid debts they incurred in 1978-79. The names of those people who are employed by the co-operative are identified with one asterisk \*. Second, an attempt will be made to show and compare the debts of each shareholder in two consecutive financial years 1977-78 and 1978-79. This indicates very clearly the increasing trend of debts left unpaid by each shareholder at the end of those financial years. The names of the people employed by the co-operative are also marked with an asterisk \*. Names of shareholders are listed here under their mataqali in order to discover which mataqali has accumulated the highest debts. The reason for this will be discussed later. The analysis of debts is done on the basis of mataqali because of the strength of the village peoples' identity with their mataqali. In almost every activity involving the whole village at Tovulailai is done under the umbrella of the mataqali unit. Again, when their first village store went bankrupt, whatever goods were left in the store were divided up amongst the mataqali and

not per household, it appears that their recognition of the mataqali is quite paramount in the operation of their social relationships network.

TABLE 4.4: Expenditure, debts and part of the income paid to the co-operative by members of mataqali Naivini, 1978-79

Names of shareholders	Expenditure (goods on credits)	Amount paid	Debts incurred
*Inosi Ratete	\$659.71	\$326.02	\$333.69
Mosese Niusere	698.00	422.79	275.21
*Asaeli Saravaki	344.35	81.45	262.90
Sosiceni Rokotuiviwa	130.08	66.40	63.68
TOTAL	\$1832.00	\$896.66	\$935.48

Source - Co-operative Accounts 1978-79

\*Co-operative employees

Table 4.4 above shows that there is an overall tendency for expenditure at the co-operative to outstrip part of the income spent there as substantiated by the fact that this mataqali spent only \$896.66 of its total income on the co-operative during 1978-79 financial year, leaving a total debt of \$935.48 unpaid. This means that they have overspent their combined income by 51 per cent. The implication being that this mataqali spent the 51 per cent of their total income elsewhere. Inosi Ratete who is employed at the bulk section of the co-operative, overspent the part of his income which he paid to the co-operative by \$333.69. Asaeli Saravaki also is employed by the co-operative as a cook on the boat, overspent part of his income by \$262.90. Thus, between these two co-operative employees of this mataqali their combined debts makes up \$596.59 of mataqali Naivini's total debts for 1979.

Accumulation of excessive debts is strictly prohibited by the co-operative society and they keep constant surveillance to prevent it. The co-operative change agents have three main avenues of making constant contacts with the people of Tovulailai. The two main ones are through their bulk store trading section and the other is through auditing officers who check the accounts every six months. The third way of making regular contacts is through the monthly radio talk of the Director of Co-operatives, giving new information, advice and encouragements to the shareholders.

TABLE 4.5 : Expenditure, debts and part of the income paid to the co-operative by members of mataqali Sauturaga, 1978-79.

Names of shareholders	Expenditure (goods on credits)	Amount paid	Debts incurred
Mrs N. Radravu (Snr)	69.68	29.38	40.30
*Ilaitia Radravu	\$601.55	26.30	\$575.25
*Isoa Radravu	395.53	80.20	315.33
Semi Radravu	243.84	\$154.86	88.98
Pauliasi Radravu	502.32	450.30	52.02
TOTAL	\$1812.92	\$741.04	\$1072.88

Source - Co-operative Accounts 1978-79

\*Co-operative employees

The trend of increased debts repeats itself in table 4.5 above. Members of this mataqali also overspent the part of their income which they paid to the co-operative by \$1,072.88 or 59.2 per cent which they have left as unpaid debts. Ilaitia Radravu, Consultant/Advisor to the Co-operative Committee, has overspent this part of his income by \$575.25. For the \$601.55 worth of goods he obtained during the 1978-79 financial year he had paid, by the end of that year, only \$26.30. His brother Isoa Radravu, Secretary/Accountant to the

Co-operative overspent this part of his income by \$315.33 which is no better than Ilaitia. Thus, one can observe that the combined debts of the brothers, who are also executive members of the co-operative, makes up \$890.58 of their mataqali's total debt at the Co-operative. This is quite apart from what they owed at the market stalls in Suva. The members of this mataqali have incurred the highest debt in relation to their income spent on the co-operative. The main reason of the increase in debts is due to the very small portion of the income paid in by the two brothers Ilaitia and Isoa who have both left substantial unpaid debts.

TABLE 4.6: Expenditure, debts and part of the income paid to the co-operative by members of mataqali Sauni, 1978-79.

Names of shareholders	Expenditure (goods on credits)	Amount paid	Debts incurred
*Sevanaia Naucukidi	\$1426.13	\$339.00	\$1087.00
Isireli Naucukidi	478.00	254.95	223.05
Litia Vinoi	340.38	195.90	144.48
*Samuela Leleavono	556.33	178.08	278.25
Taniela Taivei	581.54	310.72	272.82
Josateki Labadai	552.49	511.34	41.15
Manasa Tamoi	582.36	293.17	289.19
*Manueli Tokabobo	251.32	35.03	216.29
TOTAL	\$4768.55	\$2218.19	\$2550.36

Source - Co-operative Accounts 1978-79

\*Co-operative employees

The pattern of overspending shown in table 4.6 for mataqali Sauni is no better, in fact worse in the case of Sevanaia Naucukidi (Invoice/Clerk) who had incurred the largest debt of \$1087.00 at the end of the financial year. Samuela Leleavono (Copra dryer) and Manueli Tokabobo (Engineer) owed the co-operative \$278.25 and \$216.29 respectively. The combined debts of these three co-operative employees makes up 62 per cent of mataqali Sauni's total debt for that financial year.

TABLE 4.7 Expenditure, debts and part of the income paid to the co-operative by members of mataqali Ramasi, 1978-79.

Names of shareholders	Expenditure (goods on credits)	Amount paid	Debts incurred
Atueta Savou	\$ 955.68	\$710.88	\$ 224.80
*Mesake Rokoyago (No.1)	189.40	189.79	.38CR
*Setariki Rokoyago	336.26	110.78	225.48
*Eremasi Rabonu	940.64	353.68	586.96
Taniela Lebaleba	421.15	269.26	151.89
Simione Tekivakatini	433.05	437.64	4.59CR
Acura Leleakaria	493.62	490.23	3.39CR
*Kolinio Verea	1695.62	584.28	1111.34
Vilimone Vulaono	672.97	301.44	371.53
Titilia Uluinaravi	146.77	58.90	87.87
Osea Batinika	176.65	108.76	67.89
Votivera Korovanua	339.32	172.98	127.34
*Veretariki Masi	1541.65	302.81	1238.84
Mesake Rokoyago (No.2)	581.93	361.38	219.65
Eremodo Tekivakatini	885.27	86.00	799.27
Samuela Gaulala	224.30	157.00	67.30
TOTAL	\$9984.33	\$4695.81	\$5288.52

CR = Credit, those who are in the 'black' owing nothing to the co-operative

Source - Co-operative Accounts, 1978-79

\*Co-operative employees



Table 4.7 shows that out of the sixteen shareholders in this mataqali only three persons designated CR did not owe any money to the co-operative at the end of 1979 financial year. The others showed similar patterns to those of the other three mataqali. The members of this particular mataqali, Ramasi, had a total debt of \$5,288.52, this was their total unpaid debt in 1979. With the exception of Mesake Rokoyago (No.1), the other four co-operative employees in this mataqali incurred considerable debts. Setariki Rokoyago (Crewmen) and Eremasi Rabonu (Chairman of Co-operative Committee) by \$586.96, Kilinio Vereva (Bowser attendant) by \$1,111.34 and Veretariki Masi (Retail salesman by \$1,238.84. The debts accumulated by these four co-operative employees in this mataqali made up 59.8 per cent of the mataqali's total debt in 1979.

Looked at from the point of view of the co-operative as a whole all this mean that during 1979 goods were dispersed to these members to the value of \$18,397.94, of these goods to the value of \$8,551.70 were paid for. This means that, shareholders in 1979 overspent the part of their income which they paid to the co-operative by 53.5 per cent which was left as debt. As regards the co-operative employees, their total income paid to the co-operative was only \$2,707.03. For the same period, the co-operative employees' combined expenditure was \$8,938.49 and their combine debt was \$6,231.46. Towards the end of this analysis, I will attempt to distinguish between the executive (senior) members of co-operative from the juniors and compare each category's patterns of income, expenditure and debts in relation to all other shareholders, this should indicate whether and to what extent co-operative employees are abusing their positions by accumulating excessive debts.

#### In Summary

Shareholders overspent their incomes by \$8,551.70 in 1979 and if they continue in this trend, then the Tabusoro Co-operative is heading for bankruptcy unless it be supported by profits from the shipping venture, the market stalls operation or copra accounts. If the co-operative debts are indeed paid by the profits accumulated from the shipping and market stalls, then boat fares and freights will need

to be raised in order to cover the loss. This would cause the unfair suffering of patrons in the other villages and also for consumers at the Suva market stalls who are buying their produce at that end because prices would be raised too. The end result of excessive fares, freights and market prices will lead the people away from patronizing the Tabusoro enterprises and look for better alternatives, when this happened then, it is certain that Tovulailai's development will face great difficulties in the future if the present trend is not checked and rectified.

If the Tabusoro co-operative committee continues to overlook the seriousness of the consequences of accumulating such excessive debts, it would not be too long for the Director of the society to take some action because formal change agents must operate within the parameters of the regulations. For how long has this indebtedness has been going on? Data available goes back only two financial years, 1977-78 and 1978-79. However, this does allow the analysis of debts left by shareholders in two consecutive financial years. This trend of indebtedness is confirmed when we compare the shareholders' debts incurred in two consecutive years, commencing with table 4.8.

TABLE 4.8: Shows the trend of increasing indebtedness at the co-operative by shareholders in mataqali Naivini for two consecutive financial years 1977-78 and 1978-79.

Names of shareholders	Debts 1977-78	Debts 1978-79	Amount of increase in debts
**Inosi Ratete	\$116.44	\$333.69	+\$217.25
*Asaeli Saravaki	46.36	262.91	+ 216.55
Mosese Niusere	23.13	275.21	+ 252.08
Sosiceni Rokotuiviwa	15.96	-	-
Mataqali Naivini	47.00	-	-
TOTAL	\$249.72	\$935.48	+\$733.60

Source - Tabusoro Co-operative Accounts

\*\*Senior co-operative employees. \*Junior co-operative employees  
- decrease in debts. + increase in debts.

Table 4.8 for mataqali Naivini shows that only two people who owed money in the 1977-78 financial year cleared up their debts in 1978-79, the other four have increased their debts quite substantially as indicated in the last two right hand columns. On the mataqali basis, Naivini had increased its total debt by \$733.60 or 293.7 per cent at the end of the second consecutive financial year. The combined debts accumulated by the two co-operative employees in this mataqali amounted to \$433.80 or 174 per cent of the total mataqali debt at the end of the same period. Senior co-operative employees are marked with two asterisks \*\* and junior employees with one asterisk \*.

TABLE 4.9: shows the trend of increasing indebtedness at the co-operative by shareholders in mataqali Sauturaga for two consecutive financial years 1977-78 and 1978-79.

Names of shareholders	Debts 1977-78	Debts 1978-79	Amount of increase in debts
Mataqali Sauturaga	\$ 54.00	-	
**Ilaitia Radravu	324.97	\$575.25	+\$250.28
**Isoa Radravu	252.52	315.53	+ 63.00
**Apisai Radravu	214.17	-	-
Semi Radravu	11.64	88.98	+ 77.34
Pauliasi Radravu	1.20	52.01	+ 50.81
Curu Radravu	20.58	-	-
Nainasa Radravu	3.63	40.30	+ 36.67
*Saimone Radravu	33.36	-	-
Malakai Radravu	28.60	-	-
Tovulailai Youth	3.05	-	-
Comptroller			
TOTAL	\$947.72	\$1072.08	+\$478.10

Source - Tabusoro Co-operative Accounts

\*\*Senior Co-operative employees. \*Junior Co-operative employees  
- decrease in debts. + increase in debts.

Table 4.9 for mataqali Sauturaga shows that more people owed money in the 1977-78 than in 1978-79, but the few debtors of the latter year owed much more money than they did in the previous financial year. On the mataqali basis Sauturaga has actually increased its debts by 50.4 per cent at the end of the second financial year, but it is substantially less than the increase for mataqali Naivini shows in Table 4.8. Three of the five co-operative employees in Sauturaga have cleared up all their debts by the end of 1979, but the two co-operative employees that still owed money at the end of 1979 financial year made up \$349.95 of what the whole mataqali left as debts in the same period. The significance of the accumulation of debts will be analysed and discussed fully at the end of this section.

TABLE 4.10: Shows the trend of increasing indebtedness at the co-operative by shareholders in mataqali Sauni for two consecutive financial years 1977-78 and 1978-79.

Names of shareholders	Debts 1977-78	Debts 1978-79	Amount of increase in debts
**Jone Naucukidi	\$ 54.00	-	-
Taniela Tavei	50.00	\$270.96	+\$ 220.78
**Sevanaia Naucukidi	28.68	1086.96	+ 1058.28
Nacanieli K	38.24	-	-
Sauni K	52.40	-	-
Isireli Naucukidi	45.61	223.05	177.44
Josateki Labadai	31.78	41.15	9.37
Litia Vinoi	4.30	144.48	+ 140.18
Manasa Tamoi	14.51	289.19	+ 174.60
Kusitino	1.59	-	-
*Samuela L	383.08	278.25	- 105.05
*Manueli T	216.09	-	-
TOTAL	\$1422.23	\$2333.86	+\$1986.15

Source - Tabusoro Co-operative Accounts

\*\*Senior Co-operative employees. \*Junior Co-operative employees  
+ increase in debts. = decrease in debts.

Table 4.10 indicated that there are fewer people in mataqali Sauni owed money to the co-operative in 1978-79 than in 1978. But for those who are still accruing debts at the end of 1979, owed quite substantial amount of money with the exception of Samuela (marked -) who owed slightly less in 1979. Compared with the two previous mataqali, Sauni shows the second largest increase, an increase of \$1,986.15 or 139.6 per cent. However, on individual basis this mataqali shows up very poorly, of the seven shareholders who owed money in 1979, three of them have increased the amount they owed quite substantially. Out of the four co-operative employees only two owed money in 1979. The two co-operative employees still owing money made up \$1,163.83 or 58.5 per cent of the total increase in mataqali debts in 1979.

TABLE 4.11: Shows the trend of increasing indebtedness at the co-operative by shareholders in mataqali Ramasi for two consecutive years 1977-78 and 1978-79.

Names of shareholders	Debts 1977-78	Debts 1978-79	Amount of increase in debts
*Setariki Rokoyago	\$117.35	\$225.48	+\$ 108.13
Samuela Gaulala	81.00	799.27	+ 718.27
Vilimone Vulaono	69.22	326.53	+ 257.31
**Veretariki Masi	106.56	1238.84	+ 2232.28
Votivera Korovanua	16.18	187.34	+ 171.16
Taniela Lebaleba	20.25	151.83	+ 131.58
Eremodo Tekivakatini	258.06	67.30	190.76
*Etuete Savou	52.78	224.08	+ 171.30
**Kolinio Vereva	19.27	1111.34	+ 1092.07
Ilaisa N	16.84	-	-
*Mesake R (No.1)	16.27	219.89	+ 203.62
Mesake R (No.2)	5.10	-	-
Titilia Ului	2.18	187.87	+ 185.69
Osea Batinika	2.51	67.89	+ 65.38
Mataqali Ramasi	47.00	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$830.87</b>	<b>\$4807.66</b>	<b>+\$4236.79</b>

Key similar to table 7.3.

It will be recalled that this is the largest mataqali in the village, Table 4.11 has also shown the heaviest increases both on a mataqali and an individual basis. The total debt of this mataqali has increased by \$4,236.79 or 509.9 per cent. All the five co-operative employees have increased their individual debts quite substantially e.g. Veretariki Masi (Retail salesman) had a debt of \$106.05 in 1978 but now has left \$1,238.84 unpaid debts in 1979. Also Kolinio Vereia (Bouser attendant) who left only \$19.27 in 1978 now has left the colossal amount of \$1,111.34 of unpaid debts. Setariki Rokoyago had increased his debt by \$108.13 and Mesake Rokoyago showed an increase of up to \$203.62. Etuate Savou had increased his personal debt by \$171.30. The five co-operative employees in this mataqali contributed \$2,726.67 or 328 per cent of the total debts for mataqali Ramasi in 1979. How can one explain this overall pattern of excessive expenditure and accumulation of debts?

First, it shows the people's preferences for tasty exotic foods which are more easily obtainable from the store, especially when they are purchased on credit. Also the store foods do not take long to prepare. Second, consumption of exotic food has become a symbol of status in the village. Furthermore they feel that the fact that they are shareholders, entitles them to get things on credit. While the co-operative is thriving let every finger into the pie, so that each person gets his rightful share of the economic pie. The tendency of immediate gratification of wants once again prevailed under this situation. This habit of accumulating debts, may in fact indicate a lack of local resources to furnish people with sufficient income to cater for their much expanded needs.

On the other hand one may explain this behaviour by indicating that the people concerned are just not working hard enough to tap all the available resources. Perhaps the people are not increasing production of their own indigenous food crops but, relying too heavily on store goods. This also has substantiated what I mentioned earlier, that there is a lack of economic planning especially in relation to the planting and harvesting of cash crops. Furthermore, there appear to be no plans for a balanced diet, they seem to consume tasty and expensive store goods without really taking into considerations their nutritional value. The household income may be already over committed in other



fields e.g. expenses for education. Excessive competition may also explain this type of behaviour i.e. keeping up with the Joneses, "if they can do it, I can do it better", type of philosophy. Probably the overall cause is poor budgetting in the household and poor management on the part of the co-operative staff for they cannot refuse credits to any shareholder because they themselves are heavily in debts. It is difficult to pin-point a single cause for this type of behaviour, perhaps it is caused by a complex combination of all the factors I have outlined above.

Debts accumulated by the co-operative employees are analysed below. Senior and junior employees' debts are separated and compared with each other and also with the debts of non-employees. The idea is to indicate whether these employees show a tendency to exploit the co-operative. See Table 4.12 a-c below which show the debts of the three categories (1) senior and (2) junior co-operative employees and (3) non-co-operative employees. Senior employees of the co-operative are all the members of Co-operative Committee and junior employees are non-committee members.

TABLE 4.12(a): Debts accumulated by senior co-operative employees, 1977-1979.

Names of senior employees	Debts 1977-78	Debts 1978-79	Amount of increase in debts
Inosi Ratete	\$116.44	\$ 333.60	\$ 217.25
Ilaitia Radravu	324.97	575.25	250.28
Isoa Radravu	252.52	315.53	63.00
Sevanaia Naucukidi	28.68	1086.96	1058.28
Veretariki Masi	106.56	1238.84	1132.28
Kolinio Vereva	19.27	111.34	1092.07
TOTAL	\$848.44	\$4661.52	\$3813.10

Table 4.12(a) shows a clear trend which substantiates the assumption that the co-operative senior employees are exploiting the co-operative for their own advantage. The six senior co-operative employees had a combined debt of \$848.44 in 1978, this they have increased substantially to \$4,661.52 in 1979 which gives a total increase of \$3,813.10 or an average of \$635.50 per senior employee. This shall be compared with the debts of the eight of their junior colleagues, shown in table 4.12(b)) to reveal the trend if indeed these senior employees are exploiting the co-operative for their own advantage.

TABLE 4.12(b): Debts accumulated by junior co-operative employees, 1977-1979.

Names of junior employees	Debts 1977-78	Debts 1978-79	Amount of increase in debts
Asaeli Saravaki	\$ 46.36	\$262.91	\$216.55
Setariki Rokoyago	117.35	225.48	108.13
Etuate Savou	52.78	224.08	171.30
Mesake Rokoyago	16.27	219.89	203.62
Samuela L	383.80	278.25	105.50
Manueli T	216.90	-	-
Curu Radravu	3.63	-	-
Saimone Radravu	33.36	-	-
TOTAL	\$870.45	\$1210.61	\$805.10

Table 4.12(b) shows the eight junior employees of the co-operative had a combined debt of \$870.45 in 1978 and increased it slightly to \$1,210.61 in 1979, an overall increase of only \$805.10 or an average of \$100.63 per person as compared with \$635.50 per senior employee as indicated in table 4.12(a). This means that each of the six senior employees of the co-operative has accumulated six times the amount of debts incurred by each of his junior colleagues. This will be further

compared with the debt incurred by each non-employee shareholder as shown in table 4.12(c).

TABLE 4.12(c): Debts accumulated by 29 shareholders who are not employed by the co-operative, 1977-1979.

Mataqali (4)	Debts 1977-78	Debts 1978-79	Amount of increase in debts
Naivini (4)	\$ 87.23	\$ 338.89	\$ 251.66
Sauturaga (7)	102.12	181.29	79.17
Sauni (8)	238.43	968.65	730.22
Ramasi (10)	518.34	1788.24	1269.90
29 TOTAL	\$946.12	\$3277.07	\$2330.95

The number of shareholders in each mataqali is bracketed

Table 4.12(c) shows the debts incurred by 29 shareholders. They have accumulated a combined debt of \$946.12 in 1978 and increased it to \$3,277.07 in 1979, an overall increase of \$2,330.95 or \$80.37 per person. The trend is very clear that senior co-operative employees have shown the tendency to take advantage of their position by obtaining too many goods on credit. This will make it so hard for them to refuse credits to other shareholders because they themselves are doing it.

In addition to the factors which I have outlined above, I will attempt to explain further the co-operative employees' behaviour in incurring such a phenomenal amount of unpaid debts especially the senior employees. One might argue that these senior employees are working six days a week for the co-operative would therefore have very little time to find other sources of income to supplement what they received as wages. But this still does not give them more privileges and rights to accumulate such excessive debts. In fact observation of

their behaviour shows that, most, if not all, of these senior employees are just wasting their time by pretending that they are working when in fact they are idling. Staying around the shop is a good excuse to do nothing. For example during the three days I spent studying the co-operative records and interviewing shop-keepers, almost everyone was drinking yagona in the bulk store area throughout the whole day, when they had no reasons whatsoever to be there. They could have at least spent three hours each day in their teitei or harvesting coconuts to earn extra cash. It appeared to me that pretending to look busy working around the co-operative is a device to provide themselves with an excuse for not going to their gardens. Ilaitia Radravu is well aware of this idling behaviour and has tried on several occasions to tell the co-operative employees to spend enough time tending their teitei. In fact the co-operative is over-staffed and could operate with a maximum of three full time persons.

Furthermore, the senior co-operative staff regard their appointment more as a status. I have watched them having their morning wash, shaving and dressing themselves well and then reporting to do their 'supposedly' co-operative duties. They appear to be reinforcing their status and pride when encountering visiting customers from other villages who arrive to shop almost everyday. The behaviour of these senior staff can also be interpreted in the sense that they are in fact, abusing the privileges entrusted to them, they are taking too much advantage of being office bearers in the co-operative organization. They thought that being in a senior position allowed them certain latitudes to behave the way they do. Also, they think that if one of them is allowed to accumulate such massive debts then all of them must be allowed to do it, this may be interpreted simply as helping their own colleagues, thereby sneaking in corruption into the business. Little do they realize that they are betraying the people's trusts placed upon them. Almost 75 per cent of these senior staff are simply beyond any means of paying off the debts they have incurred. It is impossible to think of any way or means to do it. Before things begin to get worse, such mal practice must demand their removal from the co-operative staff.

## Conclusions

To conclude this analysis I would say that the penetration of the cash economy into Tovulailai has been going on quite smoothly but not without problems along the way. The introduction of the co-operative society through formal change agents has opened up the way for Tovulailai's economic advance. The purchase of the boat was the real spring board which has brought about alot of other benefits like the market stalls, the school hostels, culminating into the development of Tovulailai to becoming the service centre for the island community in Nairai. The pattern of leadership, which will be discussed in chapter five, and all the modernized organizations at Tovulailai are signs of economic behaviour resulting from the penetration of the cash economy via the activities of the co-operative society. The second phase of Tovulailai's development is even more pronounced and extensive than the first phase of their development as has been discussed right through this chapter.

However, the analysis of debts first show that corruption is slowly but surely sneaking into the behaviour of the co-operative senior staff through the accumulation of debts. I have been informed by the villagers themselves that unpaid debts of these magnitudes had been the paramount cause of bankruptcies of almost every store that had been operated at Tovulailai. The prediction of just when the bankruptcy will happen requires a study of the profit and loss account of the co-operative which, unfortunately, is not available.

Compounding these problems is that Radravu's leadership has shown signs of being challenged and even jealously through witchcraft has threatened his life. Hence the threat of unpaid debts is looming large and if it remains unchecked then the whole 'Tovulailai Empire' will crash. I doubt very much that the same unique opportunities and circumstances or the same factors or combination of factors which have increased the effectiveness of change agents to achieve results which all have contributed to the present stage of economic development in Tovulailai village, will ever be recaptured again once they are lost. However, all the benefits and consequences of the influences of change agents cannot be appreciated fully unless we

consider them in the context of the mechanisms which diffuse the elements of change within the system undergoing change. This will now be discussed in chapter five.



## CHAPTER 5

### LEADERSHIP AS A MECHANISM OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The role of leadership has been identified here as the mechanism which communicates and diffuses the elements of change within the village network in Tovulailai. Leadership is an important factor in the life of any organization and is certainly a significant element in the development of Tovulailai. Successful leadership at this village is generally characterized by the ability to make the organization's goals seem significant, to initiate or energize actions and to inspire confidence and enthusiasm in the members of the village community. If the leaders have failed to facilitate goal achievement in these ways, village development would have certainly become moribund or collapsed.

Leadership has been defined by Nayacakalou ....as,

"a set of operations, involving the exercise of influence, power, and authority (and therefore distinct from them) among an organized group of people, in order to select common goals and to plan, direct and co-ordinate the members activities in order to achieve those goals". (Nayacakalou, 1975:111)

The above definition partially fulfills the basis of discussion in this chapter. In its role as a mechanism of communication and diffusion for social change, leadership operated at Tovulailai with great influence to direct and co-ordinate the members activities in order to achieve their goals. Nayacakalou also speaks of other forms of leadership, mainly of a local or technical nature, illustrating the ways in which Fijians organize themselves in order to solve their problems. Among the most important forms of these are the co-operative societies. The well organized Co-operative Department is exporting the skills of leadership to the village societies registered in its books, through travelling inspectors and through periods of concentrated training for co-operative leaders at the department's training centre in Suva.

Leadership is always, in significant measure, a function of the situation. This implies that a person who is a successful leader in one situation may not be in another. To a degree we may say that the situation creates a leader. Therefore, as far as I can see only three qualities of leadership would be generally transferrable from one situation to another: (1) the leader is interested in the people; (2) interesting to the people and (3) interested with the people in the solution of their problems. A leader who has these qualities, in addition to his unique personal and favourable characteristics, is likely to be effective in any organization. For leadership to become an effective avenue of communication and diffusion in the process of change, many qualities are called for:

"The central attribute of leadership is influence, the leader is generally the person in the group who has the most influence on its activities and beliefs. He is the one who initiates action, gives orders and advice, makes decisions, settles disputes, between members and makes judgments. He is also the one who dispenses approval and offers encouragement, serves as aspiration and is in the forefront of any activity undertaken by the group which he leads"

(Freedman et al, 1970:139).

The leader must be able to control and direct the operation of his group so as to focus upon the desired ends, whatever they may be. This is especially crucial when motivation of the membership is complex and varied. Beyond giving the members a clear, strong sense of common purpose, the leader must employ such measures as are required to give them a feeling of personal worth and fulfilment, to maintain a spirit of unity and to sustain enthusiasm. These are elements of group morale, the maintenance of which is also a vital function of leadership. If we reduce the functions of leadership to the basic essentials, these would be direction and the maintenance of group activities and morale. The effective leader devotes himself as a disseminator of information and the allocation of responsibilities to other members of the group rather than tries to perform it all himself. This requires that he delegates work to others who have competence in given areas, instead of assuming full responsibility for detailed execution. This principle will not

only lead to greater communication efficiency in the organization but also will enhance the sense of participation in the members.

The 74 year old paramount chief of Tovulailai is of the older generation and therefore his knowledge is not quite up to date with the present trend of development presently going on the rural villages in Fiji. The emergence of Ilaitia Radravu as a modern leader, has led to the existence of a pattern of dual leadership in Tovulailai.

#### Dual Leadership

Dual leadership means that two types of leaders, traditional and non-traditional are working side by side in the village. They have goals which are very similar especially in matters relating to village development, yet in other areas, they can function independently of one another especially in their respective fields of speciality as connoted by their very own titles and positions.

Some village chiefs call on commoners who are capable to assist them in the development of their villages. For example, co-operative effort in some villages is organized purely on traditional lines with the village chief taking a leading role and sometimes with the assistance of an educated member of the village. An example was cited by Watters (Watters 1967:106-7), where a school teacher, Apisai, was assisting the chief at Lutu village. Similarly Nayacakalou (Nayacakalou 1975:94-5) observed a former army sergeant in one village in Kadavu assisting in the development of his village using his military skills influence. Also at Naqali village where an Assistant Economic Development Officer was advising the chief and people in the development of his village. This development officer took every care not to offend the local chief. His work programme was based on a kind of "common roster" similar to the one devised by the ex-army sergeant in the above mentioned Kadavu village.

I must point out here that long before Watters and Nayacakalou did their respective fieldwork, Baker had been using the 'roster system' at Tovulailai (1952-56), see Tables 4.1 and 4.2. Baker's system was precise, well organized and very effective. Furthermore, The Baker system was devised to take total control of the people's economic activities and sources of income. In fact, how the people of Tovulailai gained their livelihood for that five year period was more or less under Baker's control and there was no room for dissention or retreat. At the same time, however, the traditional chief was never stripped of any of his traditional rights, power and authority, he was all the time fully recognized both by Baker and the people of Tovulailai that their chief was still the paramount leader of the yavusa, no more and no less than he is today. The non-traditional leader, Radravu, though very influential does not appear to pose any threat to the chief's position, so at Tovulailai there is an emergence of very effective dual leadership.

At Tovulailai, it was very interesting to observe that the chief is still very much regarded by the people as leader of the vanua and his chiefly position is inextricably interwoven with the social structures of the village so that the goals for which the community organizes under his leadership will remain the common goals of the group. As for the vanua, the chief is the focus for unity of the village people he leads and in a real sense represents the honour of the village community in relations with other villages or groups. This unity is maintained through loyalty and mutual respect which are a valued part of traditional Fijian etiquette. As Nayacakalou puts it:

"This is the essence of what Fijians mean when they say that the chiefs and the people are one or that the people are the chief's and chiefs are the people's" (Nayacakalou, 1975:115)

Non-traditional leadership on the other hand, according to Nayacakalou, operates in co-operatives societies, credit unions and other organizations. Such groups tend to be formed according to the exigencies of the situation out of which they develop and bear no necessary relations to the principles which govern membership and order relations. Membership is, in theory, based on freedom of association

and in accordance with the co-operative principles, hence, a person can choose to become a member or resign his membership. As the activities of such groups are usually limited in scope, being formed for strictly defined aims such as to market a certain product or to organize labour in a certain industry, a member's involvement is not total, it tends to involve only a small part of his activities, the group norms apply to him only as his membership makes them relevant.

As is shown in the case of Tovulailai, the purchase of a boat, the establishment of market stalls and the building of the school hostel showed that group goals have become more specific and therefore the qualities demanded from leaders are equally specific, but still must at least increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the group in relation to these goals. These requirements often involve intensive specialized training in fields relevant to the goals of the group. For example, Isoa Radravu was sent to Suva to attend courses for co-operative management and book-keeping. Both the captain and chief engineer of the boat had to undergo full three year's apprenticeship courses before they could gain professional certificates in their respective trades. People who were chosen to take up such training are chosen not only because they have had a propensity for their chosen field but also because they had suitable academic backgrounds and qualifications for entry into the training institutes, firms or departments. Attainment of such skills would increase their effectiveness and efficiency in the leadership roles, as well as in their capacities as receivers and communicators of the necessary information in the process of social change.

Modern leaders (non-traditional), are usually selected by free election e.g. Ilaitia Radravu was elected both as the mata and manager of the Nairai Housing Scheme by the Nairai Island Council. Although such elections may be influenced by internal pressure groups, the assumed ability of the person selected to carry out the requirements of the office and further the interests and activities of the group is a more important factor than in the selection of chiefs. The authority of the leader is for many purposes that of the group itself and the legitimacy is derived from legal rules contained in the constitutions or rule books which may or may not be followed.



In both types of leadership, the leader's first responsibility is to his followers, as these goals are the same. This community of goals is of critical importance: not only is it the critical criterion for effective and stable leadership to work but also it distinguishes leadership from other figure heads<sup>1</sup>. In relation to Tovulailai, traditional and modern leadership co-exists effectively with a minimum of friction. The functions of leaders in this village are to set and clearly define group goals, to allocate responsibilities to members, to set behaviour patterns required for effective performance of roles and to promote the principles and morale which pertain to the maintenance of group identity and integrity both within the village community and also outside it. These functions are merely examples of the general influence the leader exerts over the group, any particular leader may not perform all of them, but to be an effective leader he must perform many of them. It is interesting to note that Ilaitia Radravu as the modern leader of his village and mata of the tikina fulfills most parts of the definition by Freedman et al, see page 117.

In addition, Bevelas et al (1955), referring especially to the determinants of modern leadership, points out that factors involving leadership are more complex, but there are two major factors - (i) situational factors (ii) personality factors. A selected leader like Radravu is more influential and powerful because his position is legitimized by the group, all members of the group recognize his authority to a greater or lesser extent. As a leader, he is the receiver and disseminator of most information. This influence in terms of communication is a critical determinant of leadership. A high status person is likely to become a leader, for example, in the case of Radravu, he is a member of the mataqali Sauturaga which is second in line to the chief, in addition he holds a very high position in the church which was delegated to him by the talatala, ordained minister of the Methodist Church, after passing an elementary examination on basic theology and Methodist doctrines.

1. This is referring to nominal leaders without real authority, persons with the symbolic titles of leader or tribal elder but who have no real power or authority over the group.



What I observed at Tovulailai then, is a pattern of dual leadership between the traditional chief Ratu Waisale and the young loyal enterprising modern leader, Ilaitia Radravu. The two leaders co-exist, the chief concentrates on the vanua and Radravu looks after development. They work together for the common good of the village and consult each other when and where necessary. The social base of being one yavusa still facilitates the people's unity and co-operative activities. Strong kinship ties and faith in values of working together for the common good are major characteristics of the patterns of life at Tovulailai. The great success of the co-operative and its spread-effects are reinforcing the collective goals and ideals. Although the present development looks rosy under this pattern of dual leadership, future development will be fraught with difficulties. This is because the basis for economic advance is not particularly strong and failure in production, a drastic decline in prices of voivoi, copra and a change in leadership or the collapse of the co-operative enterprise would mean a retreat to square one in their socio-economic endeavours. The right type of leadership as mentioned above provides a reasonable satisfactory bridge from the old to the new. The diffusion of change elements through this dual leadership at Tovulailai has proved to be very effective as evidenced by the benefits derived from the operations of the co-operative society as explained in chapter four.

An important aspect of leadership is an ability to listen and to interpret the prevailing public opinion so that the genuine needs of the people are fulfilled and local cohesion maintained. At Tovulailai Ilaitia Radravu not only possesses these qualities but also seems to be gifted with visions to read into local opinions. Thus in economic and social development his anticipation of future needs and goals enabled him to recommend and implement certain courses of action that the villagers later found were very apt and desirable. For example, Radravu foresaw that if the co-operative paid rebates (bonuses) to shareholders every year, little commercial development would have taken place. Radravu found that it was too early and too soon to pay bonuses out of the very meagre profits which the co-operative managed to get in the first couple of years. He decided to stop paying bonuses to shareholders and fed the profits back into the business until the co-operative could survive, so he advised the committee to withhold all rebates and pay out once every three year period. This was a

decision that won Radravu a lot of admiration from many of the people who now see the thriving spread-effects of the co-operative enterprise at Tovulailai, confirming the wisdom of the leader's decision. It also confirmed that leadership at Tovulailai was an effective mechanism for the diffusion of social change within the village organization.

In any village scheme Radravu was careful to see that rewards for efforts in the latter years of the co-operative, were not too long delayed, for example, he went ahead, in consultation with his committee, and built stages I and II of the Secondary School Hostel at Levuka, to accommodate the increasing passes in secondary school entrance so that no child would be denied the opportunity for further education. He takes time to explain painstakingly to the people the directions and purposes of his decisions and actions. He will call committee meetings repeatedly until his proposals were clear and accepted before moving into action. If government assistance is sought, Radravu himself will present the people's case to the appropriate authorities. Then he will return to the village to explain things to the people before operationalizing the scheme in question. In his role as the modern leader and the linking pin, Radravu always made sure that all the relevant information which he gathered in the course of his encounters with outside systems must be communicated back to the members within the village systems.

The main lesson to be learned from Tovulailai lies in the fruitful partnership between the modern leader, Radravu and the chief of the yavusa Ratu Waisale, the Rokotuibau. For without the chief's blessings, support and co-operation, Radravu's and also the villagers' objectives would be difficult to achieve. Ratu Waisale gave his shoulder to young Radravu by approving his plans and leadership for the village and allowing him certain discretion in the execution of his development plans which are seen to be beneficial to the majority of the village people. Channels of communication between the two leaders and the people they lead were always open for the smooth diffusion of change elements within the village network.

In his speech to his people during a fund-raising gathering where he was the guest of honour - the Rokotuibau, Ratu Waisale said:

"I am very proud that you have accorded me this honour today. In retrospect, I can say that we have been richly blessed by the Almighty because in everything we do, we have given him the pre-eminence not only in our thinking but also in services to him first of all and also to our fellow-men. We were successful in building our new school, our new health and community centres and now we are raising money for our new church. We will continue to be successful only if we unite and work together with those who are leading us. I am now getting old and I am giving our young leaders my full-pledged support in their endeavours to bring about social and future prosperity to the people of this village. I pray that when the time comes for me to leave you, I shall do so with pride in my heart ..... may God bless you all, thank you".

(Speech of the Rokotuibau taped by I. Radravu  
October 10th, 1978).

Although everyone in the village of Tovulailai knows that Radravu is the consultant and director of progress, their loyalty, veneration and respect was directed also to the Chief - the Rokotuibau the symbolic father of the yavusa and traditional head of the vanua and leader of the people. Thus, successful innovation in the village strengthened the confidence of the people in this very effective dual-leadership. Great credit is due to the chief for his main desire was to serve his people, and he had the wisdom to realize that full partnership with Radravu would be the best method of serving their needs. It must be borne in mind, however, that the respect for this dual-leadership would have been less effective, if such leadership had lacked the essential ingredient of economic enterprise.

Radravu on his part, deserves the highest praise not only for his clear visions but also for his unselfish motives when he decided to close down his own store in favour of the co-operative. Radravu has

himself stated that it is his desire to bring all the people in the village on to an equal footing, they must have equal chances and opportunities to satisfy most of their wants. His dedication and relentless devotion to serve his people are leadership qualities of the highest calibre. One admires his youth, despite his low educational background (primary level), his wisdom and clarity of thought, are so far untarnished in the public eye of the village people. Radravu is able to control and direct his people through the paths of progress. It can only be hoped that the stage of economic development which Tovulailai has reached today will be sustained and crystallized into the transformed way of life which the village people of Fiji are striving for. That is, to change the village subsistence way of life into a sustainable cash economy type.

The moral which emerges out of this analysis, reveals the necessity, providing the situation and circumstances are favourable, for a fruitful alliance between the traditional and modern leadership. The traditional leader must give his full support and co-operation to modern leaders who have proven themselves to be genuine and loyal in helping the advancement of their people. If Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna urged that good leadership was urgent in (1944), it is crucial today. Perhaps the alternative form of dual leadership needed is the amalgamation of the qualities of traditional and modern leadership in one person. Such a leader must be infused with a zeal for reform and social change. At the same time he must be convinced of his own ability not only to lead but also in the ability of his people to achieve new goals. The ability to discover the capacities and the attitudes of the people is an important quality in modern leadership.

As I have pointed out earlier Tovulailai has been fortunate in having a traditional leader who is very understanding and fully appreciative of economic development and social change. Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that all the heads of the mataqali follow the footsteps of the chief, they do not intervene or conflict with the young leaders either. Heads of mataqali are paying allegiance to their chief who has chosen everyone of them to be members of the committee which run all activities relating to the ka vakavanua (matters of the land) both internally and externally. They enjoy mutual trust and respect, and much consultation between them and the young leaders.

Radravu's idea of modern leadership is for everyone to avoid and eliminate all sources of conflict at all levels of village organizations. If anyone commits mistakes or fails to perform according to what is expected, let those mistakes or failures be lessons to be learned for improvement rather than to be used negatively for destructive purposes, causing unnecessary conflict and defection. The village peoples' motto is "united we stand divided we fall".

The turaga-ni-koro (mataqali Ramasi) is the leader of the committee of works relating to the village. The turaga-ni-koro selects one person from each of the other committees in the village. The committee of works meets once every eight weeks to work out a complete time-table for works needing to be done and well in harmony with the daily chart (day one to day seven) which I have indicated earlier. It is the duty of the turaga-ni-koro to call a village meeting whenever he thinks necessary and every day he announces the work that has been planned for that particular day. Most of the time the individual is left on his own to carry out the daily work as planned by the committee of works. The whole idea is to encourage the individual to become self-reliant and work on his own, the function of the turaga-ni-koro is to plan and guide and not to tow the individual by the nose as it was in the colonial days. The individual is quite at liberty to refute any guidance set out by the works committee, but if he did this would be the beginning of the downfall of the organization. Every one in the village is trying to avoid this happening, though challenge has come from outside as will be described later. A majority of the people in Tovulailai are making conscious efforts to prevent at all cost a breakdown in the present channels of communication.

#### The Dominance of Ilaitia Radravu in the Mechanism of Social Change at Tovulailai

I intend to discuss in the last part of this section the history of economic development and the modern leadership which are associated with it, paying special attention to the prominent role of modern leadership shown by Ilaitia Radravu in the mechanism of change. The village store which was established January, 1952, with a capital of



£4,000 (four thousand pounds) during the Baker Scheme, was managed by Ilaitia's own father, Mosese Radravu right throughout the five year period of the scheme. Also the storekeeper Mr Osea Rabonu was likewise retained throughout the same period. The assistant manager of the scheme, Ananaiasa Naucukidi<sup>2</sup>, also served with Baker throughout the duration of that five year period. As I have stated earlier, it is of great interest that the children of these three men (1) Mosese Radravu (2) Osea Rabonu and (3) Ananaiasa Naucukidi emerged as modern leaders of the village today.

As regards the sons of Radravu his eldest son, Apisai is now the captain of the boat 'Adi Talei', the middle son Ilaitia, is the chief consultant and advisor to the whole development programme of the village. Ilaitia is also the mata (island representative) to the Lomaiviti Provincial Council since he was first elected in 1967 and has never been defeated since. Radravu's youngest son is Isoa who is now the secretary/accountant for the village co-operative. Rabonu's eldest son Eremasi is presently the Chairman of the village co-operative committee and is in charge of the outboard motor and boat. The younger son, Inoke, is the market stalls manager at Suva Market, and acts as middleman for the village co-operative. The middle son Samuela Gaulala is working in Suva. With regards to Naucukidi's sons, the older of the three sons is Sailasa (deceased) who attended the once exclusive Queen Victoria School. The middle son Sevanaia is the invoice/orders clerk at the Tabusoro Co-operative in Tovulailai and the youngest brother Jone Masi is the full time shipping clerk permanently residing in Suva. Just a point of interest Naucukidi's cousin is Samuela, chief engineer of the 'Adi Talei'.

2. Incidentally, both Osea and Ananaiasa originally came from the island of Gau, married Tovulailai girls and have stayed at the village ever since, with their children. Both Ananaiasa and Osea came from the village of Sawaieke, the capital village of the island of Gau. They both had fairly good educational backgrounds and they imparted the value of education to their respective children. Rabonu, spent most of his young days teaching at primary school and Ananaiasa was an ex-buli Nairai. Their respective statuses and influences have had this carry-over effect to their children who have emerged to assume positions of responsibilities today as shown in Table 10.3.



Baker appears to have noticed quite early the leadership potential in the young Ilaitia Radravu and he did everything possible to mould and nurture this young man. When Baker was taken ill in 1957, he called on Ilaitia to act as manager of the Nairai Housing Scheme during his absence. Ilaitia was the acting manager for almost one year right up to Baker's death in 1958. The Tikina Council then elected the buli of Nairai as the new manager of the scheme when Baker died.

When the Baker Housing Scheme officially ended in December, 1956, Baker became fully engaged in the Nairai Housing Scheme of which he was manager. Tovulailai joined the Nairai Housing Scheme in 1957 on the advice of Baker. When the buli Ilaijia Banuve, took over the position of manager it was found that family favouritism and corruption became evident in the running of the Nairai Scheme, as explained in chapter 3. The Tikina Council reached a stage when they could no longer tolerate the level of corruption under the buli's management of the scheme, so they sacked him in 1965, Ilaitia Radravu was elected as the new manager, a position which he occupied right up to the completion of the scheme in 1975. By early 1976, Radravu had already established another housing scheme involving only four villages, with himself as the managing director of the Scheme which set out to build concrete block houses. (this also has been fully explained in the previous section). One of the villages, Lawaki, was not included because they were busy building their church, decided not to join.

When the young Ilaitia Radravu was removed from the position of acting manager of the Nairai Housing Scheme at the death of Baker in 1958, he diverted his interests to other economic activities for the development of the village. During the sugar cane harvesting season of 1959, Radravu led a working party of eight young men, two from each mataqali, to take up cane-harvesting contracts right through its ten month season. They pooled part of their wages towards the Church Fund which was the sole purpose of their going. They managed to raise \$2,400 (dollars) (£1,200 pounds) within that ten month period. This money was used to provide seating for the church and the rest of the money was used to concrete the entire floor of the church building. Radravu figured out that the cane-harvesting was not as worthwhile as he initially thought. The manpower used and the length of time spent

at the canefield was not proportional to the total cash earned. From that time on, he discouraged any further cane harvesting work-party from leaving the village.

During Ilaitia Radravu's absence from the village with the cane-harvesting team, his father Mosese was removed from the village store management because of illness and was never replaced, so the store-keeper Osea Rabonu was the only person left from the group which Baker selected. The result of this reshuffling was disastrous, the business went down and when Ilaitia arrived, the village store was on the verge of becoming bankrupt. Baker died and there was no one able to give the people advice. Radravu tried his best to revive the village store, it was in vain, he was fighting a losing battle, the business could not be revived, the people left too many unpaid debts.

A village meeting was called early in January 1961, to decide the future of the village store. It was unanimously agreed to close down the store after exactly ten years of running (1951-61). All the goods which were left were divided equally amongst the three largest mataqali, so that they could each run their own store if they so wished, and the members of smaller mataqali could join any group of their choice. As a result of this collapse, three different stores came into existence in 1961, one store for each mataqali Sauturaga, Sauni and Ramasi respectively.

By the end of 1963, the three stores mentioned above suffered the same fate as the original village store, they all became bankrupt. Excessive unpaid debts appeared to be the common fault. However, only a few months later, in February 1964, three different individuals started their own separate businesses. These were Ilaitia Radravu of mataqali Sauturaga, Jone and Rabonu both of mataqali Ramasi. But the epidemic of business collapse was still claiming victims. By 1966, both Jone's and Rabonu's stores went bankrupt leaving Radravu store as the only survivor and it was thriving well because it was absorbing all the trade from the village. Radravu store survived because he did not allow people to purchase goods on credit, it was strictly on cash. Radravu who had learned much from Baker, kept his accounts in order and stocked up only goods which were on demand like sugar, soap, kerosene, flour and tinned foods. Only a year later, 1967, the co-operative was

first introduced by the government into Tovulailai as part of the rural development policy. The co-operative could not get established straight away at Tovulailai because Radravu's store was thriving and being heavily patronized by most of the villagers. Also, because of the nasty, previous experiences of business collapse, it was too much of a risk to run the co-operative side by side with the Radravu store. People were no longer sure how many would be still keen to open up yet another village store. After only two years they had seen the collapse of an earlier one. Several meetings were called to discuss the co-operative proposal. But it was through Radravu's own goodwill and concern for his people, that he decided to close down his own shop in 1967 and make way for a co-operative to be established. Radravu has never regretted that decision and the people will be always thankful for his wisdom and unselfish courage. The latent functions<sup>3</sup> of Radravu's decision have now come into fruition not only benefiting Radravu personally but also the whole village community as outlined in detail in chapter four. Radravu himself and his family have received their fair share not only economically but socially as well. The Radravu's family have procured for themselves prominent leadership positions which are accompanied by both pecuniary and social status rewards, whether Ilaitia had foreseen all these benefits or not is arguable, but one thing is certain, that is, the shrewd manner in which he plays all his trump cards seems to hit the jackpot everytime.

Ilaitia Radravu gave three reasons why he closed down his store in favour of the co-operative:-

- (1) Firstly, he had been deeply concerned about the welfare of his people through the previous 15 years as I have been discussing in this paper, starting from the Baker Housing Scheme in 1951. People always looked up to him as their new leader and if suddenly he had turned his back on them the people would have found it hard to forgive him. So his sincere love for the people superseded his own individualistic motives.

3. This term is used in the Mertonian sense to mean the unforeseen consequences of one's actions or decisions - as in Radravu's case just explained above. (Bredemeier and Stephenson, 1962:45-6).

- (2) Secondly, he is the leader of the Church and head parishoner embracing two villages (Tovulailai and Lawaki). It would be contrary to Christian principles for someone to preach the bond of the love of God on Sunday and live the life of a selfish rich man six days of the week. So, his Christian principles must be allowed to prevail.
- (3) Thirdly, as I have pointed out earlier, his decision reflected the close-knit kinship network relationships at Tovulailai. Radravu wanted all his kin to be given equal chances and opportunities in the acquisition of the community's resources and social mobility. All these three principles became the chief cornerstones of Radravu's leadership and added to the charismatic influence which he had established in the previous one and half decades.

Hence, as soon as the move to start a co-operative store was approved by the village meeting, the resilient young Radravu, as their leader, set out to work immediately and started collecting a £2 share from each of the 24 households in the village. Forty eight pounds £48 (\$96) dollars were collected as an establishment fund for the proposed co-operative store. It was also decided that all the dried copra in the village during the rest of that year should be pooled together to supplement the share capital of forty eight pounds. The money obtained from the sale of the first lot of dried copra was used to purchase the first lot of consumer goods for the new co-operative. A permanent co-operative committee was set up and the village store was once again underway. It was registered in 1969, at Suva, as the "TABUSORO CO-OPERATIVE LTD (Eastern Divieion)". "Tabusoro" means, 'we will never surrender'. Isoa Radravu was elected as the secretary/accountant in 1971, and in the same year he attended a five-month intensive course at Suva for co-operative management and book-keeping. Within a short period shareholders were given their first bonus.

With shrewdness, deligence and business experience, Radravu noticed that giving bonuses too soon depleted the capital of the co-operative. Hence, in his role as a leader, he had to explain his strageties to the people, he called a village meeting straight away.

and advised the people that from then on, bonuses will not be due until the end of a three year period (1969-71), the people agreed. During that first three year period the co-operative business was booming and pulling in all the resources not only from within the village but also from outside it. In 1972, when the bonuses were to be paid out, Radravu called a meeting of the executive committee of the co-operative and advised them to pay out only half of the total bonus due to each shareholder, the other half was to be retained by the co-operative as additional shares for the members concerned. This proposal was put through a village meeting and the people once again agreed with another wise decision of their leader, Radravu who was always trying to translate his economic visions to reality. Through Radravu's type of leadership the mechanism of change to diffuse information and the elements of change within the village system functions quite effectively and he is achieving results.

This was the turning point of success, the co-operative was thriving better than ever before. By 1973 a new concrete building was erected to house the co-operative store at a cost of \$3,000 which was paid in cash. The new building (see Figure 4.2) has got a large retail section, a bulk storage section and a fully furnished office. Nearly all the stores from other villages buy their supplies from and sell their produce to the Tovulailai bulk-store instead of going all the way to Suva. This saves them the fare and freight charges. Thus the co-operative at Tovulailai is giving very helpful services to members of the island community as a whole and at the same time enhancing its own profit. This is exactly what Radravu had planned, to satisfy the needs of the people in the best possible way.

It was through the vision and advise of Ilaitia Radravu that the village people agreed to purchase a fifteen ton boat "ADI TALEI" in 1978, at the total cost of \$20,000. The manpower to run the boat was provided entirely by the village, as I have indicated earlier. The eldest of the Radravu brothers, Apisai, was appointed as the captain of the boat. Within the first financial year, the boat had already earned the phenomenal amount of \$42,000 gross (see Appendix A2). A more detailed explanation of the boat has been given in chapter 4 which dealt with the role and benefits of the co-operative.



When their bulk store had become a booming success, Radravu called the committee together and put a proposal to them, that it would be an excellent idea to build a petrol filling station so that they could buy petrol in bulk to supply the whole island. This proposal was approved by the co-operative committee in 1976. A building was erected on the seawall area to provide these services which have helped the island people very much indeed. Most of the people in Nairai are using outboard motors to power their little punts or launches. In addition, most of the households are using primus stoves or cookers fuelled by kerosene. Furthermore, the use of benzine lights and irons are quite common. This means that the demand for kerosene and benzine is quite high not only in Tovulailai, with its big boat, but right through the island as a whole.

Whatever Ilaitia Radravu is doing for the development of Tovulailai, his thinking is embracing his services to the island community of which he is the mata. By the same token, all his actions and ideas are strengthening his position and substantially enhancing his own political influence and security. One cannot help but admire his shrewd political acumen and manipulation in using his prominence at Tovulailai as the tool for his political manouvering, and at the same time promoting the centrality of his leadership position in the channel of communication within the village network. This interpretation of Ilaitia's ulterior motives is expressed here not with bitter intention but it emerged only as a result of very skilled observations. As I have said earlier, Radravu is shrewd in the way he plays his trump cards, furthermore he has placed the jokers in the three key institutions which form the basis of Fijian society i.e. the vanua (the land) the lotu (the church) and the matanitu (the government). Radravu occupies the prominent positions in almost everyone of them, so he has got everything at his finger tips so to speak. He is the head of the church at his village, he is the mata (representative) for the whole island and the chief, Rokotuibau, has always given him the 'green light' to execute the affairs of development of his village, so Radravu is more or less taking full charge of the whole operation, he is the commander in chief. However, his achievements to date, definitely out weigh quite substantially any negative motives which one may associate with the execution of his responsibilities. The main thing is that,



he is benefiting most of the people most of the time. His achievements are very much appreciated and beneficial to the majority of the people, if this was not the case, the people would have made their feelings known by voting him out of office. This is, of course, not to deny the existence of pressure groups who do not be siding with him as it was shown in the recent comotion regarding the building of their new church.

Hence, Radravu's leadership at Tovulailai is undisputed at present, but his leadership exists only in so far as he exerts influence upon the members of the village. The leadership influence of Radravu will be determined to a large degree by the total leadership structure of the village organization and his effectiveness in the mechanism of social change. Modern leadership is therefore defined, as the process of influencing the activities of the village community in its task of goal-setting and goal-achievement in their striving for modernity.

Radravu's reputation and influence have gathered momentum year after year. He made a great success of the Nairai scheme and he is starting another one. As a result he has established a very high reputation for himself and his village of Tovulailai. In 1968, when the Fijian Government abolished the buli system, the Nairai Island Council elected Radravu as their sole mata (representative) to the Lomaiviti Provincial Council. Radravu has now held this post for twelve years. When Ilaitia Radravu became the mata in 1968, he wasted no time in transferring the seat of the tikina from Natauloa village to his village at Tovulailai. He pulled out all the school children in his village and started a new school within a mile of Tovulailai. He shifted the health nurse to his village and negotiated with the government to build in 1974 a large health centre on a hilltop just above Tovulailai. Through his effort, the government has now erected a wooden building in Tovulailai for the Post and Telegraph Services with a full time paid civil servant to operate it. He has also worked on the development of the co-operative society.

# Leadership Conflict and Witchcraft, Posing a Threat to the Effectiveness of the Mechanism of Social Change in Tovulailai

Given the high degree of concentration of leadership and power which has taken place in Tovulailai over the last 30 years it is not surprising that a certain amount of conflict as also been created. That superstition and witchcraft are very effective obstacles to economic development has been noted by others. Watters (1969) observed at Nalotawa village that a fairly large piece of fertile land was declared by the villagers as "sacred and tabooed" as the vu (ancestral gods) lived there and therefore it could not be utilized for agriculture. As a result no one in the village dared plant cash crops on that land. At Tovulailai (1979) I also found that a good area of land suitable for planting voivoi was left uncultivated and I was given to understand that this was the hallowed of the vu and should be left untouched; superstitious beliefs prevailed over economics.

Belief in witchcraft is still very common amongst Fijian people. Witchcraft is regarded as a practice in which evil sprits and ancestral gods vu, are worshipped and venerated by indolent and jealous people to harm and possibly cause death to their enemies who are usually the successful people in the village. The reasons why people become so jealous and motivate the practitioners to pass "spells" on people is perhaps best explained by the concept of "limited good" (Foster 1962:65-7).

Foster points out that the conception of "the limited good" amongst the particular Mexican tribe he studied, is a major proponent of the cultural obstacles of development, he writes:-

"In Tzintzumtzan and by extension other peasant communities, I believe that a great deal of behaviour can best be explained if it is viewed as a function of the assumption that almost all good things in life, material and otherwise, exist in limited and unexpandable qualities. If the most expression of goods such as wealth, friendship, love, masculinity and power exist in finite constant quantities, it logically follows that someone's improvement with respect of these forms can only be at the expense of others. This view that individual

improvement can only be at the cost  
 of that of others seems to me to be  
 the key understanding why the  
 Tzintzuntzanos behave as they do.  
 It also explains why they often seem  
 so conservative in their views,  
 opportunities a changing world  
 increasingly offers them".

(Foster, 1967:12 quoted from Long 1977:41-7).

The Fijians too have their version of the "limited good" which is not very different from the conception of the Tzintzuntzanos. Thus, the Fijians employ black magic to nullify or eliminate altogether the possibilities of anyone striving to achieve too much of that limited good - whether it will be wealth, power, education or status, black magic is used as a very effective force over those who surrender and succumb to that type of superstitious belief.

Witchcraft at Tovulailai serves exactly the same purpose. The death of Sailasa Naucukidi has already been described. He was educated at the exclusive Queen Victoria School and was eliminated just before he completed his education which could have brought fame, wealth and status to his family. An old man called Peni was the suspected agent who worked the black magic on Sailasa. Peni was very jealous about Sailasa because Peni's children did not make it at school.

Another case at Tovulailai was about Acura who used to work in Suva then retired to live in the village. He brought his pension money with him and started off as an independent farmer (galala) on his matagali land where he lived, about 3 miles from Tovulailai. He built a large wooden house and started grazing livestock and planting cash crops like yaqona and voivoi. But, the head of his matagali (Ramasi) became very jealous of the economic success of this man. There was no other way of arresting Acura's economic success but to work black magic on him. Acura, suddenly was taken ill and his economic efforts came to a halt. He tried several times to resume farming but he was too weak to continue, so he pulled down his house and shifted to Tovulailai, quitting his farm. Heated arguments used to take place between Acura and two prominent members of the village whom he accused as partners in putting black magic on him. These two prominent villagers are none other

than the head of his mataqali (Ramasi) and the chief of the village who were suspected to be very strong partners in this witchcraft. Acura was admitted to Suva Hospital in May, 1980.

Ilaitia Radravu's life has been threatened by witchcraft, this was described to me by Eroni, Radravu's son. A nasty row arose at Tovulailai about June, 1980, regarding the proposed building of the new church. Radravu had already negotiated this matter with the Rural Development Engineering Unit of the Engineering Unit of the Royal Fiji Military Forces. But before Radravu finalised all his arrangements with the Army Corps, a different group of people in the village led by the shipping clerk Jone Masi Naucukidi had already made some different arrangements with Luke, a private builder from Rewa. This particular builder has got a fairly good reputation for building churches in other parts of Fiji. Naucukidi's surreptitious activities sparked off the row and split the village into two factions on this church building issue. It was also the first time Radravu became aware that he had a few enemies in the village.

Naucukidi secretly approached the builder, Luke and worked behind Radravu's back trying to beat Radravu in his game. Naucukidi arranged for a free passage to Nairai and sent this builder over to inspect the proposed site for the church and he was requested by this breakaway group to submit his plans and quotes as soon as possible. Luke, the builder, did exactly as he was asked without being aware of the under-handed movement.

Radravu was completely taken by surprise when one day Naucukidi handed him the proposed plans and quoted cost of their proposed church. Undoubtedly Radravu had every reason to be infuriated because what Naucukidi had done was not his method of leadership, i.e. to carry out certain decisions without consulting his elders and members of the village community as he always did. The channel of communication had been interrupted by Radravu's enemies, this had also prevented the smooth flow of the transmission of information within the village network.

Only after 2 months from the time this row ensued, Radravu was taken seriously ill and was admitted to Levuka Public Hospital in

August. Two brothers, Tevita and Bale (sons of Peni who did black magic on Sailasa) were suspected culprits who worked spells on Radravu. These two brothers are the staunch supporters of Naucukidi and his undermining movement. The two brothers own the land on which the village is built and also want the church to be built on their land. But Radravu wanted to shift the church onto more neutral ground where the village land meets the newly acquired Crown Land. Radravu's idea is to allow the Civil Servants, residing near the village, to become a part of the community and he feels that the church would provide an excellent meeting ground for this purpose.

I understand from Eroni that when Radravu was admitted to hospital the people of Tovulailai who support Radravu never ceased to conduct special church services and offered prayers for Radravu's recovery. Fortunately the prayers were very effective and Radravu recovered from that situation. Eroni, his son, commented that he had obviously lost the zest and enthusiasm which characterized his leadership. Radravu is still recuperating and it is hoped that he will eventually regain full health in due course.

It was very obvious to the people of Tovulailai that Radravu's illness created great disruption in Tovulailai. Also, the whole island community felt the absence of the mata from their midst, because Radravu had been like a father to them. Most people know how much Radravu is worth. He is more or less indispensable for he has been playing this prominent role right through the development of his village for the last 25 years. If Radravu relinquishes his leadership or is removed by an untimely death, Tovulailai's whole development will also come to a halt and it will be an unfathomable loss to the island community of Nairai as well.

What almost happened at Tovulailai recently had already happened in one of the other villages in Nairai. The village of Waitoga just over the hills from Tovulailai had a lucrative business (village store) in 1953-56, running side by side with a successful shipping venture, somewhat similar to what Tovulailai is doing to day except in the latter's case it is more professionally organized. However, Waitoga was reaping substantial profits and started diversifying into housing



schemes. Unfortunately, through jealousy of leadership, friction started and their thriving business just dwindled away and finally resulted in the death of their leader, Rusiate Rabakoko, through witchcraft.

Over the hills from Tovulailai is the village of Vutuna about four miles along the coast from Waitoga discussed in (iii). A very young, successful man lived in Vutuna by the name of Panapasa Rasasake, he worked very hard with his wife Sainimilika and they had a store from 1959 until his death in October 1979. This shop has the longest history of survival in the whole of Nairai, it covered a period of 20 years without being closed once. Panapasa's store was thriving and he started grazing livestock. At one stage he had 7 cattle 13 pigs and 25 goats. He also had two small boats powered by outboard motors. He built a proper wooden building with a concrete floor and an iron roof for his shop. He would hire people to work for him on a permanent basis. He had a fully furnished, two bedroom, wooden house with adjoining dining area and kitchen. He extended the waterpipes right into his kitchen sink just like they have in the towns. If all the people in Nairai island were ranked at that time in terms of wealth and personal success, very few or probably none would rival Panapasa for the highest positions.

Panapasa had been nominated several times to rival Ilaitia Radravu for the position of mata. He was emerging as the new leader of his village but unfortunately his personal success created much hatred within the village. The witchcraft doctors would cause evil spirits to enter Panapasa's livestock so that they wandered into deep water and drowned. If the witchcraft was too slow to take effect, the members of the witchcraft doctor's family would physically attack the livestock themselves, this resulted in repeated court cases. At one stage one of the witchcraft doctor's sons, Samuela, attempted to murder Panapasa in broad day light, this also ended up in a court case at Suva. A member of this jealous family once cut loose the anchor of one of Panapasa's boats which drifted into the ocean and was lost. They did everything possible to eliminate Panapasa from the scene. Witchcraft is posing a real threat to the process of social change within the villages because most people have been displaced from their traditional status by the emerging new leaders who are achieving their statuses through education and possession of cash.



All Panapasa's economic success finally came to an end last October (1979) when his untimely death at the age of 40, occurred. He was 'accidentally' drowned only 25 metres from the Suva wharf on a fine Tuesday morning through the evil work of witchcraft. Panapasa had figured quite prominently in the development of his village. He was still organizing the building of his village's new church when his tragic death occurred. Everything about the church building has since come to a halt. One whole year has now elapsed and no one in the village has got the courage to pick up where Panapasa left off because they fear witchcraft might also happen to them. How can the Fijians develop if this thing is allowed to happen?

This tends to confirm what Belshaw found in Melanesia. In comparing two communities of the Massim in South Eastern Papua, Belshaw found certain correlations between the stage of economic development and social change that are very similar to correlations existing in Fijian communities. Belshaw says that:

"....the better educated and more ambitious of the two Communities is also the less secure and the more torn by fear of sorcery and social malaise...."

(Belshaw 1955:47)

Witchcraft must be recognized by the Fijian authorities and planners, as a very real negative social force to be reckoned with in village economic development. What would be the use of devising the most brilliant economic development policy which would work at the village level if these negative evil forces are present in that situation to combat and ruin it? Surely, the government must be concerned to do something about this very real obstacle to development and to the effectiveness of new type of leadership which is necessary for development as a mechanism for social change.

#### The Modernized Village Organization, Promoting the Efficacy of the Mechanism of Change

In order to work and achieve the newly aspired goals and meet their newly acquired and extended needs, the people of Tovulailai have

responded positively and have re-organized themselves into committees and task forces, to cater for the incoming changes and suit their present trend of development and to enable them to adjust and re-adjust as they develop economically in the village social milieu and also adapt themselves as they come into contact with the world at large. Table 5.1 shows the names of the people who have been allocated responsibilities under the committee system. I have also indicated the names of their mataqali to show the distribution of economic returns within the new organizational framework. The other major reason for identifying the mataqali is because the people of Tovulailai identify themselves very strongly with the mataqali, not only as the land-owning units but in most of their activities, for example, they have one week each month for intra-mataqali prayer meetings, also hold inter-mataqali choir competitions and in any fund-raising each mataqali is allocated certain amount of money to raise toward the proposed target total required for certain village project including church collection every Sunday. More important, the co-operative membership is not treated only on the basis of the individual shareholder but always in the light of the shareholder's mataqali membership. To this effect, I have decided to identify the social location of the individual in terms of mataqali membership and also his household when and where this is appropriate. (see figure 5.1).

In order to permit a smooth flow of information and ensure the effective implementation of planned strategies, Radravu had established various work committee to each of which he had allocated appropriate responsibilities which facilitated the co-ordination of all activities of the members within the village organization. Table 5.1 shows names of the leaders of each committee.

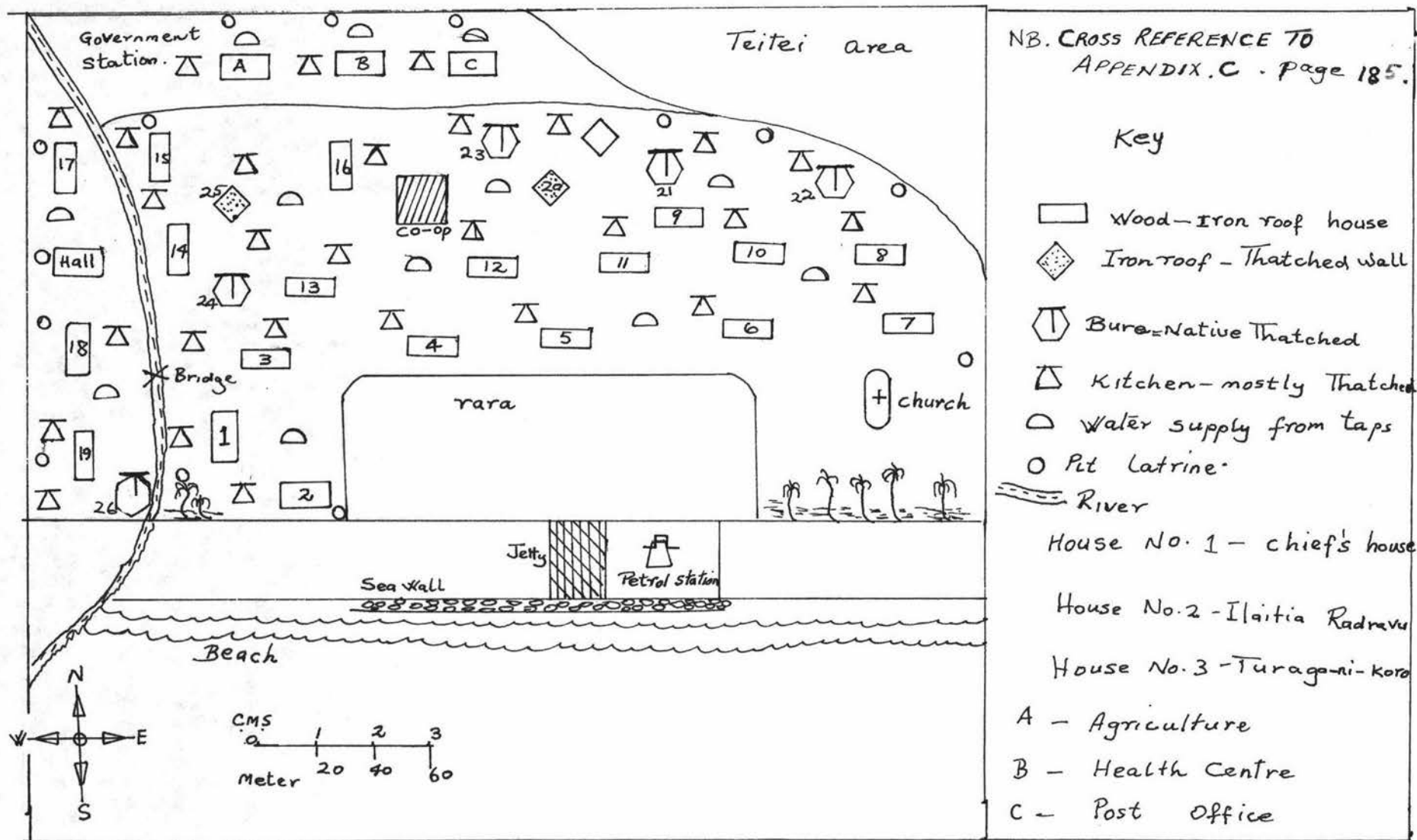


FIGURE 5.1: Shows a sketch of Tovulalalai village - houses.

TABLE 5.1: Heads of the various committees in Tovulailai, 1979.

Names	Mataqali	Offices
Ilaitia Radravu	Sauturaga	Overseer/modern leader
Chief Ratu Waisale	Naivini	Rokotuibau/vanua committee
Josateki Labadai	Sauni	Deacon/church committee
Isoa Radravu	Sauturaga	Secretary of co-operative
Eremasi Rabonu	Ramasi	Chairman co-operative
Mrs Luisa Radravu	Sauturaga	Women's interests committee
Vilimone Vulaono	Ramasi	<u>Turaga-ni-koro</u> - work committee

Source - Ilaitia Radravu

#### Allocation of Human Resources and Wealth within the Modernized Village Organizations in Tovulailai

Table 5.2 below shows names of those manning the boat "Adi Talei". The table shows their mataqali, position and also their respective wages. The main idea of indicating their wages is to identify the distribution of wealth not only per household but also per mataqali. Furthermore, it will give an indication of how many people are actually absorbed into permanent employment at the village co-operative.

TABLE 5.2: Manager and crew of 'Adi Talei, 1980

Names	Offices	Mataqali	Salaries and wages earned
Ilaitia Radravu	Manager	Sauturaga	Free passages anywhere
Apisai Radravu	Captain	Sauturaga	\$180.00 per month
Manueli Tokabobo	Engineer	Sauni	\$102.46 per month
Setariki Rokoyago	Bossun	Ramasi	\$68.74 per month
Asaeli Saravaki	Cook	Naivini	\$68.74 per month
Timoci Radravu	Crew	Sauturaga	\$56.70 per month
Pita Tuinaceva	Crew	Ramasi	\$56.70 per month
Saimone Radravu	Crew	Sauturaga	\$56.70 per month
Jone Naucukidi	Office/ Clerk	Sauni	\$264.35 per month

Similarly, the manpower running the Tabusoro Co-operative Store are listed in Table 5.3 below. Their respective positions, mataqali and salaries are also identified for the same reasons explained earlier. A fuller interpretation is given below.

TABLE 5.3: Names, mataqali, salaries and wages of officers manning the co-operative

Names	Offices	Mataqali	Salaries and wages
Ilaitia Radravu	Chief advisor/ consultant to the operation of the Tabusoro Co- operative	Sauturaga	
Isoa Radravu	Secretary/ accountant banking	Sauturaga	\$60.00 per month
Sevanaia Naucukidi	Invoice/orders	Sauni	\$50.00 per month
Ratu Inosi Ratete	Bulk-store services	Naivini	\$40.00 per month
Masi Veretariki	Retail sale services	Ramasi	\$40.00 per month
Eremasi Rabonu	Chairman/out- board motor- boat	Ramasi	\$41.00 per month
Samuela Leleavono	Copra dryer	Sauni	\$35.00 per month
Mesake Rokoyago	Co-operative plantation	Ramasi	\$20.00 per month
Inoke Rabonu	Market stalls Suva	Sauni	\$189.00 per month

One of the reasons for identifying the individual's mataqali is to facilitate the assessment of the distributions of manpower resources, especially in places of responsibility and leadership.. For example, Ilaitia Radravu from mataqali Sauturaga, which is the

the mataqali next in rank to the chief, clearly shows up as prominent leader in his village. Ilaitia also stands out as the leader of the church in the village and in the island as a whole. In the island of Nairai there is only one ordained Methodist Minister, talatala, and two parishoners, Ilaitia is one of them. Furthermore, when we trace the sons of the three men whom I have indicated earlier, i.e. Naucukidi, Radravu and Rabonu, we can observe straight away that they are placed in prominent leadership positions. For example, the eldest son of Mosese Radravu is Apisai who is now the captain of the boat and receives the highest salary among those employed by the Tabusoro enterprise. Ilaitia is the captain's brother. The youngest of the Radravu brothers is Isoa who is the Secretary/Accountant for the co-operative store and shipping.

The coming into prominence of these three brothers stems directly from their father, Mosese Radravu who was appointed by Baker as the village store manager during the housing scheme period. Mosese was also the parishoner during his time. He went to the army and attained the rank of corporal. I gathered from his wife that Mosese used to teach as unlicensed teacher at the primary junior classes. It appears that Mosese Radravu must have imparted to his children certain attributes of his leadership qualities. Furthermore, the following, faith and trust which the people had for him are now extended to his three sons. This is of course, reinforced by the standard of education which these boys have achieved themselves. Both Apisai and Isoa attended high schools and later undertook professional courses for their respective line of work. Ilaitia also did some bible training and now being the mata, attends regular seminars, short courses in administration and leadership. Apisai was already admitted for training in the Fiji Police Force, unfortunately he contracted tuberculosis and was released without completing the course, he went back to the village after receiving treatment from the hospital. Isoa was just in the middle of his final year at Secondary School to sit for school certificate examination so that he could apply to the Teachers' Training College at Nasinu, unfortunately his father died and his mother could not afford to keep him at school.



Distribution of wealth through paid labour in Tovulailai is one of the obvious indications of the degree of success of socio-economic change which has taken place there. It has also provided further evidence of the benefits of the operations of the co-operative society and the pattern of leadership which has emerged in Tovulailai. The second interesting point which has arisen out of the modified organizations of the village, is the emergence of permanent paid labour. It is noteworthy, however, that modern organizations and the pattern of paid labour may be the result of similar forces of socio-economic change which are presently taking place at Tovulailai. Within the first ten years of operation the co-operative alone has permanently employed about seventeen people, representing 17 different households, either on a part-time or a full-time wages. This means that, excluding the two who reside permanently in Suva, 15 (57.6 per cent) of the 26 households at Tovulailai are receiving a regular source of income through the co-operative.

By taking into consideration the number employed in each mataqali we note that the smallest, mataqali Naivini, with the population of 25 people, has two employed and they earned between them \$1,304.88 per annum (see Table 5.4). Of the second smallest mataqali Sauturaga, with a population of 49 people, the co-operative employed four persons who earned together \$4,040.84 on average. Of Sauni, the second largest mataqali with 55 people five persons are on the pay roll at the co-operative. The combined earnings of the five people amounts to \$7,640.52 on average and finally the co-operative employed six people from the most populous mataqali Ramasi which has 86 people. They earned only \$2,717.72 per annum. How can one interpret these distributions of wealth and population?

From the facts stated above, one can observe that the number of people employed from each mataqali on wages by the co-operative is proportional to their respective population. But, when one considers the distributions of money (wages), it does not correspond to the proportion of the number employed or to the population in the mataqali but it is distributed according to modern criteria of skills.

For example, Mataqali Sauni is not the largest mataqali but earns \$7,640.52 almost three times the amount earned by Mataqali Ramasi, the largest mataqali and has the greatest number employed. The main reason is that Sauni mataqali had three skilled people employed, the chief engineer of the boat, the chief shipping clerk at Suva and the manager of the market stalls at Suva market. The same thing is true for Mataqali Sauturaga which earns the second highest amount of money because two skilled men were hired, that is the captain of the boat and the secretary/accountant of the co-operative. The uneven distribution of skilled manpower in the village is due to a combination of several factors quite apart from the educational attainment of the people concerned. For example, one of the major factors is their physical location: two of the three men from Mataqali Sauni lived permanently in Suva and so the wages they receive are commensurate with the minimum weekly wages there.

Table 5.4 below shows the summary of human and wealth (cash) distributions in relation to employment at the village co-operative. An average earning of \$923.76 per employee, in fact not much different from what has been computed as the average household income shown in table 3.2, in chapter three. These 17 people who are employed by the co-operative also represent 17 different households. Tovulailai has a per capita income of \$101.00. This means that, according to figures shown in table 5.4, i.e. about \$73.04 or 72.3 per cent of that per capita income is earned through salary and wages and only 27.7 per cent is earned through other sources of income. This confirms the assumption which I have made, that is, if the co-operative collapses the whole development at Tovulailai will retreat back to a relatively low standard of living as compared to where they are at present.

TABLE 5.4: Shows the distribution of wealth and human resources in relation to employment at the  
Tabusoro Co-operative 1979

Name of <u>mataqali</u>	Population of <u>mataqali</u>	Number employed at the co-operative	Average total earned per <u>mataqali</u>	Earning per employee	Earning per head of population
Naivini	25	2	\$1304.88	652.44 -	52.19
Sauturaga	49	4 (2 skilled)	4040.84	1010.21 -	82.46
Sauni	55	5 (3 skilled)	7640.52	1528.10 -	138.91
Ramasi	86	6	2717.72	452.95 -	31.60
	<u>215</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>\$15,703.96</u>	<u>923.76</u>	<u>73.04</u>

The people of Tovulailai are not only getting organized, they have also become time conscious like some of the people in towns. They have drawn up a fairly flexible work-guide so that the people are not completely in a state of anomie<sup>4</sup>. The days of the week are charted as day one to day seven. The major tasks to be undertaken on each particular day are organized by the appropriate committee. The day-chart is shown below:

1. MONDAYS (DAY ONE) - CO-OPERATIVE - (Sogosoqo-ni-veivoli)

Any work that is required by the Co-operative Committee to be done will be done on Mondays. All shareholders are required to be present and participate. This may involve the bagging of copra ready for shipment or the cleaning up of the teitei belonging to the co-operative.

2. TUESDAYS (DAY TWO) - SCHOOL - (Koro-ni-vuli)

The School Committee is responsible for all the work required for the school and every Tuesday is allocated to them. That is, if there is anything to be done at the school for the school in general or for any of the teachers shall be done on day two. This may involve cleaning the school compound or painting one of the school buildings or helping the teachers to plant their teitei.

3. WEDNESDAYS (DAY THREE) - VILLAGE WORK - (Cakacaka-ni-koro)

The turaga-ni-koro is the chairman of village works and his committee is responsible for the works to be done on day three. The cleaning up of the village recreation grounds, digging up drains or cleaning up the water sources.

4. Anomie is used here in the Durkheimian sense - meaning de-regulation or lawlessness, being less disciplined, precisely when they need more disciplining. (Coser et al, 1969:523-33).

4. THURSDAYS (DAY FOUR) - GARDENS (Teitei)

Day four is for the household to attend to their gardens. It is very lively and comforting indeed to see so many people attending their gardens on the same day. Not only the fact that they reinforce each other's behaviour, they also provide company for each other, because the teitei are only feet apart in many cases. They joke to each other and laugh as they work. Sometimes two or three households will get together and cook cassava and dalo in the lovo (earthen-oven) and the wives will bring cooked rourou (taro leaves boiled in coconut juice) or curried corned beef and have a family picnic in the teitei areas - this adds to the flavour of village existence.

5. FRIDAYS (DAY FIVE) - CASH - (Vakaqara-i-lavo)

Day five is allocated to economic activities which directly involve cash. This would include the harvesting of yagona, the gathering of coconuts or the treatment of voivoi. The whole household is involved in all these activities.

6. SATURDAYS (DAY SIX) - GARDENS/FISHING - Teitei/Qoli, Siwa.

Saturday is a day that Fijians always set aside to prepare all the foods they need for Sunday which is a complete day of rest. They usually spend this day in their gardens gathering the best foods for Sunday. They may go fishing or hunting for food.

7. SUNDAYS (DAY SEVEN) - CHURCH ACTIVITIES - (Lotu)

Sunday is a very special day to the Fijians - it is a complete day of rest and the whole day is used for church activities. The people eat their best meals of the week and put on their Sunday best clothes. It is a day for spiritual nourishment and bodily re-vitalization. Lotu is a very important aspect of the Fijian total being. On Monday the cycle starts again.

The head of each committee is required to submit to the turaga-ni-koro the list of work his committee has planned for the day allocated to them in the work chart. It is the duty of the turaga-ni-koro to announce to the people whatever has been planned for that particular day. Any one in the village can refuse to comply with the orders given by the turaga-ni-koro. But people who default from such 'calls' are the subjects of ostracism<sup>5</sup> among the people, thus, ingroup conformity is what the majority strive for to evade social sanctions. The power to prosecute people who disobey orders has been removed from the turaga-ni-koro, who at present remains only as the "link-man" between the mata and the villagers. The turaga-ni-koro at Tovulailai is Viliame Vulaono who married the eldest daughter of the chief. This family tie with the chief appears to strengthen his position and consequently his orders and commands are quire highly respected through fear of repercussions. The work-chart system adopted at Tovulailai is quite flexible so that it can fit easily with the unpredictable natural events such as deaths, marriages or ceremonies. The chart acts only as a guide for the individual and the community as a whole, so that no one is completely at a loss. However, this does not completely eliminate a certain degree of confusion, frustration and look of sense of purpose which always confront newly independent people, especially in the rural areas.

### Conclusions

To conclude this chapter, I wish to reiterate that in this chapter I have attempted to explain the role of leadership as a mechanism of change in the development of Tovulailai village. That is I have tried to link the role of leadership with the mechanism

5. This is used in the village as a very effective social control, it is a form of sanction and is always associated with certain degree of mana. The voice of the "vanua" is sacred and people who dared to disobey or transgress the 'call' of the vanua, always believed to meet bad luck in the course of their lives either personally or the immediate members of his family.



of social change by examining the leaders as they tried deliberately to bring their village from one social state to another through the inculcation of what they regarded as the essential elements of social change which hopefully would modify to a greater or lesser degree, the socio-economic structures and behaviour of the people in Tovulailai. The effective dual-leadership which has emerged at Tovulailai, has undoubtedly, contributed to the great success of their co-operative enterprise. The direct benefits of the co-operative are the boat and market stalls, and consequently the indirect benefits manifest in the establishment of the school hostel at Levuka. Ilaitia Radravu figures prominently in all aspects of their development. The role he plays has evidently benefited him personally in both monetary and prestige rewards. Also, members of his family appear to occupy positions of responsibility which consolidate the base of his leadership. It has become clear that Ilaitia Radravu is motivated by the fulfilment of his personal desires and ambition to achieve power and status.

Using the Baker roster (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2) Radravu has organized the village into work committees which are actually task forces with their respective heads as shown in Table 5.1. In addition, Radravu has worked out a daily chart where one day of the week is allocated to each work committee to plan the work for that particular day as I have explained above (day one - day seven). By using the committee system, Radravu is actually using the democratic model of leadership where responsibilities are delegated to sub-leaders, who in turn fully discuss and make decisions with committee members so that the true voice of the majority is heard. The final decisions are made by Radravu. It is Radravu's habit to consult the chief and the heads of matagali in any decisions that he has to make, the final seal of approval is made through the united voice of his elders. Radravu always offers his prayers for guidance at the opening and closing of each meeting he attends. Radravu's leadership is strengthened by the skillful manner in which he combines the three essential elements in the Fijian way of life i.e. the vanua (the people his kin) the lotu (the church) the matanitu (the government), he occupies very prominent positions in all of them and shrewdly using them as the keel of his leadership, in addition to the support given him by members of his family.

Radravu believes that a leader is the man who comes closest to realizing the norms and traditions which the group values highest, for as long as these norms and traditions are accepted by the group, the leader must embody them. His embodiment of the groups highest values enables him to maintain his rank in the community, and the manner in which he is seen to put these values into actions, attracts people. The leader is the man people come to, the scene of interaction is focussed around him. At the same time, his high rank carries with it the implied right to assume control of the group which he leads. At Tovulailai, the status of the father is seen to follow on to his children as evidenced in the cases of three families which we have discussed in this chapter.

This traditional status appears to have been reinforced by the attainment of certain standards of education and the possession of material wealth in particular cash. Furthermore, it has become quite obvious in the case of Radravu, a person who has increased his sphere of influence outside the village especially in the political and commercial sense, has also a tremendous following within the village. This has enabled him to manipulate the people below him to fulfill his objectives and personal ambitions for power and status. However, in the process of doing so he was shrewd not to transgress into the rights and statuses of the chief and heads of mataqali respectively. As long as his actions were seen to be satisfying the majority of the people he feels safe and secure. This degree of influence and sense of security has enabled him, so far, to subdue his enemies.

Finally, it can be seen that the mechanism of social change in Tovulailai is centred, controlled and manipulated by one person, Ilaitia Radravu. In chapter six, the whole discussion in this dissertation will be rounded up, basing the conclusions arrived at from the analysis of the data presented here in stating explicitly why the people in Tovulailai do what they do in order to achieve their desires of changing from one socio-economic state to another.

## CHAPTER 6

### REVIEW AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter, the discussions on the socio-economic development in Tovulailai are brought to a close with a panoramic review of the main points and findings which have been made in the course of the discussion of this case study. That is, to summarise the factors and combinations of factors which have led the people of Tovulailai to behave the way they did in responding and adapting to the socio-economic forces which are impinging upon them and in particular the response to the influences of the change agents who have deliberately made contact with them with the intention of causing social change in an on-going system.

An attempt will be made to recapitulate the nature and dynamics of the pre-existing situation before change occurred and the reasons why the system has remained stagnant for as long as it has and what has caused the pressure of needs to be felt and expressed by the people the way they did in Tovulailai. Furthermore, the main factors which interacted to bring about change under such situations will be explained: how precisely these factors operated in that situation and who were the people that benefited or suffered most as the consequences of change both in the positive and negative sense. Also it is important to point out the short and long-term consequences of present mode of economic thinking and behaviour.

The socio-economic change desired and that arrived at will be explained. Generalizations will be made from conclusions drawn from the study as tools for theoretical insights for future studies. Finally, certain viewpoints will be stated explicitly with regard to the uses of this type of study and what generally can be learned from the study for use in other situations in Fiji.

## The Nature of the Situation in Tovulailai Before Change

As has been explained in chapter two, Fiji was under a Colonial Administration for almost one century up to 1970 when she finally got her full sovereign independence. In 1953 Fiji was a Crown Colony and independence was hardly ever mentioned. Village life in Tovulailai was very much the semi-subsistence type and it remained at that level until the tourist industry began to exert its effects in the village during the 1960s. In a semi-subsistence economy, the people of Tovulailai had to rely on the land for their livelihood, the only cash crop they could sell was copra. Tovulailai had only 23.4 hectares of this crop, the lowest hectarage in the whole of Nairai island. This means that land was a dominant feature in the life of the people in such a subsistence economy, their relationship to land had become part of their tradition and very much an integral part of their culture. Land was regarded as the common property of the people who are related to one another by blood. The land was owned by the social unit called the matagali which holds the land "in trust" for future generations.

Under a subsistence economy in Tovulailai, the land and the people were integral parts of each other, so inseparably interlocked that the Fijian word "vanua" means the "land" and it also means the "people" and vice versa. The people's relationship with their land became not only the basis of their economy but has also shaped their values, culture, traditions and polity. One of the main reasons for establishing the Fijian Administration during the colonial days was to preserve their land and culture.

The interactions between the people and their environment and culture has resulted in the moulding of certain personality dispositions. It has also shaped their power of perception of the realities external to them. Out of all these they have moulded a subsistence way of life which ensures survival under such prevailing circumstances. The narrow parametres which existed under the subsistence way of life have also narrowed their goals and aspirations in life. Hence, subsistence production is only for the producers own consumption and is aimed at the provision of the basic necessities of

life. This mode of subsistence production and consumption has become very much part of their outlook in life generally. Their mode of socialization revolves around this subsistence framework. Their attitudes in life and mental ability are an outcome of such socialization. Their behaviour is strongly influenced by these attitudes. The Colonial Administration, in fact, perpetuated and reinforced most aspects of the subsistence way of life which I have mentioned above. This was why the village subsistence economy and way of life in general, remained unchanged for such a long time. This was why people were clamouring for change when they saw the emergence of young educated modern leaders.

#### Main Factors Which Changed the Situation in the Village

Firstly we must bear in mind that planned change occurs as part of an intentional efforts to intervene in the on-going state of a system to bring it to a new state. Thus in a situation of planned change the two systems involved are the change agents and the client or target for change which in this case is the village of Tovulailai. Village community as such has its own strongly held tradition which it has built itself and its own style as I have explained already. Change is inevitable, it has to come sooner or later, and proponents of non-indigenous development philosophies should be fully aware of the strong sociological, economic political and spiritual forces which have bound such people together and which have helped to maintain the community in balance. If change has to come about it must be the outcome of the interaction between the client and the agent systems. Most aspects of Tovulailai's development resulted from the deliberate influence of change agents as outlined in the main text.

Secondly, it can be seen that most of the changes taking place in Tovulailai were initiated by the local leaders themselves. The Baker Scheme was initiated by Naucukidi and the introduction of the co-operative was through the request of Rabonu and handled right from the start by Radravu who had established his reputation through the Baker Housing Scheme and more specifically, the Nairai Housing Scheme which he managed for ten years. Thus, it can be seen that change agents responded to the needs of their clients when they clamoured for change.



The driving force of the client systems are people like Radravu who have exerted their influence to occupy the leadership roles. Leaders like Radravu have got both covert and overt purposes for their actions. The main overt purpose would be to instigate social change so that they can improve the standard of living in their village. That is, to change from the subsistence level of economy to cash type of economy which hopefully will improve their life in general. The major covert purposes would be to maintain their own position of power and influence, this in turn automatically enhances their prestige and statuses also those of his family. The interaction between the overt and covert purposes of a leader like Radravu would generally mould the way they behave because they hold the position. This may involve them in the exploitation of the consequences of change for their own benefit even if it means abusing the privileges given or entrusted to them by the people below them and whom they may hurt in such behaviour would be disregarded as long as they are seen to be doing what is expected of them to satisfy most people most of the time.

In the case of Tovulailai, Radravu is the person who directed, controlled and manipulated the development. In many aspects of their development, he is doing an excellent job to satisfy the needs of the people, at the same time, however, he is also fulfilling his own personal desires to monopolise the power position and thereby gained his own livelihood and also that of his family. His political appointment of mata for the island council has placed him at the apex of the pyramid of power not only in Tovulailai but in the whole island of Nairai.

The people of Tovulailai had a choice. They could either be motivated to change or remain stagnant and resistant to change. But from what has been observed and discussed in this paper, the choice they made was clear, they were motivated to change from a subsistence economy to a cash economy. They have responded to the influence of change agents. The leaders were conscious of the people's predicament and that they wanted relief from it. They wanted to raise their standard of living, education, health and sanitation. Above all they wanted to improve their economic welfare to meet their rapidly increasing needs and aspirations. The pressures which were impinging upon them from outside prompted the leaders to seek change. Most people in the village were also becoming aware that there was a



discrepancy between their subsistence economic state and their new aspirations. Their newly felt needs and goals may be achieved only if they are prepared to accept and accommodate change. This was what they did at Tovulailai.

#### Factors Which Facilitated the Development in Tovulailai

I have identified and discussed in the main text, the factors and combinations of factors which have facilitated social change and economic development in Tovulailai within the last forty years. It has been noted that factors which were at one stage antecedent were in fact consequences of an earlier stage. Changes introduced into any one institutional component impinged on others. These factors are explained below.

One of the important factors which facilitated development in Tovulailai is the role of dual leadership. Leadership provided by their chief was brought into a harmonious partnership with a modern type of leadership provided by Ilaitia Radravu whose mataqali is second in line to the chief's. These two leaders co-exist and supplement each other's roles whenever the occasion demand, each leader allows a certain latitude for overlap in the roles they play to achieve the same objectives thus avoiding conflicts. However, each leader is responsible for making serious and important decisions in his own field of speciality. This separation and overlapping of the mutual leadership roles are clearly understood and accepted by the people and by the leaders themselves. There is always an area of mutual trust and respect from all parties involved. The almost complete absence of conflict and the provision of a very effective pattern of leadership one of the key factors which facilitated development at Tovulailai. The fact that they had one yavusa and one allegiance to one chief who co-existed with Radravu also facilitated their development.

The chief himself and the elders of the village were very willing and receptive to social change. Viewed as a social phenomenon that is part of the dynamics of change, there is no doubt that it is an important deciding factor in the acceptance of change when a respected leader vouches for, or places his stamp of approval on it. He is not

forcing people to change, rather he is using the authority inherent in his office to reassure his people that it is safe and desirable. Both the chief as the leader of the vanua and Radravu as mata and also leader of the Church were motivated to accept change by the new desire to acquire a new form of respect and prestige derived from economic gains.

It was also observed that Ilaitia Radravu and his sub-leaders who have accumulated massive debts in the co-operative may also be responsible for the arrest and retreat of their village development if their present behaviour of sneaking in corruption into the co-operative, which is the main stay of their development, remained unchecked. It has been noted from the analysis of these debts that people who hold power positions in the village organizations were seen to be the same people exploiting the benefits derived from the co-operative. For example (refer to Table 4.12(a)) three of the senior co-operative employees Naucukidi, Masi and Vereva, still owed the co-operative over one thousand dollars each at the end of 1979 financial year while the majority of the ordinary shareholders owed nothing during that same period because they were in the powerless category. This type of power-game behaviour make people in the power position to gain most from the consequences of development which are the results of every one's efforts. The people who are degraded and suffer most are the people who hold no power do not exert any influence. What hurts most under such situations is that the people who held no power suffered in silence because they could not raise their voices and start asking questions because they do not wish to be blamed for causing conflicts within the village organizations. They would rather see the leaders and sub-leaders fight among themselves. Sooner or later this situation of excessive debts will explode in Tovulailai. It happened before in the shop Baker started for them.

Another factor which facilitated the development in Tovulailai is the influence of Radravu as the mata. As described in the text, Radravu became an effective change agent in his own right, in the sense that he is the link-pin between the people and the local administrator. Theoretically, the mata's voice is the voice of the government which the people at the grass roots actually hear. This has given Radravu an excellent platform to do what he thinks will benefit the people in his

village and also to exploit and manipulate the opportunity to derive benefits for himself and members of his family. For example, most members of his family receive regular salaries out of the co-operative, he himself travels free on their boat using his position as Manager of their shipping enterprise and also as the mata of Nairai. He does not seem to be willing to relinquish any of his power positions because he wants all the benefits from these positions for his own aggrandizement. Radravu's position as mata has given Tovulailai a great advantage over the other villages. For example his negotiation for the loan with the Bank and Government carried a lot of weight compared to any ordinary villager. The emergence of Radravu is seen to be both an essential element in the cause of development and also an effect of the situation in which he operates.

Being cut-off from the colonial apron string was a form of liberation from external rules and also from being literally imprisoned under that system for almost 96 years. The realization of becoming independent has set the village peoples' spirit free and they began to realize that they have to struggle on their own and "paddle their own canoe" in order to survive in the new economic life which they are moving towards. This realization in itself became a powerful propelling force at Tovulailai especially amongst their leaders. They have crossed the colonial bridge and are now stepping onto another which is the bridge to the cash economy of the capitalistic world which is also alien to them. They realise that they have to work hard with firm and clear objectives. They are quite prepared to take risky decisions and persevere in an endeavour to improve their material welfare.

A very important factor which has contributed greatly to the development of Tovulailai is that their leaders have made choices and taken risky decisions at the right time. For example when Baker introduced his housing scheme, the leaders took up the challenge and made the right decisions from which they benefited greatly. Again when the co-operative was introduced in 1967, Radravu stepped in and decided to open up the co-operative and close his own shop. They are now reaping the benefits of the co-operative. Furthermore, when the co-operative committee decided to purchase a boat, even after being turned down by Vutuna Co-operative for a joint venture, Tovulailai

committee decided to take the risk once again and went on alone. Now they are pulling in all the resources of the island and boosting the operation of their co-operative. This means that people are selling their copra and voivoi in Tovulailai co-operative instead of going all the way to Suva because they would have to pay boat fares and freights.

Tovulailai is attracting most of these resources from other villages because it has the capital and organization to do it. First, it has a boat which transports people and their produce to the urban markets. Second, it has established a wholesale store both for goods and petrol, this is encouraging the people to do all their selling and buying at Tovulailai instead of going to Suva or Levuka.

In tracing the development of this village, it has become apparent that they planned most of their development strategies in accordance with the human resources they were able to exploit. For example, when Radravu got the people together to start the co-operative, he sent his brother to be trained in accounting and book-keeping which would enabled him to manage the co-operative financial operations. Also, when they decided to purchase the boat 'Adi Talei', they had two skilled persons' who could be exploited for this purpose, i.e. Manueli Tokabobo the engineer and Apisai Radravu the captain, both of whom were just finishing up their apprenticeship in their respective line of skills when the Tabusoro Co-operative was extending its operations into a shipping venture.

Another important factor which played a very important role in the development of Tovulailai to become a service centre, is enhanced by Radravu's appointment as the mata in 1968. Ilaitia Radravu, in his capacity as the mata moved all the civil servants from Natauloa to Tovulailai where the government had actually bought a piece of land and built official residences for the civil servants residing in the island i.e. the health nurse, the agricultural officer and the post mistress. The fact that people from other villages have to go to Tovulailai to see these civil servants, allows the possibility of regular shopping at the Tovulailai co-operative, giving them an added advantage over the other village co-operatives in Nairai which do not have a bulk wholesale section.

## Flexibility of the Pre-Existing Social Structures and Values Systems in Another Facilitating Factor in the Development of Tovulailai

What appeared from the outside to be a rigid social organization was in actual fact reasonably flexible and helped to absorb the changes which have taken place at Tovulailai. The degree of social change may be directly proportional to the degree of flexibility. Time and circumstances must also be taken into consideration, that is, the right time and circumstances have arrived to permit the once fairly rigid social structures of the village to become elastic enough to facilitate the absorption of these incoming changes. Customs have now been replaced with viable alternatives. For example, the usual custom of celebrating the Christmas/New Year break which used to last two weeks and in some places two whole months, is now reduced to the bare minimum of two days on each occasion, because economic activities are too demanding, people can no longer waste that much time. Funerals and weddings which used to involve a number of days and heavy consumption of food and redistribution of wealth are now reduced to the minimum.

The rapid expansion of the desire for exotic goods and services has created new patterns of consumption, especially for food. New work habits have become established, people have become time conscious as they are in urban areas. Above all, this desire for goods and services has stimulated the people to aspire for modern goals, as evidenced by the dedication and sacrifice which they have made for the education of their children in the hope of attaining the so called 'good life'.

Goal-settings and goal-definitions are very important factors in any human organization. From my own observations, the people of Tovulailai have got clear ideas of what they want and strive to achieve their goals. The far-sighted vision of their leaders and the clear definition of goals are very important factors which have primed their economic activities. For example, Radravu had foreseen the benefits which he would derive from closing his store in favour of the village co-operative and he was right. Again, when he proposed to purchase the boat despite the lack of support of another village whose co-operation he had sought the Tovulailai people took a firm decision and went into it alone and it has now proved to be a great success. The attainment of group goals such as these has reinforced the unity of the people around the common



purpose. Tovulailai can only survive economically if its people stand together, because the resources available to them do not favour strict individualism in the capitalistic sense.

The combined effects of all the factors which I have summarized so far, have contributed to making Tovulailai a very happy and attractive place to live in. Tovulailai is one of the few lucky villages which did not loose its youthful population through rural-urban migration. About 77.6 per cent of the people are below 50 years old. The retention of the bulk of these able bodied personel was sufficient to furnish them with the manpower they required to carry out their development tasks. The six factors pointed out by Ponter which cause the rural people to migrate into urban areas (Ponter 1974:90), would apply to only a very small number of Tovulailaians.

Despite the successes and the degree of social change it has achieved, Tovulailai has still a long way to develop. As far as I can see all these development successes which Tovulailai has been having are still very precarious in nature and somewhat superficial. Rural areas are still devoid of supportive institutions and permanent social structures to enable these types of social changes to perpetuate themselves. These problems are compounded by the absence of skilled manpower and physical resources capable of catering for the rapidly increasing needs of the people. Rural development must be geared towards the achievement full articulation with the urban centres or become self-sufficient in the areas of demanded goods and services. The rural areas must be developed to the stage where they contribute and participate fully in the overall national development of the country.

Watters has stated that:-

"In the years ahead it will be imperative that Fijians contribute a much greater share to the national income if they are to avoid becoming an economically insignificant and backward minority in their own land, whose only claim to power resides in their native origin and entrenched legalities".

(R.Watters in "KORO" 1969)



Above all it was observed that a high proportion of the people in Tovulailai were interested in their material well-being and in techniques and innovations which facilitated the attainment of their goals. Observations of their behaviour have indicated that they had certain ability to look ahead and were willing to take risky decisions when opportunities presented themselves. During the Baker Housing Scheme, the people of Tovulailai have suffered a lot of discomforts but they persevered and were determined to complete the project as planned. They have shown great ability to collaborate with change agents and were willing to adhere to certain rules in the roster which allowed the operation of whatever projects they were undertaking to run a smooth course until goal attainment is reached.

#### New Socio-Economic Level Which Results from Development

The interplay of all the factors which have facilitated and promoted social change in Tovulailai, as I have just outlined above, resulted in the socio-economic development of this village from one social state to another. The final state in the process of planned change is goal attainment. The integration of all the accepted new elements which tend to modify and transform pre-existing structures in the process of change so that the system will now operate at a different level as previously, once this is achieved, change is said to have taken place. Generally the repercussions of social change also spreads to other parts of the system as was fully explained in the text of this study.

The consequences of social change in Tovulailai have been quite substantial as discussed in chapter four and five. The successful completion of the Baker Housing Scheme, during which thirteen wooden houses were built, was the real turning point of Tovulailai's development. Out of that situation emerged this young leader Radravu whose potential was made obvious to Baker who groomed and nurtured him. The rise of Ilaitia Radravu to prominence was in itself very much part of their whole development and also the consequence of it.

When Radravu was elected to the position of the Nairai Housing Scheme when the buli was sacked, Radravu perpetuated the development of Tovulailai from where Baker left off. Five more wooden houses were

built under the Nairai Housing Scheme. Now Radravu is starting the new concrete block Housing Scheme, the first five houses are already allocated for Tovulailai to be built sometime this year by the Fiji Military Forces Rural Development Unit. Due to the tremendous success of the Nairai Housing Scheme, Radravu had won himself a great reputation and made his future leadership assured. When the buli system was abolished, Radravu was the automatic choice of the people of Nairai to become their mata (representative to the provincial council), a position which he held since 1968, and has never been defeated.

Radravu's influence as the mata contributed further to the development of Tovulailai. The first thing he did was to build a new school for his village, the project was completed with great success. Then he moved all the civil servants residing in Nairai from Natauloa village to Tovulailai. This has led Tovulailai to develop into a service centre in Nairai.

Then came the establishment of the co-operative which marked the second phase of development in Tovulailai village. The co-operative started sluggishly but when Radravu moved in and took charge of the whole operation, success after success became evident. His influence as the mata, also played a significant part in the development of the co-operative enterprise in this village. The purchase of the boat was the magnetic force which attracted and pulled in most of the resources from other villages in the island and Tovulailai's co-operative is thriving well. The Tabusoro Co-operative at Tovulailai is operating both a retail as well as a bulk store section.

Radravu extended the operation of the co-operative to fulfill other areas of need. He negotiated with municipal authorities in Suva, Sigatoka and Lautoka where the Tabusoro Co-operative Society of Tovulailai has opened up market stalls to sell its produce, particularly voivoi and yagona at town prices. This cuts off the intervention of outside middlemen. Furthermore, Radravu moved into the need exerted in the area of education and built school hostels at Levuka for the children from Tovulailai who are attending school there.

The development is still going on, there are three major projects already in the pipe line, one is the concrete block housing scheme which I have already mentioned; the second is the building of their new church which I have also mentioned in the text and the third project is to install a power plant which will supply electricity to the village and also to the government station and the school.

It is quite apparent from what has been discussed that Tovulailai has attained a much higher level of socio-economic existence than previously. For quite apart from material results of their development there is also substantial evidence of introduced, modernized organizations. These new organizations and the committee system has been thoroughly discussed in the main text.

#### Generalization for Theory

Negative forces which can strangle development at the village level are real and also real in their consequences. In the early stage of any development planned for the rural villages, it is absolutely vital to allocate them to the areas of the local economy which rapidly increase the productive potential of the village or country, and to do so by the most productive technological methods.

There are certain factors which could slow down development or prohibit it altogether. For example people who have been socialized under the subsistence economy and colonial administration have a tendency to be over dependent, always waiting to be led and directed to work, especially the young generation with education. Another limiting factor is the impoverished nature of the physical as well as the socio-cultural environment. That is, if there is insufficient supply of land or the quality is poor not much development can take place. Also if there is no skilled manpower, low level of technology no supportive institutions available within the system desiring change, then, this would not be conducive to development.

The existence of conflicts and jealousies among the people desiring change inhibits smooth development. One of the keys to Tovulailai's successful development is the maintenance of unity and the suppression of conflict where its presence was insufficient to change the prevailing situation. The concept of the "limited good" is exerting pressures on some people to become very jealous and apply witchcraft to prevent or eliminate altogether the people who have acquired the scarce commodities within the system.

Uncontrolled excessive wants poses a real threat to socio-economic development. That is, the rate and volume of consumption is outstripping the available resources which provide sources of income. Living beyond one's means is the greatest link in the path of corruption, especially if such a pattern of consumption is linked with the enhancing of status as in Tovulailai with regard to the accumulation of debts in the co-operative. Corruption is one of the deadly weapons in any human organization. It involves the immoral vices of man such as dishonesty, selfishness, fraud, destructiveness and abuse of privilege and trust.

Generally, poor planning and the hasty implementation of policies or strategies gives less chance to rural people to prepare themselves to handle social change adequately. It becomes a trial and error type of development for the sake of political expediency which has proved to be both expensive and wasteful. This has been reported both by Watters of Lutu village (Watters 1969:92) and Rutz (Rutz 1976:84) the Waidina valley.

What Can be Learned From the Study of Tovulailai Which Can be Applied in Other Situations in Fiji

Firstly, it was observed at Tovulailai that the first thing leaders do is to rally the three basic institutions which are the basis of the Fijian way of life, to form a solid base for their community. These three institutions are: the vanua, which means both 'land' and 'people'; the lotu or their religious institution and the matanitu or polity. These three were found to be in almost perfect combination at Tovulailai. They had a very strong and highly revered chief who is

the head of the vanua in full harmony with his lieutenants, the turaga-ni-mataqali (heads of mataqali). Religious and political leadership was combined in one person, Ilaitia Radravu. Once these three basic institutions are in full harmony then the base for their unity and solidarity is safe and secure.

Secondly, Tovulailai showed an almost perfect combination of leadership between the old traditional chief, Ratu Waisale and the young modern leader, Ilaitia. The two leaders are both from within the system with their respective traditional ranks which were fully understood by the members of the village community. The main binding force which unites these two leaders is based on the understanding that they are leading the same people who are seen to have the same needs. This factor has moulded the two leaders into having similar objectives, i.e. two attempt to satisfy where they can, the needs of the people they are leading. In order to achieve this, there must be mutual trust and respect between the two leaders to avoid any likelihood of conflicts or the intervention of other negative forces.

Thirdly, the emergence of modernized organization in the village and the re-allocation of leadership roles to sub-leaders. This follows the democratic model of leadership which has been found by research workers in the leadership area to be the most effective type of leadership, for example

"....Leadership that distributes leadership is, in the context of a democratic ethic, the strongest and most fertile of all".

(Gibb, 1969:416).

At Tovulailai, Radravu had organized the people into committee systems or task forces run by their respective leaders. He has also devised a daily work chart to guide the people in their daily activities.

Fourthly, it can be learned from Tovulailai is the ability to identify and define their needs before pursuing the means of fulfilling those desired needs. More important, at Tovulailai, they rank these identified needs in some sort of priority starting with basic needs which are felt and expressed by the majority of the people in the village. For example, one of the basic needs was housing: everyone



needed a permanent type of houses like those built during the Baker Scheme. Another, was the boat, almost everyone needed the boat for the transportation of people and their produce to the urban centres. Also in the case of the co-operative, almost everyone in the village wanted an easy way of obtaining store goods.

Compare this with the decision which Vutuna people made when they refused to join the shipping venture with Tovulailai and opted for an electric power plant to be installed in their village. Electricity is not really an important need in the present stage of development in Vutuna. There is no proper church building at Vutuna, there is no community hall like they have already got in other villages in Nairai. Also quite a few of the houses are still of the thatched roof type. This is simply a case of bad planning and misplacement of priorities. Tovulailai places the installation of an electric power plant at the bottom of their list of priorities.

Fifthly, the clarity in setting and defining their objectives and planned strategies. Having made this initial step they then pull in all the available human resources to make a concerted effort to pursue their goals. An interesting thing about Tovulailai is that once the goal is identified and set, they pursue it until it is achieved well before the next one is pursued. They do not appear to mix up their priorities.

Sixthly is the clear functioning of the channels of communication and the processing of information. Almost all information for development coming to Tovulailai is first received by the leaders, in particular Radravu, who in turn informs the chief. A village meeting is called to announce the new ideas to the members of the village before Radravu starts advising the committees and the sub-leaders below him. Once the overall plan is accepted by the village council, Radravu will construct planned strategies in consultation with other leaders and also with outside experts before detailed plans are fully implemented. Costing and target times are also fully discussed in various committee meetings.



Seventh, the making of risky decisions at the most opportune time. Most of the decisions they made involved quite a lot of risks. For example, when they decided to purchase their boat, they had a lot of courage to borrow almost \$18,000 (dollars) to finance the projects. Taking into consideration the limited amount of local resources, it was a very risky decision to borrow such a large amount of money. Tovulailai had the lowest hectarage under coconuts in the whole of Nairai island i.e. only 23.4 hectares for the whole village 5.8 hectares per mataqali or .5 hectares per person. However, the purchase of the boat was a great stepping stone in solving the problem of transportation and accessibility to the urban centres.

Eighth, the exploitation of their own locality resources and taking advantages of the disadvantages of other villages. In the case of Tovulailai, whatever the enterprise they are engaged in, they always try to engage their own manpower, especially those that involved the earning of regular income like their co-operative employees and also those manning the boat and market stalls. One of the major aims of the national development policy for rural development is to create permanent employment opportunities for rural people, thereby slowing down rural-urban migration. Tovulailai saw the opportunity and went into it, knowing that other villages will have no or very little choice but to patronize their boat thereby gaining economic advantage over them.

Ninth, the accumulation of excessive debts is also a thing to be learned from Tovulailai. This is one of the destructive forces which can be the best ammunition to destroy development. Corruption is the most dangerous enemy which will destroy an organization. When such things happen it becomes a disincentive element in the process of development. The powerful exploiting the powerless is sneaking in at the Tabusoro Co-operative Society in Tovulailai. If the uncontrolled and unplanned mode of consumption of exotic goods is not curbed the results will be disastrous. This is one of the most important economic lessons which they must learn to master, i.e. delaying the gratification of immediate desires for larger and bigger future goals. They must learn not to be ruled by their curiosity or novelty drive but by careful planning and budgeting in relation to their available resources and earning capacities. Again, the only feasible solution is for them to increase agricultural production for their own consumption.

Tenth, life in the cash economy demands at times for people to persevere and make some sacrifices. A lot of experiences will be painful. This is combined with an attitude of willingness to accept change and the motivation to achieve and promote one's material welfare. Tovulailai people were willing to do away with their traditional bures and sites and allowed new types of houses to be built. During the Baker Scheme, the timber milling section week after week camped in the bush and came home only on weekends for almost the entire five year period of the Housing Scheme. This caused some discomfort and a certain degree of family disruption. At the same time their families were living only on rations issued from the village store, but the people of Tovulailai persevered until they had achieved their goals.

### Conclusions

In a study which attempts to explain socio-economic change as a result of outside contacts and influences, the complexities and scope for explanation are almost limitless. This study sets out to observe one particular interest which centred around the question of how do change agents influence their clients and achieve results and in turn how do the clients responded and adapt to these socio-economic forces which are impinging on them?

First, the study identified community needs in the rural villages in Fiji in particular Tovulailai in the island of Nairai. The needs identified were: The need to improve the standard of living; the level of education; the general health and sanitation; the housing conditions; the means of transport and general communication and other infrastructural facilities. This study also stated the various problems why these needs were not easily met by the people in the rural Fijian villages. These problems were lack of direction and purpose created by the absence of a good leader; lack of access to urban markets; lack of good cultivable land; lack of planned cash cropping; lack of technical skills; low level of technology and scientific knowledge and above all the lack of proper advice and communication between the rural people and officials or experts.

The theoretical stance taken by this study stated that some human elements which are essential to interact with the physical and socio-cultural elements would in some complex way be conducive to development if such elements were possessed by the majority of the people in the client system. These elements are: an interest in material well-being; an interest in techniques and in innovation; an ability to look ahead and willingness to take risks, perseverance and an ability to collaborate with other people and observing certain rules to conduct the affairs of development.

The methods used by this study to collect data was by a non-structured intensive interview techniques. Extra information and written documents were also obtained from reliable sources. In its approach the field worker, was interested to observe and examine the complex interaction between three components of social change i.e. the change agents and their influences and how they achieved results; the responses and adaptations of the people of Tovulailai or client system and the mechanism which communicated or diffused the element of change within the system undergoing change.

There are two major change agents identified, William Baker and the officials of the co-operative society. Their respective influences and results which they achieved to cause social change at Tovulailai were fully discussed and analysed in the main text of this study. Phase one of the village development was the Baker Housing Scheme, thirteen wooden houses were built in the village and an additional five houses under the Nairai Scheme also managed by Baker in its early stage. This was followed almost a decade later by the operation of their co-operative society resulting in the development of their shipping enterprise, market stalls and the building of school hostels at Levuka. The pattern of leadership and village modernized organization found in this village was the mechanism which communicated and diffused the elements of social change within the village network. The result of all these is that Tovulailai has attained a new level of socio-economic life quite different from what it was thirty years ago before all these changes ever taken place. To date, Tovulailai people have fulfilled quite a substantial portion of their needs which they had identified from the beginning before change occurred as stated above.

If the people of Tovulailai wish to retain their economic and social status in the island community then they must keep improving their present course of development. Tovulailai has now almost reached a plateau in its development and must improve on what they have built up so far, thus preventing other villages from doing the same thing perhaps more efficiently and eventually displacing them.

Taking into account the present population and levels of skill in the village together with inadequacies of land supply, I would point out that Tovulailai's present level of economic development has stretched both the physical and human resources to the full. Therefore they must not put any more demand on these limited resources. The best thing they can do now is to consolidate what they have achieved so far.

If the people of Tovulailai want more cash they must improve and enlarge their agricultural production. Cash cropping must be planned and scientific husbandry applied - especially in the case of voivoi and yagona. Furthermore, they must be encouraged to plant more local vegetables like cabbage, tomato, carrot and egg plants, in order to improve their liking of home grown indigenous food. This is the main reason why they resort to very heavy consumption of imported food - because they lack sufficient supplies of their own fresh garden food. They must also be encouraged to fish for their source of meat and raise chickens, pigs, cattle etc. Their present habit of directing consumptions of imported foods and neglecting their own agricultural production is a very insecure method of development. If the people of Tovulailai wish to diversify further, they must do so only in the field of agricultural production.

The people of Tovulailai must bear in mind that their present economic base is very weak because it is not built entirely upon their own resources but by exploiting the resources of other villages. As I have pointed out earlier, the fact that Tovulailai has the economic tools like the boat and the co-operative means that they are taking advantage of these. If Tovulailai sells the boat or another village buys a boat to compete with them, then they will surely feel the pinch, a big slice of the economic cake will be taken out of them. One of the best ways of strengthening their economic base is to improve substantially their agricultural production both in cash cropping and for their own consumption.

As the people of Tovulailai look towards the future, they still have a long way to go in affiliating themselves to the national economy in the wider sense. The competition posed by other races, especially Indians and the outside world, are still not taken very seriously by village people. All the above factors must demand an urgent reassessment for their rightful positions in their own land and their participation in the future development of their country as a whole, the time to move and act is now.

Hence, despite its present economic achievements, Tovulailai's economic base is precarious and insufficient to withstand the economic forces of the future. Agricultural development must be geared concomitantly with other aspects of development so that it attains a level where it is able to sustain itself without too much reliance on the resources of other villages. Each household must become self-reliant and self-sufficient so that the overall development will become self-perpetuating. They must stick together and strive for full social articulation with the urban sector without sacrificing too much of their identity.

Finally to conclude, Tovulailai has been very fortunate compared with other villages on the island. The right elements in the pre-existing social structures at Tovulailai and the new circumstances to which they were exposed, together with the choices which they have made, have combined into some sort of viable relationship which was captured at that opportune time by the people of Tovulailai who exploited such opportunity to their own advantages. Social structures provide them with the framework for action, but circumstances always provide new combinations of factors which open up alternative choices and decisions which in turn affect social change. Therefore, the people of Tovulailai must bear in mind that they will not be able to recapture the same golden opportunity again. All other villages in Nairai are just waiting for such a moment to take advantage of an opportunity. If Tovulailai loosens its grip on its economic stronghold, there is always another village ready to take its place, for the economic cake in the island is not much to share equally among all the villages. At present, Tovulailai has got the economic tools and opportunity and must make the most of it or they will never pass this way again.



This study concludes by identifying three major areas which may require further research in the future. These are:-

First, the aspect of leadership, this is one of the major areas which creates a lot of problems in the development of rural villages in Fiji. What are the factors which moulded a leader like Radravu? Is it his personality traits, or the situational structures, or the characteristics of the people he leads or the combination of all these? More research is necessary to confirm this finding.

Second, this study finds that, the relative success of Tovulailai's development was due to a complex combination of the change agents and their influences, the characteristics and degree of flexibility of the client system and the mechanism which communicates and diffuses change. Further research is required to substantiate this finding.

Third, is the change which has now taken place at Tovulailai become permanently inculcated into their culture and value system or will it last only as long as the co-operative survives? If the latter is true then there was no real change, and further research is required to find out why this was so. Further research would also be needed to determine under which situation village people accept change either on a temporary basis or under which other situation change becomes more permanent in a previously subsistence economy?



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## APPENDIX A1 - (Sheet I)

## TABUSORO CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LIMITED

## BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31.7.78

Cash	\$1082.16	
BNSW	1228.49	
BNZ	2400.00	
SBF	202.84	
Plantation	92.71	
Market Stall	4740.56	
Tabusoro Shipping	3733.37	
Sundry Debtors	6494.04	
Retail Stock	3538.03	
Bulk Stock	3766.13	
Copra Stock	240.00	
Empty Drums	<u>1457.50</u>	
Total Current Assets		27,975.83
<u>Less Current Liabilities</u>		
Shell Co. Ltd	826.27	
Yatu Lau	1058.83	
Hura Station	105.38	
Wing Sang	172.46	
Courts	14.75	
Voivoi Stall	105.62	
Trade Creditors	5939.51	
Sundry Depositors	1869.88	
Registrar of Co-op	40.00	
Income Tax	702.02	
Prov. Dividend	107.05	
" Store Bonus	2009.79	
" Copra Bonus	950.40	
" Voivoi Bonus	1531.60	
" Yaqona Bonus	378.40	
" Vivili Bonus	28.50	
" D/Debtors	524.60	
Committee Fund	139.00	
Bonus B/F	24.34	
		16,528.00
<u>Working Capital</u>		
<u>Plus Investment</u>		
Reserve Investment BNZ	1223.31	
Share Handicraft	537.88	
" P.C. Union	1.00	
" F.C. Association	100.00	
" N.C. Union	<u>258.00</u>	
	2120.19	
Add Fixed Assets (see List)	<u>20866.48</u>	<u>22,986.67</u>
		<u>\$34,434.50</u>
<u>Members Fund</u>		
Share Capital	7244.70	
Grant	5000.00	
F D B Lean	10125.00	
Reserve	10264.05	
Prov for Asset Investment	<u>1800.75</u>	<u>\$34,434.50</u>

## APPENDIX A2 - (Sheet II)

TABUSORO SHIPPING CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY  
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE AS FROM 9.2.78 to 16.1.79

Boat Earnings		42,615.25
<u>Less Expenses</u>		
Wages	8507.75	
Overtime	600.90	
Labour	3706.61	
Ration	3341.30	
Wharfage	1100.67	
Fork Lift	1144.42	
Fuel	2690.56	
Engine Expenses	1069.68	
Trade Expenses	2592.66	
Telephone	141.87	
Maintenance	1644.79	
PAYE	261.29	
F.N.P.F.	678.32	
Stationery	385.29	
Empty Stock	120.00	
Loan Investment	915.42	
Insurance	918.00	
Rent	110.00	
Travelling	60.00	
Depreciation: Adi Talei	1500.00	
Implement	13.00	
Furniture and Fittings	8.57	
		<u>31,511.10</u>
Net Profit		<u><u>11,104.15</u></u>
<u>Profit and Loan Account</u>		
Boat Nett Profit		11,104.15
Bank Investment		<u>2.70</u>
Trading Nett Profit for the Record		<u><u>11,106.85</u></u>



## APPENDIX A3 - (Sjeet III)

TABUSORO VOIVOI MARKETING - EASTERN  
TRIAL BALANCE AS AT 9.9.78

Voivoi Stock	857.10	Tabusoro Store	1194.59
Yaqona Stock	379.20	Voivoi Sale	28040.29
Furniture	84.75	Yaqona Sale	4305.13
Implement	323.10	Capital	2835.51
Voivoi Purchase	24417.38	Eremasi Rabonu	317.00
Yaqona Purchase	3256.60	Inoke Rabonu	99.00
General Expenses	457.48		
Wages	1719.20		
Market Fee	581.98		
Freight	711.72		
Stationery	16.04		
Yaqona Expenses	199.93		
Voivoi Expenses	873.76		
Sundry Debtors	1187.66		
Cash	652.08		
Bank	873.80		
	<u>\$36,591.52</u>		<u>\$36,591.52</u>

Source from Secretary of Co-operative - Tovulailai (1979)

## APPENDIX B 1

## GOODS SOLD AT THE TABUSORO CO-OPERATIVE - TOVULAILAI (1980)

Food Items	Clothes and Associated Accessories	Household Items
Sugar	Cotton Thread	Lantern Wick
Rice	Elastic	Lamp Wick
Flour	Needles (Hand & Machine)	Stove Wick
Salt	Baby Suits	Coleman Mantle
Onions	" Singlets	Coleman Washer
Curry Powder	" Napkins	Insect Spray
Baking Soda	Napkin Pins	Steel Wool
Biscuits	Plain Material	Mosquito Spray
Breakfast Crackers	Printed Material	Torch Bulbs
Sweet Siscuits	Tapa Material	Moth Balls
Powdered Milk	Lavalava Material	Shoe Polish
Coffee	School Uniform Material	Blankets
Cocoa	Boys Printed Shirts	Batteries
Tea	Boys Plain Shirts	Baby Blanket
Fruit Cake	Boys Singlets	Baby Feeding Bottles
Fruit Mix	Boys T-Shirts	Thermos
Table Salt	Boys Swimming Trunk	Striker and Flint
Jam	Boys Shorts	Enamel Cups
Margarine	Boys Long Trousers	Enamel Plates
Acorn Butter	Girls Dresses	Bombay Pots
Peanut Butter	Girls Panties	Kettles
Canned Fish	Handkerchiefs	Kitchen Knives
Canned Fruit	Zips	Hurricane Lanterns
Corned Beef	Rugby Shorts	Pandol
Vinegar	Girls T-Shirts	Pandine
Chinese Sauce	Brassieres	Aspro
Chilly Sauce	Rain Coats	Milk of Meganesia
	Umbrella	Band Aids
		Gripe Water
		Cough Mixture
		Vicks

## APPENDIX B2

Personal Items	Tools (General)	School Items
Baby Soap	Outboard Spare Parts	Ball Pen
Baby Cream	Knife Blade	School Ruler
Baby Oil	Flat File	Exercise Books
Baby Powder	Axe Handle	Writing Pads
Bathing Soap	Stove Spare Parts	Envelopes
Colgate Toothpaste	Lawn Mower S/Parts	
Tooth Brushes	Tower Bolt	
Razor Blades	Screws	
Shavers	Galvanised Nails	Miscellaneous
After Shave Lotion	Fishing Net	Recording Tapes
Shaving Cream	Fishing Hooks	Bibles
Face Powder	Binding Wire	Hymn Books
Face Cream	Engine Oil	Sweets
Perfume	Fishing Line	Chewing Gums
Hair Comb		Cigarettes
Ribbons		Guitar Strings
Hair Dye		X-mas decorations
Moddess		Balloons
		Polaroid Films
		Polaroid Flash
		Playing Cards
		Fiji Tobacco
		CigaretteLighters

## APPENDIX C (Cross reference to Figure 5.1 page 142).

NAMES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN RELATION TO HOUSE NUMBER  
IN FIGURE 5.1

Names	House Number	Mataqali
Ratu Waisale Rasauliwa	1	Naivini
Ilaitia Radravu	2	Sauturaga
Vilimone Vulaono	3	Ramasi
Eremasi Rabonu	4	"
Taniela Lebaleba	5	Ramasi
Waisake Tewa	6	Ramasi
Kolinio Vereva	7	Ramasi
Isireli Tawake	8	Sauni
Sevanaia Takavesi	9	Sauni
Taniela Taivei	10	Sauni
Vaseva Rakavono	11	Sauni
Acura Leleakaria	12	Ramasi
Apisai Radravu	13	Sauturaga
Pauliasi Radravu	14	Sauturaga
Semi Radravu	15	Sauturaga
Isoa Radravu	16	Sauturaga
Samuela Leleavono	17	Sauni
Mosese Niusere	18	Naivini
Mesake Rokoyago	19	Ramasi
Manasa Tamoi	20	Sauni
Votuvera	21	Ramasi
Asaeli Saravaki	22	Naivini
Samuela Tokabobo	23	Sauni
Veretariki Masi	24	Ramasi
Setariki Rokoyago	25	Ramasi
Eremodo Tekevakatini	26	Ramasi