

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

# **The Evolution of Public Administration and Conflict in a Post-Conflict State: History's role in Fiji's political trajectory**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in Management  
at Massey University, Albany,  
New Zealand.

Patricia Savukiono-I-Tuikabara Loga

2023



## Abstract

Violent geo-political conflicts are on the rise across the globe and most of the countries that experience these conflicts are developing nations like Fiji (Fund for Peace, 2022). Countries that are prone to conflict are classified as fragile States. In the aftermath of a conflict, the public sector is under immense pressure to restabilise the nation and normalise service provision to citizens. Understanding the behaviour of conflict and public administration in a post-conflict State is key for nation rebuilding because it gives an insight into the levers and impediments for crisis management. Although studies have explored crisis management in post-conflict States (Kaplan, 2008), little is known about the role that historical institutions play in the evolution and continuity of conflict and public administration. To address this gap, this thesis used the path dependency theory to explain how policy actions and decisions established a continuous cycle of conflict. Using institutionalism and resilience, this research described why public administration remained fragile despite showing signs of evolution in Fiji's political trajectory. Based on the findings, it is suggested that policy actors in Fiji consider the following embedded ideologies in their policy making process: race-based politics, intertwined traditional and political roles, adversarial approaches to the protection of interests and segmented economic structures. Fiji is locked into a path of conflict and resilience is restrained by institutionalised processes; an understanding of historical structures that hinder progress can help policy actors create effective public policies.

The first significant finding argued that conflict is pathdependent because Fiji was subjected to indirect rule when it was under colonial rule and that the short time taken for the nation to transition from a colony to an independent State created a lack of readiness for self-government. Public administration stability in Fiji was hindered by the co-existence of institutionalism and resilience. It was found that resilience thinking was stifled by institutionalised ideologies that had become embedded in the public administration system. This research made two key contributions: developed a theoretical understanding of public administration and conflict using the path-dependency, institutionalism, and resilience theories. The lessons learned to contribute to policy knowledge on crisis management and nation rebuilding in developing countries like Fiji.

This research was conducted using archival research, which was collected from Archives New Zealand and the National Archives of Fiji. Archival research and document analysis complemented the path-dependency, institutionalism, and resilience theories, which involve a descriptive analysis of how past policy decisions affect the behaviour of institutions. In total, 3,270 documents from the years 1858 to 1992 were retrieved and analysed via document analysis and theoretical thematic

analysis. Using archival research to study Fiji's political history aided the identification of themes that explained how and when conflict became path dependent, and why public administration institutions were fragile.

The findings from this thesis are contextual and Fiji is a small island developing State so it would be difficult to generalise or replicate. To add to the knowledge of conflict analysis, and nation rebuilding, future research could explore other post-conflict States or former colonies to find out if conflict is path-dependent and which factors create fragility in a public administration. The co-existence of institutionalism and resilience also has room for further development. There is an opportunity to explore the behaviour of these two theoretical frameworks in public administration. A deeper understanding of the push and pull effects of institutionalism and resilience has the potential to improve public sector reform and policy transfer processes.

## Acknowledgements

I am forever indebted to those that have helped me throughout my PhD journey, and I thank God for blessing me with such wonderful people.

First and foremost, I would like to convey a heartfelt thank you to my supervisors Dr Andrew Cardow and Dr Trish Bradbury for taking me under their wing. I am grateful to them for sharing their knowledge with me and for being patient as I wrote line after line of this dissertation. I enjoyed the weekly chats and was privileged to work with them. I would also like to thank Professor Jane Parker for her mentorship and contribution to my growth as an early career researcher.

I also acknowledge the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade for sponsoring my study at Massey University.

Massey University has also gifted me with lifelong friends whose friendship I value dearly. To Nimeesha, Mian and Hella, thank you for the coffee catch ups, and your company during the late-night writing sessions in the office.

I was lucky to also have friends who reminded me that there is life outside a PhD, and I thank Lizie, Bertrand, Nate, Marica, and Susana for this. I am grateful for their thoughtfulness, conversations, and witty humour. Thank you to Musuka and Alisi Tabete, whose house became a 'home away from home' for me on most weekends. I am also appreciative of my friend Merleen who was one of the very few people that enjoyed listening to me talk about my research findings.

My family have always supported me in every decision I have made, and I would like to pay tribute to my siblings for their prayers and care. I am especially thankful for my sisters Lisi, Frances, Mere Leba and Luisa who stood in for me and looked after my daughter Noelani while I studied. I would also like to remember the family members who I lost during my writing journey: Pu Vakamoce and my late brother, Wilisoni Loga.

Finally, I owe a great deal of thanks to the most important person in my life, my daughter Noelani Naisara. Thank you for being patient with me and reminding me to find joy in the simple things. You have certainly been stronger than me during this journey and your optimism gave me hope when I needed it most.

*Vinaka vakalevu!*

This is dedicated to my late parents Tevita and Salote Loga. You both started my learning journey with me and aren't with me at this finish line, you will always be in my heart. May you both rest in love.

## List of Publications

The following is a list of publications and conference presentations that I co-authored and co-presented during my PhD candidacy:

### Academic journals

Parker, J., Young-Hauser, A., Loga, P., & Paea, S. (2022), Gender and ethnic equity in Aotearoa New Zealand's public service: where is the progress amid the pandemic? *Labour and Industry*, 32(2), 156-177. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10301763.2022.2091198>

Loga, P., Cardow, A., & Asquith, A. (2021), Path-dependency theory in a post-conflict state: the case of Fiji, *Journal of Management History*, 28(3), 363-387. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JMH-06-2021-0037>

Parker, J., Sayers, J., Young-Hauser, A., Barnett, S., Loga, P., & Paea, S. (2021). Gender and ethnic equity in Aotearoa New Zealand's public service before and since Covid-19: Toward intersectional inclusion? *Gender, Work & Organization*, 29(1), 110 -130. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12759>

Parker, J., Young-Hauser, A., Sayers, J., Loga, P., Paea, S., & Barnett, S. (2021). Pragmatic evaluation of transdisciplinary research on gender equity in the New Zealand public service. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, 17(1), 41 - 60. <https://doi.org/10.1108/QROM-01-2021-2097>

Loga, P., & Chand, A. (2019). Performance appraisal systems and public sector efficiency in small island developing states: The case of Fiji. *Personnel Review*, 49(4), 974-992. <https://doi.org/10.1108/PR-01-2018-0013>

### Book chapter

Parker, J., Donnelly, N., Sayers, J., Young-Hauser, A., Loga, P., Paea, S., & Barnett, S. (2022). Evidencing women's progress in Aotearoa New Zealand's public service. In H. Conley & P. Koskinen-Sandberg (Eds.), *International Handbook on Gender and Public Sector Employment*. Routledge.

### Conference presentations

Loga, P., Paea, S., Parker, J., Young-Hauser, A., Sayers, J., & Barnett, S. (2021, December 1-3). *Equity in Aotearoa New Zealand's Public Service – The role of Pasifika employee networks*. Pacific Massey Research Conference, Auckland, New Zealand.

Loga, P. (2021, October 7 -8, 2021). *Path-Dependency in a Post-Conflict State: the case of Fiji* [Paper presentation]. Fiji Aotearoa Research Symposium, Auckland, New Zealand.

Parker, J., Young-Hauser, A., Sayers, J., Barnett, S., Paea, S., & Loga, P. (2021, June 21 - 24). *Intersectional inclusion? Gender and ethnic equity in New Zealand's public service* [Paper presentation]. 19th International Labour and Employment Relations Association Conference, Lund, Sweden.

Parker, J., Young-Hauser, A., Sayers, J., Barnett, S., Paea, S., & Loga, P. (2020, November 27). *Pragmatic evaluation of a trans-disciplinary research project on gender equity in the New Zealand public service* [Paper presentation]. 9th Aotearoa New Zealand Organisational Psychology and Organisational Behaviour Conference, Christchurch, New Zealand.

# Table of Contents

|   |      |
|---|------|
| <b>Abstract</b> .....   | ii   |
| <b>Acknowledgements</b> .....   | iv   |
| <b>List of Publications</b> .....   | vi   |
| <b>Table of Contents</b> .....  | viii |
| <b>List of Tables</b> .....   | xii  |
| <b>List of Figures</b> .....  | xii  |
| <b>List of Appendices</b> .....   | xiii |
| <b>Glossary of Terms</b> .....  | xiv  |
| <b>Abbreviations</b> .....  | xix  |
| <b>Prologue</b> .....   | 20   |
| <b>Chapter One</b> .....  | 21   |
| <b>Introduction</b> .....   | 21   |
| <b>1.1 Research Background and Justification</b> .....                                    | 21   |
| <b>1.2 Importance of Study</b> .....  | 23   |
| <b>1.3 Purpose and Objective of Study</b> .....   | 23   |
| <b>1.4 Research Objectives</b> .....  | 24   |
| <b>1.5 Research Questions</b> .....   | 24   |
| <b>1.5.1 Research Sub-Questions</b> .....   | 24   |
| <b>1.6 Fiji’s Pre-Colonial Leadership System and Colonial History</b> .....               | 24   |
| <b>1.7 Research Methodology</b> .....   | 27   |
| <b>1.8 Thematic Overview</b> .....  | 27   |
| <b>1.9 <i>Selo</i> – Dissertation Conceptual Map</b> .....                                | 29   |
| <b>Chapter Two</b> .....  | 31   |
| <b>Literature Review</b> .....  | 31   |
| <b>2.1 Introduction</b> .....   | 31   |
| <b>2.2 Governance in Post-Conflict Societies</b> .....                                    | 32   |
| <b>2.3 Public Administration Systems in Post-Conflict States</b> .....                    | 41   |
| <b>2.4 ‘New States in Former Societies’ – Governance Systems in Former Colonies</b> ..... | 47   |
| <b>2.5 Resilience and Institutionalism in Public Administration Systems</b> .....         | 51   |
| <b>2.6 Governance and Conflict in Fiji</b> .....  | 57   |
| <b>2.7 Theoretical Framework</b> .....  | 62   |
| <b>2.7.1 Path-Dependency Theory</b> .....   | 62   |
| <b>2.7.2 Path-Dependency and Conflict in Post-Conflict States</b> .....                   | 64   |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 2.7.3 Institutionalism .....   | 67  |
| 2.7.4 Institutionalism in Public Administration.....   | 68  |
| 2.7.5 Historical Institutional Development of the United Kingdom Public Service.....                   | 69  |
| 2.7.6 Resilience Framework.....  | 73  |
| 2.8 Research gap .....   | 77  |
| 2.9 Conclusion.....  | 78  |
| Chapter Three.....   | 80  |
| Methodology.....   | 80  |
| 3.1 Introduction .....   | 80  |
| 3.2 Research Aim and Rationale.....  | 81  |
| 3.3 Justification for Paradigm and Methodology .....   | 81  |
| 3.3.1 Philosophical Position.....  | 81  |
| 3.3.2 Research Design.....   | 82  |
| 3.3.2.1 Notes from a Novice Archival Researcher.....   | 83  |
| 3.3.3 Classifications of Archival Research Methods.....  | 85  |
| 3.3.4 Archival Research in Management History .....  | 88  |
| 3.4 Data Collection.....   | 91  |
| 3.4.1 Archival Research – Gaining Access.....  | 91  |
| 3.4.2 Setting the Scope for the Document Collection – Content.....                                     | 92  |
| 3.4.3 Researcher’s Role and Reflexivity .....  | 93  |
| 3.5 Data Analysis .....  | 95  |
| 3.5.1 Theoretical Thematic Analysis.....   | 95  |
| 3.5.2 Stages of Data Analysis .....  | 98  |
| 3.5.3 Saturation.....  | 105 |
| 3.6 Methodological Integrity and Rigour .....  | 106 |
| 3.6.1 Reliability and Validity .....   | 106 |
| 3.7 Ethics .....   | 110 |
| 3.8 Challenges and Issues.....   | 111 |
| 3.9 Conclusion.....  | 112 |
| Chapter Four .....   | 114 |
| Part I: Discussion.....  | 114 |
| 4.1 Introduction .....   | 114 |
| 4.2 A State within a State – Indirect Rule in Fiji.....  | 115 |
| 4.2.1 Maintaining the degree of separation – Colonial institutions preserved in independent Fiji ..... | 121 |
| 4.3 From Colony to Republic – Fiji’s Readiness for Independence.....                                   | 127 |
| 4.4 When Worlds’ Collide – Contextual Issues in Policy Transfer.....                                   | 132 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 4.5 Recommendations for the Improvement of Managing Fiji’s Critical Juncture .....   | 142 |
| 4.6 The Path in Fiji’s Political Trajectory .....  | 148 |
| 4.7 Conclusion .....   | 152 |
| Chapter Five.....  | 154 |
| Part II: Discussion .....  | 154 |
| 5.1 Introduction .....   | 154 |
| 5.2 Pre-conflict Analysis of Resilience and Institutionalism in Fiji’s Public Administration System..  | 155 |
| 5.2.1 Policy for Ethnic Integration .....  | 155 |
| 5.3 Pre-Conflict Analysis of the Push and Pull Effect of Institutionalism and Resilience .....   | 159 |
| 5.4 Institutionalism in Fiji’s Political Trajectory.....   | 160 |
| 5.4.1 Race Based Politics .....  | 161 |
| 5.4.2 Intertwined Traditional and Political Roles.....   | 162 |
| 5.4.3 Adversarial Approach to the Protection of Interests for each Social Group .....  | 164 |
| 5.4.4 Segmented Economic Structure .....   | 166 |
| 5.5 Institutionalised Ideologies in the Embedded Outer Layer of the Two-Layer Theory of Change .....   | 170 |
| 5.6 Resilient Ideologies in the Adaptive Core of the Two-Layer Theory of Change: Fiji’s Political Trajectory.....                                    | 172 |
| 5.6.1 Identification of Policy-Context Misfit .....  | 172 |
| 5.6.2 Push for the Establishment of Multi-Racial Political Parties .....   | 173 |
| 5.6.3 “Artificial Adversarial Atmosphere” .....  | 173 |
| 5.6.4 Attempts at Undoing Segmented Economic Structure.....  | 174 |
| 5.6.5 Call for Bipartisanship among Political Parties .....  | 175 |
| 5.6.6 Reconsideration of Race-Based Political Philosophy .....   | 176 |
| 5.6.7 Political Actors’ Thoughts on How Resilience Policies Could Have Been Successful .....   | 177 |
| 5.7 The Development of Resilience in Fiji’s Policy Making Process.....   | 178 |
| 5.8 Post-Conflict Analysis of Fiji’s Public Administration System .....  | 184 |
| 5.8.1 Institutionalism and Administrative Resilience at the Macro-Level of Fiji’s Public Sector Management.....                                      | 184 |
| 5.8.1.1 Institutionalism and Resilience with the Westminster System.....   | 184 |
| 5.8.2 Institutionalism and Administrative Resilience at Fiji’s Meso-Level of Public Sector Management.....   | 187 |
| 5.8.3 What Went Wrong? Assessing the Effectiveness of Institutionalism and Resilience in the Bid for Stability in Fiji’s Public Administration ..... | 190 |
| 5.8.4 Nation Rebuilding: Where to from Here?.....  | 193 |
| 5.9 Conclusion .....   | 195 |
| Chapter Six.....   | 197 |

**Conclusion** ..... 197

**6.1 Summary of Findings** ..... 197

**6.2 Theoretical Contributions**..... 201

**6.3 Policy Implications** ..... 204

**6.4 Methodological Contributions**..... 204

**6.5 Limitations** ..... 205

**6.6 Future Research**..... 205

**References** ..... 207

**Appendices** ..... 232

## List of Tables

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Table 1 Fragile States Index .....   | 22  |
| Table 2 Administrative Resilience versus Institutionalism .....                                  | 55  |
| Table 3 Approaches Taken by Colonial Rulers.....   | 65  |
| Table 4 Critical Junctures that Disrupted Institutionalised Ideals in the UK Civil Service ..... | 72  |
| Table 5 Historical vs Sociological History Approaches.....                                       | 88  |
| Table 6 Elements of Neo-Institutionalism in this Research .....                                  | 90  |
| Table 7 Summary of Types of Documents Collected.....   | 93  |
| Table 8 A Side-by-Side Comparison of Theoretical TA and Path Dependency .....                    | 96  |
| Table 9 Data Triangulation across People, Space, and Time .....                                  | 108 |
| Table 10 Upper House in Fiji House of Representatives .....                                      | 119 |
| Table 11 Lower House in Fiji’s House of Representatives .....                                    | 120 |
| Table 12 The Westminster System in Fiji .....  | 136 |
| Table 13 Traditional Fijian Leadership Positions and Geographical Areas Under their Care .....   | 138 |
| Table 14 Electoral System at Fiji Constitutional Conference .....                                | 141 |
| Table 15 Electoral System Recommended by Royal Commission Inquiry.....                           | 146 |
| Table 16 Policy Changes Following the 1987, 2000, and 2006 Coups in Fiji .....                   | 151 |

## List of Figures

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Figure 1 Traditional Fijian Leadership Structure. ....                                  | 21   |
| Figure 2 Conceptual Map .....   | 30   |
| Figure 3 A Timeline of Key Events in Fiji.....  | 59   |
| Figure 4 Fiji's Coup Era.....   | 61   |
| Figure 5 Historic Developments of Institutionalised Ideals in the UK Civil Service..... | 71   |
| Figure 6 Evolution of Public Service Ethos in the UK Public Administration .....        | 73   |
| Figure 7 Theory in Neo-Institutional Studies.....                                       | 203  |
| Figure 8 Mind Map - Generating the Initial Codes .....                                  | 99   |
| Figure 9 Thematic Map for 'Indirect Rule' Theme .....                                   | 99   |
| Figure 10 Reviewing and Refining Process for Themes .....                               | 100  |
| Figure 11 Reviewing the Theme 'Indirect Rule' .....                                     | 103  |
| Figure 12 An Example of Data Triangulation Carried out in this Research.....            | 104  |
| Figure 13 Structure of Colonial Administration in Fiji .....                            | 109  |
| Figure 14 Colonial Structures that Exist(ed) in Fiji.....                               | 1152 |
| Figure 15 Timeline of Changes to Fiji’s Electoral Policy .....                          | 122  |
| Figure 16 Two-Layer Theory of Change.....   | 147  |
| Figure 17 Managing Inter-Ethnic Relations in a Post-Conflict State .....                | 160  |
| Figure 18 Fiji Public Service Structure on September 1, 1875 .....                      | 169  |
| Figure 19 Two-Layer Theory of Change: Post-Conflict Analysis .....                      | 1882 |
| Figure 20 Addressing the Gaps in the Resilience Framework.....                          | 203  |
| Figure 21 Location of Fiji Relative to New Zealand and Hawaii.....                      | 232  |
| Figure 22 Map of Fiji Islands .....   | 233  |

## List of Appendices

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>Appendix 1</b> Background information on Fiji.....   | 232 |
| <b>Appendix 2</b> <i>NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade response on document access</i> ..... | 234 |
| <b>Appendix 3</b> Example of JPEG images received from National Archives of Fiji.....               | 235 |
| <b>Appendix 4</b> Labelling system to tag all the document in the data set.....                     | 236 |
| <b>Appendix 5</b> Examples of coding and thematic analysis notes.....                               | 237 |
| <b>Appendix 6</b> Tagging images to references for record keeping .....                             | 241 |
| <b>Appendix 7</b> Human Ethics Notification.....  | 243 |

## Glossary of Terms

### *Adi Cakobau School*

Adi Cakobau School was established in 1948 in Fiji as an educational institution for girls between the ages of 12 and 17 years old. The institution was set up by the British colonial administration and it was an exclusive boarding school for Fijian girls of traditional rank (White, 2006). The school now caters to young girls aged between 14 and 17.

### *Bose Levu Vakaturaga*

This is the indigenous Fijian translation for Great Council of Chiefs (GCC). The archival records use Bose Levu Vakaturaga, Great Council of Chiefs or Council of Chiefs interchangeably to refer to this legislative body.

### *Colonisation*

Colonisation refers to the act of establishing foreign control over the indigenous people of a given area. Colonisation is a form of domination, forcible takeover of the land of indigenous people or the exploitation of land and people without consideration of local laws and customs (Griffiths, Coleman, Lee, & Madden, 2016).

### *Colony*

A colony is a nation that has been subjugated under colonial rule.

### *Conflict*

Conflicts occur because of incongruent viewpoints that may be rooted in an unfair distribution of resources and an imbalance of power. This research focusses on macro-conflicts that occur at a national or international level and affects public administration. Macro-level conflicts shift beyond the individual and organisation and its repercussions affect the structure of a society (Onyesom, 2015). Two popular theorists of conflicts are Karl Marx who proposed the ‘conflict theory’ and suggests that society is in a constant state of conflict because of the competition for limited resources (Godwyn & Gittel, 2011; Marx, 1859). Marx argues that social structures are maintained by domination and power instead of consensus and compliance. On the other hand, Charles Darwin introduced Social Darwinism to provide a “survival of the fittest” stance saying that certain people become powerful in society because they are naturally better (Darwin, 1859). The World Bank and United Nations (2018) identify two types of conflict that occur at a macro level in a nation and they are: interstate conflict (or between states) and within states conflict, which are those between the State

and a non-State group or between two non-State groups. While the degree of severity for each violent conflict varies, according to Ajakaiye and Ali (2009), the most severe type of internal conflict is a civil war.

#### *Dominion*

Dominion status is given to former colonies that have attained some degree of self-governance. Although dominions are perceived to be a small progress from colony status, these countries still remain in the control of the wider empire.

#### *Donor Organisation or Donor Agency*

Donor agencies are made up of foreign governments or institutions that provide financial support to help fund priority programs in developing countries. Donor agencies include development banks or multilateral organisations like the United Nations and Asian Development Bank.

#### *Independent State*

An independent State is a nation that is fully self-governing.

#### *Indo-Fijians*

Fijians of Indian descent are called Indo-Fijians, Indians, or Fijians. However, in order to demarcate between the Indo-Fijians and the indigenous Fijians, the terms Indo-Fijian and Indian are used. The archival records use the term Indian, and this is why it is also adopted in this dissertation.

#### *International community*

A phrase used to refer to a broad group of people and governments of the world.

#### *iTaukei*

The indigenous people of Fiji are called the iTaukei people.

#### *Koro*

This is the indigenous Fijian term for village. It is a settlement of Fijians on native land.

#### *Mataqali*

This term refers to an indigenous Fijian's clan, kinship group, and landowning unit. A mataqali is a band of people who are a part of a tribe. It is more inclusive than the extended family but is a sub-unit of a tribe (*yavusa*).

### *New Public Management*

An approach to public sector management where strategies from the private sector are adopted (Hood, 1991). Fiji began adopting New Public Management approaches in the 1980s (An & Sharma, 2015).

### *New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade*

New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade was first established as the Department of External Affairs in 1943. Prior to this, New Zealand's foreign affairs were handled by the United Kingdom. From 1969 – 1988, the Department of External Affairs was renamed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between 1988 – 1993, its name changed again to become the Ministry of External Relations and Trade before it became the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade<sup>1</sup>.

### *Post-Conflict*

A nation is classified as 'post-conflict' when open warfare has ended (Nkurunziza, 2008).

### *Public Administration*

A branch of the State, its executive arm in particular, that deals with the administration of government policies.

### *Queen Victoria School*

Established in 1906 by the British administrators, this Fiji school was modelled after an English public school. It was set up to educate Fijian males of chiefly descent and to groom them to become Fijian administrators and political leaders whose allegiance would be to the colonial administration (White, 2006).

---

<sup>1</sup> The information on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade's history is available on its official website, which can be accessed using this link: <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/mfat75/75-our-story/>.

### *Ratu*

Ratu is a title bestowed on traditional Fijian chiefs. Fiji's first Prime Minister, Ratu Kamisese Mara, was a paramount chief and in the dissertation, he is referred to as Ratu Mara. All members of the Great Council of Chiefs mentioned also use the title Ratu. The equivalent for female chiefs is Adi.

### *Republic*

A form of government whereby political actors are representatives of their citizens.

### *Roko Tui*

Roko Tui is the title given to District Administrators. It is an administrative position of the iTaukei Lands Trust Board (TLTB), a Fiji government department in charge of managing the affairs of indigenous Fijians. There is a Roko Tui stationed at each district in Fiji to act as an intermediary between indigenous Fijians in each of the provinces and government.

### *State*

The State is the central political organisation of a nation. There are three branches of a State, and they are the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The executive branch is made up of government institutions including public administration that looks after the administrative processes involved in governing a nation. The legislative branch refers to the law-making bodies like Parliament (also referred to as legislature). Judicial branches include law enforcement and judicial systems.

### *Tikina*

Tikina refers to an administrative district of Fiji. Districts were designed to encompass traditional territories (*vanua*).

### *Tui*

Tui is the indigenous Fijian term for chief, followed usually by placename or tribal name. For example, Ratu Kamisese Mara is the chief of the eastern province of Fiji – Lau. In traditional Fijian settings, Ratu Mara would be referred to as the Turaga na Tui Lau or paramount chief of Lau.

### *Turaga ni Koro*

The Turaga ni Koro is a village headman and an administrator, usually not of high rank and has no chiefly status. This position was created by colonial officials to manage government relations at the village level and a Turaga ni Koro earns a salary from the Fiji Ministry of iTaukei Affairs.

*Yasana*

This term refers to a province. Fiji has 14 provinces, aside from Rotuma<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>2</sup> Rotuma is an island located about 465 kilometres north of Fiji, it was ceded to Great Britain in 1881. The United Kingdom government administered the island to be a part of the colony of Fiji (Howard & Rensel, 2012).

## **Abbreviations**

ACS – Adi Cakobau School

ADB – Asian Development Bank

BLV – Bose Levu Vakaturaga

C-24 – The United Nations and Decolonisation - Special Committee on Decolonisation

GCC – Great Council of Chiefs

LIC – Low Income Country

NLC – Native Lands Commission (Fiji)

NPM – New Public Management

NZ – New Zealand

NZ MFAT – New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

QVS – Queen Victoria School

TLTB – iTaukei Lands Trust Board

UK – United Kingdom

UK Government – United Kingdom Government

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNSDG – United Nations Sustainable Development Group

USA – United States of America

## **Prologue**

This thesis was written between March, 2019 and December, 2022. At the time this dissertation was being prepared for submission, Fiji held its 2022 general elections. The Voreqe Bainimarama government that had been in power since 2006 was defeated by a coalition led by Sitiveni Rabuka (People's Alliance Party), Biman Prasad (National Federation Party), and Viliame Gavoka (Social Democratic Liberal Party). By observing the 2022 elections, it was interesting to see elements of my findings in the threads of Fiji's political processes. Some of these include bipartisanship, and the management of inter-ethnic relations. These two policy actions are the first steps towards countering the effects of indirect rule and institutionalised ideologies like race-based politics. It is still early days in Fiji and too soon to determine whether a new path has formed or if Fiji is still locked-in a path of conflict. Although it piques my interest, the turn of events in Fiji present a critical juncture with its own complexities that can be explored by future researchers.

# Chapter One

## Introduction

### 1.1 Research Background and Justification

This research explored the evolution of the conflict and public administration systems in a post-conflict State: Fiji. Using path-dependency theory, the emergence of conflict is studied. Institutionalism and resilience are used to evaluate Fiji's public administration structures since colonialism to find elements of continuity and change. Violent geopolitical conflicts within or between States is a long-standing issue for nations across the globe (World Bank & United Nations, 2018) including Fiji, which is classified as a post-conflict State since the island nation has experienced three *coups d'état*, two of which were military coups (1987 & 2006) and one that involved civil unrest (2000) (Ratuva, 2013c). In the aftermath of a conflict, States are faced with the daunting task of nation rebuilding and at the forefront of this road to recovery is the need to revive public service institutions that were rendered dysfunctional by conflict.

A United Nations (2018) report analysed conflicts occurring in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and reported that more countries experienced violent conflict compared to any other time in almost 30 years (Allanson et al., 2017; Gleditsch et al., 2002; Sundberg et al., 2012). Countries that are prone to conflicts are classified as fragile States and for 2022, the Fund for Peace (2022) provided a list of fragile States presented in Table 1 below. Fiji sits at 'warning'. Between the years 2006 and 2016 alone, while there has been a decline in interstate conflicts, conflicts between non-state groups increased from about 25 to 75 and those between State-based and non-state groups grew from 35 to 50 (World Bank & United Nations, 2018, p. 11). This research aides in developing crisis management strategies aimed at rebuilding the civil service in conflict affected nations.

Table 1 *Fragile States Index*

|                  | Africa | Asia | Middle – East | Americas | Europe | South Pacific |
|------------------|--------|------|---------------|----------|--------|---------------|
| Warning          | 3      | 8    | 2             | 9        | 4      | 2             |
| Elevated Warning | 10     | 6    | 4             | 6        | 4      | 2             |
| High Warning     | 15     | 5    | 4             | -        | -      | 1             |
| Alert            | 15     | -    | 2             | 2        | -      | -             |
| High Alert       | 5      | 1    | 2             | -        | -      | -             |
| Very High Alert  | 1      | -    | 1             | -        | -      | -             |

Source: Adapted from *Fund for Peace (2022)*.

With the rise in ‘between- ‘and ‘within State’ conflicts globally, Nhede (2019) argues that there is an air of urgency around ensuring that PSM is high after a national conflict has occurred because the public service delivers basic goods and services for citizens. An impingement on this service would directly affect the public, especially those in the low-income bracket of low-income countries<sup>3</sup> (LIC) who may not be able to afford alternative service providers (Nhede, 2019).

This research focussed on Fiji, which is a group of volcanic islands in the South Pacific that lies about 4,450 kilometres southwest of Honolulu and 1,770 km north of New Zealand<sup>4</sup>. Fiji is a former colony of Great Britain and was under colonial rule from 1874 – 1970, when it gained independence. Having experienced three conflicts (in the years 1987, 2000, and 2006) and with a history of public administrative culture with roots in colonialism, Fiji provided a case to explore conflict through the lens of path-dependency theory. Fiji has been in a post-conflict state since its first coup in 1987. Using the path-dependency theory to explore Fiji’s experience allowed for a theoretical understanding of the recurring conflicts. An analysis of

---

<sup>3</sup> The World Bank defines LICs as those with a GNI per capita of \$1,025 or less. Lower middle-income countries have a GNI per capita of \$1026 - \$3995, upper middle income \$3996 - \$12,375 and high-income economies have \$12, 376 and above. This is calculated using the World Bank Atlas method.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix 1 (p. 234) has more background information on Fiji and maps that provide a visual illustration of Fiji’s location in relation to New Zealand and Hawaii, together with a map of Fiji itself.

how public administration responded to conflict and an understanding of what its antecedents were can guide future capacity building frameworks that aim to improve nation rebuilding in a post-conflict State like Fiji.

## **1.2 Importance of Study**

Exploring the relationship between public administration and conflict in a post-conflict State was useful in the formulation of interventions that can be implemented to aid in reconstructing State institutions. A difficulty faced by aid or donor agencies is the difficulty in policy transfer between donor agencies and the States that are being subjected to reform policies (Karini, 2017). Such difficulties render the technical assistance less or ineffective. In studying public administration systems within the sphere of post-conflict States, the findings from this research aim to reduce this gap.

In addition, while there has been some work done to assess the effectiveness of public administration at an organisation level <sup>5</sup>, there is a limited amount of research exploring public administration and geopolitical conflicts in relation to path-dependency and institutionalism. Considering the surge of violent conflicts as evidenced by the World Bank and United Nations (2018) report, urgency surrounding the need for public institutions to return to normal and the lack of understanding around the effects that public administration systems could have in a post-conflict State, this study is timely and valuable for conflict-prone States and donor agencies like the United Nations, World Bank, and Asian Development Bank, among others; agencies that provide technical assistance to countries that are trying to recover from conflict.

## **1.3 Purpose and Objective of Study**

In this study, the path-dependency theory is used to explain how Fiji was set on a path of recurring conflict. This research uncovered critical junctures in Fiji's political history that contributed to the creation and continuity of conflict. Using institutionalism and resilience, the evolution of public administration before and after conflict were studied to explain why Fiji's public administration remains fragile. After assessing how public administration has evolved in light of conflict in Fiji, the lessons learned can be used to advise strategies planned for improved public service performance and nation rebuilding in a post-conflict State like Fiji.

---

<sup>5</sup> See Vandenaabeele, 2014; Jensen et al., 2019; van der Kolk et al., 2018; Moynihan and Landuyt, 2009; Park & Rainey, 2008; Fazzi & Zamaro, 2016.

## **1.4 Research Objectives**

1. To conduct a side-by-side analysis of the emergence of conflict using the path dependency theory, and the evolution of public administration using institutionalism and resilience.
2. To identify elements of continuity and change in public administration and conflict since the establishment of a colonial administration.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

In order to address the purpose and objective of this study, the research question and sub-questions were:

1. How did conflict become path-dependent in Fiji?
2. What are the critical factors for stability in Fiji's public administration and how has public administration evolved in light of political conflict?

### **1.5.1 Research Sub-Questions**

1. How do political institutions affect the evolution of public administration and conflict?
2. In light of the conflicts in Fiji, what are the critical junctures that have caused public administration to evolve?

## **1.6 Fiji's Pre-Colonial Leadership System and Colonial History**

The United Kingdom government administered the colony of Fiji using indirect rule from 1870 to 1970. This approach was adopted by the governor of Fiji, Sir Arthur Gordon<sup>6</sup>, who was governor from 1875 to 1880. In a 1967 report tabled at the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs annual conference, Gordon's policy was designed to maintain traditional Fijian institutions under the leadership of indigenous Fijian chiefs (NZ Government, 1967). This move created a "separate Fijian government", which formed a political subsystem with specially crafted laws and institutions that served the interests of the indigenous people; it was also referred to as a "State within a State" (NZ Government, 1967, p. 4). Gordon's decision to implement indirect rule sparked the creation of two concurrent paths in Fiji's political trajectory. The first path was characterised by direct British rule and the second path was formed under direct indigenous leadership and indirect British rule. While these paths coexisted

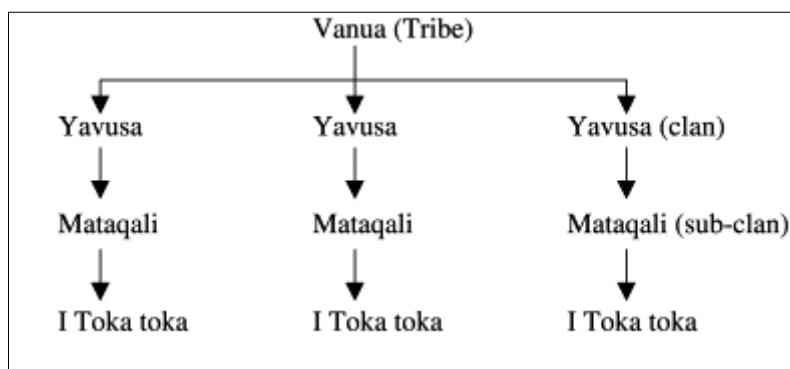
---

<sup>6</sup> Sir Arthur Gordon was the first Governor of Fiji and before arriving in Fiji in 1875, he was Governor of Trinidad then Mauritius. While he had much experience of administration in British colonies, he was also familiar with working in countries where "coloured laborers" formed a majority of a population (Cumpston, 1956, p. 369).

in harmony under colonial rule, they were merged 96 years later when the British administration exited Fiji and the nation became independent. This merger created problems, which continue to threaten the stability of Fiji’s political system.

Prior to colonialism, there existed a traditional Fijian system of governance. It was this traditional system that the British adapted and preserved using indirect rule. Given that this traditional system was not a formal institution of governance by Western standards, Fiji was deemed ‘stateless’. Fijians first interacted with Europeans in 1789 when a company led by William Bligh became the first westerners to chart Fiji waters<sup>7</sup> (Gravelle, 1979). In the year 1800, the first known traders arrived on an American schooner named Argo, where the Americans traded muskets in return for sandalwood. The traders were followed by missionaries from the London Missionary Society in 1830 who first introduced Christianity in the Eastern part of Fiji – Lakeba, Lau. During this pre-colonial period, Fijians were in a constant state of tribal wars and cannibalism was rife. In the Fijian culture, leadership is an ascribed status where respect was earned and power retained by winning vicious and deadly tribal wars. These practices were commonly described by the foreign settlers as ‘savage’ and ‘barbaric’. While the deadly wars and cannibalistic practices were indeed barbaric, arguments can be made against the idea that Fiji was ‘stateless’. This is because while there wasn’t a Eurocentric style of government in place, there certainly existed a structure that the indigenous Fijians used to govern themselves (Gravelle, 1979), as per Figure 1. The social structure of traditional Fijian societies is as below.

Figure 1 *Traditional Fijian Leadership Structure.*




---

<sup>7</sup> Although Lieutenant Bligh was the first European to voyage into Fiji, it is argued that the islands were first sighted by the Dutch East Indies Company under the command of Abel Tasman in 1639. This sighting was later recorded by Captain Cook in 1774 (Gravelle, 1979).

At the top of this hierarchical structure is the Vanua or Tribe, which is led by a chief and the smallest subsystem is the *i Tokatoka*, which is a family unit. While the chief takes on the leadership mantle, each role required to maintain this system is dispersed throughout the hierarchy and it is an ascribed status. In descending order, the traditional roles in a Fijian traditional system are:

- *Turaga / Marama*: chief
- *Sauturaga*: next in line for chiefly role
- *Matanivanua* – spokesperson for the chief
- *Bete* – spiritual guide / priest<sup>8</sup>
- *Turaga ni yavusa* – head of a clan
- *Turaga ni koro* – village headman
- *Turaga ni mataqali* – head of a sub-clan
- *Bati* – warriors
- *Gonedau* – fishermen
- *Mataisau* - craftsmen

Although Fiji was colonised in the year 1874, the idea of colonisation had begun developing in 1858 at a time when the self-proclaimed King of Fiji, Ratu Seru Cakobau, was under pressure to pay a \$45,000 debt to the government of the United States of America<sup>9</sup>. In 1862, the UK government sent a representative to facilitate talks for colonisation and in 1865 the proposed confederacy of native kingdoms in Fiji was approved. According to Newbury (2011), Fiji's deed of cession was signed by seven chiefs who ruled in different parts of Fiji:

1. Ratu Seru Cakobau
2. Ratu Epeli Cakobau – Tailevu and Naitasiri (eastern area of Viti Levu)

---

<sup>8</sup> Used to be a critical advisory role to the chief before Christianity arrived in Fiji. After embracing the new religion, this role and its importance was minimised.

<sup>9</sup> McIntyre (1960) reported that Ratu Cakobau had agreed to pay \$45,000 to the USA government for damages incurred by a group of Americans who resided in Fiji. The damage was caused by a fire that was accidentally set off by an United States consul, John Brown Williams while firing a Fourth of July salute. Williams claimed that Fijians looted his property while helping in the salvage work. The American consuls threatened to deport Ratu Cakobau to the United States unless he agreed to sign a treaty that they had prepared. The treaty described him as *Tui Viti* (King of Fiji). The Fijian chief signed and accepted responsibility for the damages. In addition to the \$45,000 owed, the American consuls burnt down 4 Fijian villages as punishment.

3. George Vakawalitabua – Tui Bua (western area of Vanua Levu)
4. Savenaca – representing Lomaitivi (central area of Fiji)
5. Ratu Isikeli – Ra (northern area of Viti Levu)
6. Ritova and Katonivere – Macuata (northern area of Vanua Levu)
7. Tui Lau – Lau group (eastern part of Fiji)

The nation's historical roots in colonialism presented complexities in the design of its public administrative structure. The relationship between colonial institutions and post-colonial political philosophies in Fiji was analysed in this thesis. In *Chapter Two: Literature Review*, Fiji's political history will be discussed, and some comparisons were made to other post-conflict States. This chapter also described governance systems in post-conflict States and provides a deep discussion of the theoretical frameworks utilised: path-dependency, institutionalism, and resilience.

### **1.7 Research Methodology**

I adopted a social constructionist philosophical approach in this research and studied archival documents to analyse interactions between historical actors in Fiji's political history. The findings are based on the accounts recorded in the archival data and it was built from conversations, observations, and recordings of Fiji's history. This research adopted the new archival tradition, which is an archival research method that analyses the relations between elements of social organisation in an institution (Ventresca & Mohr, 2002). This is because behavioural patterns of public administration and conflict in Fiji's administrative systems from the colonial era to independence are explored. I also analysed the relations between the actors involved. The archival data was collated using document analysis and analysed using a theoretical thematic analysis. In this approach, the underlying ideas and ideologies that shaped Fiji's political history and policy making processes were analysed. Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to this as the interpretive aspect of theoretical thematic analysis at the latent level. The methodology adopted for this thesis is discussed in depth in *Chapter Three: Methodology*.

### **1.8 Thematic Overview**

In this section I will briefly explain the thematic framework that encompassed the discussions around conflict and public administration. Conflict was analysed by applying the path-dependency lens on Fiji's political history. Conflicts occur as a result of incongruent viewpoints that may be rooted in an unfair distribution of resources and an imbalance of power. Two popular theorists of conflicts are Karl Marx, who proposed the 'conflict theory', and

suggests that society is in a constant state of conflict because of the competition for limited resources (Godwyn & Gittell, 2011; Marx, 1859). Marx argues that social structures are maintained by domination and power instead of consensus and compliance. On the other hand, Charles Darwin introduced Social Darwinism to provide a “survival of the fittest” stance saying that certain people become powerful in society because they are naturally better (Darwin, 1859). For this research, conflict refers to Fiji’s political coups. The path-dependency theory argues that changes occur as a result of initial choices that determine later developments and once a pathway forms, it is very difficult for alternative actions to take place (Bulmer & Burch, 2001). The path-dependency theory was used to explore whether Fiji was locked into a path of conflict and to understand the institutions involved in the creation of critical junctures in Fiji’s political trajectory. The analysis of the emergence and continuity of conflict in Fiji’s political trajectory is discussed in part one of two discussion chapters titled, *Chapter Four: Path Dependency in a Post-Conflict State*.

Fiji’s public administration was analysed using institutionalism and resilience. Initially, public administration was also going to be studied using path-dependency and institutionalism, but this changed after the data was analysed. The themes of Fiji’s public administration history showed characteristics of institutionalism and resilience. Path dependency and institutionalism are similar in that they both argue that organisational processes can become embedded and this stifles agency in policy making (Greener, 2005). The two differ in terms of policy change where institutional change occurs incrementally and path-dependent changes occur abruptly (Lawson, 2006). Institutionalism and resilience present two sides of a coin when it comes to policy making and public administration. In policy making, they also have different strategies for achieving stability. Institutionalism argues for rigidity and continuance and resilience favours adaptability and flexibility (Hein & Schubert, 2021; Sorensen, 2017). Fiji’s case presented a push and pull effect between institutionalism and resilience. This formed the backbone for the second discussion chapter titled, *Chapter Five: Institutionalism or Resilience? – Assessing tools for public administrative stability*.

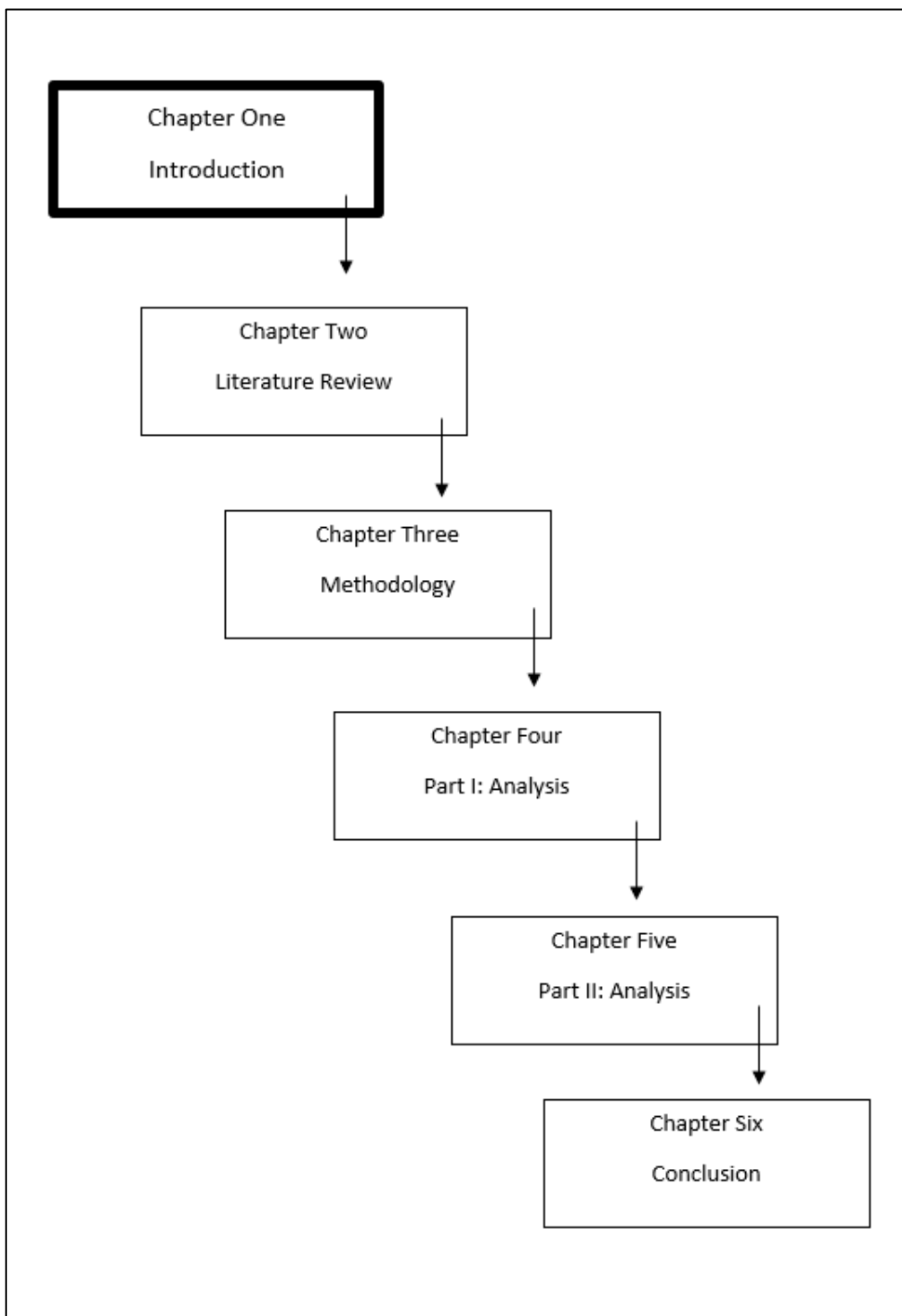
## 1.9 *Selo*<sup>10</sup> – Dissertation Conceptual Map

Figure Two is a conceptual map that is a visual representation of the structure of this dissertation. The bolded box indicates where this chapter sits relative to the rest of the thesis. The next chapter is titled, *Chapter Two: Literature Review*. This chapter discusses the main themes of this thesis like governance and public administration systems in post-conflict States, governance in former colonies, path dependency theory, institutionalism, and resilience. Chapter 2 includes a comprehensive discussion of Fiji's political history and comparisons were made between the global literature and Fiji. The main objective in the next chapter is to set the scene for the discussion chapters that will follow. *Chapter Three: Methodology* discusses the methodological tools employed in this research. The qualitative research method, thematic analysis and archival research tool are discussed in relation to the thesis. In *Chapter Four: Part I Analysis*, conflict in Fiji is analysed and discussed using the path-dependency theory. In this chapter, the effects that indirect rule and independence have had on Fiji's political trajectory was presented. *Chapter Five: Part II Analysis* is a discussion around resilience and institutionalism in the Fijian public administration system. This chapter evaluates public administration systems and suggests that the co-existence of institutionalism and resilience hindered the effectiveness of public administration processes. The final chapter is *Chapter Six: Conclusion*, here the findings from this research will be reiterated and there will be a discussion of research implications, limitations and recommendations.

---

<sup>10</sup> *Selo* is an indigenous Fijian phrase that is commonly used by those in the remote islands of Fiji to signal that a ship has been sighted and is approaching. As the ship approaches, villagers would call out saying *Selo!* so that all are aware that a ship is docking in, and people can prepare for the journey ahead.

Figure 2 *Conceptual Map*



## Chapter Two

### Literature Review

#### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will be dissecting research on governance, public administration, and post-conflict societies in former colonies. The path dependency, institutionalism, and resilience theories will be discussed and framed in relation to this thesis. The main objective of this chapter is to set a conceptual and theoretical backdrop for the discussion of findings. This literature review begins with a discussion of the broad governance context in post-conflict societies (section 2.2). Understanding the governance system in post-conflict societies provides contextual information on the political environment that public administrations function in. Governance approaches to nation rebuilding vary between countries and this section compares and contrasts different strategies like reinstating democracy, effective use of public resources and opening markets (Goldsmith, 2007). The next section is more specific with the discussion of the role of public administrations in post-conflict nations (section 2.3). This review will then shift from discussing governance approaches in post-conflict societies to governance systems in former colonies (section 2.4). Comparisons were made to Fiji's political context to identify weaknesses and opportunities for development.

Following the discussion on governance and public administration, the theoretical framework will be critically analysed. The theoretical framework formed the backbone of this thesis with path dependency, institutionalism, and resilience interwoven with public administration and conflict. The theoretical discussion begins with a description of path-dependency theory (section 2.5.1) before delving into literature on path-dependency and its link to conflict (section 2.5.2). Following this, institutionalism is discussed (section 2.5.3). Although institutionalism has similarities with path dependency, this thesis provided a separate description as institutionalism was used to explore public administration while its brother was used to analyse conflict. To provide a backstory for the analysis of the public administration system inherited by Fiji, the evolution of public administration in the United Kingdom will also be discussed (section 2.5.5). The resilience framework will then be discussed in section 2.5.6 before comparisons are made between resilience and institutionalism in section 2.6. Institutionalism and resilience are compared and contrasted because both were used to analyse the evolution of public administration.

In summary, this chapter explores the existing literature that relate to public administration in post-conflict States and former colonies, path-dependency, institutionalism, and resilience. The research reviewed provided a theoretical foundation for the analysis and discussion of findings.

## **2.2 Governance in Post-Conflict Societies**

Post-conflict societies are predominantly characterised by deep philosophical and ideological divisions (Brinkerhoff, 2007). State failure is a continuous weakening of institutions to a point where they cannot provide basic needs for citizens, and it occurs when authority and administrative capacity cultivates civil conflict instead of development (Kaplan & Rieff, 2000). In terms of conflict, a dominant characteristic of State failure is a government's inability to control violence as seen in civil wars and armed rebellions (Bates, 2005).

In the aftermath of an internal conflict, nation building takes place. This is when public institutions regain capacity to conduct and manage public affairs. Goldsmith (2007) suggests several indicators of a developing nation that is shifting away from State failure:

- Reinstating democracy: Countries at risk of violence are less democratic than post-conflict nations. When nations are in a post-conflict state, they show improvement in democratic systems and political freedom.
- Effective use of public resources: A State's ability to efficiently deliver goods and services to its citizens. An ability to make use of the resources available to a State reflects capability.
- Markets opening up: The consolidation of a market economy impacts a nation's economy. In order for markets to work effectively, the State must earn the confidence of investors, consumers, and workers.

To rebuild a nation, policy makers formulate intervention policies that has potential for reinstating democracy, market growth, and state capacity. This is aptly described by Hirschman (1958, pp. 9-10) who explains that:

The underdeveloped countries see only the fruits of economic progress and have little advance knowledge of the road they need to travel to obtain them.... Thus, they will find out about the changes required in their own society in the course of the development processes as they make false starts and as they meet with, and over-come, successive obstacles. It is in this fashion rather than a priori that they will determine which of their institutions and character traits are backward and must be reformed or given up.

Hirschman shifted the responsibility of nation rebuilding from the macro-level of society to the meso- and micro-levels of society, a process that creates space for citizen participation in the policy making process. Evans (2004) raises a stark reminder of the importance of context when it comes to policies aimed at nation building. Evans states this process is neither predetermined nor is it without goals, but local experimentation and adaptation are needed to make it work. By empowering locals, a nation is able to design its own intervention policies, and this has the potential to encourage self-regenerating development (Kaplan, 2008). Goldsmith (2007) suggests that developing countries can learn from the mistakes of other nations and the international community could suggest best practices that can be tailored to fit local conditions. Hirschman's statement enlarges the role of the developing country itself in the trial-and-error policy process of nation building but Goldsmith magnifies the role of the external environment in the same process. Goldsmith's external environment includes institutions like developed nations and the international community. While the policies proposed by the international community are 'tried and tested', its applicability to the local context of a fragile state is unknown and this gives rise to questions of policy-context fit. The opposite can be argued for Hirschman's approach in that allowing locals to formulate their own policies presents some risks because the systems of governance proposed may be new and untested. Although Goldsmith and Hirschman's arguments are thought provoking, Kaplan (2008) re-emphasises the main objective and that is, the policies designed in fragile states should be empowering and must establish local capacity for self-government.

The issue of policy-context fit is complex, but it is vital to the agenda setting stage of policy making in a post-conflict State. The factors considered when assessing the needs of, and later designing intervention strategies for, conflict-stricken States were economic context, government structure, socio-economic classification, and location (Kaplan, 2008). These factors are important for policy makers because it enables them to determine the scope of their intervention policies and tailor policies to match political economic and social contexts. While these factors are indeed important for the post-conflict assessment of any nation, Evans (2004) comments that policy makers need to consider a wider range of factors when nation rebuilding because policies are not predetermined.

Goldsmith (2007) argues urgent intervention is not always possible in the event of State failure because of the following issues:

1. The international community has a limited capacity to act, and they need to tread carefully so as not to be viewed negatively by the ruling government or its citizens.
2. The creation of an open and transparent government does not guarantee stability.
3. Security needs cannot be met because of the length of time required to set up the institutions needed to safeguard a State (Grindle, 2004).

Goldsmith further suggests that in order to manage the effects of these dilemmas actors must (1) be patient and allow for setbacks or unexpected outcomes, (2) be adaptable by allowing for periods of trial and error, and (3) have modest expectations by tolerating flaws in the process and accepting that progress may be incremental.

Intervention policies in post-conflict States aim to restore stability and peace. Peace can be achieved when opposing groups accept the government as their own and agree to submit their views and issues to democratic institutions and governing institutions that value their output (Inbal & Lerner, 2007) but government legitimacy is needed in order for this to transpire. Kjaer (2004) argues that there are two ways that governments can achieve legitimacy and that is through output orientation and input orientation. Although these processes are achieved in different ways, they are linked through:

- Output orientation: this is when governments produce tangible results like the provision of goods and services. These are goods and services like social, economic, and health-related services or security. When this is achieved, citizens are more likely to support the government.
- Input orientation: this is harnessed from consent through compliance to the rule of law and citizen willingness to submit to the government's authority. Indicators of consent in a democratic nation are citizen participation, deliberation, and representation in the governing process.

States that have legitimacy devote more resources to effective governance than they do to maintaining their rule (Gilley, 2006). State legitimacy is a prerequisite of effective government. In Fiji's case, the nature of the political coups suggests that race was perceived as a measure

of legitimacy. As an example, the 1987 coup saw Sitiveni Rabuka<sup>11</sup> overthrow what would have been an Indo-Fijian dominated cabinet. In 2000, George Speight<sup>12</sup> forcefully removed the newly elected Labour government – led by an Indo-Fijian. In 2006, the tables turned and instead of restoring indigenous seats in the governing structure, these powers were removed. Based on this description alone, Fijians show weak input-orientation; there was a reluctance to submit to government’s authority. To strengthen input-oriented legitimacy, Inbal and Lerner (2007) suggest several possible methods of achieving this:

- A nation must give consent to be governed.
- Cognitive consonance and value alignment. Members of society need to value the government that they are empowering and the role it will carry out.
- Shared norms between citizens, governments, and different groups in a nation.

However, input-orientation is weakened by:

- Incongruent views among citizens regarding the role of government that they have consented to.
- Contrasting views on government priorities like religion vs political philosophies.
- Ethnic tension could arise when views on ethnic representation clash with pluralist views.

The political trajectory in Fiji was affected by race-based politics, colonial institutions that became embedded in their public administration and contrasting ideologies among its two major ethnic groups. This led to outbursts of conflict.

A national constitution is another mechanism that is used to create stability in a conflict prone State, but its creation is made difficult by conflicting perceptions of national identity, norms, and values. In order to be effective, a constitution must have the potential to build on shared values and provide workable compromises for differences. In deeply divided nations,

---

<sup>11</sup> Sitiveni Rabuka is an indigenous Fijian. Before becoming a politician, he held the position of Major-General in the Fiji Military Forces. At the time of writing this thesis, Rabuka had just won the Fiji General Elections held in December, 2022. His political party, the People’s Alliance Party formed a coalition with the National Federation Party.

<sup>12</sup> George Speight is a mixed-race fourth-generation descendant of a white settler in Fiji who gave himself an indigenous Fijian name for the coup, Ilikimi Naitini (Field et al., 2017).

Habermas (1996) proposes ‘constitutional patriotism’ as a solution<sup>13</sup>. This is achieved with a shared commitment to the democratic institutions of the State and its ability to establish a unified nation. A prerequisite of constitutional patriotism is for citizens to share a common political philosophy – a difficult feat, especially in nations whose history is rife with identity-based conflicts like ethnic tension and religious wars.

Another factor to consider in fragile States is policy-context fit. Fiji’s administrative system was adopted from their former colonisers and there were aspects of this system that contrasted with the political philosophies of the indigenous Fijians. Evidence of this misalignment is seen in the contrasting values and ideologies that shaped Fiji’s four Constitutions since 1970. The nation’s colonial history has created distrust and discord between the two major ethnic groups, which hinders the success of integration policies in the design of its Constitution (Ghai & Cottrell, 2007). Perhaps Fiji’s situation can be explained by Hirschman (1994) who argues that divisible conflicts are easier to settle than non-divisible ones. This is because conflicting parties can compromise or share the difference in a divisible conflict whereas indivisible conflicts entail an unwillingness to compromise on the issues at hand. Ghai and Cottrell (2007) argue that because of Fiji’s colonial origins and policies, its constitutional framework needed to feature integrative policies, but this was made impossible by the lack of sensitivity and sympathy among the two major communities. According to Ghai and Cottrell, the 1970 constitution<sup>14</sup> of Fiji which was established at independence, “hovered uneasily between integration and consociation” (Ghai & Cottrell, 2007, p. 640). This was followed by the 1990 constitution<sup>15</sup> that elevated indigenous Fijian institutions and interests but was replaced with a more multiracial 1997 constitution<sup>16</sup> after pressure from the international community. At the time of writing this thesis, Fiji is currently being governed by the 2013 constitution<sup>17</sup>. The

---

<sup>13</sup> While it has its merits, constitutional patriotism carries the risk of developing into extreme nationalism. Ingram (1996) refers to constitutional patriotism as a post-national identity and argues that it is different from nationalism because institutional expressions of values differ between the two. Constitutional patriotism is described as loyalty to constitutional tradition whereas nationalism is citizen solidarity based on cultural factors.

<sup>14</sup> 1970 Constitution of Fiji, available at [https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/1970\\_constitution.pdf](https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/1970_constitution.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> 1990 Constitution of Fiji, available at [http://www.paclii.org/fj/promu/promu\\_dec/cotsdrofd1990712.pdf](http://www.paclii.org/fj/promu/promu_dec/cotsdrofd1990712.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> 1997 Constitution of Fiji, available at [http://www.paclii.org/fj/legis/num\\_act/ca1997268/](http://www.paclii.org/fj/legis/num_act/ca1997268/)

<sup>17</sup> 2013 Constitution of Fiji, available at <https://www.laws.gov.fj/Home/information/constitutionoftherepublicoffiji>

deep-seated ethnic divisions and tension in Fiji are impediments to input-oriented legitimacy and constitutional patriotism. As a result of its weak constitutional framework, in its 43<sup>rd</sup> year of independence Fiji underwent yet another constitutional change to implement its fourth constitution.

In its 52 years of independence, Fiji has had four constitutions and this instability is an indicator of weakness in the nation's constitutional framework.

The discussion that follows analyses Fiji's approach to constitutional framing. The features of the 1970 constitution are described in the following ways:

- Characterised by elements of integration and consociation.
- Designed according to the colonial framework, with a governor, appointed executive council, and partially elected legislative council.
- The context: Fijians feared that independence would lead to Indo-Fijian dominance. They were outnumbered by Indo-Fijians so there was a reliance on smaller communities (Europeans, part Europeans, Chinese, Pacific Islanders and Rotumans) to support indigenous Fijians in the political sphere.
- Captured a system of segregation that accommodated differing relationships between each racial community and the State.
- Constitutional framing incorporated the social, political, and economic systems of indigenous Fijians.
- Protected political dominance of indigenous Fijians.
- Electoral system enables representation of each faction of Fijian society and seats were allocated based on race. This was intended to gradually progress towards a non-racial system.
- The pre-colonial traditional Fijian system that the British inherited and later adapted was constitutionalised in the 1970 constitution.

Although there were some attempts at integration policies, the 1970 constitution depended on the separation of races to maintain stability. Ghai and Cottrell (2007, p. 646) describe the constitution of Fiji as “deliberately transitional” because of the open-ended way the electoral system was established. A ‘first past the post’ system was established at independence to appease indigenous Fijians, much to the dismay of Indo-Fijians<sup>18</sup>. As a compromise, the UK government mandated that after the first election, an electoral review would be carried out by a royal commission (Lal, 2021). The Indo-Fijians preferred a national voting system compared to the ‘first past the post’ system and the Indo-Fijian politicians at the time hoped that the royal commission would make the same recommendations (Reilly, 2001). Framing a deliberately

---

<sup>18</sup> The Fijians favoured a communal voting system because Parliament seats were distributed based on ethnicity and with the majority reserved for indigenous Fijians. Indo-Fijians favoured universal suffrage because it allowed for crossvoting and voting based on party lines as opposed to ethnic lines; this system would also remove racially reserved seats.

transitional constitution created institutions that could facilitate debate on the issues over time had a lower risk of conflict as opposed to trying to reach a consensus on highly contentious issues like official languages or religion in politics (Inbal & Lerner, 2007). As Fiji prepared to gain independence, the Fijian community also had to juggle traditional and progressive views on politics. There were the traditionalists who wanted to maintain the status quo and on the other side of the spectrum were those who believed that the communal structure and dominance of chiefs in Fijian polity inhibited the development of the Fijian community. Although indigenous Fijian systems were preserved in the 1970 constitution, the document was not able to withstand the strong viewpoints held against it and this is exemplified in the number of times Fiji has changed its constitution since it gained independence (Ghai & Cottrell, 2007).

### 1990 Constitution

This constitution was implemented in Fiji after the first coup in 1987. At this point, the constitution making process was being used to pursue racial dominance. The biggest difference between this constitution and the 1970 independence constitution was that the latter was designed as a result of negotiation and the former was imposed on the people of Fiji. Under this constitution, multiracialism was rejected in favour of indigenous Fijian dominance in the political system. This constitution strengthened the privileges afforded to indigenous Fijians in the 1970 constitution by:

- Retaining the parliamentary system that favoured an indigenous Fijian majority.
- Making all parliamentary seats communal so that no crossvoting across communities could occur.
- Having an over-representation of Fijians in the Senate.
- Initiating provisions were made to guarantee that the administration and Prime Minister be of indigenous Fijian descent.
- Establishing a public administration that was dominated by indigenous institutions and because of this, other races were unable to participate in and influence government policies.

The 1990 constitution further deepened the rift that existed among the major ethnic groups of Fiji and between the indigenous Fijians themselves as the relevance of the chieftaincy was

challenged. On the global front, the separatist policies negatively impacted the economy and Fiji was later expelled from the Commonwealth<sup>19</sup>.

Fiji's constitution leaned towards segregation and away from consociationalism. The language used was also stark in its promotion of one ethnic group as opposed to being vague or ambiguous. These are contributing factors to the outbursts of conflict that would follow in Fiji and the changing constitutions that came with each coup.

### 1997 Constitution

The 1997 constitution was created as a result of international pressure on Fiji to establish an integrative and inclusive constitution. The foundations of this constitution were built on multiracialism, national unity, and the socio-economic development of all communities in Fiji. This time the constitutional framers were more representative: the chairman of the review committee was Sir Paul Reeves<sup>20</sup> and the members of the commission were Tomasi Vakatora<sup>21</sup> and Brij Lal<sup>22</sup>.

Post-conflict States can be rebuilt by strengthening state legitimacy (Inbal & Lerner, 2007), designing input and output orientated public administrations (Kjaer, 2004), and harnessing constitutional patriotism (Habermas, 1996). In Fiji's case, the effects of being led under indirect rule and use of race-based politics created a 'them versus us' mentality which influences the perceptions of Fijians on the legitimacy of the government in power. A citizen's willingness to be governed and their constitutional patriotism is dependent on who is in power. This was the driving force behind each one of Fiji's political coups. Legacies of colonialism have shaped Fiji's political path into one where social identity based on ethnicity is a key determinant of how State legitimacy is perceived, and it is a means of garnering citizen support.

---

<sup>19</sup> Fiji experienced low economic growth between 1991 and 1998 with fluctuations between 2.5 and 1.4 per cent. Fiji's economy was affected through policies that charged increased rent for Indo-Fijians in the agricultural sector, aimed to reduce Indo-Fijian control of the sugar industry, decreased resource allocation to Indo-Fijian schools, and created preferential access to government loans for business (Gounder, 2004).

<sup>20</sup> Sir Paul Reeves was a former Governor-General of New Zealand. He was also a New Zealand clergyman who served as Archbishop and Primate.

<sup>21</sup> Tomasi Vakatora was an indigenous Fijian who was a cabinet minister with the Alliance Party and appointed as Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1982.

<sup>22</sup> Brij Lal was an Indo-Fijian historian and academic who wrote about the Pacific region and indentured labour scheme.

Democratic elections contribute to State legitimacy and effective governance. Its design can instigate conflict or promote stability, which is why it is negotiated with much care in a post-conflict State<sup>23</sup>. Political parties are an avenue for citizen representation and a successful electoral system maintains democratic accountability<sup>24</sup> (Bjornlund et al., 2007). In post-conflict societies that are divided as a result of ethnic tension, International Crisis Group (2005)<sup>25</sup> warns that appealing to narrow ethnic interests instead of the wider society will lead to instability in the future because the systems become divisive instead of representative. The electoral system that was implemented in Fiji at the time of independence favoured indigenous Fijians and the political philosophy of Fiji citizens was based on race. The elections system in Fiji became a balance of power between the races. In the words of the International Crisis Group (2005), it created more division than representation.

### **2.3 Public Administration Systems in Post-Conflict States**

The role of public administration is to design and implement programs that regulate behaviour, provide services, and contribute to economic development (Hughes, 2017). In a post-conflict State, public institutions are destabilised through limited access to justice, politicisation of administration, lack of transparency, lack of accountability, low morale, infrastructure damage, low public service productivity, weakened leadership, spoils system, and a loss of skilled workers or brain drain (Nhede, 2019). Post-conflict States face capacity deficits which impede their ability to perform (Brinkerhoff, 2010). Additional damages to the public service include weakened rule of law, challenges to security, governance, and economic development (Abramov, 2010). The civil servants in a fragile State are then faced with the daunting task of rebuilding a nation with limited resources and a lack of will to perform. As a result, one of the main goals of post-conflict reform strategies is to improve civil service performance. Strengthening public administration processes and actions thus becomes a key aspect in rebuilding a nation struck with conflict.

Public administration has the ability to manage interstate conflicts through civil service recruitment policies and the distribution of government resources among different groups

---

<sup>23</sup> Schumpeter (1976) describes democracy as an institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions where power is acquired by competing for people's vote.

<sup>24</sup> Schmitter and Karl (1991) argue that political democracy is a system whereby leaders are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens.

<sup>25</sup> A non-governmental organisation and think tank working to prevent wars through policy research and analysis.

(Mills, 1970). As a result of fragile ethnic relations, India and South Africa are two conflict-prone and plural societies and these countries managed inter-ethnic relations through representative bureaucracy and proportional participation in public administration (Esman, 1999).

As a result of ethnic conflict, the public administration functions as an intermediary between ethnic tension, state development, and economic progress. To manage interethnic relations Esman (1997) suggests three mechanisms that public administration officials can employ:

1. Systemic preferences: Preferential recruitment in public sector jobs for members of their own ethnic community. They can also do the same in the allocation of resources and services. Members of the minority communities can be appointed to represent grievances in their communities in positions of authority. However, the lion's share of resources would be allocated to members of the dominant community.
2. Individual market / merit processes: This is applied when the dominant ethnic groups are confident in the merits of its people and their competitiveness in the market. This approach has the advantage of promoting an image of universal fairness, which is an advantage for leaders of any government system. The assumption is that the advantages afforded to dominant ethnic groups like kinship, old school ties, and "gentlemen's agreements" would put any outsiders at a disadvantage even in a merit-based market. Members of minority groups are then advised to level the playing field through education and hard work. With its focus on individual opportunity and achievement, the merit-based system is argued to have the potential to reduce the effect that ethnic activism has on the stability of a nation (Horowitz, 1985).
3. Power-sharing: A process for balanced participation and intergroup equity by allocating resources and opportunities in proportion to the size of ethnic communities. Competition is encouraged but it is regulated by the goal of multiracial harmony. Power sharing encourages government officials to consider the needs of all ethnic groups when making public policy.

Systemic preferences may be equitable for resource allocation, but this strategy could become problematic if the majority use their privileges to reinforce inequality instead of promoting equity. There is also the issue of determining who should get the lion's share of resources as

dominance could be measured based on indigeneity, economic power, or population size<sup>26</sup>. Individual market / merit practices would be difficult to implement because it requires a level of political maturity and a long-standing investment in education and economic participation. Without this, the dominant group in a society would not have confidence to allow individual market practices to function freely. Similar to individual market / merit practices, power sharing also requires a high level of confidence among those in the dominant group to avoid conflict.

During colonialism, Fiji's public administration was predominantly organised using systemic preferences. Fijian chiefs were appointed to work as salaried staff in the colonial administration and a Great Council of Chiefs (GCC) was established to represent the indigenous Fijians as a formal legislative body (Norton, 1977). Preferential treatment continued after Fiji became independent. This was referred to as the 'Fijianisation of the public service' (Butukoro, 1995). The 1990 Constitution of Fiji stipulated that the Public Service Commission must ensure that each department of the civil service had a minimum of 50 percent of Fijians and Rotumans and not less than 40 percent of members from other communities. Systemic preferences created ethnic loyalties which led to ethnic activism and animosity between Fijians and Indo-Fijians.

According to Horowitz (1985) ethnic solidarity has the power to destabilise a State. While merit-based systems try to shift public administration processes from ethnic lines to one of merit and achievement, it can only work when the dominant group is confident in the competitiveness of its people (Esman, 1997). This precondition for the success of merit-based processes in a multi-ethnic society is a weakness in Fiji's public administration for two major reasons: the embeddedness of race-based politics (Ratuva, 2013b) and the segmented economy where Fijians owned land and took up most of the public administration roles while Indo-Fijians owned businesses and had higher rates of economic participation (Norton, 1977). The segmentation of economic participation reduces the competitiveness of each group because they are confined to predetermined economic roles. This also has the potential to spark conflict because stepping out of these boundaries could upset the State's stability. The embedded race-based politics meant that ethnic activism was a key determinant of policy actions and processes.

---

<sup>26</sup> For instance, Fiji has two major ethnic groups: the indigenous Fijians who own land and the Indo-Fijians who dominate in commerce. Determining the dominant group is a complex feat should systemic preferences be considered.

Using Esman's strategies, Fiji's administrative history shows some elements of systemic preferences, individual market / merit practices, and power-sharing. However, these methods of regulating interethnic relations were applied at different points in time of Fiji's political trajectory:

1. 1870 – 1964 systemic preferences: Under colonial rule, indigenous Fijians were afforded more privileges like paying taxes in kind not cash (Lal, 2010), appointed to positions in the colonial administration and their rights were protected by a Great Council of Chiefs (Norton, 1977). In education, they were provided with opportunities to get educated abroad and the colonial administration allocated more resources to the establishment and maintenance of schools specifically for indigenous Fijians.
2. 1965 – 2006 power sharing: The preparations for Fiji's independence began in 1965 and this marked a critical point in Fiji's political trajectory because the British administration designed a government system that encouraged racial harmony among indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians (Loga et al., 2021). Two major political parties were established and each represented separate factions of Fijian society, Alliance Party (predominantly made up of indigenous Fijians) and the National Federation Party (predominantly made up of Indo-Fijians). The Alliance Party was elected to government and the National Federation Party formed the Opposition.
3. 2006 to date, individual market / merit practices: Some policies like the abolishment of the Great Council of Chiefs, changes in the school system, which relaxed strict requirements set by schools and the introduction of the Open Merit Based system in the civil service points to attempts at individual market / merit practices.

Esman (1997) mentions that these 3 methods of regulating ethnic relations are affected by different perceptions of what equates to fairness and divisions within the ethnic communities. In Fiji's case, each of the attempts at regulating ethnic relations between indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians were complicated by their colonial history of indirect rule. Ripple effects of indirect rule like race-based politics maintained the ethnic tension and segregation in Fiji. While Esman's proposed methods has potential, in Fiji's case, complications arise from its colonial history and its readiness to adopt each one of the methods of managing ethnic relations.

To reconstruct post-conflict States, donor organisations focus on strengthening governing institutions and the establishment of legitimate States (Hillman, 2013). These interventions are

grounded in the argument that weak government institutions are the main cause of conflict (Brinkerhoff, 2010). Government security and legitimacy can be achieved through:

- Job creation and delivering essential services (Fukuyama, 2004).
- Citizen's trust in government's ability to deliver public services (World Bank, 2011).
- Effective, responsive, and accountable State institutions (Brinkerhoff, 2010).
- Establishing trust between State and citizens (Hillman, 2013).

Hillman (2013) argues that although there is growing research on strengthening institutions in post-conflict States, there is scant research on the effectiveness of reform efforts and the challenges that donor organisations face in the reform process.

After the 1987 coup, the World Bank rolled out a number of reforms in Fiji's public sector that were aimed at directly strengthening public institutions and the market by extension. These reforms mirrored the New Public Management model which advocated for the application of business principles in the public sector:

- 1987 – 1992: expansion of exports, deregulation of the economy for private sector growth, reduction in the size of government, corporatisation, and privatisation of government entities<sup>27</sup> (Butukoro, 1995).
- 1992 – 1996: Government departments and statutory bodies reorganised, political appointments in the civil service, ministerial roles and responsibilities shifted to juggling public positions, and civil service appointments (Appana, 2011).
- Public Enterprise Act 1996: outlined the structure for state owned enterprises (SOE) where the relationship between SOEs and government shifted from owner to governance (Sharma & Lawrence, 2009). The Department of Public Enterprises was set up to monitor SOEs. This changed in 1999 when the role was adopted by the Ministry of Public Enterprises and Public Sector Reform (McMaster, 2001).
- Public Service Act 1999 & Public Finance Act 1999: the Public Service code of conduct was set under the Public Service Act. Public sector and public enterprises were reorganised in this period.

---

<sup>27</sup> To deregulate the economy and encourage private sector growth, the Fiji government reduced the subsidies given to public enterprises. During this period, four enterprises were corporatised: Fiji Post and Telecommunication Limited, IKA Corporation, Fiji Pine, and National Marketing Corporation (Sarker & Pathak, 2003).

The World Bank prioritises strengthening governing institutions in the design of their public sector intervention policies<sup>28</sup> and perhaps this confirms Hillman's (2013) arguments that the failure of conflict States is attributed to weak governing institutions. While the effectiveness of such reforms has been researched by Hillman (2013), this thesis examines the lead up to conflicts by studying the history of governing institutions to pinpoint critical junctures in time that set a post-conflict State like Fiji on a path of conflict and fragility and not the aftermath.

Another factor that is important in nation rebuilding is accountability where a government must be accountable to its citizens. In Fiji, political accountability is a recurring problem that is argued to be exacerbated by poor management, corruption and lack of citizen participation (Lodhia & Burritt, 2004). Accountability is the act of providing an account of individual or collective actions to accountability holders (Mulgan, 2003). On the national scale, the State is accountable to its citizens (accountability holders) among others. There are different types of accountability checks, but of relevance to this thesis is political accountability and managerial accountability. Wallis and Gregory (2009) define political accountability as a process where public office holders are made answerable to citizens for the work carried out on their behalf. Managerial accountability occurs at the organisation level when employees are held accountable by organisation hierarchies for their actions at work. The World Bank (1999) describes two routes of accountability for public administrators and the citizens they represent:

1. Short route of accountability: The citizens deal directly with service providers who could be from the private, public, or non-government sector. In normal circumstances these services are attained through purchase but in post-conflict States, goods and services could be acquired via relief efforts.
2. Long route of accountability: This method entails citizen participation through the use of their voice to influence the State who organises and manages the delivery of services from chosen providers.

---

<sup>28</sup> The World Bank's policy conditions are developed from the Washington consensus, which is a set of economic policy recommendations for developing countries that became popular in the 1980s (Williamson, 1993). The Washington consensus policies promoted by the World Bank are creating economic stability by controlling inflation and reducing government budget deficits, lifting restrictions on trade, and allowing market forces to operate freely (Williamson, 1997).

Although the short route is more direct than the long route, State capacity is required to set up this environment and create market readiness, characteristics that are fragile in the aftermath of a conflict. The long route, commonly found in developing nations like Fiji, is feasible for post-conflict States because it allows citizens to influence decision making regarding the services being provided through their government. This route also allows a government to set conditions that offset the costs of these goods and services like government subsidies on public transport, education, and healthcare. To uphold these lines of accountability, the civil service plays two key roles: (1) maintaining its role as mediator between citizens / principal and service providers / agents, (2) maintaining the short route of accountability by ensuring that it functions well (Blair, 2007).

#### **2.4 ‘New States in Former Societies’ – Governance Systems in Former Colonies**

The British interests in the design of governing systems for its former colonies was described as superficial because the systems failed to evolve with Britain’s own political and constitutional machinery post-independence (Mair, 1962). A common feature among ex-colonies was the co-existence of indigenous political and social institutions that pre-dated colonisation and the modern westernised system of governing introduced by colonial powers. These were described as ‘new States in old societies’ (Welch, 1967). Although British public administrative systems were implemented throughout the British empire, Mills (1970) argues that there was a ‘time lag’ between constitutional development in Britain and its colonies. As a result, while Britain developed its system over time, its colonies did not mirror the evolution of custom, tradition, convention, and informal arrangements. Some attempts to apply the British system onto indigenous systems of governance were carried out in Africa and Asia but constitutional development halted after the British left (Lugard, 1965).

Mills (1970) describes the evolution of public administration in the Caribbean, a former British colony, and the characteristics of its colonial public administration system:

- Governors exercised executive powers.
- Governors were advised by councils or committees made up of nominated members.
- There were no well-organised political parties.
- The sugar industry was developed to become the backbone of the economy (Williams, 1942).
- West-Indian born members of the civil service worked in subordinate positions of the colonial administration (Blanshard, 1947).

Like the system set up in the Caribbean, Fiji had a Governor who held the highest office in the colony and received advice from councils like the Great Council of Chiefs and Provincial Councils, which had similar powers to municipal town councils (Butukoro, 1995). Indigenous Fijians were also appointed to administrative positions in the colonial office (Lawson, 1991) and like the Caribbean, the sugar industry was established as one of the major industries in the Fijian economy (Lal, 1983). In the five years leading up to independence, the colonial administration set up political parties that represented the two major ethnic groups, these parties were not well organised and were embryonic in terms of understanding the complexities of democratic governance in a Westminster style State. This style of representation in government is like the systemic preferences outlined by Esman (1997), however the application was weak in Fiji due to a lack of readiness and capacity to govern using the Westminster style.

The public administration system in Caribbean colonies had three major problems and conflicts: its Westminster heritage, the constitutional and political changes experienced during its transition from colony to self-governance, and the complex concerns with social and economic developments initiatives (Mills, 1970). Each one of these problems arose from a lack of readiness, which in turn created weak public administration institutions. The areas of concern were:

1. An understanding of the principles and traditions that governed the relationship between ministers and civil servants. A weakness that was observed by the colonial office at the time (Grenada Government Gazette, 1962).
2. A clear definition of systems of relationships between administrative and technical staff. Because administrators were given superior statuses, technical personnel resented them causing friction.
3. Machinery to support the work of public sector organisations set out by their colonial predecessors. For example, where the constitution required corporations to submit annual reports to the appropriate Minister to be laid before Parliament, no Select Committees like those in the UK House of Commons existed to operationalise this government role (Government of Jamaica, 1964).

The friction among civil servants in the Caribbean was also said to be a result of “deeply steeped colonial traditions of law and order or in the use of bureaucratic apparatus for control rather than development” (La Palombara, 1963, pp. 15-16). The same occurs in Fiji where they

have had difficulty effectively self-governing because of institutionalised processes and philosophies they inherited with their public administration.

Indirect rule was a concept that was developed by British colonial administrator Frederick Lugard who popularised this approach by implementing it in Nigeria (Muiu, 2010). African countries like Kenya, Ghana, and Nigeria that were colonised by Great Britain, present some similarities to Fiji in terms of institutional structure. The next part of this review discusses some governance approaches in African countries. Muiu (2010) states that African countries were colonised with the use of violence and brutal force in order to control the population. This allowed the colonisers to “impose their will” in each nation. The nature of colonisation in African countries entailed the following:

- Exploitation in the form of collecting taxes and mobilising people for labour.
- Forcing Africans to plant cash crops like cotton in Uganda, cloves in Zanzibar, and cocoa in Ghana (Boahen, 1985).
- Top-down, authoritarian governance in a centralised State. West African countries in particular had a political system where an alliance had formed between colonial masters and traditional leaders, which eschewed the role that leaders were expected to take in the administration of their own countries (Muiu, 2010).
- Indirect rule in countries like Nigeria, which had a large area to govern. The chiefs in each area reported to the colonial officer in charge.

In Kenya, their economic structure is argued to have been shaped by their former colonisers who determined the trading partners of each of their colonies and which crops to grow (Kaniki, 1985). These decisions were made without consideration of the environmental impact of growing certain crops. To develop cash crops, forests were cleared without any consideration of traditional trading patterns that pre-dated colonialism, environmental, or social impacts (Ndulo, 2003). In the Kenyan town of Thika, trees were cut to plant pineapples for Kenya Canners, now Del Monte. This disrupted the livelihoods of Kenyans in surrounding areas as they were unable to feed themselves using their land resources (Muiu, 2010). Because of these factors, when countries like Kenya gained independence, they were said to be ‘post-colonial’ in name only. Devenney (1998) describes *Uhuru*, which is the ideal steps for independence in African countries. It is an interesting three-stage process of decolonisation that includes:

Stage 1: Physical withdrawal and removal of colonial powers from Africa.

Stage 2: Struggle against neo-colonialism.

Stage 3: Economic independence.

At stage two of *Uhuru*, independence is described as tokenistic because African nations are neo-colonial instead of post-colonial. Colonial ideologies continue to influence the institutions and structures of its former colonies. *Uhuru* contains elements of path-dependency. It echoes the ideas of Rose (1991) who stated that path-dependency emphasises the important role that history plays in organisations because it results in the dominance of history over choice. Countries like Kenya and Nigeria, the Caribbean, and Fiji faced a similar difficulty before attaining independence and that is the lack of structural readiness. After achieving independence these former colonies were then faced with the struggle against colonial ideals that had become entrenched in their governing systems and the lack of context-specific governing systems that suited each of their political contexts. As a result of these struggles, these States have become fragile and unstable with weak economic structures.

To achieve stage three of *Uhuru* the main objective is achieving economic independence and a united Africa, several suggestions have been presented:

- African countries have control over their natural resources and economy (Saul, 2003).
- Judicial and education systems that reflect the values of its people (Ayittey, 2016). A transformation of the judicial system to consider the traditional judicial structures that tried to solve problems rather than focus on punishment alone. Reforming the education system to reflect the interests, needs, and indigenous knowledge of its people.
- Building trade partnerships between African countries instead of closing borders to each other (Muiu, 2010).
- Representative and participative democracy (Ake, 2001).
- Citizen participation to build public trust and ownership in State activities (Muiu, 2010).

Tusalem (2016) argues that colonialism created nations that are locked into paths of conflict. Stage three of *Uhuru* indicates that former colonies in Africa are trying to undo colonial institutions in order to create stability and economic development. It shows demand for a shift in political philosophy. This raises several important issues: there is a need to ensure policy-context fit (one way this can be done is through citizen consultation in the policy process) and an evaluation of the role that historical institutions play in present day systems. Muiu (2010) argues that the post-colonial government structures in African countries fails to cater to the needs of its people. To date, there has been no known attempt at operationalising *Uhuru* even

though economic growth in African countries continue to experience slow growth as a result of intra-state conflict, terrorism, and unconstitutional changes of government (World Bank, 2022). Although there was reported economic growth in African countries, the Covid-19 pandemic revealed that core institutions were still very weak. At the turn of 2019, the UNDP revealed that in the past two decades, average rates of economic growth in 27 African countries reported a 25% increase in gross domestic product (UNDP, 2020). The International Monetary Fund predicted that between 2019 – 2023, six of the 15 fastest growing economies would be from Africa. The spread of the Covid-19 set these nations back as the breakdown in health systems had a ripple effect on humanitarian, socioeconomic and development needs (UNSDG, 2020).

The discussion surrounding *Uhuru* is interesting because it presents an alternative to the Western style of government like the Westminster system. It is relevant to Fiji whose Prime Minister at the time of independence argued that the party system and Westminster style of governing did not match Fiji's political culture (Ansell, 1976a). Granted, the UK Government did infuse Fiji's Westminster style government with traditional systems of governing but the two did not successfully synthesise and this gave rise to instability. Perhaps a consideration of locally developed approaches to governing would have improved the design of government systems. The issue of policy-context considerations will be discussed in detail in the analysis chapters.

## **2.5 Resilience and Institutionalism in Public Administration Systems**

After a crisis, institutionalised bureaucratic structures are in tension with the need to adapt in an uncertain environment (Ansell et al., 2010). An unstable environment requires rules, structures, and certainty in procedures, but a crisis demands amenable crisis management strategies. Finding the 'golden mean' between institutionalism and adaptability is a challenge for public administrators (Comfort et al., 2010a). The resilience framework has been used in crisis management because of its ability to formulate adaptive policies. However, for resilience to be effective, there is a need for public officials to be adaptable. Stark (2014) states that crisis managers can still work in an environment that is not resilience-friendly but there is a need to understand institutionalised bureaucratic values that hinder the effectiveness of resilience policies.

According to Hood (1991), there are three common types of value systems in a public administration. The sigma- and theta-type system designs reflect values that have been

institutionalised in public administrations while the lambda-type administration aligns with resilience-thinking. Hood (1991) describes the three types of system designs in public administration as:

1. Sigma-type values: Lean and purposeful.

In this system, resources are allocated to match specific tasks. Resources are used sparingly to avoid waste and the approach to work and rewards is result-oriented.

2. Theta-type values: Honest and fair.

The ethical and moral approaches to public service work falls under this system. The public servant is held accountable by the citizens they serve, and they work to earn public trust.

3. Lambda-type values: Reliability, robustness, and adaptability.

Resilience is a key characteristic of this system. To be resilient, a public administration should be able to withstand and learn from crisis and are required to avoid competency traps because they stifle adaptation. The characteristics of a resilient public administration are:

- Able to operate in and adapt in adverse conditions, openness to non-traditional ideas, capacity to develop, and a willingness to learn and adapt in times of crisis (Hood, 1991).
- Avoids competency traps (Liebowitz & Margolis, 1990).
- Organisation needs to have a multi-objective approach instead of a single objective one (van Gimsteren, 1976).

The historical development of public administration with its systems and processes is explored to find actions that act as levers or impediments for stability in light of national crises. Inappropriate institutions contribute to State fragility and in some cases, the existing governing structures in unstable countries can be traced to legacies of colonialism. Kaplan (2008) argues that a stable State uses local identities, local capacities, and local institutions to promote its development whereas an unstable State:

- Cannot establish legitimate formal structures based on its histories and customs.
- Is unable to utilise its social capital embedded in cohesive groups to create a stable economic, political, and social sphere.
- Does not employ the traditional governing structures of its citizens to govern the state.

In a country like Fiji, with its governing institutions adapted according to the British administrative system, institutions have become so entrenched that conflicts arise when they

are challenged (Loga et al., 2021). The conflicts that occur reflect deep societal divisions based on race (Ratuva, 2013c) and this is an impediment to progressive change and resilient attitudes. Kaplan (2008) explores fragile States and argues that the improvement of structures in these States is dependent on its citizens' ability to cooperate among themselves and with the State. Therefore, in order to develop, a fragile society needs social cohesion and a set of shared institutions in place. In Fiji's case, the deep-seated ethnic tensions are a barrier to the achievement of social cohesion and shared institutions. As discussed, these divisions have existed since colonialism and from the literature on institutionalism, it is understood that time and repeated practice only embeds institutionalised philosophies.

### ***2.5.1 Administrative Resilience and Institutionalism within the Organisation Context***

Resilience has a number of definitions like 'bounce-back ability' or the capacity for ecological systems to withstand both natural and human stresses and a subject's internal ability to withstand external pressures (Chandler, 2014). Connolly (2005) suggests that resilience-thinking is similar to the conception of a 'resonance machine' for the following reasons:

1. It receives traditional perceptions of cause and effect, of subjects and structures.
2. It produces new ideologies of complexity and relational dynamics.

Institutional resilience draws its strength from flexibility and adaptability. Home and Orr (1997) describe organisational resilience as an institution's ability to withstand environmental pressure by adapting to changing conditions. Chandler (2014) surmises that resilience-thinking is not a product of clear conceptual frameworks or practices driven by compulsions that are expressed as an ethos. Resilience is then defined as an engagement with the world through harnessing knowledge from policy lessons and deciding how institutions could be governed. Sarker et al. (2020) argue that resilience is useful for assessing the performance of an institution when faced with crisis and that it also has the potential to solve administrative problems that arise from changing socio-ecological systems. Profiroiu and Nastacă (2021) developed a conceptual framework of institutional resilience in public administration that included the following as capacity factors that determine resilience: innovation, learning, forecasting and strategic planning, flexibility, ability to use new technology, stakeholder involvement in decision making, leadership quality, transparency, human resources quality, networking capacity, and policy effectiveness. According to Douglas (1986), institutions survive by harnessing information used to establish itself and create a 'naturalness' that blocks personal curiosity, organises public memory, and

creates certainty. Schmidt (2014) argues that political action and behaviour within institutions are influenced by rules, regularities, structures, and context. Institutional change is said to be a product of past decisions and minor changes in institutional structures that can have major repercussions later with some policy changes becoming irreversible (Peters, 2005).

Institutionalism and resilience both have the potential to achieve stability within organisations. However, the means by which stability is achieved varies drastically for the two theoretical frameworks. Institutionalism is centred on stability through standardised procedures and incremental change while resilience values flexibility and adaptability as key factors for reform. Peters (2016) argues that institutionalism creates stability because a framework already exists for policy makers. Making policy without clearly defined rules could render the policy less stable. Administrative systems are likely to be stable when institutionalised through the following mechanisms:

1. Positive feedback (Pierson, 2000).
2. Habit (Sarigil, 2009).
3. Inertia (Rose & Karran, 1984).

Institutionalism values stability over adaption (Peters, 2016). Huntington (1970) argues that institutionalism in the public sector includes the ability to adapt in its design; however, Peters (2016) argues that the literature on institutionalism suggests that it focuses on maintaining stability and not the ability to change. An interesting point raised by Stark (2014) is that public servants uphold proceduralism and this stifles adaptability. Stark further mentions that public service officers associate proceduralism with accountability, a relationship that policy makers should be cognizant about when they encourage flexibility and change.

A resilient administration and an institutionalised one both constitute distinct characteristics that affect organisational performance and stability. To understand how each affects an organisation, Table 2 compares the key characteristics of each.

Table 2 *Administrative Resilience v Institutionalism*

| Administrative resilience  | Institutionalism  |
|--|---|
| Ability to persist in their work and adapt to new challenges (Hein & Schubert, 2021).  | When institutions create self-reinforcing dynamics, which promote continuity (Sorensen, 2017).  |
| Linked to an awareness of the complexities surrounding problems and policy making (Chandler, 2014). Governing complexities refers to governance that is non-linear and non-reductionist. | Critical junctures have a role in the formation of institutions. These decisions become reinforced with continuous practice until they are embedded within an organisation (Hall & Taylor, 1996). This could result in path dependence. |
| Resilience entails risk and complexity (Walker & Salt, 2012).  | Decisions adopted at critical junctures become embedded until they are accepted as the norm. This makes it difficult for organisations to adapt to change (Page, 2006).   |
| An understanding that in a complex system, relationships shift and change as a result of self-organisation (Cilliers, 2002).   | Social processes take on a rule like status in thought and action (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).  |
| Forward-thinking approach to governance instead of a retrospective one (Chandler, 2014).   | History is used as an evaluation and planning tool for actions and processes within an organisation (Greener, 2005).  |

Administrative resilience and institutionalism have contrasting approaches to achieving stability. On one hand, a resilient administrative system achieves stability because of its ability to adapt to changes that occur in a complex society. The flexibility adopted by resilient organisations entails risk-taking and an awareness that in a complex system, relationship dynamics evolve. On the other hand, scholars of institutionalism argue that institutionalised ideals increase the success rate of policy decisions because administrative frameworks that exist have been tried and tested, thus reducing the likelihood of instability. The rule-like status of action adopted in institutionalised organisations is seen as a cause for stability because it creates a habit, norm, and an embedded standard of behaviour among employees, which helps organisations maintain their performance.

Historical institutionalism is commonly used to explain inertia and gradual change in organisations. According to Peters (2016), having standardised work and incremental change are key factors that cause stability within institutionalised organisations. Mahoney and Thelen (2010) describe the process of change in institutionalism using two patterns that could initiate a shift in institutionalised ideals:

1. Layering: Changes occur when new institutional elements are implemented alongside existing ones. New institutional frameworks are implemented in conjunction with existing one because reformers cannot change core institutions, or the latter is protected by veto actors and/or legal lock-in.
2. Drift: When an institution drifts, it is forced to change because of its inability and/or unwillingness to adapt to a dynamic environment. When demographic or economic changes are not reflected in the existing institutional ideals, the impact of these institutions are watered down. This means that an institution can be undermined simply by blocking reform attempts.

In contrast to historical institutionalism, adaptability is at the heart of resilience, and it is this feature that creates stability. Resilient organisations use existing knowledge in anticipation of problems or crisis that could arise and when they do arise, a resilient organisation uses existing knowledge to formulate responses to problems or crisis (Lalonde, 2011). Resilient organisations also have the ability to improvise and Rerup (2001) describes this as the ability to create a solution to a problem with limited tools and information about the problem available. Improvisation is achieved through “inventiveness, creativity and ingenuity” (Lalonde, 2011, p. 459).

Chandler (2014) highlights another key feature of resilience that diverges from the essence of institutionalism. It is the fact that resilience-thinking is forward looking in its approach to governance and it resists ‘looking back to the past’ (p. 40). This feature could explain why resilience initiatives are not as effective as intended in Fiji. As discussed, Fiji’s public administration carries a rich history of colonialism, the legacies of which still affect its processes today. A forward-thinking approach to governing in Fiji risks the formulation of ‘band-aid effect’ policies that only resolve issues at the surface level. Downplaying the role that history plays in Fiji’s polity may also render any resilient approaches ineffective.

Stark (2014), in their study of resilience in times of crisis, raised two concerns for crisis management: the role of institutionalised bureaucratic values and whether bureaucratic procedures act as lever or impediments. Stark’s concerns align with the research questions for

this thesis, which seek to understand the evolution of conflict and public administration in a post-conflict nation like Fiji where the evolution and stability of public administration has been affected by recurring political conflicts. As has been discussed in this sub-section, institutionalism and resilience both present opportunities for nation rebuilding in the aftermath of a conflict. However, because the characteristics of each contradict one another, clashes form and these impact the effectiveness of crisis management policies. Institutionalism highlights the importance of history and its potential to strengthen administrative resilience is aptly summed up by Hein and Schubert (2021) who states that an awareness of historical practices helps create an understanding of where current conditions may stand in the way of innovative solutions.

## **2.6 Governance and Conflict in Fiji**

Ratuva (2013a) argues that the transition from colonialism to the establishment of an independent State was difficult even though the British had carefully groomed an indigenous Fijian elite, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, to take political leadership after independence. Ratuva states that there were historical socio-economic and political complexities that were unresolved like the “ethnically divisive” approach of the colonial administration as well as “socioeconomic inequality and grievances” (Ratuva, 2013a, p. 32). Norton (1977) argues that there were approaches undertaken by the colonial administration that encouraged separation and compared to similar societies, cultural, social, and economic differences between the major populations are greater in Fiji. These differences could stem from the contrasting cultures of the indigenous Fijians and the Indian indentured labourers who would later settle in Fiji.

Fiji’s South Pacific neighbours have also had some experience with instability but none have been described as having a culture of conflict. Solomon Islands struggled with instability from 1998 – 2003 due to tribal conflict between Guadalcanal and Malaita peoples (Hameiri, 2007). Tonga also experienced political turmoil during the riot of 2006 which came as a result of democratic reforms to the semi-feudal system that existed (Campbell, 2008). More recently, Samoa had a constitutional crisis with leadership succession in 2014 when the outgoing Prime Minister, Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi, refused to leave office and hand over to the incoming Prime Minister, Fiame Mata’afa (Corbett & Ng Shiu, 2014). Compared to its South Pacific neighbours, Fiji has had recurring political coups to the point of being described as having a coup culture.

Under British colonial rule, the governing institutions set up in Fiji propped up the indigenous Fijians (mostly those of chiefly rank) to fill administrative salaried roles within the colonial administration and leadership roles in Fijian communities. This select group were also educated in elite schools and their lands protected under Native Land laws. In order to economically run sugar plantations, Indians were brought in as labourers in 1879 to work on the plantations (Lal, 1998). From the above, during colonialism, indigenous Fijians were afforded privileges that became embedded in the governance system and since independence, they viewed any change as disruptive. This is evidenced in the violent outbursts of conflict each time these institutions are challenged. For example, the 1987 and 2000 coups erupted because indigenous Fijians felt threatened by a cabinet that had a majority of Indo-Fijians (1987 coup) and one that was to be led by an Indo-Fijian, Mahendra Chaudhry (2000 coup).

The decisions made by the Bainimarama government have radically changed most of the institutions that were introduced by the colonial administration and maintained by the independent governments that followed until 2006<sup>29</sup>. The first two coups occurred as a result of indigenous Fijians seeking to retain political power. However, the third coup saw the current government undoing the norms and institutions of previous governments (Alley, 2010) to show that the ethnically divisive and socioeconomic inequality and grievances borne out of colonial rule continue to have a hand in the ongoing political instabilities in Fiji.

Conflict has continued to disrupt development in Fiji. Figure 3 below shows a timeline of key events in Fiji's political system, and this is followed by Figure 4, which is a timeline and description of each political coup that has occurred in Fiji.

---

<sup>29</sup> Refer to Figure 3 (p. 59) which shows the timeline of key events on the administrative history of Fiji.

Figure 3 *A Timeline of Key Events in Fiji*

|   |
|---|
| <p><u>Colonialism</u> (1874 – 1970)<sup>30</sup></p> <p>1874 – Fiji ceded to Great Britain.<sup>31</sup></p> <p>1876 – Establishment of the Great Council of Chiefs (Bose Levu Vakaturaga).<sup>32</sup></p> <p>1879 – 1920: Indentured labour system: Workers brought from India to work in the sugar cane plantations.</p> <p>– Indigenous appointments in colonial administration.</p> <p>1880 – Native Lands Commission was established to register land ownership to ‘mataqali’ or indigenous Fijian clans throughout Fiji.</p> <p>1906 – Establishment of Queen Victoria School.</p> <p>1948 – Establishment of Adi Cakobau School.</p> <p><u>Post-Independence</u> (1970 to date)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>o Governance structure: Westminster system.</li><li>o President and Vice-President appointment by the GCC after consultation with the Prime Minister</li><li>o Great Council of Chiefs remains as a governing body and retains the same decision-making powers that were prescribed whilst under colonial rule.</li><li>o Electoral systems:<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>1970 Constitution: the ‘First Past the Post’ electoral system was used which favoured the iTaukei (indigenous Fijian) political parties.</li><li>1997 Constitution: the ‘Alternative Voting’ system was introduced. It was introduced in the hopes of creating “moderation and stability” (Lal, 1998).</li></ul></li></ul> |
|---|

To expand on the information presented on Figure 3, Ratuva (2013c) described some key changes that were introduced after the 2006 coup<sup>33</sup>, which include:

- o Abolishment of the Great Council of Chiefs.

---

<sup>30</sup> There are several scholars like Lal (1983, 2010), Norton (1977), Ratuva (2013a), and Lawson (1991) who have written about Fiji’s colonial history together with the governance system post-independence. The information on the timeline have been sourced from their works.

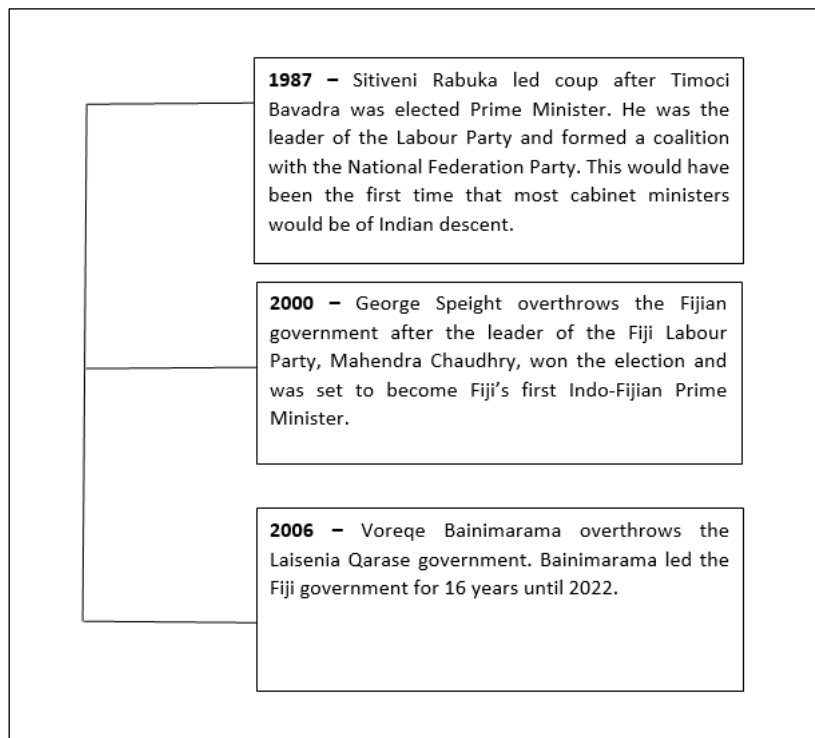
<sup>31</sup> Fiji was ceded by Ratu Seru Cakobau who was recognised as the King of Fiji.

<sup>32</sup> An institution made up of paramount chiefs who were leaders of different provinces of Fiji. Under the colonial administration, they held positions as salaried governors.

<sup>33</sup> The information presented below has been retrieved from several sources: Ratuva (2013c) and Lal (1983, 2010, 2021).

- Advocating for the establishment of a national identity. In support of this move, the latest Fiji census does not include any information based on ethnicities.
- Changes in the school system: The previous system had allowances for schools to set a minimum entrance mark and administrators had discretion when it came to screening and accepting applicants. Under the Bainimarama government, schools are disallowed from rejecting applications for enrolment. This disrupted the screening process of enrolment applications for elite schools like Queen Victoria School and Adi Cakobau School.
- Native land:
  - Introduction of the Land Bank: This was established under the Land Use Decree 2010. Native landowners can consent to the government using their property for development purposes and lease it at market rates for a period of up to 99 years.
  - Establishment of the Land Use Unit (LUU): In a move that has been described as depriving the iTaukei elite of their main source of funding and status, the LUU is an institution that can lease and control both State and iTaukei land. It undermines the power of land ownership and the ability to control lease pay outs by iTaukei landowners.
- Changes to the electoral process:
  - 2013 Constitution: Today the Open List Proportional Representation (OLPR) electoral system is used in a push for non-ethnic based contestation for power like that promoted by the two former models.
- Presidential appointment: After the abolishment of the GCC, the 2013 Constitution of Fiji stipulates that two Presidential nominations be submitted to the speaker of the House from the Prime Minister and Opposition Leader. This is then put to a vote in Parliament.
- Removal of the Queen's image on all Fijian money in 2012. This was replaced with images of Fijian flora and fauna.
- In 2015, PM Voreqe Bainimarama announced the planned removal of the Union Jack and change of the Fiji national flag.

Figure 4 *Fiji's Coup Era*



The nature of the coups in 1987 and 2000 are similar in that it was an uprising that sought to retain institutions of governance that were set up under the colonial administration and carried forward post-independence (Lal, 2010; Lawson, 1991; Ravuvu, 1991; Robertson & Sutherland, 2001). The power struggle was also tipped in the favour of indigenous Fijians who used military power in 1987 and a civilian uprising in 2000 to withhold leadership roles from an Indo-Fijian<sup>34</sup> dominated cabinet and an Indo-Fijian Prime Minister (Robertson & Sutherland, 2001). In 2006, the nature of the political coup had different underpinnings and some decisions made to date have undone the institutions that existed before the coup occurred and dating back to colonial times.

---

<sup>34</sup> Indo-Fijian is a term used to refer to Fijians of Indian descent.

## 2.7 Theoretical Framework

### 2.7.1 Path-Dependency Theory

The path-dependency theory argues that changes occur as a result of initial choices that determine later developments and once a pathway forms it is very difficult for alternative actions to take place (Bulmer & Burch, 2001). It has also been argued that changes become embedded in a system because it offers increasing returns (Carter, 2008) leading to investment in it, which makes actors and agencies dependent on the new path created by the change (Pierson, 2000). Path-dependency highlights the importance of history, and this is aptly summed up by Rose (1991) who states that it emphasises the importance of inheritance over choice.

Similar sentiments are echoed by supporters of institutionalism, like Schmidt (2014) who argues that political action and behaviour within institutions are influenced by rules, regularities, structures, and context. Meyer and Rowan (1977, p. 341) define institutionalism as “the process by which social processes, obligations, or actualities...take on a rule like status in social thought and action”. Institutional change is said to be a product of past decisions and minor changes in institutional structures can have major repercussions later with some policy changes becoming irreversible (Peters, 2005). In a study on the process of institutional change in health services, Wilsford (1994) argues that change is path-dependent because actors are confined to institutions and structures that guide them on fixed paths. It is similar to path-dependency in that both understand the complexities of political reality and consider the influence that different actors, norms, contexts, and actions have on the governance institution as a whole.

Greener (2002) expands on path-dependency by using the ‘actor-network’ theory to explain how organisations or networks may become locked-in to changes that set them on a rigid path. This theory is based on the notion that networks are heterogeneous and utilises both objects and actors to create order by use of rules and routines (Law, 1992). These practices later become a norm, and this is when ‘punctualisation’ is achieved, which is when network patterns become stable and its rules and procedures are taken for granted (Greener, 2002).

The significant factors of the actor-network theory that Greener used to explain how path-dependency is achieved are:

- Heterogeneous networks: While both actors and networks play active roles in creating stability, Greener (2002) argues that the importance of objects should not be ignored as it is a key component for strengthening networks. Greener used the process of presenting an academic paper as an example by saying that a paper published in an academic journal it has more permanence than one that is delivered in an academic conference. Some networks are said to be more stable than others because they include durable materials.
- Simplification: The process of creating markets and networks of consumption and production in an environment where none exists. This newly introduced network would allow the market to function and become stable by simplifying heterogeneous markets through the creation of institutions and processes. These processes include rules and procedures that are later regarded as standard practice.
- Semiotic approach: Using this approach, I considered the meaning that is assigned to organisational practices. Understanding semiotics provides insight into how history became embedded into these practices.

The path-dependency theory argues that initial decisions made can become entrenched in the standard practices of organisations or networks. Expanding on this, the actor-network theory explores how history becomes embedded in organisational practices by arguing that this occurs as a result of heterogeneous networks being “simplified to the point where considerable continuity occurs” (Greener, 2002, p. 618).

### *Criticisms of Path-Dependency Theory*

Although it has its merits in explaining change, the path-dependency theory also comes with its limitations. Thelen and Steinmo (1992) suggest that a clear demarcation between societal, organisation, and individual levels need to be drawn in order to understand how these actors and agencies operate at certain moments in time. Gains et al. (2005) argue that path-dependency is weak because it is not clear how wide a path is, and it is difficult to pinpoint the exact action(s) that caused a drastic change from the previous path. Kay (2005) echoes similar arguments in that path dependency lacks explanatory power and Raadschelders (1998) mentions that path dependency refers to a string of related events or causality in retrospect but it does not identify the mechanisms that push the social change. Mechanisms in this context are used to refer to “frequently occurring and generally recognizable causal patterns that are triggered under generally unknown conditions or with indeterminate consequences” (Elster,

1998, p. 45). Hay (2002) criticises path dependency for being better at explaining stability and not change.

On a theoretical note, Greener (2002) argues that path-dependency while accurate, is under-theorised in its description of organisation behaviour and Peters et al. (2005) states that further empirical analysis is needed to determine exactly how a “path” is created. From the discussion above, path-dependency is mainly criticized for its lack of explanatory powers and inability to explain the ‘how’ questions like how the path was created and how the actors operated to trigger patterns of behaviour that later form a path. Greener (2002) tries to address this weakness by using the ‘actor-network’ theory to provide a deeper look into path-dependence and explain how organisations become locked-in to change as shown above. Although there are negative criticisms of path dependency as a precursor of events, there are also stronger indications of path dependency as a useful framework for understanding the repercussions of critical events in history. This is why I have adopted this theoretical framework as it allows me to evaluate political behaviour and actions that create patterned paths within an institution.

### **2.7.2 Path-Dependency and Conflict in Post-Conflict States**

Scholars like Tusalem (2016) have used path-dependency to argue that developing countries who were once colonised are prone to conflicts because they were subjected to colonial strategies and structures of governance that created a fragmented society in regions like Africa, Asia, Middle East, and the Pacific. Some examples are shown on Table 3 below.

Table 3 *Approaches Taken by Colonial Rulers*

| Approaches   | Examples of Application in Fragile States  |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Strategic drawing and re-drawing of the borders while disregarding ethnic, religious, and linguistic differences. This was done to ease access to markets and resources within colonies.</p> | <p>1. India and Pakistan: Under British colonial rule, the border between the two countries was drawn by Sir Cyril Radcliffe and this was officially announced on August 17, 1947 (Chester, 2009).</p>   |
|  | <p>2. Nigeria: In 1914, Southern and Northern Nigeria were amalgamated by the United Kingdom government despite their proximity and differences in people, religion, and culture (Uche, 2008).</p>   |
|  | <p>3. Papua New Guinea (PNG) and West Papua (province of Indonesia): Originally the island of New Guinea, a border was drawn between PNG and West Papua in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by colonial rulers from Netherlands, Germany, and Great Britain. West Papua is now an Indonesian province after Indonesia assumed control from the Dutch in 1963 (Firth, 2014).</p>   |
| <p>2. Client – patron relationships that favours a specific region or ethnic group over other groups of the population. The favoured group is bestowed with special privileges such as:</p>        | <p>1. Rwanda: Newbury (1998) discusses one point of view on the Rwandan revolution that is rooted in political clientelism<sup>35</sup>. Newbury argues that the political structure in Rwanda was governed by Belgian colonial authorities and Tutsi chiefs. This led to a Hutu counter-elite forming and demanding an end to Tutsis having privileges in employment, education, access to political power, and economic development.</p> |
|  | <p>2. Iraq: Iraq was an Ottoman territory, and then became a British mandate in 1920 following World War One. In 1921, the British administration appointed Sunni</p>  |

---

<sup>35</sup> This is another term for client – patron relationship and is a personalised relationship between actors (patrons and clients), commanding unequal wealth, status or influence, based on conditional loyalties and involving mutually beneficial transactions (Lemarchand, 1972).

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Working under the colonial government by carrying out some administrative tasks.</li> <li>○ Taking advisory roles in policy making.</li> <li>○ Exemption from paying tributary taxes.</li> </ul> | <p>Arab nationalist Faisal as king of Iraq even though he was not an Iraqi and the appointment was compensation for fighting alongside British officer T. E. Lawrence during the war (Walker, 2003). Iraq gained independence in 1931, until 1958, when the royal family was murdered. This led to a period of successive military and Ba'ath Party<sup>36</sup> coups (ibid.).</p>   |
|   | <p>3. Fiji: Under British colonial rule, an indigenous Fijian elite made up of Fijian chiefs was appointed to work as salaried staff in the colonial administration. Indigenous land was managed and protected by the Native Lands Commission<sup>37</sup> and a Great Council of Chiefs was established to look after the interests of Fijian people (Norton, 1977). The GCC was made up of paramount chiefs from different provinces in Fiji. Under colonial legislation, Fijians paid taxes in kind and not cash like everyone else (Lal, 2010).</p> |

---

<sup>36</sup> An Arab Socialist party that espouses Arab nationalist, pan-Arabism, Arab socialist, and anti-imperialist interest (Walker, 2003).

<sup>37</sup> Indigenous landowners were able to register pieces of land as their own with the Native Lands Commission.

### 2.7.3 Institutionalism

Historical institutionalism shares similar sentiments with path-dependency. It argues that change in institutionalised political systems occurs incrementally and within the context of its institutionalised ideals (Spohr, 2016). Institutionalism focusses on the behaviour of structures and organisations instead of individual behaviour (Peters, 1996). March and Olsen (1983) argue that institutions are major actors in political and economic systems, and Parsons (1995) suggests that policy making takes place within the boundaries of institutions. Institutions implement policies and aid in reforming them over time (Đurić, 2011).

Lecours (2017, p. 9) argues that “once institutions are formed, they take on a life of their own and drive the political process”. When an institution forms, it becomes embedded in a polity and its processes are accepted as the norm. Kingdon (1995) suggests that institutionalised ideals can develop so far as to function independently of their external socio-economic environment. While the latter is possible, the relationship between government functions and institutionalism is a complex web of interdependence. After all, institutions are reinforced by governments who continue to practice its ideologies and government decisions are affected by many variables like socio-economic factors, legal frameworks, political structures, bureaucratic processes, and institutionalised structures.

Institutionalism and path dependency both have the potential to influence agency within the policy making process,, which can determine policy results. Institutionalism does this by setting a scope for policy action that frames both the opportunities for action and constraints (Lecours, 2017). By setting the boundaries for policy action, institutionalism restricts agency. Path dependency, however, occurs when actions are locked-in to a particular direction (Greener, 2005) and the longer this path exists, the more difficult it is to change. Path-dependency and institutionalism are similar in the following ways:

- Both are made up of processes and actions that are accepted as the norm in organisations or public administration.
- Each sets a boundary around the policy making process which curtails agency.

While they share similarities, the differences that exist between the two position them in different but equally important roles in the political sphere:

- Path dependency forms when one policy direction is initiated (Đurić, 2011).

- Institutional change occurs incrementally while path-dependent change occurs abruptly in the form of critical junctures (Lawson, 2006).

#### **2.7.4 Institutionalism in Public Administration**

The institutional approach in government is the study of the rules, procedures, and organisation of the political system (Howarth, 1995). Material institutions in the political sphere include the constitution, cabinet, parliament, bureaucracy, judiciary, party systems, security forces, and local or national governments (Lecours, 2005). The definition of institutions has expanded to include soft features of institutionalism like rules, norms, and values (Hall & Taylor, 1996). By setting a boundary around a political sphere, institutionalism plays a critical role in public administration because it affects the agenda setting and decision-making stage of policy making. Consequences of institutionalised ideals in public administration are discussed by Fukuyama (2006) below:

Formal institutions matter, they change incentives, mould preferences, and solve (or fail to resolve) collective action problems. On the other hand, the informal matrix of norms, beliefs, values, traditions, and habits that constitute a society are critical for the proper functioning of formal institutions and a political science that pays attention only to the design of formal institutions and fails to understand normative and cultural factors will fail (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 6).

Because of institutionalism, when faced with decisions, policy actors usually consider two options: their perception of the situation and the existing standard of action in response to circumstances of this nature (March & Olsen, 1983). If there is no existing rule, policy actors are most likely to choose a course of action that is “the closest, most similar rule applicable” (Đurić, 2011, p. 94). This decision making process involves practical reasoning, and its resulting output involves socially constituted actions (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Although decision making in institutionalism is bounded by rationality and the logic of appropriateness,<sup>38</sup> it is also heavily influenced by internalised principles, values, norms, and cultural factors, which challenge the rigidity of institutionalism. The logic of appropriateness in institutionalism would be challenged by the non-linear nature of the policy process but Bobrow and Dryzek (1987)

---

<sup>38</sup> The logic of appropriateness or legitimacy is when policy actors choose actions that align with established rules and values (March & Olsen, 1989).

argue that like the complex policy process, institutional ideals are also diverse, conflict, rarely fixed, and consistent.

### **2.7.5 Historical Institutional Development of the United Kingdom Public Service**

Understanding the public administration culture of the United Kingdom is key to understanding the same in its former colonies like Fiji because these structures found their way to countries across the globe through colonialism. Okafor et al. (2014) state that public service ethos in Nigeria and other West African nations follow the 'British pattern' (p. 57) and refuse to evolve in order to meet the demands of the changing political environment even though the administrations are riddled with inefficiency. The nature of public sector management in Pakistan is also said to be inherited from the British colonial system and like the inertia associated with institutionalism, Pakistani administrators refuse to implement any changes rather they prefer to keep the traditional method of administration (Azhar & Manzoor, 2018).

To understand Fiji's public administration, it is key to detail the British administrative system from which Fiji's governing machinery was developed. Parris (1969) wrote about the growth of the British public administration from 1780 during the emergence of a permanent civil service. Some features of the administration at the time were:

- Evolution of ministerial responsibility.
- Developing partnership between ministers and permanent heads.
- Administration tools like delegated legislation, administrative tribunals, inspection, and exchequer grants.
- Upper ranks of civil service occupied by society's elites.

During this era, the nature of the civil service was described as one with patronage, inefficiency, and incompetence (Parris, 1969). A review of the organisation of the UK civil service was published in 1854 (Northcote & Trevelyan, 1954) and although its recommendations were deemed radical because it challenged the status quo (Vandenabeele & Horton, 2008), the implementation of the recommendations persevered and began in 1855 when the Civil Service Commission was established. In 1870, the Civil Service Commission began working with the Treasury of the UK to operate civil service exams that determined entry into the civil service.

According to Vandenabeele and Horton (2008), by 1925 the key features of the reformed civil service were:

- A centralised public service

- Open competition for entry
- Merit based promotion
- Career service
- Separation of public and private life

The UK political system evolved and the changes in society and the civil service led to further changes like:

- Accountability through ministers of the crown
- Anonymity of civil servants
- Having a representative democracy

The civil servants were expected to be:

- Apolitical
- Loyal and serve the government of the day
- Maintain secrecy when dealing with government matters

A key factor to note is that the period of evolution in the United Kingdom public administration coincided with the period that Fiji was colonised. While the governing structure in the United Kingdom government began to adapt, Fiji continued applying the administrative systems that they had inherited from the United Kingdom government's pre-reform era. A colonial legacy Fiji would have benefited from would be the openness to change, the same approach to government that was occurring in the United Kingdom while Fiji clung to institutionalised ideologies of government.

According to Vandenaabeele and Horton (2008), public service ethos in the UK civil service became institutionalised in 1920 before undergoing a series of changes. Institutional mechanisms were preserved due to persistent positive feedback but disruptions like war or electoral victories affected the flow of positive feedback leading to institutional changes. The concept of disruption is not new to literature on institutionalism. Wilsford (1985, 1994) concurs that, revolutionary change can occur during what is termed as a "conjuncture", which is a fleeting and rapid change that is unpredictable both in terms of timing and actuality. Figure 5 provides a summary of the historical development of public service ethos in the UK civil service.

Figure 5 *Historic Developments of Institutionalised Ideals in the UK Civil Service*

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>Beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Separation of administration from politics: Act of Settlement 1701.</li><li>○ Permanent employment / secure tenure.</li></ul> <p><b>1780</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Emergence of a permanent civil service in the United Kingdom.</li><li>○ Evolution of ministerial responsibility from dealing with administrative tasks to national political life.</li><li>○ Emergence of a permanent civil service in the United Kingdom.</li><li>○ The term ‘civil servant’ was used to describe non-political servants of the Crown.</li></ul> <p><b>1830 – 1900</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Delegated legislation.</li><li>○ Elitism in civil servant appointments.</li><li>○ Patronage.</li><li>○ Civil service commission (CSC) established.</li><li>○ Civil service exams monitored by CSC.</li><li>○ Growth of staff associations.</li></ul> <p><b>1901 – 1914</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Civil servants were general administrators from major universities.</li><li>○ Rooted in the idea of the “English gentlemen” from the “playing fields of the English public school”.</li><li>○ Institutionalised ideals include permanency, merit-based entry and promotion, ministerial responsibility, and anonymity of civil servants.</li></ul> <p><b>1920 – 1940</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ High level civil servants were more responsible for policy.</li><li>○ Public service ethos as “<i>esprit de corps</i>” based on non-economic motives of self-sacrifice.</li><li>○ Wartime economy converted back to peace time role.</li></ul> <p><b>1940 – 1960</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Nationalised major industries.</li><li>○ Creation of a welfare State.</li><li>○ Creation of new departments and recruitment of specialist staff.</li><li>○ Elitism in recruitment continued.</li></ul> <p><b>1979 – 1997</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Reduction of the size of the civil service.</li><li>○ Private sector became the model for public management.</li><li>○ Shift towards public management that emphasises economic and efficient use of resources to achieve outputs.</li><li>○ Decentralisation of government agencies excluding Senior Civil Service which remained a centralised system.</li></ul> <p><b>1997</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Joint up government.</li><li>○ Civil Service Code 1999 officially issued.</li><li>○ Change in role of the Senior Civil Service from being a source of policy advice to becoming a managerial body.</li><li>○ Reiteration of core public service ethos: impartiality, accountability, trust, equity, integrity and service.</li></ul> |
|--|

Source: Adapted from Parris (1959) and Vandenabeele & Horton (2008)

The changes that occurred in the UK civil service are a result of several disruptors and external pressures that destabilised institutionalised ideals and these are shown in Table 4.

Table 4 *Critical Junctures that Disrupted Institutionalised Ideals in the UK Civil Service*

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 1854        | Northcote and Trevelyan Report <sup>39</sup><br>Pressure from the Administrative reform association <sup>40</sup> |
| 1853 – 1856 | Crimean War   |
| 1914 – 1920 | World War I   |
| 1939 – 1945 | World War II  |
| 1956        | Suez-crisis <sup>41</sup>   |
| 1945        | Labour government elected <sup>42</sup>   |
| 1979        | Conservative government elected (Thatcher government) <sup>43</sup>   |
| 1997        | Labour government elected <sup>44</sup>   |

Source: Adapted from *Vandenabeele and Horton (2008)*

Vandenabeele and Horton (2008) studied the continuity and change of public service ethos (PSE) in the British bureaucracy since its institutionalisation and this is summarised in Figure 6.

---

<sup>39</sup> In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the UK government suffered from a number of problems like patronage, inefficiency, and incompetence (Parris, 1969). Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan were invited to investigate and report on the organisation of the permanent civil service. Their report was published in 1854 (Northcote and Trevelyan, 1854).

<sup>40</sup> The growth of staff associations in 1870 put pressure on governments to standardise terms and conditions of service across the government departments. This challenged institutionalised norms like permanent employment, merit-based recruitment and promotion, ministerial responsibility, and anonymity of civil servants (Vandenabeele, 2008).

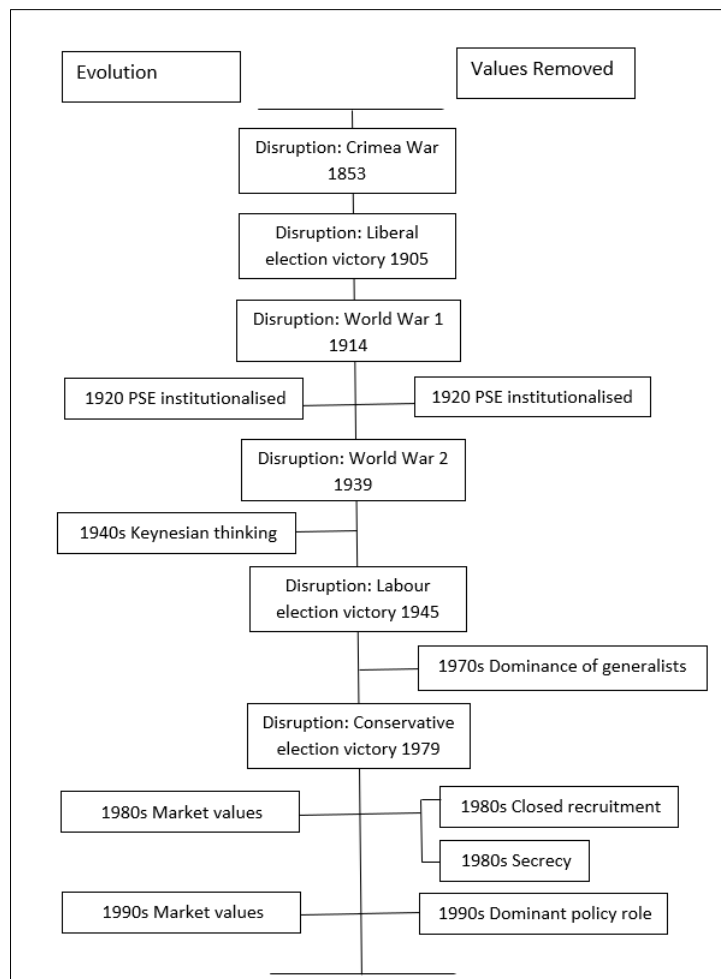
<sup>41</sup> Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal in 1956 and this triggered a war. Britain, France, and Israel created a coalition against Egypt whose objectives were capturing Sinai, taking control of the Suez Canal, and toppling the Egyptian government (Varble, 2008).

<sup>42</sup> Described as radical, this government nationalised the major industries of the UK, introduced a welfare State, and took charge of managing the country's economy (Vandenabeele, 2008).

<sup>43</sup> Radical reforms took place, like changing the public administration culture to one of public management. Private business practices were used as a model for public management (Vandenabeele, 2008).

<sup>44</sup> Two changes recorded: loss of policy role for the Senior Civil Service, and reemphasis on traditional Public Service Ethos.

Figure 6 *Evolution of Public Service Ethos in the UK Public Administration*



Source: Adapted from Vandenabeele and Horton (2008).

The historical development of public service ethos in the UK government as shown in Figure 6 mirrors characteristics of resilience in that the civil service was able to: adapt to the changing external environment (Hein & Schubert, 2021), respond to the complex problems presented by a dynamic political context (Chandler, 2014), and take risks in response to multi-faceted problems (Walker & Salt, 2012). However, the systems and processes in place also resemble those of institutionalised ideals seeing as the systems were: formed and removed at critical junctures (Hall & Taylor, 1996) in UK political history and became embedded (Sorensen, 2017) in the UK civil service.

### 2.7.6 Resilience Framework

Resilience in an organisational context is defined by Duit (2016) as:

...the extent to which an organisation is able to maintain its internal command structure, information flows, and capacity to act during a crisis; and a community's ability to maintain its cultural identity and social capital in the face of rapid and fundamental change (Duit, 2016, p. 366).

Resilience-thinking is a vital component for discussion on policy problems and solutions because it carries an understanding that a complex world requires new approaches to governing (Chandler, 2014). A resilient framework accepts the possibility of alternative solutions to policy problems. A resilient public administration has slightly different characteristics. Duit (2016) describes it as having the following features:

- Consists of multiple organisational units that exist in an inter-related network with overlapping jurisdictions.
- It is reliant on different types of knowledge and sources of information.
- There is capacity to act in times of crisis.
- Stakeholder participation is encouraged.
- Policy experiments and social learning are adopted as tools for developing stability in the policy system.

Resilience is said to have first been used in physics. It was used to explain an object's ability to react to external factors while keeping its main characteristics intact (Peng et al., 2017). Holling (1973, p. 14) defines resilience in a similar fashion in that it is a system's capacity to absorb shock, adapt to new situations, and evolve to a state of equilibrium which is similar to punctuated equilibriums that exist within the path-dependency theory. Resilience is predominantly discussed alongside crisis management (Comfort et al., 2010b) and planning studies where researchers seek to design societies that are able to withstand crisis (Goldstein, 2012). The common theme across different definitions of resilience is the ability to handle shocks.

To explain when an organisation is considered resilient, Boin and Van Eeten (2013) propose three stages of resilience:

1. *Precursor resilience*: An organisation is considered resilient when it is able to cope with sudden shocks. Coping refers to the organisation's ability to maintain its structure and integrity throughout the crisis.

2. *Recovery resilience*: How well a recovery effort is carried out and an organisation's ability to increasing learning and adaptability after a crisis has occurred.
3. *Adaptive resilience*: An organisation's ability to learn from past lessons and use these lessons to reform current practices in order to improve stability in any future crisis.

The resilience paradigm queries important actions and decisions taken by policy actors in light of a crisis (Duit, 2016). Resilience takes a different approach to policy processes because its focus is stability as opposed to policy effectiveness. Although it is different, it is not entirely new as similar approaches to policy exist in the form of policy making being described as a process of 'muddling through' (Lindblom, 2018) and the garbage-can model<sup>45</sup> of the policy process (Kingdon, 1984). Fiji has shown resilience in their public sector reforms the most notable being the application of the New Public Management model in the 1980s. This resulted in the corporatisation of public enterprises, streamlining of the civil service, and strengthening of the private sector by reducing government subsidies for public enterprises (Appana, 2011).

Lederach (1997) and Chandler (2014) raise a notable theme in their description of resilience and that is that society should play a role in formulating adaptive policies that respond to societal complexities. In post-conflict states like Fiji, resilient actions via societal participation will be difficult to implement because of limitation to:

1. Participation: Post-conflict states usually have trouble facilitating citizen participation in public policy making (Brinkerhoff, 2007).
  2. Capacity: In the aftermath of a conflict, donor agencies focus on reinstating state capacity like rebuilding government – citizen trust, and creating a responsive government (World Bank, 2011).
  3. Alignment of values: Conflicts are outbursts that occur as a result of differing views, the most common being on the grounds of political worldviews, ethnicity, and religion.
- To harness societal participation in policy making, a government must first reach some

---

<sup>45</sup> The garbage can model was adapted by John Kingdon to describe the agenda setting stage of the policy making process. In this model, the government is described as an organized anarchy. The items on the policy agenda are diverse and can be categorised into three streams: problems, solutions, and politics. The changing political environment is one of the key factors that facilitates or blocks items from making it on the agenda. A crisis or social change can expedite the progression of an agenda into the adoption stage.

level of consensus and ‘buy in’ from members of society on the value of participating in the policy making process.

Resilience-thinking understands that the world is full of complexities, and it responds to this by adopting an adaptive approach to governing. This is aptly summed up by Chandler (2014, p. 39) who describes the resilient approach to governing complexities in the following way:

Resilience-thinking tells us that for governance to mirror the achievements of complex emerging order, it is better to allow for flexibility and variation in approaches to problems; in this way ‘life’ produces the strategies of governance from the micro-tactics of actors at the lower levels of engagement.

Resilience has also been proposed as a resolve for what Chandler (2014, p. 74) calls ‘western aspirations’ or prescribed policy reforms to influence nation rebuilding strategies. The main issue with these prescribed intervention strategies is that they are based on linear or reductionist assumptions that the external parties could just impose international policies or expectations without the participation of local actors in the policy process. To counter this, a non-linear and resilient approach to peacebuilding was deduced from complexity theory that focussed on the way that local policy actors, processes, and practices shaped perceptions in policy making (Jervis, 1998). The shift from linear to non-linear approaches to policy interventions began with a shift in liberal governing rationalities, away from state-centred or sovereign powers to a society centred analysis of social and individual behaviour (Foucault & Ewald, 2003). This shift in philosophy was pushed by Lederach (1997) who identified the top-down approach in policy making as problematic and raised the need for there to be societal approach to peace and democracy.

Nation rebuilding in fragile States involves external parties from the international and donor community whose intervention policies are limited by issues with policy-context fit. Chandler (2014) argues that top-down technical approaches from Western democracies are limited by the resistances from domestic politics. This is expanded by Solana (2009) who states that in fragile States, domestic politics limit the potential of external intervention from international organisations or Western democracies. The role that locals play in rebuilding political institutions after a crisis creates space that allows politics to work (Solana, 2009). With resilience thinking, Chandler (2014) mentions that locals can take responsibility of areas in their political system that are resistant to external influence. The involvement of local policy

actors in post-crisis nation building can remedy the issues faced by external policy actors by creating intervention policies that are tailored to meet the needs of the society it serves.

In order for governments to effectively respond to the complexities of society, a resilient approach suggests that its systems evolve in the same way that a complex society does. While resilience adds theoretical and practical value to crisis management and public administration stability, scholars such as Comfort (1994), Hood (1991) and Duit (2016) also identified some shortfalls of the framework. Comfort (1994) suggests that the resilience framework could create more stability in public administration if it explored other models that would explain how resilience is developed and what causes its erosion. Hood (1991) raised the need to study potential trade-offs between resilience and other dominant frameworks in public administration. Hood used the New Public Management (NPM) model to exemplify this need as the model prioritised policy effectiveness over legitimacy and resilience. Duit (2016) argues that the socio-ecological system resilience paradigm currently faces the same dilemma where flexibility, diversity, and robustness in public administration is prioritised over policy effectiveness and legitimacy.

## **2.8 Research gap**

In the past, path-dependency has not been used explicitly to explain what is widely referred to as Fiji's "coup culture" and there has been no known suggestion that conflict in Fiji may be path dependent. However, authors such as Ratuva (2013a) and Norton (1977) have echoed features of the theory in their explanation of conflict in Fiji. This is seen in the setting up of the Great Council of Chiefs as a decision-making body. It is also evident in the recognition of land ownership by indigenous Fijians through laws and the establishment of the Native Lands Trust Board. In addition, the colonial administration created a formal set of institutions for governance that did not exist prior to colonialism. These include a written rule of law that would govern the whole of Fiji, education systems, clear land ownership titles and an organised system of governance. Ratuva (2013a, p. 37) best summarises the semiotics behind the relationship between Fiji and Great Britain:

Whereas Indo-Fijians had a negative perception of the British, the British were seen by indigenous Fijians not as colonial oppressors but as agents of cultural enlightenment and political guarantors that would keep potential Indo-Fijian political ambitions in check. This reinforced

British hegemony as well as strengthening the power of chiefs, who acted as the comprador class and as mediators of British hegemony. By the time of independence, unlike in other former colonies, there was no celebratory spirit but rather a sense of sadness amongst indigenous Fijians as the Union Jack was lowered.

Proponents of path-dependency as well as institutionalism and the actor-network theory, acknowledge that the political sphere is complex and is influenced by multiple actors or objects that shape political behaviour. Scholars of Fijian politics have explored Fiji's political system, yet there is no known literature addressing Fiji's political context as a trajectory that is influenced by actors, networks and institutions. This research explores whether Fiji's "coup culture" means that the nation is locked in to a path of conflict – whether conflict is path dependent in Fiji. It also addresses a gap in the path dependency literature by exploring how and why conflict may be path dependent.

By exploring the push and pull effect that exist between resilience and institutionalism in a post-conflict State, this research also addresses the gaps identified by Comfort (1994), Hood (1991), and Duit (2016). It does this by analysing the relationship between the two frameworks instead of taking an 'either / or' approach. Another layer of novelty is added by exploring resilience and institutionalism in a post-conflict political context to find the effects of co-existence on public administration stability.

## **2.9 Conclusion**

In the aftermath of a conflict, the nation rebuilding process predominantly involves reinstating State legitimacy and re-establishing its government institutions. Donor agencies together with the international community intervene to help post-conflict states manage their conflicts. The literature indicates that while this is helpful in some parts, it has also given rise to issues in policy-context fit because of a lack of citizen participation in the design of conflict intervention policies. A common theme across fragile States is the fact that most of them are, like Fiji, former colonies. It is for this reason that I reviewed research on nation rebuilding and conflict management specifically in relation to colonial history. Colonialism introduced critical institutions, systems, and processes that are now standardised ways of working in public administration. This thesis analyses the evolution of public administration and conflict in Fiji. To achieve this, a deep dive into Fiji's administrative past was necessary. The research

reviewed in this chapter includes experiences from other former colonies in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Middle East. In this comparison the same themes emerged. These countries were fragile. They were former colonies. There was some form of policy-context misfit and its citizens demanded intervention policies that were tailored to their needs.

Conflict in fragile States display characteristics of path dependency and while resilience has been used in crisis management, its effectiveness is questioned because fragile States continue to be unstable. Therefore, this research considers history to be a valuable asset in the study of administrative processes in institutions, especially those with a colonial past. By identifying critical junctures in history, this thesis seeks to understand the elements that contribute to continuity and/or change in Fiji's political trajectory. A nation's colonial history is a useful starting point to analyse why conflict has emerged and how public administrations mobilise to manage such conflicts.

In summary, the literature discussed provides insight into the way conflict and public administration have been managed in post-conflict states. While scholars like Tusalem (2016) have used path dependency to study post-conflict States, others like Kay (2005) still call for research that pinpoints specific events which become critical junctures, creating paths that are 'locked in' and rigid. Resilience-thinking is encouraged in crisis management and the research shown discussed its potential in nation rebuilding but Stark (2014) suggests that the bureaucratic processes that hamper resilience efforts need to be studied and understood. As will be discussed in the findings, this thesis addresses certain parts of these research gaps by using the path dependency theory to analyse and identify critical junctures, like the use of indirect rule during colonialism in Fiji's political trajectory that locked the nation into conflict. I also argue that resilience efforts in Fiji are stifled by institutionalised ideologies like race-based politics, intertwined traditional and political roles, an adversarial approach to the protection of interests for each social group, a segmented economic structure, and indigenous elitism.

The following chapter will discuss the Methodology adopted for this thesis. In this chapter I discuss research aims and objectives, data collection techniques and the data analysis process adopted for this research.

# Chapter Three

## Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology employed to collect and analyse the data for this thesis. To study Fiji's political history, I carried out a document analysis through the use of archival records held at the National Archives of Fiji and Archives New Zealand. Using archival records to study Fiji's political trajectory augured well for application of theoretical framework adopted in this research. Archival research enabled me to explore the key themes of path dependency, institutionalism and resilience which are embeddedness, continuity, and evolution.

This chapter begins by discussing my research aims and rationale before elaborating on the problem statement and overarching aim for my research. Fiji's political history will then be briefly explained alongside my research rationale to provide context for the discussion that will follow. The next section delves into the research paradigm and methodology. My philosophical position of social constructivism will be clarified in relation to archival research methods in management history. The methods used, archival research and document analysis are also discussed. After reviewing my philosophical position, the data collection process for this research will be described. The key factors being how access was gained for the National Archives of Fiji and Archives New Zealand, type of documents collected and method by which the data was sorted. My positionality in relation to the research will be explained alongside the reflexivity processes I had adopted during the course of my research. For data analysis, theoretical thematic analysis was utilised, and this is outlined alongside path-dependency. Using examples from my research, the stages of data analysis are reported, and they are: familiarising myself with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, define and name themes and produce the report. Next, the steps taken for methodological integrity and rigour are mentioned including the checks put in place for reliability and validity. The way in which data triangulation was carried out for this thesis will be illustrated as well.

In light of the Covid-19 pandemic, I had to redesign my data collection plan. Initially, I had planned to collect data from the United Kingdom and Fiji, but I couldn't visit both countries because of border closures. As a result, I collected data from Archives New Zealand and remotely from Fiji. The methodology for this thesis is interwoven with its theoretical

framework, it is why this chapter constantly shifts between path-dependency, institutionalism, resilience, and theoretical thematic analysis tools. The synthesis of the methodology and theoretical framework highlights how much archival research and document analysis complemented the path dependency, institutionalism, and resilience frameworks so well.

### **3.2 Research Aim and Rationale**

Through the lens of path dependency theory, my research revisits Fiji's administrative history to explore the behaviour of conflict and public administration. Being a country that has experienced four coups, understanding the nature of conflict and the shift in public administrative culture is useful because it helps in identifying themes that could explain how conflict became path dependent and the role that public administration played in Fiji's political trajectory. This thesis uses path dependency to analyse conflict and simultaneously evaluates the behaviour of public administration in response to each conflict. Archival research allowed me to interview documents and revisit narratives that were written by and about political actors in Fiji's history; most of whom are deceased. The results from this research present two key contributions: an analysis of the emergence of conflict using path dependency and an understanding of the evolution of public administration using institutionalism and resilience theories.

### **3.3 Justification for Paradigm and Methodology**

#### **3.3.1 Philosophical Position**

I hold a social constructionist philosophical approach, which ascertains that reality is constructed as a result of social interaction and the interpretations of individuals and groups (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Using archived material on Fiji's political history, I studied the actions of key political actors through time to uncover the way political philosophies and institutions were interpreted, and how this affected conflict and public administration in Fiji.

Archival research employs historical documents as a medium for extracting data and for my research, the participants were political actors who existed in different eras. Consequently, the context in each document was not fixed and I had to be constantly mindful of the time and environment that was in place at the time the document was recorded. Subjectivism is when reality is based on an individual's perceptions and experiences; it may be different for each person (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Subjective views could evolve over time and adapt to changing contexts. Ontologically, my view is subjective. The findings of this thesis are based

on the interpretations of past and present political actors; their decisions, actions and inhibitions are described and analysed.

Considering that this research seeks to describe the emergence and continuity of conflict and analyse how public administration has evolved, I used a qualitative approach by reviewing archival documents and using the information collected to describe the historical political events in Fiji. Conflict and public administration will also be studied within the scope of path dependency, institutionalism and resilience, which makes it abductive in nature. Staat (1993) defines abduction as the movement from everyday descriptions and meanings given by people to concepts that form a basis of an understanding of the phenomenon described. Using my theoretical framework, I explore how giving meanings and ideas to certain processes led to conflict becoming path dependent and public administration becoming institutionalised.

### **3.3.2 Research Design**

My research was conducted using archival research and document analysis (see Appendix 2, 3, and 4 for examples of how documents were retrieved and filed for this research). Document analysis is an organised method for evaluating documents (both printed and electronic) that have been recorded without any prior analyses by researchers (Bowen, 2009). It is different from a review of literature and can either be a method for data collection or an analytical tool (O'Leary, 2004). Similar to other analytical tools in qualitative research, the data gathered using document analysis was examined and interpreted in order to develop meaning, understanding, and empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This method combined elements of both content analysis and thematic analysis, but it was different from content analysis in that attention was given to interpreting themes that arose and not to the quantification and categorisation of themes (Bowen, 2009). In undertaking my research, I used authoritative sources, like independent inquiries and government reports, in this case archived documents, which attempted to be objective based on their authorship (O'Leary, 2004).

This method was chosen for this research for the following reasons:

1. In order to identify the point in Fiji's history when conflict and public administration were path dependent and institutionalised, my analysis began at the point in time when the first system of public administration in Fiji was established, which was 1874 under the British colonial administration. A document analysis allowed me to revisit history by using archived government documents. I specifically concentrated on authoritative sources like

government reports which presented raw data without any prior analyses by other researchers.

2. Path dependency is a theory that relies on how history manifests itself in the present (Greener, 2002) and one cannot simply argue that a concept is path dependent without ensuring that a concept is prevalent and its path rigid. Conducting a document analysis for the case of Fiji allowed for an exploration of the behaviour of public administration and conflict during the colonial period and after to assess the possible legacies of colonialism or evidence of breakaway.

### **3.3.2.1 Notes from a Novice Archival Researcher**

At the end of my research, I developed a system for collecting, storing, coding, and analysing archival documents (see Appendix 4). Archival research is more than reporting events from history. It is a process of interviewing documents and analysing behaviour through text. In this section I explain my approach to archival research and the lessons that I have learnt from this research method.

#### *What am I Looking for?*

At the start of my research, I carried out a catalogue search on the National Archives of Fiji and the Archives New Zealand websites. For each document, I noted the reference number, document title, collection, year(s) the document was written, and type of access. Access could either be restricted or open access. For the documents in Archives New Zealand, I also noted who the owner of the document was as it could be the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Labour, or another government department. Documents that were open access were easily accessible. I wrote to the archivist at NZ Archives to request them and provided my travel dates so that they could prepare the documents for viewing. Restricted access documents required me to write to the owners of the documents. In my case it was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I received an emailed response from them and had to undergo a security check and sign an agreement with them at their Wellington office before they allowed me to access their documents in the archives.

With regards to the documents I received from Fiji, it was like searching for a needle in a haystack. My approach to these documents was different. My starting point was a wide-ranging volume of data that I had to sift through to find information that was relevant to me. It was

different from the approach taken at the Archives NZ because I wasn't able to establish a fence around the information I was targeting at the outset of my data collection.

Relationships between institutions is an important factor to consider as well. This acted as a directory or map that helped me to find places that held records related to the research. For instance, using Archives New Zealand as a proxy for the British Museum Library was made possible by an awareness of the long-standing relationship between Fiji and New Zealand from colonialism to date.

### *Where am I?*

Archival research requires an understanding of context that stretches beyond the text itself. When coding and analysing, I had to be aware of the relationship between the actors, the cultural and organisation context, the background of the actors themselves, and the language being used. These factors had to be considered with reference to time. Pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial documents use different languages and tone. Fijians themselves were described using various terms at different points in time: pre-colonial documents describe Fijians as savages, colonial documents use natives, early independence documents describe upper-class Fijians as elites, and others are called grassroots Fijians. In archival research, it was important that I was consistently aware of time and context.

### *Who am I Studying?*

There are two main characters to consider when analysing historical documents and they are: the institution or person being reported, and the institution or person writing said report. This became important in my research because it helped with situating each report in a certain context. Understanding the role of each character helped with an analysis of relationship, behaviour, and response.

### *Why am I Reading this?*

Reading and analysing thousands of documents creates a risk of data overload. To ensure that I remained within the scope of my research, I used my research questions as markers or flags. This allowed me to develop themes that were related to my area of study and to work within the framework of my theories.

### **3.3.3 Classifications of Archival Research Methods**

There are three known classifications of archival research, and they are the historiographic, ecological, and new archival tradition (Ventresca & Mohr, 2002). My research adopts the new archival tradition because it studies the behavioural patterns of public administration and conflict in Fiji's administrative systems from the colonial era to independence. I also analyse the relations between each of the actors involved but my research diverges from new archival traditions because it does not measure the elements of social organisation, rather it explores recurring themes and patterns that surface from Fiji's administrative history. Historiographic archival research sets the foundation for the other types of archival research. It is the use of archival material within organisations to study origins and patterns of business practices (Ventresca & Mohr, 2002). The evolution of archival methods from historiography to ecological and new archival tradition is discussed in detail below.

#### *3.3.3.1 Historiographic Approach*

Historiographic research takes an ethnographic approach to studying organisations using archived materials. Typically, this style of archival research is restricted to the detailed scrutiny of a large amount of archival material from organisations. There are two major streams of historiographic research. The first is the use of historical materials to study the emergence of institutional patterns, politics, and change (Lounsbury & Ventresca, 2002). The second stream includes business historians who use archival resources to study the origins of modern business practices and business forms (Chandler, 1977). There is also a group of labour historians and organisation theorists who study the origins of class conflicts and control in organisations (Braverman, 1976).

The material collected was analysed with the purpose of gaining insight, uncovering new information, and coming up with informed judgements about the character of historical events and processes (Ventresca & Mohr, 2002). For example, Foucault (1980) identifies descending and ascending models of analysis used in archival research. While the use of one or the other is common in ecological and new archivalist approaches, historiographic researchers employ both models when analysing data. The ascending model of analysis takes a bottom – up approach where norms are developed from local practices before they are incorporated at higher levels of social organisation. The descending model of analysis uses macro patterns of social life to explain micro-processes. In terms of measurement, historiography uses both object-oriented and relational approaches (Ventresca & Mohr, 2002). In an object-oriented

approach, the focus is on the features and traits of the objects in question. These are then used to distinguish the characteristics of people, organisations, or social groups. The relational approach explores relations that link individuals, organisations, or elements of a discourse system. Rather than studying the characteristics of objects separately, this approach analyses the linkages and relationships that exist between each of the objects.

### *3.3.3.2 Ecological Approach*

The ecological approach analyses small amounts of information from a large number of organisations sampled over time (Ventresca & Mohr, 2002). Compared to the historiographic approach, the ecological approach compares the degree of similarity and difference of structural characteristics among its sample of organisations by comparing elements of social organisation to suggest the existence of broader organisational processes. Analysis is carried out by assessing the relevant variables embedded within the dataset. Using quantitative methodologies, information is coded as data after a systematic method of recording information. A descending model of analysis is used where macro patterns of social life are used to explain micro processes (Chandler, 1962). The ecological approach is object-oriented in that attributes are connected to outcomes (Ventresca & Mohr, 2002) and ecological archivists are primarily concerned with distinct characteristics of people, organisations, and other social institutions.

### *3.3.3.3 New Archival Tradition*

This method of archival research is developed from different theoretical traditions. Ventresca and Mohr (2002) list its main research strategies as:

1. Relies on formal analytic methodologies.

New archival researchers study social organisation and consistently theorise and measure social organisation processes (Scott, 2001). Like the ecological approach, new archivalists rely on formal scientific methods to reveal patterns in social organisations.

2. Focus on measuring social organisation and its elements.

The ecological approach differs from new archival methods because the former does not directly measure social organisation processes. The new archivalists theorise and compare social processes directly by studying the basic elements of social organisation and not the organisation as a broad entity.

### 3. Studies relations rather than objects or attributes.

The new archival approach studies relationships and explains the connectedness between organisations. It does not view organisations as independent objects, rather, that organisations are related to one another in a patterned way (Baum & Oliver, 1991, 1992). For example, McLean and Padgett (1997) analysed economic market transactions in fifteenth century Florence using a new archivist method that focussed on measuring the elements of social organisation to study linkages and patterns shared between the organisations. After retrieving data from the Florentine municipal tax archives, they carried out their analysis in the following way:

- Coded detailed information on sales and purchases occurring in 1427.
- Using the data, they modelled the exchange networks between firms to uncover the guiding firm strategy and behaviour.
- Pieced together a coherent map of economic transactions, which linked all significant companies in the Florentine economy.

New archivalists are interested in relational systems that forms understanding beliefs, shared meanings, and organisational activity (Mohr, 2000).

### 4. Measures shared meanings in social organisation processes.

New archivalists assemble the basic building blocks of organisational culture and uncover shared systems of understanding that combine to form set principles of organisational life (Meyer & Rowan, 1978). These organisational practices are studied by exploring bundled activities or what Tilly (1978) called 'repertoires of action'. These actions are embedded within the organisation and guide the activities within. They are a set of material practices and symbolic constructions (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248).

- 5. Tries to understand the logic behind the relationships between each element in an organised activity.

In line with this belief, researchers compare degrees of differences in institutionalisation and structure within an organisation by assessing the level of structural alignment between meanings and practices. There are three analytical dimensions: the types of actors involved, types of actions taken, and the target audience (DiMaggio & Mullen, 2000).

### 3.3.4 Archival Research in Management History

Historical research using formal methods for constructing data is already well established in management and organisation studies (Rowlinson & Hassard, 2013). Institutionalism is a branch of historical research methods, and it has been widely used to explore macro-organisation theory. It is the study of how structures and processes within organisations acquire meaning and continuity (Suddaby, 2010). Neo-institutionalism was developed from institutionalism, and both share certain characteristics like continuity and assigning meaning to processes. March and Olsen (1989) argue that neo-institutionalism sets the logic of expected consequences against the logic of appropriateness. Both institutionalism and neo-institutionalism have two main approaches in historical research: historical sociology and sociological history. Clark and Rowlinson (2004, p. 331) discussed the ‘historic turn’ in management and organisation research which called for more awareness of history in management studies. Coraiola, Foster and Suddaby (2014) expand on this to argue that organisation research would be enriched if the issues of history, historical theory and epistemology of history were considered in its research design. The two are compared in Table 5 below.

Table 5 *Historical vs Sociological History Approaches*

| Historical sociology  | Sociological history   |
|---|--|
| Historical organisation studies                                     | Organisational studies of history  |
| Historical neo-institutionalism                                     | Neo-institutionalist history   |
| Theory driven   | Story driven   |
| Constructed evidence that is gathered to answer a specific question | Found evidence of past human action  |
| Research design: sampling frames, codes, event history analysis     | Source of evidence: Who wrote this? Why?<br>How did it come to be preserved? |

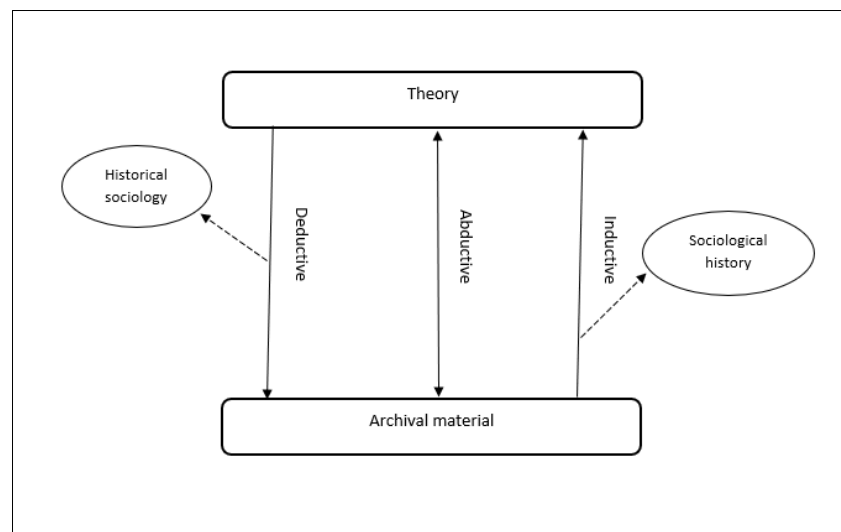
*Source: Rowlinson and Hassard (2013)*

Historical sociology is a discipline that studies historical neo-institutionalism and historical organisation studies in a manner that is theory driven, evidence is constructed and gathered to answer a specific question. The research design is structured by use of sampling frames, coding, and event history analysis (Fischer, 1995). I adopt a historical sociological approach where the path dependency theory is used to explore the behaviour of conflict and public administration in Fiji. Similar to the study of institutionalism in historical sociology, my research explores

whether there are any institutionalised ideologies in Fiji’s public administrative context that act as an antecedent to each political conflict that has arisen. After understanding the nature of Fiji’s conflicts, this research analyses the civil response to each conflict to understand how public administration is managed and efficiency ensured during the nation rebuilding process. History is a major component of this research because the scope of the data collection for this research considers Fiji’s colonial history together with its post-colonial government structures.

With regards to theory, historical sociology is deductive in nature because it begins with a theory and searches for a historical situation to test that theory (Leblebici et al., 1991). In contrast, sociological history is inductive as it starts from archival access and searches for theory to illuminate historiography (Rowlinson & Hassard, 2013). My research is abductive in nature, using both approaches as references for its use of theory. See Figure 7 for an illustration of this approach.

Figure 7 *Theory in Neo-Institutional Studies*



Rowlinson and Hassard (2013) explain that historical neo-institutionalism uses publicly available narrative periodical publications like trade press and professional journals together with readymade narrative history from secondary sources. Neo-institutionalist history draws from archival sources like organisational documents, company minutes, and private memos. These documents are found in archives and may require special permission to access them. Historical research in management and organisation studies that are rooted in neo-institutional theory are fairly divided between qualitative and quantitative research.

This research adopts concepts from both historical neo-institutionalism and neo-institutional history. The areas that overlap between the two approaches and the current study are illustrated in the Table 6 below.

Table 6 *Elements of Neo-Institutionalism in this Research*

| <b>Historical Neo-institutionalism</b>                          | <b>Path dependency in Fiji's administrative history</b> |   |
|---|---|---|
| Theory driven and deductive                                     | ✓   | Uses the path dependency theory to frame the analysis of conflict and public administration in Fiji.  |
| Narrative history from secondary sources                        |   |   |
| Evidence gathered to answer a specific question                 | ✓   | <p>This research is guided by the following research questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How did conflict become path-dependent in Fiji?</li> <li>2. What are the critical factors for stability in Fiji's public administration and how has public administration evolved in light of political conflict?</li> </ol> <p><u>Research Sub-questions</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How do political institutions affect the evolution of public administration and conflict?</li> <li>2. In light of the conflicts in Fiji, what are the critical junctures that have caused public administration to evolve?</li> </ol> |
| Research design: sampling frames, codes, event history analysis | ✓   | Scope of this research includes documents from 1865 – current day. Codes are developed from the data collected.   |
| <b>Neo-institutionalist history</b>                             |   |   |
| Story driven and inductive                                      | ✓   | This research is abductive. While it used the path dependency theory, it also considers new themes or theories that may arise from the data.  |
| Evidence is found and used to build meaning and questions       | ✓   | As above, this approach is reflected in the abductive nature of this research.  |
| Archival material and primary sources                           | ✓   | Archival material used includes government reports, internal memos, meeting minutes, and other government documents.  |

Research in neo-institutional history continues to evolve in its methodological approach. Rowlinson and Hassard (2013) assert that neo-institutional history makes several contributions:

1. Provides a rigorous approach to historical research by ensuring that it conforms to the standards set by historians.
2. Highlights the potential of documentary primary sources that business historians are familiar with. These are documents like minutes, committee reports, internal reports and memoranda.
3. Shifts emphasis away from importing historical data towards exporting theory to history. In other words, it encourages the shift from an inductive to a deductive approach.

Neo-institutional history allows business researchers to study the evolution of organisational process through time. Kieser (2015) states that organisation theory could be advanced by importing history but Rowlinson and Hassard (2013) argue the reverse in that history needs organisation analyses. Where economists have made a convincing case that rational choice, agency, and transaction cost theories can be used for research in archival business history, it is argued that neo-institutionalism presents a credible alternative for theoretical historical research in business history (Kipping & Üsdiken, 2008).

### **3.4 Data Collection**

#### **3.4.1 Archival Research – Gaining Access**

For this research, the documents were collected from two locations – National Archives of Fiji located in Suva, Fiji and Archives New Zealand located in Wellington, New Zealand<sup>46</sup>. The steps taken to access data were very different as each Government set different procedures to follow in order to gain access to the documents.

##### *3.4.1.1 National Archives of Fiji*

---

<sup>46</sup> Initially, I intended on collecting data from the British Museum Library in the United Kingdom, however, the border closures as a result of Covid-19 forced me to recalibrate. The British Museum holds the most comprehensive range of archival documents on Fiji from pre-colonialism, colonialism, and independence.

Due to the border closures during Covid-19 I was unable to travel to Fiji and had to change my approach to collecting data. To collect data from Fiji the steps taken were:

1. Visited the National Archives of Fiji website at <http://archivesfiji.org/> to search for the documents that were needed. The website does not have a search engine that would allow researchers to carry out keyword searches. Instead, researchers must download and manually scour a series list of documents based on the Fiji & Tonga Consul, Cakobau Ad-Interim & Provisional Government, Colonial's Secretary's Office, Indian Immigration Records Indexes, and Land Claims Commission.
2. Wrote to the National Archives of Fiji requesting approval to access the archived material which were sent to me from an archivist based in Suva.

#### *3.4.1.2 Archives New Zealand*

Collecting data from the Archives in Wellington was very different from Fiji's case for two reasons:

1. The Archives NZ database is automated, user friendly, and easier to manoeuvre around.
2. Accessing the documents required Ministry of Foreign Affairs approval<sup>47</sup>.

New Zealand served as the head colonial office in the South Pacific at the time when Fiji was a British colony. Hence, a good amount of Fiji colonial records is kept in Wellington. Gaining access to the archives was more structured compared to gaining access to the Fiji Archives.

#### **3.4.2 Setting the Scope for the Document Collection – Content**

##### *Target documents*

Data was collected from both government archives in Fiji and New Zealand. The documents used were primary documents that were owned and mostly authored by the Fiji and New Zealand governments. The documents were retrieved from the years 1858 - 1985 and were chosen based on the following factors:

1. Date of publication – documents that were produced before Fiji was colonised which is before 1875 and during the period of colonialism from 1875 – 1970.

---

<sup>47</sup> Appendix 2 (p. 236) contains the response received from the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade who indicated which documents they allowed me to access and those they didn't.

2. Authorship – government publications.
3. Primary documents – documents authored by government agencies that have not been analysed by external parties.
4. Content – the focus was on administrative systems that were linked to public administration and the rise of conflict. The data collected dealt with issues pertaining to governing processes, the creation of institutions, public administration, and internal memos that gave some meaning to established processes and agencies.

Table 7 provides a snapshot of the types of documents that were collected for this research.

Table 7 *Summary of Types of Documents Collected*

| Document Title                                       | Document Type                      | Year(s)          | Location    | Access Level |
|--|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|
| Colonial reports                                     | Government report                  | 1891 – 1950      | Fiji        | Restricted   |
| Report: Fiji goes to the polls                       | Government report                  | 1963             | Fiji        | Restricted   |
| Ordinances of the colony of Fiji                     | Legal document                     | 1875             | Fiji        | Open access  |
| Miscellaneous papers and letters                     | Internal memos, meeting minutes    | 1858 – 1871      | Fiji        | Restricted   |
| Votes of the Legislative Council Assembly Sessions   | Meeting minutes                    | 1872 – 1873      | Fiji        | Restricted   |
| Colonial reports                                     | Government report                  | 1949 -1955       | New Zealand | Restricted   |
| General papers and letters                           | Internal memos and meeting minutes | 1869 – 1985      | New Zealand | Restricted   |
| Parliamentary papers                                 | Government papers                  | 1876, 1882, 1973 | New Zealand | Restricted   |
| Fiji Government reports (on various relevant topics) | Government report                  | 1945 – 1983      | New Zealand | Restricted   |
| Fiji Government Gazettes                             | Gazette                            | 1944 – 1972      | New Zealand | Restricted   |

### 3.4.3 Researcher’s Role and Reflexivity

Qualitative research implies a direct concern with experience as it is lived or felt by its participants. It has the aim of understanding experiencing through the participants’ eyes (Sherman & Webb, 1988). It is then important that a researcher’s position is understood and made clear during the research and being able to do this is an indicator of a good qualitative research (Creswell, 2014). Qualitative researchers are urged to talk about themselves, their

position in relation to the research, choices, and action during the research process (Mruck & Breuer, 2003). As an indigenous Fijian, I was mindful of my position as the researcher throughout this research. To help mitigate this, my social constructivist position was continuously reflected on. The social constructivist paradigm provided an important reminder that meaning is drawn from the documents and interpretation should be based on the dialogue that has been recorded between the actors in the documents.

Researchers can practice reflexivity by keeping self-reflection journals to record personal assumptions, goals, and individual beliefs that may impact the way in which the data is collected and understood (Russell & Kelly, 2002). Another form of reflexivity is self-interviewing; researchers can use this tool to become more aware of their own interests and assumptions to avoid biases (Bolam et al., 2003). During this research, self-interviews and self-reflection journals were used simultaneously to keep track of thought processes, personal assumptions, and areas of concern that arose during the data collection and analyses stages. Self-interviews were conducted before notes were recorded in self-reflection journals.

Bowen (2009) stresses that qualitative researchers must maintain objectivity and sensitivity with research material. They should do this by representing the research material fairly and responding accordingly to cues to meaning. With objectivity and sensitivity in mind, the following were constantly reflected on during the data collection and analyses stages:

1. Theoretical lens: A reminder to explore and analyse the data collected using path dependency theory. Using this lens set the boundary for this research and limited the use of personal narratives during data analysis.
2. Research paradigm: An understanding that meaning is built based on the social constructivist paradigm and that it is based on the actors written interpretation of events.
3. Authorship: Although all the data being reviewed were government documents, it was important to remember who the author was. The differences in authorship affected the language, tone, motive, and nature of each report written. Authorship varied based on countries and institutions. I also had to be mindful of the status of some of the countries at the time that reports were written. For instance, whether they were a colony, dominion, or republic. In this case the authors were:
  - Fiji colony (1874 – 1970).
  - Fiji government (1970 – current).
  - New Zealand colony (1841 – 1907).

- New Zealand dominion (1907 – 1947).
  - New Zealand government (1948 – current).
  - United Kingdom government.
  - Australian government.
  - Indian government.
  - United Nations.
4. Political context: A consideration of the time that the document was written and the political context during that time. For example: Fijian colonial administration and Fiji government reports varied in tone, language, and purpose.
  5. Cultural context: An important cultural factor to note while studying Fijian government documents is the relationship that each key player had with each other and the United Kingdom government. For instance, Fijian chiefs were afforded several privileges during colonialism, which launched them into leadership roles within the colonial government and later in the newly independent Fijian government. While reading the documents, it is important to be aware of each of these actors as it would provide some context to the leadership style, dialogue, and political motives presented in the documents.
  6. Research questions: The research questions were constantly reflected on. This helped in emphasising the boundaries of the research and was useful in deciding which documents to prioritise during the data collection stage.
  7. Linkages: Upon uncovering priori and axial codes, there was always a recurring cycle of linking it back to the research questions to ensure that each of the findings were relevant and useful.

Reflexivity is a useful tool for qualitative researchers as it also encourages transparency in the research process (Ortlipp, 2008).

### **3.5 Data Analysis**

#### **3.5.1 Theoretical Thematic Analysis**

For the purpose of clarifying my approach I will discuss my proposed method (document analysis above) and analytical tool separately. However, the two were used simultaneously during my data collection process. In order to analyse the documents collected for this research, a theoretical thematic analysis (TA) at the latent level was carried out. Unlike a semantic approach, which focusses on surface meanings of data, TA at the latent level involves interpretative work in order to “examine underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations

– and ideologies - that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84). The analysis is deductive in nature because conflict and public administration in Fiji was studied within the boundaries of path dependency. It is rooted in a theoretical framework. This method of analysis has been chosen because a theoretical thematic analysis complements the nature of path dependency and using the two hand-in-hand enabled me to uncover rich information on public administration in Fiji. Table 8 below shows a side-by-side comparison of theoretical TA and path dependency to show how they complement each other.

Table 8 *A Side-by-Side Comparison of Theoretical TA and Path Dependency*

| <b>Features of theoretical TA</b>  | <b>Features of path-dependency</b>  |
|--|---|
| <p>1. What counts as a theme? A concept becomes a theme or pattern if it is prevalent. Although prevalence is mostly based on researcher judgement, it also depends on whether something is important in relation to the research question and the researcher needs to be consistent (Braun &amp; Clarke, 2006).</p> | <p>1. Heterogenous networks and simplification (Greener, 2002). As mentioned earlier, to assess how public administration and conflict became path-dependent, heterogenous networks need to be examined by identifying objects and processes (simplification) that contribute to the making of institutionalised practices in Fiji’s civil service. A theoretical TA allowed me to identify prevalent objects and processes for public administration and conflict.</p> |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>2. Identifying themes at a latent level of analysis.</p>  | <p>2. Semiotic approach (Greener, 2002): To identify features of path dependency understanding meaning behind practices is required. A latent analysis allowed me to identify elements of historical institutionalism which is the development of political institutions through “rules, regularized patterns and routinized practices subject to path-dependence” (Schmidt, 2014, p. 1). Identifying semiotic meaning involves interpretive work that can be done by conducting a latent analysis.</p>  |
| <p>3. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that theoretical TA be used for under-researched areas or in studies where a detailed and nuanced account of a particular theme or groups of themes is needed.</p> | <p>3. Because of the limited research on the use of path dependency to understand public administration and conflict in Fiji, having a constructionist philosophical view and conducting a theoretical TA allowed me to develop themes based on patterns of behaviour in Fiji’s civil service history from archived documents. I filled this information gap by extracting meaning from the documents. Also, proving that a concept is institutionalised, and path-dependent requires a thorough assessment of themes, patterns and meanings over time, something this approach is able to aid in.</p> |

The evolution of public administration was analysed using the institutionalist theory and as my research progressed, characteristics of the resilience framework surfaced, and this led to the inclusion of resilience in the theoretical framework. Having an abductive approach provided flexibility for the inclusion of resilience even though the research had been initially framed using path dependency and institutionalism.

Holding a constructionist philosophical worldview and conducting a theoretical thematic analysis, enabled me to question whether public administration and conflict have been path-dependent and institutionalised since 1874 when Fiji was colonised. Analysing conflict as occurring on a set path and public administration in terms of continuity, allowed me to identify patterns of behaviour that contribute to Fiji's political trajectory as a whole. These lessons in history will provide a better understanding of public administration and conflict in Fiji.

### **3.5.2 Stages of Data Analysis**

Document analysis is a combination of content analysis and thematic analysis, and it involves skimming, reading, and interpretation (Bowen, 2009). While content analysis relies on the quantification of codes, it also entails a first-pass document review where meaningful texts are identified and used as codes. This enables it to be used alongside thematic analysis during document analysis (Bowen, 2009). Braun and Clarke (2006) outline a six-phase approach to thematic analysis, and they include:

1. Phase 1: Familiarising yourself with the data.

This phase occurred once during the data collection process and the second time during the skim reading stage after data collection. As shown on Table 7, there were certain documents that were accessed for this research, which were restricted. Strauss and Corbin (1998) state that the ability to identify meaningful information in the data is pertinent during document analysis. This skill was valuable in this phase because it was important that key information be identified and separated from information that would not be useful for this study given that there were thousands of documents to skim and analyse.

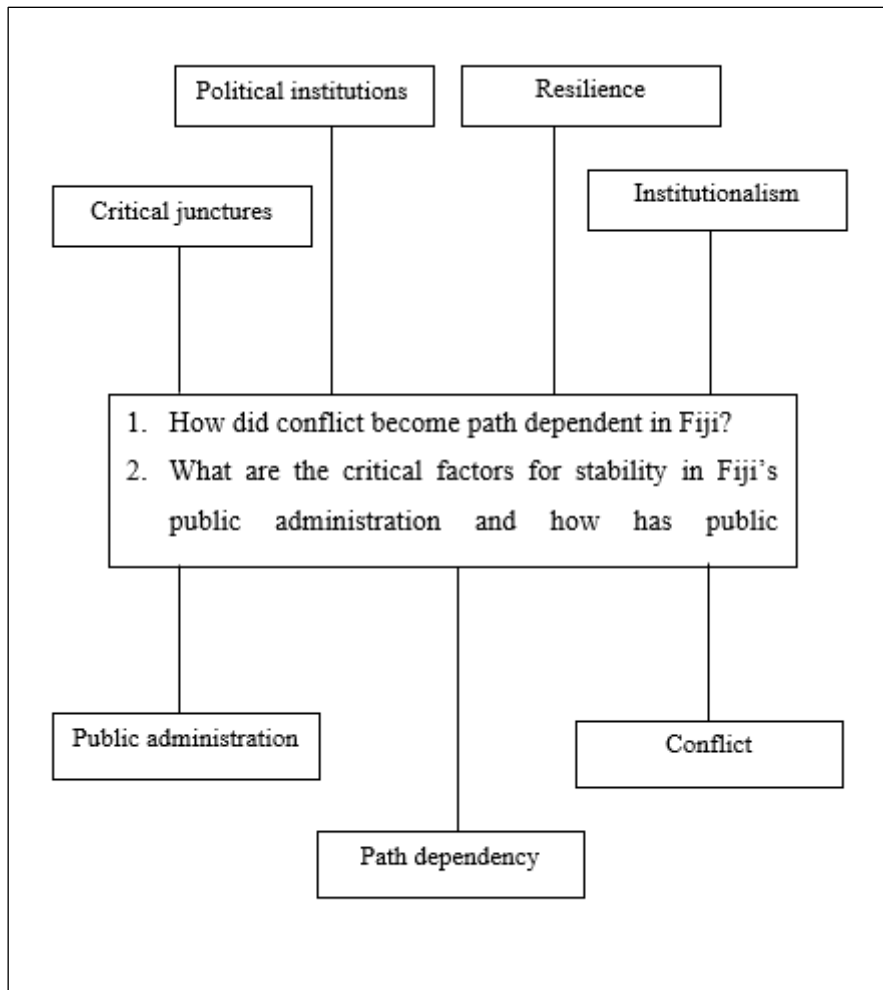
The second round of familiarisation with the data occurred after the data collection process. Like the approach mentioned by Bowen (2009), this stage involved skim reading, which the author classified as superficial examination. Several priori codes were generated after skim reading and these were noted down and reviewed later. The coding process will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

2. Phase 2: Generating initial codes.

After skim reading the documents collected, Bowen (2009) suggests a careful and focussed re-reading and review of the data. Following this, seven initial codes were generated. In Phase 1 I described two instances of familiarisation: once during the data collection process and the second time after data collection. Piori codes were only developed during the second

familiarisation process and during the re-reading of the data. This stage also involves category construction and for the current research, elements of the path dependency theory were used as pre-defined categories with which I could create codes. As shown, the priori codes used were derived from the main research questions and the sub-questions that follow (Chapter 1, p. 24). A mind map of how the initial codes were generated is shown in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8 *Mind Map - Generating the Initial Codes*



The mind map provides an illustration of how priori codes were generated from the research question and sub-questions. Although broad, these codes do provide a useful starting point for the generation of axial codes and themes. Since they were derived from the research questions, these codes also acted as an anchor during the data analysis stage; a reminder of the parameters within which this research exists.

3. Phase 3: Searching for themes.

In this phase, codes are sorted into potential themes and an analysis of codes is carried out to find out how different codes may combine to form an overarching theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). At the end of this phase, there was a collection of themes and sub-themes, which had extracts of data coded to them. Figure 9 is an illustration of a thematic map that was developed for one of the major themes: the effect that indirect rule has on the nature of conflict in Fiji.

Figure 9 *Thematic Map for 'Indirect Rule' Theme*

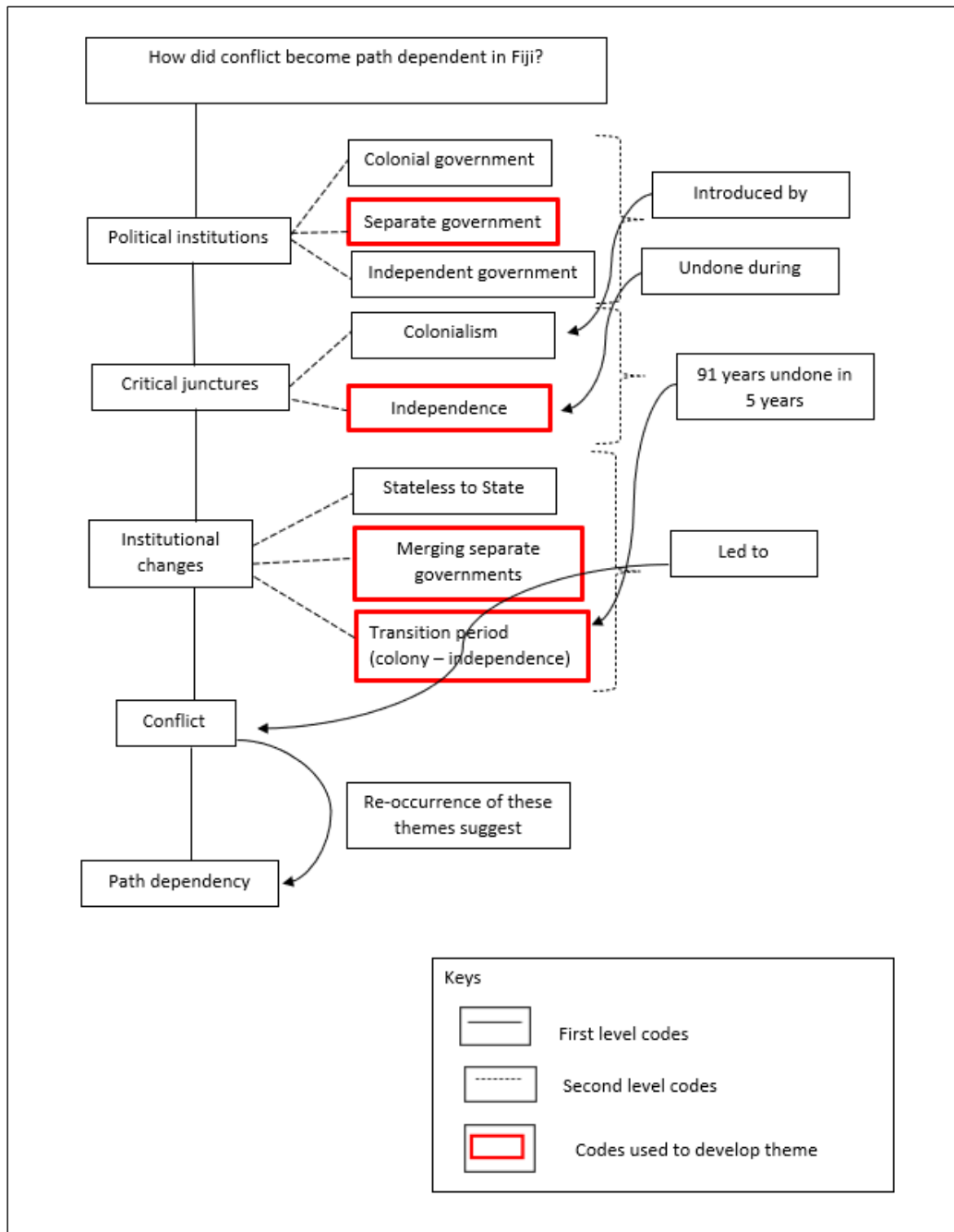


Figure 10 depicts the thematic map for the theme ‘indirect rule’. The starting point for coding and thematic analysis is the research question: how did conflict become path dependent in Fiji? Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that there will be instances where sets of codes do not seem to belong anywhere and for this research, from the priori coding schema developed, only five codes were evident in the documents for content that were related to the conflict aspect of the research question. These five codes and their sub-codes are:

- Political institutions: Colonial government, separate government, independent government.
- Critical junctures: Colonialism, independence.
- Institutional changes: Stateless to state, merging separate governments, transition period (colony to independence).
- Conflict.
- Path dependency.

For conflict, the documents revealed that the notion of merging the separate governments created during colonial rule caused conflict among Fijians and Indo-Fijians. The same elements contributing to these conflicts recurred throughout Fiji’s political history, which is how path dependency comes into play.

On Figure 10, there are two levels of codes developed. The first level codes (with the unbroken lines) are priori codes and from these second level codes (with the dotted line) are developed after reading the documents. These codes were analysed for themes and from the coding schema (emphasis on the codes in the red boxes), the following themes were developed:

**Theme 1:** The use of indirect rule in a multiracial colonial Fiji. This left legacies in Fiji’s political system.

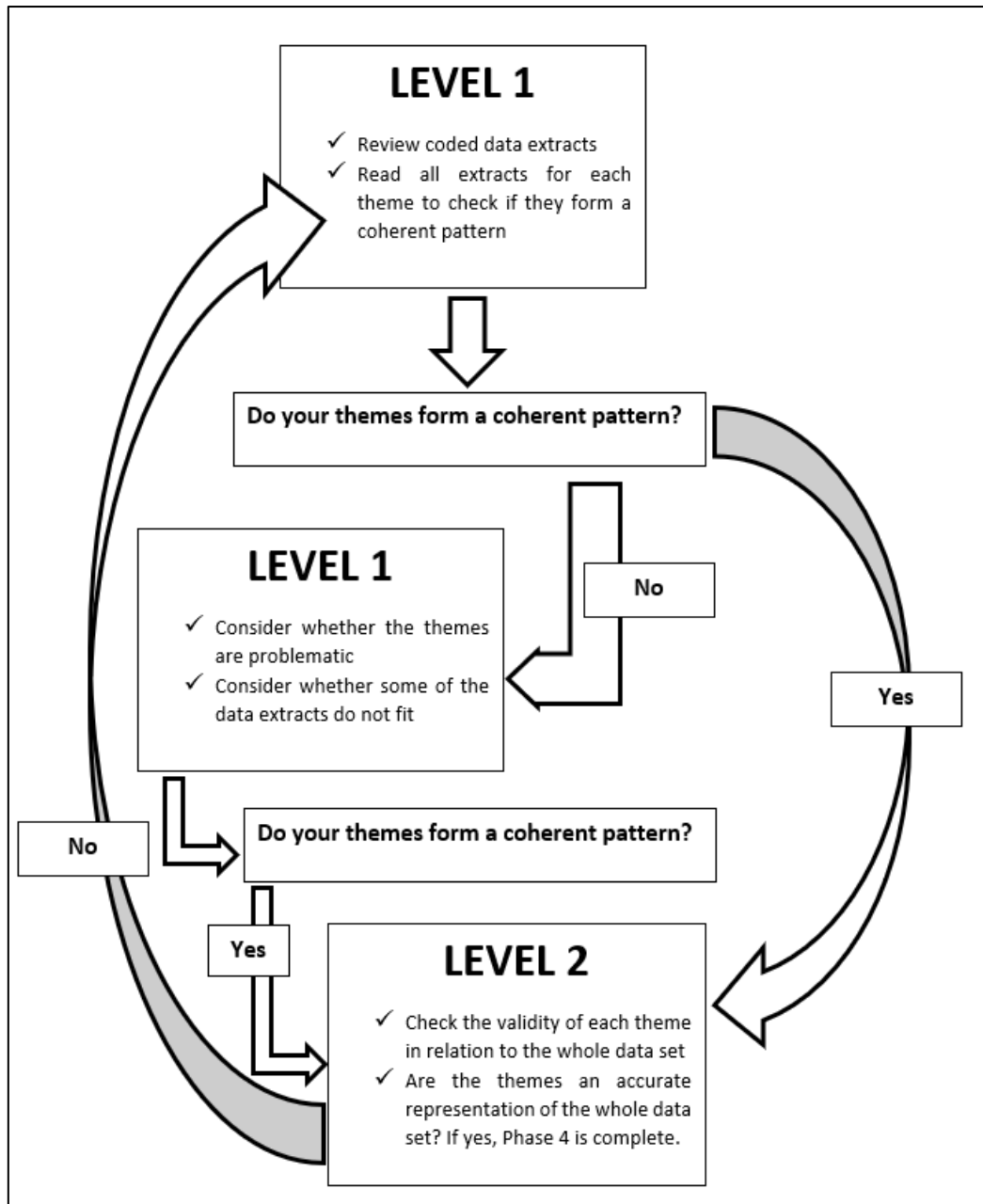
**Theme 2:** The transition time from colonialism to independence. Fiji lived under colonial rule for 96 years and governance by indirect rule was the practice for 91 of those years. In the last five years under British rule, Fiji had to shift from the colonial system of governance to independence.

At this stage, the data analysis started to produce themes that were linked to the research question. Having developed themes, relationships between codes and sub-codes were then established to help with the categorisation process.

#### 4. Phase 4: Reviewing themes.

In this phase, the set of themes developed in Phase 3 were reviewed and refined. During this process themes were flagged if they didn't have enough data to support them. Some themes were combined if features were found to overlap, and others were separated to form new themes (Patton, 1990). According to Braun and Clarke (2006), this phase involved two levels of reviewing. Level one involved re-reading all the coded extracts to ensure that each formed a coherent pattern. If there was a fit between each extract and theme, then the researcher proceeded to level two. However, if the extracts and themes did not form a coherent pattern then a review was carried out to decide if the extract would be moved or whether a new theme needed to be created. Level two required a re-reading of the entire data set to check whether the themes that were developed were an accurate representation of the data set as a whole. At this level, there was some re-coding involved. Using an example from my data set, Figure 10 illustrates the process by which Phase 4 was carried out.

Figure 10 *Reviewing and Refining Process for Themes*

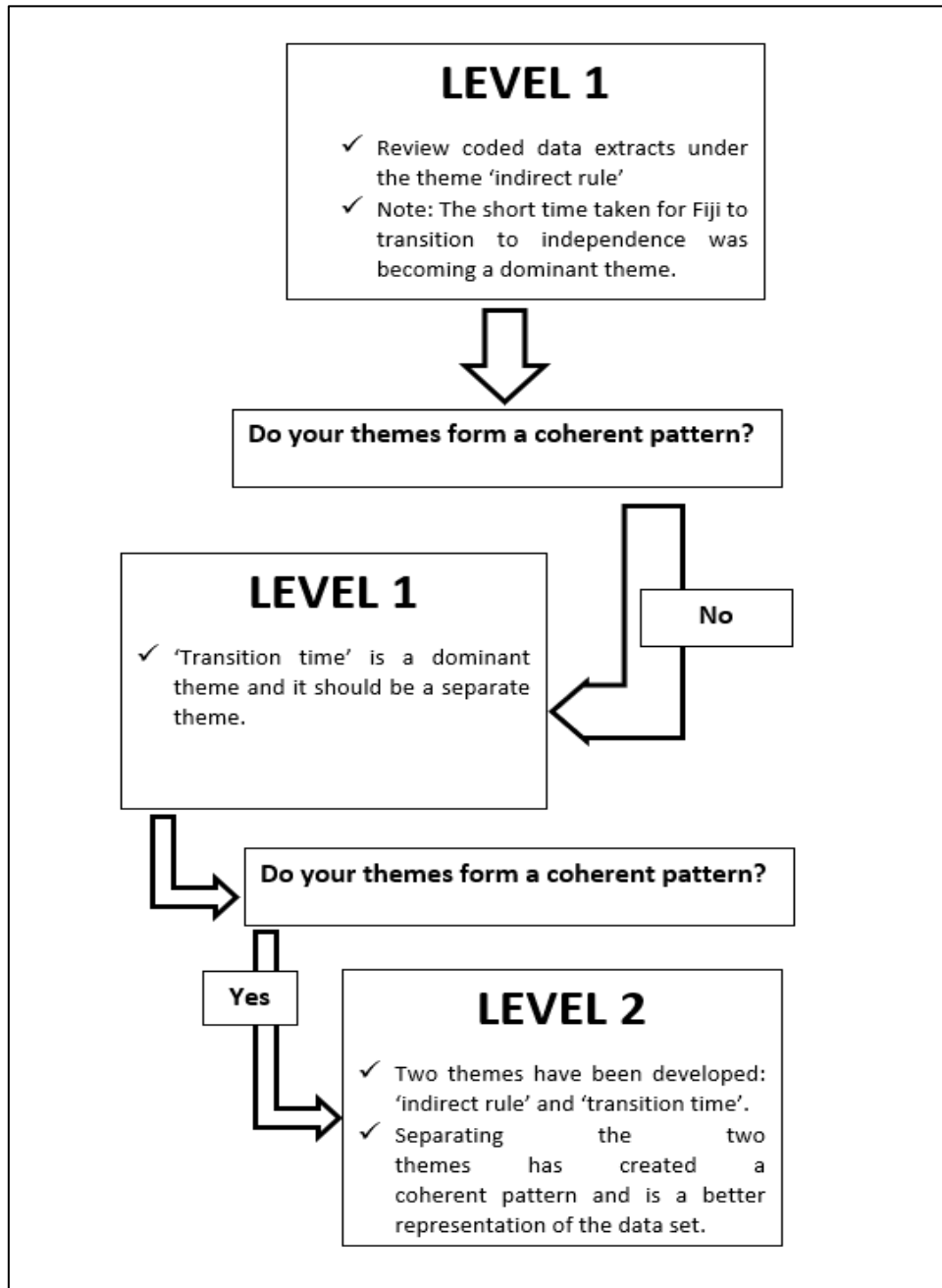


*Adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006)*

Based on the example provided in Phase 3, Figure 11 illustrates the review process carried out for the themes 'indirect rule' and 'transition time' using the steps outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). The two themes are interdependent and in the initial creation of themes, 'transition time' was coded under the theme 'indirect rule'. However, after reviewing the data extracts it became a sub-theme of 'indirect rule'. Later, it was seen that there was a

substantial amount of data categorised under 'transition time' so it became a theme on its own.

Figure 11 *Reviewing the Theme 'Indirect Rule'*



##### 5. Phase 5: Defining and naming themes.

In this phase the themes were further refined, defined, and named. For each theme, a detailed analysis was carried out to establish the 'story' behind each one and how it added value to the overall research. This phase also involved the identification of sub-themes that developed from

each of the main themes. By the end of this phase, each theme had a scope and context. At the end of this phase, the themes developed for this research like ‘indirect rule’ and ‘transition time’, were defined as follows:

- Indirect rule: the establishment of a separate government for indigenous Fijians under colonial rule was a form of indirect rule. This later became problematic when Fiji became a multiracial society with the different ethnic groups living in parallel to each other without assimilation.
- Transition time: Fiji lived under the system of indirect rule for 91 years before any attempt to assimilate the different ethnic groups were made. Fijians were given five years to transition into a multi-racial independent nation when talks for independence began in 1965. This short transition period had an impact on the quality of governance and public administrative systems in place at the time of independence.

#### 6. Phase 6: Producing the report.

This is the final phase of Braun and Clarke’s (2006) stages of data analysis. This stage involves final analysis and report writing. Here, the themes are weaved together to create a story that responds to the research questions for the overall research.

### **3.5.3 Saturation**

Bazeley (2013) asserts that saturation occurs when no new categories emerge from the data set. Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that coding is finished when categories are saturated. Corbin and Strauss (2008) expand Bazeley’s understanding of saturation but suggest that it is also achieved when each theme has been fully developed and described with differences between each theme clearly explained. For this research, about 3,500 pages of archival data were analysed. The point of saturation was reached when no new themes could be developed. At the end of the analysis, in line with the arguments made by Bazeley (2013) and Corbin and Strauss (2008), four steps were taken before completing the coding process:

- The data set was reviewed to check that no new themes could be developed in relation to the research questions.
- A thorough review of the coded data was carried out to clearly define the themes that had been extracted from the archival data.

- The difference between each theme was specified to eliminate any ambiguity, overlap, and repetition.
- The themes were reviewed against the research questions to check for relevance and congruence.

In section 3.5.2, the six phases of data analysis are described in relation to this research. The detailed categorisation and review of themes using the six phases prescribed by Braun and Clarke (2006) contributes to the process of ascertaining whether saturation has been achieved because it is an ongoing process of reviewing the thematic schema and data set for replication, inter-relationships and for creating definitions.

### **3.6 Methodological Integrity and Rigour**

#### **3.6.1 Reliability and Validity**

Creswell (2014) lists several validity strategies for qualitative studies, and they are: triangulation, member checking, reporting using a rich descriptive narrative, reflexivity to clarify researcher bias, a prolonged time in the field, peer debriefing, presenting information that is contrasting to the themes, and using an external auditor to review a project. Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest a set of alternative means by which qualitative research can be assessed and they are:

1. Trustworthiness
  - Credibility: internal validity where researchers' observation and the theories developed are in alignment. Also known as respondent validation or member validation.
  - Transferability: external validity, which refers to the degree in which findings can be generalised. To do this, researchers are asked to provide thick descriptions of their findings and analysis.
  - Dependability: reliability where researchers are encouraged to adopt an auditing approach to establish the merit of their research.
  - Confirmability: it is concerned with proving the researcher's objectivity or their ability to act in good faith.
2. Authenticity: a check for fairness, ontological, educative, catalytic, and tactical authenticity.

There are some parallels between Creswell's (2014) and Guba and Lincoln's (1994) suggestions for validity checks in qualitative research. For instance, credibility runs parallel

with triangulation and member checking. Transferability echoes similar sentiments to the idea of reporting using thick narrative descriptions, dependability is similar to the use of auditors and confirmability aligns with the act of clarifying researcher bias. Based on the criteria discussed, this research adopts several validity and reliability checks which will now be discussed.

### *Credibility and Triangulation*

Triangulation is using more than one method or source of data when studying social phenomena (Bryman, 2016). Triangulation uses multiple observers, theoretical viewpoints, sources of data, and methodologies (Denzin, 1970). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) argued that triangulation should be reframed as crystal refraction because similar to having many points of light, triangulation involves the analysis of data from different theoretical, methodological, or participant standpoints. According to Denzin (2012), there are four types of triangulations: data, investigator, theory, and methodological triangulation. For this study, data triangulation was carried out during the analysis phase.

Data triangulation focusses on three data points: people, space, and time (Denzin, 2012). Fusch et al. (2018) assert that each of these data points represent different data of the same event, and they are interrelated and ongoing. For this research, the archival documents were collected from different access points. This means that the documents collected were:

1. Written by different institutions (government and private).
2. Written from multiple locations internationally.
3. Intended for different audiences (for example, gazettes vs confidential internal memos).
4. Written at different points in time. This is important since the research assesses the legacies of colonialism in Fiji's administrative systems.

To use Denzin's concepts of people, space, and time, a breakdown of sources for the archival data collected is shown in Table 9 (2009).

Table 9 *Data Triangulation across People, Space, and Time*

| <b>People</b>   | <b>Space</b>   | <b>Time</b>                             |
|---|----------------|---|
| Individuals: Civil servants, locals / international observers, expatriates, iTaukei / Indo-Fijians.   | Fiji           | Pre-colonialism: 1858 – 1869            |
| Institutions: Global governing bodies like the United Nations, media organisations.   | New Zealand    | Colonial times: 1870 – 1965             |
| Government institutions: Colony of Fiji, Republic of Fiji, Australian government, New Zealand colony, Dominion of New Zealand, New Zealand government, UK government, India government. | United Kingdom | Transition to independence: 1965 – 1969 |
|   | Australia      | Post-independence: 1970 – current       |

Data triangulation is useful for testing the validity of themes and it also allows for an understanding of data saturation across multiple types of documents. As mentioned earlier, during the coding phase and data analysis stage, the two themes ‘indirect rule’ and ‘transition time’ were entangled within the data. Therefore, the illustration of data triangulation below has elements of both themes entwined in its excerpts. Figure 12 presents several excerpts from different data sources and each one of them (1) highlights the risk posed by undoing indirect rule in a multi-racial society and (2) shares concerns for the short amount of time Fiji was given to achieve independence.

Figure 12 *An Example of Data Triangulation Carried out in this Research*

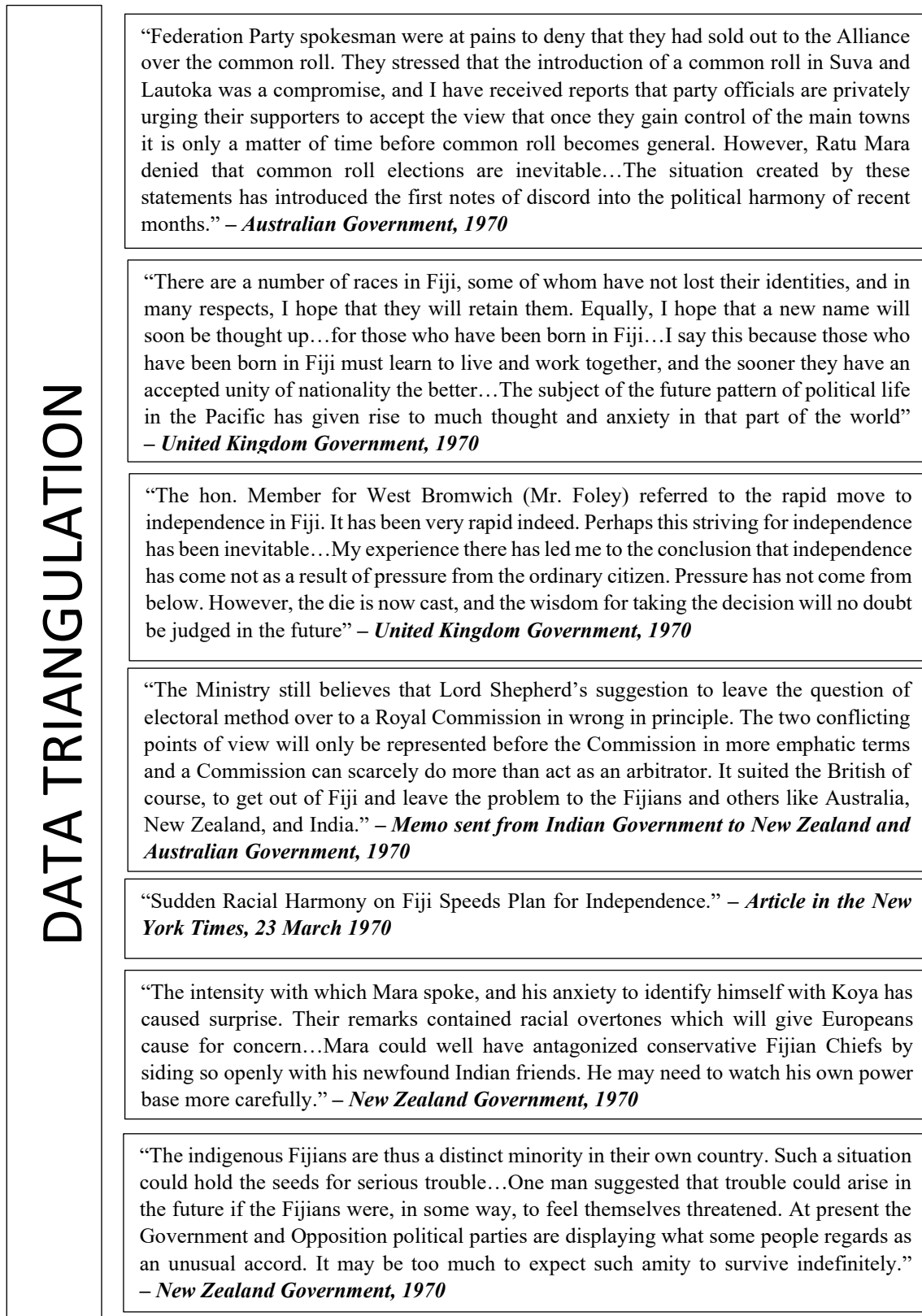


Figure 12 is an illustration of how data triangulation was used in this research. The selected excerpts shown are reports, memos, or newspaper articles written by officials from Australia, Great Britain, New Zealand, India, and the United States of America. These extracts show a collective concern for Fiji's unpreparedness for independence and due to this, the complications of governing a multiracial society are flagged and Fiji's readiness to do so questioned. These themes continue across several pages in the data set and while this allows for levels of saturation to be tested, data triangulation enables me to test the tenacity of these themes across space, time and among different groups of people.

### *Transferability and Narrative Descriptions*

According to Miles and Huberman (1984), having a narrative text has been the most popular form of data display for qualitative studies. This research is reported in a descriptive, narrative form. The information, analysis, and discussion are presented with the goal of being detailed, comprehensive, and interpretable.

### *Confirmability and Clarifying Researcher Bias*

As mentioned, I am aware of my positionality as an indigenous Fijian who is conducting research on the legacies of colonialism in Fiji's public administrative system. To help mitigate this, my social constructivist position acted as an accountability tool during data analysis as it reminded me that interpretation should be based on the dialogue recorded between the actors in the documents. During the research, the reflexivity process included a constant reminder of my theoretical lens (path dependency theory), the research paradigm, authorship of each document, research questions, and political and cultural contexts of the events described in each document.

## **3.7 Ethics**

This study has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk<sup>48</sup>. The low risk notification for this research is recorded in the Massey University Human Ethics Committee system. The reason for the low risk ethics application is due to the research design adopted.

---

<sup>48</sup> Appendix 7 (p. 245) shows the email notification received from the Massey University Human Ethics Chairs' Committee.

The data for this study was extracted from archival documents and there were no human participants recruited. However, to retrieve the documents needed, a formal process was followed in order to gain access into the National Archives of Fiji and Archives New Zealand. This process included formally writing to both the archive offices and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NZ) to request approval to view the documents. Whilst at Archives New Zealand, there were some restricted documents, which could not be photographed. This restriction was observed under the supervision of the archivists. Therefore, the documents gathered for this research were collected with care and special adherence to the guidelines surrounding its accessibility.

### **3.8 Challenges and Issues**

The biggest challenge encountered in this study was having to change certain aspects of data collection due to the border closures that were put in place as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic. Being unable to travel to Fiji and the United Kingdom meant that I had to recalibrate my research method. To mitigate the impacts of Covid-19, I worked closely with an archivist at the National Archives of Fiji who sent me copies of the documents requested. Although this change enabled the research to continue, not being present to collect data personally did present another challenge. Instead of reviewing the documents and handpicking relevant ones to store and use, I received a bulk lot of documents from the folders I had requested. This added another layer to the data collection process as it meant I had to request the documents, receive it from the archivist, store it, skim through the documents before selecting the relevant ones, store them, and remove the ones that weren't needed. The United Kingdom visit was replaced with a visit to Archives New Zealand in Wellington, which held a wide range of documents in Fiji from pre-colonial time, colonial times to post-colonialism. The impacts of Covid-19 changed certain elements of the data collection process for this research, but this was mitigated with the use of technology and locally available resources.

The documents from National Archives of Fiji were sent as images<sup>49</sup> and this meant that I was unable to conduct a word search or make comments on any document. The images were sent to me in no particular order (this made it difficult to organise each image into files) and the image labels were automatically generated, giving me no indication of the content for each

---

<sup>49</sup> Appendix 2 (p. 236) is an example of the type of documents received from the National Archives of Fiji and Appendix 3 (p. 237) is a snapshot of the way that documents were labelled.

image. I had to devise my own system of coding, analysis and referencing. First, I labelled each document in this format: IMG\_001. The next stage was analysis, which was carried out in steps: the special label given to each image was written down for reference and notes made under it during data analysis<sup>50</sup>. Codes and themes were developed from the notes made. For referencing, the steps were: note the image label used to tag each document, if the image belonged to a report, then write down the range of said report, for example, IMG 001 – IMG 006, create a reference for the image(s) and note down the references beside the image labels<sup>51</sup>.

A majority of the documents collected from Archives New Zealand were restricted, which meant that no photos of the documents could be taken, and it could only be read in the library. As a result, the first round of data coding occurred during the data collection and while this was good for data familiarisation, the time and access constraints limited the scope of data collection.

### **3.9 Conclusion**

To conclude, I held a social constructivist and interpretivist lens in this research which allowed me to extract meaning from the actions and behaviour of key political actors from Fiji's history. Using path dependency, institutionalism and resilience, Fiji's administrative history was revisited and explored to find out why conflict recurs in Fiji and how public administration has evolved in light of the conflict. The qualitative and exploratory nature of this research allows for an in-depth analysis of how public administration and conflict have emerged, and evolved and also what contributes to its continuity and change. Archival research as a method of data collection has been well suited for this study because it allowed me to revisit Fiji's public administrative history. Thematic analysis for the data collected occurred simultaneously with data collection and later it was carried out as a process on its own. Throughout the research there was a continuous process of reflexivity as I am aware of potential biases that may stem from my role as principal researcher and positionality as an indigenous Fijian. The ways in which these were mitigated have been discussed and they include constant reflection on the path dependency theoretical lens, social constructivist and interpretivist research paradigms,

---

<sup>50</sup> Appendix 4 (p. 238) is a snapshot of how references were tagged alongside image labels so that each document could be added to my EndNote Library.

<sup>51</sup> See Appendix 5 (pp. 239 – 242) for an example of the coding notes made during data collection at Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

authorship of archival documents, political context during which the documents were written, cultural context, research questions, and linkages of codes and themes to the research premise.

Fiji provided an interesting context for the study of public administration, particularly, the evolution of public administration in light of conflict. This is because its organisational culture is rooted in British colonial institutions whose legacies still manifest in current day systems, dialogues, and processes. By using archival data to revisit history, adopting a social constructivist and interpretivist lens to extract meaning from data, and thematic analysis to comb through the information gathered, this research uncovered the path dependent nature of conflict together with the institutionalist and resilient behaviour of Fiji's public administration. The next chapter is the first of two discussion chapters. This chapter analyses the behaviour of conflict in Fiji using the path dependency theory. Chapter Four discusses how conflict became path dependent in Fiji and which political institutions were instrumental in the evolution of conflict within Fijian polity.

# Chapter Four

## Part I: Discussion

### Path Dependency Theory in a Post-Conflict State

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses one of two of my research objectives and major findings. In this chapter I discuss the emergence of conflict of conflict using the path-dependency theory. Fiji's historical documents were studied to find out how conflict emerged and became path dependent.

I begin by describing indirect rule within Fiji or 'a State within a Sate'. This section describes the effects of indirect rule Fiji's political trajectory. Fiji was governed under indirect rule when it was a colony, there were two concurrent leadership structures in place: Fijian traditional leadership system and Britain's government system. The effects of having a state within a state created difficulties when Fiji became independent as indigenous Fijians sought to retain the privileges that they were afforded during colonialism. Next, Fiji's readiness for independence is explained through the analysis of institutions and policies that were established in the lead up to independence. In this section the opposition of colonial ideologies and strategies for independence are discussed to show how path dependency manifested itself in public administration processes. After evaluating Fiji's transition from colony to republic, the next section discusses some of the contextual issues that arose especially with regards to the implementation of the Westminster system and the communal voting electoral system. Again, the contrast that embeddedness and adaptability had will be brought up and tied into the rise of conflict. Following this, some recommendations will be put forward to suggest how the policy making process could be improved to reduce the probability of conflict erupting from path-dependent institutions. The final section summarises the path that continuously creates conflict in Fiji's political trajectory. Here, the critical junctures are identified and its role in the evolution of conflict will be explained.

In this chapter, the path dependency theory is used to discuss the evolution and continuity of conflict. Two of its key contributions are the identification of markers that show how wide Fiji's path of conflict is and the recognition of critical junctures that initiated and continued conflict.

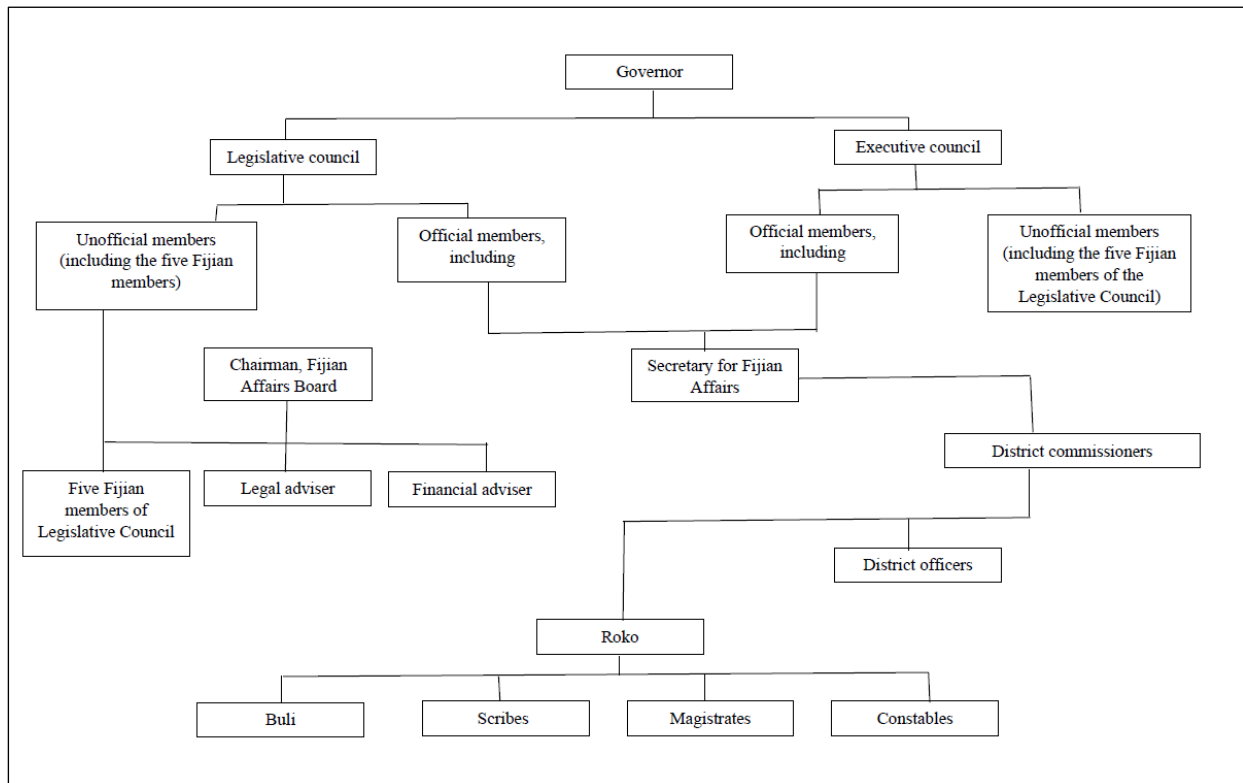
## 4.2 A State within a State – Indirect Rule in Fiji

*“Whenever those states which have been acquired as stated have been accustomed to live under their own laws and in freedom...permit them to live under their own laws, drawing a tribute, and establishing within it an oligarchy which will keep it friendly to you”*

- Niccolò Machiavelli, 1469 – 1527 (1981, p. 39).

After the British administration was established in Fiji, there began a process of indirect rule by preserving the traditional leadership systems already existing and allowing it to run within the larger colonial governing institution. Under colonial rule, the government system was structured as seen below:

Figure 13 *Structure of Colonial Administration in Fiji.*



Source: (Roth, 1973).

The Governor, an appointee of the Crown, was the highest administrative position in Fiji. The role of Governor included creating and enforcing legislation, managing the nation’s finance, health care, and education systems, crime, agriculture, trade, immigration, public works, and the civil service. This formed the main political system (Fiji Colonial Administration, 1891 to

1943). In dealing with immigration, the colonial administration also managed everything to do with the Indentured Labour system<sup>52</sup>. The establishment of the colonial administration marked the start of Fiji's path-dependency, it is an example of the use of Greener's (2002) heterogenous network together with simplification. In this instance, the new governing structure was the object used to create permanence (heterogenous network), and the Western style of governing was a new institution for Fiji (simplification)<sup>53</sup>. Heterogenous networks and simplification are strong reinforcements for path dependence because institutions are created where none previously existed making it easier for it to take on a rule-like status.

Within the colonial structure of governing lay the sub-system, which was the "internal Fijian State" (NZ Government, 1967) made up of the following institutions:

- The Great Council of Chiefs: possessed advisory powers only and are tasked with ensuring the welfare of the Fijian people by recommending proposals to the Governor that will benefit Fijians. The council also gave advice on all matters and bills that involved its people. The president of the council was the secretary of Fijian affairs and members of the council were: 14 Fijian members from the legislative council, seven chiefs who were appointed by the Governor, eight appointees of the Secretary of Fijian affairs and 30 members elected by 14 provincial councils.
- Fijian Affairs Board: the Governor would refer draft legislation and other matters relating to the rights, interests, health, welfare, peace, order, and good government of the Fijian people to this body for consideration and they also initiated proposals related to the governance of the Fijian people. The board made appointments, controlled provincial revenue, and made regulations that apply to Fijians only. Members of the board included the Secretary of Fijian affairs as Chairman, eight Fijians from the Legislative Council, two from the council of chiefs, one legal advisor, and one financial advisor.
- Yasana (Provinces): a local governing unit with its own administrative staff and allocated budget. The principal source of revenue was a rate payable by all male adults

---

<sup>52</sup> Indian indentured emigration began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century following the abolishment of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. Colonial governments sourced cheap labour from India from 1834 and Fiji began importing indentured labour in 1879 (Lal, 1998).

<sup>53</sup> Although the Western style of government was a novelty, the Fijians did have their own traditional system of leadership and government prior to colonisation.

aged 18 – 60. As of 1966 there were 14 provinces each of which were headed by a Roko Tui and a council of elected members and nominated chiefs (between 10 – 20 members).

- Tikina (Districts): an administrative division within the provinces until 1966 when it was reorganised to become no more than electoral divisions within the provinces. There are 76 districts within the 14 provinces and each district was headed by a Buli.
- Koro (Village): it was not made up of a council, but it was led by a headman or *Turagani-koro* who was elected by the village. The headman prepared and monitored the programme for community work like subsistence farming and social services. There were 1100 villages as of 1966 (NZ Government, 1967).

By imbibing Fiji's traditional leadership system into the colonial administration and creating an internal Fijian State, the British administration adopted what Greener (2002) refers to as the semiotic approach to achieving path dependency. In this approach meaning is assigned to organisational practices. By doing this, the British generated ownership and 'buy in' from indigenous Fijian leaders who would go on to defend this system of indirect rule and advocate to retain it. Greener (2002) argued that a semiotic approach provides insight into how history became embedded in organisations.

In accordance with indirect rule, the traditional Fijian and colonial governing systems were not separate from each other; rather, they co-existed under the leadership of the Governor. From 1875, there existed an appointed Legislative Council and an advisory Executive Council of officials. Over the years there were some alterations made to Legislative Council membership to accommodate the 'State within a State' created for the Fijian people. NZ Government (1967) notes that the membership changes were:

- 1904: 10 officials, six elected Europeans and two Fijians appointed by the Governor.
- 1914: 11 officials, seven elected Europeans, two Fijians.
- 1916: one nominated Indian added.
- 1929: 13 officials, six elected Europeans, three appointed Fijians, three elected Indians.
- 1937: 16 officials, three elected and two nominated Europeans, three elected and two nominated Indians, five Fijians appointed by Governor.
- 1963: Speaker, 19 officials, four elected and two appointed (by Governor) Europeans, four elected and two appointed (by Governor) Indians, four elected and two appointed (by chiefs) Fijians.

Indirect rule had been used in other British colonies like Nigeria but there are differences when compared to Fiji. For instance, Nigerian chiefs were appointed by British administrators and rejected by the people who argued that the chiefs were not representatives of existing traditional authorities but “artificial creatures” that were haphazardly appointed by their colonisers (Ikime, 1968, p. 422). Fiji’s situation also differed in that their separation was not based on local tribes but on different ethnicities. From 1965 – 1970, Fiji was transitioning from colony to independent State and the potential problems that could arise because of indirect rule were being raised by government officials in Britain and New Zealand. If Fijians had been the only community to be considered, the ‘State within a State’ would have preserved Fijian society and the transfer of ruling power would have been relatively easy. However, as a result of indirect rule, the traditionally Fijian society was preserved and isolated from its multiracial society for more than 90 years. Therefore, at the time of independence, Fiji’s multiracial nature presented some difficult constitutional problems. In a report analysing Fiji’s readiness for independence that was tabled in 1967, NZ Government (1967) aptly describes the situation: “In a multiracial society, it has meant that one element has had its separateness preserved and accented in a way that has made assimilation of all races into one political community immensely more difficult” (p.4).

Indirect rule has similar characteristics to Esman’s (1997) systemic preferences; one of three recommendations to manage inter-ethnic relations. In this approach the lion’s share of resources and public administration appointments were reserved for the dominant ethnic group (the British) and minorities (indigenous Fijians) were appointed in some positions for representation and to voice the grievances of their communities. I had mentioned in Chapter 2: Literature Review, that systemic preferences could promote equity, but it also runs a risk of being used to reinforce inequality. In Fiji’s case, the archival data suggests that the British used indirect rule to manage ethnic relations between the native Fijians and themselves. However, when the Fijians inherited the colonial system at independence and became the dominant ethnic group, indirect rule became a tool for managing separateness instead of managing inter-ethnic relations. In their description of how a path forms, Peters (2005) argues that minor institutional changes have major repercussions on policies which later become irreversible. The decision to govern Fiji by indirect rule normalised government by separation even though it was a tool for initially intended for managing inter-ethnic relations. The Fijians needed to adjust their systemic preferences mainly because the power dynamics between Fijians, Indo-Fijians and the other ethnic groups were different to that which existed between the British and Fijians.

The British colonial administration, being in a position of power, were able to adopt a top-down approach for governing while the Fijians had to take a more inclusive approach to achieve racial harmony. The differences in power dynamics changed the effects of systemic preferences via indirect rule.

During the second reading of the Fiji Independence Bill in 1970 in the British Parliament, a theme that was continuously discussed was the notion of harmony – racial harmony to be specific. The main idea in question was whether Fiji was ready to govern a multiracial society. At the outset, one could see mechanisms being put in place to facilitate racial harmony. For instance, the Legislature consisted of Fijian and Indian representatives, also including general seats for Rotumans, Chinese, and Europeans in Fiji. However, by peeling back this layer, the new legislature was just the colonial Fijian government sub-system pushed to the national level of governing Fiji. The great difficulty posed was although the Fijians had experienced self-governance for 90 odd years, they did so in a ‘bubble’ under the protection of the British crown, with an ascribed leadership system and without having to deal with the complexities and novelty of multiracialism that had become a part of the nation.

The Legislature was made up of an Upper and Lower House. The Upper House was comprised of 22 members:

Table 10 *Upper House in Fiji House of Representatives*

| Nominator                | No. of seats |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| Council of Chiefs        | 7            |
| Prime Minister           | 7            |
| Leader of the Opposition | 6            |
| Council of Rotuma Island | 1            |

In a comment made in a report from the 25<sup>th</sup> Regular Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1970 (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1970b), the Upper House was said to be designed in such a way that always ensured a Fijian majority. During the second reading of the Fiji Independence Bill in London, the role of the Upper House was described as one that would act as a “House of Protection for the autochthonous race” (United Kingdom Government, 1970, p. 1428). This would give the Fijian people a constitutional power to prevent any legislation that was against their wishes or affected their land, customs, and culture. The Lower House was to be composed as follows:

Table 11 *Lower House in Fiji's House of Representatives*

|         | Communal Roll | National Roll |
|---------|---------------|---------------|
| Fijian  | 12            | 10            |
| Indian  | 12            | 10            |
| General | 3             | 5             |

At independence, the electoral system agreed upon was a communal roll and a national roll. This benefited the indigenous Fijians who made up 42% of the population. The final decision was reached after much debate as the Indian led opposition party at the time favoured a 'one person, one vote' common roll system which would put the Indian community in Fiji in good stead as they made up 51% of the population (NZ Government, 1970b).

The Fijians, Indians, and other races were continuously praised for their ability to adapt and live in a multiracial society. However, the separateness that was once preserved seeped into the Independence Bill in the form of safeguards for the indigenous people. These safeguards include:

1. Legislature: An upper house that was designed to have a Fijian majority at all times. No law affecting Fijian land and customs could be amended without the supporting votes of six out of the eight members of Senate who were appointed by the council of Chiefs (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1970).
2. Role of the Upper House: Given the task of protecting indigenous interests when it came to legislative matters tabled in Parliament.
3. Electoral system: A contentious topic at the time of independence. Upon transitioning to self-governance no elections took place, and the ruling Alliance Party were allowed to take office. Although there was push from the opposition party (majority Indian) for Fiji to have a 'one person one vote' common system, the government decided to implement a communal and national roll for elections which favoured indigenous Fijian majority in electoral votes.
4. Land ownership: Fijians owned majority of the land and a Native Lands Trust Board was set up to safeguard their landowning rights.

Because of these safeguards, there was some scepticism about whether Fiji's newly devised political system was stable. In the lead up to independence, the New Zealand Herald (1970)

reported that Fiji's stability was threatened by the fact that indigenous Fijians were a minority in their own country. This was said to "hold the seeds to serious trouble" (New Zealand Herald, 1970, p. 1). Another issue was that while indigenous Fijians held political power and land ownership rights, Indians dominated in commerce. Because of this context, it was suggested trouble could arise in the future if Fijians felt threatened in any way. The article further states, under these conditions, "it is not hard to find those who forecast trouble at independence and afterwards".

The focus on racial harmony during the discussions around Fiji's Independence Bill, and the warnings raised by news outlets like New Zealand Herald pushed racial issues to the forefront of policy discussions in Fiji. A key feature of path dependency is the normalisation of social thought and action (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). An important factor to consider is that at the time these discussions around race were taking place, Fiji was at an embryonic stage of self-government and were developing their own political character. The particular focus on race and potential racial tension normalised race as a key factor in Fiji's political philosophy; this encouraged Fiji's politicians to confine to race-based political philosophies. According to Wilsford (1994), changes become path dependent because actors are confined to certain social behaviour. Although the Fiji Independence Bill was designed to encourage "equal voices", racial harmony and to promote multiracialism, it is ironic the safeguards within its pages continued to separate the two societies; an act that would hinder the stability of Fiji's political system later on.

#### 4.2.1 Maintaining the degree of separation – Colonial institutions preserved in independent Fiji

Under British colonial rule, several institutions were put in place as a means of indirect rule. These institutions were created on ethnic lines as it sought to preserve indigenous systems of authority within the wider Fijian governing system. They lay the foundation for complications and complexities that would arise in Fiji's political system. As a result, a rift was created between Fijians of different races and while it was simpler to manage during colonialism, it became less so at the time of independence. Figure 14 is a timeline mapping the dates when key colonial institutions were established within Fiji's political system. These institutions contributed to the societal divide which stemmed from indirect rule.

Figure 14 *Colonial Structures that Exist(ed) in Fiji*

Mechanisms of Indirect Rule in Colonial Fiji (1874 – 1970)<sup>54</sup>

1875 – Legislative council appointed

1876 – Establishment of the Great Council of Chiefs (Bose Levu Vakaturaga)<sup>55</sup>

1879 – 1920: Indentured labour system: Workers brought from India to work in the sugar cane plantations

– Indigenous appointments in colonial administration

1880 – Native Lands Commission was established to register land ownership to ‘mataqali’ or indigenous Fijian clans throughout Fiji

1945 – Fijian Administration established<sup>56</sup>

1966 – Fijian Affairs Board established

Colonial structures carried into independent Fiji

1970– 2006: Governance structure: Westminster system with an Upper House or Senate and Lower House (1970 - 2006)

1970 – 2012: Great Council of Chiefs

1970– current: Native Lands Commission  
Fijian Affairs Board <sup>57</sup>

o Electoral systems:

1970 – Constitution: the ‘First Past the Post’ electoral system

1997 – Constitution: the ‘Alternative Voting’ system<sup>58</sup>

2018 – National roll

---

<sup>54</sup> There are several scholars like Lal (1983, 2010); Norton (1977); Ratuva (2013a) and Lawson (1991) who have written about Fiji’s colonial history together with the governance system post-independence. The information on the timeline has been sourced from their works.

<sup>55</sup> An institution made up of paramount chiefs who were leaders of different provinces of Fiji. Under the colonial administration, they held positions as salaried governors.

<sup>56</sup> Legislative Council of Fiji, Council Paper No. 24 of 1943.

<sup>57</sup> The Native Lands Commission and Fijian Affairs Board now fall under the iTaukei Lands Trust Board (TLTB), which is a department in the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs, Fiji.

<sup>58</sup> It was introduced in hope of creating “moderation and stability” (Lal, 1998).

Gains et al. (2005) criticised the path dependency theory for its inability to pinpoint exact actions that form a path, and that the theory had a lack of clarity around how wide a path is. In the next section, I identified institutions and policy actions that act as markers which indicate just how wide path-dependent conflict is in Fiji's polity. The archival records reveal that indirect rule formed a path that reinforced separation and instigated Fiji's political conflicts. The same path had a wide reach as its institutions existed in the form of legislature (Great Council of Chiefs), public administration (preferential appointments for indigenous Fijians), socio-economic public policies (land ownership), governing bodies (Fijian Affairs Board), and political power (electoral system design).

In the next few paragraphs, I will delve into the aforementioned institutions to elaborate on how they created and reinforced separation. The first is the Great Council of Chiefs which formed part of Fiji's legislature. Client-patron relationships are not special to Fiji, colonial rulers usually afforded privileges to specific ethnic groups within their colonies like appointing these people to take up advisory roles in policy making (Tusalem, 2016). In Fiji's case, indigenous Fijian chiefs formed the Great Council of Chiefs whose roles are discussed below. When established, Great Council of Chiefs membership was fixed and consisted of 55 – 60 members:

- Secretary of Fijian Affairs (presides over GCC).
- Roko Tuis<sup>59</sup> of the provinces.
- Seven chiefs appointed by the Governor.
- Twenty representatives elected by Provincial Councils.
- Seven members nominated by the Secretary of Fijian Affairs.
- Other members who attended by invitation.

Under the colonial local government system, the Fijian Administration had jurisdiction over all Fijians and were based on indigenous institutions. The Great Council of Chiefs had oversight on legislation directly related to Fijians and they also suggested amendments to any

---

<sup>59</sup> The Fijian colony was divided into 14 provinces or *yasana* based on old tribal boundaries. The head of each province was a Roko Tui. This changed in 1966 when the 14 provincial councils were reformed into local government authorities with elected members.

proposed legislation that would affect the lives of the *iTaukei*. In New Zealand Government (1969), the Great Council of Chiefs is described as the “the keeper of Fijian tradition”.

The British administration continued to strengthen the client-patron relationship they had held with indigenous Fijians through the indentured labour system, establishment of the Native Lands Trust Board and Fijian Affairs Board. The Fijians were given preferential treatment over Indians throughout the colonisation period, this is detailed below.

The indentured labour system saw workers brought from India to work on the sugar cane plantations in Fiji (Lal, 1983). While the Indians worked on Fiji’s sugar cane plantations, indigenous Fijians were being appointed to administrative roles in the colonial administration (Fiji Colonial Administration, 1891 – 1920). This was the first indication of government by separation, the two ethnic groups were afforded distinct roles in colonial Fiji and the native Fijians had access to privileges that were withheld from Indians. Carter (2008) stated that changes become embedded in a system when it offers increasing returns to the actors involved. Indigenous Fijians sought to retain the colonial institutions that empowered them.

During colonial rule, the interests of native Fijians were protected by socio-economic policies that were enforced by institutions like the Native Lands Trust Board. Indigenous owned land was administered by the Native Lands Trust Board on behalf of the Fijian and while this organisation leased land to other races, the majority of lessees were Indians (Forsythe, 1957). The Deed of Cession of 1874 outlined that Fijian ownership of land was guaranteed and sale of the same was prohibited unless it was for public purposes<sup>60</sup>.

Governing bodies like the Fijian Affairs Boards were set up to represent native Fijian interests within the colonial administration and also aide in governing rural Fijian communities. Indigenous Fijians had their own local government system, and the towns had councils with varying powers and responsibilities. However, in the rural areas there was no system of local government for non-Fijian people (Forsythe, 1959). The Fijian Affairs Board was established to consider, on reference by the Governor, draft legislation and other matters surrounding the rights, interests, health, welfare, peace, order, and good governance of the *iTaukei* (New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 1967). The board could also initiate proposals on

---

<sup>60</sup> This document was written in 1956 and at this time, Fijians were reported to own 90% of land in the colony.

similar issues. The other roles conducted by the Fijian Affairs Board include control over provincial revenue and making policies that applied to Fijians only. The board was once described as the “apex of the system of Fijian governing institutions” (New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 1967). The Fijian Affairs Board was linked to the Legislative Council and the Great Council of chiefs. The members of the board were secretary for Fijian affairs (Chairman), eight appointed Fijian members, two members from the Great Council of Chiefs, one legal advisor, and one financial advisor.

The client-patron relationship that the British developed with indigenous Fijians shaped the political philosophy that Fijian politicians would later apply when Fiji became independent. Schmidt (2014) argued that path-dependent political action is influenced by rules, structures regularities. The client-patron relationship standardised large power distances between Fijians and Indians in public administrative roles.

The electoral system is another marker to indicate the width and coverage of the path for conflict in Fiji. As mentioned earlier, the management of racial harmony dominated the deliberations around Fiji’s independence (United Kingdom Parliament, 1970) and the debate that ensued on which electoral system to implement unravelled the planned multiracialism strategy to reveal the first note of discord between the two main ethnic groups. In their strategy, the British administration switched their approach from what Esman (1997) described as systemic preferences to one of power sharing and this fuelled ethnic tension between Fijians and Indians. Power sharing is a method of managing ethnic relations by allocating power and resources based on the size of different ethnic groups (Esman, 1997). When power sharing, governments must accommodate members of other communities.

Fiji’s electoral system was designed based on the ethnic composition of its population and the geographical structure of its communities and this was an early indicator of power sharing. In September 1975, the Fiji government requested that the New Zealand Government conduct a Commission of Inquiry into Fiji’s electoral system (New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 1967). A Royal Commission was then appointed to conduct an inquiry. In its report, the Royal Commission Inquiry described Fiji’s communal electoral system as one that only suited the Fijians (Ansell, 1976b). At the time, the Fijian government of the day was led by then Prime Minister, Ratu Kamisese Mara whose Alliance party was predominantly Fijian, and the Opposition was led by Siddique Koya, whose party the National Federation Party, was predominantly Indian. As explained earlier, the communal voting system favoured the

indigenous Fijians, and the common roll would favour the Indians, so it is not surprising that the Alliance Party favoured this system while the Opposition preferred the common roll system (Ansell, 1976b)<sup>61</sup>. At the time, any move towards a common roll system would favour the Indians who represented a majority of Fiji's population (Ansell, 1976a).

The argument put forward by the Alliance party in support of communal voting was that it "encouraged electors to vote for people of other races, whereas elections on a common roll basis...could lead to racial block voting" (Ansell, 1976b, p. 1). While the commissioners did agree that this would be the case initially, their main argument for a common roll was that it could eventually weaken communalism (Ansell, 1976b). The Prime Minister warns that a shift to common roll electoral system could result in bloodshed and turmoil (Ansell, 1976c) and made a reference to other countries: Malaysia to Mauritius, Lebanon to Cyprus to cite examples where common roll had failed (Ansell, 1976b). The disdain held by the Alliance party for the common roll was exacerbated by the fact that the British were receiving submissions regarding the electoral system from the Opposition "behind closed doors" (Ansell, 1976b). This was raised by the Prime Minister of Fiji and the New Zealand Department of Foreign Affairs (1976) referred to it as a "sinister liaison".

In his report to Wellington, Graham Ansell, the New Zealand High Commissioner to Fiji mentioned that the British were not dedicated advocates of the common roll rather, they left Fiji with a communal electoral system and promises for a shift to a common roll in order to bypass a major political difficulty (Ansell, 1976b). The New Zealand Department of Foreign Affairs reported that the British administration did this to bring their responsibilities to Fiji to an end "in a manner the other parties could accept and would appear sufficiently respectable to world opinion" (New Zealand Department of Foreign Affairs, 1976). Although the mix of communal and common rolls was a compromise, both sides of government had different takeaways from this discussion which led to more tension. Fiji's Opposition party believed that having a common roll in two major constituents was the start to having a national roll in Fiji. However, Fiji's Chief Minister quickly denied that common roll elections were inevitable (NZ Government, 1970d). These discussions were reported to have had racial overtones which caused worry among UN Council members (Australian Government, 1970). In a warning

---

<sup>61</sup> Graham Ansell was New Zealand's High Commissioner to Fiji from 1973 – 1976.

reported by the New Zealand Herald, “trouble could arise in the future if the Fijians were, in some way, to feel themselves threatened” (New Zealand Herald, 1970, p. 1).

Rose (1991) described path dependency as a theory that highlights inheritance over choice which presents complexities when actors are confined to fixed paths. In Fiji’s case, transitioning from colony to independent nation meant shifting from systemic preferences to power sharing attitudes in public administration. Although the native Fijians had become accustomed to the privileges they were afforded during colonialism, they were now required to govern by power sharing. There are two outcomes from this policy decision, the first being that Fijians had inherited a mindset that they were deserving of more privileges than their countrymen. The second was that Fijians and Indians had now inherited a system of power sharing which was riddled with uncertainty, animosity, and racial tension. When Fiji became independent, both outcomes continued to exist in its political trajectory which only deepened the rift that existed among the two major ethnic groups.

In a report written by the New Zealand High Commissioner in 1976, the phrases used to describe Fiji’s political context showed signs of a brewing conflict. Ansell (1976a) described the electoral system as one that was pitting the communal interests of the Indians against those of the Fijians. The racial polarisation between political parties like the Alliance party and National Federation Party was accepted as a norm and “racial extremism” was weaponised by party leaders as a tool for control and campaigning (Ansell, 1976a p.1).

By the time Fiji gained independence, the debate around preferential treatment and electoral systems had revealed that racial tension existed. As a forewarning the NZ High Commissioner in 1976, Graham Ansell wrote that it would be bad for Fiji if this polarisation were to become starker or more generally expected as the proper order of things (Ansell, 1976a).

### **4.3 From Colony to Republic – Fiji’s Readiness for Independence**

Fiji’s transition from colony to republic exposed the fact that the precursors for conflict in its public administration system had achieved punctualisation. Greener (2002) describes punctualisation as a period of homeostasis as networks patterns become stable and its rules are taken for granted. During the span of 96 years Fiji had become a multiracial society, that was governed by indirect rule where its indigenous people were protected in a political subsystem within the colonial administration. In the mid-1960s, the move to independence began and 90 years of indirect rule was about to be undone in five years. Two problems existed here: a rapid

transition period from dependence to independence and the question of whether or not Fiji was ready to self-govern. Fiji's transition to independence was made difficult by punctualised ideologies like the preferential treatment of indigenous Fijians and race-based philosophies. Institutions that had become accepted as the norm were those that continued government by separation like the Great Council of Chiefs and the communal voting system. In the following discussion, I discuss how these institutions created reservations on Fiji's ability to self-govern. Fiji's state of punctualisation became a precursor to conflict because of its lack of readiness for independence.

Perhaps the British perception of 'pluralism' is what distorted the policy strategies taken to manage ethnic relations in Fiji. In a file on Fiji's political situation, there was a page that included Furnival's (1948) description of a plural society based on colonial policies and practices in India and Burma. This page was filed in 1966, around the same time the work towards gaining independence for Fiji had begun, which suggests that it may have been considered in the formulation of policies related to gaining independence. Furnival (1948) argued that the British version of a plural society was one where people mix but do not combine. Each group would maintain its own religion, culture, language, standards, ideologies, and prejudices. In this plural society, groups would live side by side by separately within the same political unit. In the economic sphere, division of labour would occur on racial lines. Plural societies are described as business partnerships and not a 'family concern'.

During the second reading of the Fiji Independence Bill on 14 July 1970 in London, Fiji's move to independence at a rapid pace was raised as a potential problem (United Kingdom Government, 1970). One of the issues identified was that Fiji had skipped the stage of fully internal self-government and proceeded straight to independence. The discussion in the House considered that the problem that stemmed from this rapid transition were exacerbated by the fact Fiji was faced with governing a multiracial society which makes the task of governing the nation more complex. Members of Parliament agreed that Fiji's move to independence was rapid and they pointed out an interesting fact that unlike other British colonies, the move to independence in Fiji is not a result of "a bloody struggle against rulers from this country" (Elliot, 1970, p. 1441) and that independence was not requested from the citizens. He stated that "pressure has not come from below. However, the dye is now cast, and the wisdom of taking the decision will no doubt be judged in the future" (United Kingdom Parliament, 1970). The rapid transition to independence sparked discussions on Fiji's preparedness for self-

governance. A dominant theme of path-dependency is embeddedness, when social processes take on a rule-like status (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The rapid transition from colony to independent nation did not bode well for Fiji because it didn't help to undo the path-dependent ideologies that the Fijians had inherited from colonialism. This is how race-based political philosophies were regurgitated instead of being adjusted to suit the newly independent multi-racial nation.

There were some external parties involved in Fiji's independence talks and they raised the issue of preparedness to self-govern. For instance, during the talks for independence, the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regards to the implementation of the Declaration of Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples or C-24<sup>62</sup> requested to be a part of the discussions to advocate for Fijians. Despite several requests made to the United Kingdom and Fiji government, the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation or C-24 was not permitted to visit Fiji to carry out assessments regarding Fiji's path to independence. The excerpts below are extracted from the report of the New Zealand Mission to the United Nations (NZ Government, 1970a), which describes the views held by members of the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation after they were denied a visit to Fiji:

Maybe the administering authority has something to hide in the Territory that it administers. Britain behaves in this way not just in connexion with Fiji, but in connexion with other Territories, by not allowing visiting missions into those Territories – Representative from Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The British attitude of not agreeing to a visiting mission was no surprise...we should be able to go to Fiji and find out what is happening there and find out the views of the population. We are ready to hear them here and we should like to hear them there – Representative from Mali.

“There must be some misunderstanding about the role of a visiting mission”. The Chairman of the committee was then asked to explain to the representatives of the people of Fiji what the aims of the visiting missions were. – Representative from Yugoslavia.

---

<sup>62</sup> This committee was established in 1961 from the UN General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) (United Nations, 2021). The C-24 reviews the list on non-self-governing bodies annually, hears statements from these territories, dispatches visiting missions and organises regional seminars in the regions.

A potential problem of Fiji's electoral system was raised: "a change in the electoral system in Fiji might well give rise to mistrust amongst the Fijians..." – Representative from Bulgaria.

Having no visiting mission to Fiji prior to independence meant that the UN Committee on Decolonisation was unable to carry out an assessment on Fiji's readiness for independence. However, even if the committee did visit Fiji, the recommendations made might not have been considered because Fijian independence was described as "fait accompli" (NZ Government, 1970c). Brinkerhoff (2010) argues that weak governing institutions cause conflict and due to the ripple effects of indirect rule, Fiji's governing institutions were fragile.

Managing race relations was a dominant theme during the second reading of the Fiji Independence Bill in Britain. The discussion continuously echoed the notions of multiracialism, racial harmony, and equal voices (United Kingdom Parliament, 1970). The incoming Fiji government was praised for having a multiracial Parliament that would govern a multi-racial society. The Chief Minister of Fiji, Ratu Kamisese Mara and the Opposition Leader, Mr Sidiq Koya, delivered speeches to world leaders stating their readiness to govern Fiji independently. They reassured members of the UN Committee of C-24 that the decision to restrict the committee from visiting Fiji was not a directive from Britain, but a decision made by Fijian leaders. Ratu Kamisese Mara states that the relationship between Britain and Fiji was not one of dictatorship (NZ Government, 1970a). This is the image of Fiji's readiness at the outset. The nation has been painted as a multi-racial country with a government who reflects its multi-ethnic contexts, Fijian leaders are positioned as champions for racial harmony and the move towards independence is communicated as a timely one. Although this is how Fiji was positioned at the time of independence, the underlying waves of path-dependency would continue to stir racial tension and animosity between the two major ethnic groups. Path-dependent ideals are not easily undone, Peters (2005) even goes so far to suggest that they are irreversible. Therefore, this assurance from Fiji's political leaders barely scratched the surface in terms of ideological shifts needed for Fiji to become a successful independent nation.

By peeling back this layer of assured multiracialism, the concerns about Fiji's readiness that were revealed in both internal and public communications from government agencies. This showed that path-dependent views and institutions preserved in Fiji. Government agencies voiced warnings for potential problems that would occur in Fiji as a result of its speedy move towards independence and lack of preparedness to handle self-governance. One issue was the

promotion of racial harmony among government representatives. The New Zealand Herald (1970) describes the attitudes of the Government and Opposition leaders during the period of transition to independence to be one of “unusual accord” and the New York Times (1970) calls it a “sudden racial harmony”. Due to the complexities surrounding the electoral system, the power balance was described as delicate and too easy to upset. Racial harmony was reported to be dependent on the statesmanship of the leaders and tension would arise in discussions concerning the electoral system to be implemented in independent Fiji. These reports point to the fact that assurances of multiracial harmony might have been superficial. Whether or not it was superficial, one fact remained; ignoring the embeddedness of indirect rule meant that the British administration failed to equip Fiji’s political leaders with the tools and skills needed to manage inter-ethnic relations.

Entrenched racial issues remained unresolved at the time of independence with there being no final decision on what Fiji’s electoral system would be. The interim agreements reached were that Fiji would become independent without holding an election. Therefore, the government and opposition leaders who were appointed by the colonial administration would remain in power. The first election after independence would be for a lower house and although a communal roll would be the main electoral system, a compromise was reached with two urban centres; Suva and Lautoka; these cities would adopt a common roll system. When Fiji was given the approval to become Independent, the future of the electoral system was an open-ended question. It was agreed that a Royal Commission would be carried out after the first election to make suggestions for a final electoral system. This move was shunned by the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs who thought that the Commission wouldn’t have much power over the decision-making process in Fiji (NZ Government, 1970c). Whether or not the electoral system would work for Fiji was now out of the United Kingdom government’s hands and in reference to the interim electoral system in place, the NZ Government (1970c), stated that it suited the British, to get out of Fiji and leave the problem to the Fijians and others like Australia, New Zealand and India, who would have to cope with it. Path-dependency argues that changes occur as a consequence of initial choices that later shape a path (Bulmer & Burch, 2001). Fiji’s transition from colony to independence was riddled with the legacies of colonialism that the Fijians had inherited like their preferential treatment over Indians, a race-based electoral system and government by separation. As a result of these legacies, a mindset had developed among Fijians and Indo-Fijians who possessed a ‘them versus us’ mentality to the nation’s political affairs.

#### **4.4 When Worlds' Collide – Contextual Issues in Policy Transfer**

The contextual issues that Fiji underwent when institutions were being transferred from the colonialism to independence presented indicators of how the path of conflict was formed. As will be discussed below, the path for conflict was initiated when Fijian chiefs were groomed specifically for leadership positions by the British administration. There was also a progressive development of Fijian leadership systems through the creation of a separate Fijian state during indirect rule. Problems started to arise when this initial path was challenged. Independence presented what Hall and Taylor (1996) call a critical juncture or drastic turn of events that had the potential to undo path-dependency albeit with the risk of conflict. This critical juncture countered the way of life that Fijians had become accustomed to since colonialism. The counter-path that the British were rapidly implementing in Fiji included the Westminster system of government and a representative electoral system. These two paths sparked tension and later escalated into political coups because their contrasting ideologies pushed back against each other.

I begin by discussing how the British administration groomed Fijian chiefs for leadership and developed the traditional Fijian leadership system during colonialism. The two are intertwined so they will be discussed simultaneously. Through indirect rule, the British preserved existing institutions of chieftaincy in their colonies to encourage local self-governance (Crowder, 1964). While doing so, they groomed Fijian chiefs to take up leadership positions at independence. The British nature of indirect rule was initiated by Lord Frederick Lugard who was high commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900. It later became common practice in other British colonies where indigenous leadership systems existed at the time of colonialism. Indirect rule is described by Crowder (1964) as a system whereby traditional chieftaincy was preserved, local self-government was encouraged through indigenous political institutions, colonial administrators acted as an adviser to chiefs and only interfered in extreme cases, and traditional political units worked in parallel with central leadership systems in place prior to colonialism.

The nature of indirect rule administered by the United Kingdom Government focussed on establishing a modernised system while grooming traditional leaders of each colony to one day achieve self-governance (Crowder, 1964). In the Fijian context, several institutions that were set up during colonialism to achieve British objectives:

1. Great Council of Chiefs (Bose Levu Vakaturaga).<sup>63</sup>
2. Indigenous appointments in colonial administration. Under British colonial rule, an indigenous Fijian elite made up of Fijian chiefs was appointed to work as salaried staff in the colonial administration.
3. Native Lands Commission was established to register land ownership to ‘mataqali’ or indigenous Fijian clans throughout Fiji. Indigenous land was managed and protected by the Native Lands Commission.<sup>64</sup>
4. Under colonial legislation, Fijians paid taxes in kind and not cash like everyone else (Lal, 2010).

The British administration structured leadership systems in their colonies in the hopes of modernising governing structures in each colony. In Northern Nigeria, the system of indirect rule was “while the colonial government should repose on the chiefs, their administration should be progressively modernised” (Crowder, 1964, p. 198). Indirect rule and the lack of time spent undoing it led to the establishment of weak governing institutions in Fiji.

As independence loomed on Fiji’s political horizon, the British administration changed the blueprint for Fiji’s governing structures from one that focussed on indigenous leadership alone to a more ethnically representative Westminster and electoral system. Archival records based on Fiji’s public administration history show that these two institutions are the most debated in Fiji’s history. The fragility of these institutions affected Fiji’s political trajectory because they are key determinants of political power dynamics.

Grube and Howard (2016) describe the Westminster system as “something of a shibboleth” (p.467), an indicator for good governance in British parliamentary terms. De Smith (1961) highlights the issue of defining the system by describing Westminster as:

In its wildest sense it may be understood to comprise all the main features of the British Constitution...In its narrow sense the Westminster model can be said to mean a constitutional system in which the head of state is not the effective head of government; in which the effective head of government is a Prime Minister presiding over a Cabinet composed of Ministers, over

---

<sup>63</sup> An institution made up of paramount chiefs who were leaders of different provinces of Fiji. Under the colonial administration, they held positions as salaried governors.

<sup>64</sup> Indigenous landowners were able to register pieces of land as their own with the Native Lands Commission.

whose appointment and removal he has at least a substantial measure of control; in which the effective branch of government is parliamentary in as much as Ministers are collectively and individually responsible to a freely elected and representative legislature (p. 20).

De Smith's description points to the complex and possibly confusing bureaucratic design of the Westminster system and its multifaceted nature of accountability. Although there isn't a clear outline of what exactly constitutes the Westminster system (Grube & Howard, 2016), there are several accounts that describe its main characteristics. Grube and Howard (2016) describe the main features as having:

1. Indivisibility of ministers and officials in terms of accountability and responsibility.
2. Lifetime employment for loyal civil servants.
3. Unified civil service with standard hiring and promotion systems that favour generalist knowledge.

In a report describing Ratu Mara's stance on colonial governing structures, the following was noted:

It might well be asked why Fiji needs a party system at all, since this is not the universal approach to political life in the South Pacific. Certainly, Ratu Mara has often hankered after a coalition government system; and this disposition has provided part of a rationale of his earlier entente with Koya. It is in part what he has meant in disparaging the "Westminster system" as a model for developing countries in the South Pacific (Ansell, 1976a).

This statement focusses on the system of governance introduced to Fiji by the British, and it raises the issue of context. It is clear that Ratu Mara believed that there is a misfit between the Westminster system and Fiji's political context. In order to be effective, policy work doesn't just need organisational systems and processes to be in place. Systematic capacities, especially political capacity, also needs to be developed (Saguin et al., 2018). In hindsight, there are some misalignments between policy and context, these can be observed in the following excerpts:

- Socialist: "...all Fijians, because of their traditional culture, are socialist by heart" (Ansell, 1976a).

- Tribal: “But rarely are the Melanesians<sup>65</sup> themselves a united or homogenous group: village, tribal, regional and language – group rivalries are strong...” (NZ External Intelligence Bureau, 1976).
- Consensus oriented: “Because Western style democratic practices are an importation (Melanesians prefer consensus to the adversary style of politics common to the West) many of those active in political life tend to be somewhat alienated from their Melanesia constituents” (NZ External Intelligence Bureau, 1976).
- Decentralised leadership structure: “Melanesians do not readily conceive of either the nation-state or of centralized government, for both of these are European concepts. Their own loyalties tend to be focussed on clan, tribe, or language group” (NZ External Intelligence Bureau, 1976).

The governance structure for the Westminster system is hierarchical and power is centralised at the executive level or with the Prime Minister and their Cabinet (Rhodes, 1997). Interestingly, Bevir and Rhodes (2001) argue that understandings of what Westminster means are ingrained in the minds of political leaders and public servants based on traditions and stories. These traditions determine a schema of the way things should be done. Whether the Westminster system was a policy fit for Fiji was challenged by predisposed tribalism, the decentralised leadership structure and consensus orientation in the policy making process. Table 12 compares the Westminster system to the structure of Fiji’s society to reveal the gaps that existed between the two systems. These differences should have been a cause for concern among British administrators (during the transition period) and later the Fijians (when they gained independence) because it showed that the Fijian society that was being conserved during colonialism contradicted the Westminster system that was introduced at independence.

---

<sup>65</sup> Melanesia is a geographic and cultural referent to a sub-region of the South Pacific. The term was coined by French explorer Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d’Urville to mean ‘black islands’ (Lawson, 2013). Melanesian countries include Fiji, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and New Caledonia.

Table 12 *The Westminster System in Fiji*

|                  | <b>Westminster system in Fiji</b>   | <b>Structure of Fijian Society</b>  |
|------------------|---|---|
| Management       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lifetime employment for loyalty.</li> <li>- Minister and officials equally accountable for actions and decisions.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tribalism: loyalty to tribes. Tribal leaders in government created blurred lines between loyalty to government and tribe.</li> </ul> |
| Centralisation   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Power is centralised with the executive branch of government.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Decentralised leadership</li> <li>- Socialist</li> </ul>   |
| Governance       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Bureaucratic.</li> <li>- Hierarchical.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Consensus oriented</li> </ul>  |
| Electoral system | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Democratically elected members of Parliament.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tribalism</li> </ul>   |

By training an elite group of indigenous chiefs to take up leadership positions, benefits and drawbacks transpired in Fiji. Fijian society had certain characteristics that affected the effectiveness of its Westminster system like tribalism, decentralised leadership structure, and consensus orientation.

### *Tribalism*

Historically, anthropologists have had no clear definition of tribalism (Ekeh, 1990). Southall and Gutkind (1970, p. 28) define a tribal society as:

“a whole society, with a high degree of self-sufficiency at a near subsistence level, based on a relatively simple technology without writing or literature, culture and sense of identity, tribal religion being also conterminous with tribal society.”

Ekeh (1990) argues that the notion of tribalism centres on kinship until the term was recently replaced by ethnicity. In the past, tribalism has been blamed for the failure of the Westminster system in Nigeria (Tansey & Kermode, 1967), Ghana (Rothchild, 1960), and even for policy inaction in the UK House of Commons (Barber, 2017). Prior to colonisation, Fijians were described as tribal (Gravelle, 1979) because chiefly power was demonstrated by winning tribal wars and Fijians were organised into traditional tribes. This characterisation of Fijians remained during colonialism and into independence (NZ External Intelligence Bureau, 1976). There are characteristics of tribalism that bodes well for the Westminster system and characteristics that hinder its successful implementation.

For instance, the Westminster system is confrontational and adversarial (Bevir, 2008) and it exaggerates differences between parties who have their own values and policies. In Fiji's case, the British used existing tribal differences to form a government and as Ekeh (1990) suggests, they defined tribes based on ethnicity. Pre-existing tribes meant that the party system of Westminster would resonate with a society that was structured into enclaves based on traditional clans and where political context was polarised on ethnic lines (NZ Department of Foreign Affairs, 1979). However, introducing an adversarial system that exaggerates differences would do more harm than good in a society with "fissiparous tendencies" (NZ External Intelligence Bureau, 1976). The tribalism and racial polarisation of Fiji's political system continues to contribute to the eruption of conflicts, and it weakens the governance structure in place.

### *Decentralised Leadership Structure*

Prior to colonisation, the Fijians had a traditional leadership structure that was decentralised (Gravelle, 1979). The British were aware of this because they set up a legislative body for the Fijian people called the Great Council of Chiefs. This council was established prior to Fiji gaining independence (Gravelle, 1979). Each member of the council was a traditional leader in certain parts of Fiji and as a whole, the council was representative of the whole of Fiji. The decentralised leadership structure presented benefits and drawbacks in the implementation of the Westminster system. The hierarchical nature of the Westminster system is similar to the delegation of powers seen in the traditional Fijian leadership structure shown on Figure 1 (p. 25) but the two diverge when it comes to centralised power. In the Fijian society, power rests with paramount chiefs who rule over different sections in Fiji. These sections are made up of islands and villages and are based on geographical location. Table 13 below provides a snapshot of the traditional Fijian leadership positions and the geographical locations that are under their care.

Table 13 *Traditional Fijian Leadership Positions and Geographical Areas Under their Care*

| <b>Traditional Leader</b> | <b>Islands under their care</b> |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Tui Nayau, Tui Lau        | Lau group                       |
| Tui Cakau                 | Cakaudrove                      |
| Tui Macuata               | Macuata                         |
| Tui Bua                   | Bua                             |
| Roko Tui Dreketi          | Rewa                            |
| Na ka levu                | Nadroga                         |
| Tui Kaba                  | Bau / Tailevu                   |
| Tui Vuda                  | Veiseisei                       |
| Tui na viti levu          | Ra                              |
| Tui Tavua                 | Tavua / Vatukoula               |
| Tui Ba                    | Ba                              |
| Tui Nadi                  | Nadi                            |
| Tui Namosi                | Serua / Namosi                  |
| Qaranivalu                | Naitasiri                       |

Prior to colonisation, different areas of Fiji were governed by different chiefs and each position in the traditional hierarchy was ascribed<sup>66</sup>. When Fiji was colonised, the British negotiated with Ratu Seru Cakobau who scholars of Fijian political history have described as a *soi-disant* or self-styled King of Fiji<sup>67</sup> (Routledge, 1974). This is particularly important because it points to the fact that at the time of colonisation, there wasn't an agreed centralised power or a King.

---

<sup>66</sup> This traditional leadership system still exists today but its role within the legislature and policy-making process has reduced considerably after the abolishment of the Great Council of Chiefs in 2012.

<sup>67</sup> Ratu Cakobau is described as a self-styled King because the United States of America consuls in Fiji referred to him as the King of Fiji when they wrote the treaty that bound Fijians in a \$45,000 debt. Fijians did not regard him as King because Fiji's traditional structure is decentralised without any central power. When the prospects of colonisation were being discussed, the British began their negotiations with Ratu Cakobau who then approached the other paramount chiefs of Fiji (Gravelle, 1979). While the Americans and British may have regarded him as a central figure head, the Fijians describe him as a self-proclaimed King because traditionally, Fiji had never been ruled by one chief alone. Perhaps this is reflected in the way that the cession of Fiji was achieved. Ratu Cakobau had to consult the other paramount chiefs of Fiji and get their signatures on the deed of cession before Fiji could be officially ceded by Great Britain.

However, the British approached political dialogue with Fijians using a Euro-centric approach. They expected to negotiate with a central power in the same way that they were led by a central power, so they fashioned themselves one in Ratu Cakobau. Having a decentralised system of leadership contrasts with the notion of having centralised power in the Westminster system. There are two main issues to be brought forward here:

1. Shifting from a decentralised to a centralised system raises issues of trust, loyalty, ‘political buy-in’, goal alignment, and value congruence.
2. The British styled the Fijian government by grooming indigenous elites, such as indigenous Fijian chiefs. With the knowledge of the tribal nature of Fijians and the formerly decentralised system of leadership, loyalty in the Fijian version of the Westminster system would have been blurred between policy and party vs ethnic and traditional tribal systems.

The nature of Fiji’s traditional leadership structure has had a ripple effect on the application of the Westminster system. Factors like tribalism, a decentralised leadership structure, and consensus orientation could have hindered the

### *Consensus Orientation*

The Westminster system is described as having inbuilt confrontation for government accountability and at times the tribalism among political parties prevents them from reaching a consensus on certain policies (Barber, 2017). Premdas (2002, p. 16) suggests that Fiji needs a consensus political system as opposed to the “Western zero-sum adversarial parliamentary models” because the latter cannot be successfully implemented in an “inflamed communal society”. Fiji’s inclination for a consensus political system can be traced to as early as 1874 when a unanimous agreement from the nation’s paramount chiefs were required in order to cede the nation to Great Britain. It took Ratu Cakobau several attempts before there was a consensus from the council of chiefs to cede Fiji to Great Britain (Gravelle, 1979). Fiji’s consensus-oriented political system could be attributed to its decentralised leadership system that gave each chief total control over their respective jurisdictions. Therefore, any decision that had to be made for the whole of Fiji could not have been made without their consent. There was nothing in place similar to the royal proclamation of Great Britain or the veto system of the United States of America. People and land could only be acquired through victories in war. The hierarchical traditional Fijian leadership system contradicts the adversarial nature of the

Westminster system. In the Fijian culture, leaders and elders are not questioned and this waters down the objectives of a party system in the Westminster structure. The consensus orientation of Fijian leaders also contrasts with the confrontation and criticism that is encouraged by Westminster. This affects systems of accountability, the quality of policies passed, and the integrity of the governance structure as a whole.

Besides having a separate stream to govern its indigenous people, Fiji also has culture specific norms and worldviews that could affect the way that the Westminster system was applied in the political context. Indications of issues in policy-context fit for the Westminster system in Fiji include:

- The ‘fissiparous tendencies’ of the Fijians had the potential to aggravate the adversarial nature of the Westminster system. It should also be noted that these contrasting attitudes exist in a multiracial society that has been governed under indirect rule. Therefore, there are three counteracting forces at play in this case:
  - i. The misfit between policy and place (Westminster system in Fiji).
  - ii. Tribalism and adversarial politics.
  - iii. Adversarial politics in a racially segregated society.
- The effective implementation of the Westminster system is further complicated by the allocation of Parliamentary seats based on race. This gives rise to race-based politics.
- Policy transfer of the Westminster system needed more time and attention. The nation needed to undo years of separation under indirect rule in order to successfully co-govern Fiji.

The electoral system is another institution that challenged the path of indigenous prominence that colonialism had created. The electoral system that was implemented in Fiji at the time of independence was the ‘First Past the Post’ system. In 1970, a Fiji Constitutional Conference was held in London to decide on a constitution for an independent Fiji (Fiji Government, 1970). At the outset, it seemed that all was well as the leaders of Fiji’s major political parties stated their belief that the democratic processes of Fiji should be through political parties, each with its own political philosophy and programmes for the economic and social advancement of the people of Fiji cutting across race, colour and creed, and that all should work to this end (United Kingdom Parliament, 1970). However, the report on the conference began with a discussion of the electoral system and it revealed the contrasting opinions held by the interim Fijian government and the Opposition Party. The Alliance party stated outright that although election

on a common roll basis was a desirable long-term objective, they could not agree to its implementation (Fiji Government, 1970). On the other hand, the National Federation Party reiterated its stand that common roll should be introduced immediately in Fiji. They argued that it could form the basis of the next general elections without in any way one race dominating others but resulting in a justly representative national Parliament (Fiji Government, 1970). The Royal Commission Inquiry into the elections also indicated that the election system was a precarious matter and reported that the National Federation Party that primarily represented the Indian community were reluctant to press the issue and made their submissions in secret (Ansell, 1976b). Even though Race relations influenced the design of the electoral system and steps were taken to reassure both ethnic groups that one race would not dominate others (United Kingdom Parliament, 1970).

At Fiji’s constitutional conference, it was agreed that the Lower House should be composed as follows:

Table 14 *Electoral System at Fiji Constitutional Conference*

|         | Communal | National roll |
|---------|----------|---------------|
| Fijian  | 12       | 10            |
| Indian  | 12       | 10            |
| General | 3        | 5             |

*Source: Fiji Government (1970).*

The decision to adopt the communal voting system was met with some disagreement from the NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Indian government who believed that the decision to leave the question of electoral method over to a Royal Commission was wrong in principle (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1970a). The Indian government reported that they had had a good deal of experience of communal voting and were disappointed that little attention was paid to their advice (NZ High Commission to India, 1970). Fiji could have benefitted from a number of strategies adopted by India in their constitutional design. As Inbal and Lerner (2007) reported, India also managed diversity in their constitutional design. Constitutional framers in India had to decide between civic secularism or traditional religions and choose their official national language. The Indians ended up using vagueness instead of polarising language in order to avoid any violent outbursts among the different factions of its society (Inbal & Lerner, 2007). India designed a constitution that accommodated the nation’s pluralistic society and paved the way for future public discussion on national identity and language.

At the start of this section, I stated that conflict erupted in Fiji because the path that Fijians were accustomed to was challenged with the Westminster and electoral systems at independence. This critical juncture created problems because after 96 years of being afforded privileges that were not available for Indo-Fijians, both ethnic groups were presented with systems that required equality and equity in representation, power dynamics and resource allocation. Critical junctures have the potential to disrupt path-dependency, but it does this with the threat of conflict (Wilsford, 1985, 1994). Conflict became path-dependent in Fiji because the ideologies behind it had been entrenched in Fiji's political system since colonialism and was reinforced at independence. The lack of preparedness to self-govern distorted the intentions that the British had for Fiji when they introduced the Westminster system and democratic elections.

#### **4.5 Recommendations for the Improvement of Managing Fiji's Critical Juncture**

The racialisation of the electoral system was concerning but it also exposed flaws in the policy making process. The process of policy development as a series of steps in decision making was first introduced in 1956 (Lasswell, 1956). This has been further developed to a five-stage model that includes: agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making, policy implementation and policy evaluation (Howlett & Giest, 2012). In this section, the steps taken by the British administration and political leaders of Fiji to design an electoral system are analysed to put forward recommendations for the improvement of the policy process. Special attention is given to the agenda setting and policy evaluation stages because this is where the most notable changes could have been made.

##### **Agenda-Setting**

The agenda setting stage has two parts, the systemic public agenda and the institutional agenda. The systemic agenda is unofficial. It involves members of the public and their discussion of public problems like health care, water and crime, among others (Cobb & Elder, 1972). Institutional agenda consists of issues that are actually prioritised by policy elites (Baumgartner & Jones, 1991). At this stage, a problem is identified and numerous solutions are proposed. There are several dominant opinions that were voiced regarding Fiji's electoral system that could have been used to gauge public opinion of the system. The information gathered by the Royal Commission Inquiry (1975) suggested that the electoral system was perceived to be entangled with racial differences and in a nod to path-dependency, words like embedded was

used to describe how ingrained prejudices were in the electoral system. The delicate power balance was also identified as an issue. Indigenous Fijian aspirations were said to be limited by the economic power of the Indian population and the electoral system was contentious because it could tip this delicate scale. The Fijians supported the communal elections system because it would further their power in public administration roles but the Indians advocated for a common electoral roll because it would remove the emphasis upon communal differences. By having universal suffrage, the opposition believed that parties and candidates would be able to contest elections on economic, social, and political policies and programmes, rather than on appeals to racial solidarity (Ansell, 1976b). The misgivings held by the Alliance party and the National Federation Party present an example of how path dependent ideologies restrain adaptive thinking and incrementally build up conflict. This is what Greener (2002) warned would happen, that path dependency is a result of newly formed institutions becoming simplified to a point where continuity occurs.

An improvement at the agenda setting stage could have clarified the blurred line between elections and race relations. Members of government (Alliance Party) and Opposition (National Federation Party) had reservations about the electoral system because of their belief that the first past the post favoured indigenous Fijians and the common roll system would tip the balance of power towards non-indigenous Fijians. Cobb et al. (1976) developed a model with three types of agenda setting styles: outside initiation, mobilisation, and inside initiation. In outside initiation, issues are borne out of discussion between non-governmental actors then it moves into the public agenda before reaching the formal agenda. Mobilisation works counteractively to outside initiation because decision makers try to make push a formal agenda into public discussion. Inside initiation is more covert in nature, influential policy actors make policy decisions without it being contested by member of the public.

In Fiji's case, a properly executed agenda setting stage may have flagged potential issues that would transpire from a weak electoral system and the separatism between iTaukei and Indians that still existed. Norton (1977) reported that the British ruled in Fiji by grooming indigenous Fijian elites to take up positions in the colonial administration. The same group of elites were appointed into government positions at the time of independence. Policy making among a group of elites ruled out 'outside initiation' as a method of agenda setting. Both 'mobilisation' and 'inside initiation' were a fit in this agenda-setting context because this decision was being discussed by political elites and the decision-making process was 'top-down' in nature. This

presented two issues which Bachrach and Baratz (1962) coin as the two faces of power in agenda setting:

1. First face of power: A plays a role in decision making for B even if B doesn't like the decision or consequences associated with the decision.
2. Second face of power: A prevents B's agenda from becoming policy even though B pushes for the issue to reach the formal agenda.

Gaventa (1980) offers a third face of power that describes instances where issues don't reach the agenda because of biases in the political system:

3. Third face of power: Political participation is low because social relationships and political ideology are structured in a way that keep elites dominant causing non-elites to become passive. As a result of this, people stop fighting and are alienated from politics or as Gaventa puts it, "quiescence is the result" (1980).

This phase of the policy making process was key to the development of Fiji's electoral system because, if it had been done correctly, it would have flagged dominant themes that could hinder the successful implementation of the 'first past the post' system or the 'common roll' system. As a result of the mobilisation and inside initiation method of the agenda setting stage in Fiji, the people of Fiji were subjected to the three faces of power described. The electoral system is still a precarious subject today with the most notable difference being the shift from preferential voting in 1997 to common roll in 2014:

- 1997 Constitutional Review<sup>68</sup>: Preferential alternative voting system is recommended and later adopted in the 1999 general elections. Under this system, political parties from both sides of the ethnic divide created pre-election alliances and coalitions, this led to the election of a Labour government in 2000 (Reilly, 2001). The year Fiji experienced its second political coup.

---

<sup>68</sup> Note that this constitutional review occurred 10 years after the first coup in 1987 and 3 years before the second one in 2000.

- 2014 “Blueprint for a Better Fiji”<sup>69</sup>: A new Constitution and decreed electoral system adopted a single national constituency with open-list proportional representation (Carnegie & Tarte, 2018). This new system did away with communal rolls in an attempt to “avoid a return to race-based politics” (Carnegie & Tarte, 2018, p. 281). This constitutional change occurred during the post-2006 coup era.

Since independence, Fiji has struggled to adopt an electoral system that caters for its multicultural society (Kelly, 2013) and the ongoing problems it faces are a result of an improperly carried out agenda-setting stage. There was little to no consideration given to the ripple effects of indirect rule on the relationship between Fijians and Indians. This relationship seeped into the agenda that each group had with regards to elections systems. Being the first stage of the policy making process, agenda-setting forms the foundation of policy decisions. A weak agenda-setting stage affects:

- **Policy formulation:** This stage only involves policy actors who have some or expert knowledge on the policy area. Policy solutions are discussed, and possible choices are narrowed down (Freeman, 1965).
- **Decision making:** At this stage, the government decides which course of action they are choosing to adopt (Howlett & Giest, 2012).
- **Policy implementation:** Government decisions are put into action and resources are mobilised within society in order to bring policy into effect (Howlett & Giest, 2012).

The final stage of policy making is policy evaluation, which is where policy is monitored and evaluated for effectiveness and the results could lead to reconceptualising policy problems and solutions (Howlett et al., 2009). The first policy evaluation carried out for Fiji’s electoral system was held in 1975. The Royal Commission Inquiry evaluated the ‘first past the post’ system that was implemented at the time of independence and they recommended that race remain a significant factor in the electoral system indefinitely. The commission also suggested that the communal seats with 12 Fijian, 12 Indian and three General electors be retained (Ansell, 1976b).

---

<sup>69</sup> This review was conducted by the Frank Bainimarama government that was in power at the time this thesis was being written.

The commission chose to retain the electoral system adopted from the British administration because they argued that it safeguarded racial fears and provided a sense of security, this appeased indigenous Fijians. By recommending that race remain a significant factor, the Royal Commission further cemented race-based politics in Fiji. One of the ways path dependency becomes entrenched in institutions is simplification (Greener, 2002). In line with simplification, the electoral system was created for implementation in a newly independent nation or in an environment where none had existed (Greener, 2002). It set rules and procedures that were later standardised (Law, 1992). In Fiji’s case, simplification was first achieved at the constitutional conference held in London in 1970 to pass the Independence Bill and then it was reinforced by the Royal Commission’s recommendations.

To appeal to the non-indigenous people of Fiji, the Royal Commission recommended that racial reservations be removed from the remaining 25 seats that, at the time, had 10 Fijian, 10 Indian and five general electors (Ansell, 1976b). The removal of race-based seats was argued to equate to converting seats from a national to common electoral roll. For the 25 seats, it was recommended that each one be elected by national roll with no restrictions of race or religion for either voters or candidates (Ansell, 1976b). These elections were to be carried out via universal suffrage. Table 15 summarises the recommended breakdown of the House of Representatives:

Table 15 *Electoral System Recommended by Royal Commission Inquiry*

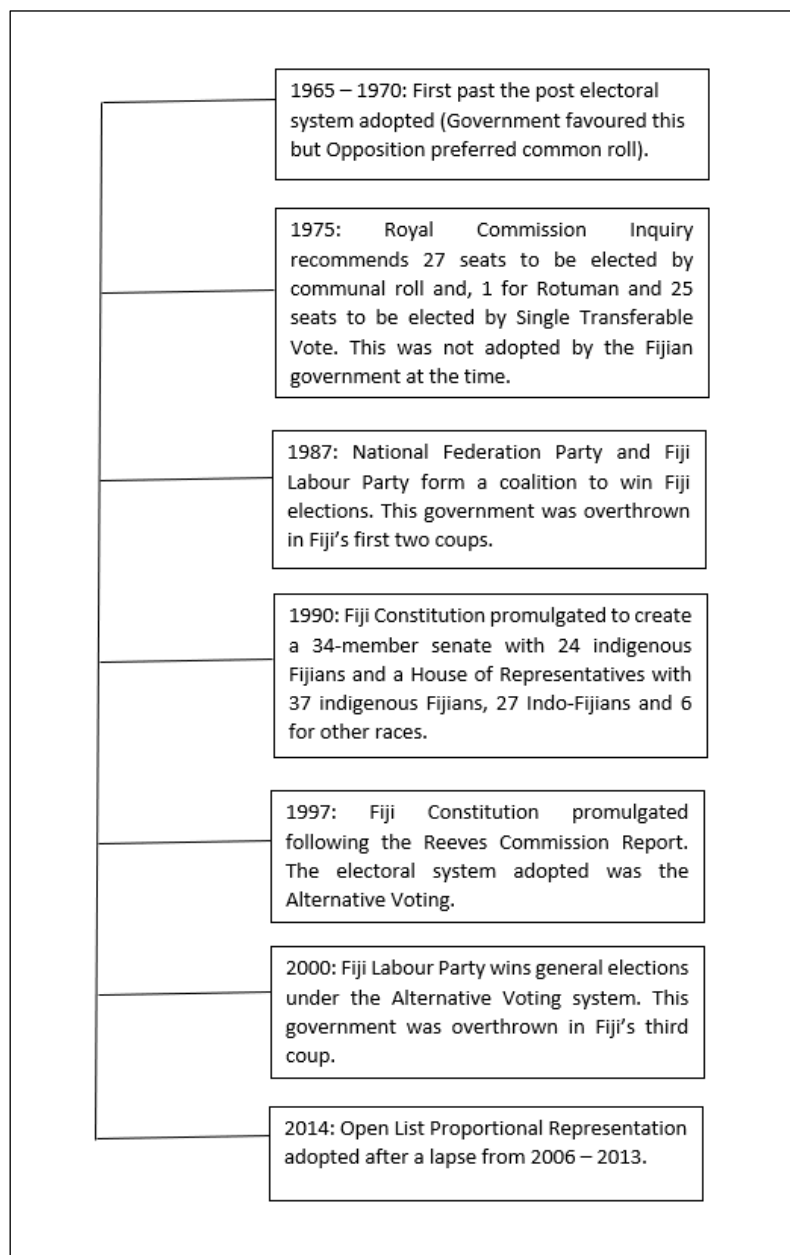
|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Members elected on communal rolls  | 27        |
| Member for Rotuma  | 1         |
| Members elected by Proportional Representation or Single Transferable Vote | 25        |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>53</b> |

Fiji’s societal context was divided based on national identity and religion and its constitutional framers were unable to achieve consensus on the issues that divided society (Inbal & Lerner, 2007). The discussions around its electoral system indicate that a racially polarised communal voting system was created to suppress potential violent outbursts.

The Royal Commission Inquiry was the first time Fiji’s electoral system underwent policy evaluation. The recommendations of the Royal Commission reinforce my argument that Fiji is locked-in to conflict because of path-dependent institutions like the electoral system. Although

it was evaluated and showed clear signs of creating racial tension, the commission chose to continue using the same electoral system. This inquiry was critical in Fiji’s history because the suggestions made went on to strengthen a policy that was weak in its implementation during independence. It was a missed opportunity to reconceptualise this unstable policy and help Fiji develop their ability to self-govern. This in itself was a “critical juncture” (Greener, 2002) in Fiji’s political trajectory because it contributed to conflict becoming path dependent, Figure 15 is a timeline of events that maps events occurring as a result of the simplification of the communal electoral system.

Figure 15 *Timeline of Changes to Fiji’s Electoral Policy*



*Source: Adapted from (Alley, 2001).*

The timeline above shows that Fiji's electoral system continues to be a contentious subject with weak institutional arrangements. The reservations held by Fiji government officials during the agenda setting stage at the time of independence was left unresolved. As a result of this, the foundations of electoral policy have continued to be unstable through time. The uncertain manner in which the British left the electoral system in Fiji has become institutionalised in the nation's governing system and this is evident in the everchanging policies surrounding elections.

#### **4.6 The Path in Fiji's Political Trajectory**

Fiji's political trajectory was determined by colonial institutions that they inherited from the British administration. Path-dependency is initiated by a critical juncture (Greener, 2002) and it can be reversed through disruptions which are fleeting or rapid changes<sup>70</sup> (Wilsford, 1985). Fiji's first critical juncture came in the form of colonialism. This is when a path began to form through the use of indirect rule. Indirect rule created a fragmented Fijian society that was separated based on ethnic lines and further sectioned into elites and non-elites. During colonial rule, the native Fijians were given preferential treatment while the Indian worked on sugar cane plantations.

After 96 years of colonialism, Fiji underwent its second critical juncture when it became independent. The process of gaining independence revealed paths that had been formed and reinforced throughout colonialism. The Fijians were apprehensive about sharing power and the Indians were adamant that equality was the ideal way forward for Fiji. The path of that had formed during colonialism was challenged by two new institutions: the Westminster system and the electoral system. Early archival documents suggested that the British administration had knowledge of the tensions that existed between the Fijians and Indians, but this didn't deter them from pushing and ill-prepared Fiji towards independence. The British administration disregarded warnings from then Chief Minister, Ratu Mara, on the possibility that the Westminster system did not fit within the context of Fijian society (Ansell, 1976a). The British also left the electoral system as an open-ended issue to appease both the Fijians who believed

---

<sup>70</sup> Disruptors and critical junctures are similar occurrences, Wilsford (1985) mentioned that disruptions are revolutionary changes or conjunctures which is like Greener's (2002) critical juncture.

that it wouldn't change and the Indians who believed that it was tentative (Fiji Government, 1970). The Fijians were caught in between two types of political ideologies, that Esman (1997) would describe as systemic preferences and power sharing. Colonialism enshrined the dominance of indigenous Fijians through systemic preferences while independence introduced a new normal of power sharing among all Fiji citizens. This contention of ideologies created tension that led to outbursts of conflict.

The British administration designed Fiji's governing institutions in a way that would maintain the power balance and separatism that existed in colonialism. They did this by:

1. Establishing the Great Council of Chiefs as a legislative body.
2. Allocating seats in the Parliamentary system based on ethnic lines.

This complicated the independence process because it continued reinforced colonial legacies of indigenous privilege which no longer fit within the multiracial context of Fiji. These actions meant that Fiji moved into independence with institutions that kept the society fragmented. Indirect rule was now in the past, but this was replaced with race-based politics. As Rose (1991) stated, path dependency emphasises the importance of inheritance over choice. In this case, at the point of independence, the Fijians inherited political systems that encouraged separatism. The irony is that the separatism would now be governed by a Westminster and electoral system that pushed for multiracial harmony. The rift between the two races only widened and eventually led to violent outbursts. However, this time, the consequences of its failure was theirs to deal with, not to be borne by a colonial power. As a result of this, Fiji has become a fragile State and in the 52 that the nation has been independent, there have been four political coups.

Fiji's political trajectory suggests that the nation is set on a path of conflict. The nation is locked into this path for the following reasons:

- Heterogenous networks: These existed in the form of government policies around indirect rule, the Westminster, and electoral systems.
- Simplification: The British administration set up Eurocentric governing systems in a society where none previously existed. Race-based politics and electoral systems were established at the start of Fiji's independence, and it grew to be accepted as standard practice.

- Semiotic approach: The colonial institutions introduced in Fiji became embedded and later institutionalised in the governing system because of the use of heterogenous networks and simplification. Because of this, the practices became an accepted norm or as Greener (2002) puts it, it achieved punctualisation. This is when network patterns are stabilised and taken for granted. The Fijians regarded the institutions of governance that they inherited as the accepted standard of government that they must abide by. This is reflected in the way that past 'coup makers' justify their actions.

The consistent pattern for each coup is the tussle to replace or restore colonial institutions depicted in Table 16. It can be seen that different meanings have been given to these colonial institutions. These perceptions are so strongly embedded in the Fijian society that governments have been overthrown to protect it.

Table 16 *Policy Changes Following the 1987, 2000, and 2006 Coups in Fiji*

| Coups <sup>71</sup> | Actions  |
|---------------------|--|
| 1987 Coup           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Sitiveni Rabuka led coup after the Labour Party formed a coalition with the National Federation Party. A majority of its members were of Indian descent; a first for Fiji.</li> <li>○ 1970 Constitution suspended.</li> <li>○ Great Council of Chiefs given more legislative power.</li> <li>○ Senate composition changed to comprise 34 members in total with 24 seats for indigenous Fijians.</li> <li>○ House of Representatives to comprise of 37 seats for indigenous Fijians, 27 Indo-Fijians and 6 for other races.</li> </ul>   |
| 2000 Coup           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Electoral system was the Alternative Voting system.</li> <li>○ Labour party elected to government with its leader Mahendra Chaudhry placed to be Fiji's first Indo-Fijian Prime Minister.</li> <li>○ The House of Representative was now made up of 71 members: 46 seats elected by communal roll with 23 for indigenous Fijians, 19 for Indo-Fijians and 4 for smaller communities. 25 seats were available on an open roll.</li> <li>○ Chaudhry government was overthrown, and the issue of the electoral system was again brought to light.</li> <li>○ Race relations was once again at the forefront of Fiji's political trajectory.</li> </ul> |
| 2006 Coup           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The Great Council of Chiefs was abolished.</li> <li>○ A new 2013 Constitution was promulgated.</li> <li>○ The electoral system changed to an Open List Proportional system or 'one person one vote' system.</li> </ul>  |

Gains et al. (2005) argued that path-dependency was weak because the width of a path was unclear. My findings revealed markers that I have used to demarcate the range or width of Fiji's path of conflict. These markers were legislature (Great Council of Chiefs), public administration (preferential appointments for indigenous Fijians), socio-economic public policies (land ownership), governing bodies (Fijian Affairs Board), and political power (electoral system design). The markers indicate the coverage of path-dependency, and it really shows that path-dependent ideologies were far-reaching in Fiji's public administration functions. Raadschelders (1998) also criticised path-dependency for its inability to pinpoint mechanisms that push for social change but the discussion of critical junctures above

---

<sup>71</sup> Information adapted from Alley (2001) and Ratuva (2013a).

challenges this argument. Employing archival research and document analysis helped me to identify just how wide Fiji's path of conflict was and it also enabled me to identify the critical junctures which initiated paths and caused disruptions in the nation's political trajectory.

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

In conclusion, Fiji's political trajectory is path dependent in nature and is 'locked-in' to a path of conflict. The path dependency theory has been criticised for its lack of explanatory powers and by using archival research to revisit history, the 'why' and 'how' of Fiji's path dependent state of conflict is explored. The path to getting locked-in to conflict began at the time of colonialism in the form of indirect rule in a multiracial society. Fiji's political leaders were not prepared to manage multi-ethnic relations, and this was worsened by the rapid transition from colony to republic. As a result of this, independent Fiji was a fragmented society made up of people with different cultural values, and ways of life. The same people needed to adjust to new entitlements because they were afforded different privileges in colonial Fiji.

The use of indirect rule during 96 years of colonial rule meant that Fiji had two separate societies that existed in parallel to each other. After 96 years of indirect rule, attempts were made to merge these separate societies, but the transition was rapid and not well planned. As a result of this, Fiji entered a new era of independence in 1970 with a fragile system of government that was highly dependent on the political statesmanship of representatives from the two major ethnic groups: Fijians and Indo-Fijians. The most contentious issue was that of the electoral system because a communal roll favoured the indigenous Fijians universal suffrage favoured the Indo-Fijians. Even though it was earmarked as a potential threat to racial harmony, the electoral system wasn't confirmed at the time of independence. An agreement to use the communal roll (+2 seats on the national roll) was reached on the understanding that it was temporary, and that the British administration would send a Royal Commission to Fiji post-independence to review the electoral system.

During its transition to become an independent nation, the United Kingdom government implemented governing structures that did not fit within Fiji's political context. The adoption of the Westminster system and first past the post electoral system, were critical moves because their adversarial nature, teamed with a fragmented multiracial society, led to outbursts of conflict. As discussed, the country is locked into this path of conflict because of the use of heterogenous networks, simplification, and semiotics (Greener, 2002). Conflict continues to

persist in Fiji because the nation still hasn't broken out of the separateness that it was governed in for 96 years. In 1970, the newly formed Fijian government gained independence without knowing that the unresolved complexities that they wrestled with at the time, would continue to haunt Fiji to this day. The next chapter is the second part of the two discussion chapters. This chapter analyses the evolution of public administration using institutionalism and resilience theories. Chapter Five discusses the institutions that affect stability and the critical junctures that contributed to the evolution of public administration in Fiji.

# Chapter Five

## Part II: Discussion

### Institutionalism or Resilience? – Assessing Tools for Public Administrative Stability

*“The past is never fully gone. It is absorbed into the present and future. It stays to shape what we are and what we do” – Sir William Deane (1996).*

#### 5.1 Introduction

History matters in understanding organisations but there is a need to be explicit when describing how exactly history manifests itself in the present (Greener, 2002). This chapter analyses the public administration system of Fiji to find the weaknesses and potential of its structure. In Chapter Four of this thesis, the path dependency theory is used to argue that the Fijian administrative system is locked-in to a path of conflict as a result of two colonial approaches: the use of indirect rule in a multi-racial society and the short time it took for the country to transition from colony to independent State. In this chapter, the focus shifts towards the administrative systems of the Fijian civil service.

The first section is a pre-conflict analysis of resilience and institutionalism in Fiji’s public administration system. In this section, the co-existence of institutionalism and resilience in Fiji politics is discussed. By studying these historical developments through time, systems and processes that act as levers or impediments for stability in light of national crises were analysed for appropriateness. For example, in a bid to create representation in Fijian politics, the British designed a race-based electoral system, legislature, and cabinet. Instead of inspiring multiracial harmony, it contributed to ethnic tension. Inappropriate institutions contribute to State fragility and existing governing structures in unstable countries can be traced to legacies of colonialism.

The next section is based on institutionalism in Fiji’s political trajectory, and it expands on the legacies of colonialism that became embedded in Fiji’s civil service and continue to exist today. While some institutionalised structures like the Westminster system or race-based politics persist, there are critical junctures in time like political coups and public sector reforms that led to policy changes in public administration. Institutions can become so entrenched that conflicts arise when they are challenged (Loga et al., 2021). The conflicts that occurred in Fiji reflect

deep societal divisions based on race (Ratuva, 2013c). This is an impediment to progressive change and resilient attitudes. Following this the discussion shifts to resilience in Fiji's political trajectory. It discusses Fijians' progression towards flexibility and adaptiveness to policy making is discussed. Comparisons are made between resilience approaches recorded in Fiji's historical records and resilience framework discussed in literature. The last section is a post-conflict analysis of Fiji's public administration using both resilience and institutionalism. It also includes an assessment on what may have gone wrong and the nation rebuilding process that can be adopted by Fiji's policy makers.

The findings from this chapter suggest that resilience in the Fijian administration is stifled by institutionalised ideals that have existed since colonialism. A two-layer theory of change is proposed as a reason why progress is hindered in Fiji. This chapter concludes by presenting mechanisms that have the potential to aide in re-establishing stability in the public sector of a post-conflict State like Fiji.

## **5.2 Pre-conflict Analysis of Resilience and Institutionalism in Fiji's Public Administration System**

The findings presented show that Fiji's administrative history has elements of resilience and institutionalism. In this section, the effect of the push and pull relationship between resilient and institutionalised policies will be analysed and discussed. Institutional ideals inhibit resilient policy moves. One example of how this occurred in Fiji is the case of the policy for ethnic integration in schools. This is discussed below.

### **5.2.1 Policy for Ethnic Integration**

Under the British administration, the education system in Fiji was segregated, there were separate schools for Europeans, indigenous Fijians, and Indo-Fijians. Among indigenous Fijians, there were class-based separations where there were schools established especially for the elite and their children. As a case study example on the way in which traditional ideals are often mixed with national interests when it came to policy development, the integration policy introduced by then Minister for Education Dr Ahmed Ali<sup>72</sup> in 1984 depicts the complexities that intertwined roles present for policy makers. The attempt at integration in Fiji schools was

---

<sup>72</sup> Dr Ali (an Indo-Fijian) was a member of the Alliance party, which was led by the Prime Minister Ratu Mara, with majority of its members being indigenous Fijians.

brought into question by members of Dr Ali's political party and the Council of Chiefs. Indian teachers were being transferred into Fijian schools and vice versa. This sparked a perceived degradation in standards on both sides, the vernacular classes in Fijian schools and Indian educational standards in Indian schools. The following statements reveal some reasons as to why Fijians and Indians were reluctant to support the integration policy. According to three excerpts presented below there was fear that it would degrade cultural identity and the preservations of cultural values.

“Political pressure on the Minister for Education has increased with influential Fijians criticising his decision on integration in schools. Teacher transfers have been suspended pending further consultations...an important factor is the strong sense of communal identity among Fijians and also Indians...the Minister has asked for a policy paper on integration in schools but its acceptability to the government is uncertain” (Government of Australia, 1984, p. 1).

“...the two Teachers' Unions have criticised the policy and administration. In a significant move the Fijian Teacher's Association has gained the support of prominent and influential Fijians for its criticisms on integration and the transfer of teachers” (Government of Australia, 1984, p. 2).

“A petition to the Prime Minister stated that the integration policy was not in the best interests of Fijians education, the preservation of Fijian culture and language and the development of Fijians cultural values was presented...” (Government of Australia, 1984, p. 2).

The integration policy is a logical response to Fiji's multiracial population demography. It also actions the expectation of harmony and multiracialism set by the British and agreed on by all political leaders of Fiji at the time of independence (Hansard: Commons, 1970). This move shows the Alliance party's adaptability in a nation whose population demographics had changed from being predominantly indigenous to having 336,000 Indo-Fijians and 300,000 indigenous Fijians by 1984 (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1984a). Members of the cabinet and opposition called for the resignation of the Minister for Education but the Prime Minister did not accept the demands that Dr Ali step down but insisted on greater dialogue and consultation to remove the tension and animosity that had crept into the educational debate (Government of Australia, 1984). The Prime Minister's response indicates that the Fijian administration was resilient in its introduction of the integration policy as resilience encourages

stakeholder participation and social learning in the development of policies (Duit, 2016). Although this was an opportunity to adapt the race-based philosophy that existed, the Prime Minister's decision was subjected to push back from the Great Council of Chiefs and leaders of Indo-Fijians communities. This is an example of the way that race-based political philosophies stifled resilient approaches like the integration policy.

Institutional resilience is when policy actors adapt to changing conditions (Home III & Orr, 1997), engage with external environments to gather information on policy lessons (Chandler, 2014), and when administrative problems are resolved by flexibility in response to changing socio-ecological systems (Sarker et al., 2020). The integration policy can be described as a resilient policy for the following reasons:

1. **Adapt:** The policy was a change from the segregated education system that existed in Fiji from 1870 – 1984 (the year the policy was implemented). At the time of independence, there were calls for multiracial harmony. This policy would have reflected multiracialism at the grassroots level.
2. **Respond to changing socio-ecological system:** The population demographics in Fiji had changed from being predominantly indigenous to a multi-ethnic one. The integration policy responded to this change by encouraging racial integration among students.
3. **Engagement:** Although the integration policy is a result of engagement with societal changes in Fiji, there are shortfalls in this area that contribute to the weak implementation of this policy. The policy lessons gathered could have been strengthened as it is reported that there was a lack of information presented to the cabinet and no clear policy paper on integration in schools (Government of Australia, 1984).

The integration policy is an indication of change or the willingness to change. The move towards ethnic integration is a critical juncture in Fiji's administrative history because it is one of very few attempts at undoing the path dependent racial segregation that existed since colonialism (Loga et al., 2021). While this policy shows promise, it was met with resistance. The integration policy was rolled back after protests from members of both the Fijian and Indo-Fijian community; an act that depicts the strength that institutionalism has over resilience.

After the integration policy was implemented, influential Fijian and Indo-Fijians stood against it and called for the resignation of the Minister for Education (Government of Australia, 1984).

In the counterarguments put forward by each stakeholder, characteristics of institutionalism surfaced. Institutionalism is when social processes take on a ‘rule-like’ status in social thought and action (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Institutional change occurs as a result of past decisions and later become irreversible (Peters et al., 2005). Institutionalised actions become embedded through positive feedback (Pierson, 2000), habit (Sarigil, 2009), and inertia (Rose & Karran, 1984). Institutionalised ideals pushed back against the integration policy resulting in a pause in teacher transfers and ethnic integration in schools. The Government of Australia (1984) reported that Fiji achieved this in the following ways:

1. Legacies of colonial history: In their plea to government, the Head Teachers asked that the separate approach to governing Fiji’s ethnic societies be preserved. They wanted to live in harmony while preserving their own traditions as opposed to blending together.
2. Social processes taking on a ‘rule-like’ status: In a petition to the PM, the Fijian Teachers Association together with some prominent Fijians stated that the integration policy was not in the best interest of the development of Fijian education, the preservation of Fijian culture and language, and the development of Fijian cultural values. The Indo-Fijians disagreed with the policy for fears of having highly qualified Indian teachers transferred into Fijian schools. The unwillingness to adapt in an environment whose demographics were changing shows that the education system that the Fijians inherited from colonialism had taken a ‘rule-like’ status in the nation.
3. Positive feedback, habit, and inertia: The system of separate governance had become so embedded in Fiji’s administrative processes that it had become the norm in other aspects of administration like education. Segregation in education had become normalised to the point that the integration policy and Education Minister were described as: “arrogant”, “dictatorial” and “at odds with the policy of the Alliance government”.

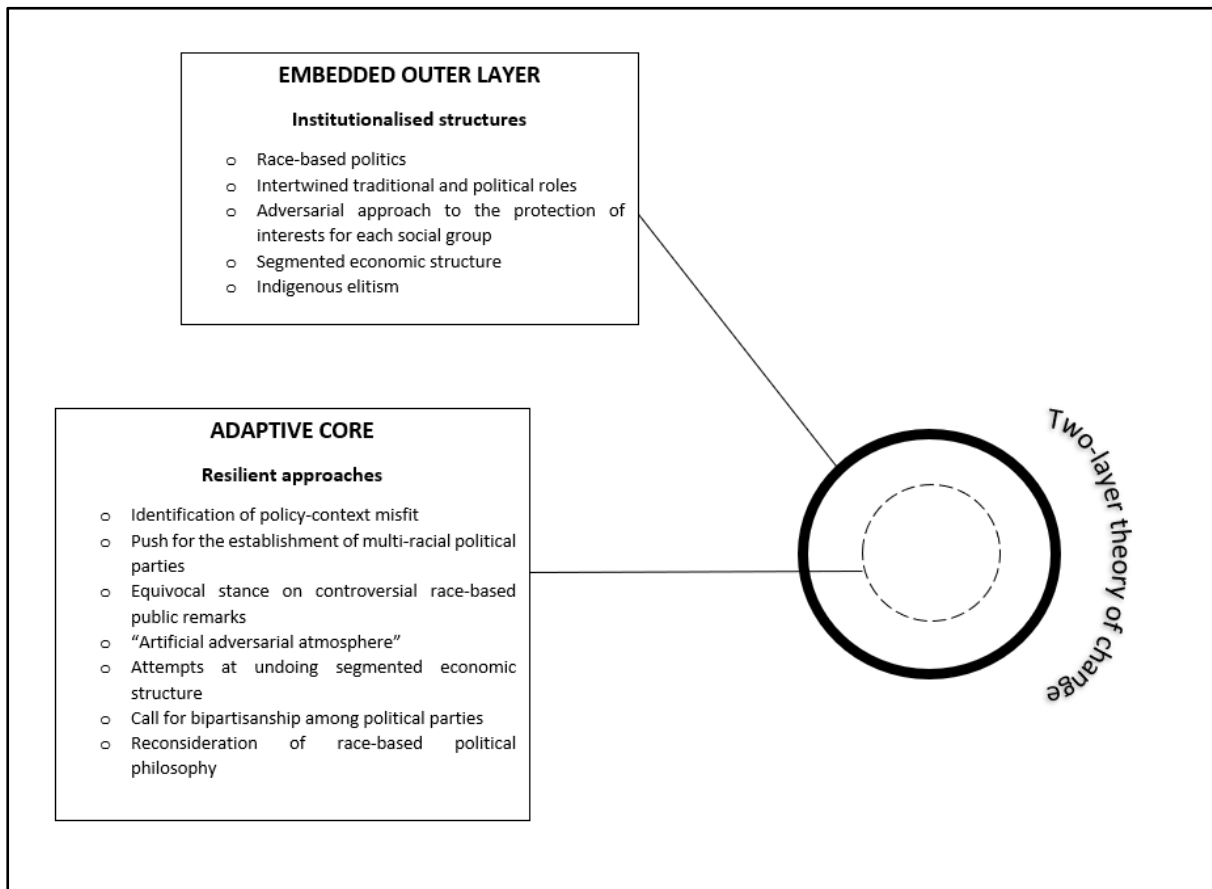
Administrative resilience creates stability because of its ability to adapt to new challenges (Hein & Schubert, 2021). The integration policy had the potential to steer Fiji into successfully managing a multi-ethnic population, but its implementation was weak because the policy did not garner support from key stakeholders. The attitudes shown by the policy stakeholders point to institutionalism in that they prefer preservation over change, perceive embedded processes as the norm, and they reinforce current actions and processes by retracting to it.

The case of the integration policy is one example of how resilience and institutionalism push and pull against each other. On their own, they both have the ability to create stability (when correctly applied); however, in co-existence administrative resilience and institutionalism inhibit policy development and effectiveness.

### **5.3 Pre-Conflict Analysis of the Push and Pull Effect of Institutionalism and Resilience**

The data collected shows that policy decisions in Fiji's administrative system were influenced by institutional and resilient philosophies. Like the integration policy discussed earlier, Fiji's administrative processes show that attempts at resilience were impeded by institutionalised actions and processes. Figure 16 provides a summary of the key themes extracted from the data collected. It illustrates the relationship that exists between institutionalised and resilient efforts in Fiji's public administration. In this two-layer theory of change, resilience initiatives form the inner core and the broken lines represent it is volatility. These resilient initiatives are versatile and adaptable, but the core is encased by a hard exterior, which forms the embedded outer layer. The solid circle represents the rigidity and inflexibility of the outer layer. The key themes from the findings make up the characteristics of each layer (as shown on Figure 16).

Figure 16 *Two-Layer Theory of Change*



The next section describes the institutionalised structures that form the embedded outer layer of the Two-layer theory of change. The history of administrative processes in Fiji will be analysed using administrative resilience and institutionalism. I will begin by discussing the policy processes that are institutionalised before analysing actions that reflect administrative resilience.

#### **5.4 Institutionalism in Fiji’s Political Trajectory**

Critical junctures create the starting point of institutionalised processes and actions (Hall & Taylor, 1996). In Fiji’s case the most dominant critical juncture is colonialism. From colonialism, several other policy actions formed more specific branches of critical junctures that later became embedded. These are:

- Using race-based politics as a political campaigning tactic.
- Intertwined traditional and political roles.
- Creating an artificial adversarial atmosphere between Fijian and Indo-Fijian politicians.

- Developing a racially segmented economic structure.

These critical junctures laid the foundation for indigenous elitism, an adversarial approach to policy and governing and the overlap between traditional and political roles for some leaders.

#### **5.4.1 Race Based Politics**

The data collected on race-based politics contain words that hint at embeddedness, a characteristic of institutionalism (Page, 2006). The two major political parties in Fiji at the time of independence, the Alliance and National Federation Party, were described as durable because they had existed in the lead-up to self-government and in the aftermath of independence (Nation, 1983).

Norms and traditions are characteristics of institutionalism (Hall & Taylor, 1996) and this theme is prevalent in the way that ethnic-based party lines are regarded as the standard. The Alliance party was a party of Fijian and the National Federation Party one of Indians. It seems that this was a known characteristic of Fijian politics as NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982d) warned not to be deceived by the presence of one or two Indians in the Alliance and one or two Fijians in coalition with the Indian NFP. Race-based politics had become so accepted that it was used as a political currency. When Ratu Mara's Alliance Party campaigned, they deliberately used racial issues to rally support (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982b). NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982b) later reported that they won the election on the strength of the Fijian vote.

Having existed since independence, race-based politics was regarded as the norm. It became the traditional way by which politicians would organise and rally. Lecours (2017) warns that institutions can take on a life of their own and drive the political process. The Fiji Labour Party was predominantly made up of Indians and although they had Fijians in their party, NZ Department of Foreign Affairs (1986) doubted their ability to carry their Fijian members. Lecours (2017) provides a reminder that it is important to pay attention to processes that are incrementally becoming embedded and normalised in public administration systems and perhaps it is because institutions become the 'go to' course of action for policy decisions. March and Olsen (1983) explain that policy actors respond to their environment by choosing a standard course of action. In Fiji's case, a race-based political organisation became an institution that drove the nation's political processes. Even though relationships continued to

be bitter between political parties (NZ Department of Foreign Affairs, 1982), Fijians still adopted a political organisation based on race.

Race continued to be used as an approach to group Fijians when it came to policy planning. Fiji and New Zealand held regular discussions on political, trade, and aid matters where race was continuously used as a descriptor when it came to discussing the nation's political context (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985c). This meant that a race-based approach seeped into public administration through policy approaches. For instance, when the Alliance Party formulated education policies and public service appointments that appealed to their base, the move was called a 'policy of Fijianisation' (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985c). Fukuyama (2006) argues that formal institutions matter because they mould policy behaviour, but cultural and normative factors need to be taken into consideration in order for institutions to succeed. When Fiji became a self-governing State, they had institutions in place by which they would govern but the lack of consideration for cross-cultural differences between the indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians created problems for effective implementation of the political institutions that the Fijians adopted.

Continuity strengthens embeddedness and creates a long-lasting influence on social and political environments in society (Pierson, 2011). For institutionalism, social processes and actions are reinforced owing to positive feedback (Pierson, 2000), habit (Sarigil, 2009), and its normalisation in polity (Page, 2006). For the systems in Fiji, positive feedback existed in the form of returns. For example, in their campaigning strategy, the Alliance Party "profited more by deliberately using racial issues" because it rallied indigenous Fijians and "created fear in the minds of Indians" (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982c, p. 1).

#### **5.4.2 Intertwined Traditional and Political Roles**

Intertwined traditional and political roles overlap with indigenous elitism, which is why both these themes are discussed together. Fiji's policy cycle was complex because its leaders' constantly shifted between their political and traditional roles while holding office. This positionality affected the policy process in a number of ways including in political campaigning, setting priorities for policy development, policy implementation, and the effectiveness of politicians in their role to represent all Fijians.

The duality of Fiji's political system is an adaptation of indirect rule that governed the Fijians during colonialism, and it has created a fragmented society. Institutions are made up of values,

traditions, and habits that drive decision making in public administration (Fukuyama, 2006). In Fiji, the British groomed indigenous chiefs into political leadership positions creating a complex web of ideologies that included indigenous and Western concepts of leadership and government. The governing system set up by the colonial administration included safeguards for the Fijian people. While this was seen as equitable at the time, it did set the Fijians up for difficulties in running a multi-ethnic cabinet. It created an overlap of roles for the chiefs who now had administrative and traditional responsibilities. As a result, policy making, and the administration of Fiji's affairs was constantly perceived to be racialised and segmented. For instance, political exchanges were interpreted as insults to the Fijian chiefs (who were members of cabinet and the Upper House), "...the NFP/WUF criticisms of how a government should be run should not be taken as slurs against the leaders of the Fijian community" (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982a, p. 1).

The privileges that came with Chiefly status of Fiji's indigenous politicians of the time contrasted with the diplomacy required of public servants. In a bid to show a united front in Parliament, members of the opposition suggested that Ratu Mara, as Prime Minister, should meet the leader of the Opposition in the middle of Parliament to shake hands. A member of the Alliance Party responded saying, "chiefs do not cross, they (the commoners) come" (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982a). Ratu Mara tried to balance his dual roles as Prime Minister and chief but there are accounts from the 1982 Fiji elections which show that when his traditional role was insulted, he struggled to keep it from affecting his public role. The level of bitterness between the Opposition leader, Jai Ram Reddy, and Ratu Mara escalated to a point where the Prime Minister temporarily put aside his public support of developing a multiracial government because he was deeply hurt by the personal nature of the Opposition's attack (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982b). Not only did the intertwined roles of chief and politician complicate Fiji's public administration, but it also puzzled their Australian and New Zealand counterparts who mentioned that Ratu Mara would be better understood if "one imagined what it would be like if the British Prime Minister was also a strong, able but moody royal personage" (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982a).

Interweaving ascribed and achieved statuses in the Fijian public administration created a complex government structure in independent Fiji. As a result of institutionalism in public administration, policy actors make decisions by considering their perception of a situation and the standard response to it (March & Olsen, 1983) and the output is usually made up of socially

constituted actions (Hall & Taylor, 1996). In Fiji, having formal appointments in government gave chiefs traditional and political privilege, which they used to maintain the status quo vis-à-vis the Indians (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d). The Great Council of Chiefs also had the power to veto parliamentary bills and while they have used this privilege to protect the interests of those they represent, there were times when they inhibited resilience efforts when they pushed for a controversial Land Tax Bill in 1972 (Australian High Commission, 1973).

Although the British had trained the Fijians, the push and pull between chief and political leader continued to be a dominant factor in the early years of independence. NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1984a) reported that in the years up to and after independence Ratu Mara was a vigorous advocate for multiracialism in Fiji, but his conviction had weakened as he got older and leaned more towards his Fijian chiefly attitudes. This is a factor that should have been taken seriously during the discussion of Fiji's Independence Bill because it reinforces Fukuyama's (2006) thoughts that institutions fail when cultural factors are not considered in its design.

#### **5.4.3 Adversarial Approach to the Protection of Interests for each Social Group**

The race-based approach to politics created an adversarial atmosphere in Fiji's political scene. Racial division was reported to be one of the worst legacies left behind by the British administration as it was "enshrined in the Constitution (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d, p. 2). Fiji's politicians took an adversarial approach to representing and defending the interests of the people that they represented. NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982d, p. 1) mentioned that "racial extremism" would always be an attractive political option to garner support in the community. The issue of constitutional framing surfaces again when it is suggested that a race-based adversarial approach to politics was "enshrined in the constitution" (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d, p. 3). Institutionalism promotes continuity (Sorensen, 2017), which is why it is important that positive approaches are embedded instead of negative ones. In Fiji's case, the adversarial approach became normalised to the point that it was expected where political commentators expected an "extra-constitutional Fijian response" if the Indo-Fijians won the 1982 elections (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985b). Peters (2016) argues that institutionalism maintains stability, perhaps this wasn't the case in Fiji because the processes that became institutionalised were counterproductive and destabilising.

Fiji's Constitution enhanced separation and NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982d, p. 2) stated that it worked to "keep races apart rather than to bring them together". In the lead up to

independence, both Fijians and Indians held the rule of law in high regard, but the Fijians emphasised respect for the rule of law with an ulterior motive to build a legal barrier or protection against future encroachment of their rights by the Indians (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d). Ethnic loyalty and solidarity have the power to destabilise a nation (Horowitz, 1985) and this is what happened in Fiji; the separation and adversarial approach to politics led to conflict. Esman (1997) proposed three strategies for regulating inter-ethnic relations and they are systemic preferences, individual market practices, and power sharing. Each of the strategies are designed based on perceptions of what equates fairness and division within the community, which would have been complicated for Fiji because the adversarial approach to politics had become so embedded in its political system that perceptions of fairness and division would be highly subjective making it difficult to reach a consensus.

Although the political system was segmented, Fiji had an opportunity to redirect their political trajectory as there are suggestions that the adversarial approach was artificial. NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982d) reported that race relations at the national political level did not reflect those at the grass roots level, which were reasonably good. Whether the race relations at national level were genuine is brought into question as it was mentioned that Ratu Mara ‘mollified his people by having a hostile stance towards the Opposition’ (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982b, p. 2). Critical junctures create paths that later become embedded and institutionalised. Although the racial tension may have been artificial, its repeated use created a habit that became standard behaviour over time. Creating habit is one of the ways policy actions become embedded (Sarigil, 2009). Once a path has become embedded, change becomes constrained by past policy actions (Hall & Taylor, 1996).

Inertia is another contributing factor to the institutionalism of certain actions and policy decisions (Rose & Karran, 1984). Institutionalism acknowledges the role that history plays in the present-day organisation processes. Historical institutionalism sees the polity as a institutionally embedded construct of history that is made up of multiple actors who, over time, shape social identities and political strategies within society (Boakye & Béland, 2019). The structure of society, government, and the economy of Fiji was built on racial foundations. This is embedded in Fiji’s administrative history.

Fiji was governed by indirect rule while under colonial rule. Although multiracial harmony was the foundation of independence talks, governing by separation was maintained in the form of race-based policies when the nation became independent. Although Fiji’s political trajectory

led to conflict, there could have been an unwillingness to change because both parties stood to lose certain privileges that was afforded to them. These surfaced in several passages:

- The integration policy implemented in Fiji schools was perceived as a threat to the “preservation of Fijian culture and language” (Government of Australia, 1984, p. 1) and the Indo-Fijians feared losing highly qualified Indian teachers transferred to Fijian schools.
- Respect for the rule of law among Fijians is described as a legacy of colonialism (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d).
- When the Queen visited Fiji in 1982, the atmosphere among chiefs was said to remind them of “the good old days when chiefs really were paramount and ordinary chiefs were given the full respect of their people” (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982b, p. 2).
- A segmented economy where Fijians owned land while Indians dominated in business (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1984a).

Inertia exacerbates institutionalism. The Fijians and Indo-Fijians wanted to keep the familiar or retain the privileges afforded to them. The teachers affected by the Ministry for Education’s integration policy called for the government to revert to a society where different groups lived in harmony by preserving their own traditions separately (Government of Australia, 1984). Institutionalised actions are hard to alter because of stable rules and practices (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007). The report by NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982d) that all was well at grassroots level could explain why the citizens of Fiji wanted to keep things the way they were.

#### **5.4.4 Segmented Economic Structure**

Indirect rule affected the structure of Fiji’s economy in the same way that it did in the political sphere. Fiji’s economy was developed into one where land ownership was weighted in the Fijians’ favour, but commerce and industry were almost entirely in the hands of Indians, Europeans, and Chinese (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985c). The segmentation of the economy deepened the rift between the ethnic groups and created setbacks for everyone involved. There was a low level of Fijian participation in the cash economy compared to the Indians and Europeans (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982b). As a result, Fijians fell behind the Indians and Europeans in terms of economic progress and the land tenure system became an area of tension because while land was owned by Fijians, by 1985, 70 – 80% of occupants on productive agricultural land were Indians (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985c). Low participation in the cash economy gave rise to social and political problems among Fijians (NZ

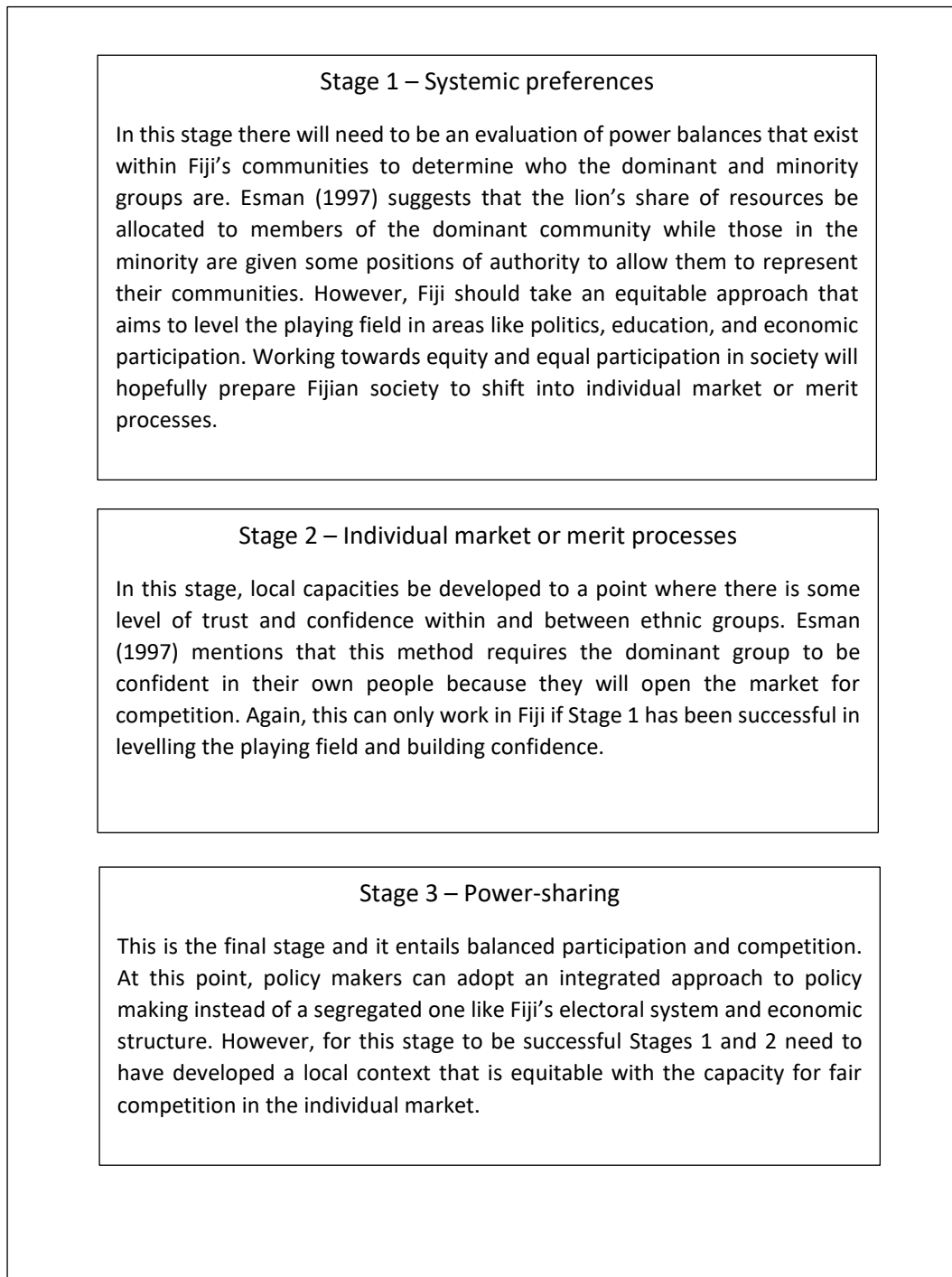
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982b). Although Fiji's path of conflict was in an embryonic stage during the time these discussions were held, it is an early indicator of a failing State where institutions are continuously weakened and no longer serve the interests of its citizens (Kaplan & Rieff, 2000).

To encourage economic participation among Fijians, the Great Council of Chiefs proposed a partial restoration of the old system of Fijian administration, which worked from the ground up. They proposed that improving the village management system could aid in "closing the gap between Fijians and Indians in the economy" (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985c, p. 1). There was no mention of this being implemented in the archival data collected. Hirschman (1958) argues that during the nation rebuilding process in post-conflict societies, developing countries should be given the opportunity to form their own policies and make 'false starts', if necessary, in order to develop ownership and knowledge of what works best in their nation. This is reiterated by Evans (2004) who reminds policy makers that local adaptations and experimentations are necessary for nation rebuilding policies to work. This moment in history presents an opportunity for policy making in Fiji and that is to utilise local capacity to improve policy effectiveness.

Fiji's economy became a delicate power balance between the two dominant ethnic groups. Although the economic structure contributed to the animosity between Fijians and Indians, it had become institutionalised, and no changes were made at the time to reduce the crevice caused by the segmentation. The cracks in the structure of the economy began to show when Fijians voiced their dissatisfaction of lagging behind in commerce (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982a). There were threats of instability because of the power balance tipped in favour of the Indians and NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1984a) reported that any tension or economic recession could easily knock the delicate power balance that existed. Esman (1997) proposed three strategies of public administration to manage inter-ethnic relations in conflict affected States, which could be applied to Fiji's experience. Esman posits the strategies as three different methods but for Fiji's case I have adapted this to suggest that it would be feasible to carry out all strategies as a process albeit in stages. This is because the societal demographics, power balance, cross-cultural nuances, and economic positions in Fijian society is complex with institutionalised ideals rendering the need for a tailored approach that eases the Fijians into managing their ethnic relations. Figure 17 is an adaptation of Esman's methods for managing ethnic relations. It has been altered according to Fiji's context.



Figure 17 *Managing Inter-Ethnic Relations in a Post-Conflict State*



*Adapted from (Esman, 1997).*

Figure 17 has room for further development, but the strategies suggested here are borne out of the lessons recorded and discussed in Fiji's political history.

## **5.5 Institutionalised Ideologies in the Embedded Outer Layer of the Two-Layer Theory of Change**

Sorensen (2017) argues that self-reinforcing dynamics lead to continuity. In Fiji's case, the political leverage that came with race-based politics created an attractive platform for political leaders. Critical junctures are powerful analytical tools for understanding the long-term effects of institutional arrangements on a political environment (Boakye & Béland, 2019). One reason that the outer layer of the two-factor theory is rigid is due to the fact that it was created at a critical juncture in Fiji's political trajectory: colonialism. Its continuous reinforcement through policies, laws and usage set a damaging precedent in Fiji's political schema. As shown above, factors of the embedded outer layer became institutionalised through reinforcing behaviour like positive feedback, normalisation, and habit.

The embedded outer layer of the two-factor theory stayed true to its institutional nature with respect to change. On the rare occasion that change was considered, it did so through Mahoney and Thelen's (2010) concepts of drift and layering:

Institutional drift:

- Racial barriers were established when Fiji was a colony. This was embedded into independent Fiji's administrative system in the form of race-based politics. As racial barriers became embedded and tensions heightened, a passive approach to change was adopted. Nation (1983) reported that there were hopes the racial barriers would "gradually resolve" and NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs echoed similar sentiments stating that the hostility between the two major ethnic groups would return to a harmonious multi-racial approach "with the passage of time" (1982b, p. 2).
- The segmented economic structure left Fijians and Indo-Fijians in a delicate power balance. The Fijians, with their stronghold in land ownership and political power and the Indians who dominated economic and professional industries, worked hard to maintain their interests but this started to change when Indians slowly began to outnumber Fijians in civil service jobs (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985c). This threatened the power balance between the two major ethnic groups, and it disrupted expectations that Fiji would "drift along in a static situation" (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985c, p. 3).

Institutional layering:

- Fijian chiefs were groomed to take up administrative roles in the colony and later to lead independent Fiji. This created a complex political system because its leaders represented the interests of their provinces while they represented the nation as a whole. It is for this reason that policies of national interests were layered with policies that empowered indigenous Fijians alone. The GCC, with its legislative power to veto parliamentary bills, used this privilege to try and introduce a controversial Land Tax Bill in 1972 that would have been implemented alongside the Fiji Constitution.
- By 1985, it was becoming obvious that the Fijians were lagging behind the Indo-Fijians and Europeans in economic progress (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982b). To counter this, the GCC recommended a partial restoration of a separate Fijian administration where an improvement in village management could help improve economic participation of Fijians (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985c).

Institutionalism creates stability through standardisation, through the continuous practice of processes and actions, they take on a rule-like status (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). However, Fiji's case is problematic because the processes and ideologies that were institutionalised promoted weak political and economic structures. From colonialism to 1986 (before the first political coup) the institutional factors that affected Fiji politics were:

1. Race-based politics
2. Intertwined traditional and political roles
3. Adversarial approach to the protection of interests of each social group
4. Segmented economic structure
5. Indigenous elitism

Through time, the dominant factors affecting public administration in Fiji have changed and in the post-conflict era, the removal of the GCC in 2006 has reduced the intensity of overlapping roles of chiefs in politics and indigenous elitism (Norton, 2009).

Fiji's public administration continued to evolve, and institutional change was not the only theme that appeared in the nation's history. It appears that there were attempts at resilience. These approaches form the adaptive core of the two-layer theory of change. While resilience appeared in some processes and actions, Fiji's administrative history shows that institutionalism stifled resilient approaches to policy decisions.

## **5.6 Resilient Ideologies in the Adaptive Core of the Two-Layer Theory of Change: Fiji's Political Trajectory**

The history of Fiji's public administration system shows that although political processes and actions were institutionalised, there were some resilient approaches to policy. This surfaced when policy-context misfit was identified. Indications of resilience in Fiji include the interest shown to establish multi-racial political parties and bipartisanship, the shift from an adversarial approach to policy dialogue to an equivocal stance, working towards undoing the segmented economic structure, and reconsidering the political philosophy.

### **5.6.1 Identification of Policy-Context Misfit**

In 1972, only two years after gaining independence, the effectiveness of the Westminster system was questioned by the Prime Minister Ratu Mara who argued that Western civilization wasn't suitable for Fiji. The Westminster system had become the accepted form of governance and although sentiments of policy-context issues were shared, Ratu Mara also mentioned that for 96 years the British gave the impression that "everything Fijian was not good enough" (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). Similarly, NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982d) reported that the Anglo-Saxon legal system failed to take account of local tradition and culture. Fiji is a country that comprises in almost equal numbers two totally different social groups and NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982d) argues that the best legacy the British could have left behind was a deep understanding of the political ground rules to govern the relations between the two races. Devenney (1998) studied *Uhuru* or independence in African countries and proposes three stages of decolonisation one of which is the struggle against neo-colonialism. At this stage, independence is tokenistic because African countries are neo-colonial and not post-colonial; colonial ideologies are still dominant in these nations. To remedy this Devenney (1998) says that systems in public administration like judicial and education structures need to be transformed into ones that reflect traditional systems and local values. The same can be applied to Fiji. The local structures and traditions can be considered in the design of its governing system to minimise the gaps between the Westminster model and traditional models of government.

The Westminster style of governance and Anglo-Saxon legal system weren't the only institutions whose contextual fit was being questioned. The common roll system that favoured Fijians also became the topic of discussion in the early years of Independence (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d). At the time of independence, it was agreed that Fiji would eventually

shift to universal suffrage so as to be fair to all ethnic groups in Fiji. The Fijian Prime Minister recognised the importance of considering Fiji's population demographics when designing the nation's electoral systems, but he also stated that "no one has actually thought about what happens to the one man one vote theory in a multiracial, multilingual society" (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972, p. 6). Questioning the applicability of Western government institutions in Fiji indicates the development of resilience thinking that Chandler (2014) describes as an understanding that the world is complex, which is why it needs new approaches on how to govern it.

### **5.6.2 Push for the Establishment of Multi-Racial Political Parties**

In the lead up to the 1983 Fiji elections, political ideologies started shifting calls to establish multi-ethnic parties (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982a). The Alliance Party and National Federation Party leaders called for multi-racial support instead of appealing solely to their individual ethnic base (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). The NZ High Commission to Fiji (1982a) reported that it would be in Fiji's best interests if both the Alliance and the NFP were able to attract greater multi-racial support. Lederach (1997) states that resilience is enhanced when values are aligned, and a government gains some level of consensus from a society who has a sense of ownership in government policies. By 1983, 13 years after independence, the Fijians recognised that a multi-ethnic political approach would serve them better than a segregated one. This ideological shift presented an opportunity for Fiji to strengthen resilience attitudes, but State capacity was limited by institutionalised race-based politics. As a result, citizen participation was not facilitated, and this stunted the development of a national ideological shift from a segregated approach to an integrated one in Fijian politics.

### **5.6.3 "Artificial Adversarial Atmosphere"**

The intensity of racial tension at the national level of politics was reported as artificial by the New Zealand Foreign Affairs office (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982b). The NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982d) reported that the leaders of each political party were multi-racialists at heart but their ability to act on this was limited by self-imposed restraints and a lack of support from their parliamentary colleagues. Race-based politics was a core element of design in Fiji's public administration system, and it seems that the adversarial atmosphere was not artificial, it was just adapting to the changing society. This is seen in the way that the Prime Minister began to find common ground with the Opposition like in the 1980s when he became equivocal in certain situations in order to diffuse racial tensions. When the Great Council of

Chiefs proposed a policy to increase their power in the Legislative body, instead of agreeing with fellow traditional leaders, the Prime Minister supported the National Federation Party saying that the resolution for Fijian supremacy had no future in Fiji's politics (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982b). A nation needs to develop a deep mental character before they are ready for the transformation of their political culture (Aronson, 1998). Perhaps this is what occurred in Fiji, its leaders were beginning to develop resilience thinking in the way that they governed.

The shift from an adversarial approach to politics towards compromise is similar to the lambda-type values that Hood (1991) describes. This is where resilience in public administration is displayed through openness to non-traditional ideas and a willingness to learn then adapt. By supporting the Opposition and denouncing the supremacy of one race over another, the Prime Minister took on a multi-objective rather than single-objective approach, which is one way that resilience creates stability in public administration (van Gimsteren, 1976).

#### **5.6.4 Attempts at Undoing Segmented Economic Structure**

In 1972, Fiji's Prime Minister pointed out the weaknesses in the nation's economic structure because of predetermined roles that were given to each ethnic group. The Prime Minister explained that for 50 years the Fijian administration assumed that every Fijian was a planter who owned land to subsist on. Not only did this contribute to their low economic performance, but it also created a reluctance among Fijians to lease their land for use by farmers of other races (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). To resolve the divisions among each ethnic group, it was suggested that each be given the opportunity to move into the sectors dominated by others ("The Fijian Election," 1972). For instance, Indians would need access to land without alienating the indigenous people, Fijians need to be eased into economic empowerment through education and Europeans, especially expatriates, must give way to both people ("The Fijian Election," 1972).

Governments respond to the complexities of society by allowing flexibility and variation in policy formulation (Chandler, 2014). Recognising that Fiji's economy was segmented and trying to undo it is a characteristic of resilience. Fiji's attempt to undo its segmented economic structure is what Boin and Van Eeten (2013) call adaptive resilience, which shows their ability to learn from their past and reform current practices to improve stability for the future.

### **5.6.5 Call for Bipartisanship among Political Parties**

The records of Fiji's administrative history show its political leaders exercising bipartisanship on a number (although extremely limited) of occasions. The Prime Minister called for bipartisanship in policy making among government and opposition members (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). In 1983, both the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition attempted to practice bipartisanship when they recommended a local European for the position of Chief Justice of Fiji so as not to introduce racial rivalry into the judiciary (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d). This contradicted public expectation that the PM would recommend the Fijian nominee and the Leader of Opposition would recommend the Indian nominee. In 1984, an extraordinary event took place, the Alliance Party and a faction of the National Federation Party held a joint campaign meeting to put forward a joint coalition ticket for the Nausori<sup>73</sup> town council. This was extraordinary as it raised the possibility of the two parties forming a national coalition (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1984b).

Connolly (2005) likens resilience to a resonance machine where traditional perceptions of structure are received, and new ideologies of relational dynamics are produced. The events described above indicate a shift away from the legacies of indirect rule towards a more integrated approach to government. Connolly (2005) also states that resilience evaluates perceptions of cause and effect before producing ideas. In Fiji's case, its politicians began to understand that the changing societal demography demanded a new approach to governing, which is why they called for bipartisanship in a nation whose political philosophy was historically race-based.

Bipartisanship in Fiji would require a shift in the mindsets of politicians and citizens. Fiji's politicians progressed towards this by identifying the need to increase political participation within their communities. In 1972, the Prime Minister urged members of his Cabinet to visit each division of Fiji and spend some time explaining government policies to citizens (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). Strengthening political participation increases social cohesion in fragile States, which is why Kaplan (2008) argues that public administration structures can be improved by increasing the citizens' cooperation among themselves and with the State. Fiji's

---

<sup>73</sup> Nausori is a town located 20kms from Fiji's capital, Suva. It is one of 11 town councils that exist in Fiji.

progression towards bipartisanship and increased political participation are other indicators of the nation's resilient attitudes in public administration.

### **5.6.6 Reconsideration of Race-Based Political Philosophy**

In 1982, the Prime Minister of Fiji called for a shift in the nation's political philosophy (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). When the Royal Commission of Inquiry<sup>74</sup> was set up in 1982 to recommend future methods of elections for Fiji, Ratu Mara requested that "a real study" of how people should be represented in Parliament be carried out. In 1985, in the hopes of breaking the mould of Fiji politics since independence, the Labour Party proposed their own political philosophy, which would appeal on policies as opposed to communal allegiances (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1984b). On identity issues, Timoci Bavadra, a political candidate from the Fiji Labour party gave a speech asking that the term Fijian encompass all Fijians (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985a). He also recognised the changing needs of Fiji's society and recommended the "democratisation of the native lands trust board for the benefit of all Fijians and not just a few chiefs and their business associates" (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985a, p. 3).

One of the reoccurring themes of resilience is the awareness of complexities and Chandler (2014) even refers to resilience as the governance of complexities. By reconsidering their political philosophies, the Fiji government displayed a characteristic of administrative resilience that Cilliers (2002) describes as an understanding that in a complex system, relationships shift and change. In Fiji, relationships didn't just shift they also changed with the introduction of the Fiji Labour party to the political landscape in 1985. The Fiji Labour party was established with the support of the Fiji Public Service Association<sup>75</sup>. This political party was formed at the height of trade union successes in securing wage increases (Pareti &

---

<sup>74</sup> The Royal Commission of Inquiry into the 1982 Fiji general elections was conducted by Alan Carroll (also referred to as the Carroll Report). In 1982, a Royal Commission Inquiry was conducted in Fiji after its first general election. The purpose of the inquiry was to appraise the elections and seek the most appropriate method of election and representation for Fiji.

<sup>75</sup> Founded as a professional organisation for public servants in 1943, the Fiji Public Service Association later became a strong workers' organisation and driving force behind the establishment of the Fiji Labour Party (Schade, 1998). The institutional structure of Fiji's Labour Party, adapted from the United Kingdom Labour Party, was created in 1900 by working class people, trade unionists and socialists who wanted the voice of the working-class people to be represented in British Parliament (Labour, 2022).

Fraenkel, 2007) and its leaders aimed to “break the mould of Fiji politics since independence” by focussing on policies instead of people or community loyalties (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1984b, p. 1).

National identity was also being discussed among policy makers at the time of independence. In 1970, Ratu Mara suggested that the term ‘Fijian’ could be used to describe all inhabitants of Fiji and not reserved for indigenous Fijians alone (The Fiji Times, 1970). According to Ratu Mara, the earliest use of the word was by Captain Cook who based it on a translation given to him in Tonga that the islands to the west were ‘Fisi’. Since the word was not an indigenous one and the native Fijians themselves had not adopted it, Ratu Mara suggested that it was available for wider use, he presented his case to the Great Council of Chiefs stating: “In view of Fiji’s imminent approach to nationhood, the matter of a national name was of some urgency and should be resolved” (The Fiji Times, 1970). This issue remained unresolved. Deliberating over a need to establish a national identity indicates a willingness to adapt in a changing society. Fiji’s national identity continued to be a contentious issue until the 2006 coup when Fijian was officially mandated as a term to refer to all peoples of Fiji (Ratuva, 2013a). Fijian policy makers took two different approaches to adopting a national identity: from 1970 – 2006 they considered the topic but kept ethnic-based identities and after the 2006 coup, the term Fijian was officially recognised as a name for everyone. Fijian policy makers can learn from India’s constitutional framers who created a non-binding constitutional strategy for civic secularism in their Uniform Civil Code (Khilnani, 1999). When compared to Fiji, India’s decision presents a middle ground for the consideration of national identities in a diverse society.

#### **5.6.7 Political Actors’ Thoughts on How Resilience Policies Could Have Been Successful**

To create stability and progress in Fiji, the NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1985b) stated that indigenous Fijians should become more competitive, improve their position economically, and increase educational attainment. In a strategy that echoes features of institutionalism, the New Zealand government suggested that Fiji continue with ‘surface racial harmony’ until it became a national habit (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d). To improve the way that integration policies are received by the public, Ratu Mara noted that stakeholder consultation and clear policy proposals were needed (Government of Australia, 1984).

Although the suggestions above are feasible, the fact that these resilient approaches co-exist with institutionalised ideals provides some difficulties in their adoption. For instance, to help Fijians become more economically competitive, policy makers could use systemic preferences

to managing inter-ethnic relations (Esman, 1997). This is a complex feat because policy makers must first determine who the majority and minority groups are. This is not straightforward because quantitative and qualitative factors surrounding dominance, power, and progress need to be taken into consideration. The New Zealand government's suggestion of building a national habit of racial harmony is made difficult by the existence of race-based political philosophies. Therefore, 'surface level racial harmony' might become institutionalised without any real change to the underlying problems of Fiji's politics that weaken its public administration. Stakeholder consultation is a stronghold of effective resilience (Kaplan, 2008). To be effective, Fiji's public administration needs to facilitate engaging discussion and develop shared values with its citizens.

### **5.7 The Development of Resilience in Fiji's Policy Making Process**

Fiji's administrative history shows that after independence, political leaders started to experience a shift in political philosophy and policy approach. Schneider and Ingram (1990) developed a theoretical framework that identifies the linkages between policy stakeholders and policy outcomes. Policy design is argued to occur at multiple levels, with different people and at multiple points in time. The theory of policy design must be able to foresee potential outcomes resulting from different approaches to each of the levels aforementioned. Other design elements include target population, behavioural patterns of policy stakeholders, policy actors, the tools and rules, and the implementation approach. The theory was proposed as a means of increasing understanding in policy development instead of perpetuating conflict (Schneider & Ingram, 1990). Policy development has five stages: agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making / policy adoption, policy implementation, and policy evaluation (Howlett et al., 2009). The following analysis describes resilient attitudes in different stages of the policy development cycle in Fiji. For a handful of political leaders, the findings show:

- A willingness to adapt to the changing political landscape of a newly independent nation.
- An understanding of the complexities that existed in governing a multi-ethnic nation.
- That legacies of colonialism were embedded in the decision making process of the public administration system.
- In Fiji's case, institutionalised ideologies stifled resilient policy approaches.

### *Agenda Setting*

Agenda setting is the first stage of the policy cycle, and it is an integral phase because it sets the scope of the policy development process. There are different ways in which an issue is considered at this stage. Common approaches include through key policy actors, public agenda setting, or media agenda setting (Rodgers & Dearing, 1988). As an extension of the agenda setting stage, Birkland (1998) suggests that policy makers should also consider ‘focusing events’ when setting policy agenda because crisis or disasters change the dominant issues that exist, and they can cause interest group mobilisation from members of the public who would see to control the ripple effects of a major event. In Fiji’s case, there were several attempts to improve the agenda setting stage in order for policy to be contextualised to Fiji, to retract from adversarial race-based politics, undo the segmented economic structure, achieve bipartisanship among political parties, and to reconsider Fiji’s political philosophy.

The Westminster system of governance and the public administration system set in place by the British was deemed unsuitable for Fiji by the first Prime Minister, Ratu Mara. The consideration of this policy-context misfit was hindered by the predispositions held against the Fijians that “everything Fijian is not good enough” (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972, p. 9). A New Zealand government report mentions that the Anglo-Saxon legal system implemented in Fiji failed to take local tradition and culture into account (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d).

On the creation of an “artificial adversarial atmosphere” (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d, p. 4) for political campaigning, the expectation of an adversarial approach strained the leaders of the Alliance and NFP who were reported to be multi-racialists at heart. The preference for a race-based approach to politics instead of a multi-racial one, when the prospects of developing multiracialism in politics were present, led to the continuation of race-based politics long after the first election. There are indications that ‘divide and rule’ took precedent in this agenda setting stage as a demonstration of unity among the two major ethnicities was flagged as a “disturbing feature” and “anti-European” (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1971, p. 5).

When the segmentation of Fiji’s economic structure became obvious, the issues of agenda setting was flagged. The issue of ascribed roles was raised where the Fijian administration assumed that “the Fijian is a planter and must have land to subsist on” (NZ High Commission

to Fiji, 1972, p. 7). Typecasting each ethnic group to certain functions within the Fijian economy led to its troubling imbalance where the Fijians owned land and held political power while the Indians and Europeans owned businesses and had economic power.

In 1984, the leaders of the two major political parties started to display bipartisanship in their leadership roles (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1984b). Although limited, it did indicate aspirations for change from the adversarial nature of Fiji politics. The PM would also publicly call for bipartisanship among all members of cabinet (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). When the Fiji Labour Party was in the process of being established, its party leader stated the need for political parties to appeal to the Fijian people using policy instead of communal allegiances. They wanted to break the mould of Fiji politics that had been set in motion since independence (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1984b).

Resilience receives traditional perceptions of cause and effect and produces new ideologies of relational dynamics (Connolly, 2005). For the policy agendas that had been set in Fiji, it is clear that its politicians started to sense issues in the way that the public administration, economy, political culture, and political philosophy was framed. In response, the leaders started identifying weaknesses in their governing system and suggested ways in which it could have been adapted. Political leaders are policy actors. The issues flagged by Fiji's politicians with regards to policy-context fit, the artificial adversarial atmosphere of politics, the need for bipartisanship, and a reconsideration of political approach, if considered, would have improved the agenda setting stage of Fiji's administrative policies. When setting the agenda for policy development, the policy actors in colonial and independent Fiji failed to consider the relationship between policy stakeholders and policy outcomes and the potential outcomes that would result if the policy level, people involved, or time it took place shifted (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). The failure to consider the shifting political approaches is due to inertia and the rule-like status of processes resulting from institutionalism.

### *Policy Formulation*

Policy formulation is the stage of policy development where policy goals, objectives, and the procedures for achieving them are prepared (Katz & Kahn, 1978). There are several excerpts that show resilience in policy formulation in Fiji's public administration.

There were indications that the electoral system would need to be adapted to fit Fiji's complex context. At independence Fiji had a communal roll and the leaders of the Alliance Party and

NFP agreed that the nation would eventually shift to universal suffrage. This was reluctantly accepted by the Fijians (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d). The British left Fiji in a climate where the indigenous people feared losing political power and land to the Indians if they adopted the common roll system. This brings to light a lack of awareness or refusal on the part of the British to consider the context specific problems that existed in Fiji. Another contextual issue raised was the need for more information on universal suffrage in a multi-racial and multi-lingual society like Fiji (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). The nature of politics in Fiji possessed signs of change with calls for political parties to re-think their campaigning and political strategies to become more inclusive and attract multi-racial support (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982a). On policies that benefitted the Fijians at the expense of the rest of Fiji's population, Ratu Mara took an equivocal approach and saw no need for such policies to progress from the agenda setting to the policy formulation stage. He called it "a waste of time and saw no need for further explanations" (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982b, p. 3).

The problems with the way the economy was structured raised several suggestions on how policy formulation could be improved. One suggestion was to refrain from typecasting each ethnic group and their potential in the economy (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). Another proposed solution was flexibility and allowing each ethnic group to move between economic roles ("The Fijian Election," 1972), this would need a substantial amount of research at the formulation stage to ensure that the flexibility does not cause either one of the groups to feel threatened.

To reimagine the political philosophy that existed in Fiji, Ratu Mara suggested that political parties change their civic engagement strategies. The former PM stated that policies need to be communicated in a way that was understood by everyone in society and to do this, political parties would need to consider that diversity existed in Fiji's population (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). In a bid to mellow the conflict of interest that existed for Fijian chiefs in politics, the Labour Party recommended that the native lands trust board be restructured so that it benefits all Fijians instead of a select few (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985a).

Resilience is change that occurs as a result of engagement with the world and from harnessing knowledge from policy lessons (Chandler, 2014). The evidence above presents several suggestions for the improvement of policy formulation in the Fijian administration. The data shows an awareness that change was necessary. Fiji needed to design an electoral system that

was empowering and fitting for its multi-racial society, public policies needed to be beneficial for all Fijians, the economy needed flexibility and integration, and the political philosophy needed to be adapted so that each politician could appeal for votes across ethnic groups instead of within their own groups. This shows that the policy actors were aware of the changes in the external environment. However, in order for new ideologies to be developed, resilience needs to first receive traditional perceptions of cause and effect (Connolly, 2005). This is where the problem lies in Fiji's case as the traditional systems of administration have a stronger pull on final policy decisions compared to newly developed policies.

### *Decision Making*

The decision making and policy implementation stages are the two stages that the push-back from institutionalism against resilience becomes obvious. In 1963, the Prime Minister invited members of the Federation party to unite with his own Alliance party and the Federation party leaders called for multi-racial support (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972). However, although Ratu Mara was the leader of the Alliance party, his views did not align with the majority of his party members who “eschewed any effort to establish a working relationship with the leaders of the Opposition” (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982a, p. 1). In response to this, the Opposition criticised the Alliance leaders for their race-based approach to election campaigns (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982a). Elitism also affected the decision making stage as politicians had to be urged to improve community engagement at the grassroots level and to frequently and clearly communicate government policies to the general public (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972).

Administrative resilience involves an assessment of the performance of an organisation in crisis to provide solutions to solve these administrative problems (Sarker et al., 2020). Resilient policy making surfaces in Fiji's administrative history, like the call for bipartisanship, which was pushed back by race-based politics and the efforts to improve civic engagement, which was pushed back by elitism that was partly a result of the overlap of traditional and political roles. In line with administrative resilience, the suggested changes show an understanding that the relationships between policy actors have shifted in what is a complex system (Cilliers, 2002) but these changes are hindered by institutionalised social processes that have taken a rule-like status in the Fijian administration (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

### *Policy Implementation*

At the policy implementation stage, the policy is rolled out for application in the public arena (Howlett et al., 2009). Fiji started to show some readiness for resilient policies that fit its multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, developing country, and post-colonial context. This is witnessed in the Prime Minister's, Alliance's and NFP's dismissal of GCC policies that pushed for "Fijian supremacy" (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1982b, p. 2) and the slight change in the political nature of the PM from adversarial to equivocal. However, several institutionalised factors impeded these changing attitudes. In 1983, rather than pushing for the nomination of a Fijian or Indo-Fijian candidate, a bipartisan agreement was made by the leaders of the Alliance and NFP to nominate a European judge to the position of Chief Justice. While this showed promising signs of bipartisanship, the Governor General at the time, Ratu George Cakobau<sup>76</sup>, appointed the indigenous Fijian nominee instead (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982d). The institutionalised factors at play here are indigenous elitism and intertwined political and traditional roles.

### *Policy Evaluation*

Policy evaluation is the appraisal of the development process and impact of a policy (Howlett et al., 2009). In 1982, the PM requested that the Royal Commission inquiry that was set up to evaluate Fiji's electoral systems, also conduct a study on "how people should be represented in Parliament" (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972, p. 6). The PM acknowledged Fiji's changing demographics and asked that the Royal Commission consider Fiji's newness to governing in and with multi-racialism and contribute to its political philosophy. Rethinking a nation's political philosophy is a complex feat that would need to consider several factors:

- Problem identification and agenda setting: consider the legacies of colonialism, the institutionalised factors that exist, and the potential development areas.
- Policy formulation: check that policy stakeholders are equally represented and engaged and that there is policy equity.

---

<sup>76</sup> Ratu George Cakobau is the great grandson of Ratu Seru Cakobau, the self-styled King of Fiji who, with other paramount chiefs of Fiji, ceded the nation to Great Britain.

- Decision making: checks and balances need to be put in place to ensure those institutionalised processes do not create bias in decision making.
- Policy implementation: Checks and balances need to be put in place to ensure that institutionalised processes do not impede policy effectiveness. The integration case from the Fiji Ministry of Education is an example of how institutionalised processes can stifle new policies even in the implementation stage.

Rethinking Fiji's political philosophy is high-level administrative resilience because it requires an understanding of the risk and complexity involved (Walker & Salt, 2012) and the changing relationships within the political sphere (Cilliers, 2002). In the correct circumstances, administrative resilience would create stability but in Fiji's case, these resilient approaches to policy were met with embedded processes, actions, and ideologies that watered down its potential.

## **5.8 Post-Conflict Analysis of Fiji's Public Administration System**

History matters in organisations due to patterns, lessons, and legacies. With an understanding of the historical underpinnings of Fiji's public administration, this section is a post-conflict analysis of Fiji's civil service.

### **5.8.1 Institutionalism and Administrative Resilience at the Macro-Level of Fiji's Public Sector Management**

Fiji's governing structure has undergone several changes and public sector reforms throughout the years. For this discussion, the focus is on the macro level governance structure of the Fijian public administration: the Westminster system, which was implemented at colonialism and preserved from 1870 – 2006.

This institution has undergone change since its inception at independence. The nature of the institution and the changes undergone reflect elements of both institutionalism and resilience. With an understanding that scholars argue that they have the potential to create stability in organisational structures, I appraise the effect that institutionalism and resilience have in the effort to stabilise a developing country.

#### **5.8.1.1 Institutionalism and Resilience with the Westminster System**

The Westminster system in Fiji was set up during the colonial period. It replaced the traditional form of governance that existed among the indigenous Fijians. Prior to colonisation in 1870,

the Fijians were ruled under a traditional structure that was decentralised and patriarchal in nature; roles and stature were ascribed (Loga et al., 2021). When Fiji was colonised, the British established a Westminster governing structure.

The adoption of the Westminster system in Fiji became embedded into the governing processes in over 136 years of its implementation. It was adopted at a critical juncture in Fiji's historical timeline – colonisation, and it was maintained because it was regarded as the standard governing system (Firth & Fraenkel, 2009). Institutionalists argue that the continuity of institutions and standardisation of processes create stability and on the occasions that change does occur, it happens incrementally. Taking a look at the historical development of Fiji's governing structure through the lens of institutionalism, it is found that structures were embedded before any change took place and although there were adaptations, giving an illusion of gradual change, there are some flaws to the institutionalist change process adopted. According to Mahoney and Thelen (2010) change, albeit gradual and incremental, also occurs within institutionalism by way of layering and drifting. Using Mahoney and Thelen (2010) framework of institutionalist change occurring via layering and drift, the findings suggest that in:

1. **Layering:** This occurs when new changes are implemented alongside existing ones. The Westminster system was implemented alongside the traditional governance structure of Fiji under a system of indirect rule (Loga et al., 2021). This created a pathway of conflict in the small island developing State of Fiji. After gaining independence, the traditional Fijian leadership structure was preserved in the form of the Great Council of Chiefs; a legislative body that represented the interests of indigenous Fijians.
2. **Drift:** In 2006, the Great Council of Chiefs was abolished in a bid to cleanse Fiji of alleged corruption and bad governance (Norton, 2009). This move is reflective of the ideals of drifting where institutions change because they refuse to adapt to the changing environment within which they exist or when their ideals are incongruent with societal demands.

Institutionalism creates stability because of its ability to create continuity through self-reinforcing actions (Sorensen, 2017) and gradual change as discussed above. In Fiji's case, the implementation of institutionalist approaches yields different results: fragility instead of stability. There are several possible reasons for this:

- Layering: In Fiji's case, layering two governing systems alongside each other created separate societies tied to ethnic differences which led to deep division within the nation (Loga et al., 2021). This created fragile governing institutions.
- Drift: There are several factors to unpack here. The abolishment of the GCC was opposed by the latter and the majority of indigenous Fijians who had just voted for the incoming Fijian-dominated government in 2006 (the same government that was overthrown in December 2006) (Norton, 2009). Mahoney and Thelen (2010) provide two important justifications for institutional drift: an unwillingness to adapt and incongruent ideals between an institution and the dynamic environment it exists in. As stated by Norton (2009), the abolishment of the GCC was not supported by representatives of the institution itself and by a majority of indigenous Fijians who were represented by the legislative body. If the GCC represented the views of a majority of indigenous Fijians, then this contradicts the nature of institutional drift where change occurs because of differing ideals. However, the demand for change does signal a need for the GCC to adapt and this could be a contributing factor to the institutional drift that did occur.

Compared to institutionalism, administrative resilience is more inclined to adapt to changing environments. The ability to respond to complex and dynamic issues existing in an environment is a key factor for achieving stability in a resilient organisation. The Westminster system has been adapted since its inception in Fiji and its changes have been attributed to the changing dynamics of Fijian society. The changes include shifting from a communal to national electoral system and removal of the Upper House as a party to the legislative body in Parliament (Lal, 2021). These changes were implemented in a bid to create a governing system that was reflective of the multiracial society that it represented and to encourage equality in all aspects of governing. Resilience entails adapting to new challenges (Hein & Schubert, 2021) that are linked to complex surrounding problems (Cilliers, 2002). In Fiji, it is most evident in the form of public sector reforms. According to Appana (2011), the first major reform for the Fijian public sector took place in 1985 with the national wage freeze, a move that set the scene for a Labour party victory in 1987 and the coup that followed. The following are key public sector reforms that took place in Fiji. It is reflective of a changing society and shifting political ideologies:

- 1987 – 1992: review of economic policies and expansion of exports, deregulation of the economy for private sector growth, reduction in the size of government, corporatisation and privatisation of government entities, and affirmative action for indigenous Fijians in the public sector<sup>77</sup> (Butukoro, 1995).
- 1992 – 1996: Government departments and statutory bodies reorganised, political appointments in the civil service, ministerial role and responsibilities shifted to juggling public positions and civil service appointments, government and trade union relationship was adversarial, and an increase in civil service redundancies (Appana, 2011).
- Public Enterprise Act 1996: outlined the structure for state owned enterprises where the relationship between SOEs and government shifted from owner to governance (Sharma & Lawrence, 2009). The Department of Public Enterprises was set up to monitor SOEs. This changed in 1999 when the role of the department was absorbed by a Ministry of Public Enterprises and Public Sector Reform (McMaster, 2001).
- Public Service Act 1999 & Public Finance Act 1999: provisions for the Public Service code of conduct were set under the Public Service Act. Public sector and public enterprises were reorganized in this period.

### **5.8.2 Institutionalism and Administrative Resilience at Fiji’s Meso-Level of Public Sector Management**

In this section I shift from the national / macro level of governance to the meso / organisational level. The administrative system is viewed through the lens of institutionalism and administrative resilience to dissect the change processes that have occurred in the Fijian administration.

There are several institutionalised drifts in the Fiji civil service like the public service code of conduct, centralisation, and decentralisation of the organisation structure, and the bureaucratic versus New Public Management form of governing. The public service code of conduct that governs professional and personal conduct of Fiji civil servants is similar to that of the United Kingdom’s (Halligan & et al., 2000) and its core ethos of impartiality, accountability, trust, equity, integrity, and service have remained embedded in Fiji’s public administration to date.

---

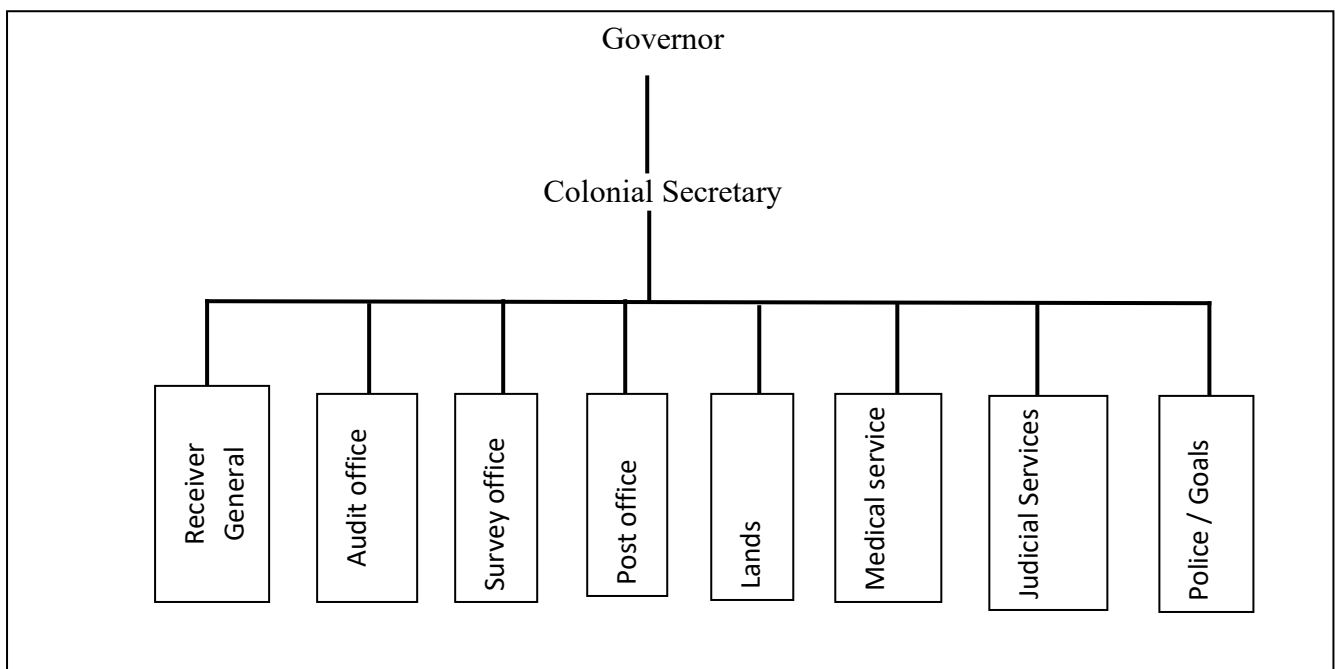
<sup>77</sup> Section 127(11) of the 1990 Constitution required the Public Service Commission to “ensure that each level of each department in the public service shall comprise not less than fifty percent Fijians and Rotumans and not less than forty percent of the other communities”.

Therefore, my analysis on drifting institutionalised organisational processes focusses on shifting dynamics in centralisation, ministerial responsibilities, and bureaucracy. For institutional layering, the creation of a separate Fijian administration or State within a State is utilised to illustrate institutional change in this form. The reform processes occurred in the following ways:

1. Drifting:

- Centralisation and Decentralisation: Pre-colonial Fiji was governed by a decentralised traditional chiefly system where status was ascribed and jurisdiction was divided into 14 provinces, each with its own chief, customs, and dialect (Butukoro, 1995). This system can be classified as a decentralised one. When the British colonised Fiji, they set up a centralised governance system that was structured as below:

Figure 18 *Fiji Public Service Structure on September 1, 1875*



The Fijians drifted from their traditionally decentralised system to a centralised government system where the Governor held the highest office in the local colonial administration. In 1909 the Municipal Institutions Ordinance was introduced, and this allowed township and district officers to be elected to lead local government administrations in the districts (Rahman & Singh, 2011). This is the first step towards the decentralisation of government functions. In 1972, the Local Government Act was enacted and responsibility for the administration of towns was transferred to elected town / city councils. For the governance of rural areas, the Fijian

Affairs Act includes provision for the election of Provincial Councils that have similar powers to municipal town councils.

- Bureaucracy versus New Public Management: The Fiji government began implementing NPM strategies in the 1980s (Rahman et al., 2013). Prior to this, the Fiji public service was described as having: a “network of links” among departments and interest groups, bound by tradition and relationships that complicated political control, bureaucrats whose jobs were secured by tenure, and bureaucratic processes that shifted power in towards civil servants as opposed to Ministers (Butukoro, 1995). When the NPM wave hit Fiji, there was a shift away from the traditional bureaucracy towards a streamlined civil service, privatisation of public enterprises (Appana, 2011), contract-based employment for civil servants, and performance related pay (Loga & Chand, 2019).
  
- 2. Layering: In terms of layering, the creation of a State within a State in Fiji is an example of institutional change brought about by implementing a new institution alongside its predecessor. The Fijian administration was governed by the Native Affairs Ordinance 1876 and Native Lands Ordinance 1880. Its place in the Fijian public sector was further cemented through the Fijian Affairs Ordinance 1945 and Fijian Affairs Act 1978. The apex of the Fijian administration was the Great Council of Chiefs, which was abolished in 2006. The Fijian administration was established to allow Fijians to take part in the administration of the colony and later republic (Butukoro, 1995). The role of the administration included: sitting on provincial councils, enacting laws concerning native Fijian matters, receiving recommendations from the government and makes recommendations on legislation that affected Fijian interests. The Fijian administration existed parallel to the colonial administration and later Fijian government up until 2006 (Loga et al., 2021).

Public administrative resilience adopts change and adaptability as a stronghold for stability. The ability for administrative systems to adapt to the dynamic environment is how it can withstand threats to its stability. In Fiji’s case, resilience is best illustrated in the nation’s ability to reform its public sector in response to changes in its society and the world. Several critical junctures in the form of civil service reforms are:

- 1985: Wage freeze
- 1987: Positive discrimination for appointment and promotion of indigenous Fijian civil servants.

- 1990s: Civil service streamlining where the Rabuka government cut back from 21 government Ministries to 16 in 1993 and 12 by 1994.
- 1996: Public enterprise restructuring, corporatisation, and privatisation (Reddy et al., 2004).
- 2000s: Performance management system and performance related pay.
- 2004: Permanent secretary posts abolished replacing the Chief Executive Officer positions.

These reforms were implemented in response to global shifts in public administration like the NPM movement in the 1980s and to reform objectives set out by donor agencies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (Ter-Minassian et al., 2001). Some reforms like the positive discrimination in civil service appointments and promotion are mostly tied to political ideology as opposed to administrative needs.

### **5.8.3 What Went Wrong? Assessing the Effectiveness of Institutionalism and Resilience in the Bid for Stability in Fiji's Public Administration**

Scholars of institutionalism and resilience such as Peters (2016) and Chandler (2014), argue these theoretical frameworks create stability, albeit through the use of different strategies. Institutionalists argue that stability is achieved because of embedded processes that act as a schema of sorts for organisational processes (Peters, 2016), as when change occurs, it does so incrementally via layering or drifting to discourage instability (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010). In contrast, resilience achieves stability by way of organisational adaptability in response to its dynamic environment (Chandler, 2014).

In Fiji's case, the institutional and resilient changes need to be explored in terms of premise, stakeholders, and the nature of the change process. Although the ideologies for change differ for institutionalism and resilience, in Fiji's case, the problems stem from the fact that the changes adopted in the public administration were introduced after critical junctures in time namely: colonialism, 1987 coup, 2000 coup and the 2006 coup. This is important to note for the analysis that follows.

Kaplan (2008) suggests a new way of stabilising fragile States that differs from other approaches like the World Bank's strategy of economic restructuring, or the NGO's and aid agencies' focus on social policies and administrative reforms. Kaplan argues that governing bodies should be redesigned to fit local contexts to "connect the state with its surrounding

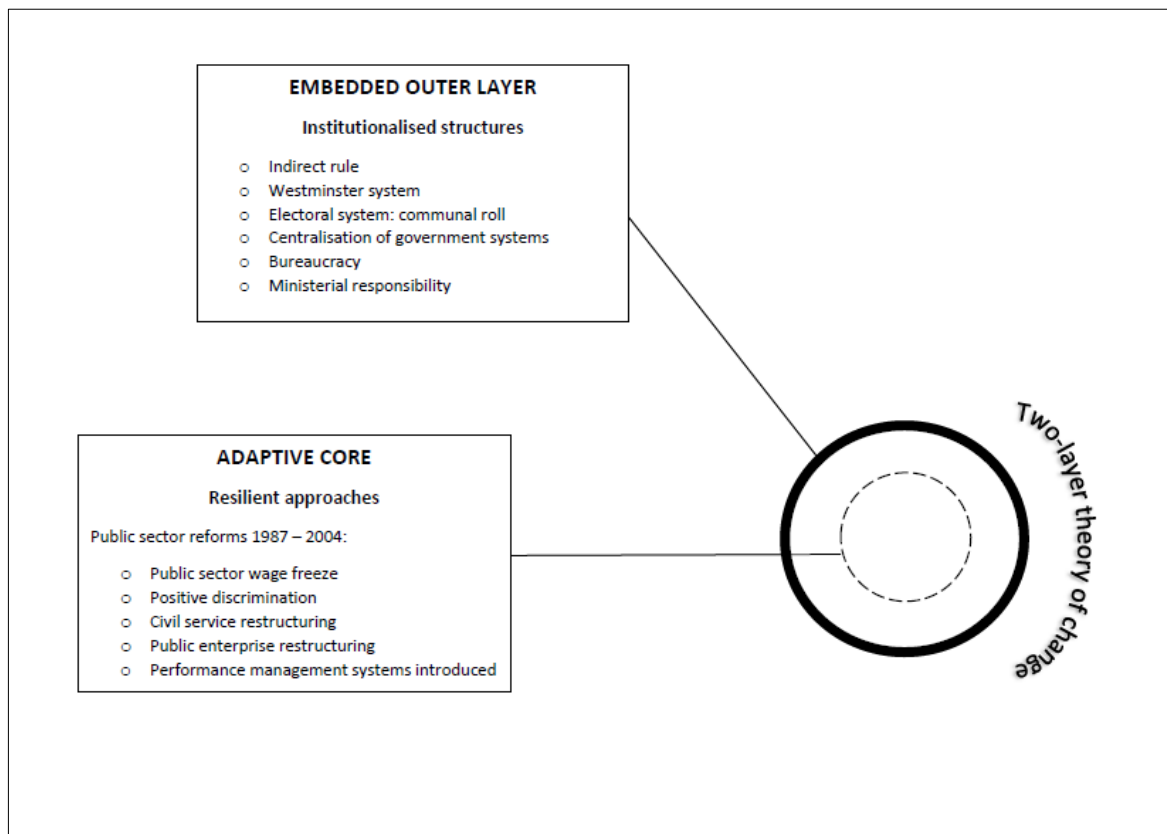
society” (p.9). According to Kaplan (2008), the cure for fragile States is a transformation of the system of how members of a society cooperate with each other and with the State. This statement provides the first issue with the attempts at institutional and resilient changes in Fiji in that cooperation among members of the society with each other and the State is not plausible in the authoritarian nature of colonialism and political coups.

Further, governing bodies should be designed to fit local conditions. It can be argued that the creation of a Fijian administration and a State within a State was an attempt to create a governing system that reflected the demographics of Fijian society. Arthur Gordon, Governor General of Fiji in 1875, believed that Fijians should be ruled according to their own traditions and proposed the Fijian administration as a mechanism to achieve this. However, the State within a State created separate societies, and this infringed on the Fijians’ ability to achieve social cohesion and to value shared institutions; another factor that Kaplan (2008) suggests would transform fragile administrations.

Reform policies proposed by the international community should be relevant to the local context. The reform policies adopted by the Fiji public service are prescribed by donor agencies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. They are also adopted in response to growing trends like the New Public Management model. The issue of policy fit arises in this situation and studies have confirmed difficulties in: SOE corporatisation and privatisation in Fiji (An & Sharma, 2015), adopting performance management systems (Loga & Chand, 2019), and the overlooking of administrative culture in policy transfer during public sector reforms (Rahman et al., 2013).

While institutionalism and resilience are starkly different, in Fiji’s case, their ‘Achilles heel’ is the same: a lack of citizen to citizen and citizen to State cooperation, governing bodies that misrepresent the society it works for, an inability to foster social cohesion among society members and incongruence between reform policies and context. Figure 19 is a post-conflict analysis of Fiji’s public administration system and the components of the embedded outer layer and adaptive core differ from those presented in Figure 16 *Two-layer theory of conflict: pre-conflict analysis* (p. 167) which is a pre-conflict analysis of institutionalism and resilience in Fiji’s public administration.

Figure 19 *Two-Layer Theory of Change: Post-Conflict Analysis*



Resilience and institutionalism present contrasting arguments on stability. While one argues that stability is achieved via adaptability, the other suggests that embedded systems create standardised processes, which lead to stable conditions. While institutionalism favours embeddedness, change still occurs incrementally. In Fiji’s case, the two approaches exist simultaneously, albeit in different layers: an embedded outer layer and an adaptive core. In the Fijian administration, institutionalised and resilient structures have a cause-and-effect relationship where institutionalised ideals stifle the effectiveness of resilience efforts.

Resilient efforts in the Fijian administration occur within the boundaries of institutionalised ideals. In the post-coup era, there were reforms in place to modernise the civil service, streamline its functions, promote equity in recruitment, and improve civil service performance. However, these efforts are weighed down by the legacies of indirect rule and colonialism that continue to exist in the background of Fijian administration.

The two-layer theory argued that the potential of Fiji’s resilient efforts cannot be realised for a number of reasons. First, resilience is bound by the scope of institutionalised ideals. The legacies of indirect rule stifled change because they affected the policy process in formulation,

adoption, implementation, and public perception. The institutionalised ideals acted as a schema for administrative functions in Fiji. It enshrined race-based politics and ethnic division.

In Fiji's case, the two-layer theory can bring effective change in a number of ways. At the policy formulation and evaluation stages, policy makers must break past the embedded outer layer of the two-factor framework to be able to view resilient policies in relation to its historical roots. An inability to break past the outer layer presents issues like an inability to identify the effects of historical developments on present day policy effectiveness, difficulty in identifying the shortfalls of newly introduced reforms, and partial measurements of progress and policy effectiveness. Policy makers can separate resilient and institutionalised policies so that resilience is not hindered by the rigidity of institutionalism. This is especially important for those ideals that are detrimental to progress like the legacies of indirect rule in Fiji. Consideration must also be given to citizen to citizen and citizen to State cooperation, effectiveness of governing bodies, fostering social cohesion among society members, and ensuring congruence between reform policies and context.

#### **5.8.4 Nation Rebuilding: Where to from Here?**

The archival data collected for this research revealed suggestions put forward by Fiji political actors in the past on ways in which Fiji's situation could be improved. These will be compared against Kaplan's (2008) suggestions on way in which fragile States could be rebuilt:

1. Context: redesigning governing bodies that are tailored to its society which would create legitimacy, develop competency, promote investment, and the rule of law.

Ratu Mara called for consultation among key policy actors when the integration policy was met with resistance (Government of Australia, 1984). He thought that with dialogue and a better understanding of the policy, the implementation process could be improved to be acceptable to stakeholders.

2. Economic empowerment: Establishing powerful economic engines, which can only be achieved in a market that rewards investment.

It was argued that stability and progress in Fiji depended on the ability of the indigenous Fijians to improve their positions economically and in education (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985b).

States need to be able to engage in self-regenerating development, which is dependent on competence and leadership discretion. Administrative reforms suggested by donor agencies should fit the local context. This can be done by empowering local societies through linking reform policies to local and internally driven processes like fostering accountability loops that make politicians responsive to small population groups. Tax systems can also be used to make governments dependent on their citizens. The legal system can be developed based on local customs and traditional symbols could be adopted. Governing structures can also be constructed to reflect local identities.

There were also calls to style the governing and economic structures of Fiji in a way that matched its context rather than using an Anglo-Saxon or Western system, the problem identified by the Fijian PM was “everything Fijian is not good enough” (NZ High Commission to Fiji, 1972, p. 9).

By studying Fiji’s administrative history, the institutionalised ideologies that stifled resilience were revealed. The same ideologies sparked tension which have escalated into conflicts. As a result of this, Fiji has a fragile public administration. Kaplan (2008) provides useful insight into the means by which a fragile administration can be strengthened. On the surface of policy development, to improve the success of Fiji’s resilient policy initiatives, there needs to be effective public consultation as a mitigator for the top-down implementation of reform policies. Fair and equitable policies should be reflective of societal demographics and stakeholder’s must be involved in all policy processes. Reform policies should be contextualised by co-design in order to fit within the local context.

Underneath the surface, the deeply embedded policy issues can be mitigated by building an awareness of the legacies of colonialism and institutionalised processes that continue to take a ‘rule-like’ status in Fiji’s public administration. Administrative policies need to be formulated with consideration of the gaps in economic, political, and social enclaves, especially those that are legacies of Fiji’s administrative history. Additionally, Fiji’s administrative system needs to check for policy equality and policy equity in their outputs. In terms of monitoring, checks and balances need to be put in place to ensure those institutionalised processes do not create bias in decision making and do not impede on policy effectiveness.

## 5.9 Conclusion

Resilience and institutionalism both have the potential to create stability; however, as seen in Fiji, their co-existence in a single political subsystem gives rise to problems. Historically, the administrative system of Fiji has both resilient and institutionalised systems, processes, actions, and ideologies. Fiji's public administration remains fragile because its institutions and structures function in a sphere with two layers: an embedded outer layer and an adaptive core. The two-layer theory of change illustrated the way in which institutionalised actions and processes stifle resilience. Historically, from colonialism to independence the two-layers that controlled change were:

- Embedded outer layer (Institutionalised structures): race-based politics, intertwined traditional and political roles, adversarial approach to the protection of interests for each social group, segmented economic structure, and indigenous elitism.
- Adaptive core (resilient approaches): identification of policy-context misfit, push for the establishment of multi-racial political parties, equivocal stance on controversial race-based public remarks, "artificial adversarial atmosphere", attempts at undoing segmented economic structure, calls for bipartisanship, and rethinking political philosophy.

In the post-conflict era in Fiji, the administrative systems continued to function between the push and pull of resilience and institutionalism. The legacies of administrative history that continued post-1987 coup include:

- Embedded outer layer: indirect rule, Westminster system, electoral system, centralisation of government systems, bureaucracy, and ministerial responsibility.
- Adaptive core: Public sector reforms 1987 – 2004.

The top-down nature of policy implementation, the lack of social cohesion in Fijian society, and issues in policy-context fit created a system that does not allow institutionalism or resilience to foster stability. Fiji's administrative structure is deeply embedded with the legacies of colonialism and this sets the backdrop that affects the effectiveness of institutional or resilient policies. Kaplan (2008) argues that fragile administrations can be 'cured' and for a nation like Fiji to be cured, there needs to be a thorough review of its administrative history to find embedded institutions within the civil service. A sound knowledge of institutionalised ideals will allow for resilience planning: assessing the needs for adaptation and flexibility in

relation to societal dynamics. Lessons can be drawn from both theoretical frameworks, which provide options for change processes to either adopt layering, drifting, or adaptive change. A majority of the fragile States that exist today are former colonies. Understanding their colonial history and administrative development through time is important in order to fix their fragile past and plan for a stable future.

## Chapter Six

### Conclusion

#### 6.1 Summary of Findings

Fiji's administrative history tells the story of a nation that has struggled to develop a deep mental character to adopt in their political culture. The nation's political trajectory has been shaped by events, political actors, and governing institutions. The major events were colonialism, indirect rule, premature independence, and political coups. Instrumental political actors (now historical figures) were Fiji's former colonisers, United Kingdom, the two political parties that were established at independence: Alliance and National Federation parties, and the Great Council of Chiefs. Critical governing institutions were the Constitution of Fiji, electoral system, and Westminster system.

This thesis set out to explain the emergence of conflict in Fiji using path dependency theory and the evolution of public administration using institutionalism and resilience. At the start of this thesis, public administration was going to be analysed using institutionalism alone, but the data analysis revealed characteristics of resilience in Fiji's policy making process. As a result, three theoretical frameworks were adopted to analyse the research objectives set out. Fiji's political history indicated that the nation needs to consider the legacies of history and colonialism that continue to affect its public administration and polity as a whole. An understanding of how the past has shaped the nation's political trajectory will help the Fijians with institutional design and policy making for the future.

#### *How conflict became path-dependent in Fiji*

The conflicts that transpired in Fiji result from years of policy actions and decisions that became ingrained in Fiji's political schema. Fiji is locked-in to a path of conflict because the nation has had to deal with the ripple effects of colonialism by indirect rule. Greener (2002) explained that paths are formed via critical junctures that become embedded through continued practice to the point of standardisation. In Fiji's case, the first critical juncture in the nation's political trajectory was colonialism. As a result of colonialism, heterogeneous networks like Great Council of Chiefs, indentured labour system and 'State within a State' were established. These networks were instrumental because this led to simplification as the institutions were established at a time when Fiji's political character had not been developed, this made it easier for these changes to be accepted as the norm.

Indirect rule enshrined separateness and race-based policies in Fiji. Being governed as separate societies with their fellow Indo-Fijian countrymen for 96 years created a rift that became embedded with time and continuous practice. When Fiji gained independence, indirect rule transformed into the communal electoral system and preferential treatment of indigenous Fijians in the Westminster system. This form of race-based politics only reinforced ethnic segmentation in policy making, political philosophy, and government. The stability of Fiji's political system hung on a delicate balance that depended on political statesmanship from its two major ethnic groups.

Conflict became path dependent in Fiji after two critical junctures in time: colonialism and independence. The British colonial administration governed by indirect rule and this initiated the path dependence of conflict. By giving the indigenous Fijians preferential treatment during the period of colonialism, indigenous elitism permeated throughout Fiji's public administration. This was cemented by the establishment of institutions like the Great Council of Chiefs, Fijian Affairs Board and Native Lands Commission. As a result of this, the calls for multiracialism and equal representation at the time of independence, created the second critical juncture in Fiji's political trajectory. This critical juncture challenged the Fijian political philosophy built that had been developed over 96 years. It was worsened by the lack of time spent by the British to prepare Fiji's political leaders. As a result of this, Fiji inherited a 96-year-old political philosophy of government by separation and a newly formed republic with multiracial profile. The contention between the philosophies of indirect rule that had become embedded in Fiji's institutions and the framework for managing a diverse nation, would set Fiji on a path of conflict.

The United Kingdom government spent five years preparing Fijians to govern a multiracial society after 96 years of governing them by separation. When Fiji gained independence, there was a shift in political philosophy because they moved from government by separation and preferential treatment towards managing inter-ethnic relations in a diverse society. The lack of time spent preparing Fiji for self-government led to the creation of weak governing structures that became susceptible to conflict with any slight change or challenge. The lack of preparedness was also reflected in the institutions they established like the Westminster system and 'first past the post' electoral system; they did not fit within the political context in Fiji. These institutions are core components of democracies and the fact that it wasn't working effectively within Fiji's context should have been flags for concern. Race-based politics seeped

into the administration of the Westminster and electoral systems, and this reduced its effectiveness. When Fiji gained independence, they inherited indirect rule in its new form: race-based politics. This method of government had become so ingrained in Fiji's political character that it created a 'them and us' mentality. These are the underlying factors that sparked conflict, the same are the reasons why conflict recurs in Fiji. Political conflict in Fiji has deep roots in its colonial and public administration history. As long as these deep-rooted factors remain unattended, Fiji will continue to recycle the political philosophies they inherited from history.

*The Evolution of Public Administration Before and After Conflict: Critical Factors for Stability in Fiji's Public Administration*

Fiji's public administration evolved in a bubble where institutionalised ideologies pushed back against resilience initiatives. This weakened the institutional structures of its public administration causing fragility instead of stability. Separately, each theory has the potential to garner stability but together it resulted in fragility. I carried out two analyses, a pre-conflict analysis, and a post-conflict analysis of public administration in Fiji to illustrate how institutionalism pushed back against resilience before and after a conflict. This was done to ascertain the evolution of public administration and its institutionalised ideologies. As a result of my analysis, I presented a two-layer theory made up of an embedded outer layer (institutionalism) and an adaptive core (resilience). The two-layer theory resulting from my pre-conflict analysis showed that the embedded outer layer consisted of race-based politics, intertwined traditional and political roles, adversarial approach to the protection of interests for each social group, segmented economic structure, and indigenous elitism. The adaptive core included the identification of policy-context misfit, push for the establishment of multi-racial political parties, equivocal stance on controversial race-based public remarks, "artificial adversarial atmosphere", attempts at undoing segmented economic structure, calls for bipartisanship, and rethinking political philosophy. These ideologies were strongly linked to Fiji's colonial past and the British system of governance established in the developing country. The embedded outer core and resilient adaptive core pushed back against each other to create conflict and hinder development.

During the post-conflict era, the administrative systems continued to function between the push and pull of resilience and institutionalism. The legacies of colonialism were embedded in Fiji's public administration in the form of indirect rule, Westminster system, electoral system,

centralisation of government systems, bureaucracy, and ministerial responsibility. The resilient attitudes that created the adaptive core was made up of public sector reforms between the years 1987 to 2004. These reforms marked a shift in political ideologies like the review of economic policies, reorganisation of government, restructure of state-owned enterprises and adoption of New Public Management ideals. The post-conflict analysis revealed the tenacity of institutionalised ideologies in Fiji's public administration. Public administration systems in Fiji continued to be imbued with legacies of colonialism and the ripple effects of indirect rule distorted the effectiveness of the Westminster and electoral systems. Although the reform policies showed signs of adaptation to global and local changes, they were constrained by institutionalised political philosophies.

Legacies of administrative history restrain Fiji's public administration system. The critical factors to consider in Fiji's public administration is civic engagement in policy making, and policy-context fit between external models like the New Public Management model, for example, and the Fiji context. Scholars like Kaplan (2008) and Esman (1997) have proposed strategies for nation (re)building and I used their strategies to propose suggestions for strengthening public administration in Fiji. To reduce the impact of institutionalism and resilience policy makers should tailor governing institutions to fit within the Fiji context, prioritise equitable economic empowerment so that there is no ethnic divide in economic participation and empower local societies to participate in policy making. Each of these suggestions would reduce the gap between the different ethnic groups and promote a multiracial approach to government.

#### *A Side-by-Side Comparison of how Public Administration and Conflict Evolved*

Conflict and public administration evolved on a trajectory that was shaped by colonial history. Both are inter-related in that conflict has erupted as a result of fragile public institutions, and public administration became fragile because of tension and conflict. Policy makers need to focus on undoing the path of conflict that has formed and the processes that have become institutionalised. Some suggestions were made like the improvement of the agenda setting and policy evaluation stages of policy making in Fiji. Empowering citizens to participate in policy making and economic activity are some ways the path can be undone. In order for public administration to be effective, the political philosophies inherited from colonialism need to be dismantled and rebuilt to be more accommodating of Fiji's multi-racial society. Resilience

approaches can only thrive when institutionalised ideologies are identified and policies are adapted to circumvent them.

Equity is another factor that must be considered in every thread of government decision making. Much of the problems that existed in Fiji's public administration came as a result of complexities in managing inter-ethnic relations. From colonialism to independence, the ethnic divide was a predominant factor that shaped political philosophy and governing approaches. Effectively managing inter-ethnic relations will affect the likelihood of conflict reoccurring. Special attention needs to be paid to the segmented economy, economic empowerment, and political participation.

Conflict erupted as a result of the ethnic divide that began with indirect rule and was exacerbated by race-based politics. During colonialism the Fijians were given preferential treatment and afforded privileges that Indians weren't eligible for. These privileges became enshrined in Fiji's public administration and were challenged during independence when Fijians inherited a multi-racial society. The public administration structure that the British established in Fiji did not fix the crevice that had formed, instead institutions like the Great Council of Chiefs and communal electoral system, reinforced the privileges given to Fijians over Indians. As a result of these public administration structures, racial tension brewed until it erupted into conflict in 1987. In the years that followed the first coup, Fiji's public administration continued to struggle with race-based political philosophies, equitable economic empowerment and managing inter-ethnic relations. As a result of these reoccurring problems, Fiji was plunged into conflict three more times: twice in the year 2000 and once more in 2006. This is the relationship that was found to exist between conflict and public administration in Fiji; legacies of colonialism in public administration create racial tension that led to conflict. The same legacies keep Fiji locked-in to a path of conflict and fragility.

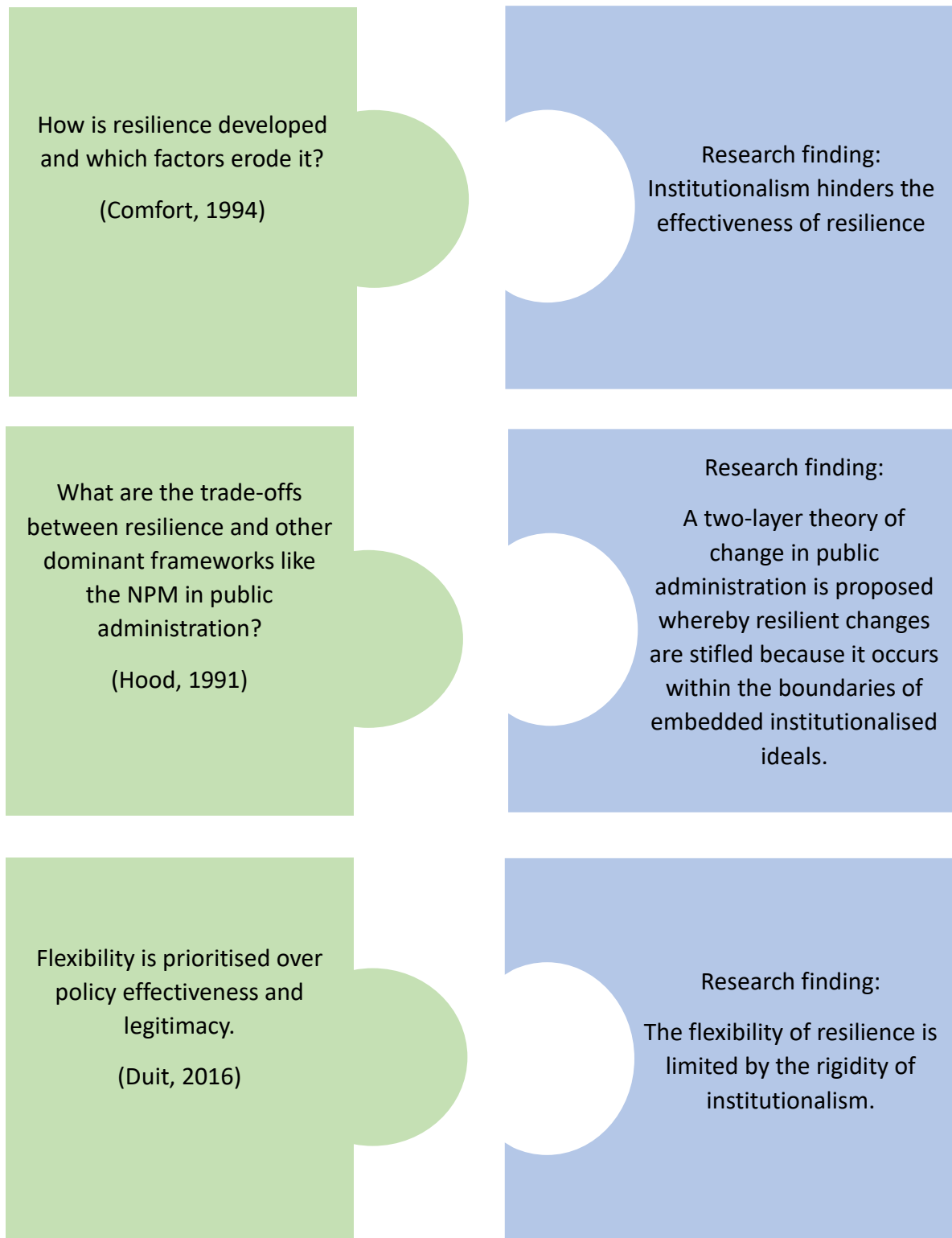
## **6.2 Theoretical Contributions**

This research made theoretical contributions to path dependency, institutionalism, and resilience. The path dependency theory has been criticised for its lack of explanatory powers (Kay, 2005; Peters et al., 2005). Fiji's political history revealed that conflict became path dependent as a result of legacies of colonialism like indirect rule. When Fiji gained independence the elements of indirect rule were continued through race-based politics and through preferential treatment given to native Fijians. Using archival research allowed me to describe Fiji's path of conflict and identify institutions that locked-in conflict. Longstreth et al.

(1992) argued that path dependency theory needed to pinpoint exact actions that cause drastic change. A historical document analysis allowed me to identify critical junctures in Fiji's political trajectory like colonialism and independence. I was also able to identify institutions that determined Fiji's political trajectory like the use of indirect rule in a multiracial society, and their rapid transition from colony to republic. Gains et al. (2005) also argued that path-dependency was weak because it was unclear how wide a path really is. For my research, I was able to identify markers that indicated the reach of path dependency in Fiji's public administration. The markers that contributed to recurring conflicts were legislature (including the Great Council of Chiefs in Fiji's law making process), public administration (preferential appointments for indigenous Fijians), socio-economic policies (embedding economic roles like land ownership for native Fijians and business ownership for Indo-Fijians), governing bodies (Fijian Affairs Board), and political power (electoral system). Path dependency theory studies patterns in behaviour, decisions, and policy processes. Its overarching theme is embeddedness. Archival research has the potential to address some of the limitations of path dependency because it provides a deep understanding of historical events that play a role in current day trends. Studying conflict as path dependent adds to academic discussions on national conflicts, path dependency, Fiji's colonial history, and colonialism in general together with studies in conflict and path-dependency.

As mentioned earlier, this research initially set out to analyse Fiji's public administration history through the lens of institutionalism. However, the thematic analysis carried out in this research presented characteristics that pointed to resilience. Institutionalism and resilience both have the ability to create stability but their co-existence in Fiji's political sphere has shown that they have a push and pull effect. **Figure 20** is an illustration of the relationship between the gaps identified in the resilience framework and the findings from this thesis. It presents some theoretical contributions to literature on resilience and institutionalism.

Figure 20 *Addressing the Gaps in the Resilience Framework*



The findings of this research expand on the literature surrounding public administration stability, institutionalism, and resilience by arguing that the co-existence of the two frameworks contributed to the fragility of Fiji's public administration. The 'two-layer theory of change' has room for further development but it does create an avenue for discussion on the risks involved in layering different theoretical approaches to achieving stability.

### **6.3 Policy Implications**

The findings from this thesis have the potential to advise crisis management and nation rebuilding policies in Fiji and nations which have a similar historical background as Fiji. Understanding the ripple effects of indirect rule can advise strategic management design and organisation strategy because it provides insider knowledge on the relationships between key actors and institutions in Fiji's political system through time. In addition to this, understanding the effects of a short transition period between colony and independence highlights the importance of time taken to introduce changes when transferring policy.

This study also shed some light on the evolution of public administration within the post-conflict State of Fiji. By identifying the factors that shaped the path that public administration exists on, this study contributes to knowledge on intervention strategies or policies used by national governments as well as global governing bodies like the United Nations and World Bank. These bodies provide technical assistance and aid to governments that have experienced conflict. Knowing that the simultaneous use of institutionalism and resilience gives rise to fragility aides in the creation of effective policies for stability and nation rebuilding.

The exploratory nature of this research also uncovered context-specific factors for managing conflict in Fiji like the existence of race-based politics, intertwined traditional and political roles among its political leaders at the time of independence, and a segmented economy. This discovery makes a valuable contribution to the pool of research in managing ethnic relations in fragile State, public administration in former colonies, and nation rebuilding in post-conflict States.

### **6.4 Methodological Contributions**

History preserves timeless lessons in policy making and policy processes. For this research, 3,270 documents from the years 1858 – 1992 were collected and analysed. One of the key contributions made to archival research is the data triangulation process utilised in this research. The data triangulation model compared data across people, space, and time. Archival

research is essentially a process of interviewing documents and throughout the data analysis stage, I had to be aware of authorship, times that the document was written and the locations where was written. Triangulating the data collected was a validity check to find out which themes were dominant and reoccurring across authors, time, or space. Knowledge of these factors also contextualised the information on any document which was important in archival research as most of the actors being studied within the pages of history are deceased.

## **6.5 Limitations**

This research met with some limitations. Initially, I intended to collect data from the National Archives in Fiji and the British Museum Library in London, England. However, my data collection was scheduled for 2020, the same year the Covid-19 pandemic was rampant across the world, and I was unable to travel because of the border closures that ensued. Data collection plans were recalibrated when I found that the New Zealand Government's Archives held documents on Fiji's colonial history. Therefore, data was collected from the New Zealand Archives and images were sent from the National Archives of Fiji. Being unable to physically retrieve documents from Fiji meant that I was unable to handpick the documents needed and the documents from the British Museum Library would have added some more depth to the data collected.

Fiji's case shows the extent of colonial legacies and its tenacity. From the literature review, I gathered that other post-colonial States like Nigeria and India also struggled with the colonial institutions that they had inherited like the drawing of borders and the client-patron relationships that were established during colonialism. While similarities can be drawn between Fiji and these countries, the findings of this thesis are limited by scope. Fiji is a small island developing country with a population of 902, 899 people and these factors limit how far my findings can be generalised.

## **6.6 Future Research**

To expand existing knowledge on Fiji's colonial history and the legacies of colonialism in the nation's public administration, future researchers would benefit from visiting the British Museum Library and studying their records on pre-colonial, colonial, and recent history. On the theoretical front, further developments could be made on the effects that institutionalism and resilience have when they co-exist in the thread of a nation's public policies. The findings from this thesis are contextual and Fiji is a small island developing State so it would be difficult to generalise or replicate its findings. Future research could explore other post-conflict States

or former colonies to find out if conflict is path dependent and which factors create fragility in a public administration.

The past is never fully gone. This was evident in Fiji where the public administration system has absorbed, adapted and sustained the legacies of its political history. History holds valuable lessons for organisations and understanding it can aid in policy making and monitoring. The findings from this thesis are a reminder that in order to know where you're going, you need to understand where you came from – a lesson that would be useful for policy makers in developing countries like Fiji.

## References

- Abramov, I. (2010). Building peace in fragile states: Building trust is essential for effective public-private partnerships. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 89, 481 – 494. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40605383>
- Ajakaiye, O., & Ali, A. A. G. (2009). Managing Post-Conflict Recovery in Africa: An Overview. *Journal of African Economies*, 18(1), 3-11. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1093/jae/ejp012>.
- Ake, C. (2001). *Democracy and development in Africa*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Allansson, M., Melander, E., & Themnér, L. (2017). Organized violence, 1989 – 2016. *Journal of Peace Research*, 54(4), 574 – 587. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0022343317718773>
- Alley, R. (2001). Fiji's Coups of 1987 and 2000: A Comparison. *Revue juridique polynésienne*, 1(2001), 217-239.
- Alley, R. (2010). Fiji Under Bainimarama. *The Journal of Pacific History*, 45(1), 145-153. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/00223344.2010.484181>.
- An, Y., & Sharma, U. (2015). Challenges of new public management (NPM) in Fiji's public sector. Did an employee share-ownership plan work? *Public Money & Management*, 35(5), 377-382. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/09540962.2015.1061182>.
- Ansell, C., Boin, A., & Keller, A. (2010). Managing transboundary crises: Identifying the building blocks of an effective response system. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis management*, 18(4), 195-207. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/j.1468-5973.2010.00620.x>.
- Ansell, G. K. (1976a). *The Political Situation in Fiji*. Reports from the New Zealand High Commission office in Fiji (R20765917, 82/1/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Ansell, G. K. (1976b). *Report of the Royal Commission on Fiji's Electoral System*. [Written reports from the New Zealand High Commission office in Fiji]. (R20765917, 82/1/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Ansell, G. K. (1976c). *Report of the Royal Commission on Fiji's Electoral System: Statement by Leader of Opposition*. [Written reports from the New Zealand High Commission office in Fiji] (R20765917, 82/1/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Appana, S. (2011). Public sector reforms and democracy: The case of Fiji. *Journal of Management Policy and Practice*, 12(5), 72-85.
- Aronson, S. (1998). David Ben-Gurion and the British Constitutional Model. *Israel Studies*, 3(2), 193-214. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30245718>.

- Australian Government. (1970). *Internal Correspondence - Fiji Political Situation*. [Memorandum No. 463 from the Australian Commission in Fiji] (R20765918, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Australian High Commission. (1973 ). *Inward Savingram: Summary of Developments in Fiji*. [Written report] (R20765908, 85/1/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Ayittey, G. (2016). *Africa unchained: The blueprint for Africa's future*. Springer.
- Azhar, A., & Manzoor, A. (2018). Public Administration Education in Pakistan: Does It Add Value in the Public Interest? *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 20(2), 253-269. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/15236803.2014.12001785>.
- Bachrach, P., & Baratz, M. (1962). Two Faces of Power. *American Political Science Review*, 56(4), 947-952. doi:10.2307/1952796.
- Barber, S. (2017). How is 'Do Nothing' Politics Held to Account? In *Westminster, Governance and the Politics of Policy Inaction* (pp. 63-81). Springer.
- Bates, R. (2005). *Political insecurity and state failure in contemporary Africa*. CID Working Paper Series.
- Baum, J., & Oliver, C. (1991). Institutional Linkages and Organisational Mortality. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 36(2), 187-218. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2393353>.
- Baum, J., & Oliver, C. (1992). Institutional Embeddedness and the Dynamics of Organizational Populations. *American Sociological Review*, 57(4), 540-559. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2096100>.
- Baumgartner, F. R., & Jones, B. D. (1991). Agenda dynamics and policy subsystems. *The Journal of Politics*, 53(4), 1044-1074. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.2307/2131866>.
- Bazeley, P. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: Practical strategies*. Sage.
- Bevir, M. (2008). The Westminster model, governance and judicial reform. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 61(4), 559-577. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1093/pa/gsn025>.
- Bevir, M., & Rhodes, R. A. (2001). Decentering tradition: interpreting British government. *Administration & Society*, 33(2), 107-132. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1177/00953990122019703>.
- Birkland, T. A. (1998). Focusing events, mobilization, and agenda setting. *Journal of Public Policy*, 18(1), 53-74. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X98000038>.
- Bjornlund, E., Cowan, G., & Gallery, W. (2007). Election systems and political parties in post-conflict and fragile states. In D. Brinken *Governance in Post-Conflict Societies: Rebuilding Fragile States*, 64-85.

- Blair, H. (2007). Rebuilding and reforming civil services in post-conflict societies. In D. Brinkerhoff (Ed.), *Governance in Post-Conflict Societies* (pp. 181-204). Routledge.
- Blanshard, P. D. (1947). *Empire in the Caribbean*. MacMillan Press.
- Boahen, A. A. (1985). *Africa under colonial domination 1880-1935*. University of California Press.
- Boakye, P. A., & Béland, D. (2019). Explaining chieftaincy conflict using historical institutionalism: A case study of the Ga Mashie chieftaincy conflict in Ghana. *African Studies*, 78(3), 403-422. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/00020184.2018.1540531>.
- Bobrow, D. B., & Dryzek, J. S. (1987). *Policy analysis by design*. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Boin, A., & Van Eeten, M. J. (2013). The resilient organization. *Public Management Review*, 15(3), 429-445. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/14719037.2013.769856>.
- Bolam, B., Gleeson, K., & Murphy, S. (2003). "Lay Person" or "Health Expert"? Exploring Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Reflexivity in Qualitative Health Research [Paper presentation]. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27-40. 10.3316/qrj0902027
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa
- Braverman, H. (1976). *Labor and Monopoly Capital*. Monthly Review Press.
- Brinkerhoff, D. W. (2007). *Governance in Post-Conflict Societies*. Taylor & Francis.
- Brinkerhoff, D. W. (2010). Developing capacity in fragile states. *Public Administration and Development: The International Journal of Management Research and Practice*, 30(1), 66-78. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1002/pad.545>.
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods* (5<sup>th</sup> ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Bulmer, S., & Burch, M. (2001). The Europeanisation of Central Government: The UK and Germany: Historical institutionalist perspective. In D. Schneider, M. Aspinwall (Eds.), *The rule of integration: Institutional approaches to the study of Europe* (pp. 73 – 96). European Policy Research Unit Series.
- Butukoro, A. L. (1995). *Bureaucratic bungling : the development of the Fiji Public Service (1858-1995)* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Canberra.
- Campbell, I. (2008). Tonga: the constitution, the riot, the election and reform. *New Zealand International Review*, 33(5), 2-6.

- Capoccia, G., & Kelemen, R. D. (2007). The study of critical junctures: Theory, narrative, and counterfactuals in historical institutionalism. *World Politics*, 59(3), 341-369. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100020852>.
- Carnegie, P., & Tarte, S. (2018). The politics of transition in Fiji: Is it charting a democratic course? *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 64(2), 277-292. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/ajph.12458>.
- Carter, C. A. (2008). Identifying causality in public institutional change: the adaptation of the National Assembly for Wales to the European Union. *Public Administration*, 86(2), 345 – 361. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2008.00724.x>
- Chandler, A. D. J. (1962). *Strategies and Structure: Chapters in the History of the American Industrial Enterprise*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Chandler, A. D. J. (1977). *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*. Harvard University Press.
- Chandler, D. (2014). *Resilience: The governance of complexity*. Routledge.
- Chester, L. (2009). *Borders and Conflict in South Asia. The Radcliffe Boundary Commission and the Partition of Punjab*. Manchester University Press.
- Cilliers, P. (2002). *Complexity and postmodernism: Understanding complex systems*. Routledge.
- Clark, P. and Rowlinson, M. (2004). The treatment of history in organisation studies: Towards an “Historic turn”? *Business History*, 46, 331-352. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0007679042000219175>
- Cobb, R., Ross, J.-K., & Ross, M. H. (1976). Agenda building as a comparative political process. *American Political Science Review*, 70(1), 126-138. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1960328>.
- Cobb, R. W., & Elder, C. D. (1972). Individual orientations in the study of political symbolism. *Social Science Quarterly*, 79-90. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42858854>.
- Cohen, A., & Susser, B. (2000). *Israel and the politics of Jewish identity: The secular-religious impasse*. John Hopkins University Press.
- Comfort, L. K. (1994). Risk and resilience: inter-organizational learning following the Northridge earthquake of 17 January 1994. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis management*, 2(3), 157-170. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/j.1468-5973.1994.tb00038.x>.
- Comfort, L. K., Boin, A., & Demchak, C. C. (2010a). *Designing resilience: Preparing for extreme events*: University of Pittsburgh Press.

- Comfort, L. K., Boin, A., & Demchak, C. C. (2010b). The rise of resilience. In L. Comfort, A. Boin., and C. Demchak (Eds.), *Designing Resilience: Preparing for Extreme Events* (pp. 1-12). Universtiy of Pittsburg Press.
- Connolly, W. E. (2005). The evangelical-capitalist resonance machine. *Political Theory*, 33(6), 869-886. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1177/0090591705280376>.
- Coraiola, D., Foster, W., Suddaby, R. (2014). *Varieties of history in organization studies*. Routledge.
- Corbett, J., & Shiu, R. N. (2014). Leadership succession and the high drama of political conduct: Corruption stories from Samoa. *Pacific Affairs*, 87(4), 743-763.
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design : qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Crowder, M. (1964). Indirect rule—French and British style. *Africa*, 34(3), 197-205. doi:10.2307/1158021.
- Cumpston, I. (1956). Sir Arthur Gordon and the introduction of Indians into the Pacific: the West Indian system in Fiji. *Pacific Historical Review*, 25(4), 369-388. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3636502>.
- Darwin, C. (1859). *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. John Murray Press.
- De Smith, S. A. (1961). Westminster's export models: The legal framework of responsible government. *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 1(1), 2-16. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/14662046108446955>.
- Denzin, N. K. (1970). *The research act in sociology: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. Routledge.
- Denzin, N. K. (2012). Triangulation 2.0. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 6(2), 80-88. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1177/1558689812437186>.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Sage Publications.
- Devenney, M. (1998). South African Literature, Beyond Apartheid. In D. Howarth and A. Norval (Eds.), *South Africa in Transition* (pp. 165-181). Springer.
- DiMaggio, P. J., & Mullen, A. L. (2000). Enacting Community in Progressive America: Civic rituals in national music week, 1924. *Poetics*, 27(2-3), 135-162. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X\(99\)00023-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X(99)00023-6).

- Don-Yehiya, E. (1999). Conflict management of religious issues: The Israeli case in a comparative perspective. *Israel Affairs*, 6(2), 85-108. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537129908719561>.
- Douglas, M. (1986). *How institutions think*. Syracuse University Press.
- Duit, A. (2016). Resilience thinking: Lessons for public administration. *Public Administration*, 94(2), 364-380. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/padm.12182>.
- Đurić, I. (2011). The new institutionalism (s): A framework for the study of public policy in post-conflict and post-communist countries. *Politička misao: časopis za politologiju*, 48(5), 85-105.
- Ekeh, P. P. (1990). Social anthropology and two contrasting uses of tribalism in Africa. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32(4), 660-700. doi:10.1017/S0010417500016698.
- Elster, J. (1998). A Plea for Mechanisms. In P. Hedstrom & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *Social Mechanisms: an Analytical Approach to Social Theory*. Cambridge University Press.
- Eriksson, P., & Kovalainen, A. (2008). *Qualitative methods in business research*. Sage Publications.
- Esman, M. J. (1997). Public administration, ethnic conflict, and economic development. *Public Administration Review*, 527-533. <https://doi.org/10.2307/976964>.
- Esman, M. J. (1999). Public administration and conflict management in plural societies: The case for representative bureaucracy. *Public Administration and Development*, 19(4), 353-366. [https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1002/\(SICI\)1099-162X\(199910\)19:4<353::AID-PAD86>3.0.CO;2-B](https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1002/(SICI)1099-162X(199910)19:4<353::AID-PAD86>3.0.CO;2-B).
- Evans, P. (2004). Development as institutional change: the pitfalls of monocropping and the potentials of deliberation. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 38(4), 30-52. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1007/BF02686327>.
- Fazzi, G., & Zamaro, N. Exploring the interplay between leadership styles and PSM in two organisational settings. *International Journal of Manpower*, 37(5), 859 – 877. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJM-01-2015-0008>
- Fund for Peace. (2022). *Fragile States Index: Annual Report 2022*. <https://fragilestatesindex.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/22-FSI-Report-Final.pdf>
- Furnival, J. (1944). Plural society: Furnival. [Extract from the book titled Colonial Policy and Practice] (R20765907, 304/9/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Field, M., Baba, T., & Nabobo-Baba, U. (2017). *Speight of violence: Inside Fiji's 2000 coup*. Pandanus Books.

Fiji Colonial Administration. (1891 - 1899). Fiji Annual Colonial Reports 1891 - 1899. [Images, annual reports are filed according decades] (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1875-1970). National Archives of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.

- (1900 – 1910). Fiji Annual Colonial Reports 1900 – 1910. [Images, annual reports are filed according to decades] (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1875-1970). National Archives of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.
- (1911 – 1920). Fiji Annual Colonial Reports 1911 – 1920. [Images, annual reports are filed according to decades] (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1875-1970). National Archives of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.
- (1921 – 1930). Fiji Annual Colonial Reports 1921 – 1930. [Images, annual reports are filed according to decades] (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1875-1970). National Archives of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.
- (1931 – 1940). Fiji Annual Colonial Reports 1931 – 1940. [Images, annual reports are filed according to decades] (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1875-1970). National Archives of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.
- (1941 – 1950). Fiji Annual Colonial Reports 1941 – 1950. [Images, annual reports are filed according to decades] (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1875-1970). National Archives of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.
- (1951 – 1960). Fiji Annual Colonial Reports 1951 – 1960. [Images, annual reports are filed according to decades] (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1875-1970). National Archives of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.
- (1961 – 1970) Fiji Annual Colonial Reports 1961 – 1970. [Images, annual reports are filed according to decades] (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1875-1970). National Archives of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.

Fiji Government. (1970). *Report from the Fiji Constitutional Conference*. [Miscellaneous letters] (R20765918, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

The Press. (1972). *The Fijian Election*. [Newspaper clipping is glued to a sheet of paper] (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

Firth, S. (2014). Security in Papua New Guinea the Military and Diplomatic Dimensions. *Security Challenges*, 10(2), 97-114. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26467883>.

Firth, S., & Fraenkel, J. (2009). The Fiji Military and Ethnonationalism: Analyzing the Paradox. In J. Fraenkel, S. Firth, and B. Lal (Eds.), *The 2006 military takeover in Fiji: a coup to end all coups?* (pp. 117 – 137). Australian National University Press.

- Fischer, C. S. (1995). *Historical Sociology and Sociological History: Theory and Practice*. European University Institute.
- Forsythe, J. A. (1957). *Report: Visit to Fiji*. [Written report for the Australian Government] (R20765922, 304/9/3). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Forsythe, J. A. (1959). *Fiji Islands: Some selected basic facts*. [Written report for the Australian Government] (R20765922, 304/1/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Foucault, M. (1980). Lecture Two: 14 January 1976. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge* (pp. 92-108). Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M., & Ewald, F. (2003). *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*. Macmillan Publishers.
- Freeman, J. L. (1965). *The political process: Executive bureau-legislative committee relations*. Cambridge University Press.
- Friedland, R., & Alford, R. (1991). Bringing society back in: Symbols, practices and institutional contradictions. In W. W. Powell & P. J. DiMaggio (Eds.), *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis* (pp. 232-263). University of Chicago Press.
- Fukuyama, F. (2004). The imperative of state-building. *Journal of Democracy*, 15(2), 17-31. doi:10.1353/jod.2004.0026.
- Fukuyama, F. (2006). Do defective institutions explain the gap between the United States and Latin America? *The American Interest*, 2(2), 1-39.
- Fund for Peace. (2022). *Fragile States Index: Annual Report 2022*. <https://fragilestatesindex.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/22-FSI-Report-Final.pdf>
- Fusch, P., Fusch, G. E., & Ness, L. R. (2018). Denzin's paradigm shift: Revisiting triangulation in qualitative research. *Journal of social change*, 10(1), 19-32. <https://doi.org/10.5590/JOSC.2018.10.1.02>.
- Gains, F., John, P. C., & Stoker, G. (2005). Path dependency and the reform of English local government. *Public Administration*, 83(1), 25 – 45. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.0033-3298.2005.00436.x>
- Gaventa, J. (1980). *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian valley*. University of Illinois Press.
- Ghai, Y., & Cottrell, J. (2007). A tale of three constitutions: Ethnicity and politics in Fiji. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 5(4), 639-669. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1093/icon/mom030>.
- Gilley, B. (2006). The meaning and measure of state legitimacy: Results for 72 countries. *European journal of political research*, 45(3), 499-525. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00307.x>.

- Gleditsch, N. P., Wallensteen, P., Eriksson, M., Sollenberg, M., & Strand, H. (2002). Armed conflict 1946-2001: A new dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 39(5), 615-637. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433020390050>
- Godwyn, M., & Gittell, J. H. (2011). *Sociology of Organizations: Structures and Relationships*. Sage Publications.
- Goldsmith, A. (2007). Does nation building work? Reviewing the record in Governance in Post-Conflict Societies: Rebuilding fragile states. In D. W. Brinkerhoff (Ed.), *Governance in Post-Conflict Societies: Rebuilding Post-Conflict Societies* (pp. 25 – 44). Routledge.
- Goldstein, B. E. (2012). *Collaborative resilience: Moving through crisis to opportunity*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Gounder, R. (2004). Fiji's Economic Growth Impediments. *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*, 9(3), 301-324. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/1354786042000272973>.
- Government of Australia. (1984). *Inward Telegram - Fiji: Political: Education*. [Written report to the Australian High Commission in Wellington] (R2076592, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Government of Jamaica. (1964). *Report of the Commission into the Affairs of Jamaica Woolens Ltd*. Kingston: The Government Printer.
- Gravelle, K. (1979). *Fiji's Times: A History of Fiji in Three Parts*. Fiji Times and Herald Limited.
- Greener, I. (2002). Theorising path-dependency: how does history come to matter in organisations? *Management Decision*, 40(6), 614-619. 10.1108/00251740210434007.
- Greener, I. (2005). The Potential of Path Dependence in Political Studies. *Politics*, 25(1), 62–72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9256.2005.00230.x>
- Grenada Government Gazette. (1962). *Despatch from Secretary of State from the Colonies*. Government of Grenada. British colonial office of Grenada.
- Griffiths, K., Coleman, C., Lee, V., & Madden, R. (2016). How colonisation determines social justice and Indigenous health—a review of the literature. *Journal of Population Research*, 33(1), 9-30. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1007/s12546-016-9164-1>.
- Grindle, M. S. (2004). Good enough governance: poverty reduction and reform in developing countries. *Governance*, 17(4), 525-548. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/j.0952-1895.2004.00256.x>.

- Grube, D. C., & Howard, C. (2016). Is the Westminster system broken beyond repair? *Governance*, 29(4), 467-481. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/gove.12230>.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. Denzine and Y. Lincoln. *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 163-194), 105. Sage Publications.
- Habermas, J. (1996). *Between Facts and Norms*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Hall, P. A., & Taylor, R. C. (1996). Political science and the three new institutionalisms. *Political Studies*, 44(5), 936-957. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb00343.x>.
- Halligan, J. (2000). Collection of four articles on the new Commonwealth Public Service Act (1999) and Parliamentary Service Act (1997). *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*, 2000(97), 28-38.
- Hameiri, S. (2007). The trouble with RAMSI: Reexamining the roots of conflict in Solomon Islands. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 409-441.
- Hay, C. (2002). *Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction*. Palgrave.
- Hein, C., & Schubert, D. (2021). Resilience and path dependence: A comparative study of the port cities of London, Hamburg, and Philadelphia. *Journal of Urban history*, 47(2), 389-419. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1177/0096144220925098>.
- Hillman, B. (2013). Public administration reform in post-conflict societies: Lessons from Aceh, Indonesia. *Public Administration and Development*, 33(1), 1-14. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1002/pad.1643>.
- Hirschman, A. O. (1958). *The strategy of economic development*. Yale University Press.
- Hirschman, A. O. (1994). Social conflicts as pillars of democratic market society. *Political Theory*, 22(2), 203-218. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/192144>
- Holling, C. S. (1973). Resilience and stability of ecological systems. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, 4(1), 1 – 23. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2096802>
- Home III, J. F., & Orr, J. E. (1997). Assessing behaviors that create resilient organizations. *Employment relations today*, 24(4), 29-39. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1002/ert.3910240405>.
- Hood, C. (1991). A public management for all seasons? *Public Administration*, 69(1), 3-19. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/j.1467-9299.1991.tb00779.x>
- Horowitz, D. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. University of California Press.

- Horowitz, D., & Lissak, M. (1989). *Trouble in utopia: The overburdened polity of Israel*. Suny Press.
- Howard, A., & Rensel, J. (2012). Ethnicity, nationality, and the rights of indigeneity: The case of Rotumans in Fiji. *Social Identities*, 18(4), 481-493. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/13504630.2012.673879>
- Howarth, D. (1995). Discourse theory Theory and Political Analysis. In E. Scarbrough & E. Tanenbaum (Eds.), *Research Strategies in the Social Sciences: A Guide to New Approaches* (pp. 268 -293). Oxford.
- Howlett, M., & Giest, S. (2012). The policy-making process. In E. Araral, S. Fritzen, M. Howlett, M. Ramesh and X. Wu (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of public policy* (pp. 35-46). Routledge.
- Howlett, M., Ramesh, M., & Perl, A. (2009). *Studying public policy: Policy cycles and policy subsystems*. Oxford University Press.
- Hughes, O. E. (2017). *Public management and administration*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Huntington, S. P. (1970). *Political order in changing societies*. Yale University Press.
- Ikime, O. (1968). Reconsidering indirect rule: The Nigerian example. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 421-438. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41856764>.
- Inbal, A. B., & Lerner, H. (2007). Constitutional design, identity, and legitimacy in post-conflict reconstruction. In D. Brinkerhoff (Ed.), *Governance in Post-Conflict Societies* (pp. 65-83). Routledge.
- Ingram, A. (1996). Constitutional patriotism. *Philosophy & social criticism*, 22(6), 1-18. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1177/019145379602200601>.
- International Crisis Group. (2005). Afghanistan Elections: Endgame or New Beginning? [Report].
- Jensen, U. T., Andersen, L. B., & Jacobsen, C. B. (2019). *Only when we agree!* How value congruence moderates the impact of goal-oriented leadership on public service motivation. *Public Administration Review*, 79(1), 12 – 24. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/puar.13008>
- Jervis, R. (1998). *System effects: Complexity in political and social life*. Princeton University Press.
- Kaniki, M. (1985). *The colonial economy: the former British zones* (Report No. 690). International Scientific Committee for the drafting of a General History of Africa.
- Kaplan, R., & Rieff, D. (2000). The coming anarchy. *World Policy Journal*, 17(2), 95-96. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40209695>.

- Kaplan, S. (2008). Fixing fragile states. *Policy review*, 152, 63-77.
- Karini, A. (2017). Facilitators and Constraints of Policy Learning for Administrative Capacity in the Western Balkans. *Journal of Public Administration and Policy*, 10(2), 73-92. 10.1515/nispa-2017-0012.
- Katz, D., & Kahn, R. L. (1978). Organizations and the system concept. In S. Jang (Ed.), *Classics of Organization Theory* (pp. 347-358). Cengage Learning.
- Kay, A. (2005). A critique of the use of path dependency in policy studies. *Public Administration*, 83(3), 553-571. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/j.0033-3298.2005.00462.x>.
- Kelly, N. (2013). *New electoral system for Fiji in 2014: options for legitimate representation*. East-West Center.
- Khilnani, S. (1999). The Idea of India In A. Sen (Ed.), *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture and Identity* (pp. 3-11). Penguin Books.
- Kieser, A. (2015). Why organization theory needs historical analyses—and how this should be performed. *Organization Science* 5(4), 479-625. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1287/orsc.5.4.608>.
- Kingdon, J. (1984). *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policy* (1<sup>st</sup> ed.). Longman Publishing Group.
- Kingson, J. (1995). *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policy* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Harper Collins.
- Kipping, M., & Üsdiken, B. (2008). Business history and management studies. In G. Jones and J. Zeitlin (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of business history* (pp. 96-119). Oxford University Press.
- Kjaer, A. M. (2004). *Governance in the 21st century*. Polity Press.
- La Palombara, J. (1963). *Bureaucracy and Political*. Princeton University Press.
- Labour. (2022). *Labour's Legacy*. UK Labour. <https://labour.org.uk/about/labours-legacy/>
- Lal, B. (1983). The Fiji General Election of 1982. *Journal of Pacific History*, 18(2), 134-159. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/00223348308572463>.
- Lal, B. (2010). *In the Eye of the Storm: Jai Ram Reddy and the Politics of Postcolonial Fiji*. ANU E Press.
- Lal, B. V. (1998). Understanding the Indian indenture experience. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 21(s1), 215-237. 10.1080/00856409808723356.
- Lal, B. V. (2021). Fiji: troubled journey of a beleaguered nation. *The Round Table*, 110(6), 645-662. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/00358533.2021.2010963>.

- Lalonde, C. (2011). Managing crises through organisational development: a conceptual framework. *Disasters*, 35(2), 443 – 464. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7717.2010.01223.x>
- Lasswell, H. D. (1956). *The decision process: Seven categories of functional analysis*. Bureau of Governmental Research, College of Business and Public Administration, University of Maryland.
- Law, J. (1992). Notes on the theory of the actor-network: Ordering, strategy, and heterogeneity. *Systems practice*, 5(4), 379-393. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1007/BF01059830>.
- Lawson, G. (2006). The promise of historical sociology in international relations. *International Studies Review*, 8(3), 397-423. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2006.00600.x>.
- Lawson, S. (1991). *The Failure of Democratic Politics in Fiji*. Oxford University Press.
- Lawson, S. (2013). 'Melanesia' The History and Politics of an Idea. *The Journal of Pacific History*, 48(1), 1-22. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/00223344.2012.760839>.
- Leblebici, H., Salancik, G. R., Copay, A., & King, T. (1991). Institutional Change and the Transformation of Interorganizational Fields: An Organizational History of the U.S. Radio Broadcasting Industry. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 36(3). <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.2307/2393200>.
- Lecours, A. (2005). *New institutionalism: Theory and analysis*. University of Toronto Press.
- Lecours, A. (2017). *New Institutionalism: Issues and Questions*. University of Toronto Press.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Lemarchand, R. (1972). Political Clientelism and Ethnicity in Tropical Africa: Competing Solidarities in Nation-Building. *The American Political Science Review*, 66(1), 68-90. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1959279>.
- Liebowitz, S. J., & Margolis, S. E. (1990). The fable of the keys. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 33(1), 1-25. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1086/467198>.
- Lindblom, C. (2018). The science of “muddling through”. In J. Stein, *Classic readings in urban planning* (pp. 31-40): Routledge.
- Lodhia, S. and Burritt, R. (2004). Public sector accountability failure in an emerging economy: The case of the National Bank of Fiji. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 17, 345-359. <https://doi.org/10.1108/09513550410539820>

- Loga, P., Cardow, A., & Asquith, A. (2021). Path-dependency theory in a post-conflict state: the case of Fiji. *Journal of Management Histor*, 28(3), 363-387. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1108/JMH-06-2021-0037>,
- Loga, P., & Chand, A. (2019). Performance appraisal systems and public sector efficiency in small island developing states: The case of Fiji. *Personnel Review*, 49(4), 974-992. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1108/PR-01-2018-0013>.
- Longstreth, F., Steinmo, S., & Thelen, K. A. (1992). *Structuring politics: historical institutionalism in comparative analysis*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lounsbury, M. and Ventresca, M.J. (2002). Social structure and organizations revisited. In M. Lounsbury and M. J. Ventresca (Eds.), *Social Structure and Organizations Revisited: Research in the Sociology of Organizations* (pp. 3-36). Emerald Group Publishing Limited. [https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1016/S0733-558X\(02\)19001-X](https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1016/S0733-558X(02)19001-X).
- Lugard, F. (1965). *The dual mandate in British tropical Africa*. Routledge.
- Lubell, M. and Harash, R. (2018, June 23). *Palestinians and Israelis remember life under British rule*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-royals-israel-palestinians-me-idUSKBN1J11R4>
- Mahoney, J., & Thelen, K. (2010). A theory of gradual institutional change. In J. Mahoney and K. Thelen (Eds.), *Explaining institutional change: Ambiguity, agency, and power* (pp. 1-37). Cambridge Universtiy Press.
- Mair, L. (1962). *Primitive government*. Penguin Books.
- March, J., & Olsen, J. (1989). *Rediscovering Institutions. The Organizational Basis of Politics*. Free Press.
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1983). The new institutionalism: Organizational factors in political life. *American political science review*, 78(3), 734-749. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1961840>.
- Marx, K. (1859). *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Progress Publishers.
- McIntyre, W. D. (1960). Anglo-American Rivalry in the Pacific: The British Annexation of the Fiji Islands in 1874. *The Pacific Historical Review*, 361-380. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.2307/3636309>.
- McLean, P. D., & Padgett, J. F. (1997). Was Florence a Perfectly Competitive Market? Transactional Evidence from the Renaissance. *Theory and Society*, 26, 209-244. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/657927>,
- McMaster, J. (2001). Public enterprise reform in Fiji: policy implementation and reversals. *Asian Journal of Public Administration*, 23(2), 229-246. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02598272.2001.10800390>.

- Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(2), 340-363. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1086/226550>.
- Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1978). The structure of educational organisations. In S. J. Mezias (Ed.), *Environments and Organisations* (pp. 78-109). Jossey-Bass.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). Drawing valid meaning from qualitative data: Toward a shared craft. *Educational researcher*, 13(5), 20-30. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.3102/0013189X013005020>.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Sage.
- Mills, G. E. (1970). Public administration in the Commonwealth Caribbean: evolution, conflicts and challenges. *Social and Economic Studies*, 5-25. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27856412>.
- Mohr, J. (2000). Structures, Institutions and Cultural Analysis. *Poetics*, 27(2-3), 57-68. [https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1016/S0304-422X\(00\)00002-4](https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1016/S0304-422X(00)00002-4).
- Moynihan, D. P., & Landuyt, N. (2009). How do public organisations learn? Bridging cultural and structural perspectives. *Public Administration Review*, 69(6), 1097 – 1105. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6210.2009.02067.x>
- Mruck, K., & Breuer, F. (2003). Subjectivity and reflexivity in qualitative research—A new FQS issue. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, 189-212. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20758011>.
- Muiu, M. w. (2010). Colonial and Postcolonial State and Development in Africa. *Social Research*, 77(4), 1311-1338. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1353/sor.2010.0034>.
- Mulgan, R. (2003). *Holding power to account: accountability in modern democracies*. Springer.
- Nation, J. (1983). *Parties in Fiji*. [Paper presented at the Political Parties in Melanesia, Australia] (R20765920, 304/9/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Ndulo, M. (2003). The democratization process and structural adjustment in Africa. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 10(1), 315-367. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/gls.2003.10.1.315>.
- New York Times. (1970). Sudden Racial Harmony on Fiji Speeds Plan for Independence. [Newspaper clipping glued to a piece of paper]. (R20765922, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- New Zealand Department of Foreign Affairs. (1976). *Secretary of Foreign Affairs Report*. [Written report]. (R20765907, 82/1/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

- New Zealand Government. (1969). *Fiji: The relationship of Rotuma to Fiji*. [Written Report]. (R20765918, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- New Zealand Herald. (1970). For Independent Fiji: Odds Augur Success. [Article from the New Zealand Herald filed under Fiji – General]. (R20765918, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- New Zealand Institute of International Affairs. (1967). *Political and Constitutional Development in Fiji and Tonga*. [Written report]. (R20765918, 303/4/3). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Newbury, C. (1998). Ethnicity and the Politics of History in Rwanda. *Africa Today*, 45(1), 7-24. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4187200>.
- Newbury, C. (2011). History, Hermeneutics and Fijian Ethnic ‘Paramouncy’ Reflections on the Deed of Cession of 1874. *Journal of Pacific History*, 46(1), 27-57. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/00223344.2011.573631>.
- Nhede, N. T. (2019). The role of leadership in fostering public service motivation in post-conflict states. *International Journal of Management Practice*, 12(1), 81-93. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1504/IJMP.2019.096681>.
- Nkurunziza, J. D. (2008, July). *Civil war and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa*. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Geneva, Switzerland.
- Northcote, S. H., & Trevelyan, C. E. (1954). The northcote-trevelyan report. *Public Administration*, 32(1), 1-16.
- Norton, R. (1977). *Race and Politics in Fiji*. University of Queensland Press.
- Norton, R. (2009). The changing role of the Great Council of Chiefs. *The 2006 military takeover in Fiji: a coup to end all coups?* University of Queensland Press.
- NZ Department of Foreign Affairs. (1979). *Suva Annual Report*. [Written report]. (R20765910, 82/1/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Department of Foreign Affairs. (1982). *Developments in Fiji: August 1982*. [Written report]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Department of Foreign Affairs. (1986). *Telegram: Fiji Report*. Wellington. [Written report on pink paper]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ External Intelligence Bureau. (1976). *ANZUS Official Talks: Wellington*. [Written report]. (R20765916, 309/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

- NZ Government. (1967). *Political and Constitutional Developments in Fiji and Tonga*. [Paper presented at the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, Dunedin]. (R20765918, 303/4/3). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Government. (1970a). *Committee of Twenty-Four: Fiji*. Wellington: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Written report]. (R20765918, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Government. (1970b). Fiji: Constitutional Conference. [Written extract from the Joint Intelligence Committee]. (R20765918, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Government. (1970c). *Internal Correspondence*. [Written report on yellow paper]. (R20765918, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Government. (1970d). *Political Intelligence Bulletin: Fiji Electoral Representation and the Common Roll*. [Political intelligence bulletin no. 20]. (R20765918, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ High Commission to Fiji. (1971). *Miscellaneous: Letters*. [Written letters]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ High Commission to Fiji. (1972). *Fiji: General Elections*. [Written report]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ High Commission to Fiji. (1982a). *Fiji: Political Developments During September*. [Written report]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ High Commission to Fiji. (1982b). *Fiji: Race and Politics*. [Written report]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ High Commission to India. (1970). *Fiji: Constitutional Conference*. [Written report on yellow paper]. (R20765918, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1970a). *Fiji*. [Written report on yellow paper]. (R20765918, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1970b). *Twenty-Fifth Regular Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*. [Written report]. (R20765916, 309/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1982a). *Fiji Politics: A Pre-Chogrm View*. [Written report]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1982b). *Fiji: Country Paper on the Political Situation*. [Written report]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1982c). *Internal Political Developments in Fiji: 1982*. [Written report]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1982d). *Personal and Confidential Letters from the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta*. [Written letter to Sir John White KBE, Wellington]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1984a). *Country Paper: Fiji*. [Written report]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1984b). *Inward Cablegram: Diplomatic Communications Network*. [Written report]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1985a). *Fiji: Labour Party*. [Written report on pink paper]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1985b). *Fiji: Political Notes*. [Written report on pink paper]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (1985c). *New Zealand/Fiji Bilateral Talks: Political Relations*. [Written report]. (R20765920, 304/4/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- NZ Ministry of Labour. (1975). *Visit to Fiji: Background Paper*. [Written report]. (R20765916, 304/1/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- O'Leary, Z. (2004). *The Essential Guide to Doing Research*. Sage.
- Okafor, C., Fatile, J., & Ejalonibu, G. (2014). Public Service Innovations and Changing Ethos in Africa. *Africa's Public Service Delivery & Performance Review*, 2(4), 46-71. <https://doi.org/10.4102/apsdpr.v2i4.67>.
- Onyesom, M. (2015). Conflict Resolution and Management: The Macro Perspective. *Journal of Investment and Management*, 4(5) 10.11648/j.jim.20150405.25.
- Ortlipp, M. (2008). Keeping and using reflective journals in the qualitative research process. *The qualitative report*, 13(4), 695-705. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7575/aic.ijalel.v.2n.6p.118>.
- Page, S. E. (2006). Path dependence. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 1(1), 87-115. DOI 10.1561/100.00000006.
- Pareti, S., & Fraenkel, J. (2007). The strategic impasse. In J. Fraenkel & S. Firth (Eds.), *From Election to Coup in Fiji* (pp. 89-103). Australian National University Press.

- Park, S., & Rainey, H. G. (2008). Leadership and public service motivation in U.S. Federal agencies. *International Public Management Journal*, 11(1), 109 – 142. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10967490801887954>
- Parris, H. (1969). *Constitutional bureaucracy: The development of British central administration since the eighteenth century*. Allen & Unwin London.
- Parsons, D. W. (1995). *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis*. Aldershot. Edward Elgar.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Sage Publications.
- Peng, C., Yuan, M., Gu, C., Peng, Z., & Ming, T. (2017). A review of the theory and practice of regional resilience. *Sustainable Cities and Society*, 29(1), 86 – 96. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1016/j.scs.2016.12.003>
- Peters, B. G. (1996). Political institutions, old and new. In R. Goodin (Ed.), *A new handbook of political science* (pp. 205-220). Oxford University Press.
- Peters, B. G. (2016). Institutionalism and public policy. In B. Peters and P. Zittoun (Eds.), *Contemporary approaches to public policy* (pp. 57-72). Springer.
- Peters, B. G., Pierre, J., & King, D. S. (2005). The politics of path dependency: Political conflict in historical institutionalism. *The Journal of Politics*, 67(4), 1275-1300.
- Pierson, P. (2000). Increasing returns, path dependence, and the study of politics. *American political science review*, 94(2), 251-267. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2005.00360.x>.
- Pierson, P. (2011). *Politics in Time*. Princeton University Press.
- Premdas, R. R. (2002). Seizure of power, indigenous rights and crafting democratic governance in Fiji. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 8(4), 16-36. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/13537110208428676>.
- Profiroiu, A. G., & NASTACĂ, C.-C. (2021). What strengthens resilience in public administration institutions? *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 12(s1), 100-125. DOI: 10.47743/ejes-2021-SI05.
- Raadschelders, J. C. N. (1998). Evolution, Institutional Analysis and Path Dependency: an Administrative-History Perspective on Fashionable Approaches and Concepts. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 64(4), 565-582. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1177/002085239806400403>.
- Rahman, M. H., Naz, R., & Nand, A. (2013). Public sector reforms in Fiji: Examining policy implementation setting and administrative culture. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 36(13), 982-995. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/01900692.2013.773031>.

- Rahman, M. H., & Singh, S. (2011). Towards strong local governance: Current reform scenario in Fiji. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 34(10), 674-681. [https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/01900692.2011.587993](https://doi.org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/01900692.2011.587993).
- Ratuva, S. (2013a). Politicized affirmative action: Independence in 1970 to the 1987 military coup. In *Politics of Preferential Development: Trans-global study of affirmative action and ethnic conflict in Fiji, Malaysia and South Africa*. Australian National University Press.
- Ratuva, S. (2013b). *Politics of preferential development: Trans-global study of affirmative action and ethnic conflict in Fiji, Malaysia and South Africa*. Australian National University Press.
- Ratuva, S. (2013c). Post-2006 Coup Affirmative Action: Development at Gunpoint. In *Politics of Preferential Development: Trans-Global Study of Affirmative Action and Ethnic Conflict in Fiji, Malaysia and South Africa*. Australian National University Press.
- Ravuvu, A. (1991). *The Facade of Democracy: Fijian Struggles for Political Control* Suva. Reader Publishing House.
- Reddy, M., Prasad, B. C., Sharma, P., Vosikata, S., & Duncan, R. (2004). *Understanding reform in Fiji*. University of the South Pacific.
- Reilly, B. (2001). Evaluating the effect of the electoral system in post-coup Fiji. *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 16(1), 142.
- Rerup, C. (2001). Houston, we have a problem: Anticipation and improvisation as sources of organisational resilience. *Comportamento Organizacional e Gestão*, 7(1), 27 – 44.
- Rhodes, R. A. (1997). *Understanding governance: Policy networks, governance, reflexivity and accountability*. Open University.
- Robertson, R., & Sutherland, W. (2001). *Government by the Gun*. Pluto Press Australia and Zed Books.
- Rodgers, E., & Dearing, J. (1988). *Agenda Setting Research*. Sage Publications.
- Rose, R. (1991). What is lesson-drawing? *Journal of Public Policy*, 11(1), 3 – 30. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X00004918>
- Rose, R., & Karran, T. (1984). *Inertia Or Incrementalism?: A Long-term View of the Growth of Government*. Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde.
- Roth, G. K. (1973). *Fijian way of life*: Melbourne. Oxford University Press.
- Rothchild, D. S. (1960). On the application of the Westminster Model to Ghana. *The Centennial Review of Arts & Science*, 4(4), 465-483. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23737665>.

- Routledge, D. (1974). The negotiations leading to the cession of Fiji, 1874. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 2(3), 278-293. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/03086537408582412>.
- Rowlinson, M., & Hassard, J. (2013). Historical neo-institutionalism or neo institutionalist history? Historical research in management and organization studies. *Management & Organizational History*, 8(2), 111-126. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/17449359.2013.780518>.
- Royal Commission Inquiry. (1975). *Report of the Royal Commission: Appointed for the purpose of considering and making recommendations as to the most appropriate method of electing members to, and representing the people of Fiji in, the House of Representatives*. [Report commissioned by the UK Government and presented in a booklet]. (R20765920, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Russell, G. M., & Kelly, N. H. (2002). *Research as interacting dialogic processes: Implications for reflexivity* [paper presentation]. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research.
- Saguin, K., Ramesh, M., & Howlett, M. (2018). Policy work and capacities in a developing country: evidence from the Philippines. *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration*, 40(1), 1-22. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/23276665.2018.1436427>.
- Sarigil, Z. (2009). Paths are what actors make of them. *Critical Policy Studies*, 3(1), 121-140. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/19460170903158214>.
- Sarker, M. N. I., Wu, M., Alam, G. M., & Shouse, R. C. (2020). Administrative resilience in the face of natural disasters: Empirical evidence from Bangladesh. *Disasters*, 29(2), 1-13. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15244/pjoes/109527>.
- Sarker, A. and Pathak, R. (2003). Public Enterprise Reform in Fiji Islands. *Public Organization Review*, 3, 55-75. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023048011336>
- Saul, J. S. (2003). Africa: The Next Liberation Struggle? *Review of African Political Economy*, 30(96), 187-202. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/03056244.2003.9693494>.
- Schade, A. (1998). To Labour with the State: The Fiji Public Service Association. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 107(2). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20706798>.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2014). Institutionalism. *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, 1836-1839.
- Schmitter, P. C., & Karl, T. L. (1991). What democracy is... and is not. *Journal of democracy*, 2(3), 75-88. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1353/jod.1991.0033>.
- Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. (1990). Behavioral assumptions of policy tools. *The journal of Politics*, 52(2), 510-529. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.2307/2131904>.

- Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. (1993). Social construction of target populations: Implications for politics and policy. *American political science review*, 87(2), 334-347. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2939044>.
- Schumpeter, J. A. (1976). *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. Routledge.
- Scott, W. R. (2001). *Institutions and Organisations* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Sharma, U., & Lawrence, S. (2009). Global remedies for local needs: Corporate governance and public sector reforms in Fiji. *Pacific Accounting Review*, 21(3), 260-285. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1108/01140580911012502>.
- Sherman, R. R., & Webb, R. B. (1988). Qualitative research in education: A focus. In R. Sherman and R. Webb (Eds.), *Qualitative research in education: Focus and methods* (pp. 1-22). Psychology Press.
- Solana, J. (2009). Five lessons in global diplomacy. *Financial Times*.
- Sorensen, A. (2017). Institutions, Comparison, and Temporal Processes. In C. Hein (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History*, (pp. 26-37). Routledge.
- Southall, A. W., & Gutkind, P. C. (1970). *The passing of tribal man in Africa*. E. J. Brill.
- Spohr, F. (2016). Explaining path dependency and deviation by combining multiple streams framework and historical institutionalism: A comparative analysis of German and Swedish labor market policies. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 18(3), 257-272. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/13876988.2015.1122210>.
- Staat, W. (1993). On Abduction, Deduction, Induction and the Categories. *Transactions of the Charles S. Pierce Society*, 29(2), 225-237. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40320413>.
- Stark, A. (2014). Bureaucratic values and resilience: An exploration of crisis management adaptation. *Public Administration*, 92(3), 692-706. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1111/padm.12085>.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research techniques*. Citeseer.
- Suddaby, R., Foster, W.M. and Quinn Trank, C. (2010). Rhetorical history as a source of competitive advantage. In A. C. Joel & J. Lampel (Eds.), *The Globalization of Strategy Research* (pp. 147 – 173). Emerald Group Publishing Limited. [https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1108/S0742-3322\(2010\)0000027009](https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1108/S0742-3322(2010)0000027009)
- Sundberg, R., Eck, K., Kreutz, J. (2012). Introducing the UNCDP Non-State Conflict Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(2), 351 – 362. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0022343311431598>

- Tansey, S. D., & Kermode, D. G. (1967). The Westminster Model in Nigeria. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 21(1967), 19-37. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1093/parlij/21.1967sep.19>.
- Ter-Minassian, T., Gray, J., Boughton, C., McDonald, C. A., Cordoba, J. P., & Inchauste, G. (2001). *Joint workshop Early dialogue between Bank and IMF staff is critical to success of civil service reform*. International Monetary Fund.
- Tilly, C. (1978). Repertoires of contention in America and Britain, 1750 - 1830. In M. Zald & J. McCarthy (Eds.), *The Dynamics of Social Movement* (pp. 126-155). Cambridge University Press.
- Tusalem, R. F. (2016). The colonial foundations of state fragility and failure. *Polity*, 48(4), 445-495. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1057/s41279-016-0006-4>.
- Uche, C. (2008). Oil, British Interests and the Nigerian Civil War. *The Journal of African History*, 49(1), 111-135. 10.1017/s0021853708003393.
- United Kingdom Government. (1970). *Second Reading of the Fiji Independence Bill*. (R20765918, 304/4/2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.
- United Nations. (2021). *The United Nations and Decolonization - Special Committee on Decolonization*. <https://www.un.org/dppa/decolonization/en/c24/about>
- United Nations. (2020). *The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2020*. <https://sdgs.un.org/publications/sustainable-development-goals-report-2020-24686>
- United Nations Development Program. (2020). *United Nations Development Programme Annual Report: Africa*. <https://www.undp.org/africa/publications/undp-annual-report-2020>
- van der Kolk, B., van Veen-Dirks, P. M. G., & ter Bogt, H. J. (2019). The impact of management control on employee motivation and performance in the public sector. *European Accounting Review*, 28(5), 901 – 928. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/09638180.2018.1553728>
- van Gimsteren, H. R. (1976). *The quest for control: a critique of the rational-central-rule approach in public affairs*. Wiley.
- Vandenabeele, W. (2014). Explaining public service motivation: the role of leadership and basic needs satisfaction. *Review of Personnel Administration*, 34(2), 153 – 173. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0734371X14521458>
- Vandenabeele, W., & Horton, S. (2008). The evolution of the British public service ethos: a historical institutional approach to explaining continuity and change. In L. Huberts, J. Maesschalck and C. Jurkiewicz (Eds.), *Ethics and integrity of governance: Perspectives across frontiers*, (pp. 7-24). Edward Elgar Publishing.

- Ventresca, M., & Mohr, J. (2002). Archival Research Methods. In J. Baum (Ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Organisations* (pp. 805-828). Blackwell Publisher.
- Walker, B., & Salt, D. (2012). *Resilience thinking: sustaining ecosystems and people in a changing world*. Island Press.
- Walker, M. (2003). The Making of Modern Iraq. *The Wilson Quarterly*, 27(2), 29-40. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40261182>.
- Wallis, J., & Gregory, R. (2009). Leadership, accountability and public value: Resolving a problem in “new governance”? *International Journal of Public Administration*, 32(3-4), 250-273. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/01900690902732608>.
- Welch, C. E. (1967). *Political modernization: a reader in comparative political change*. Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- White, C. M. (2006). Moving up the ranks: Chiefly status, prestige, and schooling in colonial Fiji. *History of Education Quarterly*, 46(4), 532-570. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-5959.2006.00031.x>.
- Williams, E. E. (1942). *Negro in the Caribbean*. Associates in Negro Folk Education.
- Williamson, J. (1993). Democracy and the “Washington consensus”. *World development*, 21(8), 1329-1336. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(93\)90046-C](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(93)90046-C).
- Williamson, J. (1997). The Washington consensus revisited. In L. Emmerij (Ed.), *Economic and social development into the XXI century*, (pp. 48-61). Inter-American Development Bank.
- Wilsford, D. (1985). The conjuncture of ideas and interests. *Comparative Political Studies*, 18(3), 357-372. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1177/0010414085018003004>.
- Wilsford, D. (1994). Path Dependency, or Why History Makes It Difficult but Not Impossible to Reform Health Care Systems in a Big Way. *Journal of public policy*, 14(3), 251-283. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X00007285>.
- World Bank. (1999). *Civil Service Reform: A Review of World Bank Assistance*. World Bank Operations Evaluation Department.
- World Bank. (2011). *World development report 2011: Conflict, security, and development*: The World Bank.
- World Bank. (2022). *The World Bank Annual Report 2022: Helping Countries Adapt to a Changing World*. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/entities/publication/659ec935-da4e-58a4-bec5-deca35992413>
- World Bank, & United Nations. (2018). *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict*. Washington DC.



## Appendices

### *Appendix 1 Background information on Fiji*

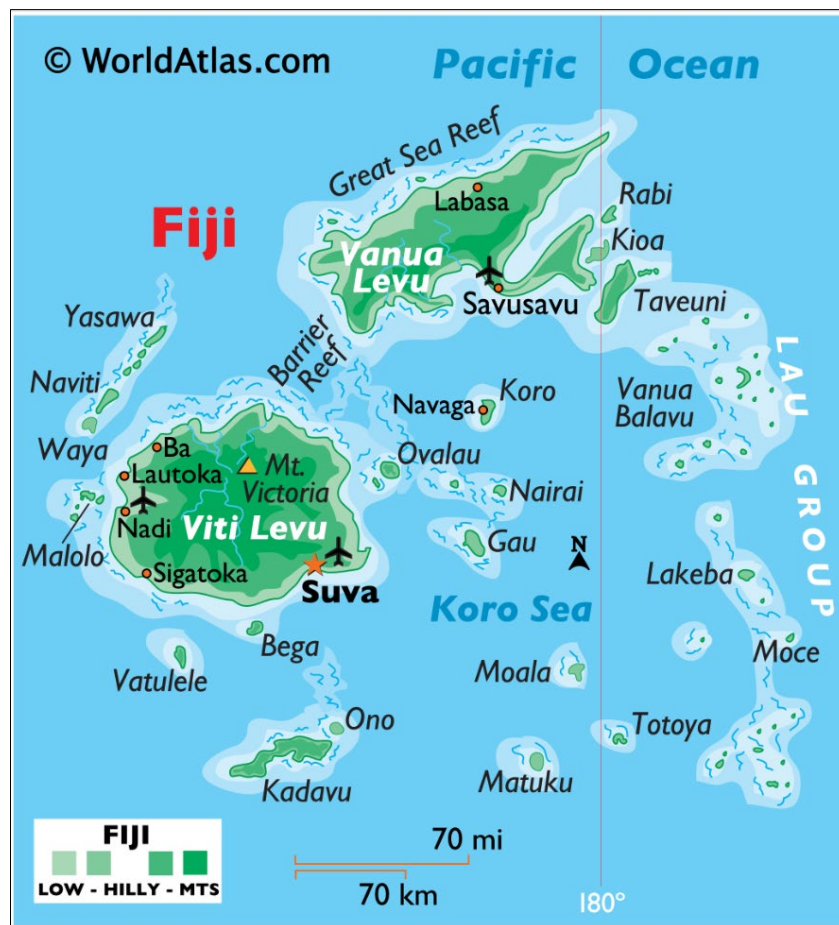
Fiji is a group of volcanic islands in the South Pacific that lies about 4,450 kilometres southwest of Honolulu and 1,770 km north of New Zealand. Of the 332 islands and 552 smaller islets that make up the island nation, 106 are permanently inhabited.

Figure 7 *Location of Fiji Relative to New Zealand and Hawaii*



Fiji's main islands are Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, where most of its population reside; its capital city is Suva (located on Viti Levu). The official languages of Fiji are English and Fijian or iTaukei. Another language spoken in Fiji is Hindustani. Ethnically, Fiji is predominantly made up of iTaukei and Indo-Fijians followed by Europeans, Part-Europeans, Chinese and other Pacific Islanders. A map of Fiji is shown in Figure 22.

Figure 8 Map of Fiji Islands



In the early days of independence circa 1975, Fiji's top revenue earning industries were sugar, copra, and gold (NZ Ministry of Labour, 1975). Today, Fiji's main industries are tourism and agriculture.

## Appendix 2 NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade response on document access

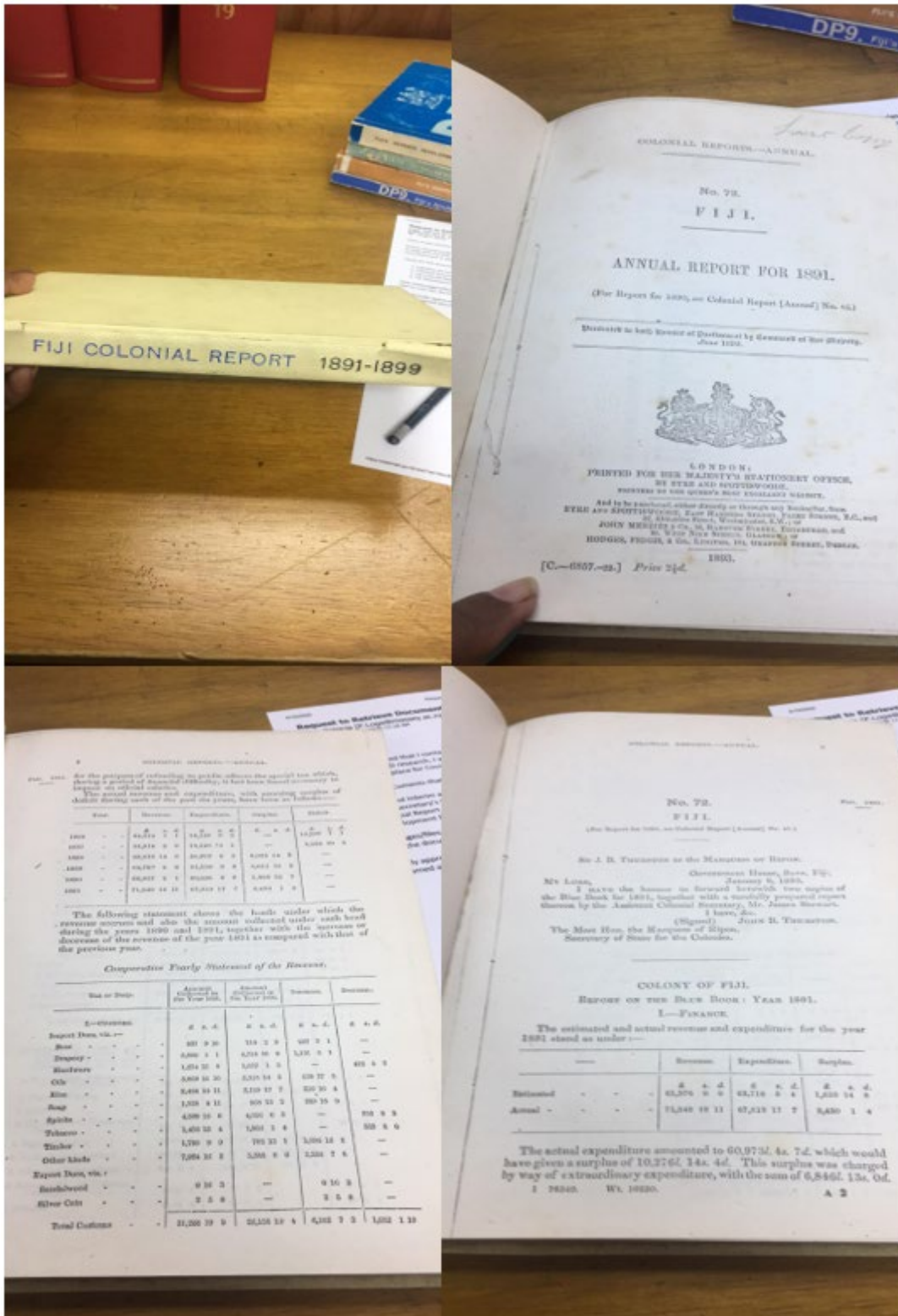
Document Request for Patricia Loga (PhD Candidate, Massey University)

| Item ID | Series Title   | Location   | Access                       | File Number    | Decision  |
|---------|--|------------|------------------------------|----------------|---|
| 1       | R20765882<br>Fiji: General - General [01/22-04/71]   | Wellington | Restrictions may apply (RMA) | 304/1/1 Part 1 | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement. |
| 2       | R20765888<br>Fiji: General - General [08/79-02/84]   | Wellington | RMA                          | 304/1/1 Part 6 | Cannot be released                                    |
| 3       | R20765890<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - Parliamentary Debates: August 1982 [04/82-09/82]  | Wellington | RMA                          | 304/1/1 Part 7 | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement. |
| 4       | R20765889<br>Fiji: General - General [03/84-12/84]   | Wellington | RMA                          | 304/1/1 Part 7 | Cannot be released                                    |
| 5       | R20765891<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - Report Royal Commission 1982, Fiji General Elections, Hon Sir J White, 83 [10/82-12/83] | Wellington | RMA                          | 304/1/1 Part 8 | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement. |

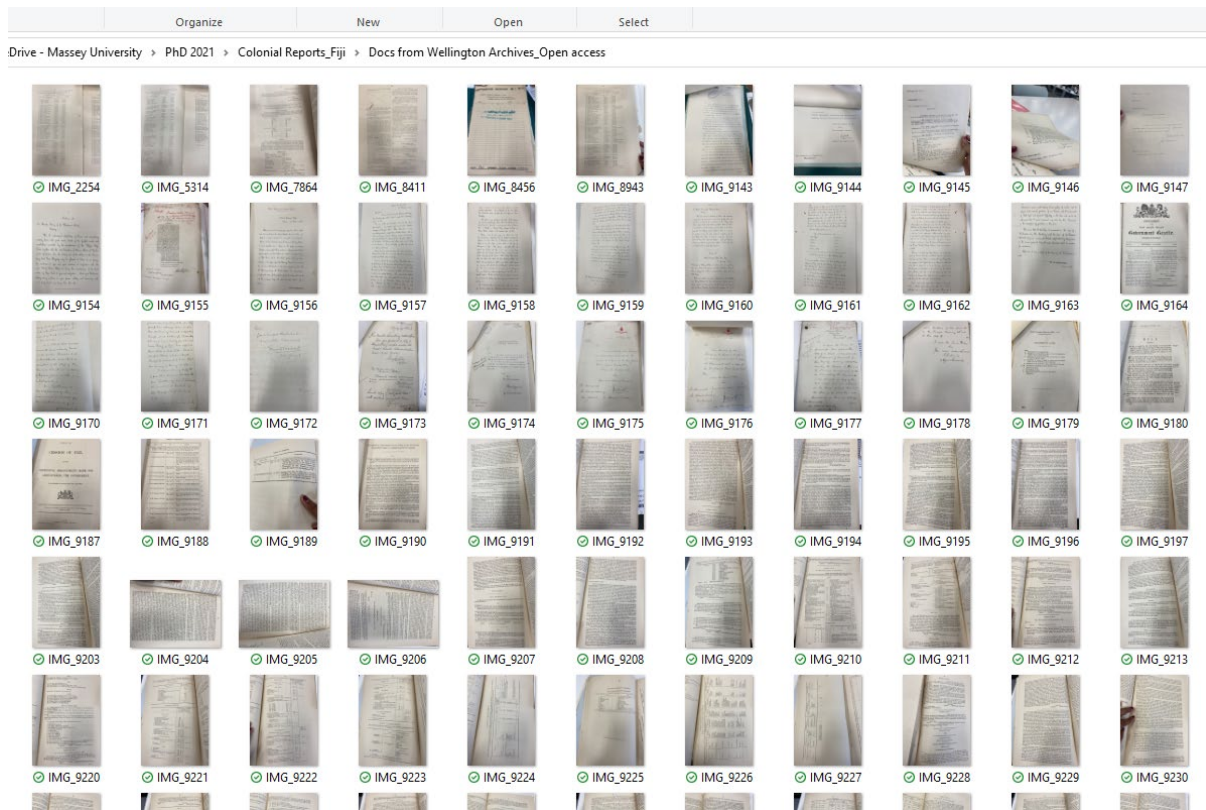
|    |  |            |     |                  |   |
|----|--|------------|-----|------------------|---|
| 6  | R20765895<br>Fiji: General - Fiji Royal Gazette: Correspondence [11/44-01/72]                | Wellington | RMA | 304/1/4/1 Part 1 | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement. |
| 7  | R20765897<br>Fiji: General - Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities [07/48-11/74]              | Wellington | RMA | 304/1/6 Part 1   | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement. |
| 8  | R20765903<br>Fiji: Foreign Affairs - General [01/80-09/83]                                   | Wellington | RMA | 304/3/1 Part 2   | Cannot be released                                    |
| 9  | R20765904<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - General [10/75-05/76]                                 | Wellington | RMA | 304/4/1 Part 1   | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement. |
| 10 | R20765916<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - General [10/82-12/83]                                 | Wellington | RMA | 304/4/1 Part 8   | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement. |
| 11 | R20765917<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - General [01/84-07/85]                                 | Wellington | RMA | 304/4/1 Part 9   | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement. |
| 12 | R20765906<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - General [01/66-12/70] [FS - Foreign Source documents] | Wellington | RMA | 304/4/1 Part 1A  | Cannot be released                                    |

|    |   |            |     |                 |   |
|----|---|------------|-----|-----------------|---|
| 13 | R20765907<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - General [01/66-12/70]  | Wellington | RMA | 304/4/1 Part 1A | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement.     |
| 14 | R20765908<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - General [01/71-01/73]  | Wellington | RMA | 304/4/1 Part 1B | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement.     |
| 15 | R20765918<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - Constitutional Affairs [03/70-08/70]   | Wellington | RMA | 304/4/2 Part 4  | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement.     |
| 16 | R20765922<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - Report of Commission of Inquiry, Disturbances in Suva, December 1959 [12/59-07/77] | Wellington | RMA | 304/4/3 Part 1  | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement.     |
| 17 | R20765923<br>Fiji: Political Affairs - Biographies [10/69-12/85]  | Wellington | RMA | 304/4/4 Part 1  | To review   |
| 18 | R20765924<br>Fiji: Defence - General [06/74-12/76]  | Wellington | RMA | 304/5/1 Part 11 | Can provide access under conditions of use agreement.     |
| 19 | R17709299<br>Fiji: Social Affairs - General [02/45-12/75]   | Wellington | RMA | 304/6/1 Part 1  | R17709299 is OPEN ACCESS and is called Countries - Fiji - |

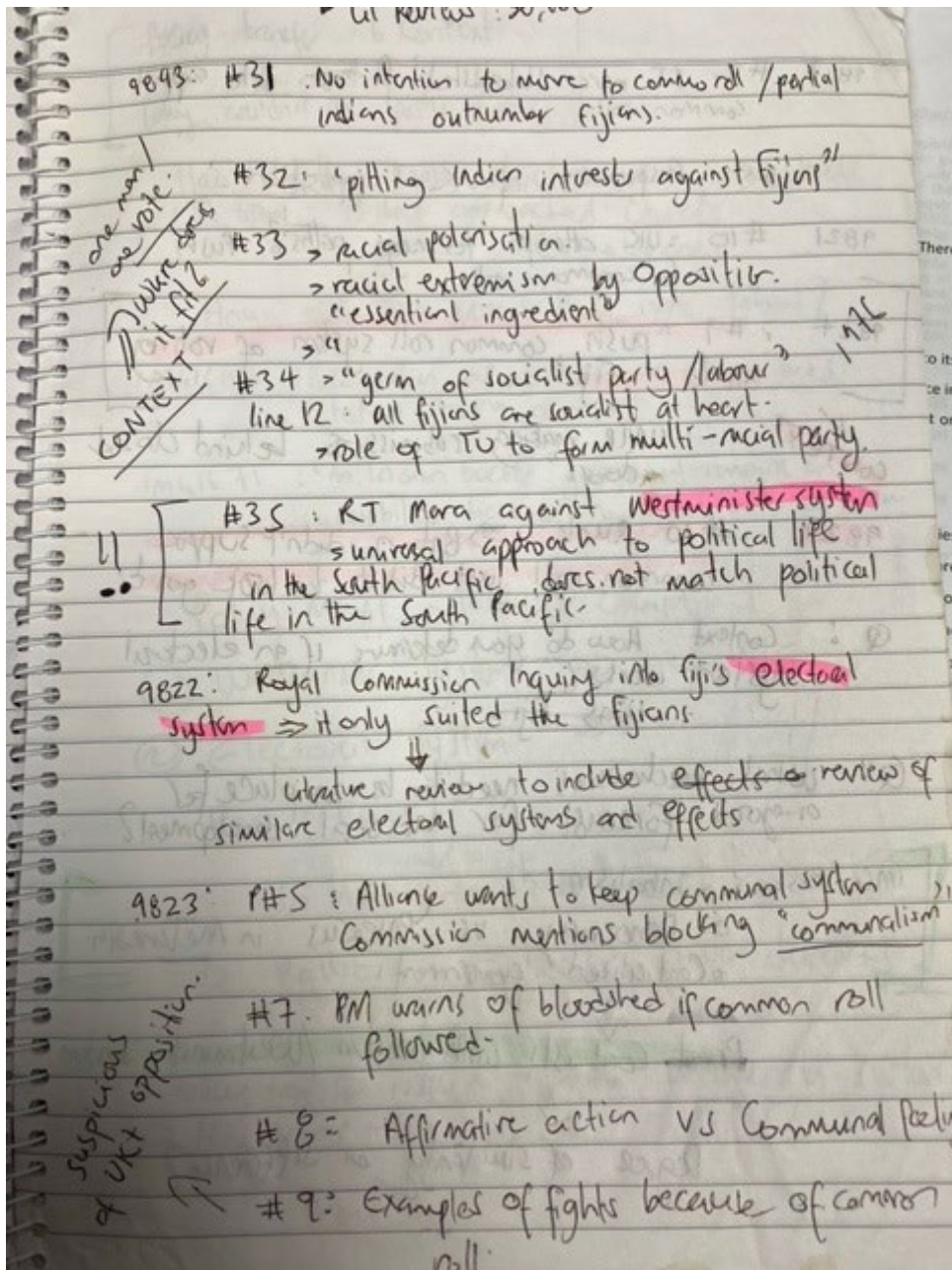
Appendix 3 Example of JPEG images received from National Archives of Fiji



## Appendix 4 Labelling system to tag all the document in the data set



Appendix 5 Examples of coding and thematic analysis notes



close was till mentioned  
"Lionel Goan describing V as opportunist"

"Casual conversation... we should find out"

⇒ On the argument that conflict was expected / known  
coloniser was aware"

IMC 9978: Administrative affairs. ⇒ Civil servants wages

IMC 9979

IMC 9962: Wage freeze disagreements

IMC 9956: Strikes declared illegal under Trade Disputes Act 1978

IMC 9952: Race relations: Buta doka profile of interest  
is the characteristics of B that caused NZ Govt to  
view him out as a threat:

- ① non elite
- ② bankruptcy
- ③

"tribal jealousy"  
↓  
tribalism.

IMC 9939: Racial tensions

⇒ NFP 'clique' ⇒ raised issue of elitism? again.

IMC 9932: ⇒ Land problems discussed  
⇒ 'Indians portrayed as victims'

IMC 9915: The land issue

IMC 9907: Review of dev. in 1975 ⇒ Buta doka ⇒ electoral system  
⇒ 5 years out of independence dichotomy unworkable

IMC 9884: KT Mawa to stay in parliament.

IMC 9874: Fijians in Commerce

What were some paths formed?

Fijian

Indo-Fijian

Commerce

Dangers of indirect rule in a country that is tribal by nature.

IMC 9863: Mawa / Koya Debate

IMC 9859: State of affairs in Melanesia

- > Tribalism raised again.
- Western vs Customary Law ⇒ Fiji?

IMC 9855-57: - 'fissiparous tendencies'

- 3rd time tribalism is mentioned.
- Melanesia: plagued by social divisions

IMC 9852-54: Speech notes on points above

- forming central govt. difficult bcs of fissiparous nature.
- patterns of politics by consensus go against democ.
- challenge central authority to regional autonomy
- secessionist rhetoric

IMC 9849-9851: Commission of Inquiry Report

- 'retain race element' in voting system.
- comment that race is important & it should be considered in electoral system.

9851: Aard quote at no. 13

> "political security"

IMC 9847: 'Spin item'?

1m4 1845: NE advice to Karama speech on NE Aid

> Comments on aid for admin reform

> Rusti to point NE in a good light.

↓  
[Did they  
build on  
or  
exploit?]

1m4 1844: > Political divisions based on race

> Political foundations built on racial differences.

1836: > #8 "constitution designed to ensure that result"

> #9: divisions among NR itself.

1838 #5: "a local lady of high rank"

#6: "a high born Fijian candidate"

#17: "local son"

1839: "opening paragraph": "promoting Fijians ... at the expense of other groups in Fiji"

> "Koya - a Muslim"

> "Surdani - a Hindu priest"

1840: "political life quiet surprisingly so given potential for disharmony"

#20: "excitement of the moment" ? Excuses for racial disharmony.

> warning of a creep

> "clock could not be put back"

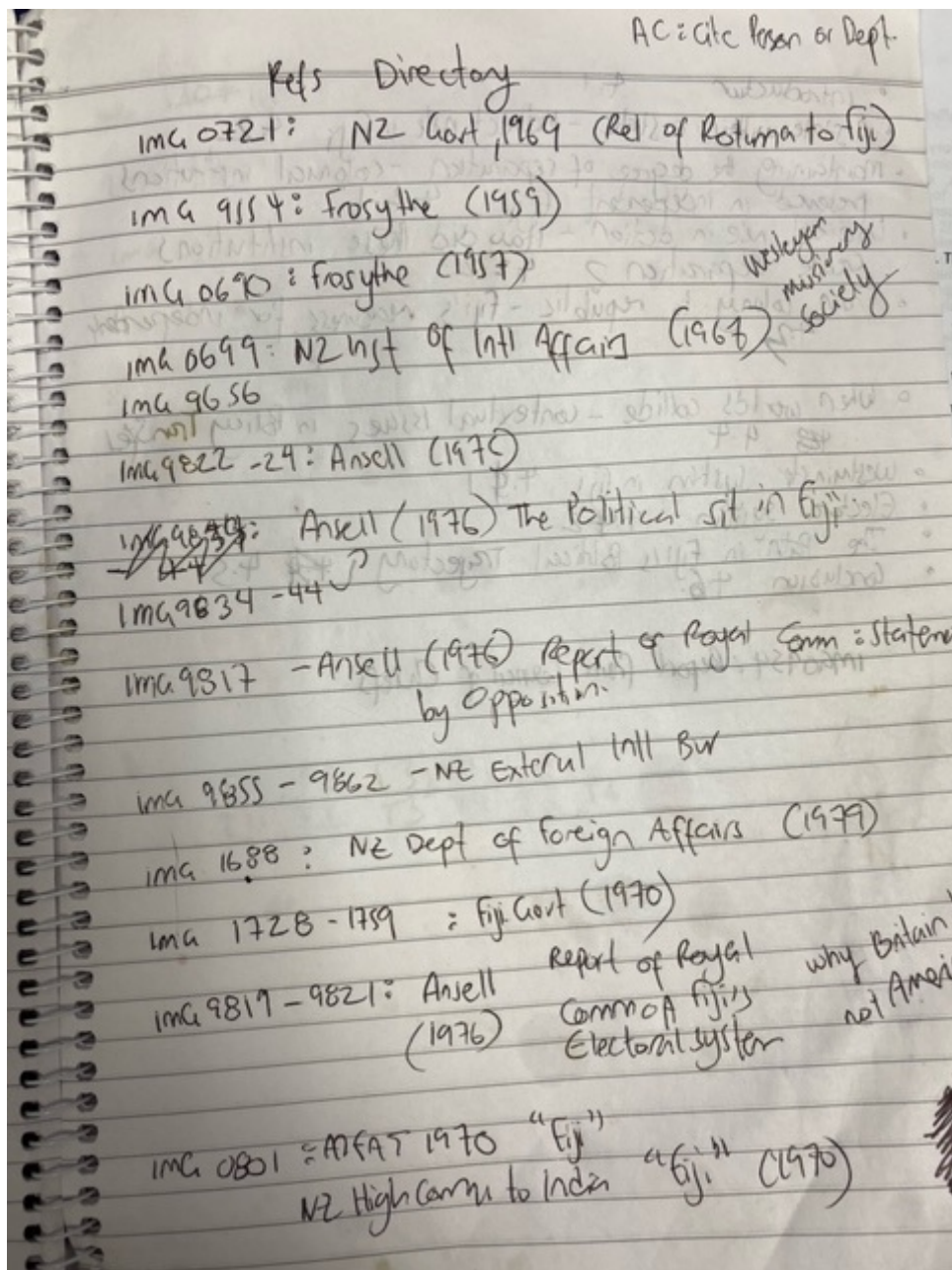
1841: Koya found an issue to belabour government

Point 25 ⇒ create a crisis

> this scare tactic continues to exist today.

1842: Koya again on "Indians being run out of Fiji"

Appendix 6 Tagging images to references for record keeping



INSTITUTIONALISM

- Race based politics
- Intertwined traditional and political roles
- Adversarial approach to the protection of interests for each social group.
- Indigenous elitism

img0348 - 0349: Govt of Australia (1984)

img0351 - 0354: NZ Min of Foreign Affairs (1984)

img002 - Nabor (1983)

img0174 - 0179 - NZ Min of Foreign Affairs (1982)

img0183 - 0189: 1982 " FS Country Paper on political situation

img0144 - 0145: NZ Dept of FA (Dev in Fiji Aug 1982)   
 Labor Party 1982

img0346 - 0347: NZ Min of FA (Silateral talks) 1981   
 Int'l Pol

0140 - 0142: NZ Min of FA (Dev in Fiji: 1982)   
 (1982)

0163 - 67 NZ High Comm to Fiji 1982   
 September - Fiji Race

0180 - 0182: NZ Min of FA (1982) Cho-gram View

0193 - 0195: Aus High Comm 1973

img0136: NZ Min of FA (1985) Fiji: Political Notes

0170 - 0173: NZ High Comm (1982)   
 to Fiji Fiji: Race & Politics

0340 - 0343:

## Appendix 7 Human Ethics Notification

Human Ethics Notification - 4000022443  Inbox x



**humanethics@massey.ac.nz**  
to Patricia.Loga.1, A.Asquith, A.Cardow, humanethics ▾

Mon, Apr 6, 2020, 11:57 AM   

HoU Review Group

Ethics Notification Number: 4000022443  
Title: Public Service Motivation in a Post-Conflict State: the case of Fiji

Thank you for your notification which you have assessed as Low Risk.

Your project has been recorded in our system which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics), email [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz)."

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish require evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to complete the application form again answering yes to the publication question to provide more information to go before one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

You are reminded that staff researchers and supervisors are fully responsible for ensuring that the information in the low risk notification has met the requirements and guidelines for submission of a low risk notification.

If you wish to print an official copy of this letter, please login to the RIMS system, and under the Reporting section, View Reports you will find a link to run the LR Report.

Yours sincerely

Professor Craig Johnson  
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and  
Director (Research Ethics)

