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Alternative economic development on customary land in Fiji: How Indigenous entrepreneurs blend customary and modern strategies

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
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THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO

THE FATHER, SON AND SPIRIT REVEALED IN JESUS CHRIST

Who has created every tribe and tongue in the world and has deemed them as dignified and of eternal value. Thank you for your active love and care about those who experience injustice.

MY HUSBAND ELLIOT RICE

Who has worked extra hours to free up time for me to work on my thesis and who has consistently encouraged me when I felt overwhelmed and unable to continue. Thank you for being by my side throughout this thesis.

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THE ENTREPRENEURS AND STAFF AT HE-NI-UWA RESTAURANT

Who are proving that *iTaukei* (Indigenous Fijians) can run successful businesses in Fiji. My prayer is that your ministry will grow, that the restaurant will be full of guests and that you are seen as a strength in Fiji.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores an alternative view of Pacific Indigenous entrepreneurs, showing they are weaving together strands of reciprocity, communal activities, traditional knowledge systems and elements of conventional economic practices to enable contextually diverse opportunities for sustainable livelihoods. By highlighting this enabling perspective, this thesis challenges the conventional development view that Pacific Indigenous entrepreneurs are ineffective and that customary land, upon which many of their businesses are based, is a barrier to development. This negative conclusion stems largely from modernist thinking and using conventional economic tools to measure business success.

This thesis promotes Pacific Indigenous entrepreneurs and customary land as providing viable development options, by exploring a culturally embedded way to measure a customary land-based business. Findings contribute to a wider understanding of what constrains or enables *iTaukei* [Indigenous Fijians] entrepreneurs' agency in bringing about positive change. A 'hopeful' post-development approach is utilised to study customary land and development as this approach seeks to expand the field of valid experience, prioritises human assets and agency and supports the ethos of people-centred diverse economics. Fieldwork focused on a Fijian customary land-based business and involving other stakeholders was undertaken during August and September 2018. This study was shaped by the Fijian Vanua Research Framework and an actor-oriented approach. Alongside these approaches, the ethos of Critical Appreciate Inquiry was utilised in this study.

The case study findings show the success of the business was predominantly due to honouring customary land practices, which enabled the business to access resources, knowledge and provided a sustainable way to enter the formal economy. Informal partnerships were the basis for the socially and culturally embedded nature of this business, which both ensured support for the business and meant the business reciprocated with the community, thereby achieving inclusive development. These

findings have important implications for how Indigenous entrepreneurs, in various cultural contexts, can be better acknowledged for their contributions to development and supported to do business.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CLBB	Customary land-based business
FDB	Fiji Development Bank
VRF	Fijian <i>Vanua</i> Framework for Research
TLTB	<i>iTaukei</i> Land Board Trust
MFAT	New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
NZ	New Zealand
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
USP	University of the South Pacific
US	United States of America

LIST OF FIJIAN WORDS

<i>iTaukei</i>	Indigenous Fijian
<i>Kalouca</i>	Evil spirit
<i>Kerekere</i>	Mode of exchange, where something is requested but the giver is not directly compensated for it
<i>Kava</i>	Common name for yaqona, a ceremonial drink
<i>Lotu</i>	Religion/prayer
<i>Lovo</i>	Fijian feast cooked in the ground
<i>Matanitu</i>	Chiefly governance
<i>Mataqali</i>	Landowning units/clan
<i>Qele</i>	Dry customary land
<i>Qoliqoli</i>	Traditional fishing grounds
<i>Sevusevu</i>	Ceremony to acknowledge entrance to the land or <i>Vanua</i>
<i>Solesolevake</i>	Working together to achieve a common purpose
<i>Sulu</i>	Skirt (worn by both men and women)
<i>Tabua</i>	Polished tooth of a sperm whale, used in ceremonial exchange
<i>Tokatoka</i>	Extended family unit
<i>Talanoa</i>	Sharing of conversation and knowledge
<i>Vanua</i>	Often defined as tribe or land, but actually includes “a people, their chief, their defined territory, their waterways or fishing grounds, their environment, their spirituality, their history, their epistemology and culture” (Nabobo Baba, 2006, p. 155).
<i>Wai</i>	Foreshore in front of customary land
<i>Yaqona</i>	A traditional Fijian drink
<i>Yavu</i>	House-mound
<i>Yavusa</i>	Clan

1. CUSTOMARY LAND: A SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC RESOURCE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Conventional development has widely conceptualised customary land tenure as a barrier to development. Tenure refers to a legal category of land holding, and customary land refers to communal land which is governed by a community's social system which states how communal land is used and distributed (Wily, 2011). However, a substantial research project that contests this is the Marsden Fund Project on, "The Land Has Eyes and Teeth": customary landowners' entanglements with customary systems in the Pacific (16-MAU-113 (2017-2020)) where Professor Regina Scheyvens is principle investigator. The Marsden Fund Project is studying Indigenous entrepreneurs who successfully run customary land-based businesses (CLBB) in Samoa, Papua New Guinea and the Republic of Fiji (Fiji). The Marsden Fund Project rejects the notion that land is merely a commodity and rather supports Pacific people's attachment and holistic understanding of land as *Vanua* or similar, which incorporates a cultural, spiritual, economic and social understanding of land. One of the Marsden Fund Project CLBB case studies, a restaurant called He-Ni-Uwa, on the Coral Coast Corridor in Fiji, was assigned to me and my thesis is undertaken in relation to this project. Research into this CLBB area is comparatively recent and there is much to discover in terms of how to measure 'success' of such business and how Indigenous entrepreneurs can be better supported.

The literature on customary land within conventional development often fails to recognise that customary land ownership is still a global phenomenon, even though it is subject to critique, violations and concealments. It is found in: Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Switzerland, as well as, amongst Indigenous minorities in: North America, Australia and New Zealand (Wily, 2011). Furthermore, in 2009, Asia (excluding China), Latin America and Africa had over two billion customary landholders (Wily, 2011). In the Pacific region

alone customary ownership accounts for more than 80 per cent of the total land area (AusAID, 2008, p. 3). In Fiji 91.68 per cent of land is held under customary land ownership (Gadolo, 2017, p. 5). It is estimated that 65 percent of the world's land area is held through customary-based land ownership (Wily, 2011, p. 2-3).

Although customary land is prolific, it is estimated that only 10 per cent is legally titled (RIL, 2015, p. 10). Those without title have been subject to land loss, occasional poverty, and Indigenous loss of identity. Additionally, climate change, depletion of industrialised countries' resources, globalisation, population growth, and rural-urban migration, are issues testing the customary land sector (AusAID, 2008; Narayan & Duncan, 2008). Customary land is largely found within poorer countries which have been subject to conventional development interventions, which generally agree that entrepreneurship based around investments in freehold land plays a vital role in generating economic growth. Meanwhile, many of the businesses on customary land have failed in the Pacific and this has led to an attitude that is illustrated in the Solomon Island saying that, "many people have tried business." This is used to imply that many people have tried – and failed - in business (Gegeo, 2000, p. 77).

In exploring the high failure rate of businesses, conventional tools for measuring the successful of Indigenous enterprises have led to the hypothesis that individualistic societies, detached from cultural values, foster an entrepreneurial disposition. Meanwhile collective societies are more attached to cultural values, which is seen as stunting any potential entrepreneurship. Such an attitude results in the disregard of economic goals and values held by Indigenous people (Hailey, 1987; Hofstede et al., 2006; Jayaraman, 1999; Olson, 2008). Furthermore, land is measured through modernisation ideas that hold private ownership as virtuous, natural law meaning it is unquestionably right; the focus is also on human rights as an expression of individual liberty rather than considering communal wellbeing (Grant, 2010; Linklater, 2015; Zhang, 2017). These ideas on individualism and modernisation are in stark contrast to cultural, communal values.

This focus on modernisation and individualisation of land has not taken into consideration the growing literature that argues entrepreneurship is a collective event that is particular to a local environment and community (Dupuis & de Bruin, 2003). For instance, Zhang et al. (2010) found within a study of 378 Singaporean and Chinese entrepreneurial ventures, that the majority were dependent on social networks for success. In a study of 14 entrepreneurs in Scotland, Jack (2005) found kinship networks were instrumental in the businesses' establishment. An extensive study of 700 Pacific entrepreneurs found that a collectivist approaches to business establishment and operation was normative (Saffu, 2003). Successful productive businesses in the Pacific have been identified as having flow-on benefits to kinship networks through gift giving, reciprocity, and communal activities (Curry & Koczberski, 2012; Harmsworth, 2005). Thus, an entrepreneur's economic behaviour is embedded in: historical, institutional, spatial, cultural and social contexts, where traditional customs and relationships are honoured along with contemporary business practices (Skokic & Morrison, 2015). Although this literature is growing, little is known of the on-the-ground experience of entrepreneurs in Fiji which is key to the justification for this research.

This thesis is based on hopeful post-development thought. A hopeful approach is open to multiple approaches to development. This enables an investigation into how customary land can be a social, economic and cultural resource for development (Gibson-Graham & Roelvink, 2011; Gibson-Graham, 2010; Scheyvens et al., 2017). Such an approach also prioritises and builds on local knowledge and human agency for recognising alternative ways of economic being. Through a hopeful post-development approach, this thesis seeks to show that when the local contextualised economic activity is measured in a culturally embedded way, land and its function is brought into wider epistemological conceptualisations (Gibson-Graham, 2010; Li, 2014). This thesis furthermore seeks to understand how *iTaukei* (Indigenous Fijian) entrepreneurs enact their economic knowledge to form a successful CLBB.

The methodological framework relevant to this research, is the Fijian *Vanua* Framework, along with the ethos of Critical Appreciate Inquiry. This positions the thesis

to examine 'what works' by identifying strengths and capacities of the entrepreneurs within the CLBB. The Fijian *Vanua* Framework, is embedded in existing *iTaukei* protocols of relationships, knowledge systems, as well as ceremonial and cultural values (Nabobo-Baba, 2008, p. 141). Such an approach allows participants to share culturally embedded knowledge and meaning behind their business actions. What constrains and enables entrepreneurs' agency is also explored, so that an investigation of how entrepreneurs who run CLBB can be better supported.

This research has found a 'gap' in the literature to explore, but is not just an academic exercise, as social science research is often personal and subjective, with the researcher influencing the nature of the research (O'Leary, 2017). Due to this my personal positionality within the research process must be acknowledged, and my motivations for choosing this current topic will be detailed, so that the research process is as transparent as possible (O'Leary, 2017).

1.2 PERSONAL POSITIONALITY AND MOTIVATION

My personal connection with customary land is linked to my past experiences and commitments. I was born in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, as a fourth-generation Caucasian female. We were brought up visiting an Indigenous Ndebele friend's sugar cane farm on customary land in Natisa, Matopo and we regularly participated in everyday cultural practices. During this time the formal economy was in crisis but I was able to observe how the informal economy, based largely on customary land, enabled food to be produced and sold in the cities. This was a time of high Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) and missionary intervention. I was exposed to foreigners who had little positive commentary on the alternative economy and criticised traditional elements used in business operations. These foreigners deemed Zimbabwe's economy a failure and did not acknowledge the innovative ways people were able to survive, the importance of rural customary land and Ndebele culture. It felt like local people were not seen as part of the solution. On moving to New Zealand, I lived in neighbourhoods with high Maori

populations and saw the devastation the loss of customary land has had on them generationally.

For my Master's thesis, I was looking for a topic to explore how development research can be undertaken in such a way that shows how people can make positive changes through their own knowledge, culture and skills. I learned about the Marsden Fund Project's Pacific case studies as I started on my research proposal and it fitted what I was hoping to focus on. Smith (1999), however, warns of the embedded racial discourse and neo-colonising by Western 'outsider' researchers who are not held accountable in their research (Smith, 1999). By contrast, the Marsden Fund Project had an *iTaukei* cultural advisor, involved Indigenous PhD students, and employed culturally appropriate methodologies and experts in this area. I would be able to sit under the authority of Indigenous people and scholars with immense Pacific experience. I recognise that the research process is culturally embedded through philosophical choices, shaped by our own worldview and how participants understand their world (O'Leary, 2017; Scheyvens, 2010). Being a part of the Marsden Fund Project meant I could authentically be an 'outsider' seeking to listen and learn from 'insider knowledge.'

Furthermore, while writing this thesis, my husband and I bought our first home. We both noticed a wider acceptance from our community through private ownership of a property. This highlighted my Western experience of land ownership and the importance of not projecting this onto research participants. Lastly, as a Christian researcher, my own understanding of the world is seen through a Christological lens. My two pivotal beliefs are: firstly, that humans have been made in God's image, resulting in the belief of cultural equivalence; and secondly, that the Father, through the Spirit, sent the Eternal Son to dwell amongst us. That Jesus lived, died, resurrected, ascended and is reconciling all things to himself. That Christ will return to bring about new creation and Shalom. I seek to participate in Jesus' redemptive work that he is actively doing in the here and now. Participants in this study are also Christians, not by design, but by coincidence. This meant we had a bond and relationship that transcended

the research. It is acknowledged that my allegiance to Christ, undoubtedly, affects this thesis.

1.3 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of the research is to understand the importance of customary land as a cultural, economic and social resource for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs, and one that can contribute to their development.

Under this aim, three specific objectives were pursued:

OBJECTIVE ONE: To examine the conventional context of economic development to identify constraints and enablers for Indigenous economic development by *iTaukei* entrepreneurs.

OBJECTIVE TWO: To understand how *iTaukei* entrepreneurs conceptualise economic development based on their customary land, which sustains links to culture, communal well-being and kinship.

OBJECTIVE THREE: To explore how *iTaukei* entrepreneurs' social, cultural, environmental and economic customary practices could shape how economic development is measured and theorised.

In investigating these objectives, the thesis is guided by theoretical and methodological frameworks that are discussed within the first section of the thesis. The layout of the entire thesis is summarised in the next section.

1.4 LAYOUT OF THESIS

CHAPTER 1 has introduced this research and briefly outlined the theoretical justification and wider context along with the researcher's motivation and positionality. This chapter has also stated the research aim and objectives, which is now followed by the layout of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2 locates customary land practices within the conventional context of economic development. This chapter will broadly discuss how conventional tools for assessing economic success have resulted in a narrow conceptualisation of economic development that often sees the economic goals and values of Indigenous entrepreneurs as barriers to economic growth. This chapter argues neoliberalism has been the lens through which local economies have been viewed.

CHAPTER 3 positions the investigation of customary practices as a social and cultural resource for economic development into a hopeful post-development practice that holistically embraces social, environmental, cultural, and monetary elements. This chapter will propose a continuum for exploring the constraints and opportunities Indigenous Fijian entrepreneurs face when shaping their own economic development. This will result in an exploration of culturally embedded alternative economic development.

CHAPTER 4 gives the contextual information for the study. This chapter provides a background to land, culture and tourism development in Fiji, positioning the research findings' meanings and implications, presented in latter chapters, within Fiji's specific cultural context.

CHAPTER 5 focuses on the methodological schema relevant to this research, comprising of the philosophical standpoint, the Fijian *Vanua* Framework, along with the ethos of Critical Appreciate Inquiry, and ethical considerations. Fieldwork reflections

and experiences are detailed, including entry to the *Vanua*, access and selection of participants and discussing the research methods in practice. Lastly, data processing techniques and reliability of the findings are explored.

CHAPTER 6 presents the findings from the research. The chapter explores how *iTaukei* (Indigenous Fijian) entrepreneurs conceptualise economic development based on their customary land, which sustains links to culture, communal wellbeing and kinship. By researching how customary land-based entrepreneurship can be better understood through an alternative measurement, the findings of the fieldwork are presented, prioritising the experience of the participants.

CHAPTER 7 discusses the findings along with the literature presented in previous chapters, illustrating how Indigenous entrepreneurs can be positive change agents through their customary land-based businesses. This chapter explores why the alternative way of measuring success employed was effective. This draws attention to how Indigenous entrepreneurs can be better supported through overarching factors that enable or constrain their agency.

CHAPTER 8 concludes the thesis, by summarising key contributions, limitations and suggestions for future research and a reflection on the theoretical and methodological frameworks employed.

2. NEOLIBERAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines how customary land became conceptualised as a barrier to development, within the broader theoretical background of conventional development. It also sets the stage to overturn the negative conceptualisation of customary land, showing how it can act as a basis for effective development. In Section 2.2 the historical and theoretical establishment of a universal model for development will be explored, so the current development period can be understood. Section 2.3 explores the relationship between entrepreneurship and development. This leads to Section 2.4 where three concepts of modernisation relevant to this study, focused on 'entrepreneurial culture', are explored, namely: secularisation, liberalisation and privatisation. Section 2.5 identifies modernisation development tools used to measure entrepreneurs' success or failure in development, which will be followed by a summary of the high failure rate of Indigenous entrepreneurs and what conventional development saw as the problem. In the conclusion a distinction is made between literature reviewed and how this study engages with economic development. The terms 'underdeveloped,' or 'third world' are only used in this chapter if directly quoting another source that uses them; however, this study sees these as patronising, Eurocentric terms that need rejecting (Oyewole, 2012).

2.2 PARADIGMATIC MODELS OF DEVELOPMENT

This section first overviews the Christian and colonial roots of development, thereby drawing attention to the role missionaries and colonisation have had on development theory. This provides historical background for the Fijian context discussed in Chapter 4. We then move to an overview of four paradigms of development, being:

modernisation (1950-1980), early neoliberalism (1980-2000), neo-structuralism (2000-2010) and the current orthodox development approach, of retro-liberalism (2010-present). Even though timeframes are given, these paradigms are not strictly linear. Today's economic climate sees a move beyond the dominance of these paradigms into post-liberalism, post-capitalism and post-development. In this thesis, post-development is of greatest relevance so that is detailed in Chapter 3.

2.2.1 CHRISTIAN AND COLONIAL ROOTS OF DEVELOPMENT

When reviewing the establishment of development, a popular view is that development was constructed after the Second World War, in response to post-war reconstruction, the United States of America's (US) imperial extension and Cold War tensions (Fountain & Troughton, 2019). This 'genealogy', however, leaves out two roots of development; firstly, Christian missionary work and, secondly, the context of colonisation (Rist, 2002). Firstly, from the fifteenth century onwards throughout Western Christendom, humanitarian attempts, by 'elites' to change and raise up people of lower social economic standing have been recorded (Taylor, 2007). Mission work focused on interventions aimed at transforming societies and individuals, through health care, education, and economic empowerment (Feener & Scheer, 2018). Missionaries incorporated an evangelical focus of salvation found in Jesus; however, this was entwined with Western ideas about race, gender, political and economic ideology, civilisation, humanity and improvement (Fountain & Troughton, 2019). Christian missionaries and latter mission agencies and Christian Non-Government Organisations had a prolific impact in Pacific areas (Fountain & Troughton, 2019).

Secondly, colonisation took place simultaneously, which created a structural inter-dependency between the colonised and colonisers (Kelsey, 2004). Colonisation as development was enshrined in Britain, for example, through the 1929 Colonial Development Act and 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Act, both focused on developing countries towards Western modernity (Craggs, 2014). In Britain colonisation

was conceived as humanitarian development, as through science and technology the British colonisers sought to solve poverty and disease found in colonies.

The approach of colonial development was based on neo-classical economics, founded by Smith and Ricardo, which drew on the eras of Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution (Cowen & Shenton, 1996; Kothari, 2005; Sapsford, 2014). Enlightenment ideology is grounded in the perspective that a rational worldview is formed by empirical standards of evidence, scientific and technological knowledge (Norris & Inglehart, 2004). A development process was synthesised by Rostow's and Harrod-Domar's linear stage models for economic growth, which prescribes a series of stages a country goes through to become 'developed,' (Riahi-Belkaoui, 1994). Rostow (1956) argued for a country to develop they first had to surpass their traditionalism, so they could take off and drive towards the maturity of mass consumption. Thus, development was something done to others by those "ahead," (Desai & Potter, 2014). The goal of this approach was to create an Indigenous middle-class invested in the colonial state, which created products for European markets (Craggs, 2014). This relied on laissez-faire free trade, within 'globalised' free trade policies that do not hinder imports or exports. Britain argued this was the rational modernised way they developed between the 1870s to 1913s; however, large amounts of their wealth came from protectionism, colonial rule and unequal treaties (Chang, 2010). Despite this, these inequalities are hardly mentioned in prolific economic or history books on economic growth (Chang, 2014).

When colonies subsequently became independent nations they inherited institutions based on patronage, as they were economically unsustainable without external support. The first generation of post-colonial independent leaders had mainly been educated in the West and believed in modernisation thinking (Rahnema, 2000, p. 305). They actively embraced policy changes, industrial-financial control and powerful transnational corporations aligned to modernisation (Rahnema, 2000, p. 306). Along with this, Britain introduced post-independence development; colonial offices became development offices (Kothari, 2005). In 1937, a British Governor of Nigeria stated, "the

exploitation theory ... is dead and the development theory has taken its place” (cited in Cowen & Shenton, 1995, p. 29). The ideas of development were defined through earlier colonial agendas that subsequently took the form of imperialism.

2.2.2. ESTABLISHMENT OF DEVELOPMENT: MODERNISATION, NEOLIBERALISM AND NEO-STRUCTURALISM

The first development paradigm was built on modernisation thought. In the 1940s-50s a new global development rhetoric emerged in the US. This was a vision put forward to replace colonialism with a new system of geographical relationships (Fountain & Troughton, 2019). On January 20, 1949, Truman in his inauguration address as the US President, articulated Britain and the US’s 1944 post-war economic governance strategy:

“We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat. ... What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing. ... Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.”

(Truman cited in Rist, 2002, p. 71)

The urgency of this strategy was fuelled by Cold War politics. The West defined countries as ‘first,’ ‘second’ and ‘third worlds,’ which later transitioned to a North-South dichotomy (Desai & Potter, 2014). The change Truman brought to the development discourse was through the appearance of the term, ‘underdeveloped.’ An ‘underdeveloped’ country became defined as a nation, “whose economy has not yet reached the level of North America [or] Western Europe,” (Rist, 2002 p.8). The goal of Western development was defined by Truman but a clear approach to development was lacking. The United Nations (UN) convened a gathering of economists with the sole

objective of designing policies and ways of stimulating and measuring economic growth. The report was titled 'The Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries,' and argued economic growth was only possible if underdeveloped countries knowledge, culture and social structures were restructured. As outlined in the quote below:

“There is a sense in which rapid economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments. Ancient philosophies have to be scrapped; old social institutions have to disintegrate; bonds of cast, creed and race have to burst; and large numbers of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated.” (United Nations, 1951, p. 15)

This report and post-war economic governance strategy had two significant results. Firstly, the global re-defining of continents, such as Africa and Latin America, as 'backward' in need of linear modernisation and secondly, the shift to secularisation (Fairclough, 1995). Economists argued the 'underdeveloped,' would 'catch up,' through industrial sector growth, by forming regional alliances, encouraging urbanisation and limiting rural inefficiencies. Foreign aid policies focused on land reforms, industrialisation, budget support and providing 'experts' (Mawdsley et al., 2018). 'Underdevelopment', thus, was conceptualised as a technical issue, which economic modernisation could universally solve (Rist, 2002). Western-centric economist-maintained economics is a purely 'objective' science. Robbins, (1935) provided the orthodox definition of economics as, “the science which studies human behaviours as a relationship between ends and scarce means, which have alternative uses.” (p. 16). Furthermore, Witztum (2007, p.58) argued that independent science is divorced from anything ethical (see also Backhouse & Medema, 2009). Additionally, Freidman (1970), claimed that, “Economics is in principle independent of any particular ethical position or normative judgments” (p. 2).

Another result of the economic governance strategy was a shift to 'secular' humanitarianism (Feener & Scheer, 2018). This shift caused the disregard of religions and cultures of those receiving foreign aid, as donors saw religion as 'backward.'

Through universities this view of humanitarianism became widely established. Galbraith, a Harvard University lecturer, commented in 1949 that "no economic subject more quickly captured the attention of so many as the rescue of the poor countries from their poverty" (Galbraith, quoted in Escobar, 2012, p. 46). Furthermore, Development Studies emerged as an academic field during the 1960s as a multidisciplinary approach, which included social, political and modernisation economic theories (Desai & Potter, 2014). By the 1960s there was a mobilisation of individual volunteers and trained experts from the West, going to the 'Third World' to bring about change. Grubbs labelled them 'secular missionaries,' who went to evangelise salvation found in modernity (Grubbs, 2009). Modernisation and secularisation were not semantic, as it radically altered the way in which the world was seen and engaged with.

The second development paradigm came through the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), rooted in neoliberalism in the 1980s (Mawdsley et al., 2018). Neoliberalism was defined by the "Washington Consensus," which outlined ten economic principles a country needed to employ to develop: fiscal policy, redirection of public spending, tax reform, market-led interest rates, market-led exchange rates, trade liberalisation, foreign direct investment, privatisation of state enterprises, deregulation from the state and property rights (Williamson, 2004). These principles became a condition for aid grants and loans.

Similar to the modernisation paradigm, the authoritative voice in helping underdeveloped countries was still the one of economists. Raworth (2018, p. 5) commented: "Economics is the mother tongue of public policy, the language of public life, and the mindset that shapes society." Economists occupied honoured seats in international policy making bodies, the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), and were welcomed into rooms of power (Raworth, 2018, p. 5). The dominating theory and only reasonable theoretical economic approach for these economists is neoliberalism. However, in the 1980s more grassroots development practitioners increasingly argued that while economic growth is necessary, without redistribution of wealth inequalities were not reduced. Thus,

development approaches came to incorporate a focus on enhancing human rights and welfare (Desai & Potter, 2014). Indigenous knowledge was brought to the forefront, as were alternative development strategies influenced by Marxism/Neo-Marxism and post-structuralism, providing fertile ground for challenging the notion of a single path to development (McEwan, 2014 p. 139). This is further explored in Chapter 3.

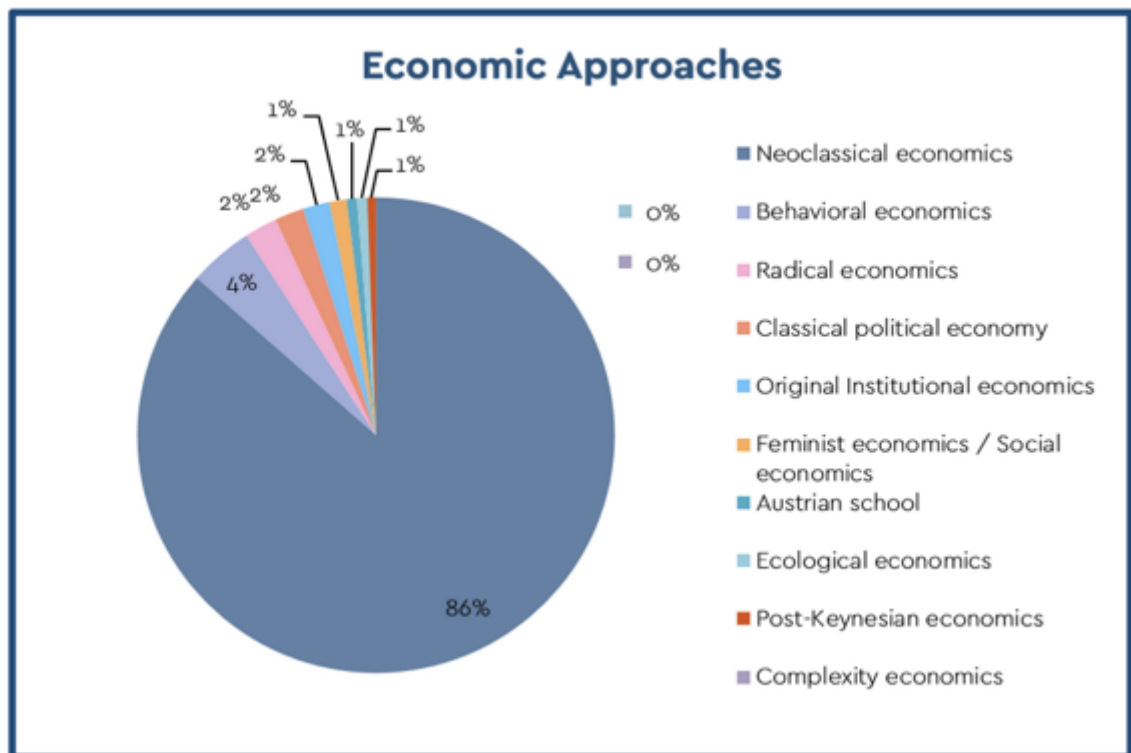
Around the 1990s a third paradigm, neo-structuralism, arose to critique the harshness of SAPs. This new perspective was still aligned to some neoliberal politics, but focused more on poverty alleviation, eventually leading to the formation of 'The Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) (Mawdsley et al., 2018). Neo-structuralism involved Sector Wide Approaches, centred on reconstructing state development through market mechanisms (Murray & Overton, 2016). This paradigm defined the poor as either potentially an entrepreneur or a consumer, resulting in aid interventions focusing largely on microfinance programmes.

2.2.3 TODAY'S NEOLIBERAL ORTHODOXY: RETROLIBERALISM

Murray and Overton (2016) suggest using the term 'retroliberalism' to reflect the current orthodoxy, continuing along a neoliberal path but reincorporating the state's role to facilitate economic growth and sponsor the private sector (Mawdsley et al., 2018). The state focus arose from examples of economies that did not utilise neoliberalism to stimulate growth. For example, in Korea, You and Chang (1993, p. 29) argued growth resulted from government ownership of banks, its control over foreign investment and by working with the private sector to establish exporting industries. They used a mixed economy approach, with market incentives and state direction (Chang, 2008). This is contrary to neoliberal principles, yet generated economic growth (Chang, 2014). However, neoliberal economists claimed it grew through the 'free market' and found it more palatable to incorporate the role of the state than acknowledge alternative approaches (World Bank, 1997). Even though it is now widely acknowledged that the state has a greater role to play in development and there are clear examples of mixed economy approaches, research by Rethinking Economics found

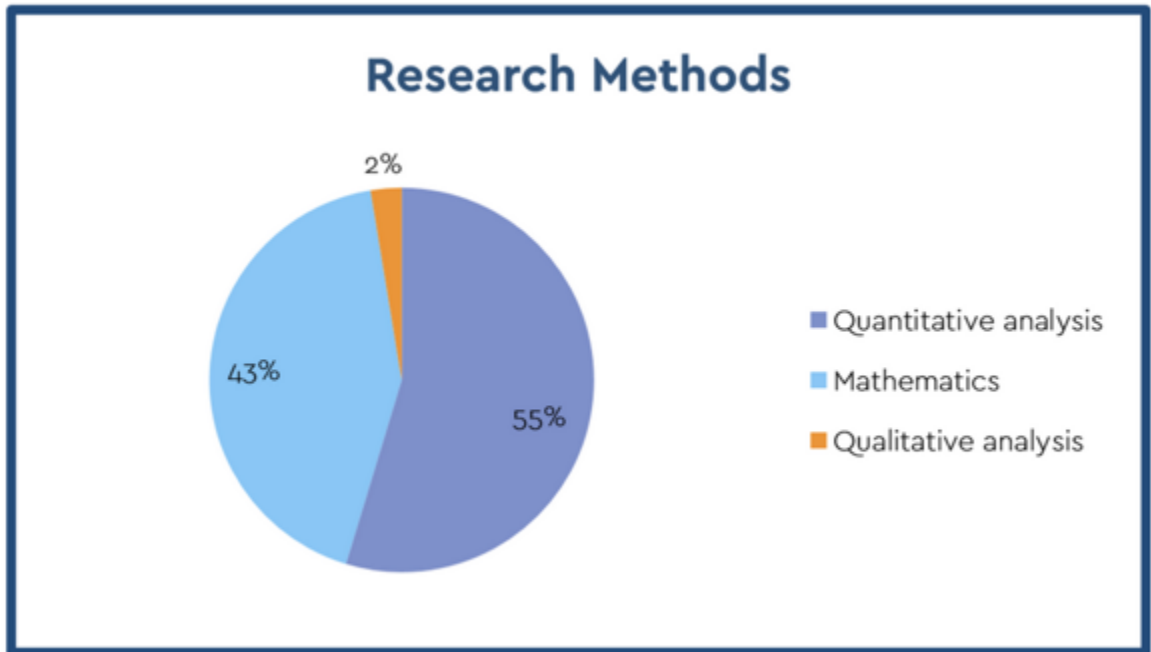
that in 325 economic courses 86 per cent of the time is focused on modernisation theories (as seen in Figure 2.1), while only 2 per cent included how to undertake qualitative economic analysis (shown in Figure 2.2), and, lastly, real world economics, which is a focus on what economies actually do, lacked any significant focus, (illustrated in Figure 2.3) – rather, the focus was usually on theories and modelling (Tieleman et al., N.D. p. 5).

Figure 2.1. Economic Approaches



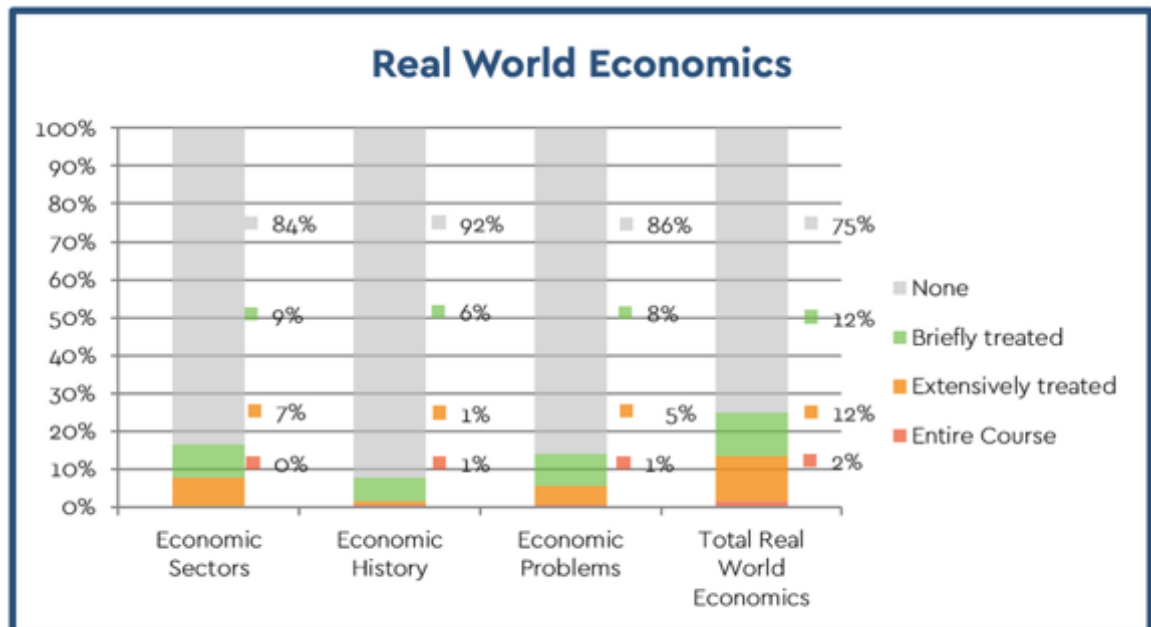
Source: (Tieleman et al., N.D. p. 75).

Figure 2.2. Research Methods



Source: (Tieleman et al., N.D. p. 71).

Figure 2.3. Real World Economics



Source: (Tieleman et al., N.D. p. 78).

The overwhelming focus on modernisation theories means local economic activity and different ways to undertake research on it are still fundamentally not engaged with. Significantly, economists such as Samuelson (2009), in the 19th Edition of Economics, are questioning this dominance, “many textbooks have strayed too far toward over-complacent libertarianism...The economy of every country in the world is a mixed economy,” (p. XVI, XIX). Economist Raworth (2018) maintains that a pluralistic approach that keeps central the realities we face is needed. However, the principles of neoliberalism remain central in development but are implemented slightly differently. The focus is on ‘aid for trade,’ where aid is given to countries the donor country has high trade interests in (for example, China currently offers aid to Pacific countries with the objective of building a stronger regional presence). Aid would be used to develop infrastructure and governance so that the country becomes more free market trade friendly. The emphasis changed from poverty reduction to economic growth stimulated, largely, through trade and by donor direct investment into the private sector (Murray & Overton, 2016).

Strengthening the private sector has become fundamental to development. For example, the 2011 Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness and the Rio+20 conference in 2012 (Banks et al., 2016) showed partnerships are now focused on the public and private sectors where development and business entities are seen as equal partners (Mawdsley et al., 2014). The equality of partnership could be questioned, however. For example, the New Zealand (NZ) Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), encourages the private sector in NZ to bid for grants alongside NGOs and the public sector, which has resulted in a lack of investment into the private sectors in poorer countries (Mawdsley et al., 2018). Instead, a doubtful ‘shared’ prosperity,’ with the private sector of the donor country is delivered (Mawdsley et al., 2018).

Central to generating economic growth in ‘underdeveloped’ countries are the entrepreneur and the private sector. The next section explores this relationship in more detail.

2.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT

After the 1982 'Third World' debt crisis, many countries embraced neoliberalism and the adoption of the Washington Consensus became a necessary pre-requisite for them to receive international aid (Chang, 2010). The idea was that entrepreneurs would start businesses that generated economic growth. This section explores modernisation definitions for entrepreneurs and the standard business model they were to employ. It then further goes into the role of entrepreneurs in development.

Development created a blueprint to shape entrepreneurs in underdeveloped countries into 'progressive entrepreneurs' (Kelly, 2006; Lewis, 1973). This is found in the idea of '*homo economicus*', the 'economic man,' who has god-like traits of perfect foresight and knowledge, for comparing prices and goods (Raworth, 2018). Raworth (2018) comments that economic thinkers like Smith, advocated that entrepreneurs' self-interest drove economic activity: "competitive self-interest is not only man's [sic] natural state but also his [sic] optimal strategy for economic success," (p. 89). In development '*homo economicus*' became the model for what a human was to become (Persky, 1995; Raworth, 2018). This ideological belief behind entrepreneurship influences definitions of entrepreneurs.

Most modern definitions of entrepreneurship are influenced by Schumpeter, an economist regarded as one of the 20th centuries greatest thinkers, who commented, "Entrepreneurship is the pursuit of opportunity without regard to resources currently controlled" (Schumpeter 1934, cited in, Rennie, 2007, p. 258). Isenberg (2013) offers a helpful elaboration, "entrepreneurs see and realize value where others think there is none, and act in ways that are contrary to what almost everyone else thinks is worthwhile," (p. 3). Entrepreneurs are fundamental for economic growth, seeing opportunities where others cannot. The business an entrepreneur would develop is defined by the US Financial Accounting Standards Board (2018, n.p.) as:

“An integrated set of activities and assets that is capable of being conducted and managed for the purpose of providing goods or services to customers, generating investment income (such as dividends or interest) or generating other income from ordinary activities.”

Although these definitions provide insight, an alternative definition of entrepreneurs used in this thesis is put forward in Chapter 3. Due to entrepreneurs being able to bring about innovative change, their role has been seen as pivotal in development. Lewis (1954), who was an author of the UN report ‘The economic development of underdeveloped countries,’ did subsequent work coined the Lewis Model, focused on the mechanics of how to transfer labour from a traditional surplus to a progressive capitalist sector. In ‘underdeveloped’ countries the goal was to enable the saving class to become progressive capitalist entrepreneurs, who used their capital and surplus labour to form intensive private sector export orientated manufacturing utilising foreign technology (Gollin, 2014; Toye & Toye, 2004).

Progressive entrepreneurs, benefitting from foreign investment, would reinvest back into the country through stock market shares, bonds, treasury bills, rent instruments and banks (Røyrvik & Brodersen, 2012). This would enable entrepreneurs to shift resources and utilise surplus labour so that higher levels of productivity can be achieved, which, in turn, increases profits and adds greater economic value (Michaels, 2011 p. 18; Rodrik, 2006, p. 973). This theory is still adopted today and requires economic and social reforms involving secularisation, liberalisation and privatisation to create an entrepreneurial culture for economic growth. The progressive entrepreneur would need economic and social reforms, which were laid out in the UN’s report and Lewis’ (1954, 1973) subsequent work.

2.4 AN ENTREPRENEURIAL-FRIENDLY CULTURE: SECULARISATION, LIBERALISATION AND PRIVATISATION

This section explores how the definition of entrepreneurship and business, along with the role of entrepreneurship in all four development paradigms, required that Indigenous entrepreneurs are “remodelled within the context of a new culture – the entrepreneurial culture” (Fernández-Herrería & Martínez-Rodríguez, 2016, p. 315). The contemporary state’s role is to become market focused and serve neoliberal interests by bringing in laws, rules and institutions that create more freedom for entrepreneurs with individual initiative (Fernández-Herrería & Martínez-Rodríguez, 2016). Assistance to do this was given by: WTO, IMF and WB, and later, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association. A literature review highlighted three common areas presented that would create an entrepreneurial culture, namely; secularisation, liberalisation and privatisation.

2.4.3 SECULARISATION

As already discussed, current development discourse still maintains an epistemological commitment to modernity and continues to operate within secularism’s tenets (Ager & Ager, 2016). Secularisation has popularly been defined as the separation between religion and state (Norris & Inglehart, 2004). However, secularism goes beyond the state and is a worldview that conditions people’s assumptions about the world (Ager & Ager, 2016; Ali, 2013; Taylor, 2007). Mills summarised this process:

“Once the world was filled with the sacred – in thought, practice, and institutional form... the forces of modernization swept across the globe and secularization, a corollary historical process, loosened the dominance of the sacred. In due course, the sacred shall disappear altogether except, possibly, in the private realm” (Mills cited in Norris & Inglehart, 2004 p. 3).

As modernisation occurs, it creates a cognitive dissonance between traditional systems and the world people are experiencing; secularisation was seen as enabling people to transcend this dichotomy to a new way of being (Norris & Inglehart, 2004).

The importance of secularism in development was further affirmed through studies done in countries with high economic growth, by authors such as Dana (1997), Hofstede (2006; 1988), Epstein (1996), and Herbig and Dunphy (1998). The paradigm put forward asserted individualistic societies detached from cultural values, that foster an entrepreneurial disposition for economic growth. Meanwhile collective societies, attached to cultural values, 'retard' any entrepreneurship potential and is 'anachronistic' to modern economies (Hailey, 1987; Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Hofstede, 2001; Jayaraman, 1999; Olson, 2008). Secular individualistic societies enabled privatisation to take place effectively.

2.4.4 PRIVATISATION

Early on in development intervention, economists contended that progress required a change from customary land tenures (collectively owned land) to individual land tenures (Rodrik, 2006 p. 973). In 1946, Caine, the Head of the United Kingdom's Economic Department, asserted his department would pursue the tasks the economist Lewis proposed in the UN's report on how to develop countries and his subsequent work (Mine, 2006). He soon found in Africa that communal land tenure acted, "as a pretty heavy brake on change" (Caine quoted in Mine, 2006, p. 337). The international development community deemed that communal tenure was a dominant obstruction to development (Wily, 2011). The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association were created to provide support to underdeveloped countries who wanted to strengthen land policies and administration systems (Wallace, 2014). Reforms would be implemented with help from the WTO, IMF and the WB.

In Western history, the focus on land privatisation is not a new agenda, attempts to alter social fabrics through private property have been documented as early as 133BC (Linklater, 2015, p. 40). A foundational Western philosopher, Aristotle, argued private land ownership was virtuous (Linklater, 2015). In the sixteenth century Locke, a focal Enlightenment thinker, noted that private property ownership was natural law, being the only morally right way (Grant, 2010, p. 94). For those in communal ownership in Europe, he remarked, “we need to help them to learn the code of civilization, namely the private property regime,” (Locke cited in Zhang, 2017, n.p.). Another instrumental thinker in the 1660s, the economist William Petty, stated, “Land had to be treated as capital and only labour could release its value”; in other words, it is labour that releases the value found in land (Linklater, 2015, p. 55-58). Petty’s proposal clearly aligned capitalism with private property. In the 1760s William Blackstone argued, “The third absolute right, inherent in every Englishman, is that of property: which consists in the free use, enjoyment, and disposal of all his acquisitions, without any control or diminution, save only by the laws of the land,” (Blackstone, 1893). Individual liberty and private property ownership had become inseparable, as reflected in James Otis’ remark, “no man can take my property from me ... if he does, he deprives me of my liberty.” (Otis quoted in Prindle, 2006). To own land was an internal affirmation of identity, as epitomised by John Steinbeck’s (2007) comment, “If a man owns a little property, that property is him,” (p. 136).

The main orthodoxy for the 19th and 20th century economists of both neo-classical and Marxist bent, was that pre-capitalist, communal land tenure needed transformation. The belief was customary tenure was an anachronism that needed diminishing. US President Clinton, in 1995, illuminated why private property was essential for economic growth (Linklater, 2015). Clinton explained the concept of the ‘industrial home’; a person who buys a home will need durable goods, such as, refrigerators and lawn mowers (Linklater, 2015). As a consequence, each household consumed the same products that could be cheaply mass produced. Thus, home ownership equated to increased consumerism, which in turn created customers for entrepreneurs, who would then generate economic growth (Linklater, 2015).

To keep up with demand, Western corporations began to centralise management headquarters but decentralised production globally for cheaper production purposes (Boyer, 1996). High consumption created another reason why land privatisation was required in 'underdeveloped' countries. It was argued underdeveloped countries needed to commercialise their natural resources, communal and social ownership of space, so that foreign investment could take place (Levitt, 2003, p. 562). Individualised property rights are seen as key to creating a liberalisation of inward foreign direct investment (Williamson, 2004). This necessitated the deregulation of land and the establishment of an open property market (Williamson, 2004). Foreign investment would enable 'underdeveloped' countries to start their own production of consumables. The purpose was to generate privatised 'industrial home' development within their own economies.

Privatisation is the bedrock of neoliberal development. The embedded view in the West is that land has value when it is privately owned and yields a profit (Li, 2014). Therefore, those who fail to improve land, or use it in a way that yields profit, can legitimately lose it, as was seen during the colonial period (Henry, 2016). Thus, the West concluded that Indigenous entrepreneurs require individual tenure to have a progressive mindset which would unlock the land's capital through organised labour. This in turn would generate products for consumption and stimulate economic growth (Lewis, 1954). In sum, this section has attempted to critique the notion that Western identity is framed by private ownership as an ontological expression of humanity.

2.4.5 LIBERALISATION

Another factor that is claimed to create a fertile environment for entrepreneurship is trade liberalisation based on; laissez-faire industrial policies, decreased barriers to international inflow of goods, labour and capital, and macro-economic stability guaranteed by low inflation and balanced budgets (Chang, 2010). Trade liberalisation involves negotiated international trade and investment treaties or agreements between countries, bilaterally, regionally or multilaterally (Friel et al.,

2013). Trade agreements exist within WTO regulations that push for liberalisation, together with the IMF who offer short term financing, and along with the WB who provide longer-term investments (Chang, 2010). The WTO has become the global economic governance system, making it unavoidable for countries not to engage with liberalisation.

Neoliberalism maintains that trade agreements improve industrial efficiency through increased competition that stimulates new areas of 'comparative advantage' (Farrelly et al., 2016). Since the 1980s international financial institutions and aid donor countries have pressed underdeveloped countries to join the WTO and adopt free trade agreements (Farrelly et al., 2016). Trade liberalisation would create an environment for high consumerism, which Rostow (1956) and Smith (1908) contend brings about sustainable economic growth. Countries needed to make consumerism a way of life for liberalisation to take root. In 1955, Vector Lebow (1995, n.p.), a persuasive US marketing consultant, declared for economic growth societies need to make:

“... consumption our way of life, that we convert the buying and use of goods into rituals, that we seek our spiritual satisfactions ... in consumption ... We need things consumed, burned up, worn out, replaced, and discarded at an ever-increasing pace.”

Trade liberalisation held people captive to a belief that high consumerism equated to economic and social well-being (Sayers, 2008). For underdeveloped countries to liberalise trade, competition and increased imports for consumption would be required. This is observed in the relationship between NZ and Pacific countries. As already discussed, NZ shifted its focus from poverty reduction in underdeveloped countries to economic development and 'aid for trade' (Banks et al., 2012). This goal strengthened Pacific countries' willingness to enter into liberalised trade (Farrelly et al., 2016).

Trade liberalisation, however, has not been without its critiques. For example, Polanyi (2014) commented that the, “laissez-faire economy was the product of deliberate state action” (p. 147). He contended people were being shaped by a fictitious system with unrealistic demands and that the free market was epistemologically subordinate to Western political, social and agendas, marketed through the narrative of economic growth (Polanyi, 2014). Polanyi also argued that the free market economic theory was based on the economy being dis-embedded from the realities of society (Polanyi, 2014, p. 62). Through this dis-embedment an onslaught of negative externalities was created and as of 2015, 1 per cent of the world’s richest people now have more wealth than the other 99 per cent of people in the world (Hardoon et al., 2016). Polanyi’s critique, however, largely fell on deaf ears and economists went on to contend that for liberalisation to be effective, there was a need for privatisation to take place.

2.5 MEASURING ECONOMIC SUCCESS

The goal and approach for development had been established and then a way to measure countries’ progress was needed. Historically, the predominant way to measure a country’s economic development was through its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Thirlwall, 2014). GDP represents the monetary value of goods and services produced per capita in a country over a specific time period (Herath, 2009 p. 155). In other words, people’s wellbeing was determined by their level of income and production; if the GDP was growing then the country has healthy economic welfare; if stagnant or decreasing, it means the country has poor economic health and production (Herath, 2009). Economists pursue scientific, mathematical and universal answers, and so GDP was quickly embraced for measuring economic growth (Raworth, 2018). GDP made countries comparable and quantified how far behind underdeveloped countries were (Thirlwall, 2014).

Until the mid-1990s data collection for GDP or entrepreneurial research was usually through a mono-method of surveys and questionnaires seeking quantitative

data (Smith & McKeever, 2017). The dominance of a positivist paradigm led to a fixation on numbers and resulted in a set of philosophical assumptions that guided the analysis of business research (Bryman & Bell, 2003). From 1989 onwards the United Nations promoted the Human Development Index (HDI) as a more holistic measurement of development, as it incorporates; health, education and standards of living (Thirlwall, 2014). Furthermore, the MDGs were created through prestigious international conferences in the 1990s (Green, Hale, & Lockwood, 2012), generating universal indicators that countries could be measured against (Desai & Potter, 2014). Subsequently, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2013, were developed by a diverse UN Task Team, who published their findings, “The Future We Want,” providing a wider measurability approach (The UN Task Team on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, 2012, p. 2). Although alternative measurements have been developed, the predominant way to measure economic development remains by GDP.

2.5.3 PACIFIC INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURS MEASURED THROUGH A NEOLIBERAL LENS

The Pacific is known for slow economic development, historically due to weak economies based on agricultural exportation and the higher importation of foreign goods (Coates et al., 2010). Globally the Pacific has received the world’s highest aid levels and while this external assistance has helped enable markets and improve producers’ incomes, the overall results have been deemed mixed (Hughes, 2003; Overton, 1999). Conventional measurements of economic development in the region have led to economic experts representing entrepreneurs in the Pacific as being either passive victims of traditionalism or dependent beneficiaries of aid, who are held captive by customary land (Hughes, 2004; Reddy, Mohanty, & Naidu, 2004).

In the Pacific region customary ownership accounts for more than 80 per cent of the total land area, as shown in Table 2.1, and has been seen as the predominant barrier to development (AusAID, 2008). External commentators argue customary land practices inhibit Pacific economic development, as it has limited governments’ abilities to

generate tax on land activities and zone land for businesses, banks are reluctant to provide loans, and foreign investment is uncertain. These limitations result in scarce incentives for local entrepreneurship (Duncan, 2008, 2018; Gosarevski, Hughes, Windybank & Gosarevski, 2004; Weiner, 2013). These issues are reflected in the papers by Hughes et al. (2004), which influenced government policy in Australia and New Zealand and their relations with Pacific nations. Hughes' (2004) work suggests that development policies should favour individualised property rights, proclaiming that, "communal ownership has not permitted any country to develop" (p. 137). These policies have influenced aid to target mainly privatisation and liberalised economic reforms in Fiji, which is explored further in Chapter 4 (Reddy, Mohanty, & Naidu, 2004).

Table 2.1. Examples of land tenure in the Pacific region

COUNTRY	PUBLIC	FREEHOLD	CUSTOMARY
FIJI	0.3%	7.94%	91.68%
SAMOA	15%	4%	81%
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	2.5%	0.5%	97%
NIUE	1.5%	0%	98.5%
KIRIBATI	50%	5%	45%

Source: Author. Adapted from (Australian Agency for International Development, 2008; Gadolo, 2017 p. 5)

Customary land as a barrier to development is highlighted in Duncan's (2018) recent research on land reform in Papua New Guinea (PNG), where he concluded that customary land:

"meant that individuals from within the clan or outside entities could not gain secure title to portions of clan land. Thus, there was no scope for individuals to express their innovative abilities and entrepreneurship through having complete control over the use of the land. Nor could the land be used as collateral for loans to invest in businesses. Hence, customary land, which

provides a livelihood for around 85% of the PNG population ... has been much less productive than it could be,” (p.15).

Duncan (2018) argued if Indigenous people in PNG adopted land reform, then there would be an increased, “value through innovation and enterprise that results in new businesses. Undertaken on a widespread basis, this will increase investment, incomes and jobs throughout PNG,” (p. 19). The next section explores how reform has put pressure on entrepreneurs from the Pacific to overcome traditionalism.

2.5.4 INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURS OVERCOMING TRADITIONALISM

In exploring why Indigenous entrepreneurs were not flourishing under a modernisation type development, Lewis (1973) claimed, “no community can suddenly be endowed with adequate native entrepreneurial capacity” (p. 1-2). He argued that pre-existing entrepreneurs needed to get over, what he coined ‘hangovers’ of traditionalism and discard old ways to develop progressive mindsets, as seen from the cited literature in this chapter and presented in Table 2.2. For example, the progressive entrepreneur supposedly saves, invests and risks, but is not so concerned with meeting social obligations.

Table 2.2. The progressive entrepreneur

Traditional Hangovers	Progressive Entrepreneur
Strong kin connections	Individual freedom for achievement
Relies on local community	Relies on global community
Social obligations	Saves, invests and risks
Surplus unspecialised labour	Division of labour and specialised jobs
Cultural, religious and traditional beliefs	Scientific and rational decision making
Customary tenure	Privatisation

Author adapted from (Lewis, 1973)

The United Nations Human Settlement Programme (2008 p. 38) asserts that, 'effective, accessible, transparent and accountable land administration is crucial to any effective governance framework,' resulting in Pacific countries facing the dilemma of how to incorporate Western systems of tenure with mainly customary land ownership practices. Table 2.2 illustrates how customary land practices in the Pacific differ from private ownership practices, advocated under economic modernisation reforms. In customary land practices exchange of land is done through socio-cultural norms held by a particular community. It is localised and requires a reliance on oral knowledge on who owns what land. By contrast, private ownership practices are done through the market and require a universal legal system; the local has to be incorporated in the global and requires harmonisation with global practices, as seen in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3. Contrast of customary and private land tenure

Customary Land Practices	Private Ownership Practices
Access, trade, exchange or gift of land is based on birth into communal kinship groups or through negotiation with another kinship group.	Land is for private ownership and is protected through registered title.
Land boundaries are approved by particularly male chiefs or elders, within the kinship group.	The land boundaries are surveyed and clearly identified. The use of it is approved through the government.
Land is focal for social, cultural and spiritual activities.	Land means resources and wealth.
Land is transferred and redistributed within existing social and political relationships.	The law gives the titleholder power to sell, lease and mortgage the land.
Simple division of labour, less specialised job roles, individuals rely on their local communities for basic needs to be met.	Complex division of labour, individuals have specialised jobs and rely on the global market to meet basic needs.
Religious beliefs and traditions influence day to day life	Rational decision-making influences day to day life
Stronger community and family bonds and collectivism.	Weaker community and family bonds means more individual freedom.

Source: Author. Adapted from (AusAID, 2006b, 2006a, 2008; Sutton, 2001)

The goal of development has been to move the Pacific towards private ownership practices which has resulted in the observation made by Curry et al. (2012, p. 122) that in today's current development climate, "within the Pacific Islands there is little sign that culture, in whatever form, is seen as a resource but much more that it is seen as a brake on hopeful structures of development."

2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined how customary land became conceptualised as a barrier to development, within the discourse of modernisation theories. The historical overview of key concepts in modernisation revealed that development, for ‘underdeveloped’ countries, was designed so that Western cultural categories, languages, representations and ideals of the world could be globally prescribed (Hall, 1992). This chapter has highlighted the pivotal role that entrepreneurs play in economic development and the importance of innovative business practices. This thesis will continue to explore what type of ‘entrepreneurial culture’ enables Indigenous entrepreneurs on customary land to thrive. This chapter showed how external Western-centric commentators on customary land have used the theoretical framework of neoliberalism as the primary lens to view Indigenous entrepreneurship. This thesis will explore alternatives to neoliberal measurements, using customary land-based business as the pivotal subject matter, which will highlight that there are many different ways of approaching economics (Chang, 2014). The development approach taken for this thesis is outlined in Chapter 3.

3. CULTURALLY EMBEDDED ENTREPRENEURS AND HOPEFUL POST-DEVELOPMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses and examines literature relevant to the theoretical context for this study, thereby setting the scene for an exploration of the research objectives by outlining key ideas around customary land-based businesses, Indigenous entrepreneurship, and agency within development. Section 3.2 of the chapter presents an overview over ‘hopeful post-development’ approaches, which are framing this thesis. Three recent hopeful post-development concepts are: ‘enlarging the field of valid experience,’ ‘prioritising assets and agency,’ and the ethos of the ‘diverse economies approach.’ These three are foundational for exploring how customary land can be a cultural, economic and social resource for Indigenous entrepreneurs. Section 3.3 offers alternative definitions on entrepreneurship and business; these are presented in contrast to those in Chapter 2. In light of these alternative definitions and the guiding framework of post-development, the priority of Indigenous agency is further explored in Section 3.4. This offers a continuum of factors that affect agency, which will be used in the fieldwork and discussion of the findings in Chapter 7. Section 3.5 explores an alternative way from Chapter 2 to measure the sustainability of customary land-based businesses (CLBB). This chapter will thus enable an inquiry into how Indigenous entrepreneurs express their agency through utilizing customary land as a social-cultural, economic and environmental resource.

3.2 HOPEFUL POST-DEVELOPMENT: AN ALLY FOR INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURS

Chapter 2 illustrated how neoliberalism has been the ‘orthodox’ solution to poverty in development. In contrast, this chapter draws attention to the debate around

development, stemming from its apparent failure and exclusion of those in poverty from their own developmental processes (Sachs, 1997). Globally and within nations, gaps between rich and poor are rising. The co-option of development to benefit the West, and inadequate change from development interventions, has left many disenchanted about possible development end goals (Sachs, 1992). Writers reflecting on about this disillusionment with the conventional 'development project' were termed 'post-development'. Beban-France and Brooks (2008) describe this field:

"... post development work involves analysing and critiquing the knowledges, languages and meanings within development industries, particularly focusing on how they may serve to shape or perpetuate power relations. As 'alternatives to development', post-development thinkers promote social movements, grassroots, locally driven, approaches to social organisation," (p. 77).

Post-development represents a diverse school of thought, but in this thesis two predominate 'camps' are focused on. Firstly, early post-development writings, identified by their anti-development position, will be looked at; secondly, hopeful post-development writings that acknowledge problems inherent in development but then re-imagine it rather than reject it are focused on (Gibson-Graham, Cameron, & Healy, 2013; McGregor, 2009). The early theorists are explored for relevant insights; the later writings, however, are central to this thesis as they hold, prioritise, and build on local knowledge and agency.

In the 1990s early post-development theorists were disheartened by development, as encapsulated in Escobar's (2012) observation, "instead of the kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1950s, the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and repression" (p.4). Post-development proponents drew due attention to how development denied the credibility of non-Western cultures and at best had failed or at worst was a 'hoax', designed to cover up violent damage to people in poverty (Ziai, 2013). Development was seen as, "not

medicine but rather a disease,” (Matthews, 2007, p. 131). Writers such as Sachs (1992) and Rahnema (1997) argued that the rejection of development would end the inhumane and self-destructive approach that modernisation theories brought. Generally, in development, modernisation theories were seen as ontological and unquestionably right. However, Escobar (2012, p. 232), Gudeman (1986), Milberg (1991), and Vint (1986) contended that modernisation theories rose rather from Western epistemologies, which were already formed through within the Age of Enlightenment. This dominance of Western ideology was identified in Esteva’s (1992) reflections on President Truman’s speech, referred to in Chapter 2, where the South was categorised as being subordinate to the West:

“... two billion people became underdeveloped ... from that time on, they ceased being what they were, in all their diversity, and were transmogrified into an inverted mirror of other’s reality: a mirror that belittles them and sends them to the end of the queue, a mirror that defines their identity, which is really that of a heterogeneous and diverse majority, simply in the terms of a homogenizing and narrow minority, (p. 7)”

Early post-development proponents reasoned development is not just a technical term, but rather a mindset, “a perception which models reality,” where words create worlds (Cornwall, 2007; Sachs, 1992). The West produced representations of the South that enabled a self-fulfilling prophecy of domination, creating a belief that development, no matter how harmful, was ultimately good for those who received it (Van Ausdal, 2001). This enabled ongoing Western neo-colonialism, which continued to redefine ‘underdeveloped’ countries as passive and helpless victims with inferior traditional knowledge (Esteva, 1992; Sachs, 1992).

Such early, critical post-development writing offers valuable insights into development. However, four main criticisms of this have been voiced. Firstly, post-development authors disseminate ideas while living wealthy middle-class lifestyles, which development promises to offer people in poverty (Sidaway, 2014; Ziai, 2013).

Secondly, constructive solutions to problems were not offered, there was disregard for gains made for those in poverty and rejection of the possibility of further transformation (Rigg, 2003; Sidaway, 2014). Thirdly, Southern communities were romanticised, as the 'local' was given uncritical praise, creating a new binary of an "evil West and a noble South", whereas in both, corruption and exploitation take place (Gibson-Graham, 2005; Kiely, 1999; McGregor, 2009; Nustad, 2001). Fourthly, they focused exclusively on how development structures shape people rather than how people can structure development, paradoxically implying that people in the South are passive victims (McGregor, 2009). These critiques do not disqualify insights from post-development, but there is a need to go beyond anti-development stances towards new possibilities for change, as people in poverty still desire transformed economic circumstances (Gibson-Graham, 2005; Rahnema, 1997; Santos, 2004).

A second school of authors sympathetic to post-development, but who do not reject development, rose from these critiques. Hopeful post-development discourses emerged around the 1990s and early 2000s, seeking to re-conceptualise development as an ally to people desiring to be, "free to change the rules and the contents of change, according to their own culturally defined ethics and aspirations" (Rahnema, 1997, p. 385). Advocates of hopeful post-development are informed by a wide range of localised Indigenous and grassroots theorists (Gibson-Graham, 2005; McGregor, 2009). They were influenced by the 1980s 'cultural turn', which brought about the acknowledgement that culture is intrinsic to economic, political, social processes and ways of knowing (Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006; Schech & Haggis, 2000). Case studies of successful, locally derived development were identified that had previously lacked recognition (Agostino, 2007). Development is still acknowledged as ambiguous and political but, within all its obscurity, hopeful post-development advocates seek to "imagine how the development industry may still be a conduit for social change" (McKinnon, 2007, p. 773; De Vries, 2007). This is convincingly argued by Gibson-Graham (2005):

"The challenge of post-development is not to give up on development nor to see all development practice - past present and future in wealthy and poor countries as tainted, failed, retrograde ... as though there were a space of purity beyond or outside development that we could access through renunciation. The challenge is to imagine and practice development differently," (p.6).

To re-imagine development, post-structural epistemological conviction was drawn upon. This is a belief that words, language, and representations affect people's everyday lives (McGregor, 2009). The focus, specifically, on Indigenous epistemologies opened up alternative ways of conceptualising development (Hau'ofa, 2000). In examining hopeful post-development literature, this thesis focuses on three 'themes' that have emerged from it: firstly, how development can expand the field of valid experience; secondly, the need for prioritising people's assents and agency; lastly, the ethos of bottom up, people-centred diverse economics.

3.2.1 EXPANDING THE FIELD OF VALID EXPERIENCE

Through hopeful post-development inquiry into economic development, attention has been brought to economic practices previously regarded as invalid or 'non-existent' (Gibson-Graham, 2010; Santos, 2004). Santos (2004, p. 238-39) provides an account of five modes of modern science that resulted in producing forms of 'non-existence' in development theory and practice, being; the monoculture of knowledge, linear time, classification of the universal, and the global and capitalist productivity and efficiency. These modes of modern science deem those who cannot be categorised within the monoculture as "the ignorant, the residual, the inferior, the local and the non-productive", who need "the scientific advanced, superior, global, or productive realities" (Santos, 2004, p. 239). The result is that their own cultural understandings of knowledge, time, classification, universal and global, productivity and efficiency thus becoming 'non-existent'.

To make the 'non-existent' visible again the field of valid experience needs to be expanded in development (Gibson-Graham, 2005). The validation of Indigenous epistemologies and alternative approaches to development not only increases possibilities for change but, also, widens the likelihood of sustainable future social change and brings what was previously 'invisible,' as viable contributions to development measurements, practice and policy.

For this thesis, Indigenous knowledge and culture is seen as inherently valid and evolving through collective deliberation in plural realities, which is informed by local-level histories, geographies, and socio-cultural constructs (Briggs, 2014). An example of a collective deliberation in plural realities is the *iTaukei* concept of *Vanua*; which refers to "a people, their chief, their defined territory, their waterways or fishing grounds, their environment, their spirituality, their history, their epistemology and culture" (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 155). This forms the foundation for *iTaukei* culture, society and economic development (Hereniko, 2006; Meo-Sewabu, 2016; Nabobo-Baba, 2006; Ravuvu, 1983; Tuwere, 2002). More broadly Pacific epistemologies, researched by Gegeo (2001), Teairo (1999) Teaiwa (2014), "affirm not only that Indigenous epistemologies are alive and well, but also that they are relevant and useful to the societies and peoples to whom they belong" (Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 88). In concentrating on the theme of 'expanding the field of valid experience', local contexts are affirmed and invested in, rather than disregarded.

3.2.2 PRIORITISING HUMAN ASSETS AND AGENCY

Hopeful post-development writers resist the temptation to seek solutions 'outside' of the community; instead the concentration is on agency and assets within communities (Gibson-Graham, 2005; McGregor, 2009). Agency builds on grassroot and Indigenous writings, which demonstrate people's ability (or lack of) to act, shape and change their 'world' (Nustad, 2001). An approach focused on agency emphasises what is already happening and what assets currently exist within the community; for example, pre-existing local skills and resources that can be activated to achieve the community's

development aspirations (Gibson-Graham, 2005; Cahill, & McKay, 2010). Prioritising agency and assets results in development operating in accordance with local communities' strategies and main concerns (Dada, 2016; Escobar, 2012; McEwan, 2001).

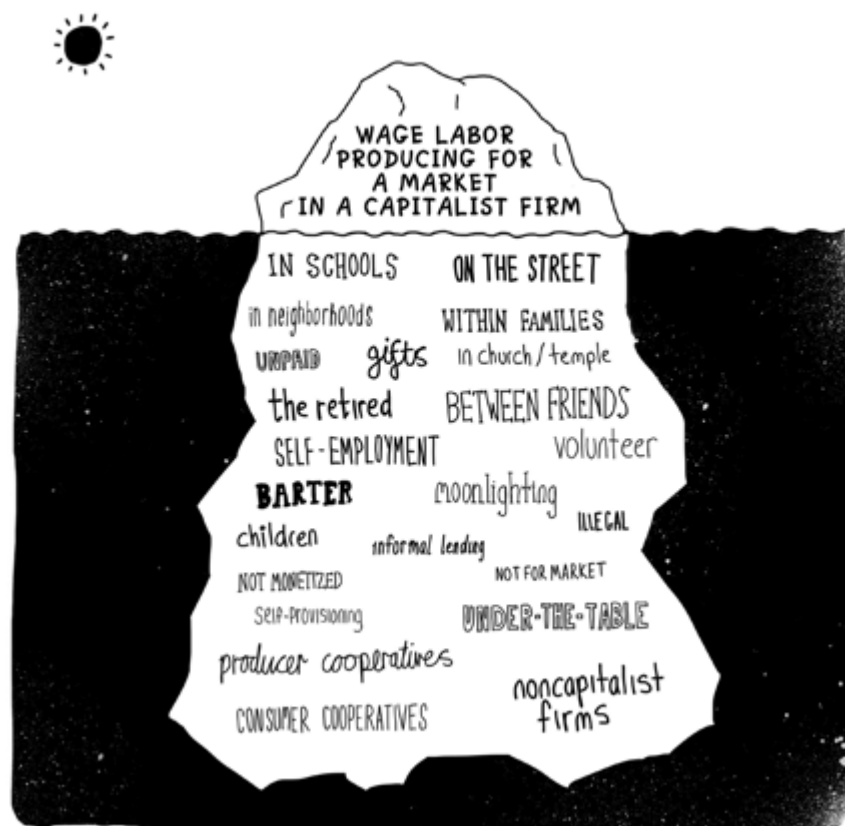
An illustration of how people's assets and agency have been incorporated within development practice, is in the concept of 'positive deviance' (Pascale et al., 2010). Positive deviance describes "outliers who succeed against the odds" (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 3). This concept is premised on the belief that a person in the community has the ability to face problems perceived as unsolvable. Using the same resources as everyone else, this person overcomes problems by deviating away from the norm (Pascale et al., 2010). This person becomes an asset, as their solution can be adopted by the wider community (Pascale et al., 2010). Positive deviance is a process that transforms social structures and dynamics that are stagnant or fixed (Pascale et al., 2010). This process draws attention to, 'what is right,' rather than, 'what is wrong.' Positive deviance strategies have brought about transformational change in a variety of development issues, such as, female genital mutilation, infant malnutrition and rehabilitation of child soldiers (Pascale et al., 2010).

3.2.3 PEOPLE-CENTRED DIVERSE ECONOMICS

Hopeful post-development holds that modernisation theories have limited economic imagination, and rather advocates for bottom up, people-centred economics that might engage with capitalism but do not need to adopt neoliberal ideologies (McGregor, 2009; Simon, 2006, p. 172). For example, research into Indigenous entrepreneurship shows that Indigenous business models are often a hybridisation of traditional and modern economies, thus challenging the binary between supposedly traditional and modern businesses (Anderson & Dana, 2007; Curry et al., 2016). People-centred diverse economies recognize an economy as an historical discursive production, rather than an ontological category (Timothy, 2010; Callon, 2007), as evident in the diverse economies approach to development by Gibson-Graham (2010; 2005). Gibson-

Graham et al. (2013) created a visual representation, shown in Figure 3.1, to illustrate the hegemony of 'capitalocentrism' in development. This is when economic activity is solely represented in terms of its relationship to capitalism, as shown within the tip of the economic iceberg as wage, labour and a market "in a capitalist firm". The submerged part of the iceberg shows economic activity that is invisible, unacknowledged, excluded and suppressed but occurs every day with non-capitalistic ends (Gibson-Graham, 2010).

Figure 3.1. Economic iceberg



Source: (Gibson-Graham, Cameron, & Healy, 2013 p. 11)

The diverse economies approach is grounded in feminist economics, which incorporates goods and services, which are given, taken, and exchanged outside of the markets, and into areas of life often seen as not economic (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson-Graham & Roelvink, 2011). Although non-monetary exchanges are becoming more widely acknowledged, development has sought to individualise Indigenous entrepreneurs, cutting them off from support networks needed to start a business, as

was shown in Chapter 2. Furthermore, the household and voluntary sectors have generally been excluded due to modernised patriarchy (Mitter, 1997). Prior to the 1970s, development discourse largely ignored or misrepresented women as dependent or powerless. Modernised patriarchy has hidden the significant contribution women's unpaid or low-paid labour has had. Through financial crises and natural disasters, researchers have found women have positive influences on population trends and have creatively invented ways to meet basic needs (Rathgeber, 1993).

Furthermore, a diverse economies approach considers activities undertaken within the sphere of social and ecological relationships (Gibson-Graham, 2010; Gibson-Graham & Miller, 2005). This has been inadequately referenced in modernisation theories. For example, land privatisation can demand that 'the economy' is set in opposition to environmental needs, meaning Indigenous 'ecological livelihoods' can become compromised (Gibson-Graham & Miller, 2005). Whereas, in an Indigenous worldview, humans are stewards of the world through totemic associations and cultural knowledge (Movono et al., 2018). Neoliberalism is an ideological belief that informs capitalism but is at odds with Indigenous stewardship. However, capitalism can be informed by Indigenous ideological beliefs.

I would like to suggest that post-development, on the one hand, highlights development practices that need critiquing and at times rejecting. However, on the other hand, if we are to heed the voices of those in poverty who desire change, then development needs to work as an ally that seeks to enhance peoples' agency and assets. This requires a holistic embrace of social, environmental, cultural and monetary elements in the economy, which expands the field of valid experience.

3.3 RE-DEFINING ENTREPRENEURS AND BUSINESS MODELS

In light of the discussion around expanding credibility in development this section, rather than rejecting the role of entrepreneurs and business in development, seeks to offer an alternative definition for them. In Chapter 2 it was reviewed how

Schumpeter's definition of is widely used, which is, "Entrepreneurship is the pursuit of opportunity without regard to resources currently controlled" (Schumpeter 1934, cited in, Rennie, 2007, p. 258). The wider literature around entrepreneurship in Chapter 2 illustrated how the pursuit of opportunity was to be done individualistically, rationally and with reliance on the global market. The definition misses, however, the growing body of global literature, which acknowledges that entrepreneurs embed their actions in social and cultural structures.

The concept of 'embedding' is in reference to Polanyi's (2014) work, which assumes that entrepreneurship is dependent on non-economic institutions and that society drives and informs economic activity (Farrelly & Vudiniabola, 2013). Recent research on entrepreneurship has shown that entrepreneurs require a wider community who invest into the business, through volunteering time, knowledge and collaboration, as the establishment, and then success of a businesses is dependent on non-monetary exchanges (Skokic & Morrison, 2015). This results in social and cultural relationships being honoured along with formal business practices (Skokic & Morrison, 2015; Welter & Smallbone, 2011). Peredo and Chrisman (2006) define the social embeddedness of entrepreneurship as "a community acting corporately as both entrepreneur and enterprise in pursuit of the common good ... to create and operate a new enterprise embedded in its existing social structure," (p. 310). There is a growing body of literature that offers alternative definitions of entrepreneurship through seeking to capture definitions of Indigenous entrepreneurship, for example Foley (2000) who comments:

"The Indigenous Australian entrepreneur alters traditional patterns of behaviour, by utilizing their resources in the pursuit of self-determination and economic sustainability via their entry into self-employment, forcing social change in the pursuit of opportunity beyond the cultural norms of their initial economic resources" (p.11).

Another example is Hindle and Lansdowne (2005), who add a helpful contribution:

“Indigenous entrepreneurship is the creation, management and development of new ventures by Indigenous people for the benefit of Indigenous people. The organizations thus created can pertain to either the private, public or non-profit sectors. The desired and achieved benefits of venturing can range from the narrow view of economic profit for a single individual to the broad view of multiple, social and economic advantages for entire communities. Outcomes and entitlements derived from Indigenous entrepreneurship may extend to enterprise partners and stakeholders who may be non-Indigenous” (p. 9).

In light of these definitions this thesis understands an Indigenous entrepreneur based on customary land, as:

Someone who creates opportunities out of communal resources, that others fail to see or appreciate, into something of viable value, where both informal and formal assets and the returns of the enterprise generate social, cultural, environmental and economic communal well-being.

A common theme within the above-mentioned definitions is the importance of Indigenous people benefiting from the economic enterprise, in a way that enables them to overcome disadvantages (Hindle & Moroz, 2010). Another common theme is the desire to be active competitive participants in the global economy. However, these people wish to do so to not lose cultural and social norms (Hindle & Moroz, 2010). Examples of this can be seen in the Pacific. An extensive study of 700 Pacific business owners found that cultural and social collectivist approaches were normative (Saffu, 2003). In Papua New Guinea smallholder palm oil farmers incorporated kinship-based exchange in their business structure (Curry, 2003, p. 419). Other research has shown ten Solomon Islands business owners were strongly influenced by customary beliefs (Leokana, 2014). Another found in Fiji involves an *iTaukei* successful collective enterprise that has developed management groups to separate farm assets and income, so they can contribute to their village social obligations sustainably (Narayan & Duncan, 2008). Ravuvu, (1983) describes Pacific economic activity as a way of life emphasising

the use of material things for communal social goals. Successful Pacific businesses have been identified as utilising kinship networks through customary land-based practices of gift giving, reciprocity, and communal activities (Curry & Koczberski, 2012; Harmsworth, 2005).

Even though there is growing awareness of Indigenous entrepreneurs' aspirations economic development has often failed in Fiji, argues Meo-Sewabu (2016), because the entrepreneurs' cultural environments within which the programmes are implemented are not comprehended. What is considered as economic wellbeing in local perceptions is missed in development that focuses on individual benefits and increased income rather than communal economic wellbeing (Meo-Sewabu, 2016). A pivotal part of local economic wellbeing for Indigenous entrepreneurs in the Pacific is that the land is honoured by their businesses. Indigenous people in different locations have different words for their conceptions of land, such as *vanua* in Fiji, *fonua* in Tonga, *enua* in the Cook Islands and *whenua* in New Zealand. All conceptualisations are similar as they see people as an extension of land that is entwined with traditions and history and is interlinked with the natural and spiritual world (Batibasaga et al., 1999). Thus, a Pacific Indigenous entrepreneur is rooted in an historical, institutional, spatial, cultural and social context, where traditional customs are honoured through customary land-based practices.

The businesses that are developed through these alternative entrepreneurship practices, thus, do not entirely fit into the definition of a business given in Chapter 2 by the US Financial Accounting Standards Board (2018) (see Section 2.3). Hock (2005), provides a simple alternative definition by defining a business as, "a conceptual embodiment of a very old, very powerful idea called community," (n.p.). Another definition is offered by Kilpatrick (2016) who sees a local business as, "[a] communally integrated set of activities and assets that is capable of being conducted and managed for the purpose of providing a return where both assets and returns can be economic, social or psychological". (p. 53). These definitions are used within my thesis as they capture human activities that occur within a business.

3.4 CULTURALLY EMBEDDED INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURS' AGENCY

If entrepreneurship and business models are to be explored differently in this study, then two concepts need to be examined. The first is the notion of Indigenous entrepreneurs as agents of positive change; this requires outlining the culturally embedded agency of human and non-human actors, leading to a theoretical continuum of agency used in this thesis. The second concept is an alternative way to measure businesses' success. The measurements must reflect the culturally embedded nature of the business, as explored in Section 3.5. First, a brief overview of 'agency'.

Definitions and conceptualisations of 'agency' have been studied in a variety of ways. A common theme throughout the literature is that agency is the ability to act and formulate strategic life choices or "the exercise of will and conscious action on the part of human subjects" (Dolan et al., 2012; White & Wyn, 1997, p. 315). Agency in economics is regarded as control of resources and decisions on how those resources can be used for desired outcomes (Dolan et al., 2012; Meo-Sewabu, 2016). Agency incorporates an actor-orientated approach, which holds that an actor utilizes 'what is already known', through social and cultural norms, to make sense cognitively, emotionally and organisationally of experiences (Long, 2001). Therefore, to understand an actor's agency, observations of their different patterns of behaviour must be grounded in their lived experience which draws attention to the actor's practices, strategies and rationales for their actions (Hays, 1994; Long, 2001). Because of this, a 'culturally embedded agency' is chosen for the study.

3.4.1 CULTURALLY EMBEDDED AGENCY OF HUMAN AND NON-HUMAN ACTORS

There is growing acknowledgement of customary land tenure as asset for achieving development. However, little is known about the 'on-the-ground' experiences of successful Indigenous entrepreneurs who utilise customary land (Fingleton, 2004; National Land Development Taskforce, 2007; Ward & Kingdon, 2006). This thesis helps

to fill this gap by exploring the 'on-the-ground experience' of an Indigenous business based on customary land. To achieve this, the work of Meo-Sewabu's (2016) 'Culturally Embedded Agency' is drawn on, which prioritises the local context an entrepreneur is in. Culturally embedded agency occurs when actions take place through cultural systems, practices and processes that are associated with societal wellbeing, and people's understanding on personhood. In this context, Strathern (1985) contends different cultures have contrasting views of personhood and there are also different notions of what constitutes agency. Scholars, such as, Ingold (1995), Bird-David (1999), and Watts (2013), explain that Indigenous people's understanding of personhood comes from seeing themselves as an extension of the land. This is also seen in Tuwere's (2002, p. 49) comment about how land defines who *iTaukei* are: "One does not own the land; the land owns him. Man [sic] and land are one. ... He [sic] derives ... his [sic] constitution as a human being from the *vanua*, which means both turf and people" (p. 49). Similarly, Kovach et al. (2013, p. 491) argues that expression of identity takes place in self-locating an intuitive relational space which enables a person to be 'located' in the land. However, these notions have largely been dismissed in development practice or policy regarding Indigenous people's agency.

Indigenous perceptions of who and what contributes to social structures are vastly different from Western thinking (Watts, 2013). Western agency is based on agents being distinct *from* the natural world, whereas Indigenous agency is found in relationships *with* the natural world (Nabobo-Baba, 2006). Many Indigenous creation stories have humans as the last species to be made or arrive on earth, this means humans entered into an established society which they needed to fit into and are dependent on (Benton-Banai, 2016). Thus, non-human actors had the agency to directly influence how humans sought to organise themselves (Watts, 2013 p. 23). Therefore Indigenous entrepreneur's agency is expressed through the interconnectedness of all things (Kovach, 2009; Kwame, 2017; Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Smith, 1999a).

For Indigenous people a society is made through the relationship between the human and non-human, and the economy is embedded in these exchanges. Indigenous

entrepreneurs' embedded agency is expressed orally, and in practice, through daily activities, by honouring cultural rituals that uphold ancestors, ecological, and spiritual dimensions inside the land (Movono et al., 2018; Scheyvens et al., 2017). Examples of the expression of culturally embedded agency by Indigenous entrepreneurs are seen in Pacific people's successful involvement in agriculture, tourism and forestry businesses based around customary land (Ward & Kingdon, 2006). An understanding of *iTaukei* entrepreneurs' embedded agency needs to incorporate non-human actors, such as land or spirits, as their agency is entwined with the *Vanua*. This is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Overviewing the pivotal role land has in Indigenous understanding of agency draws attention to how devastating the loss of land is as it is taking away people's sense of identity and agency (Reid et al., 2016). For Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the loss of land has resulted in immense intergeneration poverty, lack of education and employment (Gracey & King, 2009). Similar social and economic trials are reported for exiled Indigenous people all around the world (Cooke et al., 2007). The trauma of land loss creates chronic mental health issues resulting in collective psychological suffering for Indigenous peoples (Atkinson, 2010; Evans-Campbell, 2008). The experiences of Indigenous peoples globally have shown the collapse of communal ties through loss of land does not produce a revolution of individualistic, self-interested pursuits. Instead, it creates displacement and dysfunction, intensifying the very problems and devastating actions that conventional development seeks to find a solution to (Morris, 2013).

3.4.2 CONTINUUM OF THICK AND THIN AGENCY

Research Objective One of this study is focused on examining the conventional context of economic development so that constraints and enablers for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs can be identified. Ortner (2006), explains constrained agency as "human behaviour ... shaped, moulded, ordered, and defined by external social and cultural forces and formations: by culture, by mental structures, by capitalism" (pp. 1-2). Social

actions often have simultaneous constraining or enabling frameworks and it is important to take into full account the conditions under which choices are made (Long, 2001). Klocker (2007) provides a framework of 'thin' and 'thick' agency used in this thesis, which enables an exploration of the wider context choices are made in.

Klocker (2007) defines constrained agency as 'thin' agency where, "everyday actions ...are carried out within highly restrictive contexts, characterized by few viable alternatives" (p. 85). This often results in the actor reproducing the thinning structure they are in. Enabled agency is defined by Klocker (2007) as 'thick' agency, which is "having the latitude to act within a broad range of options" (p. 85), resulting in an actor having the ability to shape social structures towards beneficial outcomes. Thick agency results in a sense of wellbeing, defined as "one's ability to promote goals that one has reason to promote" (Sen, 1992 p. 60). Agency is expressed in contexts of power and can either be 'thickened' or 'thinned' by structures, context and relationships, that impact a person's range of choices.

For example, in development different stakeholders have various conceptions of land usage, which can either thin or thicken agency. Increasingly land is being acknowledged as an interface for human interaction. Li (2014) offers a helpful structure of land as an assemblage of materiality's relations, technologies and discourses, commenting, "Land is not like a mat. You cannot roll it up and take it away. It has presence and location" (p. 589). The assembling of land as a resource involves a variety of actors, such as, donors, Indigenous entrepreneurs, government, privatised sectors, churches and NGOs, that are local, national and global, with each having their own understanding of what land is, what it is for and how humans should interact with it (Li, 2014 p. 590). Scheyvens, Banks and Mo-Sewabu (2016) argue that negotiations between these actors are infused with power. Local actors can face structural constraints or enablers from other actors when trying to determine how land as a resource interacts with global economic systems.

Furthermore, in the literature an example of thinning factors that impact *iTaukei* entrepreneurs' agency in Fiji is business vulnerability created by natural disasters, especially as disasters are increasing in frequency and severity due to climate change (Brown et al., 2018). Other thinning factors include Fiji's small domestic market, the spread of islands with challenges for transport infrastructure, and isolation from global markets. Furthermore, Fiji faces high emigration of the educated population, political instability, inflation and debt, all of which pressure the economy and can be thinning factors for local businesses (Gibson & Nero, 2007). Additionally, access to technical training and assistance for entrepreneurs is limited, resulting in poor cash flows (Scheyvens et al., 2017). Furthermore, a CLBB is influenced by webs of power, regarding: the land, the spiritual realm, culture, government, institutions (for example the church), and the community. These complexities can either constrain or enable an entrepreneur's agency (Jeffery, 2012; Watts, 2013). However, these 'thinning' factors do not prevent *iTaukei* entrepreneurs from expressing their agency, as will be seen in this thesis. Thin and thick agency occurs along a continuum which is dependent upon a wide range of factors (Klocker, 2007). Table 3.1 illustrates a continuum of factors that affect agency, which will be used in Chapter 7 to investigate how an Indigenous entrepreneur's agency was either 'thinned' or 'thickened.'

Table 3.1. Continuum for investigating factors that 'thin' and 'thicken' Indigenous entrepreneurs' agency

THE AGENCY CONTINUUM	
←	→
THIN AGENCY	THICK AGENCY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actors decisions made in, 'highly restrictive contexts, characterized by few viable alternatives' (Klocker, 2007) Current structures can become reproduced and preserved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actors having the latitude to act and make decisions within a vast range of options (Klocker, 2007) Current structures can become transformed to benefit the actor
THINNING FACTORS	THICKENING FACTORS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Result in constraining structures Actors feel unable to envision, comprehend or act to bring change E.g. Customary land being a barrier to development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Result in enabling structures Actors feel able to envision, comprehend or act to bring change E.g. Customary land being a social, cultural and economic resource for development.

Source: Author, drawing on Klocker (2007) and Davidson (2012)

3.5 ALTERNATIVE WAYS TO MEASURE ECONOMIC SUCCESS

This chapter so far has sought to re-define how business and entrepreneurship has been historically understood and to demonstrate the importance of Indigenous businesses enabling the wider community to overcome disadvantages faced, such as negative conceptualisations of customary land. Consequently, an alternative way to measure business will be employed in this research. Broader measurements than individualistic pursuit of profit include life satisfaction scales, social outcomes, subjective well-being and happiness gained from the business (Eid & Larsen, 2008; Wills et al., 2011). These, however, are largely still entwined with a focus on conventional GDP measurements.

In contrast, the Marsden Project this thesis is a part of has sought to broaden the criteria of how businesses are measured, by developing a tool, “which identifies factors that contribute to the sustainability of Indigenous businesses operating on customary land in the Pacific” (Scheyvens et al., 2017, p. 778). As argued in this chapter, Pacific entrepreneurial success is associated with the ability to maintain close family ties, honour the land and meet social obligations for the well-being of the wider community. This chapter has highlighted the need for the measuring of a CLBB to include socio-cultural and environmental ways of measuring success.

Table 3.2 presents indicators of sustainability in Pacific Island businesses on customary land. These indicators were developed by the main Marsden Project researchers, Scheyvens and Banks, who are outsiders but have had over 50 years of Pacific research experience between them, and Meo-Sewabu, who has long studied well-being of Fijian people and whose ancestry lies within Fiji. The indicators are focused on three categories: economic, social-cultural and environmental spheres of business operations, encapsulating a holistic view of business success. For example, one measure is local jobs created, rather than just total employment. Another is the business’s contributions to social and cultural groups or institutions, showing that ‘success’ goes well beyond the profits earned by the business but is rather seen in how it contributes

to society. The use of these indicators and their definitions is further discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 3.2. Indicators of sustainability in Pacific Island businesses on customary land

Sub-categories	Indicators
Economic indicators	
1. Establishment	Years of operation
2. Ownership and management	Percentage of Indigenous owners and managers. Extent to which decisions are made by Indigenous owners.
3. Employment	Local jobs created. Salary and training. Level of staff retention might determine job satisfaction.
4. Capacity development	Training received by the landowners and the employees.
5. Financial Sustainability	Self-reported business performance: very good, ok, or weak.
6. Multiplier effects	Linkages with local enterprises which benefit from the business.
Socio-cultural indicators	
7. Collective social benefits	Commitment of the business to contribute to social or cultural groups, events, etc.
8. Spirituality	The business is informed by people's spiritual beliefs.
9. Relationships	Relationships are based on the values of respect and reciprocity.
10. Well-being and self-determination	The business contributes to local perceptions that Indigenous development is possible. The business is true to the values of the Vanua/enua/whenua and wellbeing of the local community is a key consideration.
11. Cultural embeddedness	Business operations and practices respect local customs. Cultural protocols are upheld.

Environmental indicators	
12. Sustainable use of resources	Land and other natural resources are used but not degraded. Good waste management practices (reduce, reuse, recycle).
13. Local sourcing of materials	Utilising local materials minimises the carbon footprint.
14. Stewardship	The business owners respect their role as guardians of the land, protecting it for future generations.
15. Environmental policy	The business has, and implements, a well-structured environmental policy across its operations, and/or abides with government regulations on the environment.
16. Resilience	Ability to withstand disasters; might include diversification.

Adapted from Scheyvens et al. 2017

Implicit in many of the indicators is a focus on land and people's connections to the land as central to measuring sustainable success. Culturally meaningful and relevant tools, such as these, are essential for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs to be able to express their culturally embedded agency in development, and for the sustainability of customary land usage to be measured in a way that shows their holistic aspirations.

3.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented 'hopeful post-development' approaches which frame the understanding of development in this thesis. These approaches seek to broaden the field of valid experience and prioritise the assets and agency of human and non-human actors while using the ethos of a diverse economies approach to perceive economic activity, that has been deemed non-existent or not worthwhile by conventional development measures. Alternative definitions of entrepreneurship and business were provided in this chapter, so that a wider understanding of development can be made possible. Further to this, it was argued that Indigenous entrepreneurs needed to be seen as agents of change and that structures which enable or constrain their agency in bringing about change must be explored. Therefore, the continuum of thick and thin agency was presented in this chapter to investigate factors that affect Indigenous

entrepreneurs' agency. In this context, an alternative way to measure CLBB success was outlined, which reflects the culturally embedded nature of Indigenous entrepreneurs and a CLBB.

To further understand the situation *iTaukei* entrepreneurs operate in, it is important to examine Fiji's historical background that specifically relates to customary land usage, *iTaukei* culture and tourism development. This is explored in the following chapter.

4. FIJI ISLANDS: LAND, CULTURE AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapters Two and Three the theoretical basis for this research was discussed. This chapter now provides the context of land, culture and tourism development in the Republic of Fiji (hereafter Fiji), from which the findings in later chapters emanate. Thereby, this chapter highlights the specific socio-cultural, political, spiritual, environmental and economic circumstances in which *iTaukei* entrepreneurs are embedded. Section 4.2 focuses firstly on a brief overview of Fiji's demographics, followed by a historical account of land ownership in Fiji. Section 4.3 explores *iTaukei* culture, encompassing Christianity and the *Vanua*. Section 4.4 outlines the role of tourism and entrepreneurs in Fiji's economic development. The chapter then concentrates on literature related to *iTaukei* Indigenous entrepreneurs in Fiji, by examining challenges they face, and structures and initiatives dedicated to supporting them. Additionally, entrepreneurship and tourism in the Coral Coast Corridor, the specific area this research was conducted in, is commented on.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHICS AND LAND

Section 4.2.1 briefly looks at Fiji's demographics, which provides insight into the physical environment and population group of the country. In Chapter 2 a Western view of private land ownership was presented, then in Chapter 3 it was argued that, when locally contextualised economic activity is understood, a wider epistemological conceptualisation of land and its functions is possible (Gibson-Graham, 2010; Li, 2014). Section 4.2.2 thus focuses the discussion on the land's function and specifically on the

Fijian concept of land ownership, which briefly begins with a historical account starting from before Fiji existed as a state up to the present.

4.2.1 FIJI DEMOGRAPHICS

Fiji shown in Figure 4.1, an independent nation, is commonly identified as within Melanesia. However, *iTaukei* also have cultural practices closely aligned to Polynesia (MRG, 2017; Stetter, 2018). Fiji is one of the largest Pacific Island nations, with over 330 islands, of which 112 are populated (Meo-Sewabu, 2015). Close to 90 per cent of the population live on the main islands of Vanua Levu and Viti Levu (Meo-Sewabu, 2015; MRG, 2017). The 2017 Census showed Indigenous Fijians, who here after are called *iTaukei*, constitute the majority population group of 475,739 people, followed by Fijian Indian population of 313,798, while other ethnic groups including 47,734 people are of Europeans, Chinese, Rotuman and other Pacific Island origin (FBoS, 2017; Naidu, 2013). Although *iTaukei* are the majority population, Fijian Indians are the main local business owners. The main languages spoken are: Fijian, Fiji Hindi and English.

Figure 4.1. Map of The Republic of the Fiji Islands



Source: (Australia National University, 2018, n.p.)

Fijian society is undergoing rapid urbanisation and economic modernisation (Naidu, 2013). The urban population currently stands at 55.9 per cent (FBoS, 2017). Fiji's median age is 27.5 years and 69 per cent of the population are under 40, making it a youthful population. The islands are susceptible to natural disasters, such as: flooding, tidal surges and cyclones (Brown et al., 2018). It is predicted climate change will amplify the intensity and number of disasters in the future (Smith, 1999b). The small size of domestic markets, along with geographical isolation and a challenging transport infrastructure, especially, for rural areas, creates limited economic opportunities in Fiji (Cahn, 2008; Hailey, 1987). While this raises concerns in terms of employment opportunities for the largely youthful population, the 2017 unemployment rate was actually the lowest recorded in 20 years at 4.5 per cent (FBoS, 2017). Customary land ownership is the main tenure system.

4.2.2 LAND

This section focuses specifically on the Fijian concept of land ownership, starting from before colonialism. The islands were governed by fourteen chiefdoms loosely affiliated with three *Vanua* (Tavola, 1991). Manoa (cited in Tomlinson, 2015) states, that the *Vanua* is, “first land, plot, space, place, territory, location, area, country” (p. 80). *Vanua* is often defined as tribe or land, but actually includes “a people, their chief, their defined territory, their waterways or fishing grounds, their environment, their spirituality, their history, their epistemology and culture” (NaboboBaba, 2006, p. 155). This broader meaning is discussed in Section 4.3, but *Vanua* is used to refer to land in this Section. *Vanua* land dimensions consist of customary land and the foreshore lying in front of it (Ravuvu, 1988). Land could be won through clan battles but was more commonly gifted, exchanged or requested through ceremonies which often resulted in the giving of *tabua* (whale tooth) (Tavola, 1991).

When British settlers came to Fiji they predominately farmed sugarcane and brought in 60,000 Indian farm workers to do this (Tavola, 1991). The settlers tried to impose private land ownership, especially in the Coral Coast Corridor, which on figure 4.1 is roughly the coastal area between Nadroga and Navua. In 1854 the British appointed a King over Fiji before formalising colonisation in 1874 (Robert, 2018). Colonial plantations in Fiji provided high profits for Australian, British, and New Zealand companies. Roberts (2018), comments that many Fijians still believe Fiji “excelled under British tutelage, where indifferent villages obeyed the ... leadership of their chiefs, and where Indian labourers toiled ... to build the colony’s economic prosperity” (Robert, 2018, p. 1). This dominant discourse fails to note that, as with elsewhere around the globe, colonisation was resisted; “in no place did people ... say: OK, you can have the land. ... They always stood and fought” (Said cited in Robert, 2018, p. 10). Significant examples between 1876-1913 were: the Colo War, the Tuka Movement, the Movement for Federation and the Viti Kabani (Robert, 2018). Resistance continued beyond independence and has been reflected in subsequent coups (Crosetto, 2005).

To limit resistance to British rule, Gordon who was the British crown representative, formed an administration, which devoted time to ‘indirect rule’ by consolidating the authority of *iTaukei* chiefs into a Council of Chiefs in 1875 (Robert, 2018; Tavola, 1991). The *iTaukei* Land Trust Board (TLTB), commissioned in 1939 by the Great Council of Chiefs ensured that Indigenous people did not become alienated from their customary land (Gadolo, 2017). The Native Lease Ordinance 1916, The Native Land Act 1940, TLTB and Agricultural Landlord and Tenants Ordinance/Act 1976, have made Fiji an example of successful Indigenous Land Management (Government of Fiji, 1978). 91.68 per cent of land falls under customary land tenure today, as seen in Figure 4.2. (Gadolo, 2017).

Figure 4.2. Types of land tenure in Fiji

No.	Type of Land	Area in HA	% of Total
1	I Taukei Land – Customary Land	1,639,105.1	91.68
2	Freehold Land	141,872.9	7.94
3	State Land	2,274.6	0.13
4	Rotuman Land	4,478.1	0.25
	TOTAL	1,787,730	100

Source: (Gadolo, 2017, p. 5)

As legal frameworks were formed the Gordon administration created the Native Lands Commission, that renamed land and surveyed boundaries for maps and official communication purposes (Robert, 2018). From there an undeclared *iTaukei* campaign developed to impede surveyors and sabotage survey pegs (Robert, 2018). *iTaukei* children in school were taught different names and territories for places they had lived in for generations (Tavola, 1991). The renaming of land was an influential ideological change, creating a shared culture between those colonised and colonising (Smith, 1999b). Participants in this research lamented the loss of some customary land through incorrect land surveying.

Fiji gained independence from Britain on October 10th, 1970 and they inherited institutions based on patronage, as Fiji was economically unsustainable without external

support. Fiji's governments and laws were still designed to benefit colonial political and economic interests (Kelsey, 2004). Since independence TLTB has focused on customary land management through leases; there are over 40,000 ninety-nine-year leases, used for residential and economic development purposes (Gadolo, 2017, p. 8). Following Fiji's independence, the Landowners Affairs Unit (LAU) was created to deal with landowners' issues and assists landowners to obtain support to lease land from their own clan and to develop businesses on their land to help alleviate poverty (Gadolo, 2017). The LAU Department has worked to profile the 4,800 Landowning Units each made up of between 20 to 300 people in Fiji (Gadolo, 2017, p. 3). The profiles detail their assets, gender distribution and development potentials based on their location, soil fertility and future development plans in the area (Gadolo, 2017, p. 3).

Even though *iTaukei* have available assets through land ownership, poverty still exists within Fiji. Poverty in Fiji is complicated and multi-faceted. Overriding contributing factors to poverty have been the declining sugar industry and the expiry of land leases for Fijians of Indian descent (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012). As a result Fiji is highly dependent on foreign aid, which maintains old colonial ties associated with the donor countries, who can exert external influence in domestic affairs to advance their own commercial interests (Morris, 2013; Wartho & Overton, 1999, p. 41). Fijian governments, with donor encouragement, have liberalised Fiji's trade policy and aligned it to neoliberal reform initiatives, which exerts pressure on customary land ownership.

Frank Bainmarama, Fiji's current Prime Minister, established a focus on liberalised standardisation in Fiji in 2007 which sought to bring about a 'normalised citizenry' (Hodge, 2012). The Bainmarama government argued that *iTaukei* had enjoyed superior rights to immigrant communities (particularly Fijian Indians, who came in as indentured labourers between 1879-1916) and that a basis for racial equality was needed (Hodge, 2012). The struggle over democracy in Fiji is often attributed to the ethnically fractured polity. After the coups in 1987, 2000 and 2006 led by *iTaukei* mainly in the military, a constitutional review process, supervised by the military, was

undertaken. This resulted in a liberal constitution that emphasised political equality for all Fijian ethnic groups (Lawson, 2012).

The introduction of a liberal constitution subsequently led the Fijian Government to become supportive of policy changes and initiatives aimed at enhancing private sector investment (AFBC, 2017). Fiji's strategic position, lying between the Polynesian and Melanesian Pacific regions, has made Fiji particularly attractive to foreign investors (DFAT, 2016; PLN Advisory, 2016). In 2017 the Fijian Parliament approved the World Trade Organisation's (WTO) Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA), striving to make Fiji the trade, manufacturing and investment hub of the Pacific (Prasad & King, 2017). This was reflected in the 2019 National Budget address, which stated, "we're reviewing the Foreign Direct Investment Act to encourage greater foreign investment" (Sayed-Khaiyum, 2019).

Regardless of the increase in foreign investment, *iTaukei* have effectively retained their customary land ownership, while providing ways for investors to develop enterprises in Fiji. However, as subsequent sections in this chapter will show, foreign investment is more endorsed by the government than *iTaukei* customary owned businesses are. *iTaukei* find themselves caught between 'insiders' and 'outsiders,' who seek to pursue neoliberal capitalistic economic developments on customary land alongside their own desire to protect the land (Tuwere, 2002).

4.3 *ITAUKEI* CULTURE

Although there is a robust legal structure for land, traditional land practices are still largely upheld within the *Vanua*, which forms *iTaukei* culture. Manoa (cited in Tomlinson, 2015) states, that the *Vanua*,

"...also refers to the group of people that belong to the allotted territory, their social structure, their cultural moorings and relational orientations, their locus of significance and identity, their pragmatic socio-economic unit, their territorial

ascription, their enabling environment and enabling referent of gifting, their source and focus of obligation, their hope of stable living and rootedness” (p. 80).

ITaukei understand themselves to be the souls of the physical environment; that land is an extension of the self and, likewise, people are an extension of the land (Ravuvu, 1988; Tuwere, 2002).

Three cultural commonalities define *iTaukei* as a culturally distinct entity in the Pacific: firstly, their inter-connected relationships between the human and non-human within the *Vanua*; secondly, the foundational hierarchical nature within their society; and thirdly, the oral passing down of histories and genealogies (Nabobo-Baba, 2006; Tavola, 1991). These three commonalities show that *iTaukei* still uphold land through cultural rituals, sacred areas and processes that respect the physical and spiritual dimensions encapsulated within the land (Tuwere, 2002).

Firstly, kinship and the land are the main human and non-human relationship where inter-connectedness within the *Vanua* takes place (Ravuvu, 1988). Naioca (2011) explains that kinship incorporates blood links, church members, work colleges or marriage. Becker (cited in Naioca, 2011) further explains that, “Fijian identity is grounded in one’s connections to the immediate kinship group and social network. Ideally individual activity is devoted to developing and re-enforcing social relationships and promoting collective interest,” (p. 19). The giving of food is a primary act in re-enforcing kinships (Toren, 2009).

In the *Vanua* there are obligations to kin and the land, consequences for ignoring them become self-evident through *kalouca*, an evil spirit, bringing sickness and even death within a clan (Ryle, 2016; Toren, 2009). This is embodied in the Rotouman phrase, ‘The land has eyes and teeth’ (Hereniko, 2006). The belief is that the land watches with its ‘eyes’ and manifests itself with its ‘teeth’ physically through accidents, illnesses and death (Scheyvens, 2016). Barker (2007), comments that spiritual attacks by sorcerers,

ghosts and spirits are seen as breaches of moral rules, the health of one's body being an indication of a positive moral condition. Thus, *iTaukei* need to foster balanced relationships with their ancestors and the spirit world, through maintaining particular rituals that appease spirits (Ryle, 2016). Customary rituals of reconciliation are needed when social debts occur between clans; these rites transform negative spiritual powers into supportive ones and heal social relationships (Ryle, 2016). Those responsible for disorder are to initiate reconciliation, so they may find peace, happiness and abundant resources (Ravuvu, 1987). These social and ecological relationships link people together through shared traditional knowledge, customs and totemic connections (Movono et al., 2018). For example, when the Momi Bay Resort development collapsed in the late 2000s, *iTaukei* referred to the phrase, "The land has eyes and teeth," because the resort failed to develop in a culturally appropriate way (Scheyvens & Russell, 2010).

Secondly, there is a foundational hierarchical nature within the society. Each chiefdom has a male chief, often believed to be a representative of the lineage god, who has allegiances with male sub-chiefs of small social units within the chiefdom (Tavola, 1991). *iTaukei* identify themselves, through their house-mound (*yavu*) of their founding ancestor, then their *Vanua* (tribe), *Yavusa* (clan), *Mataqali* (sub-clan) and lastly *Tokatoka* (family) (Alam et al., 2004; Ryle, 2016). Gender roles are often observed and taught to children (Tavola, 1991). Within the hierarchy, *solesolevaki* (working together to achieve a common purpose) is at the centre of *iTaukei* communal nature (Movono & Dahles, 2017). *Solesolevaki* demands responsibilities are shared and well-being is created for all (Movono & Dahles, 2017).

Thirdly, histories and genealogies are passed down orally through *Talanoa* (sharing of conversation and knowledge), myths, legends, chants, songs, craft and dance (Tavola, 1991). Oral knowledge is transferred by observing specific customary livelihood practices, daily activities and ceremonies (Ravuvu, 1983). Customary livelihood practices preserve specific techniques and skills unique to a particular village and are passed down from generation to generation (Movono et al., 2018). *iTaukei* uphold their common descent through passed on oral traditions which make, shape and sustain their *Vanua*

(Batibasaga, Overton, & Horsley, 1999; Tuwere, 2002). An individual belongs to people within his/her *Vanua* who are living, dead or yet unborn. Thus, within the *Vanua* the past, present and future exist simultaneously (Ryle, 2016). Since the arrival of missionaries, God is understood to be the creator of the *Vanua* and *iTaukei* see themselves as bound, to not only the land, but also Christianity (Ryle, 2016).

4.3.1 VANUA AND CHRISTIANITY

The history of development within the Pacific begins with the various interventions carried out by missionaries, which included missionaries from other parts of the Pacific (Fountain & Troughton, 2019). However, in Development Studies, religions have been seen as having limited impact on development and, therefore, are viewed as unimportant (Fountain & Troughton, 2019). This section argues that development and religion are not two dualistic spheres but are rather interwoven and interrelated. In Fiji the church, along with the *Vanua*, has a significant role in shaping the Fijian way of life. This is encapsulated by Reverend Tuima's phrase (cited in Ryle, 2016), "My God, My Land," (p. 30). The participants of this research are Christians and a spiritual indicator was used in the fieldwork, thus, exploring Christianity in Fiji will provide insight into subsequent findings. The 2007 census reported that 64.4 per cent of the population claim to be Christian (largely being *iTaukei*) 27.9 per cent Hindu and 6.3 per cent Muslim (mostly Indian Fijians), (Fountain & Troughton, 2019 p. 11).

Before missionaries came to Fiji religion was focused on rites, such as drinking kava (common name for *yaqona*, a ceremonial drink), to seek reconciliation with ancestral spirits and between kin, more than doctrinal beliefs (Ryle, 2016). A common view is that Western missionaries were the first missionaries to Fiji. However, five years prior to their arrival two Tahitian Christians and a converted *iTaukei* were already missionaries in Fiji (Tavola, 1991). Tongans, also, did pioneer work in bringing Christianity to Fiji. In 1835 European Methodist missionaries obtained the permission of chiefs to start schools and humanitarian work (Tavola, 1991). Christianity quickly contextualised and in the 1970s post-colonial theology emerged with an Indigenous

theological base of either a natural theology or a theology of nature (Fountain & Troughton, 2019). Contextualisation was due to traditional understandings that had parallels in scripture. Ryle (2016), argues that the Old Testament image of a God who punishes those that are disobedient to him, corresponds to the disappointing of ancestral spirits, as previously discussed. Sinful action thus has generational consequences that have physical outworking's, unless that sin is atoned for. Christianity is a widespread belief in Fiji, and Tuwere (2002) argues *iTaukei's* response to God comes from a sense of place within the natural environment. *ITaukei*, the vast majority of whom are Christians, see the power and authority of the land's mana as being found in Jesus Christ, as "all of life in all its dimensions and multiplications is contained and held together in Christ" (Tuwere, 2002, pp. 164).

The largest denomination in the case study area, with around 300,000 members, is the Methodist Church (Ryle, 2016). Three pillars form Fijian Methodism, the three pillars are the *Vanua*, Christianity and the *matanitu*. The *matanitu*, originally was the chiefly governance, but now has extended to include the government (Ryle, 2016). These three pillars are interwoven in *iTaukei* everyday life. Fijian Methodism is, therefore, embedded in kinship roots, traditional connectedness and obligations (Ryle, 2016). The minister is seen as the highest role of a house in the village, giving them a place of immense influence over village life.

In recent years there has been a rise of Pentecostal or non-denomination Christians who believe that parts of the *Vanua* and Christianity needs to be separated; participants of this study affirm this belief (Ryle, 2016). They consider denominations like the Methodists, as lost and not 'spirit-filled.' Pentecostals believe they have been reconciled to the Father, through Jesus' life, death and resurrection and then baptised in the Holy Spirit, who is God's presence here on earth. Rather than adopting Christianity as a faith inherited through birth, it is instead chosen and experienced (Ryle, 2016). They believe that evil spirits are overcome due to the resurrection of Jesus rather than through cultural rituals. Reconciliation is sought from God, rather than through traditional rituals (Ryle, 2016). Pentecostals challenge the three pillars of Fijian

Methodism and are seen as disrupting the Fijian way of life by not conforming to cultural practices such as potentially not drinking *Yaqona* at ceremonies. Christianity is complex in Fiji, but this short review will provide contextualisation for participants within the study who identify as Pentecostal Christians. The next section will now look at the role of tourism in Fiji.

4.4 TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT

As mentioned in Section 4.2.2, Fiji has sought to liberalise their economy through foreign investment and one of the predominant ways this has been done is through the tourism industry. In the 1950s Fiji adopted tourism as its primary economy industry because of its unique non-extractive nature and economic development potential (Movono et al., 2018). Resorts were first pioneered in the Coral Coast Corridor, which became a tourist hub within Fiji (Movono et al., 2018). Fiji's economy is now predominantly comprised of its services industry, due to tourism's dominant role in contributing to over nine years of economic growth (Ministry of Industry, Trade & Tourism, 2018). In 2017, Fiji received 842,884 visitors (Ministry of Industry, Trade & Tourism, 2018, p. 15). According to the Fiji Bureau of Statistics (2017, n.p.), \$1.9 billion Fijian dollars was earned through tourism in 2017; the country's largest foreign exchange earner (Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009). Estimates indicate the tourism industry supports one third of Fiji's labour force (Ministry of Industry, Trade & Tourism, 2018).

Fiji's tourism industry is the largest among South Pacific states. The Ministry of Industry, Trade and Tourism's (2018) vision for further growth is called Fijian Tourism 2021. It aims by 2021 to grow tourism into a \$2.2 billion Fijian dollar industry and increase arrivals to 930,000 (Sharma, 2017, n.p.). The Fijian Government has invested heavily into marketing strategies, such as "Fiji: Where Happiness Finds You," that has increased visitor numbers significantly (Siddiq, 2018).

Foreign-owned tourism developments account for the bulk of the tourism industry, favoured by the Fijian Government because they are viewed as more risk

averse and create higher profits (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012). Between 1988 and 2000, 132 tourism developments were undertaken; 94 per cent of which were foreign owned, with only 6 per cent having local ownership status (Narayan & Prasad, 2003, p. 9). Fiji has successfully created an environment friendly to foreign businesses; through tax concessions, incentives and accommodating policies for investment (Ministry of Industry, Trade & Tourism, 2018). Scheyvens and Russell (2012) conducted research in prime coastal land leased by resorts in Fiji and found that Fiji has “the most comprehensive legislative and policy framework for situating tourism development within the institution of customary tenure” (p. 421). Customary land owners are able to negotiate with tourism developers, thus acquiring agency and participation in tourism development (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012). Monetary benefits come through leases, but included are additional benefits, such as, scholarships, resources for schools, community buildings and support for community activities. The potential exists for customary based businesses to emerge from such tourism development (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012).

ITaukei culture, church services, livelihoods, traditional ceremonies, village life, crafts and hospitality have become sought after as foreign travellers seek to engage with local life (Ministry of Industry, Trade & Tourism, 2018). *ITaukei* have been encouraged to start small and medium enterprises (SMEs) related to tourism, through initiatives like the National Centre for Small and Micro Enterprise Development and the Fiji Affairs board (Appana, 2012). In Fiji, 97 per cent of locally owned businesses are micro, small and medium enterprises (MSME) and are predominantly in the service sector, providing backpacker accommodation, tour guides and retailing handicrafts, among others. Such SMEs account for 18 per cent of Fiji’s GDP (Ministry of Industry, Trade & Tourism, 2018).

4.4.1 TOURISM IMPACTS ON SOCIETY AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Scheyvens and Russell (2012) comment that despite the rise of tourism in Fiji, poverty has increased, and a minimal portion of Fiji’s budget is used for poverty reduction. An associated concern is that current tourism policy favours development of large foreign-owned resorts, while *iTaukei* businesses lack the support needed to

succeed. *iTaukei* involvement in the tourism sector has mainly entailed being recipients of lease money and becoming resort employees. TLTB, has become a driving force behind encouraging customary landowners to accept proposals for tourism infrastructure (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012).

Older generations of *iTaukei* have observed shifting values in younger generations, noting an increased loss of interest in traditional activities; this is somewhat associated with young people seeking to enhance their skills for hotel work (Movono et al., 2018; Tao & Wall, 2009). In Meo-Sewabu's (2016) study on the culturally embedded agency of Indigenous Fijian women, she found that *solesolevaki* was disrupted by women striving for independence rather than working together. This was viewed as an impact from modern Fijian society. Traditional activities, however, help *iTaukei* to be resilient in times of recovery from natural disasters, which create declines in tourism (Coetzee et al., 2016). During this post-disaster decline, resort employees typically returning to living off the land; but if they have lost traditional skills this impacts on their resilience (Movono et al., 2018; Movono & Dahles, 2017).

Another impact on the resilience of *iTaukei* is the environmental implications of tourism. Marine pollution, habitat degradation, loss of place and wildlife disturbance, have been impacts of tourism in coastal regions (Movono et al., 2018). Fatigued ecosystems can affect entire industries in Fiji that are dependent on the health of natural environments, making environmental conservation imperative for businesses (Sayed-Khaiyum, 2019). Environmental and cultural assets attract tourists and the loss of this would be economically devastating (Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009). For *iTaukei*, conservation means honouring the *Vanua*. Tourism has also brought challenges for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs.

4.4.2 CHALLENGES FOR ITAUKEI ENTREPRENEURS

For *iTaukei* economic relations depended on the observation of cultural practices, as commodity exchanges occurred during ceremonies (Tavola, 1991). During

the colonial period *iTaukei* traditional economic practices were disregarded as a cash market and European merchant business concepts were introduced (Appana, 2012; Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001). This led to an alienation of traditional enterprise, which meant generations become excluded from participation in the competitive, modernised economy, even after Fiji's independence (Fairbairn, 1989). *iTaukei* entrepreneurs then absorbed into foreign systems which frequently lack access to suitable training in running businesses within a capitalistic economy (AFBC, 2017; Saffu, 2003).

Studies on the high failure rates of *iTaukei* customary based businesses in Fiji have largely blamed traditional culture for the *iTaukei* failure to run successful businesses (Fairbairn, 1988a, 1988b). This view is held across the Pacific, as seen in Chapter 3. Kingi (2006b), who studied *iTaukei* farmers who re-acquired leases from Fijian Indian sugar farmers, found those who stayed in the village while farming could not avoid social obligations and inevitably the farms would fail. The wealth created was used to enhance cultural and communal capital, rather than being invested back into the business and the individual (Kingi, 2006a). A different study showed *iTaukei* entrepreneurs practiced *kerekere* - the practice of advancing credit to relatives and friends, who often will not directly pay them back, causing hinderances to a steady income (Rao, 2005).

Reddy (2001) remarked the Fijian "cultural environment is not supportive of business as its cultural milieu creates considerable hindrance to business," due to being "expected to help relatives, kin, and members of the extended family, and others in their community" (p. 102). Gibson (2012) argued *iTaukei* business failures generally stemmed from the lack of business experience, skills, planning, organisation and competitive drive. Hailey (1985) felt *iTaukei* commitments to their villages "limited [their] mobility and access to finance and did nothing to encourage Fijian participation in business" (p. 20). Commentators argue the insecurity of customary land tenure has prevented labour mobility, progressive investment and entrepreneurship in the Fijian economy (Tisdell & Prasad, 1996).

This section has shown while tourism has been enthusiastically embraced locally, *iTaukei* businesses have not flourished with growing economic modernisation.

4.5 CONCLUSION

Fiji's distinctive setting needs to be acknowledged with regards to the aim of this study, and in order to create an awareness of the specific socio-cultural and economic contexts of this thesis. The country's dominant communal basis still remains dependent on kinship ties and social obligations. Both the *Vanua* and Christianity play a role in shaping everyday *iTaukei* life. Before the colonial period, *iTaukei* had operating trade partnerships as well as a political and economic structure, but this was undermined by colonial processes. Nevertheless, colonial and liberalised independence policies have not disassociated *iTaukei* from their land due to strong customary land tenure policies and structures. *iTaukei* are, however, often encouraged to lease land to foreign investors, rather than develop their own businesses. Tourism is regarded as a means to realise sustainable development. Understanding more about how *iTaukei* customary-based entrepreneurs can contribute positively to the tourism industry, their communities and the wider Fiji economy is a key focus of this thesis.

To follow, the methodological consideration of this thesis will be outlined before the research findings are presented.

5. METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines and gives reasons for the social science methodological approach adopted in this research. From the inception of this research journey, and mindful of the positionality and motivation summarised in the Introductory Chapter, it was recognised that the researcher's and participants' differing worldviews and philosophical choices would influence the research process (O'Leary, 2017, Scheyvens, 2010). Therefore, this chapter covers the research process as transparently as possible, to explain my positionality as an allied, non-Indigenous researcher who desires not to misrepresent *iTaukei* (Indigenous Fijians). This requires that I demonstrate how my research approach was guided by the underlying principles of the Indigenous philosophical paradigm. This study is rooted in qualitative research, which purposefully employs a methodology that respects the dignity of the participants (Vaiolleti, 2006).

O'Leary (2017) argues research is, "a creative and strategic process that involves constantly assessing, reassessing and making decisions about the best possible means for obtaining trustworthy information," (p. 11). Hence, this chapter is structured to show how these above processes were involved in the fieldwork preparation and during it, in order to meet the research aim and objectives. Section 5.2 starts by describing the research methodology engaged for the study, which entails the constructivist-interpretivist philosophical research standpoint, the Fiji Vanua Research Framework, Critical Appreciative Inquiry, and the methods used. Ethical issues relevant to the study are also discussed. Section 5.3 focuses on entry into the field, access to participants, challenges and observations on how the research played out. Lastly in Section 5.4, the data processing and analysis techniques are examined.

5.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Exploring the social world brings challenges around the reliability of the research findings presented. O'Leary (2017) states the aim of conducting research is to produce knowledge that elicits understanding. To enable this, the research methodology covers three broad overlapping areas. Firstly, there is the philosophical standpoint, which covers issues of ontology, the study of being, and the epistemology, the creation and meaning of knowledge. Secondly, there is the methodologies and methods employed, which focus on how the world can be interpreted and what techniques are most useful for interpreting it. The third area is axiology or ethical considerations and values (Murray & Overton, 2014). Each of these areas guide a researcher, who is fallible and has biases, along with unpredictable participants, in the co-creation of credible knowledge (O'Leary, 2017). In addition to this, development research brings further distinctive considerations as it tends to be conducted within localities, cultures and languages unfamiliar to the researcher (Murray & Overton, 2014). The chosen methodologies are influenced by this, along with the overall theoretical background and research aim. This section, therefore, starts with my philosophical lens of the research.

5.2.1 CONSTRUCTIVIST-INTERPRETIVIST PHILOSOPHICAL STANDPOINT

The overarching research philosophy shaping this study is best defined as being constructivist-interpretivist (O'Leary, 2017). This paradigm is founded on the belief that humans socially construct knowledge through their interpretations of the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Constructivism holds that interpretations of experience are subjective, whilst interpretivism focuses on personal and social agencies involved in constructing subjective meaning from experiences (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Scotland, 2012). Thus, interpretivism helps a researcher to explore complexities in the world through a participant's perspective (Schwandt, 1994; Scotland, 2012). This positioned the participants' experiences, views, values and actions as fundamental in gaining insight into the research aim and objectives.

A constructivist-interpretivist approach, as Sapsford and Jupp (1996) comment, holds that knowledge is, "negotiated as a product of history and of social structure" (p. 2). Humans have diverse historical experiences and conceptions of social reality. Therefore, people engage in multiple, socially constructed realities. A constructivist-interpretivist philosophy holds that people have, "the capacity to deal simultaneously and subjectively with two or more ways of classifying reality" (Droogers, 1996, p. 53). As discussed in Chapter 3, Indigenous people operate in interconnected multiple realities that are physical and spiritual; the philosophical stance is complementary to this and sees stories, belief systems, and spiritual experiences as legitimate knowledge.

A criticism of the constructivist-interpretivist view is that it can form a romantic conception of the 'other' and lack recognition that knowledge can be produced through misconceptions of the world (van der Haar & Hocking, 2004). Furthermore, interpretive research can neglect external structural forces that influence behaviour and at times denies the world outside of ourselves (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). To bring balance to this approach it is imperative that critical theory is engaged within the research methodology, which is explored in subsequent Sections (Schwandt, 1994). Further to this, the focus on thin agency outlined in Chapter 3 will aid the research to be balanced.

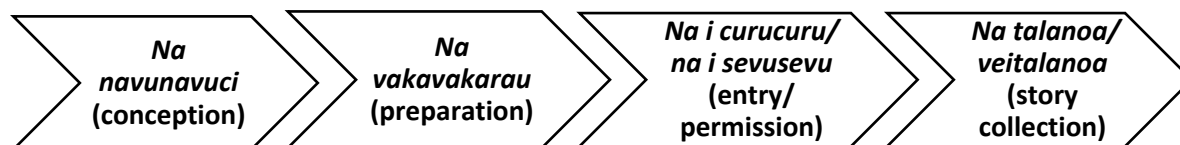
5.2.2 FIJI VANUA RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The overarching methodological framework for this thesis is the Fijian Vanua Framework for Research (VFR), along with the ethos of Critical Appreciate Inquiry, both centred on prioritising participants' lived experiences. The VFR is an Indigenous methodology developed by Nabobo-Baba (2008). VFR incorporates critical theory, Kaupapa Māori Theorising and has been inspired by Tongan Kakala framing (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). This section outlines how the VFR creates an indigenist orientation, within the combined methodologies, as it endeavours to localise research methods, as well as honour and recognise Indigenous Fijian society (Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Smith, 1999b).

Employing the VFR in Fiji meant as a New Zealand researcher, with a Zimbabwean background, I would operate as a cultural 'outsider'. In social science research, the acknowledgement of insider/outsider dynamics has long existed. Some authors argue that due to differing epistemologies 'outsiders' in their research are likely to misunderstand and misrepresent 'insider' knowledge and ways of being (O'Leary, 2017; Smith, 1999a). Furthermore, coming from a country with a liberal economy that has a colonial history, into a formerly colonised country, an awareness would be required to avoid upholding the unequal relations that resulted from colonialism (Scheyvens, 2010; Smith, 1999a, 1999b). Therefore, by employing the VFR, I would need accountability and an openness to correction. Here I have sought to be transparent and where applicable have given examples of how feedback received led to changes in my conduct.

Nabobo-Baba (2008,) contends the VFR situates, "Indigenous people at the centre of the research act and using their systems of knowledge and understandings as the basis for inquiry and investigation" (pp. 141-142). As an outsider the VFR assisted me in identifying *iTaukei* histories, knowledge, skills, arts, values and ways of life within the *Vanua*. This approach concentrates on storytelling, which fits with the constructivist-interpretivist philosophy, as we come to know the world through the stories we hear (Mears, 2009). The VFR implies that research needs to be local and specific, rather than general and universal, resulting in one case study being focused on in this thesis. The VFR can be broken down into three parts: firstly, beginning the fieldwork process, secondly, the process for leaving the field and, thirdly, the post-research process. The processes are followed so that access to Indigenous knowledge can be gained respectfully.

Figure 5.1. VFR: Beginning process



Source: (Author adapted from Nabobo-Baba, 2008)

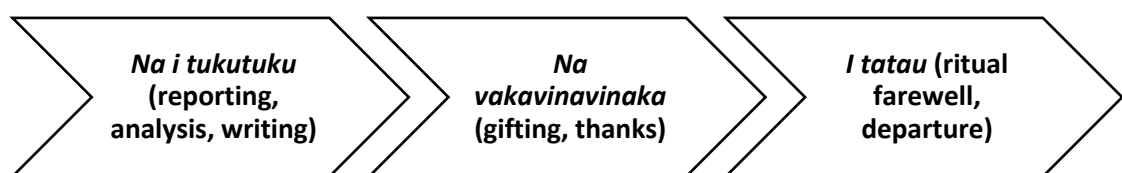
Figure 5.1 shows the traditional protocols I followed to request entry into the *Vanua* at all levels of the research exercise; affirming that the *Vanua* must be honoured and consent not taken for granted. In the beginning process, informal storytelling was done through *Talanoa* (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). *Talanoa* consists of two Tongan words: *tala* meaning to relate stories or to inform, and *noa* meaning common and without cover-up. It has become a prolific Pacific research philosophy methodology (Vaioleti, 2006). The aim of *Talanoa* is to share honest and open stories in cyclical dialogue to strengthen and advance understanding in relationships, and it is often undertaken after a cultural ceremony or protocol (Halapua, 2000). In a Fijian setting, *Talanoa* is a process where two or more people come together to talk or to offload stories of recent events, where one person is the storyteller and the audience predominantly listens (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). In *Talanoa*, *iTaukei* knowledge shared is a precious gift. In the preliminary study for the Marsden Funded Project by Scheyvens, Banks and Meo-Sewabu (2017), it was discovered that, “*Talanoa* enables ... time for intricate details of their stories to be shared, which seemed to allow the participants to speak more freely about their business” (p. 775).

Talanoa is pivotal in decolonising methodologies as it, “essentially takes on a *Vanua* frame and is dictated to in some ways by that context, its culture and values,” (Nabobo-Baba, 2008, pp. 145–146). In a *Talanoa* a group, “engage[s] in a critical reflection of their multiple realities”. Therefore, those in the *Talanoa* give communal meaning to whatever is being discussed (Meo-Sewabu, 2015, p. 11). This process enabled participants to give meaning to the research related topics in a culturally

embedded way. *Talanoa* created an accountable space for an outside researcher to have a role in the discussion. Fay (quoted in Meo-Sewabu, 2015) contends, whether one is an insider or outsider, “*Talanoa* positions the researcher to openness, sensitivity and acuity to grasp the significance of activities, experiences and their expressions” (p. 26).

Vaioleti (2006) states, “the reciprocity embedded in *Talanoa* will raise the expectations that researchers and participants have of each other, promoting mutual accountability” (p. 26). This means as an outsider I was provided with rules of engagement by the participants. An example of this was through participant feedback given early in the fieldwork about how I was approaching *Talanoa*. In my audio field notes I reflected that, “feedback on *Talanoa* sessions from [a Restaurant Manager], was that she felt I was trying to organise them too much, and they need to happen naturally for it to be a true *Talanoa*.” With the participants it was decided I would initiate individual semi-structured interviews and then the entrepreneurs would initiate *Talanoa*. I started to appreciate when a *Talanoa* happens at the right time, it is a sacred space and felt the difference and realised how jarring my attempts to orchestrate *Talanoa* must have been. I had been colonising a culturally embedded process, which I apologised for. Further examples of the conception, preparation, entry and story collection that took place in the fieldwork is shown in Section 5.3.

Figure 5.2. VFR: Leaving process



Source: (Author adapted from Nabobo-Baba, 2008)

Figure 5.2 encompasses the leaving process while still in the field. A vital part of the VFR involves reciprocity. An example of reciprocity is reporting findings back to the chiefs and people engaged through the research, so they can comment, verify or suggest changes to the findings (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). In this study I organised meaningful gifts

for the research participants, to show I had taken the time to get to know them. I spent time with the participants after data collection was completed, to ensure relationships were continued beyond the sharing of knowledge for research purposes. On departing a formal ceremony took place. Further examples of the post-research process involving presentations back to the community to maintain their trust is explored in Section 5.3. Regarding Figure 5.3 and the post-research process, initial research findings were sent to the participants to review. At the end of the research a hard copy of the thesis will be given to the participants in person, recognising this is their knowledge that has been shared with me. Further examples of the post-research process are shown in Section 5.3.

Figure 5.3. VFR: Post-research process



(Author adapted from Nabobo-Baba, 2008)

5.2.3 CRITICAL APPRECIATIVE ENQUIRY METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Within the overarching methodology of the VFR, a Critical Appreciative Inquiry ethos was utilised to focus on the pre-existing assets and strengths of the customary land-based business. Going back to its roots, Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is action research developed by Cooperrider and Sinastra (1987) as a cycle of learning that a group or individual goes through to uncover narratives of success. AI acknowledges that participants' words and stories are a valuable form of data; it appreciates participants' pre-existing strengths and ability to envision change (Ridley-Duff & Duncan, 2015, p. 1581). Social constructivism is a relational process that takes place in local contexts, it connects speech, thought and action to create sustainable social change (Grant, 2007; van der Haar & Hocking, 2004).

A critique of AI by participants in past studies has been that in only looking at the positives, problems that are faced are disregarded (Ridley-Duff & Duncan, 2015). Furthermore, Grant and Humphries (2006) claim that AI and social constructivism creates an over-optimistic faith in human agency and is naïve about the impacts of hegemonic power and wider social systems. Boje's (2010,) argues 'happy desires' should not displace 'unhappy actualities'. Thus, this study advocates that critical theory should be included in AI research. Critical theory is a complex epistemology that initially deconstructs a narrative, so it can be reconstructed, giving a deeper understanding of concepts and knowledge (Kincheloe, 2010; Ridley-Duff & Duncan, 2015). AI and social constructivism will examine 'what works' by identifying strengths and capacities within the business based on customary land practices, while simultaneously using critical theory to recognise challenges and help identify developmental aspirations of the business owners that are not yet happening.

Critical Appreciative Inquiry involves a paradigm shift away from focusing on a deficit that needs solving, to examining, instead, strengths that shape community life (Ridley-Duff & Duncan, 2015). This has helped me to highlight strategies behind the entrepreneurs' own effectiveness and examples of best practice. Critical Appreciative Inquiry combines appreciative inquiry, social constructivism and critical theory (Watkins et al., 2006).

5.2.4 PLANNED RESEARCH METHODS

The purpose of qualitative research methods is to understand the experiences of other people and how they make meaning from these experiences (Mears, 2009). This implies, as Chambers (1983, p. 202) reasons, that researchers need to sit, ask and listen to oral data, which is widely used in social science research. Nabobo-Baba (2008), further, argues researchers must give space for stories relating to the research to naturally evolve. The methods I used in this research were semi-structured interviews, *Talanoa* and the 'Indicators of Sustainability in Pacific Island Businesses on Customary Land developed' (hereafter: Indicators of Business Sustainability) already explored in

Chapter 3, (Section 3.5). In addition, participatory observation has taken place through being present at the case study site (Chambers, 1983). This was to allow data to be presented as a case study of the business.

Semi-structured interviews, which entailed open-ended questions in order to foster discussion for the sharing of knowledge, was chosen for stakeholders (O’Leary, 2017; Mears, 2009). It was planned that the cultural protocols of *Talanoa* would be used with participants. This gave room for participants to foster the discussion and choose whether to disclose information. I also had an *iTaukei* cultural advisor who reviewed the research questions based on the ‘Indicators of Business Sustainability,’ in Chapter 3 (Table 3.2), schedule prior to the fieldwork. Within 5.2.5 the role of the cultural advisor is explained further. This allowed a holistic approach to measuring ‘sustainability success’ and helped bring insider information to the outside, so that myself and others can better understand their lived experience. This is explored further in subsequent sections.

Where appropriate *Talanoa* sessions and the semi-structured interviews were voice recorded with the participant’s permission. While audio recording can be seen as intrusive to the participants, it allowed me as the researcher to give full attention to the conversation at hand and to use the ‘raw data’ to enhance meaning during the analysis. Recorded interviews, also, provided more quotes, ensuring the participants’ voices were leading the findings (O’Leary, 2017). The findings were then developed into a single instrumental case study of the restaurant to challenge the negative conceptualisation towards a customary land-based business. In addition to these research methods, careful ethical consideration was imperative.

5.2.5 ETHICAL ISSUES

Ethics, as a system of moral principles, gives parameters that help the researcher to act responsibly and with integrity during the research process, for the sake of the research participants’ well-being (O’Leary, 2017). There are two modes of prevalent ethics in social sciences. The first is an inflexible absolutist ethical model that is adhered

to under all circumstances (de Laine, 2000 p. 23). The second is a flexible relativist ethical model, based on a discerned effective outcome for the participants, rather than a ridged intellectual basis for the researcher (de Laine, 2000 p. 28). Relativist ethics involves building mutually beneficial relationships, considering local needs, following cultural protocols, having formal ethics approval and ensuring that the research is of value for participants (Banks & Scheyvens, 2014). Relative ethics matches the context of the research and methodological design, as outlined in previous sections, and governs the ethical research for this study.

The relativist ethical model, used in this research, is informed by the 'proportionate reason' framework, which is a discernment process developed by Angrosino and May de Perez (2013). In this discernment process ethical decisions of what is morally right or wrong, are made with others. This required a cultural discernment group who ensure that the research process is ethical within the Fijian cultural context (Meo-Sewabu, 2014a). Furthermore, as a Christian, ethics is seen to be a participation in Jesus' good actions at a certain point in time; this requires discernment between believers, which happened between the participants and myself (Wells, 2018).

Ethical approval for this study was gained in two stages: firstly, through Ethical Approval from Massey University and the Fiji Research and Ethics Council and, secondly, through the guidance of a cultural discernment group and cultural advisor. In reflecting on ethical issues for the proposed research Massey University's Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations Involving Human Participants, was used to inform the Development Studies 'in-house' ethics application (MUHEC, 2017). This was approved and recorded as a Low Risk.

Consent was sought through Fiji Immigration for a Research Permit. This enables Fiji to regulate the access of foreign researchers, to monitor their ethical behaviour and enable meaningful feedback from the research undertaken (Gopinathan & Shive, 1987). Three months before leaving for the fieldwork an application was made to Fiji Immigration for a research permit, this was referred to the Fiji Research and Ethics

Council which tentatively accepted my application. Full approval was to be given when Immigration received an endorsement from the *iTaukei* Land Trust Board (TLTB) and Ministry of *iTaukei* Affairs. A TLTB representative connected to the Marsden Fund Project had agreed to organise these letters. Without our knowing the representative left TLTB. The *iTaukei* scholar on the Marsden Fund Project contacted Fiji Immigration and the TLTB to explain the situation to try and obtain the required documentation. I arrived in Fiji a week early and unsuccessfully tried to secure a research visa.

My main supervisor and the *iTaukei* cultural advisor felt that all options were exhausted. It was agreed my research could continue as long as I worked closely with the *iTaukei* cultural advisor during fieldwork. This person also continued to endeavour to acquire the necessary approvals. Knowing a fine could be levied for undertaking research without a visa, money was set aside for this. On completion of the field research the *iTaukei* cultural advisor notified Fiji Immigration of my willingness to pay the fine. They, however, waved the fine stating I had followed the due process ahead of time and circumstances had arisen beyond my control. Having received a Field Research Award from the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, conditional upon receiving a research visa, I offered to return the award money but, likewise, they felt I was not at fault and did not recall it.

The Massey University Development Studies 'in-house' ethics application and the application for a Research Permit in Fiji involved detailing procedures around maintaining confidentiality and consent. Obtaining participant consent in practice happened at two levels. The first level involved government or non-government stakeholders who were asked to sign the consent form (see Appendix A). Additionally, the entrepreneurs were informed about the study (see Appendix B) and an invitation to participate in it was given to all participants and stakeholders before they were interviewed (see Appendix C). The second ethical approval was implied consent through the research participants from the restaurant agreeing to host me. By entering into the *Vanua* and then *Talanoa* taking place, this was seen as the community giving consent to the research (Nabobo-Baba, 2006). On the first day of field research participants from

He-Ni-Uwa verbally gave consent for the research. Before each *Talanoa* or semi-structured interview, consent was requested again and was granted. Only the Fiji Development Bank and the *iTaukei* Land Trust Board completed a written consent form.

The second stage involved the guidance of a cultural discernment group and having an *iTaukei* cultural advisor involved in maintaining the mana of the *Vanua* throughout the research. As Meo-Sewabu (2014a) comments: “What is ethical within the Fijian cultural context can only be understood by exploring Fijian epistemologies and worldviews” (p. 346). The cultural discernment group included the Massey University and Fiji Immigration ethics committees, supervisors, research participants/stakeholders, the family I stayed with and the study’s cultural advisor. The group did not meet but were all consulted. The cultural advisor’s role was to provide insider knowledge about cultural protocols, answer questions about situations that were hard for me as an outsider to understand, to provide feedback on how I was conducting the research, observe my behaviour among participants and challenge my Western assumptions. Participants met my cultural advisor before I went to Fiji and were able to contact her during the research if they had any concerns.

Part of honouring the *Vanua* is respecting *iTaukei* agency and their self-defining worldview. This means there must be space for *iTaukei* who participate to have control over the research process and products (Battiste as cited in Banks & Scheyvens, 2014). Having participants comment, certify and provide alternative or additional information on the findings throughout the research, meant there was a joint transformative process which enabled new narratives to emerge. As an outsider, it was imperative I came with humility and respect for the knowledge holders and expressed the desire to learn from them. The unique formation of the methodological framework prepares a firm foundation for the entry into the field.

5.3 FIELD WORK

5.3.1 ENTRY INTO THE FIELD

Before I arrived at the restaurant, the owners were contacted by the Marsden Fund Project *iTaukei* cultural advisor to discuss my research. All potential participants involved with the case study were approached by the entrepreneurs before I arrived to ask whether they desired to be a part of the study or not. When I arrived, I requested permission myself and this was granted. The field research took place over six weeks, from 7th August until 9th September 2018, in the He-Ni-Uwa restaurant situated in Maui Bay, on the Coral Coast Corridor, on the Island of Viti Levu.

Prior to leaving for Fiji, instead of feeling like a powerful Western researcher, I felt anxious and unsure of my 'place' in Fiji. The first week was spent in Suva for meetings with the study's *iTaukei* cultural advisor and an Indigenous organization called Ola Fou, who did role playing of cultural protocols and helped me buy *yaqona* (traditional Fijian drink) and *sulus* (skirts). The *iTaukei* cultural advisor at the end of the week took me to the Oceania Centre for Arts, Culture and Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific (USP). Displayed in the building is a quote by Epeli Hau'ofa (2008, p. 39), which she read out to me. Part of it was as follows:

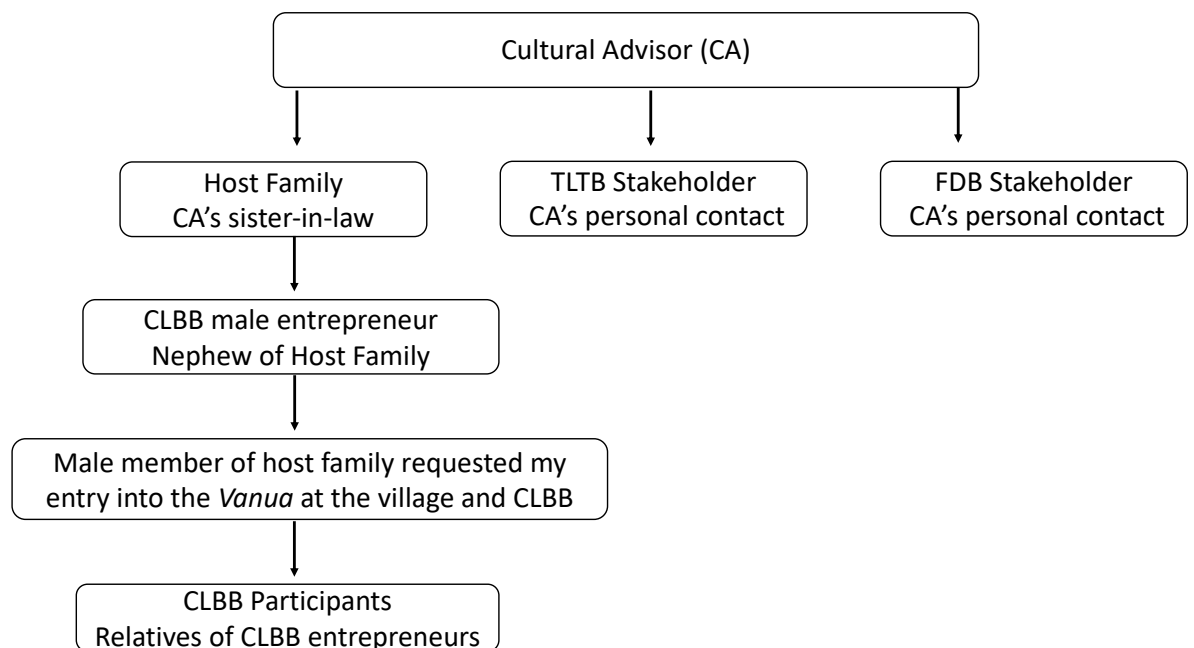
"We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truth and together use it to overturn all hegemonic views that aim ultimately to confine us again. ... We must not allow anyone to belittle us again."

After reading this quote, she asked me if I would perpetuate the hegemonic view or learn from the participants who are the knowledge holders. I felt an invitation had been given to be an allied non-Indigenous researcher but with a clear warning to consistently and critically reflect on my conduct.

In my second week I stayed in Namatakula village, with the *iTaukei* cultural advisor's sister-in-law. It was through my *iTaukei* cultural advisor's connections and

reputation that I was able to enter the research community. Figure 5.4 shows how the research was made possible through my *iTaukei* cultural advisor’s pre-existing relationships. I felt aware of how my ethical behaviour could have lasting positive or negative effects on her relationships. Nabobo-Baba (2006) comments, “appropriate behaviour [for the researcher] is based on the tenet that spiritual and material worlds are interconnected; respect for people, resources, the ancestors, and God, governs all important behaviours and values” (p. 88). The belief is that if the *Vanua* is disregarded then negative implications from the spiritual world can become manifest in the physical world (Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Ravuvu, 1983).

Figure 5.4. Research employed through iTaukei cultural advisor’s pre-existing relationships



Source: (Author, 2020)

On arriving at the village, I entered the *Vanua* through a *sevusevu* (acknowledging entrance to the land or *Vanua*). After the ceremony we drank *yaqona* while a *Talanoa* took place. In the *Talanoa*, it was decided my research would start later than planned and my host family’s brother-in-law would request my entry into the *Vanua* at the restaurant. In the *Talanoa* I felt like I stepped onto a conveyer belt, whereby the *Vanua*

dictated how and when the research would begin. Nabobo-Baba (2008) comments that in her research she, “soon found out that it was the *Vanua* (tribe) and its protocols and knowledge ethics dictated research processes on the ground” (p. 141). The next day, after attending a church service with my host family, they held a feast for a visiting minister. I was invited to sit with the younger women by the back porch on a mat. This revealed where I fitted in the social hierarchy, as Nabobo-Baba (2008) states, “The *Vanua* dictated ground rules of relationship and most other things in the villages” (p. 141). I found how similar Fijian village life was to that of Zimbabwe and felt myself relax. On the Monday I was invited to the village meeting and the *yaqona* I gave to my host was presented to the village chief.

Entry into the *Vanua* did not happen just once but throughout the research. At He-Ni-Uwa restaurant, my host family’s brother-in-law, who as a relative of the owners, requested my entry into their *Vanua* on my behalf. The ceremony included the gifting of *yaqona*, which was not drunken. The entrepreneurs later explained they rarely drink *yaqona* because they feel it conflicts with their Christian faith and business values. Then over a meal with staff, the owners explained why I was there and I discussed the information sheet that each person was given and answered any questions. All participants agreed to take part in the research. The information sheet was then placed on the He-Ni-Uwa notice board and was shown to relatives and some guests who visited.

After the ceremony three non-human interactions took place, which were significant to the participants. Firstly, an eel swam in front of the restaurant after the ceremony. This was the owner’s family totem and they explained it meant my entry was accepted. Secondly, a mullet fish swam by. This was interpreted as a sign the research would be positive and the restaurant would have guests that night. Another mullet fish swam by before the first *Talanoa* and this was also seen as a sign that the *Talanoas* would be good and the restaurant would make more money that day. Thirdly, a church service usually takes place within the restaurant and the pastor was away. When they learned I was a Senior Pastor, there was great excitement that Jesus had orchestrated me to come. I led a devotion in the week and preached on the Sunday. All three non-

human interactions were events that were out of my control but created a doorway into the participants' lives.

When I entered the *Vanua*, I also learned that all of my interconnected relationships entered as well. While doing fieldwork my Grandmother passed away. The empathy I received was moving. The entrepreneurs surprised me with a short service held by the local pastor and members from the church at the restaurant in memory of my Grandmother. This was recorded and sent to my Mother and her siblings. Messages were passed between participants and my wider family. Image 5.1 shows the service and the bouquet which was floated out to sea.

Image 5.1. Photos depicting how the researcher's family were interconnected with the *Vanua*



5.3.2 SETTING AND PARTICIPANTS

Prior to the fieldwork, purposive sampling was used to select He-Ni-Uwa as a potential case study for the Marsden Fund Project by a representative from TLTB (Tranter, 2010). Initial research was conducted by the Marsden Fund Project on He-Ni-Uwa. It was found customary land practices played a central role in the development and sustaining of the restaurant. The entrepreneurs expressed interest in further research being undertaken on the restaurant. The case study was then handed onto me to be the focus of my thesis. This restaurant was suitable because of ease of access to participants, the entrepreneur's daughters being within my age range, our shared Christian faith, and customary land practices being pivotal in the business's operations. Conducting research at this site provided unique insights into how *iTaukei* entrepreneurs' social, cultural, environmental and economic customary practices inform how economic development can be measured and theorised.

In qualitative research non-random or purposive sampling involves selecting participants most relevant to the study, while snowball sampling enables participants, purposefully chosen, to include people they see as relevant to the study (O'Leary, 2017). The primary non-random participants were the entrepreneurs, their daughters and staff at He-Ni-Uwa restaurant. Using Meo-Sewabu's (2016) culturally embedded agents of change approach, the positive deviance group discussed in Chapter 3, was identified as the entrepreneurs, who are a husband and wife team, and restaurant managers namely their three daughters. Their daughters are being trained to take over the restaurant and are bringing positive changes through developing the restaurant. One daughter, at the start of 2019, formed a new business at the restaurant, by offering wedding ceremonies and receptions on the restaurant's deck. Another daughter is wanting to franchise the restaurant in Sigatoka town.

Additionally, the non-random key stakeholders involved in the research were: a Fiji Development Bank (FDB) representative, my *iTaukei* cultural advisor, from USP, and a TLTB representative. The snowball sampling was orchestrated through the entrepreneurs, which included an uncle from the founders' *Tokatoka*, a Government

Official, an *iTaukei* human rights lawyer, the Pastor’s wife and two business owners who they helped to start up. Snowballing respected the participants’ agency to shape the study and include voices they felt were important to it. This respected their wider *Vanua* relationships, for example, the uncle was a respected elder in the entrepreneur’s family. In total, 22 people (8 male; 14 female) participated in the study. The coding used for participants and stakeholders is as follows:

Entrepreneurs	Husband and wife team.
Restaurant manager(s)	Entrepreneurs’ three daughters.
Staff	Staff in the restaurant.
Tokatoka Representative	Family representative from the village.
Community Leaders	Human rights lawyer and business owners.
Cultural Advisor	Scholar from the USP.
FDB Representative	Regional Manager from FDB.
TLTB Representative	Lawyer from TLTB.
National Government official	Minister of Industry, Trade, Tourism, Lands and Mineral Resources.

The primary group of participants were made up of 7 young adult staff (2=M, 5=F), aged between 20 and 30. The older adult Staff (F=2) were aged above 40. The two founders (1=F, 1=M), aged over 40. The emerging entrepreneurs (3=F). The stakeholders (M=3, F=4). Participant demographics are summarised in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Breakdown of research participants in Fiji

Participant code	Number of participants		Ages of participants
	Male	Female	
Entrepreneur	1	1	Over 40
Restaurant manager		3	20s
Young Adult Staff	2	5	20-35
Older Adult Staff		2	Over 40
<i>Tokatoka</i> Representative	1		Over 40
Community Leader	2	1	Over 40
Cultural Advisor (Suva)		1	Over 40
FDB Representative (Suva)	1		Over 40
TLTB Representative (Suva)		1	30s
National Government official (Suva)	1		Over 40

5.3.3 RESEARCH METHODS IN ACTION

The research participants defined and showed me how the research would take place. The female entrepreneur informed me that in the first week I was to join in with staff by predominantly washing dishes, cleaning and building relationships. Staff soon learnt I was a novice cook: my rotis looked more like the shape of Italy than a circle. Other skills I lacked were finding live octopus, spelling English orders correctly (because of my dyslexia), scraping coconuts and gutting fish. This provided material for banter and laughter. An unanticipated outcome was participants knew they had abilities that I did not. At the end of the week the entrepreneur said I could start *Talanoas*. This felt

like a second entry into the *Vanua*: the first was an entry into relationships and now it was an entry into hearing their knowledge.

Early in the research I discovered that participants identified more with my Zimbabwean heritage than my New Zealand citizenship. Participants self-located me and introduced me to others, including their New Zealand friends, as Zimbabwean. Having lived in Zimbabwe we were able to have sensitive conversations about politics, injustices and the impact of the misrepresentation of people. I was able to share about village protocols in Zimbabwe and we soon found similarities. I talked about my own journey of becoming anti-racist through realising how I was contributing to neo-colonialism in Zimbabwe. From here I perceived participants felt more comfortable giving me critical feedback about my Western worldview.

As already spoken of in Section 5.2.2 participants felt *Talanoa* was not being conducted authentically to begin with. This resulted in a distinction being made between *Talanoa* and the semi-structured interviews listed in Table 5.4. There were 21 recorded semi-structured interviews and 10 *Talanoa*. There were group conversations and participatory observations throughout the research.

Table 5.2. Record of *talanoa* and semi-structured interviews

Research method	Number	Participant code
<i>Talanoa</i>	2 (non-recorded)	Entrepreneurs and Restaurant Managers, Staff and Host-Family
<i>Talanoa</i>	1	Entrepreneurs
<i>Talanoa</i>	2 (1 recorded, 1 not recorded)	Entrepreneurs & <i>Tokatoka</i> Representative
<i>Talanoa</i>	1	1x Restaurant manager & 1x Staff
<i>Talanoa</i>	1	1x Restaurant manager & 4x Staff
<i>Talanoa</i>	1	Entrepreneurs, 1x Community Leader
<i>Talanoa</i>	2	Entrepreneurs & my husband (at the end another <i>Talanoa</i> took place with Adult Staff)
<i>Interview</i>	1	National Government official, 4x of his staff
Interview	5	Staff
Interview	3	Restaurant managers
Interview	9	Entrepreneurs
Interviews	1	Cultural Advisor
Interviews	1	FDB Representative
Interviews	1	TLTB Representative

5.3.4 FIELD WORK CHALLENGES AND LEARNINGS

In this section I explore some challenges from the fieldwork. I was warmly accepted by people in the restaurant and my host family in the village. At the restaurant they called me daughter of the *Vanua*, which was an honour and a highlight. Then in the village my host-family would introduce me as family. As I became more a part of village life and, also, of the restaurant participants' lived experiences, expectations became more prevalent. For example, my host-family would not eat dinner until I arrived back, which was challenging when *Talanoas* at the restaurant often happened in the evenings.

Once a week I stayed at a backpacker lodge for a night to have a break from my research. During this time I would receive constant phone calls from my host family asking when I would return. I found daily physical exercise mentally helpful but at the restaurant and village this was frowned upon. A day off and exercise were important for my mental health, however. My *iTaukei* cultural advisor suggested, on my days off, I switch off my phone and hitch hike away from the village to find a place to do my exercise. Additionally, I was expected to attend any special function, like a wedding or ceremony, that took place at the village. This was challenging as they often conflicted with planned semi-structured interviews with stakeholders.

I soon learned that I was engaging in two different 'worlds' in Fiji. In the village it was traditional while at the restaurant the entrepreneurs called themselves 'modern Fijians.' As I became more accepted, I also realised my place within the traditional social hierarchy and it became harder to gain access to the male entrepreneur, who operated more traditionally. There was key information participants felt it was the male entrepreneurs' role to share. I had to be strategic and noticed an uncle, whom the male entrepreneur respected, enjoyed talking with me about the research. I offered to cook the uncle and the male entrepreneur dinner. The uncle invited me to join them and initiated a conversation about the research which enabled me to ask the male entrepreneur questions I had.

During fieldwork I was using the 'Indicators of Business Sustainability,' in Chapter 3 (Table 3.2), to prompt conversations. The indicators that were the most challenging and created tension were the environmental indicators. This is explored in the subsequent chapter. It was challenging having spirituality as an indicator too, as this at times felt Western and dualistic: the *Vanua* and Christianity encompass all of life rather than a category of life. Lastly, a lack of fluency in the Fijian language provided challenges. All participants spoke English, but they told me certain concepts were lost in translation. I asked participants if they would rather speak in Fijian, which I could have had translated, but they preferred it was still done in English.

5.3.5 FIELDWORK FEEDBACK PROCEDURES AND CLOSURE

With regard to information sharing and the feedback processes, I did weekly food shopping in Sigatoka town with the female entrepreneur and over lunch we discussed the findings. She would recommend clarifications and suggestions for the coming week. I frequently asked participants for feedback and shared what I was learning. My cultural advisor, whom I meet with weekly in Suva, also visited me in the restaurant and asked participants if they were happy with my conduct. She helped illuminate the significance of various events. For example, on one food shopping trip the female entrepreneur, instead of having lunch, spent hours buying school uniforms for staff members' children. Unsure why she invited me along, I felt I had wasted my time. When I raised this with my cultural advisor, she explained the female entrepreneur was demonstrating, 'Share and Care,' a pivotal finding from that week's research which is discussed further in Chapter 6. The male entrepreneur often asked me in front of restaurant guests what my findings were so far. This demonstrated to me he was proud I had identified positive aspects of the business and wanted others to know about them.

Following the field work completion, my husband who had just arrived in Fiji, the entrepreneurs and myself met over a meal to formally end the research at He-Ni-Uwa. My husband shared his appreciation for how I had been treated and the male entrepreneur spoke of what he hoped I had learned. I had not anticipated how much my husband was expected to talk on my behalf, but he was able to share what he had learned through me. Then all the participants joined in and we had an informal sharing time where I summarised the findings in a conversational way. Throughout the research I sought to find meaningful gifts for the participants. Female staff had commented good quality underwear and bras were hard to find in Sigatoka, so I asked my husband to bring these from New Zealand. We all drank tea daily together, so New Zealand mugs and tea towels were given; it was a standing joke that nobody liked washing the dishes! The entrepreneurs were gifted appliances for the restaurant along with a cash gift. In return, I received a painting.

After the fieldwork I sent initial findings to the entrepreneurs and a policy brief later to the: TLTB, FDB and NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. To continue the relationships, I still sometimes call the restaurant participants and message them on Facebook. Subsequently, I have received invitations to family functions and am frequently asked when I am coming to visit. All the restaurant participants and stakeholders were sent their transcripts and given the opportunity to make changes. The TLTB representative did not give permission for her transcript to be used in this thesis; this is perhaps not surprising given the sometimes-tense political environment concerning inter-ethnic relations in Fiji (see Section 4.2.2). All quotes used in Chapter 6 were sent to the relevant participant. Some participants did re-word the quotes or offer additional information. A short summary of findings and recommendations will be sent following the thesis' publication. I shall then take a physical copy to the participants in Fiji and a PDF copy will be sent to stakeholders.

5.4 DATA ANALYSIS AND RELIABILITY

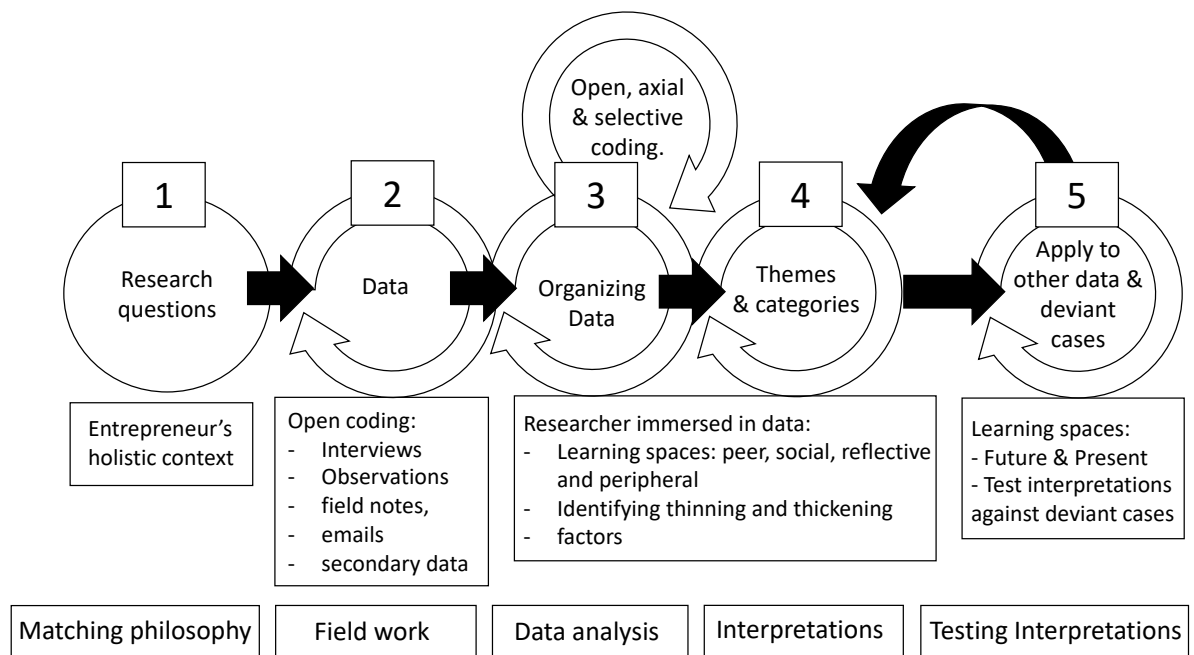
This section explores a data analysis approach that is relevant to development studies which has qualitative data as the main focus, with quantitative findings included when applicable. To be reliable the data analysis needs to be methodical and meticulously conducted (Murray & Overton, 2014). There are a variety of ways to approach data analysis. In considering the methodology of the research and the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, data analysis needs to reflect how entrepreneurs socially construct knowledge through their interpretations of the world. The data analysis, also, needs to incorporate the pre-existing culturally embedded indicators and themes that have been set out by the Marsden Fund Project which this thesis is part of.

All data collection was focused on exploring how the research participants socially constructed knowledge around each Indicator of Sustainability. This required that the data analysis compares and contrasts the different answers to each category, so as to identify similarities or inconsistencies in interpretations of experiences. The analysis method, also, needs to allow new categories to emerge that were not in the

pre-set themes. In light of this, the constant comparison analysis method will be utilised to explore patterns of interpretations of both actions and their meanings from the perspective of the entrepreneurs (Smith & McKeever, 2017).

The constant comparison analysis method involves comparing and contrasting data so that categories and patterns can be discovered (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Corbin and Strauss (2015) claim that producing theories out of patterns should determine 'how' and 'why' participants have formed particular narratives and responses to change. Smith and McKeever (2017) describe comparison as, "a means of assisting, systematizing and supplementing the abilities of analysts in generating theory which is integrated, consistent and plausible" (p. 57). Additionally, Bruan and Clarke (2006) highlight the need for qualitative analysis to involve the defining and redefining of themes in a cyclical manner, until the researcher feels confident the themes are representative of the participants' knowledge and captures the overall research question. The constant comparison analysis method is conducted through a step-wise approach, however, it has been adapted to illustrate the circular manner that is conducted under Figure 5.5 (Smith & McKeever, 2017, p. 58).

Figure 5.5. The constant comparison analysis method



Source: (Author adapted from Smith & McKeever, 2017, p. 58)

The first step, shown above, is matching the philosophical focus with the research question and the entrepreneur's holistic context. The second step is the fieldwork, which requires sampling and qualitative interviewing to provide context rich, relevant and in-depth data. The third step is organising and reduction of data through coding as thematic analysis, as patterns of the data drive the themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In the fieldwork, comparison was done through open coding. Gathered information was continuously compared through the pre-set themes, showing gaps of knowledge and identifying new themes that were emerging. I used provisional theoretical ideas found in Chapters 2-4 and asked the cultural advisor to decide what data needed to be gathered next (Boeije, 2002). This is complementary to the ethical process of discernment used in this study. Post-field work immersion into transcriptions took place through open coding, as each transcript is organised line by line into the different new categories and themes. Axial coding was employed to draw out

connections between categories, while selective coding took place to develop a storyline between the categories (Smith & McKeever, 2017).

The fourth step was to make comparative interpretations through words, sentences or paragraphs of the same themes from different transcripts, fieldnotes, emails, diagrams and observations (Boeije, 2002). Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that clear themes and categories enable the research to articulate what each theme means, as well as, what the implications for each theme are. This helped to create an overall story from the different themes and enabled the case-study to be developed. Table 5.3 shows the different types of comparison used throughout the analysis.

Table 5.3. Types of comparison

Type of Comparison	Analysis undertaken	Aim	Action	Outcome
Comparison within single interview (In fieldwork and post)	Open coding: summarizing core issues & immersion in data	Categories developed	Consistencies, inconsistencies & contradictions, explored	Narrative synopsis and data reduction
Comparison between accumulating interviews (In fieldwork and post)	Axial coding: criteria & patterns for comparing interviews developed	Emerging typology identified	Patterns of concepts & experiences explored	Criteria for comparing interviews, cluster interviews and conceptual descriptions
Comparison of interviews from emerging categories (Post-fieldwork)	Selective coding, triangulating data sources	Enrich the information by clearly defining categories	Matching & merging explanatory themes and patterns	Clarification of the emerging conceptual categories and exploring thematic relationships
Detailed comparisons made to look at the full range of experiences (Post-fieldwork)	Identify consensus on the interpretation of themes	Conceptualization of the main stories emerging from data	Identifying central themes and issues	Rich understanding of inter-category relationships
Comparison between similar cases of the same experience (Post-fieldwork)	Identifying core patterns within each category	Produce a final typology	What are the differences between categories? What thin or thick factors caused these? Experiences compared with deviant cases	Comparing categories for final clusters of relationships and typology

Source: (Author adapted from Smith & McKeever, 2017)

The last step involves testing interpretations, trustworthiness and crystallisation of data, through comparing findings with positive deviant cases (Boeije, 2002). This consistent comparison results in continuous referral back to transcripts to ensure the similarities and differences are captured correctly. Additionally, it is dependent on direct quotes from participants to show the results. Producing dependable findings is a concern of this study and examples were sought of how this analysis can produce reliable findings, as akin to those of Anderson and Jack (2002), who focused on how entrepreneurs create a structure of networks through social capital or Shaw (1999) who explored the impact social networks have on small businesses' development. They produced reliable data in areas where little research had been done.

5.5 CONCLUSION

Methodological consistency has been demonstrated throughout the chapter by drawing links back to the methodology and arguing for an approach aligned with the overall methodological framework. Furthermore, throughout this chapter I have demonstrated the reliability of the research by using O'Leary's (2017) framework for evaluating the credibility of one's own work. This framework starts by acknowledging and managing my personal subjectivities as being important to the integrity of the research and the ethical concerns of being a Western researcher in an Indigenous community. Koch (2006) argues the research will be deemed trustworthy and rigorous, "if the reader is able to audit the events, influences and actions of the researcher" (p. 91). This was done transparently through my personal positionality in the First Chapter, naming potential biases and exploring ethical issues. Secondly, O'Leary (2017) draws attention to capturing the true essence of what participants are saying, which is consistent with the VFR. To try and mitigate misrepresentation, a cultural advisor played a pivotal role in deepening my self-awareness on how to conduct the research to maintain the mana of the participants. This meant participants needed to draw boundaries regarding what culturally embedded methods I could or could not use.

This chapter sought to show that the research process was well-designed and well-documented so that findings are seen as dependable (Koch, 2006). It demonstrated how the design was guided through honouring the *Vanua* and showed how interconnected relationships affected the start of the research (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). O’Leary (2017) claims that relevant and appropriate research shows how the participants are the appropriate group to answer the research question and that learnings can be transferable. This chapter showed how the research group was identified by a TLTB official, who saw them as a successful example of a business based on customary land. A preliminary study was then conducted through the Marsden Fund Project and they were deemed to be appropriate. The Marsden Group, as well as my cultural advisor, felt the case study ‘fitted’ my research question and focus. Lastly, the conception of triangulation was used, which demonstrated a range of voices were used, including the entrepreneurs, staff and other key stakeholders who work with Indigenous businesses. Their voices enable the resulting chapters to be verified as authentic findings (O’Leary, 2017).

6. *ITAUKEI* ENTREPRENEURSHIP ON CUSTOMARY LAND: MEASURING SUSTAINABILITY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to explore Objectives Two and Three by demonstrating how customary land-based entrepreneurship can be better understood through an alternative measure; this will, in turn, demonstrate the way in which *iTaukei* conceptualise development. In doing so, the experiences of the participants will be highlighted. The findings are divided into three Sections. Section 6.2 begins with a brief mention of participants' definitions of a customary land-based business and the *Vanua* (*iTaukei* way of knowing). In the light of these definitions, Section 6.3 presents the holistic case-study from the fieldwork starting with results from the economic, then socio-cultural and, lastly, environmental categories discussed in the, 'Indicators of Business Sustainability,' in Chapter 3 (Table 3.2). Section 6.4 visually presents the results from 'Indicators of Business Sustainability.' Direct quotations from participants are woven throughout the chapter.

6.2 DEFINITION OF CUSTOMARY LAND BASED BUSINESS AND THE *VANUA*

In defining a customary land-based business (CLBB), participants unanimously commented, it was a "family run business," "built on their own land", where owners "honour the *Vanua*." Participants identified the restaurant He-Ni-Uwa as a CLBB. When participants defined CLBB they frequently mentioned the saying of, "*Duri ga me davo*," which translates as, "*iTaukei* stand to fall". A distinction participant made between CLBBs and the private sector or foreign owned businesses in Fiji, was that the former often fail. Participants were asked what contributes to the high failure rate and what their desired situation would be, which is explored in subsequent sections.

When asked for a definition of the *Vanua*, participants responded in a variety of ways; one restaurant manager (daughter of entrepreneurs) spoke of how, with her grandfather, they:

"...walked up and visited all the boundaries ... we went up to ... the most remotely part of Maui Bay, up there, across this way to where our plantation is up in the valley, and then we came down again to the village."

She also described the land territory and her spiritual connection to the land, *"we believe that the land has eyes ... for us we have spirits everywhere."*

The *iTaukei* cultural advisor commented that the *Vanua* relates to people who have 'common ground' and an 'attachment to that land.' The *Tokatoka* (family unit) representative, described the *Vanua*, as *Tagaqe* village and focused on the role of the chief, the people within the village and how history and culture is upheld. Another restaurant manager answered by showing me their fishing ground. The female entrepreneur defined the *Vanua* by its role of bringing, *"everything in like: marriages, deaths, birthday, weddings, [and] small ceremony."* Each described an interconnected aspect, which makes up the *Vanua*. Subsequent findings in the economic, socio-cultural and environmental categories are guided by these definitions.

6.3 ITAUKEI ENTREPRENEURS ON CUSTOMARY LAND: A HOLISTIC CASE-STUDY

This section uses the Indicators of Business Sustainability (Table 3.2), to frame the presentation of the case-study on He-Ni-Uwa restaurant. Firstly, the economic category is focused on, which draws attention to how the entrepreneurs' customary land become an economic resource for them. Then the social-cultural category is concentrated on, which illustrates how the entrepreneurs' customary land practices enabled social and cultural resources found within the *Vanua* to be mobilised. Lastly,

the social-cultural category is explored, which demonstrates the importance of stewardship of the land, so that customary land can be a resource for future generations.

6.3.1 ECONOMIC CATEGORY

The economic category investigates how the entrepreneurs established the restaurant as well as its progress over time. It provides an overview of village and business mindsets that participants identified, and a summary of the conventional business processes they went through. Then it will be highlighted how, through the CLBB, participants helped others start businesses but encountered negative conceptualisations of *iTaukei* running businesses. The sub-categories of establishment, ownership and management, employment, capacity development, financial sustainability and the multiplier effect are explored.

6.3.1.1 *Establishment of the CLBB*

The entrepreneurs, reflecting on the past, spoke of being asset rich due to their customary land but cash poor. To start their business they generated cash income through traditional land-based activities, such as gathering food from their customary land and selling the produce to resorts and people within *Tagaqe* village. They moved out of the village for reasons outlined in 'village and business mind-sets' and started a horse-riding business. Their capacity development entailed a two-week business course; a restaurant manager comments, "*We didn't go to business school, we didn't go to universities. But we were brought up in a business way.*" They rather built up their skills through starting small and building on their experiences. This is consistent with the Fiji Development Bank representatives' comment about how *iTaukei* successfully enter businesses: "*For the local guys it may be difficult to start, so we advise them to start small.*"

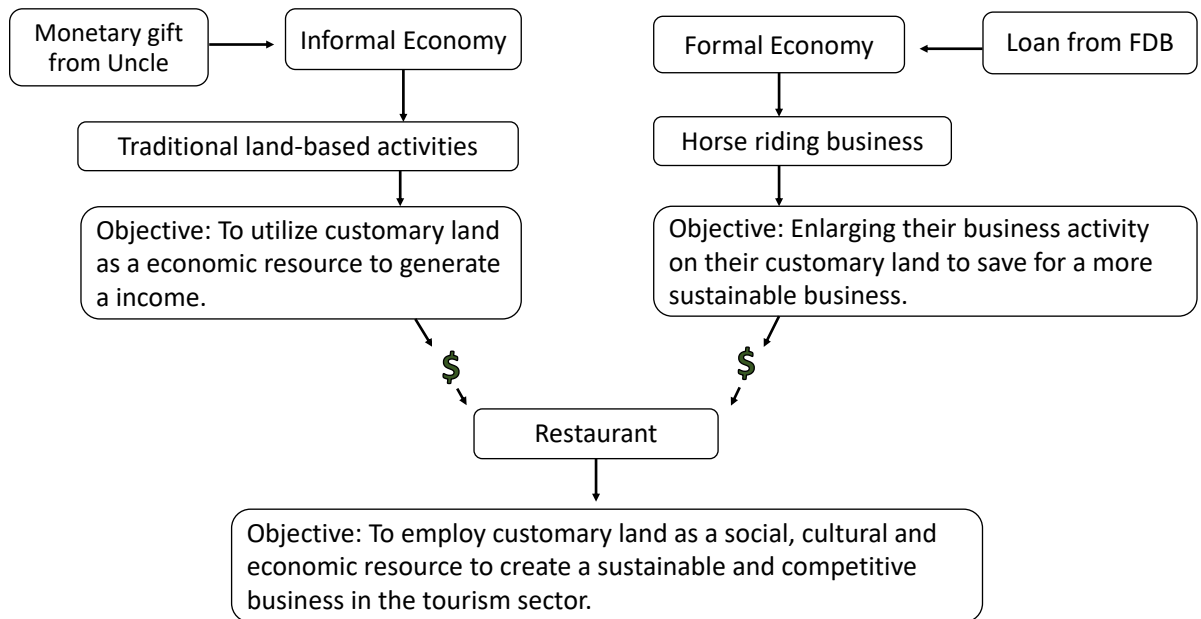
The idea for the restaurant initially was inspired by tourists on horse-riding tours enjoying traditional food the entrepreneurs provided, which the resorts did not. Profits from the horse-riding business were saved, along with an uncle's monetary gift, for a business loan deposit, which was secured through the Fiji Development Bank (FDB). They struggled to find a bank that would give them a loan, because they were seen as high risk. However, the FDB representative commented the bank *"involve[s] ourselves in some of the risky businesses involving start-up ... it is part of our mandate to help."* Regardless of this mandate, the high failure rate of CLBBs still generates tension, as the FDB representative mentioned: *"you know, for me business-wise I would prefer someone who is less risky. I can make my book [records] look better."*

The three restaurant managers' modern business knowledge, acquired through school, helped establish the restaurant and gain partnerships within the formal economy. One restaurant manager mentioned their father did not have the knowledge they had:

"He'll be giving his own ways and we'll be giving ours which we take in with the laws that we have, according to the authorities that we have. Cause he's always too attached to his traditional upbringing. Since we are kind of modernised, we take into account his traditional upbringing"

These restaurant managers' modern knowledge enabled them to obtain government consents, which they needed for a loan and to become a registered business. Figure 6.1 illustrates their business development trajectory.

Figure 6.1. Trajectory of business



Source: Author (2019)

The trajectory of the business shows how customary land was utilised to start the CLBB. The FDB representative spoke of how *iTaukei* entrepreneurs often fail in business because they try to copy foreign businesses. The male entrepreneur shared the same sentiment: *“No, we can’t copy them [foreign owned businesses] ... we’re doing something that is different from others.”* Through utilising their knowledge from the land to make home-cooked traditional, mainly seafood, meals, they gained a comparative advantage over other resort restaurants on the Coral Coast. They found a gap in the market but knew tourists would expect familiar Western food, such as fish and chips, chicken nuggets and coke, on the menu. Curries and Chinese food were included to attract Fijians of Indian or Chinese descent. Image 6.1 shows their outside visual advertising focused on relatable Western food and drink and Image 6.2 shows an overview of the menu.

Image 6.1. He-Ni-Uwa advertising western food

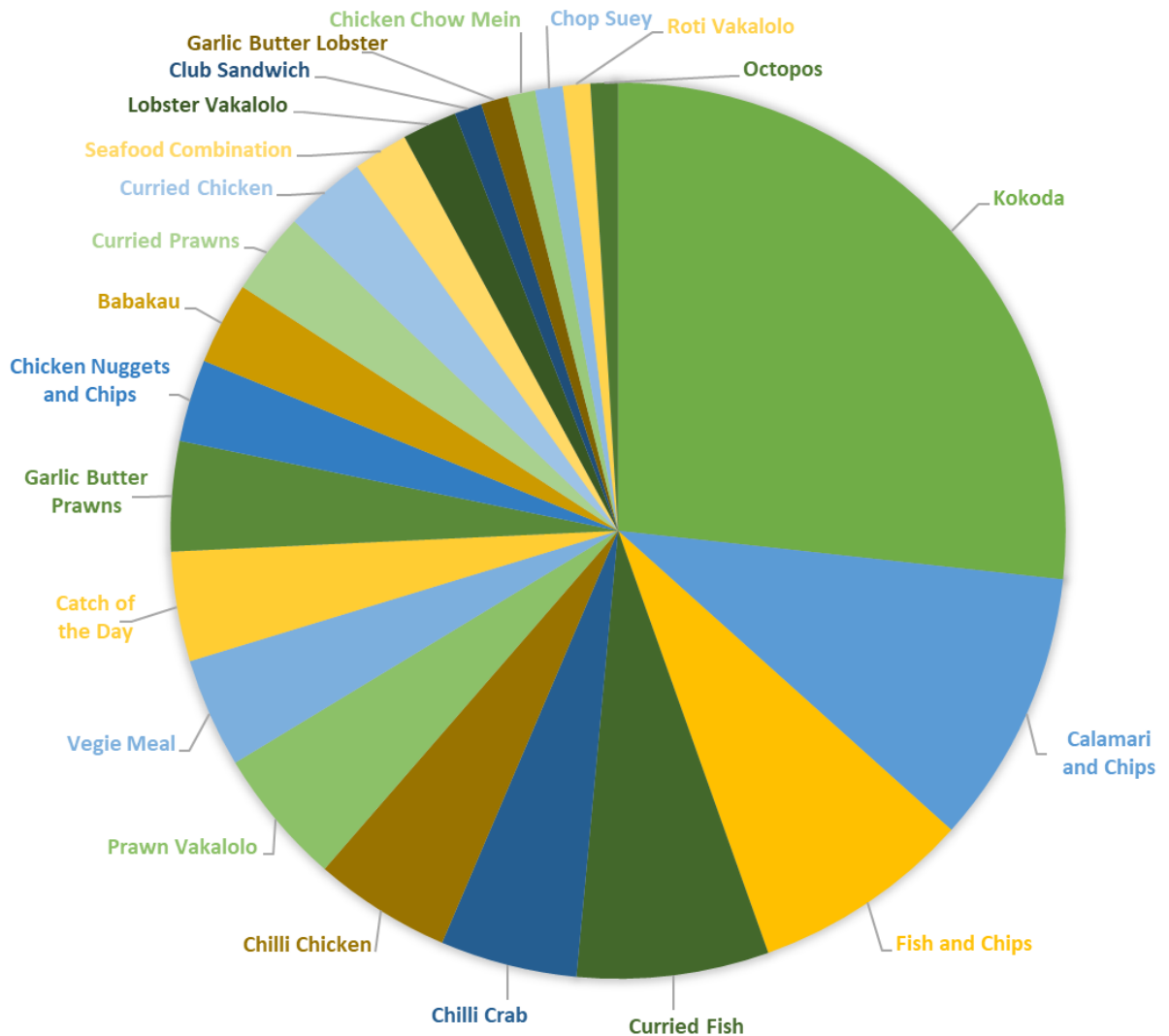


Image 6.2. He-Ni-Uwa menu



As image 6.2 shows there is ethnically diverse food on the menu, however Figure 6.2 below, shows that in a month's period the most popular order was a traditional dish called Kokoda.

Figure 6.2. He-Ni-Uwa food orders in November 2018



Source: Author, (fieldwork 2018)

On the Coral Coast corridor there is no other successful CLBB *iTaukei* run restaurant offering a menu that is primarily traditional home-cooked sea food. Although He-Ni-Uwa had something unique to offer, in the first year the restaurant struggled to attract guests. The lack of guests was partly because He-Ni-Uwa lacked promotion from nearby resorts. When I visited nearby resorts and asked receptionists and tour operators

if they could recommend any restaurants that served Indigenous food, even three years after He-Ni-Uwa was established, I was told there were none on the Coral Coast. The entrepreneurs, instead, advertise through Facebook and TripAdvisor and by giving complementary meals to taxi drivers who brought guests.

Becoming noticed by tourists took time. As a restaurant manager explained in the first-year profits from the horse-riding business covered the restaurant's short fall. During the last three years, however, earnings have covered costs and the entrepreneurs have been able to save. The female entrepreneur said they invest back into the business, as she illustrated, "*we have good profit that's coming in... Like we have new stools. When we started off the stools were just 15 dollars then; I'm buying stools now for 50 dollars per stool.*" During the fieldwork in 2018 they were planning an extension and a wedding ceremonies business through the restaurant, which was achieved in 2019. Another indication of their financial sustainability was how staff said they are paid more than they would be in nearby resorts.

6.3.1.2 Village and Business Mind-sets

When participants discussed the establishment of the business, they frequently referenced a difference between a village and a business mind-set. An example was given by the male entrepreneur's experience of selling produce in the village: people would request it as a *kerekere* (mode of exchange where something is requested but the giver is not directly compensated for it), making it challenging to generate a profit. To resolve this constraint, they argued you had to draw a line between the business and the village, as seen in quotes from participants in Box 6.1.

Box 6.1. Drawing the line between the village and business

“Sometimes you know doing business in the community, like your biggest enemy would be ... either members of the family or the community itself. Should there be a gathering or anything, because you’re running a business, people expect you to give more. [The entrepreneur will] start using the business fund to finance his customary obligations, which is wrong ... Draw the line.”

FDB Representative

“For Fijians to be able to be successful in running a business, they have to come out of the Fijian village set up. Just cut your ties from the village for a while.”

Tokatoka Representative

“Since you have a business, your family is your worst enemy, right? So, you need to draw a line.”

Restaurant manager

“You draw the line when you start off.”

Male entrepreneur

“For us, yeah, we draw a line. That’s why you don’t see, normally, a lot of villagers come in here, because they know.”

Restaurant manager

Drawing the line did not mean disconnecting from their cultural identity, as one restaurant manager comments, *“I wouldn’t be too modern, ‘cause sometimes when you get too modern you’re pushing away your family, you’re pushing away the Vanua, you’re pushing away the traditional way that you’re supposed to be in.”* Drawing the line consisted of moving out of the village, creating boundaries due to their financial literacy and seeking independent authority over a portion of customary land from their *Mataqali* (clan-based landowning units).

The entrepreneurs obtained a 99-year land lease from their *Mataqali* due to their proven business skills with the horse-riding business. The loan was borrowed against the leased land, meaning the FDB will own the land if the loan is not serviced. This gave the entrepreneurs added motivation to make the business successful. However, the *Tokatoka* representative commented in other cases getting a lease has

become a barrier as *Mataqali* are cautious to consent due to the “*fear of losing it [the land] forever. That's the obstacle.*” Foreign investors’ bids to lease land can be seen as less risk adverse and are more highly advocated for by the *iTaukei Land Board Trust* (TLTB).

6.3.1.3 Conventional business processes

Following conventional business processes, it took the entrepreneurs 11 years to establish the restaurant and the first three areas were particularly challenging. Firstly, the entrepreneurs’ felt the process favoured foreign ownership over *iTaukei* initiatives. My cultural advisor commented that local agendas are not highly promoted because the government does not, “*ask the people what they want, they come with a pre-planned agenda. So, a lot of times we don't really have a say in what our priorities should be.*” Furthermore, participants felt *iTaukei* were encouraged to start businesses that complemented foreign owned businesses rather than competed with them, as this comment from the FDB representative reflects: “*Foreign investors they go to the big scales. The Indigenous are going on the lower scales, that support the big scale. When you look at the big scale small scale, they sort of complement each other in that sense.*”

Secondly, they struggled to finance the FJ\$65,000 (approximately NZ\$45,455), needed for preliminary costs, such as architectural support, engineering, registrations, land surveys and environmental consent. They were approved for a TLTB seed grant for preliminary costs but did not receive this. FDB previously had schemes to help Indigenous entrepreneurs as the FDB representative mentioned: “*We used to have products that were dedicated to Indigenous before. But that is no more now, with ... the government’s direction now, everybody’s is treated on the same platform.*” He noted that preliminary costs become, “*a barrier [to] their progress.*”

Thirdly, the entrepreneurs received less money than they applied for to start the business. The female entrepreneur comments:

“We asked the Fiji Development Bank if they could give us 150 [thousand]. So, they give us only 92 [thousand], which something like telling you ... I give you 50 cents, go and buy me two bundles of cabbage, and the cabbage is \$2 a bundle. What’re you gonna do with that 50 cent?”

She went on to say that she felt FDB was setting them up to fail with giving them less money. However, their uncle, as mentioned, gifted them the money for the shortfall. The FDB representative noted, *“This informal system exists... But it can only go so far. You should graduate from that and go into the formal system.”*

6.3.1.4 Multiplier effect

Participants were asked what contributed to the high failure rate of CLBBs and what their desired situation would be. The most common desire from participants was that *iTaukei* utilise their customary land to make a living. The male entrepreneur remarked he wanted: *“...people to use up the land. Use up the resources. Especially with farming.”* A restaurant manager commented that she asks unemployed male cousins: *“...you have that piece of land vacant? Why don’t you plough it up, put in your vegetables and everything, then you get to harvest?”* A staff member shared the same sentiment, *“We have land which is given from God through handwork and sacrifices you can have a business.”* She tells people, *“Don’t judge us Fijians. Cause we can. God can open a business for you and your eyes open so that you know what you’re doing.”* There was then a prolific desire to see *iTaukei* better represented in business. This was largely limited, however, to agricultural production.

In practice the entrepreneurs created a multiplier effect even before they had started the restaurant. Before the restaurant was built, the male entrepreneur started a resort for his *Tokatoka* and the horse-riding business employed nephews from the village. They believed this created good will towards the business. Then once the restaurant had become financially sustainable, they financially helped others start

businesses, gave free consultations, employed iTaukei within the restaurant and bought locally produced food talked about in 6.3.3. The male entrepreneur said they live by the motto of, *“Na i lakolako oqo e dodonu me da lako vata kece,”* which translates as, “this is a path that we must all rightfully take together.”

Firstly, the entrepreneurs implemented the above saying by helping others start businesses. For example, an uncle was good at fishing but unemployed, so they financed a charter fishing boat for him. The female entrepreneur commented, *“we are the ones that bring him up.”* He now sells them discounted fish. Another business they financially assisted was their nephew’s sign making business; he now does their sign work. They also helped a Fijian lady of Indian descent start a roti business, which supplies rotis to them. Eighty per cent of all food for the restaurant is grown and purchased locally, meaning they save money through buying at markets rather than at supermarkets. Staff have embraced this vision of spreading the economic benefits of business; one commented, *“Right now there is a lady who comes and looks after my four month old baby at home. Actually, I am paying this lady every week.”* The Tokatoka representative spoke about how he tells his son not to work in resorts but, instead, *“do something for himself, like what [the male entrepreneur] has done.”* This has resulted in his son starting a farm on their customary land.

Secondly, employees are all family members, predominantly from *Tagaqe* village, mainly young single mothers largely from abusive backgrounds or who did not finish school. In asking the female entrepreneur why they did this, she explained, *“Because these children here they need this love...always thank the God Almighty that he gives us our strength inside to build something good like this. To support children.”* Through the income earned at the restaurant some staff could leave abusive situations, as one staff member shared, *“[the male entrepreneur] told me, ‘don’t care about him, just move on your own’ Now I can manage to raise my three kids.”* Staff shared how the love they received was more important than their pay, as seen in this statement, *“Money is not the most important thing. It’s love. You know [the female entrepreneur] always gives us that love.”* Furthermore, two staff members heard from family

members how supportive the business was and left jobs in Nadi or Suva, to return to the village and work at He-Ni-Uwa restaurant.

When staff were asked if they would rather work in a resort, all said no, as captured in this staff member's comment: *"actually at home, they're asking me, 'you can go to ... the five-star hotel?' I say, 'no, I think it's better for me to stay here in the restaurant.'" As one staff member remarked, "It's very successful ... every day we have plenty of guests! It makes me feel more happy. ... This restaurant makes us proud because the name of the restaurant has gone worldwide."* This pride has resulted in high staff retention and satisfaction rates. Staff, however, do not have contracts, fixed pay rates, maternity or sick leave, which are benefits they would receive if they worked in a resort. On the plus side, though, they have received Food and Beverage Safety training and some selected staff have completed two-week cooking courses.

6.3.1.5 Negative conceptualisations

Even though the entrepreneurs are enabling others to enter business, when they and wider participants were asked how *iTaukei* owned businesses are perceived in Fiji, the most common answer was that owning a business is what Fijians of Indian descent do. As one restaurant manager commented, *"you have the Indian people that run business all the time, then the Fijians. They get to run everything ... Most Indians they said, 'Fijians they don't know how to do business, they just tend to be lazy.'" This is, also, a belief some iTaukei have of themselves, as one staff member stated, "Because you know iTaukei, they don't know how to do it."*

Participants observed that many *iTaukei* believe their role within a business is that of an employee. A restaurant manager remarked, *"we will always say that, the Indians and other races can run business, not Fijians. It's in the mind-set, it's in the people. Fijians are meant for the village, Fijians are meant to work for others."* The male entrepreneur commented that *iTaukei* working in resorts tend to become disinterested in businesses that do not have the same prestige, *"It's a Fijian mind-set of things. They*

just not interested. They always look out for big high standards of quality stuff. Because most of them work in big resorts.”

A result of negative conceptions is that when an entrepreneur does start a business, people can be hesitant to support it, as the male entrepreneur remarked in a *Talanoa*,

“They can only help out if there’s a foreigner doing it, because foreigners bring new ideas. They always stand on the side and look [when it is a local doing it]. And the negative mind-set, they say, ‘Oh let’s see if he can do it.’ ... Somebody doing development like this on the Coral Coast, the first thing that they thought that I’d been helped, I’ve got a business partner. A foreigner. If someone does business around here there must be a foreigner on the side.”

A community leader, followed in the *Talanoa* with this observation, *“I actually assumed it was owned by a white person.”* While conducting the field research locals and tourists asked if I was the owner, there was disbelief when they heard the restaurant is 100 per cent *iTaukei* established, managed and owned. They felt the standard of food and service was too high to be locally owned.

6.3.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL CATEGORY: CULTURALLY EMBEDDED BUSINESS

This section outlines the socio-cultural category, by studying the role of *Vanua* partnerships, which includes non-human partnerships. This leads to expectations participants felt the *Vanua* has and the need to find creative ways to meet these expectations, which incorporates cultural practices like social obligations, sharing and caring. Lastly, how the CLBB contributes to local perceptions that Indigenous development is possible, is examined. The subcategories explored are: collective social benefits, spirituality, relationships, well-being, self-determination and cultural embeddedness.

6.3.2.1 *Vanua partnerships*

Although the entrepreneurs had moved 1.2 kilometres away from the village, they structured the business to honour the *Vanua*. They did this by first honouring community level informal partnerships. Informal partnerships were made possible by the entrepreneur's traditional knowledge of which people, through 'inherited' blood ties to their particular customary land or spiritual ties, they needed a blessing from. Before they started building, they held a function in the village where they requested the blessing from the *Vanua*, which involved providing food, *yaqona* and *Tabua* (polished tooth of a sperm whale). Simultaneously, they sought permission to lease the customary land. Honouring informal partnerships was of great value to the entrepreneurs, as evidenced in a restaurant manager's comment, "*Even though the government is there, the law is there, but still there is [the] Vanua and most people they respect the Vanua rather than the law ... The land has eyes.*" After both ceremonies were completed, they started building the restaurant. People from the village provided free labour and other family members helped source cheaper equipment.

Before they started building the restaurant, they sought to honour *lotu* (religion) and then the *Vanua*. In honouring *lotu* the business was dedicated in prayer by the *Tagaqe* village pastor and the pastor who runs a church out of the restaurant. For the male entrepreneur, his trust in God allowed him to believe they could start a business, "*Chinese, European [and] Indians can do it, why can't we? God will help with it.*" They further honour the *lotu* by hosting a church in their restaurant every Sunday morning, where they also provide food for people who come. They also tithe a portion of their profit to the church. Out of the church partnerships have founded with other business owners who are Fijian of Indian decent. The FDB representative explained that informal partnerships, like from the church and *Vanua* enable *iTaukei* entrepreneurs to, "*capture the energy and the resources sitting there with the people.*" He gave an illustration of this in box 6.2.

Box 6.2. Capturing the power of the Vanua

They [entrepreneurs] want the blessings of the Vanua to go with them. And that is the power [the] Vanua has to give you their blessings so that you can do whatever you want to do. When you get the blessing, make sure you know that they're still there behind you. They can provide their support. Let's say if someone want to lease a piece of land ... he doesn't have the working capital to pay labourers to build. But there's hard working people sitting in the village. He can capture that. Although he will not pay for that, but he can channel that, to get him started. You give them yaqona at the end, they're paid already, they connect to one another and being able to identify themselves with, this good development ... It's not the monetary value of what you pay them ... As long as you recognise their effort ... I think that is the power that the Vanua is, they want to help you to do this, but when you grow remember they're still part of you. Don't push them aside.

6.3.2.2 Non-human partners in the Vanua: Land and God

Through customary land practices and dedicating the business in prayer, human partnerships were honoured but so were partnerships honouring the land and God. In a *Talanoa* a community leader spoke of the relationship between land and God, “*the only thing that he [God] gave to his children were the land and second his son Jesus Christ.*” The land was not seen to be a commodity but something living within the *Vanua* that needed to be honoured. One staff member spoke of a neighbour who disrespected the *Vanua* by selling customary land without permission; his current illness was attributed to a curse from the land. However, when the *Vanua* is respected, the belief then is the business will be blessed. Staff spoke of how they felt secure in their employment, because “*the land has eyes.*” If they were treated unfairly then it would result in the business being cursed.

The customary land, which the restaurant is on, keeps the family connected to one of their totems: an eel, a spiritual representation that exists in nature. This was

significant to them, as was when a mullet fish swam by the restaurant, these were seen as signs of blessing from the land. The *Tokatoka* representative commented when a business respects the *Vanua*, then the chiefs, *“turn their thoughts positively towards you ... you are actually getting a huge blessing because you’re actually engaging with the Vanua and they are releasing their blessings to you.”* He felt that the business was honouring the *Vanua*, which is why it was doing so well.

The second non-human partner was spoken of as Father, Son and the Holy Ghost, revealed in Jesus Christ. God was spoken of frequently by participants. Just as the land sees, so does God, as demonstrated in the female entrepreneur’s comment, *“God is looking, he’ll give you everything abundantly over. Double portion, triple portion.”* Another way they felt God was active was through the church of Fijians of Indian decent and *iTaukei* that meets in the restaurant, as the female entrepreneur commented: *“we opened the ministry, then I thought, okay, he’s [God] there.”* Lament was shared about how the government is bringing about a secular society, as one community leader noted, *“what this government has done, they bought this in secularism. They’ve declared Fiji a secular state, which has never happened in our forefathers’ time.”*

Another area where participants saw God as being active was through the staffs’ lives, as illustrated in this staff member’s comment: *“[The female entrepreneur] prayed for me every morning. So, when I came in, I shared my story with the staff. ... There was that relief like, ‘Huh I’m letting it out’ it’s been three years, I’ve had that pain in me.”* The male entrepreneur sees his spiritual role as teaching staff, *“that we should trust in the Lord and ... you’ll be given wisdom, you’ll be matured, [and] everything will be there. God will do that for you.”* The female entrepreneur saw her spiritual role as, *“trying to give a word of God to heal them.”*

The entrepreneurs said they have not given up in hard times because of their faith, *“If it was not our Father in heaven we wouldn’t be standing.”* They attribute their success to God as seen in the female entrepreneurs’ comment, *“But if it was not God that we serve then it [CLBB] wouldn’t be good. That is something that makes business*

success.” In looking to the future to expand the business they also rely on God, as the male entrepreneur comments, “And we’re waiting for God’s time because he knows how much energy we have, what it [will] look like.”

The entrepreneurs spoke of how, at times, they do not participate in customary practices due to their faith. In not participating in some customary practices, it is believed bad spirits can cause negative ramifications. The entrepreneurs, are of a Pentecostal persuasion and believe the Holy Spirit will protect them from bad spirits, as the female entrepreneur comments, “you’ll just say, come on Holy Spirit, be with me.” Her narrative in Box 6.3 reflects this.

Box 6.3. Christianity and customary land practices

The Vanua is calling for a soli—soli is giving money, how do you call it? ...a contribution! Christianity detects whether to do it or not. It is good when it's used in the proper way. It is bad when people taking it in a wrong way. What's a good way? We give the soli and it's been shown to do something. It is done. Bad? It's given and the money's missing. Sometime it [Father] says, just don't give to that soli, and that soli didn't come up to be a good thing ... There is a big family reunion happening and then you are that Christian and then you call the Father and you pray and you say, Father, just let me know whether for me to go to that or no, and then something crossing over saying, like doing something on you not to get in there. So that's the point. Then you miss it. Then after the next morning, oh, they had a big fight in that family reunion. Oh, thank God I wasn't there! My Holy Spirit was strong enough not to take me there.

Christianity in Fiji, however, is complex. Some Catholic family members would not meet for an interview with me because of family tension due to the entrepreneurs’ Pentecostal expression of Christianity, which they see as contrary to the traditional ways Christianity and the *Vanua* have operated. Nevertheless, the entrepreneurs did still seek to honour the *Vanua* in ways they felt right.

6.3.2.3 *Negative and positive experiences of social obligations*

Participants spoke of how honouring and retaining the blessings of the *Vanua* was, not only a one-off ceremony; this was regularly expressed through cultural practices such as social obligations. The FDB representative commented that even if a line is drawn, *“the people who run the business they are still tied to the Vanua. They have their traditional obligation to give.”* Participants spoke of how traditional obligations put pressure on the entrepreneurs of the business. Furthermore, business training did not teach them how to mitigate this pressure. Participants and stakeholders commented the *Vanua* expectation is that the business will give generously for social obligations. Social obligations were often spoken of positively but at times they were spoken of in negative terms, and this is demonstrated in the quotes by participants in Box 6.4.

Box 6.4. *Vanua* expectations

“Now it’s all money ... But before, no. If there’s an occasion, they would all get together, ‘... let’s plant this for this occasion’ ... But now - that’s why I’m saying the Vanua it’s mainly about finance, because the majority of the things we buy for them.”

Male entrepreneur

“Vanua doesn’t give, Vanua gets what you have.”

Restaurant manager

“Right now, the Vanua is always based on money.”

Restaurant manager

“Vanua is something that you help.”

Community leader

“They need to understand in order for the business to thrive, the Vanua needs to give too. It’s not all take, take ... At the moment, many are still stuck in the take.”

Tokatoka representative

Another expectation from the *Vanua* was that the male entrepreneur would adopt his eldest sister’s sons, because he only has daughters. A restaurant manager commented on this: *“they try to make him adopt his eldest sister sons ... And then he’s like, ‘I’ll look after them, but I won’t make them mine’.”* As he knew if he did, his sister

would expect his nephews to then run the business. The male entrepreneur has put his three daughters' names on the land lease and as owners of the company.

The restaurant managers spoke of how it was hard for their father to say no to social obligations, because he wants to look after his family and sees social obligations as something good to do. He is the eldest son and his village is within walking distance. In response, they dedicated the profits from the horse-riding business to social obligations and put aside a tithe for the church from the restaurant. The male entrepreneur knows how much is available each week to give away; this means when family ask for social obligations, he can more likely meet them. An outcome from this is that people in the village know the restaurant will benefit them, so they do not often come to the restaurant to ask for money. They instead meet the entrepreneur when he is at the village. To replicate the benefit they get, they will offer free help when its needed. It also means if the business comes into financial trouble they can ask relatives for help. This enabled the male entrepreneur to maintain mana in the village and for the restaurant managers to give to the church, while retaining clear accountability for the restaurant's profits.

The majority of staff highlighted that the entrepreneurs contributed to social obligations. As one staff member commented, *"whenever there's a function in the village or whatever occasion it is, they participate in it."* When the Tokatoka representative was asked if the business met social obligations he remarked, *"when there's a request from the village, [the male entrepreneur] comes."* However, the profits from the horse-riding business do not cover all the social obligations. The male entrepreneur stated he tries to give non-monetary gifts by sometimes going, *"spear fishing, rather than for me buying it or donating money, I said, 'No I'll supply with fish'. So, I take my mates, go spear fishing ... we get big loads of fish and supply to the village. Instead of donating money."*

Staff were taught how to meet social obligations by splitting their pay into three funds of everyday expenses, social obligations and savings. One staff member spoke

about how being able to give *Kerekere* and meet social obligations has changed the way she is seen in the village: *“plenty of parents they’re looking at us, they say, ‘oh, these from the restaurant, they’re doing a great job’”*.

6.3.2.4 Share and care

Meeting social obligations enabled the business to remain culturally embedded. An associated prevailing cultural practice within the restaurant was what staff called ‘share and care.’ This is captured by this staff members comment:

“If I have no sugar, I'd go to my neighbour and ask, ‘can I have sugar?’... They won't say no... by the time I have anything good ... like fish ... I'll just take some and give it to them. You know, there's a fish just because I asked for sugar.”

She further added:

“It always happens between us workers. If I have something good, I would give it to them and, then, if some day they would have something good, then they'll give them back to me. Like we always help each other. Because we love each other.”

Share and care was predominately observed between the entrepreneurs and staff. The entrepreneurs slept in the restaurant, so some staff could sleep in their house. When staff were sick or recently had children, the entrepreneurs brought them money, baby clothes, diapers and food. They helped staff cover the costs of kindergarten parties, school uniforms and provided sanitary products. One staff member commented, *“when I need something, they will actually give it.”* A restaurant manager stated: *“It means a lot, you know? You're helping your family out.”* The practice of share and care creates an environment of loyalty, as this staff member observed, *“I was lucky, mommy took me in for job. She helped me through. So I need to do good in my work, you know she did lots for me.”*

6.3.2.5 *Collective wellbeing*

In being asked if the restaurant benefited people beyond meeting social obligations and share and care, the *Tokatoka* representative asserted the *Tagaqe* villagers were very proud to have the business in their *Vanua*,

“When He-Ni-Uwa is mentioned in other parts of the country, they ask “which place is that,” ... they don't say He-Ni-Uwa, they say it's in Tagaqe and Tagaqe is the Vanua ... I get to read the TripAdvisor when I read that the seafood at He-Ni-Uwa is one of the top five seafood restaurants on this Coral Coast I say, “YES!” That makes me, you know, very proud as someone from Tagaqe.”

A nephew of the female entrepreneur commented that *“she lifts the Vanua up,”* referring to their *Vanua* found up in the valley.

The restaurant creates a sense of collective well-being, far beyond the two *Vanuas* the business owners originate from. While I was there a restaurant manager attended a two-week business course run by the University of Fiji and Government. She discovered they use He-Ni-Uwa as a successful CLBB case study across Fiji. Furthermore, in interviewing Faiyaz Koya, the Minister for Industry, Trade, Tourism, Lands and Mineral Resources in Fiji, he remarked, *“There is only two words that describe [the restaurant] it's the world's best ... I think one of the best parts of it, its family owned business and the owner makes everybody feel at home. They've certainly made use of their customary land.”* The restaurant, he maintained, captured and endorsed all cultures found in Fiji through their menu and this added benefit to the business.

6.3.3 ENVIRONMENTAL CATEGORY: STEWARDSHIP

Lastly the environmental category is reviewed by looking at how participants saw themselves as stewards of the land and expressed environmental concerns. This segment outlined the subcategories of; sustainable use of resources, environmental policies, local sourcing of materials, stewardship and resilience.

6.3.3.1 *Stewards of the land*

The entrepreneurs saw themselves as stewards of the land for future generations. A restaurant manager explained that spirits hold them accountable for how they treat the land, *“we believe that the land has eyes. So, whatever bad things you do to the land, especially for the rubbish it [spirits] comes and haunts you ... telling us you need to clean up the whole environment.”* She saw environmental consent as *“actually a good thing. It's good for the environment, especially, since everyone is throwing this [wastewater] into the sea.”* To get consent they needed to prevent land degradation by building a sea wall and installing a septic tank system. To minimise their carbon footprint, they predominantly source food locally. A restaurant manager claimed 80 per cent of all the food used in the restaurant is sourced locally, thereby, contributing significantly to the local economy.

6.3.3.2 *Environmental concerns*

The entrepreneurs are concerned about the pesticides farmers use along the Coral Coast. Although they approached unemployed family members in the village to grow organic vegetables and cleared land for them, they only grew enough for their own needs. The male entrepreneur explained he felt they did this because of their focus on ‘today’: *“when you are in a business mind-set ... always think about tomorrow. The Fijian way of living, of thinking, is whatever you got today, use it today.”* He felt people in the village failed to see how they could be good stewards of the land within the supply chain. While concern for the environment was expressed the business had no long-term environmental policies, beyond what the consent originally required. Within the restaurant, there is a high level of plastic usage for gloves, hair nets and takeaway bags. Takeaway containers are non-recyclable and cleaning products used are not environmentally friendly.

The owners did, however, show environmental concern over the coral reefs. In a Talanoa with the entrepreneurs and a community leader, there was a discussion about *Qoliqoli* (traditional fishing grounds) and the impact the 'surfing decree' has had on community care for their coral reefs. The community leader explained tourists' fees for water sports, in a *yavusa qoliqoli*, now go solely to the hotels, whereas:

"Prior to this when the guests came and dived here in front of his fishing qoliqoli, they would then give ... a fee to the landowners and what the landowners would do, they would make sure that that's well maintained because that's a source of revenue. When this law came in, it just took away the Indigenous people altogether."

The community leader argued the financial incentive for *iTaukei* to care for coral reefs had been removed and there is a lack of regulation regarding how the reefs are exploited by tourists. Landowners used to have more power to report concerns but now have a limited voice.

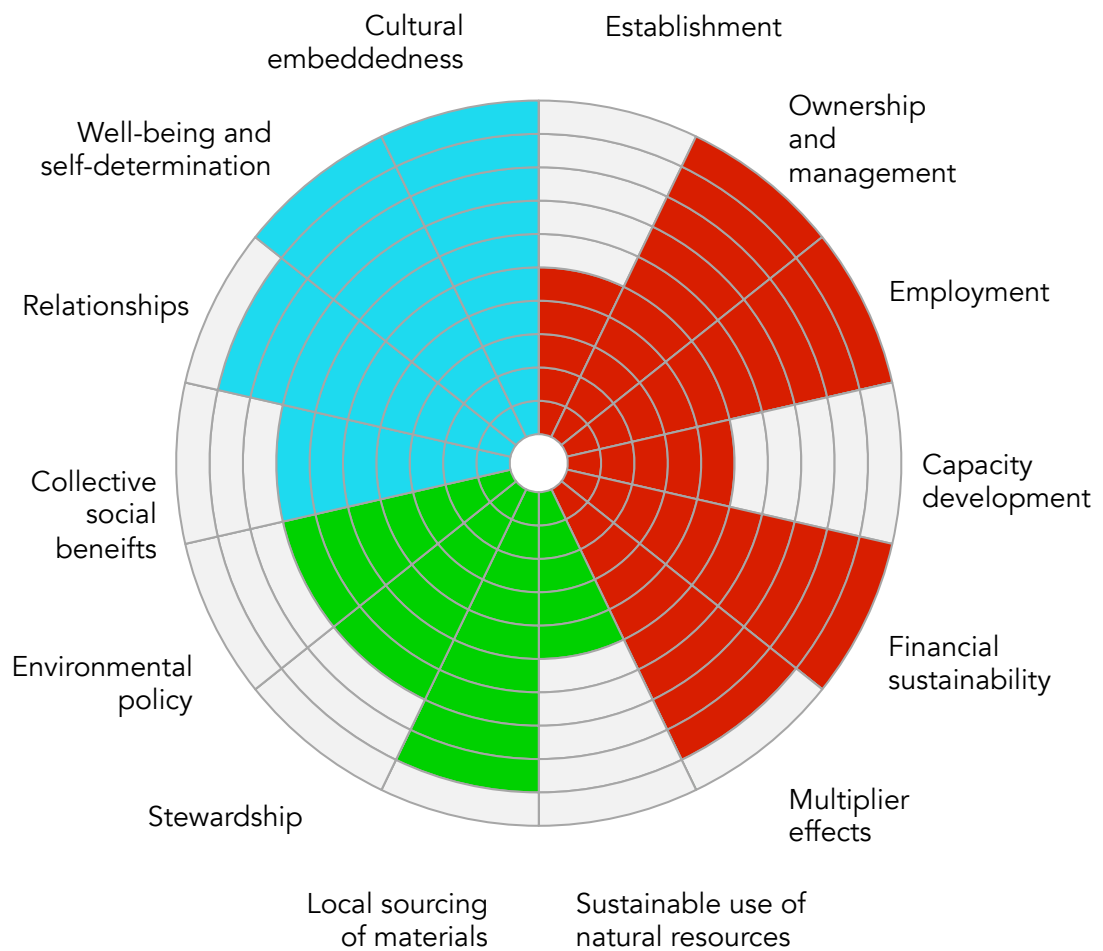
Another concern was related to natural disasters that strike Fiji, such as cyclones, and the need to be prepared for them. Cyclone Winston in 2016 did not damage the restaurant but it resulted in a significant loss of income because of a downturn in tourism. The entrepreneurs have since bought a generator and put FJ\$100 aside each week, as a future natural disaster safety net. They also have the restaurant insured. They felt natural disasters, which were becoming more frequent and severe in this era of climate change, were not adequately discussed in the business training they had received.

6.4 CIRCLE OF SUSTAINABILITY RESULTS OF HE-NI-UWA CUSTOMARY LAND BASED BUSINESS

This section seeks to synthesise all the results found in the aforementioned economic, socio-cultural and environmental categories and sub-categories, so that an alternative, culturally embedded way to measure the success of an Indigenous CLBB can

be demonstrated. Each subcategory is scored out of ten against a criterion outlined in Section 3.4.1. Figure 6.3 below gives a visual representation of the results; the subsequent section explores the results of each section. The economic category is in red, the environmental category in green and the socio-cultural in blue. The below Figure 6.3. is a visual representation of the results.

Figure 6.3. He-Ni-Uwa circle of sustainability results



Source: (Author, 2020)

Firstly, results from the economic indicators presented in Section 3.5, produced the findings, in red, shown in Figure 6.3 economic category. The Marsden Fund Project created measurements for each indicator that are shown in the table 6.1 below, which illustrates how each sub-category is measured:

Table 6.1. Economic Measurements

Subcategory	Measurement
Establishment	10 = 10 years or more 8 = 5 years; 5 = 2 years; 1 = just started a couple of months ago
Ownership and management	10 = 100% Indigenously owned and managed 5 = 50% Indigenously owned, 50% foreign owned 1 = overseas owner/foreign investor
Employment	10 = 100% local employees and high staff retention 5 = 50% locals or people from Fiji, 50% foreign/overseas employees; high turn-over rate for the local positions 1 = no local jobs created
Capacity development	10 = landowner underwent formal training; new staff are given initial training; equal follow-up opportunities for skills development for all employees 5 = landowner and new staff are only initially trained 1 = landowner had no formal training; no capacity building given to employees
Financial sustainability	10 = we are doing exceptionally well and will soon be expanding. 5 = we just break-even/can just cover our costs; 1 = we are making a huge loss and will soon need to close

Source: Scheyvens et al. 2017 and the Marsden Fund Project

As previously indicated, it took 11 years to open the restaurant, resulting in it being operational for only four years; therefore, 'Establishment' scores a '5'. Due to the restaurant being entirely Indigenous owned and managed, 'Ownership and management' scored '10'. Likewise, 'Employment' received a '10', as employees are local, paid well and a high level of staff retention was observed. 'Capacity development' was given a '5', stemming from the unequal training opportunities available for staff and

the limited training undertaken by the entrepreneurs. 'Financial sustainability' scored a '10', as they self-reported a profit being made and there were plans for expansion, which subsequently has happened. Strong 'Multiplier effects' were created through 80 per cent of all food used being locally produced and by financially helping other businesses to start, this scored a '9'. Overall the economic category indicates strong financial sustainability.

Secondly, results from the socio-cultural indicators presented in Section 3.5, shaped the findings, in blue, shown in Figure 6.3 socio-cultural category. The table 6.2 below gives an overview of indicators and measurements used.

Table 6.2. Socio-Cultural Measurements

Subcategory	Measurement
Collective social benefits	10 = business is committed to regularly contributing to local groups and social development programmes i.e. scholarships 1 = the business runs as a business with no commitment to the community
Spirituality	10 = e.g. very strong Christian beliefs OR very strong traditional spiritual beliefs 5 = spiritual beliefs have some influence 1= no spiritual beliefs which direct business activities
Relationships	10 = business operates in a way which builds harmony in the community and values local institutions 5 = local leaders and others are satisfied with the business but feel there is a lack of strong relationships 1= local leaders and others distrust or are unhappy with the business
Well-being and self-determination	10 = Community members unanimously feel that there are multiple social, cultural and economic benefits from having the business in their community. 1= community members think that the business is no good for the community
Cultural embeddedness	10 = strong commitment to the Vanua 5 = reciprocity and gift exchange is done solely for the benefit of the business 1 = does nothing

Source: Scheyvens et al. 2017 and the Marsden Fund Project

‘Collective social benefits’ scored a ‘7’, as the business is committed to regularly giving to the church and staff, however, social obligations are met through a separate related business entity, the horse-riding business. ‘Spirituality’ rated a ‘10’, as the daily business operations are shaped by the participants’ spiritual beliefs. ‘Relationships’,

were based on respect and reciprocity, resulting in a score of '9' as tension did exist between some family members. Overall, the stakeholders felt proud of the business, and the *Tokatoka* representative maintained the restaurant enhanced their social standing in Fiji. The most prevalent contribution from the business is in establishing the belief that others can do business, this led to a '10' in 'Well-being and self-determination.' 'Cultural embeddedness,' received an '8', as cultural protocols are not all strictly followed, due to their Christian convictions, however, cultural values are embedded in their work principles and ethics.

Thirdly, results from the Environmental indicators presented in Section 3.5, fashioned the findings, in green, shown in Figure 6.3 environmental category. The table 6.3 below gives an overview of measurements used.

Table 6.3. Environmental Measurements

Subcategory	Measurement
Sustainable use of resources	10 = Their production, waste, waste management system, use of products are not harmful to the environment
Local sourcing of materials	10 = materials used are from the immediate community 1 = all of the materials used are imported
Environmental policy	10 = a structured and well-monitored environmental policy/practice is enforced 1 = no evidence of adherence to government or their own environmental policy
Stewardship	10 = The business fully understands, and is committed to respecting, the cultural, spiritual and other dimensions of the land and protecting it for future generations. 1 = no understanding of the notion of stewardship
Resilience to environmental disruption	10 = has successfully weathered previous natural disasters 1 = business severely interrupted by previous disasters and

Source: Scheyvens et al. 2017 and the Marsden Fund Project

‘Sustainable use of natural resources’ received a ‘5’, even though the entrepreneurs had created a good waste management system, and they sought to avoid denigrating the land, they had no further policies or practices beyond the initial requirements for the environmental consent. ‘Local sourcing of materials’ scored a ‘9’, due to 80 per cent of the food used being locally grown. The concept of ‘Stewardship’ was central to the entrepreneurs but, as mentioned, there have been limited actions to show this, resulting in a rating of ‘7’. ‘Environmental Policy’ scored a ‘7’, as they have abided by governments regulations but have not surpassed them.

6.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has shown how *iTaukei* entrepreneurs conceptualise development through customary land practices that sustain links to culture, communal well-being and kinship. The fieldwork findings revealed an alternative way to measure Indigenous business sustainability, through prioritising the experience and culture of the *iTaukei* entrepreneurs. The participants' definitions of customary land-based businesses and the *Vanua* was first examined, which framed how a customary land-based business was understood in subsequent sections. Then the subcategories found within the economic, socio-cultural and environmental categories guided *Talanoa* and interview conversations, enabling the results to be culturally meaningful and relevant to the participants. Furthermore, they have allowed the role of customary land in the success of the business to be demonstrated. The results have shown how customary land became a social, cultural and economic resource through their cultural embeddedness and the honouring of customary land practices. The Circle of Sustainability in Chapter 6, figure 6.3, visibly shows how the culturally embedded entrepreneurs have made a sustainable business by using customary land as a development resource and how the wider community benefits from their use of customary land.

7. INCREASING INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURS' AGENCY IN EXPANDING THE FIELD OF DEVELOPMENT

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers how to increase Indigenous entrepreneurs' capacity to bring about positive change through using their customary land. It also goes beyond the findings to a wider discussion on how the outcomes can be applied within development policies and practices. The chapter is primarily structured through the metaphor of a *lovo* (a Fijian feast cooked in the ground), a metaphor which was conceptualised by my cultural advisor, and reviewed by a restaurant manager. To prepare for a *lovo* food is collected from the land, cooked within the land and eaten together on the land. These concepts, 'from the land,' 'within the land,' and 'on the land,' encapsulate the entrepreneurs' economic development journey, and show how their practice of economic development challenges the notion of customary land being a barrier to development. Drawing from relevant literature from Chapters, 2, 3 and 4, the chapter will also illustrate enablers and constraints for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs.

7.2 THE *LOVO*: THE 'THINNING' AND 'THICKENING' OF INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURS AGENCY

Objective One of this study was focused on examining the conventional context of economic development so that constraints and enablers for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs could be identified. The predominant constraint outlined in Chapter 2 was the conceptualisation of customary land being a barrier to development. Ortner (2006) explains constrained agency as "human behaviour ... shaped, moulded, ordered, and defined by external social and cultural forces and formations: by culture, by mental structures, by capitalism" (p. 1-2). As a reminder, Klocker (2007) further defines constrained agency as 'thin' agency where "everyday actions ... are carried out within

highly restrictive contexts, characterized by few viable alternatives” (p. 85). Klocker (2007) then defines enabled agency as ‘thick’ agency, which is “having the latitude to act within a broad range of options,” resulting in the actor having the ability to shape social structures towards beneficial outcomes (p. 85). Throughout the metaphor, the continuum of thick and thin agency in Chapter 3 (discussed in 3.4.2) is employed to integrate the findings from the fieldwork and literature into the discussion, allowing for an evaluation of the results within Fiji’s broader context.

7.2.1 FROM THE LAND: FACTORS THAT ‘THICKEN’ OR ‘THIN’ *ITAUKEI* ENTREPRENEURS’ AGENCY IN ESTABLISHING A BUSINESS

In preparing a *lovo* a family or wider community know what their role is where to gather food, wood and stones from the land. In gathering food and cooking it, human and non-human relationships are upheld by honouring the *Vanua*. Likewise, the entrepreneurs I interviewed gathered food from the land to generate a traditional land-based income and they then ran a horse-riding business attuned to natural land features, which financially enabled them to start the restaurant. They sought a designated area from their *Mataqali* for the restaurant and worked to uphold traditional processes and relational roles. In establishing the restaurant from the land, participants identified thinning and thickening factors. Thinning factors are discussed in more detail by looking at Indigenous entrepreneurs’ relationships with the government and the business training available to them. Thickening factors are discussed through strength-based opportunities and mobilising the power of the *Vanua* through informal partnerships.

7.2.1.1 *Indigenous entrepreneurs’ relationships with the government*

A thinning factor explored is the problematic relationship that can occur between Indigenous entrepreneurs and the government. *ITaukei* are asset rich through customary-land ownership but are often capital poor. Conventional development

argues that lack of capital is attributed to customary-land ownership, thus influencing the Fijian Government to implement a neoliberal rationale to economic development, as seen in recent reforms outlined in Chapter 4 (Hodge, 2012; Sayed-Khaiyum, 2019). The FDB representative commented that there used to be capital initiatives to assist *iTaukei* entrepreneurs in establishing businesses, however, these were stopped due to the current government's focus on 'normalised citizenry' and racial equality (Hodge, 2012; Lawson, 2012). The government's view that customary land is a barrier to development and provides an unequal advantage to *iTaukei* has resulted in creating a 'thin' agency environment for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs on customary land. Capital support is no longer available, making it increasingly difficult for *iTaukei* to utilise their customary land. Even if they do have access to these resources, then they still face a dominant perspective from government and the donor country that customary land is a barrier to development. This can make it difficult in situations such as applying for a loan to start up their business..

7.2.1.2 *Business training contributing to thin agency*

Another thinning factor is connected to business training, which is linked to neoliberal agendas. The entrepreneurs in this study were taught business models with a neoliberal ethos that they felt set *iTaukei* up to fail as it did not 'fit' their local context. The focus of the business training was to be complementary to foreign owned businesses. Participants felt foreign investment was more favoured than local initiatives, leading to a low quality of education and a lack of support for *iTaukei*.

In Chapter 2 it was argued that modernisation-influenced development paradigms encourage high foreign direct investment to stimulate economic growth, which can result in the donor countries' private sector getting more benefits than the recipient country. This was illustrated in Chapter 4, where it was explored how between 1988 and 2000 in Fiji, of 132 tourism development projects undertaken, 94 per cent were foreign owned, with only 6 per cent having local ownership status (Narayan &

Prasad, 2003). Future plans for foreign investment were uncovered in the Fiji Tourism 2021 agenda discussed in Chapter 4. While it was clear that *iTaukei* are encouraged to create livelihoods through their own unique culture, church services, traditional ceremonies, village life and crafts (Ministry of Industry, Trade & Tourism, 2018, p. 52)., the government has offered limited opportunities for *iTaukei* business development. This constrains the imagination of what model and type of business is possible.

To transform this thinning factor into a thickening factor, the quality of business training needs to be determined by its relevance to the entrepreneurs rather than foreign investors, because they are culturally embedded and dependent on non-economic institutions (Farrelly & Vudiniabola, 2013; Skokic & Morrison, 2015; Welter & Smallbone, 2011). When business training does not incorporate how to manage cultural embedment, then the entrepreneurs will be ill prepared for pressures from social obligations, as illustrated in Chapter 6 (Section 6.3.2.3). However, capitalist business models can be informed by Indigenous ideological beliefs, and if incorporated into business training this then could become a thickening factor (Gibson-Graham, 2010; 2005). In Chapter 6 (Section 6.3.1.4), it was demonstrated how the entrepreneurs trained others to start their own businesses; they have created a multiplier effect because they have developed a business model that is culturally embedded and able to be sustainably employed.

7.2.1.3 Strength-based opportunities

How a business idea is engaged with by the government and support services is a thickening factor. Entrepreneurs create strength-based opportunities through skills they already bring into the business, which enable them to develop a viable business enterprise (Isenberg, 2013; Rennie, 2007). For example, the female entrepreneur was known for her delicious traditional meals, which they saw a gap in the market for. Building on entrepreneurs' strengths creates a supportive environment for them. For example, research with Samoan entrepreneurs discovered that when a development

programme seeks to support an Indigenous entrepreneur through mentoring, their success rate is higher if the mentor understands the local, cultural content and what the entrepreneur is striving to achieve (Purcell & Scheyvens, 2006). Entrepreneurs in this study felt that by the FDB loaning them money they were expressing belief in their business ideas and skills. In Section 7.2.1.1 it was noted that the government's lack of financial support in establishing the restaurant was a thinning factor. However, once the entrepreneurs proved they could succeed, they found that the government then provided financial assistance. In 2019 they received a grant (available to any Fijian entrepreneur) from the government to do extensions on the business; they felt this showed that the government saw their business as viable.

However, engagement with business ideas can become a thinning factor when the government and support services do not invest in the strengths of the business. For example, not seeing their connections to the informal economy as important and encouraging them to only operate in the formal economy, which results in a loss of pivotal support. If this occurs then entrepreneurs can rely on foreign ideas and skills instead and thus become dependent on foreigners who understand the system better. This was reflected in a comment made by the male entrepreneur, when he said that Fijian locals assumed he had a foreign business partner or that a foreigner must be directing him to run the business. The wider community believed that foreigners implemented new initiatives rather than locals. However, the trajectory of the business shown in Chapter 6 (Figure 6.1) illustrates that when *iTaukei* entrepreneurs utilised their customary land and skills they already possessed, they can create a business idea that is original and viable.

7.2.1.4 *Mobilising the power of the Vanua through informal partnerships*

The guiding aim of this study is particularly explored through the 'thickening' factor of how the entrepreneurs employed both formal and informal partnerships.

Honouring informal partnerships from the land was framed through the *Vanua*. By doing this the business was culturally embedded, giving it access to the informal economic system, causing the power found in the *Vanua* to be mobilised. Accordingly, customary land becomes an economic, social and cultural resource and social safety net for the business.

The entrepreneurs contributed to communal social obligations, which strengthened the business's financial sustainability through reciprocal obligations. The literature acknowledges that meeting communal obligations can generate goodwill towards the business, as people reciprocate by helping the business (Purcell & Scheyvens, 2006; Scheyvens et al., 2017). However, in the findings the FDB representative indicated how Indigenous entrepreneurs needed to graduate from informal systems and partnerships into formal ones. This is further reinforced in the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) Target 17.16, which aims to, "enhance the global partnership for sustainable development complemented by multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilize and share knowledge," (SDSN, 2012). However, in Fiji, Indigenous cultural, environmental and economic customary practices, are not incorporated into how partnerships are theorised. When elements of culture are incorporated it has largely been for cultural branding that entices foreign investment or products (Schech, 2014; Schech & Haggis, 2000). In contrast, it was through honouring customary land-based partnerships, the entrepreneurs were able to capture the energy and resources within the *Vanua*. As seen in the findings, there was a shortfall in the FDB loan and the entrepreneurs did not receive a seed grant from the *iTaukei* Land Board Trust (TLBT). Multi-stakeholder partnerships, on their own, would not have empowered the business to start. Rather, customary land-based practices aided the entrepreneurs to sustainably engage with formal institutions. Instead of moving from the informal to formal partnerships, the two systems co-existed.

Research has shown that multi-stakeholder partnerships with donors, government and private sector entities, can be a key element in successful Pacific business models, if they build long-term relationships that value culturally embedded

practices and see them as pivotal in the success of Indigenous run businesses (Scheyvens et al., 2017). Community-level partnerships are often overlooked, and modern and traditional rights have become entangled in complex transactions that people incorporate to improve and secure their control over their land (Allen, 2012).

Consequently, when informal and formal partnerships co-exist in the Pacific, it significantly affects the entrepreneur's access to resources. When cultural practices are perceived to have economic value, they facilitate access to social capital, information and resources that help a business start and become sustainable. This allows entrepreneurs to viably form multi-stakeholder partnerships, while retaining their cultural identity. However, if cultural practices are not perceived as having economic value, then the dominant economic paradigm frames Indigenous entrepreneurs' business partnerships through market dominated principles, which can contribute to high failure rates for Indigenous businesses (Mawdsley et al., 2018). What is 'from the land,' needs to be understood and valued for indigenous entrepreneurs to flourish.

7.2.2 WITHIN THE LAND: FACTORS THAT 'THICKEN' OR 'THIN' THE SUSTAINABILITY OF A CUSTOMARY LAND-BASED BUSINESS

When a *lovo* is made, stones are heated on hot coals, then placed in a dug hole, where wrapped up food is layered within it. Soil is put on top to retain the heat, creating an earth oven. If it is dug up prematurely, then the heat is lost, and the food becomes spoiled. Likewise, the findings and literature show that a customary land-based business seeking to become sustainable faces the challenge of using up profits prematurely, which can lead to a 'spoiling' of the business. Culturally embedding the business can be like an earth oven, enabling access to resources that help the business become sustainable, as seen in Section 7.2.1. However, in this case social obligations did not lessen - quite the contrary - once the restaurant was established, and the entrepreneurs had to face new challenges to keep the profits 'cooking' within the land. This is discussed in more detail through: Indigenous entrepreneur's relationship with the *Vanua*, an

alternative business model, the role of non-human actors and the lack of eco-friendly options.

7.2.2.1 *Indigenous entrepreneurs' relationships with the Vanua*

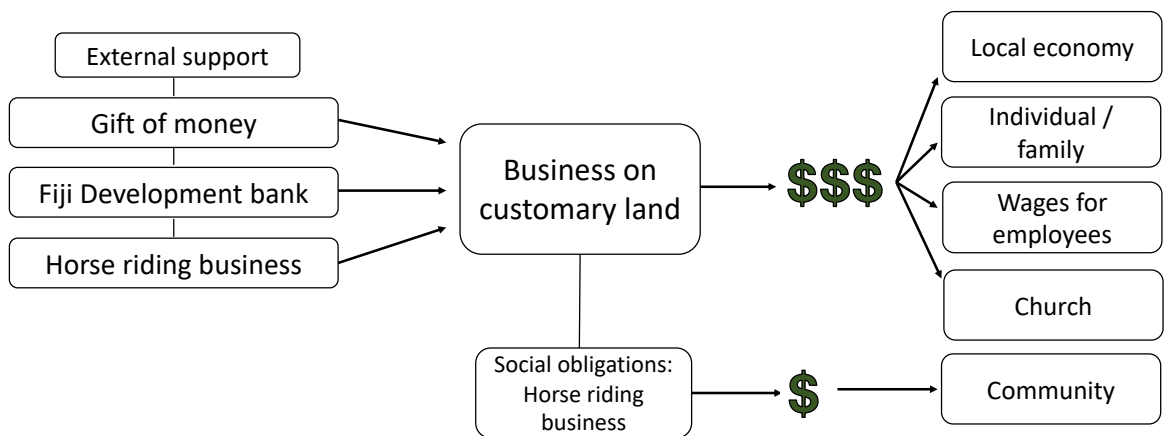
From the findings and literature, consistent thinning factors Indigenous entrepreneurs face are the constraints from cultural and traditional expectations of gift giving, social obligations and reciprocity (Duncan, 2008, 2018; Gosarevski et al, 2004; Weiner, 2013). Participants spoke of the need for a line to be drawn between the village and the business, as the village and business mind-sets clashed. This clash of mind-sets has created a wider mindset amongst *iTaukei* that a more modern lifestyle and education is a better livelihood option (Movono et al., 2018). As a result, some younger generations have disengaged from traditional livelihood activities, losing the knowledge and skills that came with them and causing more urban migration (Ravuvu, 1987).

Drawing a line can sound like an echo of conventional development arguments, that Indigenous entrepreneurs need to overcome backward traditional practices and become modern progressive entrepreneurs (Friedman, 2000; Lewis, 1973). When participants spoke of 'drawing a line' between the business and their village, this, however, did not result in a focus on individual gain or financial profits being the end goal, as conventional development assumes it would be (Friedman, 2000; Hughes, 2004; Smith, 1908). Rather a more collective approach was taken, whereby 'drawing a line' was balancing customary land practices with contemporary capitalist business processes (Scheyvens et al., 2017). Drawing a line was used to mitigate thinning factors but not to disconnect from their cultural identity. Furthermore, the business employs young adult staff, and shows them how to balance modern lifestyles and traditional expectations. They have contributed to preventing urban migration and two staff members had left jobs in Nadi or Suva and were able to return to the village and work at He-Ni-Uwa.

7.2.2.2 Alternative business model

An expression of agency by the entrepreneurs was the development of an alternative business model. The combination of modern and traditional knowledge that the entrepreneurs held led to the formation of an alternative business model shown in Figure 7.1. They firstly utilised the formal and the informal economy to become established. Then, as illustrated in Chapter 6 (Section 6.3.2.3), the entrepreneurs dedicated the profits from the horse-riding business to social obligations and put aside a tithe for the church. This empowered them to meet social obligations and have clear accountability for the restaurant's profits. This was not taught in business training but came out of their own problem-solving skills.

Figure 7.1. He-Ni-Uwa business model



Source: (Author, 2020)

By culturally embedding the business, the entrepreneurs are preserving *iTaukei* ways of life, which has brought benefits to the business. For example, the practice of 'Share and Care,' created a sense of loyalty amongst staff. Another sharing practice is found in the horse-riding business. It does not cover all their social obligations, so the male entrepreneur has re-established the cultural practice of *Solesolevaki* (working together to achieve a common purpose) through the spear fishing endeavour mentioned earlier. Furthermore, the restaurant sells Indigenous meals, which requires

that they use traditional food collection and production, as well as investing into the local economy by buying fresh produce. Bolabola (1981) maintains that in Fiji there have been gastronomical changes stemming from women's engagement in tourism employment in big hotels, resulting in the high consumption of processed food and increased diabetes. Many staff did not know how to cook traditional dishes but are being re-introduced to them through this restaurant.

The business model developed by the entrepreneurs highlights Indigenous entrepreneurs are adaptable and able to shape development to bring benefits to themselves and their wider community. When business structures such as these are employed, it creates a thickening environment, where they have a voice in development and become economically empowered.

7.2.2.3 *Non-human agency in the success of the business*

An additional thickening factor is the role of non-human agency in the business. Current development discourse retains an epistemological commitment to privatisation, which for a large part of this thesis has been focused on land. However, with privatisation comes secularisation, which is the imposition of Western dualism that separates the physical and spiritual, and restricts public expression of the spiritual (Ager & Ager, 2016). This separation for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs can result in a 'thinning' of agency and marginalisation from resources, as the spiritual is entwined with the physical and their development process. This creates a practical distortion of how the spiritual can enable Indigenous entrepreneurs to take risks and work through challenging times. As Ager and Ager (2015) comment religion exerts, "considerable influence on the ways that people perceive risks," (p. 48).

The findings showed that customary land-based practices, totemic connections, such as the eel that lives in front of the restaurant talked of in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.1), and Christianity govern the interactions that happen within the business. This is done in

two ways. The first is in the belief that the land can either bless or curse the business. The second is through God's perceived actions within the business. Both the land and God are seen as non-human actors who have agency in the business. Therefore, for Indigenous Entrepreneurs active in business, the valuing of entrepreneurs' Indigenous belief systems and non-human agencies in the business is important, as non-human agents are central to Indigenous entrepreneurs own inner resilience and ability to keep the business 'cooking' within the land through hard times.

7.2.2.4 Lack of eco-friendly options

A thinning factor that emerged was the lack of eco-friendly options available. The business scored low on the results of the Circle of Sustainability in Chapter 6 (Figure 6.3), for the environment category; they received a '5' for sustainable use of natural resources, and '7' for both environmental policy and stewardship. One of the reasons for this comparatively low score is the 'thin' agency created by the government's focus on practices that are not environmentally friendly but do generate economic growth. The entrepreneurs expressed concern over high use of harmful pesticides, land degradation and waste produced from their business. Free trade agreements have been a central focus for the government, but they have resulted in the importation of disposable products and there is significant pressure to lower environmental protections to support foreign investments (Farrelly et al., 2016; SPREP, 2010, 2017).

Across the Marsden Project, "questions...on environmental criteria were also somewhat awkward to ask, during the pretesting, as it felt like the researcher was interrogating how the business managed waste" (Scheyvens et al., 2017). In this research, identifying 'thinning factors,' it was observed that participants felt constrained with eco-friendly options due to the government's declared economic agenda of becoming a liberalised investment and manufacturing hub of the Pacific, as seen in Chapter 4. Trade agreements, currently, are constructed to serve the interest of partner countries who seek to export products that often produce high waste. There is limited

focus on Pacific nations and their ability to deal with imported waste (Kelsey, 2004). If land is used as a sustainable resource then practices that are harmful to the environment such as importing single use plastic products without imposing tariffs, must be identified (Farrelly, 2018). Fiji's next generation will directly influence the environment with a greater focus on climate change solutions. A climate change focused way of operating will require a significant disruption of current industries, sectors and infrastructures and innovative responses. This issue is complicated as they predominantly face climate change issues not of their making.

A complementary approach to *iTaukei* understanding of stewardship and economic development that is embedded within the land could be Raworth's (2018) development model: 'The doughnut of social and planetary boundaries'. This doughnut model highlights the necessity for humanity to meet their basic needs, by not degrading eco-systems that we depend upon (Raworth, 2018). The diverse economies approach ethos reviewed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2.3) and 'the doughnut of social and planetary boundaries' enables customary practices, which have been made invisible through development discourse, to be made visible and incorporated into the reconceptualisation of Fiji's economic development. Businesses embedded within the land are dependent on natural resources remaining sustainable and accessible.

7.2.3 ON THE LAND: FACTORS THAT 'THICKEN' COLLECTIVE SOCIAL BENEFITS

The He-Ni-Uwa entrepreneurs were able to start the restaurant 'from the land' and then embedded the restaurant 'within the land'. This section focuses on how the benefits from the restaurant are enjoyed by those 'on the land,' just as a *lovo* is a feast enjoyed by many. This section highlights how access to cultural, social and economic resources, through customary land practices, has enabled collective social benefits. This is discussed in more detail through using the example of positive deviance and by looking at how the business enables an environment of thickened agency for women.

7.2.3.1 *iTaukei can run successful customary land-based businesses*

A thickening factor that has been developed is that an alternative business model is possible. The overall results from the Circle of Sustainability in Chapter 6 (Figure 6.3) indicate that the restaurant studied is a successful business; however, this is a contrasting narrative in Fiji. The restaurant contributes to building a local and national perception that Indigenous development is possible. They are an example of positive deviants (Pascale et al., 2010). In Chapter 3, 'positive deviance' was explained as people within the community who are, "outliers who succeed against the odds," (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 3). The entrepreneurs studied faced the same obstacles as others but found solutions to problems, which empowered others to overcome restraints and has resulted in changed social perceptions (Pascale et al., 2010). The entrepreneurs have expanded people's imagination about *iTaukei* and business through establishing their own restaurant and have made it possible for others to follow their example. Development intervention and government initiatives need to partner with positive deviants to see wider change.

7.2.3.2 *Women's thickened agency through entrepreneurship*

Another thickening factor was that females at the restaurant had 'thickened agency' through working at the restaurant, as their incomes created more life choices. For example, staff who had left abusive relationships experienced marginalisation as they struggled to contribute to social obligations and cultural ceremonies for their children. Now they have been taught to split their pay into three funds for; everyday expenses, social obligations and savings. This has empowered them to regain social standing in the *Vanua* through being self-sufficient.

Furthermore, women's involvement in entrepreneurial success has challenged cultural systems that would have pre-determined their roles (Movono & Dahles, 2017). They have become influential socio-political positive deviants. The tourism industry has

provided opportunities that have improved their status within their community and have increased their decision-making power. Additionally, with women's thickened agency has ushered changes in the roles of the men in the business: for example, the male entrepreneur often undertakes what would be deemed women's domestic chores, and a male staff member said he has enjoyed learning how to cook. Men and women have enjoyed the benefits from the restaurant.

7.3 CONCLUSION

By using the *lovo* metaphor of 'on the land,' 'within the land,' and 'from the land,' the pivotal role customary land has played in enabling successful Indigenous entrepreneurship was demonstrated. While this study aims to look positively at customary land-based businesses, it still needs to be acknowledged that Indigenous entrepreneurs face real structural constraints both within their culture and the wider society. Thus, this thesis argues that development initiatives with *iTaukei* entrepreneurs need to take thinning and thickening factors into consideration for implementing policies and practices which mitigate thinning factors and rather seek to strengthen thickening factors. At times a factor can become either thinning or thickening, so understanding how a factor causes a thin or thick environment for agency is needed.

The findings demonstrate the lack of an Indigenous entrepreneur-friendly system and environment in Fiji, which resulted in the He-Ni-Uwa entrepreneurs and their family taking eleven years to start their business. Significant issues faced by the entrepreneurs of this study were related to the lack of support and easy access to capital. They felt the government's focus on liberalised equality, as discussed in Chapter 4, meant Indigenous entrepreneurs do not receive a high level of promotion and thus can be excluded from business. The government, aid organisations and the private sector can work at mitigating these thinning factors by thickening them instead so that Indigenous entrepreneurs can succeed.

The issues that the entrepreneurs faced, however, did not become a barrier to their success. He-Ni-Uwa is a hopeful post-development case study, as they have enlarged the field of valid experience by showing how customary land practices and assets that already exist within the community can be used to create sustainable development. They have demonstrated how even in environments of constrained agency; actors are able to bring about positive change and express their agency in transformational ways. Also, they have illustrated the ethos of a diverse economies approach, combining their traditional and modern economic knowledge by mobilising the resources in the *Vanua* and making use of formal economic systems like getting a loan, in order to develop an innovative business model. The entrepreneurs have demonstrated how Indigenous entrepreneurs' agency can expand the field of development.

8. CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers final conclusions for the thesis. Firstly, in Section 8.2 I will summarise the approach of this thesis and how objectives were met in previous chapters. Section 8.3 discusses Objective Two by demonstrating how Indigenous entrepreneurs conceptualised economic development through a fusion of modern and traditional practices. Then Section 8.4 expands on Objective Three by focusing on how customary practices can shape how economic development is theorised and measured. Lastly, Section 8.5 of this chapter reflects on the research frameworks and approaches utilised for this thesis, as well as presenting the implications of the findings and significance for businesses based on customary land and development.

8.2 THESIS SUMMARY

Firstly, this thesis was informed by a conventional development understanding as overviewed in Chapter 2, which was then contrasted in Chapter 3 with hopeful post-development—the guiding framework for this thesis. Chapter 4 gave an understanding of the Fiji Islands context, focusing on land, culture and tourism development. The Fiji Vanua Research Framework, along with the ethos of Critical Appreciative Inquiry, outlined in Chapter 5, centred the focus of the study on the agency of the participants. This agency was marginalised in conventional development business conceptualisations. By contrast, the guiding framework of hopeful post-development, which prioritises Indigenous epistemologies, meant that the discussions and recommendations given in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 arose from lessons learned from the participants in this research.

Participants in past studies of Appreciative Methodologies have critiqued the model for overly focusing on positives while disregarding problems Indigenous entrepreneurs face that often are not of their own choosing (Ridley-Duff & Duncan,

2015). Along with this critique, Scheyvens (2010) commented that there can be a tendency amongst Western researchers to excessively romanticise Indigenous knowledge. In light of this, the present study advocated that Critical Theory should be included when Appreciative Methodologies are employed. Critical Theory influenced the inclusion of the thick and thin agency continuum, as it highlighted the broader impact communities have on a business, along with influences of government and other development agencies. This approach emphasised how our understanding of customary land-based businesses need to incorporate both the constraining and supportive environment faced, so that the positive aspects of a customary-land based businesses can be upheld.

Secondly, the aim of this thesis was to understand the importance of customary land as a cultural, economic and social resource for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs. In achieving this aim, three objectives were identified. Table 8.1 illustrates how each Objective was explored in previous chapters.

Table 8.1 Summary of Objectives and how it is addressed in Chapters 1-7

Objective	How it is addressed in the chapters
<p>ONE: To examine the conventional context of economic development to identify constraints and enablers for Indigenous economic development by <i>iTaukei</i> entrepreneurs.</p>	<p>In Chapter 2 the global and Pacific context of conventional economic development was presented, then in Chapter 4 this was further contextualised by specifically looking at Fiji. Hopeful post-development discussed in Chapter 3 was then compared and contrasted with conventional development shown in Chapter 2 and 4, enabling a continuum of thick and thin agency to be developed to explore what constrains or enables indigenous economic development by <i>iTaukei</i> entrepreneurs. The continuum was utilised in Chapter 7 to discuss thick and thin factors that either created a supportive or constraining environment for <i>iTaukei</i> entrepreneurs.</p>
<p>TWO: To understand how <i>iTaukei</i> entrepreneurs conceptualise economic development based on their customary land, which sustains links to culture, communal well-being, and kinship.</p>	<p>In Chapter 3, it was illustrated that when locally contextualised economic activity is acknowledged, then a wider conceptualisation of economic development is made possible. Chapter 6 seeks to identify how <i>iTaukei</i> have (re)conceptualised economic development based on their customary land. Chapter 7 then creates an interaction between the findings of Chapter 6 with the wider literature already presented in this thesis, showing that the entrepreneurs sustained links to culture, communal well-being and kinship, enabling customary land to be a resource.</p>
<p>THREE: To explore how <i>iTaukei</i> entrepreneurs' social, cultural, environmental and economic customary practices could shape how economic development is measured and theorised.</p>	<p>In Chapter 3 the 'Indicators of Business Sustainability' were introduced, which enabled an exploration in Chapter 6 of how <i>iTaukei</i> entrepreneurs' social, cultural, environmental and economic customary practices could shape economic development measurements. Chapter 7 uses the findings from the Indicators along with the literature to discuss how <i>iTaukei</i> customary practices shape the way development can be theorised and calls for measurements to be more culturally embedded.</p>

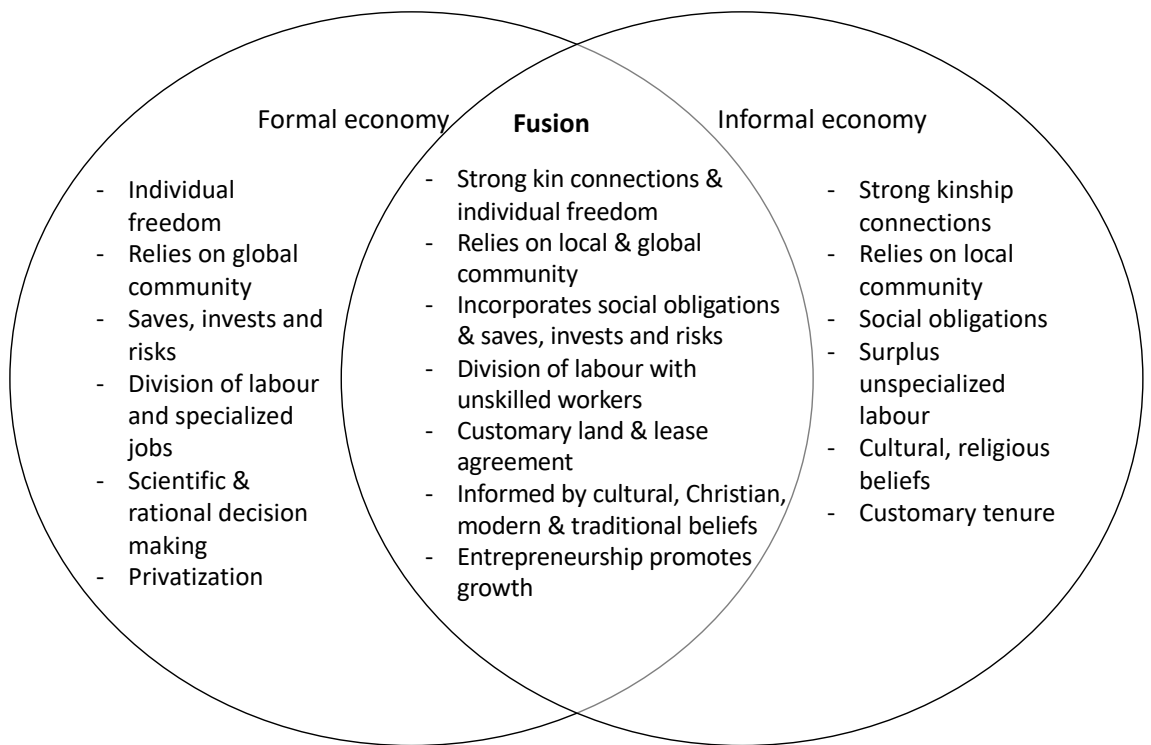
Source: (Author, 2020)

8.3 FUSION ECONOMICS: CAPITALIST ELEMENTS FOR CULTURALLY EMBEDDED ECONOMIC OUTCOMES

This section focuses on Objective Two, as it outlines how economic development was conceptualised by the *iTaukei* entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs participating in this study used the power of the *Vanua* to create a successful customary land-based business (CLBB). Batibasaga et al. (1999) argued that the *Vanua* can facilitate, “an alternative set of values, based in the past but aware of the present, that can act as an effective counter to dominant ideologies of resource development and exploitation,” (p.106). Indigenous communities, through CLBB, are able to choose to reject or incorporate the global economy. In doing so they are showing a legitimate alternative to Western-centric entrepreneurship.

The findings illustrated how the entrepreneurs were faced with two prominent economic development practices on the Coral Coast; one of which is an informal economy based on customary land-based practices, and the other a formal economy, based on legal and neoliberal practices linked with capitalism. We might think of these as two different styles of menu; where there is the Euro-centric “set-menu” of liberalisation, privatisation and secularisation and, on the other hand, a menu with a local traditional dish, like a Fijian *lovo*, composed of social obligations, communal activities, ‘share and care’ and communal well-being. Working at the crossroads of these two predominant menus, the case study’s findings reveal how the entrepreneurs are in fact operating with a ‘fusion menu’, using some ‘set-menu’ elements, but for culturally embedded economic outcomes. Figure 8.2 shows what elements have been utilised from each.

Figure 8.2. Fusion of formal and informal economies



Source: Author. Adapted from (AusAID, 2006b, 2006a, 2008; Lewis, 1973; Sutton, 2001)

The two prominent economic development practices on the Coral Coast have been fused together, employing elements from each that are useful to the entrepreneurs. Their fusion of economic practices shows how they overcame thin and constrained agency (Chapter 7), while adapting and evolving without sacrificing their traditional way of life. This research fits in with the body of literature from the Pacific region that “shows how Indigenous economic logics shape contemporary economic practices and values in such a way as to reconfigure people's relationship with global capitalism to give it cultural meaning,” (Curry et al., 2016, p. 5). A popular term to describe the fusion of the informal and formal economy has been ‘hybridisation’ (Horan, 2002, p. 219). ‘Hybridisation,’ describes the complex integration of traditional and modern and Indigenous and foreign, non-monetary and monetary markets (Allen, 2012; Curry, 2003; Curry et al., 2016). This provides evidence that customary land tenure is more malleable than what it has been conceptualised as and that people are open to

transformation, as long as they see it as culturally acceptable and improving their wellbeing (Briggs, 2005).

8.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURS' CUSTOMARY LAND-BASED PRACTICES INFORMING HOW ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS MEASURED AND THEORISED.

This section focuses on Objective Three by exploring how customary land-based entrepreneurship can be understood and measured in effective ways. The following endorsements have risen from the lessons learnt from the participants in this study and this argue that an understanding of CLBB needs to frame the way development works with Indigenous entrepreneurs in the Pacific.

8.4.1 CUSTOMARY PRACTICES INFORMING HOW ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS THEORISED

In supporting Indigenous entrepreneurs, the socio-cultural nature of their expressed agency through customary land practices has been highlighted and affirmed throughout this research. Thus, working to situate Indigenous entrepreneurs in their socio-cultural contexts and affirming building community connectedness is an essential way to support Indigenous entrepreneurs in the Pacific (Scheyvens et al., 2017). Successful businesses in the Pacific are often organised around families and kin networks, which in Fiji are framed by relationships with the *Vanua*. Thus, relational economics, based on social embeddedness, needs to become further recognised in development intervention in the Pacific (Curry & Koczberski, 2012).

The alternative business model that the entrepreneurs developed, shows how entrepreneurial practice is shaped through the culture it operates in. The findings also illustrate that non-human agency was a key element in people's understanding of development. Different styles of fused traditional values with modern economic

practices, therefore, can create successful localised economic development (Dana & Anderson, 2007; Schaper, 2007). However, it was only when the power of the *Vanua* was mobilised, that capitalist elements could be utilised for culturally embedded outcomes. Additionally, this means that the types of business training and interventions offered to Indigenous entrepreneurs do not need to be rooted in a neoliberal philosophical framework, but can be driven by an Indigenous epistemology (Gibson-Graham, 2006). Development does not require a disregard of capitalism. The question rather is: ‘How do Indigenous entrepreneurs want to be a part of global trade and for what purposes?’. Capitalist policies need to “enable commercial development on customary land while at the same time maintaining and protecting customary group ownership” (Allen, 2012, p. 300), which includes a place for customary based practices within commercial development.

8.4.2 CUSTOMARY PRACTICES INFORMING HOW ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS MEASURED

Even though capitalist elements are being utilised in the CLBB, measurements of success that have been derived from modernisation theories are inadequate in identifying how Indigenous entrepreneurs have mobilised their use of the land. There is growing recognition, within bodies like the World Bank and the United Nation’s Food and Agriculture Organization, that customary land can be valuable for economic development (Scheyvens et al., 2017). However, an alternative way to measure business success and to train Indigenous entrepreneurs is still needed.

Historically conventional development measurement tools have missed how entrepreneurs successfully hybridise modern and traditional business processes. There has been a lack of acknowledgement of the goods and services, which are given, taken, and exchanged outside of the markets and into areas of life often seen as ‘not economic’ (Gibson-Graham & Roelvink, 2011). In Chapter 3 the diverse economies approach was discussed and Figure 3.1. ‘Economic Iceberg’ in Section 3.2.3, showed how there is a range of economic activity that is ‘invisible’ but occurs every day with non-capitalistic

ends (Gibson-Graham, 2010). Although non-monetary exchanges are becoming more widely acknowledged, through approaches like the 'Economic Iceberg', they do not offer alternative measurements for economic success.

In Chapter 3 it was shown how the Marsden Project, which this thesis is a part of, has sought to fill a 'gap' in hopeful post-development practice. Project leaders are seeking to address this gap by developing a tool, the 'Indicators of Business Sustainability,' in Chapter 3 (Table 3.2), which can be used as an alternative measurement for business success (Scheyvens et al., 2017, p. 778). The 'Indicators of Business Sustainability,' in Chapter 3 (Table 3.2), helped to identify how the entrepreneurs are not mere spectators to development, nor are they just an employment force for the foreign owned tourism ventures. The 'Indicators of Business Sustainability,' in Chapter 3 (Table 3.2), will help academics and development practitioners see that Indigenous entrepreneurs are conscious of economic opportunities that are available and are actively developing their own sustainable livelihoods.

This study has drawn attention to the need for results to be interpreted with agency in mind, as external structures and relationships influence outcomes. Furthermore, by using the continuum of 'thin' and 'thick' agency, this thesis has sought to identify the positive and negative measurements of the business, so that development intervention can mitigate 'thinning' factors that lead to negative results and strengthen 'thickening' factors that lead to positive results.

8.5 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There were three main limitations to this research that must be acknowledged. Firstly, for a variety of different reasons there was limited inclusion of business trainers, the TLTB representative and NGOs that work with *iTaukei* businesses. Contact was made with a government business trainer in the Coral Coast Corridor, but an interview was not permitted. An interview was conducted with a TLTB representative, but permission

to include comments was not given. NGOs that work with *iTaukei* businesses were not identified due to the participants believing that it was the role of the *Vanua* and government to support them. Contacting the NGOs could have offered helpful information; yet, the data presented here is rich and has focused strongly on the Indigenous views themselves.

Secondly, the research was conducted in English by a Western outsider. At times participants indicated they were struggling to explain a cultural practice or concept in English. It was made known to them they could speak in Fijian and their responses would have been translated but they preferred to continue in English. This meant elements of culturally embedded knowledge was missed in this study and that participants were constrained in their expressions of agency. The VRF was utilised but because I was an outsider, as reflected in Chapter 5, embedded elements of the framework were at times unintentionally used in disembedded ways; meaning information shared was more often through interview formats rather than traditionally through *Talanoa*.

Thirdly, this research suggests that the 'Indicators of Business Sustainability' (Chapter 3, Table 3.2) needs to incorporate a political indicator. The discussion of thinning factors showed how political agendas impact indigenous entrepreneurs' success. The participants of this study had knowledge of the political environment they are in, which helped them persevere and overcome barriers they face. For example, in knowing the government favours foreign investors over local, the entrepreneurs needed to rely more on community level partnerships to establish the restaurant. However, for many indigenous entrepreneurs, political agendas can become a barrier for them, and not specifically focusing on politics meant that I did not ask direct questions about the political environment.

Future practice, policy and research will need to note the above limitations. It would be beneficial for future research to be undertaken within a wider range of businesses at different stages of development. This would access the long and short term value of being culturally embedded and perceiving the ongoing challenges faced.

Along with this, more research on how foreign owned resorts, the government, the TLTB and the FDB can collaborate effectively with customary land-based businesses to enable local development agendas to be met, could be considered.

8.6 FINAL CONCLUSIONS

In responding to the research aim and questions, three significant conclusions emerged from the study. The first is that the power of the *Vanua*, which incorporates customary land, can be a resource for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs if the business is culturally embedded and they know how to mobilise it. The second is, when the power of the *Vanua* is mobilised, then the business benefits from employing some carefully selected capitalistic practices. Customary land is a resource that needs to be acknowledged but it is also important to recognise that capitalist practices, such as a bank loan, were helpful. As a consequence, customary land can be a beneficial resource and can be merged with capitalist practices. Thirdly, what this study has contributed to is a greater understanding of how non-human agency influences the entrepreneur's decision-making and cannot be excluded from development implementation processes.

Alongside these three conclusions are three coinciding considerations that require attention. Firstly, through conventional development practices *iTaukei* face interconnected constraints to run successful businesses. Transforming 'thinning' factors towards 'thickening' factors should be a pivotal concern for development initiatives. Secondly, the findings provide evidence that *iTaukei* entrepreneurs were still able to express agency through the CLBB, in spite of some culturally embedded constraints. The culturally embedded nature of CLBBs should be the cornerstone for Indigenous entrepreneurs' development initiatives. Lastly, the negative conceptualisations of customary land being a barrier to development must be widely contested on the grounds that Indigenous entrepreneurs are using customary land to run successful business, which economically contributes to the well-being of their communities.

Three themes of hopeful post-development guided this thesis, namely; expanding the field of valid experience, secondly, prioritising human assets and agency, lastly, the ethos of bottom up, people-centred diverse economics. (Gibson-Graham, 2005; Santos, 2004). Firstly, expanding the field of valid experience draws on the need for an alternative measurement to be used that makes practices that conventional development has disregarded, such as customary land, visible and valid. The *lovo* metaphor (Chapter 7) demonstrates that customary land is a cultural, social and economic resource for *iTaukei* entrepreneurs. This perspective is in contrast to those shown in development discourses in Chapter 2, where land was conventionally understood as being a commodity that has value only when it is privately owned and yields a profit (Li, 2014). Furthermore, in Western epistemology private ownership of land is interwoven with concepts of: virtue, natural law, basic human rights, expressions of individual liberty and an internal affirmation of identity (Grant, 2010; Linklater, 2015; Zhang, 2017). Conventional development, thus, viewed customary land as “anachronistic in modern economies”, and view needed to be resolved (Jayaraman, 1999 p. 9).

Alternatively, when the local contextualised economic activity is understood, wider epistemological conceptualisations of land and its function emerge (Gibson-Graham, 2010; Li, 2014). Chapter 3 and 4 demonstrated how Pacific people view land in a holistic but complex manner. Land incorporates peoples’ connections to culture, social and spiritual, values, beliefs, traditions and history – the interlinking of the natural, supernatural and human worlds (Meo-Sewabu, 2015; Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Batibasaga et al., 1999; Tuwere, 2002). This thesis has shown the on-going need to expand the field of valid experience when it comes to land ownership and how it can be utilised.

Secondly, in prioritising human assets and agency, the main methodological framework was the VRF, which meant that an actor orientated approach was necessary, as it was the participants and the *Vanua*, which needed to guide the research process. The participants as actors utilised what was already known through social and cultural norms, to make sense cognitively, emotionally and organisationally, of situations they

faced (Long, 2001). Therefore, to understand the entrepreneurs expressed agency, observations of their different patterns of behaviour were grounded in their lived cultural experience, and the thesis drew attention to the entrepreneur's practices, strategies and rationales for their actions (Hays, 1994; Long, 2001).

A key focal point, taken from the actor orientated approach, was the concept of positive deviance. A positive asset-based approach focused on participants who overcame constraints that everyone else faces, and who have found solutions that can actively contribute to development (Pascale et al., 2010). Through examining the entrepreneurs of this study as a 'positive deviant' focused group, the 'Indicators of Business Sustainability,' enabled the research to focus on solutions, rather than needs or problems, so that *iTaukei* entrepreneurs' business knowledge could be seen and learned from. This thesis advocates that positive deviance should be continuously used to investigate an alternative way to measure CLBBs and the experiences of the recipients of development. A key conviction of this thesis is that participants have their own voice and are able to communicate how positive change is possible. An example of this is illustrated in image 8.1 below, which shows one of the entrepreneur's daughters speaking at the 2020 Marsden Fund Project economic symposium in Fiji about how their customary land enabled them to start He-ni-Uwa restaurant. At the symposium were stakeholders of the wider Marsden Fund Project, government officials, and invited guests from Samoa, Fiji and Papua New Guinea.

Image 8.1. Participant speaking at Marsden Fund Project economic symposium



Thirdly, the ethos of bottom up, people-centred diverse economics has highlighted how the *iTaukei* entrepreneurs prioritise economic activity that is often invisible, unacknowledged, excluded and suppressed but occurs every day with non-capitalistic ends (Gibson-Graham, 2005). The saying, “*Duri ga me davo,*” which translates as ‘*iTaukei* stand to fall,’ can be challenged through a greater awareness of how *iTaukei* entrepreneurs utilise informal and formal economies to become successful and stand strong. The findings show that there is a bias emanating from the government, the TLTB and *iTaukei* themselves to look outside of Fiji for solutions, rather than creating a supportive environment that draws out diverse economic strengths within Fiji. Santos (2004) argued that conventional development produced the view of “the ignorant, the residual, the inferior, the local and the non-productive” who need development by “the scientific, advanced, superior, global, or productive realities” (p. 239). The findings of this study illustrate how negative conceptualisations of customary land have been internalised by *iTaukei* and wider Fiji, resulting in a negative mind-set towards *iTaukei* entrepreneurs and their businesses. This thesis contributes to hopeful post-

development by drawing attention to positive contributions and non-capitalist elements that economics often ignores, which have led to meaningful pathways for change by Indigenous entrepreneurs.

In the introduction section it was stated that this thesis would contest the notion of customary land being a barrier to development. This thesis has shown that others are doing the same. As the policy debate continues around how to 'mobilise' customary land for economic development, this research and other studies from the Pacific region, have shown that customary land is *already* being mobilised for economic purposes (Allen, 2012; Curry & Koczberski, 2009). However, case studies on mobilised customary land are still largely not being included in development strategies in the Pacific. Development policies and practices must work to further expand the fields of valid experience and prioritise human assets and agency for Indigenous entrepreneurs in CLBB. This thesis ends with a participant's reflection on their journey of establishing a customary land-based business:

"We chose what is associated with the land and because of that we have gone through challenges and proven that we, Indigenous Fijians, can also thrive in business."

Male entrepreneur

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APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM



**TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF CUSTOMARY LAND
AS A CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESOURCE
FOR ITAUKEI ENTREPRENEURS.**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

- I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.
- I agree to the interview being sound recorded.

Full Name - printed _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

APPENDIX B: INFORMATION SHEET FOR ENTREPRENEURS



TITLE OF RESEARCH: TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF CUSTOMARY LAND AS A CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESOURCE FOR ITAUKEI ENTREPRENEURS.

INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Sarah Rice. I was born in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, as a third-generation Caucasian female Zimbabwean. I now live in Christchurch, New Zealand where I am a Co-Senior Pastor at Papanui Baptist Church. My personal connection with customary land is linked to my upbringing in Zimbabwe and by being welcomed onto the land in New Zealand by Tangata Whenua ("People of the Land", represented by all Māori iwi). I have seen the positive impact customary land practices have for communities, as well as the negative result that comes from the loss of customary land for communities. External Western-centric development commentators on customary land have argued that collective societies based on customary land practices stunt potential entrepreneurship and create a barrier to development. In contrast this research explores the importance of customary land as a cultural, economic and social resource for iTaukei entrepreneurs in the forming of enterprises that collaborate and compete with conventional businesses. I am committed to respecting the *vanua* in this research.

I am also a student at Massey University, Palmerston North, where I am currently undertaking my Masters in International Development. As part of the Masters programme I am able to undertake field research outside of New Zealand and am thankful I am able to come and learn from iTaukei in Fiji. For my Masters thesis, I was looking for a topic to explore on how development research can be undertaken in such a way that peoples' own knowledge shapes change and challenges the dominant discourse. I will be conducting fieldwork in Fiji from the 7th of August until the 8th of September 2018. In this time, I hope to gather information on the He-Ni-Uwa Restaurant to form a case study that shows successful iTaukei entrepreneurs.

Purpose of Information Sheet

This information sheet is an invitation for you to participate in this research so that I can learn how customary land-based entrepreneurship can be better understood

Project Description and Invitation

The aim of the study is to better understand the importance of customary land as a cultural, economic and social resource for iTaukei entrepreneurs. The main research question asks, "how can iTaukei entrepreneurs' social, cultural, environmental and economic customary practices inform how economic development is measured and created?" There are three objectives this study hopes to investigate:

Objective 1: To examine the conventional context of economic development to identify constraints and enablers for indigenous economic development by iTaukei entrepreneurs.

Objective 2: To understand how iTaukei entrepreneurs conceptualise economic development based on their customary land, which sustains links to culture, communal wellbeing and kinship.

Objective 3: To explore how customary land-based entrepreneurship can be understood and measured in effective ways.



Overview of Participants

Organization	Participants
iTaukei Land Board Trust	Representative
University of the South Pacific	Dr. Litea Meo-Sewabu
He-Ni-Uwa Restaurant	Owners
He-Ni-Uwa Restaurant	Workers at the restaurant
Extended family who lease the land for He-Ni-Uwa Restaurant	Elders of extended family
Wider community	Elders from wider community
Fiji Development Bank	Representative
Fijian Indigenous Business Council	Representative
Ministry of iTaukei Affairs	Representative

If the Vunitasiri family would like me to talk to someone or an organization that is not on the list of participants I would be happy to be directed by them. Alongside this I shall be observing how conventional businesses collaborate or compete with the restaurant.

Participant Identification and Recruitment

The Vunitasiri family were identified by the iTaukei Land Board Trust as a successful business that I could learn from and form a case study on. Participants' names in the thesis will only be used if consent is given.

Project Procedures

At all times participants shall be treated with respect and dignity. I am an outsider coming into their daily life and so will seek to ensure I do not disrupt daily activity in the business. I will be guided by how participants believe I will best understand the running of their business. It is requested that I am able to observe and speak with all who work at the He-Ni-Uwa Restaurant. My desire is to see how the business operates and what values guide decision making.

Talanoa shall take place at times that best suit participants so that insights of a successful iTaukei Customary Land Based Business Enterprise can be gained. My hope is that there will be a minimum of five set aside times over the course of my time there for me to listen to how the business was formed and runs. The psychological health of participants is important in this study and so feedback times on how the research is going will be vital in keeping open communication. The desire of this research is not to cause any discomforts or risks to the participants as a result of participating.

Data Management

After each *Talanoa* is recorded, it will be downloaded into Google Drive, which is password protected, and then to an external hard drive which is also password protected. The recording will then be deleted from the device. Notes will predominantly be taken on my laptop, which is password protected. My fieldwork journal will be kept in a secure place. Due to being dyslexic I am likely to either use transcribing software or have someone transcribe for me. If this does happen, I will get the transcriber to sign a written confidentiality report.

Participants will be asked to comment, certify, and provide alternative or additional information on the findings. As an outsider, it is imperative I come with humility and respect of who the knowledge



holders are, and the desire to learn from them. At the end of each week I shall give a summary of my observations so far and seek to hear if I have misunderstood or if further information can be given. At the end of my field work I will write my key observations to get feedback and discuss whether anything needs clarifying or can be expanded on. The use of information needs to benefit the Vunitasiri family and the *vanua*. Once the thesis has been marked, a copy of it will be sent to the Ministry of Education. Another copy is sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in New Zealand. I will also return to the Vunitasiri family once the thesis is marked to give them a copy of the thesis.

Participants' Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Participants might feel that another person's quote is not beneficial for their business: they would have the authority to ask for it to be taken out. Only quotes that have been given consent shall be used. All *Talanoa* times shall be recorded, but participants have the right to ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Participants' Consent

In agreeing to have me come to the business implies that you have given consent.

Research Contacts

My research is guided under the supervision of Dr. Regina Scheyvens. She would be very happy to discuss any concerns/issues that you may have regarding me as a researcher or regarding this research project.

Contact information:

Professor Regina Scheyvens
Institute of Development Studies
School of People, Environment and Planning
3.04, Social Sciences Tower
Massey University
Private Bag 11-222
Palmerston North
NEW ZEALAND
Ph: + 64 6 3569099 extension 2509
Email: r.a.scheyvens@massey.ac.nz



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Dr. Litea Meo-Sewabu of the University of the South Pacific will be giving me cultural guidance so that the *vanua* can be respected at all times. She would be very happy to discuss any concerns/issues that you may have regarding this research project.

Contact information:

Dr. Litea Meo-Sewabu
School of Social Sciences
The University of the South Pacific
Laucala Campus
Suva,
Fiji Islands.
Ph: +679 323 2424
Email: [litea.meosewabu\(at\)usp.ac.fj](mailto:litea.meosewabu(at)usp.ac.fj)

Concerns or Complaints

If participants have concerns or would like to make a complaint about how I have been conducting myself then both Dr. Meo-Sewabu and Professor Scheyvens can be contacted. Alternatively, Dr. Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee can be contacted and her details are below.

Massey University Committee Approval Statement

"This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83657, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz"

LOW RISK NOTIFICATIONS

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Prof Craig Johnson, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 356 9099 x 85271, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Yours sincerely,

Sarah Rice

APPENDIX C: INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE



Ni sa bula Vinaka,

My name is Sarah Rice. I was born in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, and I now live in Christchurch, New Zealand where I am a Senior Pastor at Papanui Baptist Church. I also am a student at Massey University, Palmerston North, where I am doing a Masters in International Development Studies.

WHY I AM IN FIJI:

I desire to learn how customary land-based entrepreneurship can be better understood, supported and celebrated. I also have come to listen to government and non-government organizations that seek to support iTaukei entrepreneurs.

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH:

This research explores the importance of customary land as a cultural, economic and social resource for iTaukei entrepreneurs in the forming of enterprises that collaborate and compete with conventional businesses. I am committed to respecting the vanua

TITLE AND OBJECTIVES:

To better understand the importance of customary land as a cultural, economic and social resource for iTaukei entrepreneurs.

OBJECTIVE ONE: To examine the conventional context of economic development to identify constraints and enablers for indigenous economic development by iTaukei entrepreneurs.

OBJECTIVE TWO: To understand how iTaukei entrepreneurs conceptualise economic development based on their customary land, which sustains links to: culture, communal wellbeing and kinship.

OBJECTIVE THREE: To explore how customary land based entrepreneurship can be understood and measured in effective ways.

If you have any questions regarding my research please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor:

Professor Regina Scheyvens

Ph: + 64 6 3569099 extension 2509

Email: r.a.scheyvens@massey.ac.nz

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Prof Craig Johnson, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 356 9099 x 85271, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

THE INVITATION:

This information sheet is an invitation for you to participate in this research so that I can learn how customary land-based entrepreneurship can be better understood.

If you are willing to be involved we would meet for about an hour, at a place and time that is convenient for you, so that I can hear stories about entrepreneurs based on customary land. If you give consent this may be recorded. Your identity will be kept confidential, unless you would like to be named.

When I finish conducting the research I shall produce a summary of the findings which I can email to you. Information from the study shall be used for the purpose of completing my Masters and any related publications. The full thesis will be available on the Massey University website on completion.

Your insights, stories and knowledge are greatly valued and will contribute to forming a greater understanding on how iTaukei entrepreneurs based on customary land can and do contribute in significant ways towards economic development in Fiji.

PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Vinaka vakalevu

APPENDIX D: TRANSCRIBING CONFIDENTIALITY FORM



TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF CUSTOMARY LAND
AS A CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESOURCE
FOR ITAUKEI ENTREPRENEURS.

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I (Full Name - printed)

agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project

.....

.....

..... (Title of Project).

I will not retain or copy any information involving the project.

Signature:

.....

Date:

.....



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

**TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF CUSTOMARY LAND
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FOR ITAUKEI ENTREPRENEURS.**

TRANSCRIBER'S CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I (Full Name - printed) agree to
transcribe the recordings provided to me.

I agree to keep confidential all the information provided to me.

I will not make any copies of the transcripts or keep any record of them, other
than those required for the project.

Signature:

Date:

.....

.....

