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University of Durham
Department of Anthropology
Thesis for Ph.D Degree

Habitus and Social Change in Fiji

2007

Ryo Takahashi

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- 4 JUN 2007

Abstract

This thesis aims to analyse social process in Fiji, with reference to Bourdieu, Giddens, Sahlins, Thomas and Toren. We can find quite peculiar characteristics in phases of the distinction derived from a criterion of “urban / rural” in Fiji. There is a considerable contrast in the standard of living, lifestyle, economic system, ritual institution and values between urban and rural sphere. Taking account of the events in Waidracia village in Naitasiri Province and in Nasilai village in Rewa Province, in which the author had conducted his fieldwork, the tradition in Fiji is examined. The indigenous people, encountering various kinds of “objects”, “ideas”, “situations” and “acts”, would objectify such circumstances in their own practical senses to make practices. There could occur some deviations or differentiae in their practices. As a result, some “objects”, “ideas”, “situations” and “acts” will persist, while others might be innovated. It depends on the interaction among the agents’ practices whether the tradition is persisted or innovated.

Social process is understood as the accumulation of the agents’ practices. The individual embodies various numbers of “distinctions”, which depend on his or her position in society. Distinction provides the individual with a certain habitus. The individual as an independent agent chooses his or her own “purposive acts”, led by the “practical sense” derived from habitus. On the other hand, we can construct a conceptual idea of “sphere”, in which certain “purposiveness” is shared. Field research shows there is a common “spheric purposiveness” in a sphere, and the thesis examines how the forms of the practices yielded by the individuals in the sphere converge. The particular tendency of practices will reflect on the reproduction of individual habitus. Simultaneously, the individual habitus is also reproduced and transformed through the interactions between practices in different spheres.

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Ch.1 The theme and the methodology of this thesis

1-1. The subject of social change

1-1-1. Social theory in the history of anthropology: society viewed as structure or process

Since Émile Durkheim defined the original concept of “society” with his particular term “fait social”, some anthropologists have approached the concept of society from the viewpoint that society is substantial. Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown considered society with particular reference to the framework of Durkheim. He attempted to bring anthropology close to the methodology of natural science so as to allow general laws of social life to be discovered. Previously, anthropology had relied too much on unscientific speculation. For example, although James G. Frazer constructed a theoretical system concerning the evolution of human belief from magic to science, his interpretation relied upon the comparison of data collected by untrained observers. According to Frazer, science is explained as a developed form of magic through religion. The same criticism can be made of Lewis Henry Morgan’s “Ancient Society”. He proposed seven stages of human ethnical periods. But Adam Kuper points out:

...Morgan presented a fifteen-stage evolution [The Development of Family Types] rather like a magician drawing rabbits out of a hat...
[Kuper 1988: p.62]

As Kuper suggests, his method was not scientific. After such a history of unsound anthropological theories, we can understand why Radcliffe-Brown attempted to raise anthropology to the level of scientific theory. Almost all of his concepts derive from the work of Durkheim’s view. Radcliffe-Brown regards society as if it substantially exists; as if it could be observed and therefore studied empirically. Moreover, in his view, society is organised in a similar way to a living thing. The theory of society as an organism is based essentially upon the theory of Herbert Spencer. Radcliffe-Brown considered society in terms of the relationship between its elements. Each part of society has its own “function”, which contributes to maintain the totality. The relationships between these parts of society are regarded as the “social structure”. The condition in which each part plays its function so that society as a totality can exist while sustaining the social structure

is known as the “social process”. In his theoretical framework, society exists as long as the social process is realised in the normal way.

We can categorise the approaches of Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown as attempts to grasp society through a “holistic methodology”.¹ According to their view, society is a substantial entity that realises certain stability. It is assumed that each part of society plays its function well in order to keep its wholeness, and that the function is always good for its totality.² As for the stable nature of society, Radcliffe-Brown posits the concept of “functional conformity”.³ If society becomes unstable because of a malfunction, described as “anomy” in Durkheim’s argument, it is hypothesised that parts of society will initially or naturally rectify such a “wrong” state. That is why society is always potentially stable, as it can recover its “proper” condition by means of what Radcliffe-Brown calls “functional conformity”.

On the other hand, there is another view of society, which stresses, above all, the dynamic quality of society. If society is investigated, as Radcliffe-Brown did, by a certain scientific method quasi-similar to the method of natural science, it might be possible that the theory explaining society could obtain a certain universality or generality. One might deal with society as if one has made a scientific experiment, because society has invariant attributes. However, it must be simultaneously premised that society will not change. In other words, society always maintains its substance in the “normal” form.

Some anthropologists have criticised the viewpoint of social stability.⁴ Raymond Firth attempted to supply a dynamic analysis of society, which was lacking in functionalism. Without abolishing the concept of “social structure” that renders society consistent, he suggested the new concept of “social organisation”. According to Firth, social organisation is a form of social action. This means a form in which individuals make use of goods, or in which services are allocated, for a certain purpose. The individual makes strategic decisions. The social organisation is formed within the constraints of the social structure, but it is not necessarily static. Firth distinguishes “organisational change” from “structural change”. The social organisation is liable to change in association with the individual’s choices in the relationship between the means and the

¹ On the contrary, we can raise “atomistic methodology”, in which the individual free from society is emphasised.

² Robert Merton points out the concept of “dysfunction”, which might lead society to be dissolved.

³ See [Radcliffe-Brown 1952: Chapter 9].

⁴ For example, Edmund Leach was concerned with social dynamics. While Radcliffe-Brown claims that entire society can maintain its structure by means of the functions of its elements, Leach stresses that society never maintains its homogeneity.

ends. Firth attempted to introduce a dynamic analysis into his theory by way of stressing that individuals' actions have the probability of bringing about changes in society as a macro dimension. At this stage, the subject of "social change" becomes crucial in anthropology.

The most extreme version of this approach was expressed in the work of Barth. Barth suggests distinguishing "events" from "acts". The former means the outward appearance of behaviour, or the objective and measurable data of positivism. On the other hand, the latter is concerned with the intended and interpreted meaning of that behaviour, or the particular sets of beliefs and experiences. Barth seems to find it most essential for anthropological methodology, not to "define" but to "discover" as well as not to "assume" but to "describe".⁵ Taken to its extreme, this approach leads to an "atomistic methodology", in which the individual is studied empirically but society is seen as insubstantial.

In this thesis, social change in Fiji is analysed. However, its method should not be like the holism of Radcliffe-Brown or the atomism of Barth, which gives "absoluteness" to either the society or the individual. No society exists outside of individuals. Nor does the individual exist independently of society. The individual is socially constituted as a person embodying cultural values and relying on social relationships. Thus we treat the individual as an "agent", taking the approach of Giddens and Boudieu. Society is dynamic. And its process is made up of the interrelationship between the individual's action and through their interaction with others. We should identify the mechanism, in analysing the social process, in which the individual's action is reflected in the social dimension as well as the social norms being embodied in the individual's mind. In this thesis, several concepts to support such an attempt will be shown. Regarding society as a "process", we will describe several phases of social change in Fiji. In the next section, previous works about Fiji will be reviewed.

1-2. Themes to be argued

1-2-1. Previous works about Fiji and the main theme of this thesis

The body of articles dealing with Fiji is roughly divided into the following three main categories: 1) By means of the examination of political history in Fiji since colonisation, especially the history of Indian immigration, a school that seeks to grasp the contemporary problem of ethnic relations between the Fijians and the Indians; 2) Beyond the traditional view

based upon dichotomies such as the governing / governed side, the side which imposes a culture / the side on which a culture is imposed, or, the civilisation / the primitive, a school that seeks to clarify the “experience of colonisation” as an interaction among various kinds of agents in particular historical contexts; and 3) With such key concepts as the “reinterpretation of tradition” and the “objectification of culture”, a tradition that explores how the traditional culture is realised in a contemporary context, and how it is restructured in modernisation.

In the first school, the examination of ethnicity, the viewpoint of political history seems to be more apparent. Since 1879, about 60,000 Indian people had reached Fiji to work as indentured labourers in the sugar plantations. Approximately 40,000 of them chose to remain in Fiji even after the expiry of their contract. It was the policy of the British colonial government to bring Indian people to Fiji as workers in the plantations. This policy determined the current social condition in Fiji, in which the Indians and the Fijians are the major components of the Fijian population. In this kind of approach to Fijian studies, the historical process after colonisation is firstly considered, in which there had been much friction between the Indians and the Fijians as to land tenure and civil liberties. The British government’s policy privileged the Fijians. Hence the laws established in the colonial era followed this policy. Since this ethnic problem grew out of a political aspect of British colonial policy, the investigation of the historical process after Fiji gained independence also takes this approach. In other words, political rather than anthropological approaches are stressed when examining these ethnic problems. For example, the fact that an Indian prime minister was firstly installed, and that a coup took place, are usually dealt with as political issues.

The second school is often called “Postcolonial Studies”. In the history of anthropological theory, the process of cultural contact and cultural change used to be discussed with reference to the concept of “acculturation”. A dichotomy between the primitive and the civilised was usually taken for granted in such arguments. When one thought of colonialism, which was frequently raised as an example of cultural contact, a series of broad dichotomies such as the colonising / the colonised, the modernising / the modernised used to be premised. Less consideration was given to microanalysis, such as various individuals’ reactions to the process of cultural contact. Interaction among individuals was reduced to a macro concept of acculturation. In the argument of acculturation, the “result” of cultural change caused by cultural contact is seen

⁵ See [Barth 1992: p.22 and 25].

as more or less predictable. Thus, it is principally concluded that the civilisation of the colonising side eliminates the “primitive” culture.

Recently, anthropology and history have come closer to each other. An attempt to grasp the “experience of colonialism” through the viewpoint of the agents living in that era appears in the analysis of cultural change.⁶ It aims to go beyond the traditional dichotomies. It is significant for this attempt to comprehend the experience of the agents, who were really living in that condition, in the context of historiography. In the dimension of colonialism, the experience of both the dominating and the dominated sides may be diverse. It is not enough, however, simply to draw attention to the variety of experiences. Indeed, thinking of the very experience is significant. Besides, the meaning may be lost in the course of generational change. Yet, without any direct experiences, the contemporary condition of the world is never free from “what was derived from colonialism”. In some current problems such as economic development, ethnicity and multi-culturalism, the colonial ideology and structure may exist with slightly reformed meanings. The “experience of colonialism” keeps on being reproduced in other individuals’ behaviour.

The third approach focuses on the relation between modernisation and tradition. It could be right that, as the “World-System Theory” affirms, there are no more societies completely free from the capitalistic economy. Certainly, the “primitive” society that was once the main object of anthropology has now disappeared. The wave of modernisation has correspondingly become more and more powerful. Yet, it would be rather superficial to regard this tendency as a process of assimilation. Even though the “World-System” and the capitalistic economy expand to the periphery, the differentiae in each cultural characteristic do not vanish. The tendency to look for the heterogeneity within a homogeneous system (capitalism or market economy) is increasing, such as the rise of multi-culturalism or ethnicity.

In light of this, a movement to look for cultural identity becomes crucial. In other words, there is a tendency to search for self-identity in the traditional culture that is apt to be reduced to modernity. In Fijian villages, the traditional chiefs have lost their religious powers. In the past, they possessed the spiritual power of *mana*. However, their power lessened as a result of conversion to Christianity, which reduced the belief in *mana*, as well as because democracy generates legal

⁶ The idea of “agent” can be understood as the individual with what provides him with causal interventions in the ongoing process of events. We will discuss it with reference to Giddens and Bourdieu. See Chapter 2. Besides, this term will be one of the

authorities through election. Under such circumstances, the traditional hierarchy in the village has been transformed. Drinking *yaqona* had the ritual function to make the chiefs gain the spiritual power of *mana* so that only the chiefs were entitled to drink, but is the main ritual in Fijian villages even now. Of course, the process and significance of this ritual has changed. For example, in some villages women are now permitted to be present at the ritual although this was strictly taboo'd in earlier times. However, although lots of goods are now purchased in the market, the *yaqona* consumed at rituals is never purchased but always gifted. Thus, the tradition is being upheld in various ways even after modernisation, which illustrates the manner in which a society may retain a distinct cultural identity despite modernisation.

On the other hand, it is also the fact that a new trend has emerged in Fijian social organisation. It used to be usual that the Indians lived in towns, and the Fijians in villages. This was because of British colonial policy aimed at the ethnic separation of Indians and Fijians. There had been no chance for either to meet with the other at all. However, their contact has increased since the 1950's because members of both groups have moved to the urban areas. In 1959, a strike took place in Suva, which was organised by both ethnic groups. Particularly in the case of white-collar workers, the solidarity between the two groups was evident. Such a tendency had grown through a new lifestyle, sense, thought and belief, which has been shared by all employed in this kind of occupation. We will consider these people's behaviour later, comparing urban with rural communities. Some urban residents are commoners from Fijian villages, living in cities and highly educated. Their lifestyle is quite new. They have their own houses in the suburbs. They go to their offices in the city in their own cars. Their houses are purchased through loans. This tendency may be the birth of a typical process of modernisation. However, how do these people think of the village from which they came? And, on the other hand, how are they considered by those in the village? To what extent do they respect traditional customs such as *kerekere* or *yaqona* drinking? The problem of the reproduction and redefinition of tradition in modernisation becomes a subject of the objectification of self-culture when considered from the point of view of the agents in the culture.

When we deal with the difference between gift exchange and market exchange, we can see a mixture of the traditional and the capitalistic systems in Fiji. For example, goods intended for gifts are frequently purchased in the market

most significant concepts in this thesis. It will be analysed later in Chapter 7 that social change is explained in terms of what practices the agent would make.

in advance. Goods obtained by market exchange are sometimes gifted in *kerekere*, which represents the most significant virtue for Fijians, that is, generosity. Although hospitality is closely connected with generous gifts, the preparation of goods for gift exchange is often obtained by market exchange. There is a mixture of both exchange systems in Fiji. In addition, such a connection between the traditional and the modern way is seen in the tourist industry in Fiji. Tourists are mainly attracted by traditional practices. There are various kinds of “fake tradition” in Fiji developed as tourist attractions, which used to be “real rituals”. For example, tourists can visit a “custom village”. They enjoy themselves experiencing *yagona* drinking, *meke* dancing, and eating traditional foods. Yet, the contents are made up of what is constructed as a show. In what way can we grasp such phenomena with reference to the framework of modernisation and tradition?

Therefore, the main subject of this thesis will follow the next three points.

First, what kind of change has the influx of modernisation and globalisation brought to Fijian society? In a more concrete sense, what kind of norms and standards has it brought? It is necessary to focus on the significance of modernisation as a whole in association with colonialism, the “World-System”, and so on. Referring to Anthony Giddens and Immanuel Wallerstein, I will attempt to grasp the implication of modernisation, focusing especially on the role of agents. Also, we will find what modernisation concretely means in the Fijian social process in Chapter 5, 6 and 7.

Secondly this work will be concerned with the elements that have been brought to Fijian society through the contact between heterogeneous elements, that is, traditional Fijian culture and modernity from the West. Both have different systems of values. In this regard, the process should not be defined as a simple process of civilisation, which the argument of acculturation supposed. We shall examine how the agents “interpret”, “objectify” and “incorporate” the new circumstances in their own contexts, and how they “articulate” something novel and potentially inconsistent with their own tradition.⁷ Here the incorporation of new patterns of behaviour associated with the globalising market economy will be analysed. The process of cultural articulation will be explored from the position that the “macro” culture is formed by the translational reaction effected by the “micro” agents. This attempt will clarify the heterogeneousness of each culture in the assimilative action of the “World-System”. The way to objectify something is determined in a traditional context. The

⁷ Fijian tradition was always variable between islands, chiefdoms, coast/interior, and so on. My theoretical approach is based on the premise that there will always be variation between agents living in the same cultural tradition, which is one community, Waidracia.

process of incorporating something into the self-culture also needs to be examined. How can the tradition be redefined and reproduced?

Lastly, through a process of cultural articulation, how have the agents' behaviour been transformed? Under the stream of modernisation, the traditional village hierarchy seems dissolved and most traditional rituals seem reduced. On the other hand, a "town" turns into a "city", and a new class appears. The new lifestyle appearing in the city is quite different from any existing ones. In the city the opposition between the Indians and the Fijians seems to be vanishing. The new system seems radically to change agent's behaviour. We have to investigate the relationship between the individual agent and wider social networks here. Broader changes at the macro level in Fijian society are beyond the control of local agents, and implemented by colonial powers or multi-national corporations. Hence the social context for each form of behaviour in each "dimension" is also transformed.⁸ For example, people in the urban areas now display a new form of behaviour. At the same time, such changes at the macro level, such as the conversion to Christianity, the introduction of democracy and the expansion of capitalism have transformed the traditional hierarchy in the villages; radically modifying the milieu within which local agents organise their behaviour. Under such circumstances, how do individual agents in the city and village choose to behave? We have to investigate the differences in the behaviour of urban and rural dwellers.

Taking account of these three subjects, the theme of "social change in tradition" will be considered. In the following chapter, anthropological theories that provide a theoretical perspective for analysing the subject of "social change", and which have dealt with Fijian ethnography, will be examined. Chapter 3 will give a rough sketch of Fijian history and the state of contemporary Fiji. Then the general features of two Fijian villages, where the author conducted his fieldwork, will be described in Chapter 4. Both Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 will deal with what kinds of changes have been concretely brought to Fiji and to these two villages in the light of modernisation. Chapter 5 focuses on the economic affairs, while the latter chapter stresses the ritual activities. In Chapter 7, we will analyse the materials from these fields again in association with some critical concepts. Some concrete materials will be theoretically interpreted so that we can understand the significance of the "social change in tradition". Finally, an evaluation of the originality of this thesis and some problems

⁸ There are various kinds of "dimensions" in social life. For example, one dimension can be given in Fijian social life with the criterion of "urban / rural". This matter will be analysed in Chapter 7 in association with the concept of "sphere".

that remain unsolved will be discussed in Chapter 8.

1-2-2. Methodology

methods

Field methods must include the study both of how urban and rural residents live and how they think of their lives in the city and village. My main fieldwork was carried out in Waidracia village in Naitasiri Province for one year from May 2002, and in Nasilai village in Rewa Province from March 2003, for three months. While Waidracia provided me with the opportunity to study a conservative lifestyle, life in Nasilai looked rather innovative because it is close to the capital city, Suva. I did a follow-up survey of several people in both villages who had lived in cities. I observed how rural villagers were managing rituals and ceremonies in relation to urban residents. Simultaneously, I investigated how rural villagers regarded the “urbanised lifestyle” of the city in relation to their “traditional lifestyle” in the village. To what extent are the urban resident’s thoughts affecting the rural villager’s way of thinking?

In practical terms, the field methods were conducted through three means, interview, participation and questionnaire.

interviews

The field notes are based on the anthropologist’s observation and the information he gathered from many people in the field. He attempted to identify those informants who have a knowledge and sensibility of the culture. Interviews with informants (i.e. indigenous instructors) can provide significant information about the culture. He let the informant know what kind of information he needed, and how it would be described later. During his participant observation, he identified topics that seemed important to understand the characteristics of his theme in the community, and he therefore selected those topics to investigate further through interviews.

There are two sorts of interview: an informal interview and a formal interview. The anthropologist often gets much information by accident by means of a good interview. On the other hand, when he attempts a formal interview, he prepares a set of questions. In this case, he began with the most general issues. Then he particularised his questions, as he discovered more about the informant’s knowledge. The questions were about what people do in that culture, in what way they do it, and how they represent their activities.

Each culture has its own value system. It would be difficult for the informant to directly express the abstract concepts

hidden behind practical things. We should note that intangible qualities such as values couldn't usually be elicited through formal interviews. The anthropologist needs first to watch and listen to people as they go about their lives, that is, to engage in participant observation. Then, he attempts to discover what they think is important and in what way they judge and evaluate people or events. After that, if certain subjects recur, he can ask more direct questions about them. The anthropologist must therefore repeatedly switch between observation and questioning. By asking the same questions from various viewpoints, he can explore the notions of culture.

In the field, the author interviewed some good informants by speaking English. When talking to people who were not fluent in English, I asked one or more of my principal *instructors* to assist me. Oripa, Waisea, and Mosese in Waidracia often explained to the author about what he asked. In Nasilai, Maraia and her son, Seru, seemed experienced in the company of foreign people, because Nasilai had accepted tourist village tours for many years. Sometimes the author went to interview their relatives living in Suva, which provided some useful material for his analysis of the social processes in Fiji.

participant observation

The anthropologist is not only an observer who is independent of the people living in the field, but also a participant in their activities. Avoiding ethno-centrism, he attempted to grasp a culture different from his own. While direct questioning may only explore issues of concern to the researcher, simple observation and attending to issues raised by villagers during their daily activities allow the researcher to discover issues that are important to them. Each culture has to be understood as a means by which people can adapt themselves to their particular circumstances. In order to understand their culture, it is helpful for the anthropologist to live in the field together with the people he is studying. Living with the native people allows him to learn more about their particular circumstances.

That is why the author participated in the people's activities in Fiji, such as gaining membership of voluntary organisations, churches, meetings, and so on. Materials gathered from such activities will be analysed later.

questionnaire

The questionnaire is a systematic method, which complements the participant observation carried out under more subjective circumstances.

When the anthropologist cannot make contact with all the relevant people in the field, the questionnaire method is useful. A sample should be investigated first to test the questionnaire in advance. There are three major methods: systematic sampling; stratified sampling and cluster sampling.

When drawing up the contents of questionnaire, it is necessary that the anthropologist has complete trust in the people, and that he thinks carefully what his important subject is. Examining these matters, he needs to get his ideas in shape. The questions included in the questionnaire should be directly concerned with the subject of the study. It should be ensured that his intention is represented in clear words, and that he takes account of the respondent's ability to answer. Too many or too complicated questions may confuse the respondent. The questions should be continuously and logically constructed, and aim to gather quantifiable data.

The anthropologist must take care that the privacy of the data is protected. The answers obtained must not be revealed except in statistical form. The respondents must remain anonymous.

The questionnaire was conducted in Waidracia, Nasilai, OISCA, and an apartment. There were some common questions in each questionnaire for the purpose of comparison. Other questions were added in accordance with the actual conditions of each organisation. For example, some villagers in Nasilai were commuting to Suva whereas nobody in Waidracia was working there. OISCA is a foundation where Fijians from various parts of the country learn farming skills. In an apartment in Suva where the author was staying, some staffs were working.⁹ They were all living in Suva. Therefore, some particular questions were added so as to extract unique features according to their conditions. Some tables derived from these questionnaires will be shown in appropriate sections in order to analyse some of the issues.

ethics

We can recognise two sorts of ethical issues in anthropological fieldwork: firstly, how the anthropologists as investigators have relations with the community; secondly, who has the right to write and declare culture.

The first point will occur in practical situations while the anthropologist lives in a certain community. He has to make friendly relations with his informants (instructors). In a society in which gift exchange has important meanings, he may

⁹ There are not any special reason to come to be living in this apartment. Some staff in Elixir to whom I conducted my questionnaire are all Fijians working in Suva and living in their village. OISCA is a kind of NGO organisation, run by a Japanese association. In OISCA, there are lots of Fijians

give special gifts to his informant. Such unusual gifts could possibly make the other members in the community jealous. If the informant belongs to a particular group in the community, a kind of discord with other antagonistic groups could occur. There are unique relations inside the community, which are caused by political, economic, relational and historical processes. The anthropologist cannot evade such bonds during fieldwork. Some others antagonistic to his informant may be an obstacle to his field research, or even tell lies. The informant/instructor himself may give biased information against other members of his community. If the anthropologist is a young male, great care must be taken when he attempts to hold interviews with young females in the community. As the field research requires that the anthropologist himself enters the “living fabric” which consists of the human beings in that society, he must inevitably to some extent establish specific relations with the community.

Besides, this issue goes beyond the inside of the community. It may happen that the indigenous people suspect the anthropologist of being a tax collector when he asks questions about economic matters such as the income of the household. In a country with unstable political conditions, a direct question about the political hierarchy in the community may cause some ideological problems. In Fiji, since there has been serious inter-ethnic friction between the Indians and the Fijians, a careless attitude could have serious results. What should the anthropologist do when his informant expresses strong views on political and ideological issues? The attitude of his informant may depend upon the anthropologist’s reply so that the informant could become an obstacle to his field research. Hence, the position of the anthropologist in the field is quite delicate.

Nancy Scheper-Hughes has written on such ethical issues inherent in anthropological research. Traditionally, it is said that the anthropologist in the field should conduct himself as a “spectator”. She suggests that the anthropologist should positively participate in events in the field as a “witness”.

If it is to be in the nature of an ethical project, the work of anthropology requires a different set of relationships. In minimalist terms this might be described as the difference between the anthropologist as *spectator* and the anthropologist as *witness*.

[Scheper-Hughes 1995: p.419]

During the rise of cultural relativism in anthropology, the anthropologist was required to be a neutral, unprejudiced,

calm and distant observer in the field. It was considered better for the anthropologist to objectively observe the events as if he were invisible “air”. In the field of “living” society, however, various events can happen that may affect him. Scheper-Hughes had an opportunity to meet three boys in a squatter camp near Cape Town, who were punished by the community after they had thieved. They were injured, and one of the boys, Michael, received a serious injury to his liver during his punishment. The members of the community however, fearing that the police would come to know of this matter, left the boys with no treatment. The members thought that they should keep security and order in the community. Being sorry for Michael’s condition, Scheper-Hughes took the young man to her friend in the camp, who was a medical student. This action, implying a definite participation in an event in the community, was a deviation from the ordinary role of the anthropologist in the field. In fact, she received a threatening telephone call later, saying that her safety in the community would no longer be guaranteed.

Scheper-Hughes suggests that anthropology today should be ethically reconsidered.

...the times and anthropology had changed. It now seemed that there was little virtue to false neutrality in the face of the broad political and moral dramas of life and death, good and evil. ... What makes anthropology and anthropologists exempt from human responsibility to take an ethical (and even a political) stand on the working out of historical events as we are privileged to witness them?
[Scheper-Hughes 1995: p.411]

The anthropologist is, needless to say, a human being. Is the correct attitude that the anthropologist disregards his responsibility as a human being, and is it really right that he calmly makes his field notes in a miserable situation? The stand of the anthropologist, by nature, tends to give him more opportunities to come across vivid events in the community. It would possibly happen that he must judge the meanings of the events, not as an anthropologist diminishing his being like “air”, but as a “warm-blooded” human being. Scheper-Hughes claims that:

Anthropologists who are privileged to witness human events close up and over time, who are privy to community secrets that are generally hidden from the view of outsiders or from historical scrutiny until much later ... have, I believe, an ethical obligation to identify the ills in a spirit of solidarity.
[Scheper-Hughes 1995: pp.418-419]

According to her, the anthropologist should participate in human events in the field:

I still believe that we are best doing what we do best as ethnographers, as natural historians of people until very recently thought to have no history. And so I think of some of my anthropological subjects ... for whom anthropology is not a *hostile gaze* but rather an opportunity for self-expression. Seeing, listening, touching, recording can be, if done with care and sensitivity, acts of solidarity. ... Not to look, not to touch, not to record can be the hostile act, an act of indifference and of turning away.
[Scheper-Hughes 1995: p.418]

This implies an ethical issue. Contrary to the traditional role of the anthropologist as an objective “spectator”, she suggests the role as a participating “witness”. The ethics she posits are as follows:

Here I will tentatively and hesitantly suggest that responsibility, accountability, answerability to *the other*—the ethical as I would define it—is precultural to the extent that our human existence as social beings presupposes the presence of the other.
[Scheper-Hughes 1995: p.419]

Certainly, situations may arise in which the anthropologist must give priority to human ethics over merely observing the event. He may be caught in a dilemma. It is much the same as when a press photographer, infiltrating a battlefield and attempting to take decisive photos, but does not care for the injured, is criticised. Yet, the anthropologist may be involved in some discord within the community so that he eventually finds it impossible to continue his research accurately, if he positively participates in human events as Scheper-Hughes suggests. Apart from in extraordinary situations such as where a man is about to die in front of him, it may be better for the anthropologist in the field to keep a certain objective stance towards ideological, political, racial issues, and so on. In researching the field, it is important that he observes the community sufficiently in advance, that he takes great care when questioning about delicate matters, and that he keeps the gathered information confidential.

The second point is concerned not with the practical matters in the field but with the position that should be taken in publishing the data. Who has a right to state the culture? Recently, the term “Subaltern” has been argued in the territory of anthropology and cultural studies.¹⁰ A “Subaltern” can be defined as a being that lives in subordinate situations caused by

¹⁰ See [Spivak 1996].

class, age, gender, race and ethnicity. Since anthropology has been concerned with “representing the others”, it cannot be indifferent to the fact that knowledge has power. The creation and being of “Subaltern” are closely connected to the consequences and the contributions which anthropology has brought about. In other words, “Subaltern” status results in practice from knowledge conceptualised through anthropological works. Anthropologists in the past reported on “primitive society” under the slogan of “from the viewpoint of indigenous people”. Nowadays, however, this kind of slogan is criticised by the indigenous people as the “neo-colonialism”. In the South Pacific islands such as Vanuatu, there is now a movement to reinterpret their own customs through the term *kastom*. In their opinion, the word “custom” represents what has been introduced from the West. The movement emphasises that they have had their own culture, and even that they have incorporated things brought from the West into their own culture as a *kastom*.¹¹ Indigenous people no longer live in subordinate situations. They themselves are beginning to represent their own state. Under such circumstances, the responsibility of anthropology and anthropologists is changing. The anthropologist’s analysis becomes a means that could determine what a culture is rather than describe it in a detached fashion.

¹¹ This raises an interesting question. Anthropologists have noted that some indigenous people have taken over the concept of “culture” from anthropology, and turned it into a political term in their campaigns against assimilation. See [Harris 1996]. During the author’s fieldwork in Fiji, however, the Fijians did not seem to use the term *kastom*.

Ch.2 Theoretical background – social change and ethnography in Fiji

My aim in this chapter is to establish the theoretical basis for my analysis of continuity and change in contemporary life in Fiji. I shall review anthropological ideas concerning social processes, and explain why I find Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" the most useful. Firth pioneered the approach I shall propose. He discusses the matter of social change in association with the relationship between society and individual. Firth advocated the concept of "social organisation", to describe how the individual, regulated by a certain social norm, acts autonomously for a goal set in light of the relationship between means and ends. The individual's autonomy means that organisational change might take place. Organisational change has the possibility to create structural change. Fredrik Barth, taking account of social organisational theory, analyses monetary exchange and non-monetary exchange with his original term, "sphere". In this thesis, we will use the term, "sphere" with reference to Firth's concept, "social standard". Although Barth gives us a hint as to the idea of sphere, the usage of this word in this thesis, therefore, does not necessarily correspond to Barth's intention.

Among the anthropologists who have worked in Fiji, Marshall Sahlins and Nicholas Thomas, although holding rather contrastive views on the social structure, seem to share similar ideas. Especially, they emphasise that tradition is generated by the independent agent. Christina Toren also stresses that the tradition or history that is immanent in the mind, is constituted in action. Christina Toren also stresses that the tradition or history that is immanent in the mind, is constituted in action. For example, she writes as follows:

Mind is a function of the whole person constituted over time in inter-subjective relations with others' in the enviroing world.
[Toren 1999a: p.12]

The body is what represents the tradition or history of the mind. Thus the arguments of these three anthropologists will be applied to this thesis in order to understand the concept of agent.

It may be agreed that the "World-System Theory" postulated by Wallerstein and Eric R. Wolf views world capitalism expanding to the periphery. Certainly, the Fijian economy is involved in the capitalistic economic system. However, we

will not agree with the view that every peripheral system is forced to be assimilated into the “World-System”. Tradition is reproduced by the agent. Although the world capitalistic system may permeate the periphery, including Fiji, the agent must objectify the circumstances in his own context, a point that seems lacking in the “World-System Theory”.

The concept of “strategy” posited by Giddens will be effective in considering the motivation and the rational ends underlying the individual’s activities. The individual is aware of his social role as well as those of other’s. Each individual independently takes, or, attempts to take, “expected” actions in association with their relationships with others. The pattern of each individual’s activities takes a certain form, in other words, reveals a “habitus”. Bourdieu’s term, habitus, will be a key concept in this thesis. The habitus also links the individual and the society. The agent’s behaviour led by the individual habitus reproduces the tradition, which, in a collective sense, will provide a certain series of norms. For example, although circumstances are changing, the land tenure system in Fiji, which sustains the Fijian traditional values in its collective dimension, remains unchanged. As long as this reproductive structure in Fiji is retained, the traditional values may be kept so that the individual agent’s strategy may also persist.

This chapter aims at elaborating upon some theoretical and conceptual implications on which this thesis will be based. Bourdieu’s “habitus” will give us a clue as to how to discuss the matter of social change from both the micro and macro viewpoints, without depending on the classical dichotomy of atomism and holism. In addition, we will critically review the arguments of Sahlins, Thomas and Toren in the context of the claim that the independent agent’s behaviour generates culture, forms history, and constitutes tradition.

2-1. How the subject of “social change” has been argued in anthropological theories

2-1-1. The concept of social change

basic ideas in Firth’s, Sahlins’ and Thomas’ arguments

In current anthropology, the subject of “culture change” or “social change” itself no longer has any special significance. In other words, it is naturally supposed that a culture as well as society changes. Under the circumstances of postmodernism or cultural relativism, it comes to be taken for granted that each culture has its own system of meanings and its own way of development.

In the middle of the 20th century, Firth drew attention to the dynamism of society with two theoretical concepts,

“social organisation” and “social structure”. At that time, the term “acculturation” had been advocated in some anthropological groups when discussing social change. Firth explains thus:

When people hitherto primitive take to using steel axes, wear cotton clothing, write letters and read newspapers, grow cocoa, rubber, or ground-nuts for sale, and spend the proceeds on a bicycle or a gramophone, they [anthropologists] must think and act very differently from before. The anthropologist has had to study the new social relations. Terms such as “culture-contact” and “acculturation” were introduced to express the way in which new patterns of behaviour or types of relationship were acquired and incorporated into a primitive system.

[Firth 1961: p.81]

Criticising the idea of “acculturation”, he posits another concept, “inculturation”, in order to stress the independent behaviour of an indigenous people or culture when faced with western civilisation.¹² Firth conceptualises the term “inculturation”, as distinct from “acculturation” as follows:

The Tikopia have selected the items most relevant to their needs, have adapted them to their own social forms – sometimes in rather curious ways – have ingested them by the political organization, the kinship bonds, the religious system, and the linguistic apparatus of their own collective manner of life. The process so far has been one of inculturation rather than of acculturation.

[Firth 1983: p.31]

As is obvious in this quotation, he emphasises “their own”, whereas the indigenous system had been regarded as primarily passive, a recipient of new elements, when applying the argument of acculturation.

Sahlins also insists on the independence and autonomy of the indigenous culture. He views culture in terms of the relationship between structure and history:

... the culture is historically reproduced in action. ... as the contingent circumstances of action need not conform to the significance some group might assign them, people are known to creatively reconsider their conventional schemes. And to that extent, the culture is historically altered in action.

[Sahlins 1987: introduction p.7]

¹² The author has criticised Firth’s argument especially about the social change with regard to his concept of “social organisation”. See [Takahashi 2000].

For him, the culture is not merely what has been formed in history, but also what has been reproduced in history. Besides, his view implies a criticism of the “World-System Theory” in which the indigenous culture is usually regarded as becoming homogenised during the expansion of the “World-System”:

I have seen among theoreticians of “the world-system,” for example, the proposition that since the hinterland societies anthropologists habitually study are open to radical change, externally imposed by Western capitalist expansion, the assumption that these societies work on some autonomous cultural logic cannot be entertained. This is a confusion between an open system and a lack of system. And it leaves us unable to account for the diversity of local responses to the world system – persisting, moreover, in its wake.
[Sahlins 1987: introduction p.8]

In this sense, he seems to stress the autonomous and particular response of the indigenous culture just as Firth puts his emphasis on “their own response”.

Thomas criticised Sahlins’ standpoint, giving rise to a controversy between them.¹³ His argument lies mainly in the following two claims: a criticism against the approach of historical structuralism; and an aspect of the culture that could be politically manipulated. He supposes that Sahlins’ historical structuralism emphasises the continuity of culture in the history at the expense of micro processes. Thomas states that:

... structuralist history is compelled to see meanings in the continuity of indigenous cultural traditions and compelled to downplay what indigenous actors may have learned from their experiences of contact,
...
[Thomas 1993: p.875]

This is related to his second point. He is interested in culture that can be manipulated or altered depending on what kind of policy the government takes. In the process of culture change, he suggests that the variety of political conditions and the local responses to them do matters. For him, historical structuralism seems to overlook the diversity of cultural response.

Thus, we now have three significant anthropologists who share something in common when considering culture

¹³ See [Sahlins 1993a] [Thomas 1992b] [Thomas 1992c], and [Thomas 1993].

change. They think of culture change in terms of indigenous independence. Firth posits the term of “inculturation” so as to throw light on the fact that indigenous people must independently react to certain circumstances, such as cultural contact, in their own way. Sahlins takes the approach of historical structuralism, in which the culture can be formed and reproduced in the history. He also suggests that it is the very indigenous people’s behaviour that gives proper meanings to the culture. Although Thomas criticises Sahlins’ argument, especially in its assumption of the consistency of culture,¹⁴ he basically agrees that the actions of indigenous people has a great influence on the composition of culture. Hence, we find that these three anthropologists primarily stand on common ground.

Let us explore now the differences in their interpretations. First of all, it is essential for us to examine how they think of culture itself. That will be clarified when the following key concepts or subjects are discussed: “social organisation”, and “social standards” (Firth); the relationship between history and culture (Sahlins); and culture as what is not substance (Thomas). Then the phase of culture change will be illuminated with reference to the following key concepts: “social convection” and “social conduction” (Firth); the “structure of the conjuncture” (Sahlins); and the “inversion of tradition” (Thomas).

Firstly, how does Firth think of culture? Basically, Firth assumes that every social process appears in the dimension of “social organisation”, and that every social behaviour in action necessarily implies the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision. If there are social ends, social behaviour has to take a proper order in terms of efficiency. In other words, behaviour occurs through the efficient allocation of resources. It is significant for him that one can choose one’s available resources when undertaking social behaviour. Social behaviour must be regulated by social norms that give a set of forms of behaviour in a certain social dimension, while practical acts take various kinds of forms during the phase of social organisation. Firth points out the following:

¹⁴ We note that this was also Bourdieu’s criticism of Levi-Strauss, which led him to substitute the term *habitus*. Each individual constructs his or her own *habitus*. See [Bourdieu 1977: pp.97-109].

Social organization has usually been taken as a synonym for social structure. In my view it is time to distinguish between them. The more one thinks of the structure of a society in abstract terms, as of group relations or of ideal patterns, the more necessary it is to think separately of social organization in terms of concrete activity. Generally, the idea of organization is that of people getting things done by planned action. This is a social process, the arrangement of action in sequences in conformity with selected social ends.

[Firth 1961: pp.35-36]

Then, in order to arrange actions, a certain system of values shared by members of the group is necessary. Although he does not declare what culture is, we can grasp how he may visualise it from the following:

... we may distinguish four constituents essential to social existence in a community. These are: social alignment; social controls; social media; and social standards..

[Firth 1961: p.41]

Here we are going to focus on the fourth concept, the “social standard”. When we consider culture as a system of meanings and values, the term “social standard” helps us to understand the meaning of culture. While culture consists of material goods and non-material things including language,¹⁵ it also contains a system of values with which social members can judge or evaluate something. As long as such a system exists, people can make their decisions in their own way. According to Firth, social standards¹⁶ can be comprehended as follows:

All community life involves also a system of standards, giving rating in the choice of activities and judgement on the effectiveness of performance. These social standards represent systems of values, in their expression as activity.

[Firth 1961: p.42]

Each culture must have its own standards. Hence, indigenous people can independently react to a certain circumstance, even to cultural contact with Western civilisation.

Sahlins seems to have some views in common with Firth. His insistence is quite simple: culture is historically

¹⁵ Firth regards them as “social media”.

¹⁶ There are six major types of standards: technological; economic; moral; ritual; aesthetic; and associational. With reference to them, it becomes possible to judge a preference scale, a grading.

reproduced in action, and “Different cultures, different historicities.”¹⁷ That means not only that the culture is formed by practical action, but also that culture can be reformed by action. Actions are regulated by what he calls the “structure”, which has been established through history. The scheme of culture and history are mutually related. He calls this essential relationship between them “synthesis”:

History is culturally ordered, differently so in different societies, according to meaningful schemes of things. The converse is also true: cultural schemes are historically ordered, since to a greater or lesser extent the meanings are revalued as they are practically enacted. The synthesis of these contraries unfolds in the creative action of the historic subjects, the people concerned...
[Sahlins 1987: introduction p.7]

As is clear in this citation, Sahlins regards the historic subjects, that is, the people concerned with culture, as the agents who form both the history and the culture. He mentions, “...people are known to creatively reconsider their conventional schemes.”¹⁸ This is similar to Firth’s viewpoint. Hence there is room for the existing schemes to be reconsidered and revalued.

Finally, we will examine how Thomas thinks of culture. He strongly criticises the aspect of consistency in culture that Sahlins presupposes. He regards culture not as a substance, but as a “process”, in which various relations, including the value of material goods and non-material things, are being objectified and reified in various concrete dimensions. The circumstance is always being transformed. The way of valuing objects varies depending on the circumstances. He focuses on the particular case of colonial Fiji. During this era, the government abolished a lot of customs in Fiji, but the indigenous people have since reformed some traditions. However, Thomas denies the view that the colonising government intentionally brought about that circumstance. Nor does he suggest that the colonised people in Fiji brought it about as a form of resistance:

¹⁷ See [Sahlins 1987: introduction p.10].

¹⁸ See [Sahlins 1987: introduction p.7].

Where colonialism has had a more sustained and repressive impact, indigenous people may come to couch their identity and resistance in terms made available by the dominant.
[Thomas 1992: p.216]

In those circumstances, it was not a matter for Thomas to distinguish between the colonising and the colonised agents. On the other hand, it is important to comprehend how both the indigenous society and the government react to objectified circumstances:

I ...will then proceed to show that the traditions or ways of life thus objectified are not uniformly affirmed: while the enduring value of the culture of the place may be asserted in the countercolonial practice of the dominant indigenous groups, this traditionalist discourse may itself be reactively opposed from within neotraditional society...
[Thomas 1992: p.216]

For Thomas, culture is not a substance as a whole that can be firmly identified and viewed through the history, nor is it consistent. Culture is a kind of process, in which objects are entangled. Things are being objectified and reified depending on the circumstances. This is the main point of difference from Sahlins' argument about culture itself.

the concept of change

At this stage, we will discuss in what way culture change is thought to be going on.

Firth seems to say more about social change than culture change. As mentioned above, however, it would be appropriate in his context to understand culture as a part of what composes social structure. Social standards and social media can also be thought of as equivalent to culture as they embody part of the social structure. Hence, the subject of social change will be considered here.

Firth clearly distinguishes between organisational change and structural change.¹⁹ The former means a change in the arrangement, the allocation or the ordering of social actions, while the latter is a change that possibly alters the existing regulation of social behaviour. In this regard he argues:

¹⁹ See [Firth 1954].

The organizational change does not alter the basic relations between the members of the society so much as to be termed a modification of the social structure. Structural change may not imply a high degree of coincidence between the new motivations of any large number of members of the society. But it does imply large-scale shift in the pattern of their activities. This may mean a new common orientation.

[Firth 1961: p.84]

Structural change is a fruit of social interaction. Although change is basically brought about by individual behaviour, the effect cannot expand towards the whole society without social interaction. Thus, interaction is necessary for social change. When a certain new pattern of behaviour is taken, it confronts the existing regulation including the social structure. It is necessary for this to be evaluated. Firth posits two concepts: social convection; and social conduction. The former means:

When some members of a society change their behaviour from what has been recognized as an established pattern, the reactions are likely to involve other members too. By imitation, by resentment, by the need to repair the breach in their accustomed ways, they tend to modify their own conduct likewise...

[Firth 1961: p.86]

The latter, on the other hand, is defined as follows:

A change in established patterns tends to bring unforeseen results in its train. ...people who have adopted an innovation may find themselves facing a situation to which they must conform, though very much against what they would have chosen in the beginning could they have known.

[Firth 1961: p.86]

Change is usually caused by a deviation of individual behaviour from the existing pattern that has been established by regulation of the social structure. If the effect of this deviant behaviour reaches the whole society through social convection and social conduction, it may result in a change to the social structure. Under such circumstances, the scale by which the members can judge their behaviour may be altered. This then, is a rough sketch of Firth's argument regarding social change.

We can find much similarity between the views of Firth and Sahlins. Here is a passage, representing Sahlins' stance:

The bigger issue, as I see it in these essays, is the dual existence and interaction between the cultural order as constituted in the society and as lived by the people: structure in convection and in action, as virtual and as actual. In their practical projects and position in societies, informed by the received meanings of persons and things, people submit these cultural categories to empirical risks.
[Sahlins 1987: introduction p.9]

Social processes and cultural order are constituted in the relations between the reality in action and the established pattern. People are aware of what to do and what not to do. In addition, it is already anticipated how the cultural elements are likely to be evaluated. Nevertheless, the actual behaviour and the reconsidered value often differ from before. Both “the standard” of social behaviour and “the cultural order” are always reproduced. In order to explain this circumstance, Sahlins supposes a concept, “the structure of the conjuncture”. The culture is reproduced in history. In other words, culture change can be comprehended as the synthesis between structure and event. While the structure provides a particular pattern derived from history, the event is the reality in action. As a result, in whatever case, the structure of the conjuncture is formed.

...it is necessary to insist that the possibility that the present will transcend the past, while at the same time remaining true to it, depends on the cultural order as well as the practical situation.
[Sahlins 1987: p.152]

There always exists a possibility that the structure of the conjuncture exceeds the structure. What is more significant, however, is the very description of “while at the same time remaining true to it” shown above. Although Sahlins seems to take account of the possibility of structural change, he stresses the consistency of culture and even of the structure in the history. That is the main point that Thomas criticises.

Thomas focuses on a particular phase in colonial Fiji in which there were lots of conflicts between the government and the local community. In this situation, Fijian tradition and indigenous custom were abandoned or reformed. For example, although Christianity was finally adopted, the process and the results were not so simple.

When Fijians later adopted Christianity, widow strangling and a variety of other practices that had been emblematic of heathenism, as well as behavioral markers such as long hair, were abandoned. ... The contrast between Fijian and white culture in religious terms was thus superseded, but other dimensions of the colonial encounter continued to engender juxtaposed reifications of indigenous and foreign ways.

[Thomas 1992: p.221]

This process can be explained using several terms, articulation,²⁰ juxtaposed reification, reformulation,²¹ and objectification. Thomas supposes that the culture and the tradition cannot last without being constantly objectified. People must reformulate their own tradition.²² They must articulate it when they encounter something to be reconsidered. They should remake the tradition itself if necessary. He calls this process the inversion of tradition. Although lots of tradition was abolished or given a new meaning in colonial Fiji, it was as a result of the process in which the indigenous people reified their tradition in that special situation.

To sum up, the issue lies in whether the culture is substance. If culture is assumed to be an autonomous system, the structure should be supposed autonomous too. If structure is premised, it entails a certain consistency through time. Although Sahlin's seems to presume the possibility that reality in action exceeds the existing structure, he still holds to the idea that the culture remains in a certain structure that has been constituted in history. As a result, Thomas points out that Sahlin's does not take account of micro processes including social interaction or even the political manipulation of the practical action that takes place. On the other hand, Thomas himself emphasises micro processes so as to overlook the matter of what culture is. The process he proposes, including the objectification and reification of tradition, is quite vague. As long as culture does not have structure, consistency, and substance, for example, how can we grasp cultural identity? Without any structure, how can cultural identity be held through history? The uniqueness of each culture seldom disappears. Although it may be altered, something distinctive remains. Hence, it is inappropriate to focus, like Thomas, only on the micro and practical circumstances in culture, excluding those things that are consistent through time.

organisational change in economic spheres

A person behaves with reference to the relationship between a means and an end. As seen above, Firth posits the

²⁰ See [Thomas 1992: p.220].

²¹ See [Thomas 1992: p.221].

²² This is what Durkheim [Durkheim 1915: p.230] argued: "... individual consciousness are closed to each other; they can communicate only by means of signs which express their internal state".

concept of a “social standard”, which is a system giving a certain guide to the allocation of behaviour. There is a certain system of the “social standard” immanent in a society, which can be distinguished in six ways. The “economic standard” is one, this is the principle regarding when one allocates goods and resources. A person, taking account of the economic standard immanent in the society in which he lives, allocates the goods and resources around him or his own labour according to the relationship between the means and the ends. The ends are “purposive”. This allocation implies concepts of economisation and efficiency. Although the implication of these concepts is relative to the social context, the economic standard immanent in a society implies such concepts existing in that society. Thus, a person practises “purposive actions” in a certain context.²³ A systematic sphere consisting of such social actions is the “social organisation” conceptualised by Firth. The individual, being regulated by the value system immanent in the entire society, behaves as himself in his own context. The way these allocations are made forms the way of “organising”.

If one describes the economy in Darfur in association with Barth’s and Firth’s term, the “social organisation” in the economic affairs of Darfur is composed of two “spheres”: values are transformed through monetary exchange for goods and services in one sphere; and goods and services are circulated through non-monetary exchange in another sphere. In the latter sphere, the values of the two goods of millet and beer brewed from millet, and the labour force, are transformed in a certain way. There is no possible room for the inflow of money in this sphere. Crops other than millet and some items such as consumption goods circulate in the market of monetary exchange in the other sphere. As there are barriers between these spheres, the inflow of goods from one sphere to the other does not happen. Barth identifies four features of the basic social institutions constituting the Darfur economy:

(a) First, the units of management need to be identified – the unit which organizes production and consumption and holds a separate ‘purse’. ...every individual has his own farm plots, his own grain stores, and his separate budget.

[Barth 1967: p.151]

The villagers make their living independently. Compared with Fiji, where they make their living through the

²³ What is regarded as the “purposiveness” depends on spheres. Each sphere has its own purposiveness, which is recognised by the agents in the sphere. The agents would make practices according to the “spheric purposiveness” so that the practices could converge in a form. We will discuss it later in Chapter 7.

management of land by *mataqali*, the communal sense seems rather loose in Darfur. This would be connected with other institutions in Darfur as follows:

(b) This means that every person must obtain individual access to the basic means of production: land. ... Territorial rights are associated with descent groups of a non-unilineal kind large blocks of kinsmen, with an endogamous tendency, often spoken of as patrilineal in form but in fact of a much looser structure allowing membership 'through our grandmothers'.
[Barth 1967: p.152]

The descent structure in Darfur is much more flexible than the rigid patrilineal descent group that manages social life in Fiji. The fact that all villagers are entitled to use the land as the principal means of production is common to both. But the implication of land in Darfur seems different from the case in Fiji. In Fiji, one strongly retains in one's mind the bond between inherited land and the patrilineal descent group to which one belongs. In addition, in Fiji every social action is executed by the social groups. Even individual actions are carried out at the social level. In Darfur, however, the individual independently behaves in his or her own economic context, allocating goods and resources as the means to their individual end. Here lies the difference between the economic standards of Fiji and Darfur.

(c) With every individual so characteristically constituting a separate unit of management for economic purposes, the predominant pattern of labour tends to be one where every person uses his or her own time to work for the direct satisfaction of his own needs.
[Barth 1967: p.153]

Finally, the economic system in Darfur is not necessarily free from money. They have long been buying and selling in the market. As seen above, however, the two spheres in their economy with and without the circulation of money were completely separated until the 1960's.

(d) Fourthly, the Fur have a well-organized system of marketplaces, which facilitates a great number of economic exchanges. ... Villagers bring all varieties of agricultural produce to the market-place, though millet, being very bulky and heavy in proportion to its value, is rarely marketed.
[Barth 1967: p.155]

In the sphere where money is used, the villagers plant cash crops such as tomatoes, garlic and wheat, to sell in the market. They sometimes earn money by selling cattle that have been bought to breed. They need money for buying groceries and for bridewealth. These goods are circulated with money in one sphere. Their primary crop, millet, and beer brewed from millet are circulated without money in the other sphere. There are four reasons for this: firstly, millet hardly becomes a commodity in the market because it is too bulky and heavy to handle; secondly, it cannot become a commodity within the village because everyone plants only as much as they need; thirdly, porridge made from millet cannot become a commodity because there is no demand; and finally, the moral sanction that selling beer brewed from millet is immoral because beer should be presented as a traditional counter gift against reciprocal labour, as mentioned below, has prevented beer from becoming a commodity. Hence, the circulation of millet, porridge and beer does not involve monetary exchange. This sphere is a “closed” one.

One can find a unique form of transformation of values in this sphere. There has traditionally existed a form of exchange of labour for goods. But this is not the form where labour becomes a commodity as wage labour. Labour can be exchanged only with a particular item, beer, and at a certain rate. Besides, there is no opportunity for the inflow of money into this sphere to buy wage labour, as long as the system is closed.

The Fur institution that facilitates labour exchanges is the beer party. This takes several forms, exemplified by informal reciprocal help, work parties with many participants, and house-building parties. In the simplest form, two or more friends may decide to work together for company, in which case they jointly cultivate each other's field in turn, he whose field is being cultivated providing a pot of beer for their joint consumption. ... Besides those who are invited, any person who wishes may join the party and drink beer in return for working.

[Barth 1967: pp.153-154]

Women brew beer from millet in advance if the reciprocal labour is going to occur. The “proper” quantity of beer that should be offered against a day's work as a counter gift is to an extent fixed. Taking account of the quantitative mutual relationship between millet, beer and input from the labour force, and the price of millet in the market, Barth formularises the value of labour force per day thus:²⁴

²⁴ See [Barth 1967: p.167].

value of labour force a man·day = 5 litres of beer = 1/6 shilling (2 pence) worth of millet

The individual villagers establish their own management schemes for economic activity. Yet, this reciprocal labour with beer presented as the counter gift is necessary not in its aspect of “concrete labour” but in satisfying mutual “sociability”. The beer functions not only as a simple consideration paid for the work, but also as a counter gift in a context governed by the norms of reciprocity. In offering labour and beer for each other, they are reconsidering and reproducing their common reciprocal social relationships. The exchange of labour for beer can signify social meanings only in that particular context. Hence, the villagers cannot individually accomplish their own economic scheme because they occasionally have such reciprocal obligations.

It is on the basis of these two spheres that the social organisation of economic affairs in Darfur is constituted. While they aim to allocate resources in their individualistic way, they also organise their actions in a social context regulated by reciprocal norms. They are reproducing two spheres and the barriers between them so that the villagers, being themselves within the monetary economic system, are also operating within reciprocal social relationships.

As Barth exemplifies, however, what Firth calls the “organisational change” then appears. Firstly, there emerge innovative actions that have not been seen in the previous social organisation. The innovators irrigate land to plant orchards. Then they utilise the reciprocal “labour-for-beer” in the cultivation. They apply surplus beer as the counter gift. The “labour-for-beer” had previously taken place only in the cultivation of millet. Since millet is not a cash crop, there had been no opportunities of the direct or indirect form of exchange with the labour force for money through beer to occur. However, beer is now exchanged with the labour force that acquires cash crops to earn money. This innovative activity has an effect on the form of the social organisation. Since such an innovative allocation of actions has been socially sanctioned and approved, this becomes a precedent to give a new form to the organisational patterns.

Secondly, Barth illustrates an Arab merchant’s behaviour. One day an Arab merchant came to Darfur with his wife. He brought some millet bought in a place where it is sold at a low price. He asked the villagers to plant tomatoes in a place in the village. His wife brewed beer from the millet they brought with them. This beer was applied to the labour of work

parties for the tomato cultivation. Thus he obtained a big harvest of tomatoes without the input of his own labour force. This is different from the regular “labour-for-beer”. The regular one occurs because of the necessity for the “social aspect” of labour that reconsiders and reproduces the social relationships, while the merchant’s way takes place because of the necessity for the “concrete aspect” of labour. In this case, beer is simply a consideration paid for the concrete labour. The work of the labour force, being a commodity, is exchanged not for money but for beer. There happens, as in this case, changes in the ways of social organisation. These changes are derived from innovative activity or contact with other values such as entrepreneurship. These precedents have the potential to change, not only the ways of social organisation, but also the “social standard” itself that is the value system covering a social group. Barth explains as follows:

... the critical conversions may be blocked: by a refusal to give land for cultivation to the entrepreneurs, or by the discontinuation of the beer-for-labour exchanges on anything but a reciprocal basis. ... However, the increase in wage-labour opportunities which will probably take place will no doubt also affect this situation by making it more difficult to mobilize labour for beer on a non-reciprocal basis.
[Barth 1967: p.172]

In Fiji, it seems impossible to distinguish the spheres of goods circulating with and without monetary exchange. The primary items for cash income are taro in Waidracia and fish in Nasilai. Taro is transacted in the non-monetary sphere within the village economy, but is an object for monetary exchange outside Waidracia. Fish is circulated in the monetary sphere both within and outside Nasilai. However, when one supposes the exchange between beer and labour force in Darfur is a social action in that particular context, one may also find similar implications in the exchange of ritual items such as *tabua*, *yaqona*, and *ibe* in Fiji. *Yaqona* is a commodity, which one can purchase with money. But drinking *yaqona* has double dimensions. People have to present *yaqona*, which has been bought somewhere, to the host as the *sevusevu*. In this particular sphere of *sevusevu*, there is no monetary transaction of *yaqona* between the host and the guest. Thus an item of *yaqona* is allocated in separable spheres depending on the situation. The social meanings immanent in such exchanges of ritual items as *sevusevu* will be analysed in Chapter 6.

Beer seems to be an item with special meanings in Darfur. Where does the difference in the social function of millet and beer made of millet lie? What makes beer special? Millet with quantitatively the same value as beer cannot replace

beer as a counter gift for reciprocal labour. Furthermore, why hasn't "labour-for-beer" been applied to other cash crops such as tomatoes or onions within the village? In other words, what does the tradition where only a particular item, beer, can be used as a counter gift for reciprocal labour mean? A similar question would be, why, in Fiji, do whale's tooth (*tabua*) have the highest ritual value? However, investigating the origin of traditions is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The social meanings and function of an item may prevent it from becoming a commodity, as the moral sanction does not approve of beer sold as a commodity among the Darfur. On the other hand, demand is still a factor if something is to become a commodity, as will be argued in Chapter 5. The diversification of life structures that had been uniform will generate difficulties in obtaining goods that everyone had once been able to acquire when the life structure was uniform.²⁵ Such demands will generate new commodities such as fish in Nasilai or *ibe* in urban areas. Such items face few obstacles to their becoming commodities. Yet, *tabua*, despite the demand rising, especially in urban areas, is not necessarily a commodity. Wherever one is, *tabua* is frequently required for occasional ceremonies. Demand for it exceeds the supply so that it becomes more and more difficult to obtain, especially in urban areas. However, *tabua* is transacted not in ordinary shops but only in pawnshops. Although it is circulated in monetary terms, it could not be said that *tabua* is an ordinary commodity. *Tabua* might imply a particular context that prevents it from being boldly allocated to the monetary sphere.

2-1-2. Criticising the World-System Theory posited by Wallerstein and Wolf

How can we understand "modernity"? There are lots of interpretations of this issue, depending upon which position we take. In association with the Enlightenment, modernity is to discover the Reason for human beings by which we can acquire general knowledge. In terms of politics following Max Weber, on the other hand, modernity can be explained as the emergence of occupational politicians. In what way can modernity be grasped in sociology? Giddens associated modernity with his original concept of "reflexivity". He supposed that the agent's action based on the individual's knowledge could be a seed of modernity. We, as actors, are already aware of the consequences of our actions to some extent. We usually make a decision by means of that knowledge in various situations. There is, however, a degree of uncertainty as to consequences, which might cause change.

From the viewpoint of economics, modernity implies capitalisation. Karl Marx argued for historical development

²⁵ As to the term of "life structure", see section 5-1-2.

towards capitalism in the context of historical materialism. According to Marx, society consists of a substructure and a superstructure: the former is the economic relationships; and the latter is “the other”, like politics, law, culture, art, and so on. The superstructure depends on the way of being in the substructure. The substructure consists of the relationship between the productive forces and the relations of production. The productive forces, constantly developing, form the mode of production. After the growth of the productive forces, a contradiction takes place between the developed productive forces and the previous relations of production, which makes a new mode of production. The change of economic relations as the substructure leads the superstructure to be changed as well. In Marx’s argument modernity is a process towards capitalism. Capitalism necessarily implies the reproduction of capitalism itself because the aim of capitalism lies in reproduction, gaining the surplus values. As long as capitalism can exist only by the reproduction of itself and the acquisition of surplus values, the development and the expansion of capitalism are inevitable for human history.

Marx suggested, not a specific, but a general theory of society and history, by this means he inserts the principle into human history. However, the real world is faced with complicated situations. It is not a “general” matter. Some economies have established mature capitalism. Others are still developing. In order to connect the actual reality of difference and the general historical principle, he takes a method, called “the stages of development”. Marx does not refer to historical facts. His discussion of historical facts has been criticised. However, taking a progressive view of history inevitably contains the idea of stages of development, more or less. If one views human history, not as “multilinear” but as “unilinear”, or, not specifically but generally, then a “graduation on a scale” is required to reveal the real world. This is provided by the stages of development.

Conversely, there is a theory purporting to reject any difference in economic conditions and national circumstances, and to grasp the world in a single structure. Wallerstein, who was influenced by Marx and Fernand Braudel, advocates the “World-System Theory”. He denies the independence of any domestic economy.

Wallerstein assumes the modern world consists of a single structure. No economies in any region or nation are independent. They belong to the “collateral lines” of the “World-System”. For example, the difference in stages of development seen in a developing country or an advanced nation is related, because the advanced development in the North is possible only as a condition of the underdevelopment in the South. World capitalism as the one and only

world-system in the modern period inevitably contains various relations in the world as it grows. Underdevelopment is not an autonomous condition in one nation.

Wallerstein examines the “World-System” historically. World history since the 16th century can be said to be a history of the formation and growth of the modern world-system. According to him, there are two sorts of world-system in human history. One is the world empire that appeared before the 20th century. This was based on political integration.

While, in an empire, the political structure tends to link culture with occupation, in a world-economy the political structure tends to link culture with spatial location...
[Wallerstein 1974: p.349]

The other is the world economy, in which each country keeps their political independence. They are, however, closely connected with each other under the capitalistic principle. In these circumstances, Wallerstein divides the modern world into three categories: core-states; semi-periphery areas; and periphery areas. He explains this as follows:

World-economies then are divided into core-states and peripheral areas. I do not say peripheral *states* because one characteristic of a peripheral area is that the indigenous state is weak, ranging from its non-existence (that is, a colonial situation) to one with a low degree of autonomy (that is, a neo-colonial situation),
... There are also semiperipheral areas which are in between the core and the peripheral on a series of dimensions, such as the complexity of economic activities, strength of the state machinery, cultural integrity, etc.
[Wallerstein 1974: p.349]

There is a hegemonic nation in the “World-System” as the core-state, which was Holland in the 17th century, the United Kingdom in the 19th century, and the United States of America in the 20th century. Nowadays, the world economy equates with the capitalistic economy. Every region in the world is involved in this system. No economy can be free from capitalism. There can be no independent domestic economy. The global system of the division of labour is an essence of this world-system. Hence, each economy is a collateral line for the “World-System”.

As mentioned above, there are three categories that compose the worldwide division of labour. The periphery areas play a role as a source of the supply of raw materials for core-states. In these areas, unequal exchange is inevitable so that

the surplus can be exploited. While the relationship of capital and wage labour becomes mature in core-states, other systems of labour like slavery or serfdom grows in periphery areas. However, these are both parts of the modern world-system.

We have insisted that the modern world-economy is, and only can be, a capitalist world-economy. It is for this reason that we have rejected the appellation of "feudalism" for the various forms of capitalist agriculture based on coerced labor which grow up in a world-economy...

[Wallerstein 1974: p.350]

Capitalism can be defined as production for gaining profit in a market, in which the profit is a consequence of unequal exchange. Wallerstein also supposes that the basis for the development of capitalism should not be explained by the maturity of the domestic economy or the internationalisation of capitalism in each area. In his view, capitalism is essentially a matter of international economy.

We have defined a world-system as one in which there is extensive division of labor. This division is not merely functional – that is, occupational – but geographical...

[Wallerstein 1974: p.349]

The development in core-states is never realised without the supply of materials from peripheral areas. The maturity of relations of capital-wage labour in capitalism cannot be separated from other systems in peripheral areas such as slavery, at least not since the dawn of capitalism. The "World-System Theory" denies any domestic economy can be an independent and autonomous system.

Lots of criticisms against this view have indeed, been raised. We will examine one that is concerned with nationalism.

Industrialisation, on the one hand, usually breaks down feudal institutions so that social homogenisation is promoted. The growth of capitalism creates a common world in which things are treated through the common medium of market exchange and monetary economy. On the other hand, it causes a great deal of "distinction" inside the society such as

between class, gender, and ethnic minorities.²⁶ These are revealed in complex dimensions between ethnic groups and cultures, transcending the traditional ways of thinking like nations or religions. In the “World-System Theory”, nationalism is only regarded as an institutional medium that sustains the whole system. Nationalism is viewed as being the same as the nation, the class, the ethnic group and so on, which is generated in the process of the development of capitalism. However, the growth and expansion of capitalism simultaneously create both assimilation and homogenisation. Any cultural differentia and identity that can be represented as nationalism never disappear.

We can see such a viewpoint dealing with which is more essential to understand the world economy, capitalism as the “World-System” or cultural identity. For example, Sahlins and Jonathan Friedman have had an argument.²⁷ Sahlins puts his critical emphasis on the autonomy and continuousness of indigenous culture in its contact with Western civilisation. He investigates the process by which the indigenous culture incorporates some parts of the “World-System” into its system in its own context, rather than the fact that the expanding world-system invades the indigenous culture. What matters for him is how the indigenous people as agents give their own meanings to things from outside.

The same kind of cultural change, externally induced yet indigenously orchestrated, has been going on for millennia.
[Sahlins 1985: p.8]

He insists that cultural consistency seldom changes even though the “World-System” has great influence upon everywhere on this earth. But Friedman criticises Sahlins. He questions the validity of taking structures into account.

The global position is simply that the ethnographic present is largely the historical product of the interaction of local and global processes, one which in phases of the expansion of hegemonic centers results (sic, i.e. result) in the integrative transformation of hinterland societies. Whether this takes the form of externally propelled if internally structured transformation or the form of direct externally dominated reorganization, it ought to be quite evident that the hinterland is caught in the grips of a process that is largely beyond its control, and which, with all due respect to cultural variation, harbours a certain sinister finality.
[Friedman 1988: pp.10-11]

²⁶ There are limitless kinds of “distinction” in society, derived from the differentiae of the individuals’ position in society. This term “distinction”, originated from Bourdieu, is one of the significant key concepts in this thesis.

Such an opposite argument seems rather fruitless in a sense. It is quite evident in world history that indigenous societies can not avoid being involved in market exchange and the monetary economy that are core systems of capitalism. In fact, no indigenous community can be free from such systems. It can be said that the term “primitive” disappears when the capitalistic system expands globally. On the other hand, it is also certain that unique cultures and cultural identities in indigenous societies, while changing their appearance and being given new meanings, still survive. As will be pointed out later, the significance of the traditional forms of exchange such as *kerekere* or *sevusevu* still remains in Fiji even after they have become involved with capitalism. Capitalism is surely promoting the economic homogenisation in its system. However, it never completely dissolves cultural differentia. The expansion of world capitalism contains aspects of both homogenisation and differentiation.

In addition, we can point out that the “World-System Theory” relies only on the contemporary circumstance that is privileged for this purpose. It is not an analysis about a specific area or period. It is a historical view. Yet, there is a single explanation where every historical fact is reduced to being explained in light of the current world-system. In other words, all historical facts now and in the past are subordinate to the explanation of the present world-system. Although world capitalism can be explained in this way, it is a much broader point of view than I wish to take.

2-1-3. The individual and the society in the theory of social change①: Giddens’ “agent”

Which comes first, the action or the structure? As for the fundamental scheme of social theory, this kind of problem of methodological “holism” and “atomism” has always been discussed, and is regarded as a traditional opposition. Giddens gives us a new interpretation of the concepts of action and structure in light of a notion, “structuration”, which he conceptualised, discarding the above fruitless argument as a “Chicken and Egg Problem”.

To begin with, Giddens reinvestigates the classical social theories in order to explore how scholars such as Marx and Weber dealt with the concept of “modernity”. As mentioned above, there has traditionally been a dual stream of “holism” and “atomism” in social theory. Firstly, Giddens criticises Durkheim who adopts a holistic approach.

Durkheim clarified the interrelation between the individual and the social entity, assuming both the externality of “social facts” and the regularisation of the “social facts” towards the individual and his actions. In this scheme, the

²⁷ See, [Friedman 1985], [Friedman 1988], [Sahlins 1985], and [Sahlins 1988].

individual who independently takes action with clearly established and self-intentional aims is not supposed. The individual, being part of a social entity, is necessarily regulated by the social facts existing outside of himself.

According to Durkheim, individual actions are generated through the process in which social, moral and purposive values are absorbed from the external society. The values of social members as a whole are revealed as the collective consciousness. The individual as a member of a social organism takes action while internalising the external values for the purpose that he achieves his function as is necessary for the continuity of the whole society. But Giddens criticises Durkheim:

When he first introduced the notions of externality and constraint, in *The Rules of Sociological Method*, Durkheim failed to separate out the general ontological sense in which the physical world has an existence independent of the knowing subject, and may causally influence his conduct, from the constraining properties of social organization.
[Giddens 1976: p.93]

On the other hand, however, Giddens posits another distinction between the social world and the physical world. He explains as follows:

The social world is differentiated from the world of nature essentially because of its moral ('normative') character. This is a very radical disjunction, because moral imperatives stand in no relation of symmetry to those of nature, and can hence in no way be derived from them: 'action', it is then declared, may be regarded as conduct which is oriented towards norms or conventions."
[Giddens 1976: pp.93-94]

The social world can be distinguished from the natural world because it contains a system of morals. Hence, if it is admitted that the source of every social action is attributed to the norms and customs, this argument can be concluded in two possible ways: in the case that norms are inherently internalised in the agent, the aim and motivation of actions lie in the agent himself; on the other hand, if the external society has a great deal of superiority against the agents in its regulation if it is assumed that all social norms exist out of the social members as a collective consciousness. In other words, it does not matter which approach is taken as long as the actions are explained in terms of the correspondence between the existing norms and the actor's intention. Needless to say, it is Durkheim who advocated the superiority of the whole

towards the individuals. How about the former? Giddens mentions Talcott Parsons who focused on the personal disposition of the agent while being deeply influenced by Durkheim. Giddens explains the view of Parsons in the context of the term “voluntarism”:

Parsons' early work was directed towards reconciling the 'voluntarism' supposedly inherent in the methodological approach of Weber ... with the idea of the functional exigency of moral consensus. The notion of 'value', as it is represented in Parsons' writings, plays such a key part in the 'action frame of reference' because it is the basic concept linking the need-dispositions of personality (introjected values) and (via normative role-expectations on the level of the social system) cultural consensus.
[Giddens 1976: p.95]

In the context of Parsons' argument it is the values absorbed by the actor that cause him to act. Although the notion “personality” seems to represent an independent agent, the influence of Durkheim seems to remain in the theory. We can see it at the point where Parsons, admitting a certain generality, regarded deviation from the standard as unusual.

If these are the 'same' values, however, what leverage can there possibly be for the creative character of human action as nominally presupposed by the term 'voluntarism'?
[Giddens 1976: pp.95-96]

As far as any general standards of values are supposed in the theory of social actions, whether inside or outside the individual, then the agent's particular characteristics such as a potential to deviate or to create something are likely to be overlooked. Although a specific condition of social deviation can be discerned in Durkheim's argument as anomy, in which the regulation of the general system of values malfunctions, the creativity of the agent is not necessarily taken into account here. Rather, that condition is considered as a socially pathological circumstance.

Giddens intends to reconstruct the concepts, the actions and the structure, referring to these classical social theories. According to him, the actions and the structure can never be separated nor distinguished. For example, the action of shopping in a supermarket can be realised only on condition that the institutions of the capitalistic society such as the market system, the price system and the monetary economy are operating. If the term “the structure” means that which allocates the actions to a certain scheme, we can say that these institutions are the structure of the capitalistic society. The

capitalistic society. The actual actions already premise the structure as a system. On the other hand, these actions are simultaneously reproducing the structure as the premise too. If the actual actions were not occurring, these institutions would lose their foundation. Shopping in a supermarket, realised on those conditions, leads the institutions to be retained. Giddens calls this process in which the structure plays the role of medium for the action, and at the same time, a consequence it, “the duality of structure”.

As for “action”, Giddens defines “action” as follows: “I shall define action or agency as *the stream of actual or contemplated causal interventions of corporeal beings in the ongoing process of events-in-the-world*.”²⁸ There are two significant points here. Firstly, the action is a stream of “lived-through experience”. He defines another concept, the “act”, which composes some elements or segments of action at certain points and in certain circumstances. The term “act” should be distinguished from the notion “action” which means a series or stream of daily life. Scenes from the past that we remember are what we abstract as a fragment from the constant stream of daily life.

Secondly, he suggests the necessity of distinction between “intention” and “project”. We do not always conduct ourselves with clearly established aims and endeavour to achieve those aims. Such long-term ambitions are not necessary for all behaviour. Giddens names “consciously held-in-mind orientations towards a goal”²⁹ as a “project” which, he suggests, should be excluded from the causes of the action in daily life. Most of the stream of action of which daily life consists is pre-reflexive. At this stage, we have to note that the agent embarking on some conduct is aware of what the self is doing, of what the other is doing, and in what kind of context they are doing it. Giddens explains this using salt as an example:

...we do not usually ask anyone to say what his intention was, for example, in putting salt on his dinner; such behaviour cannot be said to be intentional. But we might very well be inclined to make such an enquiry were he sprinkling his meal with talcum powder; and someone from another culture, where the custom is unfamiliar, might ask what the purpose of putting salt on the meal is.

[Giddens 1976: p.76]

²⁸ Giddens distinguishes “agency” from “agent”. According to him, “agency” means what causes “agent” to make action. See [Giddens 1976: p.75].

²⁹ See [Giddens 1976: p.76].

This is only because "...we already know, or assume that we know, what his purpose is."³⁰ According to him, "intentional act" means "*any act which an agent knows (believes) can be expected to manifest a particular quality or outcome, and in which this knowledge is made use of by the actor in order to produce this quality or outcome.*"³¹ This knowledge is quite essential for his argument. Human action is, on the one hand, based on knowledge. On the other hand, we possess the "power" with which we can attain something. The action is sustained by both of them.

Human action usually includes a process of choice and decision. In shopping in a supermarket, we ordinarily choose something to purchase from a number of possible choices. We look back on previous conduct in the past. We reflect on that conduct in association with our knowledge. Thus, we choose among the unlimited uncertainty that we may have been able to act in other ways.

Agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place. ...Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently...

[Giddens 1984: p.9]

Giddens seems to attribute the "reflexivity" to the action. In this context, the structure means a generative system of rules and resources.³² The rules regulate human actions. At the same time, the action requires resources that the actors can use. Giddens argues by means of his concept "the duality of structure" not only that the social structure is composed of human actions, but also that the social structure plays the role of medium for the composition of human actions. The more significant point is that of the concept "structuration", by which the structure reproduced by the agent's practices can be grasped. The structure is always being structured and reproduced.

The structuration or reproduction of structure can also be shown as follows: the real agent exists in a concrete space of "now" and "here". Therefore, the agent can neither perfectly perceive nor recognise all possibilities of his choices nor all conditions. This uncertain condition to some extent causes the agent unintended results.

³⁰ See [Giddens 1976: p.76].

³¹ See [Giddens 1976: p.76].

Unintentional doings can be separated conceptually from unintended consequences of doings, although the distinction will not matter whenever the focus of concern is the relation between the intentional and unintentional. The consequences of what actors do, intentionally or unintentionally, are events which would not have happened if that actor had behaved differently, but which are not within the scope of the agent's power to have brought about...

[Giddens 1984: p.11]

The gap between the original intention and the unintended consequences, forming a new structure, results in a change to the social system through the process of structuration. He adds: "...acts have unintended consequences; and ... unintended consequences may systematically feed back to be the unacknowledged conditions of further acts."³³

To sum up, we could say that the social theory posed by Giddens lies in the scheme of the reproduction of the structure by means of the dialectic between the intention and the unintended consequences. The daily conduct as a routine mediated by the structure is thought to result in the production and reproduction of the social system. While Bourdieu conceptualised the term "habitus" which decisively provides motivations for action, Giddens seems to mention less about the process of how the intention itself as a source of action has been formed. Certainly, Bourdieu did not emphasise the continuity of structure. Giddens says, "Structures exist 'out of time and space.'"³⁴ In his view, the structure reveals or provides a certain form of the rules and resources, even though it is constantly being reproduced. There is a difference between Giddens and Bourdieu, who emphasised that the structure cannot directly affect action. According to Bourdieu, any possibilities of change in social structure are reduced, because the habitus, absorbing the deviated practices, is constantly going to be reproduced. He argues that the habitus, which is the internalised social structure in the agent's mind, causes the action. Although deviation from the habitus can happen, it cannot often happen. On the other hand, there are always some gaps between the intention and the consequences. Hence, the structure as the fruit of the dialectic between intention and consequences essentially premises the "reincarnation" by name of structuration in which any uncertainty is included. Thus, this stream of thought will lead us to the interpretation of "modernity" employing concepts such as reflexivity, power and uncertainty.

³² See [Giddens 1976: p.127].

³³ See [Giddens 1984: p.8].

³⁴ See [Giddens 1976: p.127].

2-1-4. The individual and the society in the theory of social change②: Bourdieu's "habitus"

When we describe a person, we may describe his characteristics as follows:

25 years old. Single male. An engineer of electrical company. He loves football. He usually goes to a pub after his work and watches a football match on the telly in the pub. He loves ale rather than lager. He sometimes plays football, or goes to the bookie on weekend. He likes reading the Sun. He has never bought the Times. He does not know the theatre programs very much, nor the classical music.

Bourdieu calls such behaviour of which our daily life consists the "practices". Practices are concerned with all the foundational behaviour of daily life, including routine action repeated over and over every day such as eating, chatting with a friend, and listening to music.

These practices, representing a person's lifestyle, reveal one's position in society as a form of concrete action. Practices as customs in daily life vary according to the person. Each person has his own lifestyle and principles of behaviour, which can be explained as "behaving in character". These practices are being produced by the "agent" every day, based on habit rather than the implementation of a certain aim that the agent executes.

As described above, our daily life consists of a set of much routine behaviour. Seeing a description of the behaviour, we can guess the person's character. Going to a pub after work represents a general habit of British people. Going to the bookies will maybe remind us that he might be working class. Some trivial fragment of one's routine behaviour can show the social position occupied.

The practices produced as habits in daily life are, on the other hand, the concept implying the potentiality to exceed beyond the routine in certain circumstances. Our daily life is not necessarily made up of usual and routine behaviour, nor the simple repetition of behaviour taken in the past. There are a number of possibilities in any phase that may lead us to an unknown world. We may "behave out of character". As the term "practices" implies not only routine but also possibilities of change, we should note that the concept is concerned with producing or creating rather than reproducing.

Let us go back to the previous example. The description of the engineer's daily life provides us more with an image than a simple guess that he must be working class. We can suppose certain tendencies in this person including

his character, his inclinations, his moral standards, and his aesthetic senses by means of this simple list. Bourdieu posits the concept, “the disposition”, representing a certain tendency in the practices of an agent. The objective social structure, such as the occupation, the status, the educational background and so on, provides an agent’s position in society. The agent immanently acquires the social structure so that the objective social structure comes to be represented as a subjective mental structure. The “disposition” reveals the social structure in his mind consciously and unconsciously. Besides, the disposition regulates a particular tendency for the agent to choose certain actions in certain circumstances as well as conducting the practices of daily life.

The disposition consists of the ethical, aesthetic, physical and linguistic inclinations. These elements are not separated. The disposition can be described as the universe that the systematic integration of these elements makes up. The habitus is defined as a set of all the dispositions regulating the agent’s practices, forming a consistent system immanent in the agent.

First of all, the habitus is a term implying the concept of “possession”. This lies in the fact that the term is derived from the Latin verb, “habere”. As the word “have” in English and the word “avoir” in French are both derived from “habere”, it is certain that the term “habitus” has some relation to the concept of “possession”. Hence, habitus must be immanently acquired in the mind by means of the repetition of practices over and over for a long time.

Secondly, it should be emphasised that the habitus is a system or an integration. The dispositions of which the habitus consists are never divisible, and are also inseparable from the agent’s body. The habitus are substantive components of the agent’s body and mind.

Finally, the habitus must be productive rather than reproductive. The habitus makes it possible for the agent not to reproduce the routine behaviour repeatedly and automatically, but to generate new practices.

At the first stage, the individual acquires his habitus through his parents. Born to a society, the child is usually educated by his parents, or in some cases by other adults around the child. The child takes some kind of education from the other members of society, including his parents, who have acquired their own habituses. The child grows up absorbing the various habituses around him, especially during his childhood his parents’ habituses. At this stage, he learns what he should / should not do, what he must / must not do, what he is compelled to do, as well as punishments,

encouragement, praise, and so on. As a result, he immanently acquires various types of information about the society. On the one hand, the information contains some common sense about human society: for example, we must not kill others. On the other hand, it also includes the norms of the particular society: for example in Fiji, respect is shown to the older person. In general, the child becomes aware of this kind of information through the education received from other members of the society. However, the habitus he acquires in his mind varies from the other's habitus. Some parents never allow their children to play outside because it may be dangerous for them. Other parents may encourage their children to go out because they have a belief that children usually play outside. At this primary stage, the habitus of the child is being formed, inherited from their parents' habituses.

Inheriting from their parents' habituses means absorbing the social position of their parents, that is, the social status to which their parents belong, so that it becomes immanent in their own bodies. In this sense, we can say that the habitus means the "structured" structure. Yet, if we take account of the habitus as a generative matrix, another side of the habitus will be lit up, the "structuring" structure. The former represents the immanent history in one's mind, being that which replaces the objective social structure. The latter is concerned with the function of producing various practices. Hence, the concept is ambivalent.

In fact, children grow up to face lots of surroundings. Increasingly, they come to live outside of their home, coming across new kinds of habituses through various experiences. Since the habitus does not eternally regulate practices in the same way, it implies the possibility generating quite new kinds of practices. As a result, the dialectical relationship between the habitus and the practices causes the habitus itself to be remade and recomposed. As the effect of the practices always reflects the habitus, it is not what seldom changes. The habitus is a system that reproduces and reconstructs itself.

Indeed, the habitus implies flexibility. Let us consider whether it is possible that practices exceedingly deviating from the habitus can be suddenly generated. Certainly, it is probable that the actual behaviour exceeds the existing habitus. For example, a person who is not good at speaking in front of many people can possibly get his opportunity to make a speech at a ceremony. As mentioned above, our daily life is not necessarily made up of routine practices. The future is always uncertain. Anything may happen. In that case, however, the existing habitus takes in such

deviation as new information, reorganising the habitus itself. The habitus, consisting of various dispositions, can provide a certain kind of direction, including what to do in a circumstance that the agent has not predicted. In other words, the habitus absorbs the effect of the practices as well as generates the actual practices, modifying its own programme.

As for how the habitus regulates the practices in a particular phase, even where deviation occurs, Bourdieu suggests the concept of “the practical sense”, which mediates between the habitus as an integration of dispositions of the agent and the practices as the habitual behaviour in action. At any moment, the agent can never be perfectly reasonable. He never knows all the possibilities, nor can predict all the consequences, when taking action. The agent does not reasonably calculate the whole surrounding him, based on a certain aim or a clear intention. Therefore, he will generate the practices with an automatic mechanism lying under his consciousness called “the practical sense”. Bourdieu regards it as a kind of a sense in a game.³⁵

The following three conditions are essential for the operation of the practical sense. At first, the agent must realise any objectives and common rules applicable to the occasion. For example, a player in a game must know the rules of the game. Or, a speaker of a particular language must know the grammar of that language. In society, one cannot keep any kind of life if one recognises no common rules or laws at all.

Secondly, the agent should realise what he is supposed to do, which has been habitually decided, in a certain circumstance. We are usually aware of the existence of a behavioural pattern to a certain situation. It is sometimes called “common sense” or “the custom”. Thus, it is essential for the operation of the logic that the agent has acquired such patterns and accumulated them in his sense through experiences in the past, and besides, so that he can refer to the information if necessary.

Thirdly, the agent should possess some appropriate art or ability of applying these conditions to the practices. With the proper art of coping with circumstances, the practical sense can work, providing what to do and what not to do in practice.

³⁵ Firth points out something similar about social organisation in Busama. When a headman dies, succession to headship of the kin group will be determined by the social rule based on primogeniture. But there may be some room for manoeuvre. Whereas there is a rule, the individuals make practices according to their particular sense. See [Firth 1964: pp.52-53].

For example, when playing the piano it is the scores that relate to the first condition. The scores are the common grammar for all players, and the player must know them. Apart from the scores, there are some usual methods of playing, such as the stress, speed and tone. The way of making the sound for a certain score is rather fixed in custom. These usual ways should be recognised by all players. As a result, however, the music made varies from player to player, even though two players play from the same scores. Even when one player plays, the music differs from the last time he played. The reason for this is that the player's logic of practices generates the playing practice every time. Thus, the agent's habitus, held by the practical sense, generates the actual practices. In addition, the very logic makes it possible for the practices to be produced, not to be reproduced as a routine.

We could say that the habitus is the social structure that has been acquired in the sense that it is immanent in the body. The agent, holding a certain position in society, behaves with reference to his habitus. The "distinction" from other social positions will give him a class habitus. The distinction of class in society provides a habitus distinctive to each class. The agent in a class establishes and grows his own habitus as a variation on the class habitus, which is commonly shared with the other members of that class. Furthermore, there exist distinctions not only in social class but also in social spheres.³⁶ Each "sphere" has its own tendency of individual habituses at the collective dimension. As the structure objectively existing outside him comes to be structured in the sense immanent in his body, we can call this side of the habitus "the structured structure". Conversely, the habitus as "the structuring structure" is related to the generation of practices and the provision of a visible form of lifestyle. In other words, the social structure as an invisible and objective system, which is related to the distinction in social position, status or spheres, being firstly set as a subjective structure in the agent's mind, finally reveals itself outside of the agent as his lifestyle, which is a visible system related to the distinction as well. The social structure is never seen. Neither is the class nor the sphere. However, the practices regulated by the habitus reveal the structure and the class because the habitus renders them immanent in one's mind. Thus, while the objective structure is subjectively set in sense or mind as the habitus, the

³⁶ Although the concept of "sphere" is quoted from Barth's argument, the implication here is not necessarily accordance with his usage. The term in this thesis implies a phase in which a certain norm, principle or standard are commonly shared so that the individual habitus in the sphere will converge to some extent as each class has each class habitus in Bourdieu's context. For example, there are such distinctions in Fiji as between the spheres of urban and rural areas, or between "own" and "other" spheres.

practices provide the objective lifestyle. Once the social structure including the class as an invisible system is absorbed in the agent's sense, it becomes visible as the subsequent practices.

To sum up, let us point out the contrast between the views of Durkheim, Radcliff-Brown and Sahlins especially concerning the concept of "social structure". They suppose that the social structure is constant and consistent. In history, the social structure is thought to exist constantly, functioning as a mainstay that allows the social process to succeed. Even Sahlins, who criticizes traditional functional structuralism with his original concept "the structure of the conjuncture", assumes that history as a whole has its own continuity. Although he posits a new idea, and grasps the way society develops as the synthesis between the events and the structure of the conjuncture, there is still a consistency when we stand back to view the whole stream of history. As long as consistency is presumed in the stream of time regardless of the name ("the structure" or not), such a view inevitably implies that the structure existed before taking any behaviour, providing a kind of "proper way". It also means that any deviation is liable to be modified by the structure. Otherwise, any continuity is seldom realised. The structure set in history shows not only continuity in the past, but also a proper way for the future. Hence, any arguments including structure imposed on history are never free from the "spell" of structural determinism.

Needless to say, Bourdieu refuses to conceptualise anything associated with the social structure consistent in history. Besides, the habitus, with its dual function, reminds us that the concept cannot be simply compared to traditional atomism. While the concept is derived from the individual dispositions in each agent, simultaneously, the social structure³⁷ is reified in the sense immanent in the agent's body. There is assumed an interaction between the individual and society. The "society" that Durkheim suggests is not supposed, nor the society made up of autonomous subjects with reasonable intentions and independent aims. The agent practices the action, supported by the dispositions in his sense. Yet, the dispositions reveal the social structure that has been reified in his sense. In addition, the practices result in a pattern of behaviour. Although every agent generates his own practices in the context of his habitus, there are common characteristics in the practices of every class because the individual habitus basically

³⁷ In this context, the social structure means what reveals the distinction of social status.

inherits the essence of the class habitus.³⁸ At this stage, if the matter of time is taken into consideration, the common nature of the practices of every class provides a certain form. The practical action played by the actors on the stage named “class” will reveal a particular shape in the stream of time. The social structure for Bourdieu neither directly determines the behaviour nor modifies deviations from the standard. It is given by the integration of the agent’s practices in each dimension. In other words, the social structure in this context is made up of the result of the accumulation of the past practices. As it only relates to the results, it never determines the way in the future. There are unlimited possibilities. Nevertheless, things will tend to go on as usual. The only reason for this lies in the fact that the agent takes his behaviour in association with his habitus.

2-2. Previous works – ethnography in Fiji

2-2-1. The agent embodying the tradition

There are a few previous works dealing with Fiji.³⁹ In this thesis, we will refer to some of them, in particular the argument of Sahlins, Thomas and Toren in association with the main subject here that the agent, embodying the tradition, reproduces the tradition. Sahlins conducted his first fieldwork on the island of Moala in the Lau Groups from 1954 to 1955 in order to write his ethnography “Moala”. He tries an experimental description in this book. It is common in writing ethnography that the material obtained through fieldwork is distinguished into general categories such as kinship, social organisation, ritual, and politics. Instead of this, he divides his work into chapters dealing with “the family level”, “the kindred level”, “the kin group level”, “the village level”, and “the island and the outside world”. Within each division, each cultural sector is interrelated so as to constitute a system. He attempts “evolutionist ethnography” from the viewpoint that the system is evolving from sub-levels to upper levels. Thus we can see, what is called, “early Sahlins” with the evolutionist interest in his book “Moala” too. Yet in this thesis, we will focus on his view of the agent as seen in the controversy with Thomas.

Sahlins and Thomas engaged in a controversy with regard to how the Fijian form of exchange, *kerekere*, should

³⁸ Robert Layton points out a weakness in Bourdieu’s approach Surely the point is that a class emerges from interaction, where certain people share common interests or goals, which set them against other members of society. He suggests that Bourdieu’s explanations of why each agent’s habitus converges with those of others in the community fall into “tautology”. See Layton 2000: pp.115-116].

³⁹ See [Belshaw 1964], [Geddes 2000], [Hocart 1972], [Sahlins 1962], [Sahlins 1985], [Thomas 1991b], [Toren 1990], [Toren 1999a], and [Watters 1969].

be evaluated. They analysed how the Fijian culture in the colonial era was transformed through their analysis of *kerekere*. Although there used to be a classical dichotomy divided into “the colonised” and “the colonising”, especially seen in the argument of acculturation, they attempted to get away from this dichotomy. In the dichotomy, it was postulated that the latter had greater influence upon culture change than the former from the macro viewpoint. In other words, culture on the colonised side was transformed by what the colonising side brought. In the recent stream of post-colonialism, however, their viewpoint is in accordance to that of this thesis in terms of putting an emphasis on the role of the agent in culture. Sahlins, signifying the interrelationship between history and culture, stresses the consistent structure underlying both history and culture, while Thomas, rejecting such a consistent structure, argues that tradition is reproduced only by the objectification of circumstances in a certain context. In Thomas’ discussion, the substantial distinction between, for example, “the self-culture” and “the other-culture” is rejected. As Sahlins points out, Thomas’ argument seems to lack the concept of an agent who behaves practically in light of a particular norm or value, which has been formed through the previous “self” history. On the other hand as Thomas replies, it is the agent that objectifies entangled objects. After we have reviewed their argument, it will be clarified that the application of Bourdieu’s concept of habitus gives us a clue to sublate their problematics.

Toren conducted her fieldwork on Gau Island in Fiji from 1981 to 1983. She argues that the particular value of culture and tradition is represented in its history, and in a more concrete sense, that such values accumulated in the mind are embodied in action. She, like Thomas, criticises Sahlins’ view on the consistent structure in history.

In Fijian terms tradition, ritual and custom cannot be distinguished from one another and they are all allowed to be processual. Thus Fijian cultural categories [Sahlins’ term] are not received readymade as Sahlins would have it, nor are they ‘risked’ in action; rather they are constituted and made manifest in action and there they find their continuity. The notion of fixity is reserved for history.

[Toren 1999a: p.64]

According to Toren, values with their own meanings such as culture, tradition and ritual are not inherited with a consistent structure. They are, to an extent, consistent in the sense that they are inherited through material and social relationships. However, it is only the human action that embodies such values. Values formed and inherited in the

mind are constituted and represented only in action. As she discusses how one acquires the social values in the mind in one's childhood, she agrees with a certain system of values in a culture in a history that will be inherited. In this regard, she seems to have a different viewpoint from Thomas, who does not agree with any boundaries in culture.

2-2-2. The concept of culture in the argument of Sahlins and Thomas

We sometimes see a Coke bottle displayed in a village in a developing country. The empty bottle is often sold in a market. On the other hand, the bottle is just rubbish for us in developed countries. In both cases, the bottles are materially the same. Both bottles are made of glass. Besides, their physical structure is completely the same. However, the meanings of the bottles are different. While it is just rubbish in the developed country, the bottle is a symbol of civilisation in the developing country. The Coke bottle is worth collecting in a place in which Coke is hardly bought.

The meaning of an item also varies from time to time. For example, beef was not a food in Japan before the 1870's. A cow was just a draught animal for cultivation. Yet, the Meiji Restoration abolished the Edo Shogunate's isolationism in 1867 so that lots of things and customs were brought from the Western countries. The custom of eating "cow" began as a result. Since then, beef has been staple meat in Japan.

Thus, the meanings of things should be interpreted in their particular contexts. In anthropological analyses, it is significant to particularise the transitional meanings of things in their context, not to investigate the substance of things. Thomas claims the importance of the historical context. As things, so to speak, wear different clothes on different occasions, we cannot conceptualise their substance independently of the context.

Objects present conceptual difficulties because they appear to remain the same despite a transformation of context. ...the most important elements are usually not inherent in the material at all.

[Thomas 1989: p.41]

Thomas often uses the term "objectification". We can see that he puts an emphasis upon the "agency" who objectifies things around him according to the particular context.⁴⁰ It is the agent that is living in a particular social

⁴⁰ In this discussion regarding colonised Fiji between Thomas and Sahlins, it is the very matter whether the Fijians could autonomously make action, in other words, whether they "could have acted otherwise". As they stress this possibility, they use the term of "agency". "Agency" is what the "agent" possesses, as the inherent ability to act. See [Thomas 1993a: pp.873-875].

context. The agent, considering the social and cultural context, gives certain meanings to the things around him. This process is called “objectification”. Besides, what is objectified is not only “things” but also traditions such as customs and institutions. All such “objects” are being re-interpreted, re-defined and recontextualised depending upon the circumstances. Thomas attempts to analyse this process in Fiji. He focuses upon the transitional change of objectification in colonial Fiji, referring to a political power relationship in colonialism that is one of the most influential causes of the change.

Recontextualisation might be regarded as a general social process, but my emphasis here is upon historical diversity in the particular case of the British appropriation of Fijian artefacts in the years immediately subsequent to the establishment of colonial rule (1875-76).

[Thomas 1989: pp.41-42]

Firstly, Thomas exemplifies a transition in the objectification of an object. In the late 18th century, adventurers brought lots of things from the Polynesian islands. These were regarded as collectables. Thomas points out.

Unlike a variety of later colonists, they had virtually no desire to recognise indigenous social relations, and occasionally chided chiefs about barbarous customs but had no real interest in any kind of intervention...

[Thomas 1989: p.42]

Yet, colonialism had changed the view of these objects.

... the implications in a colonial context are different, because the artefact may be taken to stand for something like ‘Fijian culture’ which therefore becomes, at least for some people, substantivised in an entirely novel way.

[Thomas 1989: p.43]

The colonialists recognised these things as representative of something special in the Fijian social and cultural context. The British colonial administration governed by “Indirect Rule”. They attempted to govern their colonies by utilising the traditional systems of social organisation in the indigenous communities. Given this aim, the collected artefacts seemed useful for understanding the Fijian culture, especially Fijian chieftainship. Thomas signifies this

political condition when thinking of the changes to the meanings of things. According to the political circumstances, the Western people had been changing their objectification of artefacts in Fiji.

I focus rather upon the significance which the array of ethnological specimens and the practice of acquisition took on in the emergent Fijian colonial administration.

[Thomas 1989: p.47]

The Fijians as well as the Western people changed their ways of objectifying things according to the context. The introduction of a market economy and monetary exchange caused changes in the indigenous exchange system. In such conditions, the meanings of things recognised by the indigenous people are in transition as well. Cattle are called *bulumakau* in Fiji, and these are quite essential in ritual presentations. However, the introduction of the market economy highlighted a contrast between two views:

Cattle, as we understand them, are basically commodity animals; they are not individual creatures and are convertible above all into kilogram-weights of various grades of meat which have market values. The meaning of *bulumakau*, by contrast, was established around the turn of the century on the basis of the significance of pigs.

[Thomas 1991: p.199]

Cattle are commodities, however *bulumakau* are not for selling, although both cattle and *bulumakau* are physically the same. As a result, there appears a contrast between the views of those who hold to the traditional Fijian ways and those oriented rather to capitalistic thought. The unstable *bulumakau* represents an unstable objectification of things by the indigenous people during modernisation.

People in western Fiji who are committed to the way of the land strongly hold the view that *bulumakau* are raised for ceremonies; ... However, many people do farm cattle commercially, and one of the principal ways in which rural Fijians pursue the "path of money" is through grazing; ... The *bulumakau* thus has an unstable character.

[Thomas 1991: p.199]

In other words, Thomas emphasises that not only the indigenous people but also the Western people were

redefining Fijian things in particular contexts. When we think of objectification in the context of colonisation and modernisation, it should be noted that the agent of a particular status objectifies things in his own way.

Secondly, Thomas notes the objectification of traditions such as customs and institutions. In the wave of modernisation, the ritual ways of Fiji have also been transformed.

Solevu, the large-scale presentations of "valuables of the land" ... still take place in rural Fiji, although how they fit into the larger system has changed..
[Thomas 1991: p.189]

In early times, *solevu* appeared as follows:

... the reproduction of persons was ... seen to depend upon paths, material links, and exchange. Hence *solevu* were (and are) virtually always presentations between affines and generally take the form of gifts to a group from whom a wife is being received.
[Thomas 1991: p.190]

Yet as he points out, modern capitalism was brought to the villages in rural Fiji so that the villagers were faced with the necessity of redefining *solevu* in the new circumstances.

My interest here is primarily in the importance which is attached to *solevu* by Fijians; it is not just the content of relations that has changed but also their form and the mode in which cultural value is made explicit.
[Thomas 1991: pp.191-192]

The market economy resulted in changes to the ways of *solevu*.

I was told on a number of occasions that the way *salevu* worked in the Sigatoka valley was that mats were presented by upstream groups to those downstream, while drums moved upriver against mats. ... There was a simple basis for the statement: the villages upriver had less access to shops, town, and such goods as kerosene, and it was thus said to be appropriate that drums move from people closer to the coast up into the interior. ... These circumstances are important not merely as illustrations of localized change or the use of an imported product in ceremonial exchange ... but also because recent development suggest a shift in the underlying logic of exchange.

[Thomas 1991: p.192]

The price system also seems to be recontextualised in Fijian rituals. The presentation in a bridal ceremony plays the most important role in Fijian rituals.

It must be apparent that one of the most striking features of these occasions is the quantity of property offered, ... this is also the reference point for later recollection. ... the goods are the price of the bride.

[Thomas 1991: p.194]

However, there is a “difficulty” where there is a mix of market and gift exchange systems.

All the talk about “difficulty” reveals a morality of price. In a market situation, a price may be too high or too low, but the ease or difficulty of assembling the price of a thing is irrelevant to moral calculation.

[Thomas 1991: p.197]

It is impossible to measure the “price” of the bride because the significance of ceremonial presentations lies in the moral value, not in the exchange value in the market. Thus, the Fijians face a dilemma. In Fiji, gift exchange and market exchange are, in a sense, coexistent, which provides a “neotraditional culture” as a result of the objectification by the Fijians.

These rural Fijians postulate a dilemma between two paths: the way of the land and the way of money, which are seen to stand in tension, if not to be incompatible. The former is expressed in respectful behavior, relatedness, daily rituals, ... while the path of money is understood as an individualistic pursuit of business and personal gain, which can only be effectively pursued if kinship obligations and sociality are neglected. ... this polarization is central to Fijian culture in its distinctively neotraditional form.

[Thomas 1991: pp.197-198]

As mentioned above, there were a number of influences upon Fijian culture in the colonial era. Thomas discusses the effect of colonisation and modernisation as follows:

Most rural Pacific Islands communities have experienced several waves of economic change over the last century, associated with formal colonial rule, plantation development, multinational fishing and forestry, ... can such a model be sustained after long histories of engagement with wage work and commercial farming?

[Thomas 1991: p.188]

He supposes a certain influence of the colonial political situation upon indigenous culture. On the other hand, however, Sahlins criticises Thomas for overestimating the influence of the political situation upon cultural change. Thus, a controversy took place between them.

We can see an obvious point of difference in their approaches: Sahlins, considering culture as having substance, affirms the historically consistent structure of the culture. According to him, the culture is said to be autonomous and continuous in its history so that the consistency of the culture is retained even though the culture is faced with a huge wave of colonialism and modernisation. On the other hand, Thomas regards culture as what is not substantial. The culture contains both material objects (things) and non-material objects (the "tradition" such as customs and institutions). As he says, "Common sense tends to conflate the social identity of entities with their fixed and founded material substances. But the social effect of material things demands that some attempt be made to talk through their use in practice,"⁴¹ objects should be interpreted in their historical contexts. Objects usually take various meanings. Hence, the impact of colonialism does matter in considering the cultural change of this period.

The main difference lies in the estimation of a ritual, *kerekere*.

⁴¹ See [Thomas 1989: p.53].

Sahlins says that *kerekere* obviously existed before colonisation, and colonialism had not necessarily a great effect upon cultural change. Thus, he rejects Thomas' view that *kerekere* was formed as a result of the Fijian people's own cultural adaptation to the colonial era. He argues that Thomas over emphasises the impact of colonialism.

Thomas refutes this claim. According to Thomas, *kerekere* is a ritual formed in the colonial era, which was caused by objectification. In other words, the Fijian people objectified their own tradition of reciprocity and recontextualised it in its particular situation.

... I was concerned not with *kerekere* as a practice but with the custom that was "emblematic of the 'communal' character of Fijian society"; ... "the reification of *kerekere* as a 'custom' ... is something that occurred during the colonial period; there is no evidence that *kerekere* existed in this sense during the earlier phases of Fijian history.

[Thomas 1993: p.869]

Thomas considers this as the indigenous people's reaction to the governing policy of British colonial administration, that is, the "Indirect Rule". As he claims: "My claim was that this objectification of indigenous reciprocity responded particularly to the British indirect-rule administration's preoccupation with the strengths and weakness of the "communal order"⁴² in response, the indigenous people reinterpreted one of the principal elements, reciprocity, composing their identity as the Fijians. Thus a ritual, *kerekere*, was redefined. In considering objectification especially in colonialism, the political condition should be referred to in its analysis.

In addition, Sahlins criticises Thomas' view of "agency". Since Sahlins supposes that the culture is autonomously constituted and reproduced by the "agency", he also premises certain norms representing the form of behaviour in the past. As the agent behaves in practice in the light of his past achievements, a consistency appears in history. Sahlins points out Thomas' argument lacks this insight.

Thomas asserts he does not ignore the significance of "agency" at all. As is obvious in the citation below.

⁴² See [Thomas 1993: p.872].

Sahlins's claim that I understate the autonomy and consciousness of Pacific Islanders is entirely at odds with the argument of "The Inversion of Tradition", which drew attention to the fact that traditions ... were not merely reproduced, preserved, or affirmed, but also notably rejected or subverted under some circumstances.

[Thomas 1993: p.873].

Objectification and the "agency" are not inseparable. It is the agent that objectifies things under certain circumstances. Yet, there are no consistent principles of objectification. The forms of objectification depend upon the particular historical context. Besides, the estimation and definition of objects including things and traditions vary from context to context. It is essential for Thomas that we should not abstractly and generally conceptualise objects.

If we premise that there is "structure" in history, we cannot avoid taking account of the generality, consistency and continuousness of the structure. If we suppose there is a "process", however, any certain principles or substantialism are rejected. These views are two sides of the methodology of such arguments. The emphasis on "structure" hardly explains the creation of a new culture and the transformation of meanings. On the other hand, anything consistent will be excluded unless the concept of structure is referred to. Although Thomas mentions the redefinition of reciprocity in a new context by the Fijian people, what principle did they objectify? Were there not any general tendencies? As Thomas claims: "... colonialism was not a monolithic metropolitan enterprise that had some kind of uniform "impact" in colonized places; on both sides, interests in entanglement were uneven and differentiated,"⁴³ various agencies of various status objectified various kinds of objects in the colonial era. Yet, there exists some differentia of objectification caused by the difference in status. In other words, the given meanings vary if the Fijians and the Western people objectify the same thing. Moreover, there are some common tendencies within the meanings given by the Fijians. Is that because there is something consistent in each status? Can we say such tendencies appear because of the very reason that there is something like the principles of conduct, which consciously or unconsciously sustain one's thought and behaviour, that is, "disposition"?

We can apply the concept of habitus to this argument. Although habitus does not necessarily imply structure, it provides a certain form through time. Needless to say, the term "consistency" is not appropriate in the argument of

⁴³ See [Thomas 1991: p.205].

habitus because habitus implies the possibility of change. The direction of the disposition may change, however, the typical tendency will be kept. The Western people, the Fijians and the Indians in Fiji may have their own habituses. In objectifying, they redefine, reinterpret and recontextualise various kinds of objects in various situations in the light of their own habituses.

Thomas uses the term “neotradition”:

My aim is not to suggest that the topic of contact history should displace cultural inquiry but rather to demonstrate that the meanings of exchange relations and ceremonies are historically constituted. That is, indigenous comparisons between local and foreign white practices are not contingent on marginal observations for the benefit of a visiting stranger; they instead express a set of contrasting values through which older cultural relations and activities have been refracted, made explicit, and revalued. This distinctly modern culture is neotraditional in the sense that “tradition” ... stands as an explicit reference point for practice and for moral and political adjudications...

[Thomas 1991: pp.200-201]

Certainly colonialism led to change in the value system. Redefined tradition reproduced by agents is called “neotradition” according to Thomas. The neotradition, providing new ways of behaviour, modifies the former habitus. Under the entangled circumstances of colonialism, the habitus is developmentally reproduced as well. A new habitus including some new ways of thought and behaviour emerges as the urban class Fijian comes from the village to live in the city in a modernised style, or as the Fijian co-operates with the Indians beyond the traditional opposition that characterised these ethnic communities.

2-2-3. Toren's argument on the traditional hierarchy

Toren conducted her first fieldwork in Sawaieke village on Gau Island for eighteen months from 1981 to 1983. In her argument, history and tradition lie in the mind of the “individually social” and “socially individual” human.⁴⁴ The body is what embodies the mind. As she asks, “How do we become who we are?”⁴⁵ She thinks of a human who cannot be free from the social individual undertaking culturally patterned activities. Through action conducted within material relationships, the human is acquiring the cultural and traditional values immanent in those relationships. The practical body's actions are, therefore, representing the constant culture and tradition in the mind. From this viewpoint,

⁴⁴ See [Toren 1999a: p.5].

with reference to her own materials obtained in Fiji, Toren describes how children acquire the social categories, concepts and values through rituals, how they become those who embody these values in action, how people represent their own history as well as their social relationships, and how particular meanings are given in light of a particular historical context.

In this thesis, we will especially focus on her emphasis on the traditional hierarchy embodied in contemporary Fiji. Conversion to Christianity brought Western moral notions to Fiji. While almost all Fijians have converted to Christianity, they tend to put less value on their previous traditional beliefs.

These very common expressions suggest that Fijians view their past as amoral, if not immoral, especially with respect to polygamy, witchcraft and cannibalism, which are said to be 'ancestral practices in the manner of the land'.

[Toren 1999a: p.36]

The traditional chief in Fiji used to have absolute economic and political power through the supernatural force called *mana*. Drinking *yaqona*, closely related to the chief's *mana*, set many taboos. Nowadays, however, conversion to Christianity has made people believe less in the chief's supernatural power, at the same time the foundation of democracy has weakened the chief's actual power in social life. It is now said by the Fijian people that conversion to Christianity has meant getting away from belief in the devil. It seems, in a sense, like breaking off from or rejecting their own history. However, they do not necessarily deny their own history. They newly constitute the history instead, which expresses another dimension to the "broken off" history. Toren found Leonardo da Vinci's 'The Last Supper' tapestry displayed in nine of sixteen churches in Gau:

⁴⁵ See [Toren 1999a: p.1].

... it [Fijian appropriation of 'The Last Supper'] enters into construction of 'the Fijian way', of a religion 'in the manner of the land'. However, its more subtle resonance has to do with the contemporary constitution of the past. ... it describes a radical break with the past. Against this history, the Fijian notion of tradition as 'acting in the manner of the land' makes the present flow smoothly out of the past; from this perspective 'the coming of the light' did not violate indigenous cultural practice but revealed the inherent Christianity of the Fijian people.

[Toren 1999a: p.46]

The Fijian term *cakacaka vakavamua*, representing the meaning of "tradition", literally translates to 'acting in the manner of the land' in English. Toren sees the embodiment of Fijian history in the Fijian's display of the tapestry. This is their constitution of a religion in their own traditional way. In other words, this is their reconstitution of their history. The history living in the Fijian people's mind is thus embodied in the form of the incorporation of Christianity into the Fijian context. This is expressed, in a more concrete sense, in the manner of eating a meal or drinking *yaqona*. Eating meals and drinking *yaqona* have ritual significations in Fiji. How they divide up the work at mealtimes, in what order they start eating, where they sit, is elaborately determined depending on the social relationships.

Toren detects a similar relationship between 'The Last Supper' and "meals in Fiji" as well as the "bread and wine given by Christ" and the "*yaqona* given by the Fijian chief":

... the orientation of a Fijian viewer of 'The Last Supper' is that of 'facing the chiefs' – the same position as when drinking kava or sitting in the body of the church. To worship God is to face God, to attend upon a chief is to face the chief, and to look after the kava is, literally, to face kava.

[Toren 1999a: p.59]

She suggests that the Fijians are projecting themselves onto the tapestry. They seem to interpret Christ as their chief, the wine as *yaqona*, and the bread as a meal. She postulates that the Fijian people attempt to discover how they should be in 'The Last Supper'. In other words, they have to find their own context in both value systems: what Christianity has brought, and their traditional values. If we use a term that is often used by Toren as well as Thomas, they have to "objectify" the circumstance to set up their own guidepost in their context. Their view of 'The Last Supper' is one of reification.

Her conclusion seems to an extent influential. There may be no grounds to concretely suppose that the Fijian people actually view 'The Last Supper' as Toren suggests. It may not be the case that the composition of the tapestry is recognised as similar to that of a Fijian meal. Nor may it be the case that there exist dual value systems of Christianity and their tradition.

In this thesis, however, we will take up her subject on the traditional hierarchy and the social relationships embodied in the manner of eating meals and drinking *yaqona*. In particular, drinking *yaqona*, which has lost its original implication in ritual, is still significant in the sense that the traditional hierarchy is embodied and inherited through the manner of acting. Drinking *yaqona* has a social function in reconstituting the hierarchy in a contemporary context. We will discuss this in chapter 6.

2-2-4. Fijian anthropologists arguing Fijian society

Nayacakalou and Ravuvu

Rusiate Raibosa Nayacakalou and Asesela Ravuvu are typical Fijian anthropologists describing the ethnography of Fiji⁴⁶ as outline in the following paragraphs.

Nayacakalou, conducting his fieldwork on the island of Kadavu, studied the functional changes in leadership in Fiji. The leadership system is still functioning so as to define the way of life in terms of both the administrative and traditional hierarchy. As he was supervised by Firth during his PhD in LSE, we can see Firth's influence on his view of social change. He applies the concept of "organisational change" to his materials.⁴⁷ In this thesis, we will see how Firth's argument can be applied to Fiji in light of Nayacakalou's books in a broader sense, while his work will be referred to so as to understand the ways of the administrative and traditional hierarchy in contemporary Fiji in a narrower sense.

Ravuvu was one of the first graduates of the University of the South Pacific (USP) in Fiji. He joined the USP as a lecturer in 1976. Ravuvu, born in Nakorosule village in Viti Levu, he studied the social change taking place in his own, and other villages in the stream of modernisation. He wrote a comprehensive ethnography

⁴⁶ See [Nayacakalou 1978], [Ravuvu 1974], [Ravuvu 1983], [Ravuvu 1987], and [Ravuvu 1988].

⁴⁷ See [Nayacakalou 1978].

about general social life in Fiji,⁴⁸ describing such basic principles as households, kinship, taboo, traditional hierarchy, reciprocity as well as foods, life cycles, beliefs and values. He also describes the traditional ritual existing as a model of social life, which reflects the Fijian worldview, and defines their inherited values.⁴⁹ In this thesis, we will see how the social life is in Fiji with reference to Ravuvu's articles.

conclusion

Society consists of individuals. The individuals live in society. We cannot think of social matters by separating the two dimensions of society and the individual. In this thesis, however, the individual as an "agent" acting independently, who is also regulated by the collective principles, will be stressed in an analysis of social change in Fiji. We will need a concept bridging the two dimensions of the individual at the micro level and of society at the macro level. The idea of *habitus* postulated by Bourdieu will be a key concept in this thesis in terms that it regulates the individual's conduct in light of the social circumstances, and that it is "structuring" and "structured" in social life. In addition, the arguments of Sahlins, Thomas and Toren will be tested against my original materials in association with the agent objectifying circumstances. The actual field materials will be considered with reference to their arguments in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. In Chapter 7, we will come back to the theoretical considerations, taking account of the field materials presented in the preceding chapters.

The next chapter will briefly describe Fijian history and give a statement of contemporary Fiji.

⁴⁸ See [Ravuvu 1983].

⁴⁹ See [Ravuvu 1987].

Ch.3 Society and life culture in Fiji

In this chapter, we will provide a brief history and general information regarding social institutions in Fiji.

From the 19th century, Christian missionaries began to act widely in the South Pacific. In 1835, the first European missionaries came to Fiji. European merchants started trading too. They brought iron tools and firearms such as guns to exchange for sandalwood and sea cucumber, both of which were plentiful in Fiji.

The European merchants needed legitimate government in Fiji so as to establish their land ownership by means of contract. They asked the great chiefs in Fiji to establish a unified government supported by a confederacy of chiefs. But their attempt failed because of various malfunctions. As a result, four attempts to launch a native government led by Cakobau all failed. Then, the cession of Fiji to the British Empire was realised in 1874.

To govern Fiji, the British Empire adopted "Indirect Rule". It also privileged the Fijian of land tenure system. Except for lands owned by European people, all land was declared as being owned only by Fijians and the government. This policy determined the direction of the country.

Britain adopted a policy of sending lots of Indian people to Fiji as indentured labourers. Between 1879 and 1916, more than 60,000 Indian labourers came to Fiji to work in plantations run by Europeans. After finishing their working term, most of them decided to remain. This increased the Indian population in Fiji.

As the Indian people have good economic sense, they have gained a powerful position in the domestic economy in Fiji. On the other hand, the Fijian people can realise a stable life thanks to the well-respected land tenure system. Since independence in 1970, however, modernisation has revealed serious ethnic conflict between the Fijians and the Indians. As the country develops, the gap between the rich and the poor is becoming tremendous. Whereas life in both ethnic groups used to be divided, it is now becoming mixed especially in the cities. The Fijian people are dissatisfied with the Indians taking the lead in the Fijian economy, while the Indian people complain about the particular land tenure system. Such ethnic problems have been revealed by the three coups that have occurred since independence.

3-1-1. The colonial era and independence

before the unification

It was in the 17th century, when the European explorers began to investigate and “discover” a new world by ship, which the name of Fiji appeared in world history. In 1643, Abel J. Tasman discovered Taveuni Island in the Fijian group. Then Captain J. Cook in 1774, William Bligh in 1789 and 1792, and Captain Wilson in 1797 all reached Fiji. From the beginning of the 19th century, many European merchants started coming to Fiji to seek sandalwood. In addition, beachcombers and escaped convicts from Australia wandered to Fiji. These European people traded sandalwood and sea cucumber from the Fijian people so that iron tools and guns came into the hands of the Fijians. Local Fijian warlords struggled with one another during this period. A few great chiefs conquered the neighbouring regions. The weapons brought by the European merchants had made war more serious than before.

The first Christian missionaries, who were two Tahitians belonging to the London Missionary Society, came to Fiji in 1830. Then the first European missionaries, William Cross and David Cargill, reached Lakeba on October 12 in 1835.⁵⁰

the confederate government by Cakobau and the cession

In the middle of the 19th century Fiji was in an unstable social condition. European settlers struggled with one another so as to gain more profit by means of plantations, while the chief of Bau, Cakobau, and the chief of Lau, a Tongan named Ma’afu gained great influence over Fiji. Cakobau’s power was increasing during the 1840’s over the Eastern part of Viti Levu. Ma’afu, who had been sent to Fiji by the King of Tonga, gained his power around the Viti Levu Island.

In 1865, there were twelve *matanitu* (confederacy of chiefs) established in Fiji. In this year, it was first proposed to launch a unified government led by seven great chiefs. Cakobau was the first leader of the unified government. After he had served two terms, Ma’afu tried to become the next leader. But the other chiefs did not

⁵⁰ See [Derrick 1946: p.71].

agree with this. Thus the first unified government collapsed.⁵¹

In 1867, the second government was launched. Cakobau became the King. But Britain did not approve of this government. As a result, it became difficult for the government to conduct affairs. Cakobau's third government established in 1869 failed for the same reason. Cakobau's fourth government was established in 1871. It obtained lots of money by selling the inhabitants newly conquered areas as labourers to the European settlers.⁵²

Increasingly European settlers were eager for a stable, unified government in Fiji so as to guarantee their own security and rights. Besides, the chiefs could not conduct government without the European's support. Without British approval of their government, moreover, they could not collect taxes. R. F. Watters describes these circumstances as follows:

... they [the paramount chiefs] seemed powerless to avert chaos, and events moved inexorably toward cession of the Group to Great Britain in 1874.
[Watters 1969: p.26]

Cakobau first proposed to cede Fiji to Britain in 1858. Since Cakobau owed a huge debt to the U.S. government, he asked Britain to take on his debt instead of ceding Fiji, but Britain refused. During the following years, U.S. power over the South Pacific was increasing. Under the circumstances, Cakobau's second proposal to cede Fiji to Britain was accepted and in 1874 Fiji became a colony.

The first Governor-General of Fiji, Sir Arthur Gordon, treated the Fijian people well by means of giving a favourable interpretation to the Deed of Cession. He adopted "Indirect Rule" to govern Fiji. He established the administrative system with reference to the traditional hierarchy in Fiji, in order to retain the existing social structure. Waters points out that he was the first man to make "Indirect Rule" the basis of Britain's colonising policy.

⁵¹ See [Derrick 1946: p.159].

⁵² See [Derrick 1946: p.201].

The period of Sir Arthur Gordon's governorship, 1875 – 80, proved decisive in the modern history of Fiji, for Gordon's policy established lasting institutions that have guided the development of the Fijian people. Gordon was one of the first to formulate a system of 'Indirect Rule', or administration through native authorities, that later under Lord Lugard in Nigeria became the model for British colonial practice.

[Watters 1969: p.26]

Ratu Sukuna was the first Fijian to objectify the actual state of Fiji in the modern world. He was also the first Fijian high official in the government. He clearly grasped the fact that European capital, using lands in Fiji and Indian labourers, gained profits for Fiji. His experience of education in Britain and serving in the army gave him these insights. As he was descended from a great chief, he could study abroad. After returning to Fiji, he became the first Fijian high official in the Fijian Affairs Board. With a broader viewpoint gained by his experience of life and education abroad, he recognised the actual state of Fiji, subordinated as it was to European capital. He felt it important that, if Fijian people were to become independent in international society, they should acquire the spirit of capitalism and individualism, which would be derived from taking higher education. He was, so to speak, the first Fijian who objectified the nature, the particularity and the problem underlying Fijian society. Since then, there has formed a stream of Fijians who have studied abroad or taken higher education and then become high officials in the government. The Fijians themselves began to participate in governing Fiji.

Through the 1960's, the domestic institutions were modernised. For example, such modern forms as general elections and party politics were introduced. Then Fiji became an independent state in 1970.

independence and the coups

One of the most significant political changes preceding independence was the introduction of party politics. The first party was the Alliance Party (AP) founded in 1964. Against the rising tide of Indian demands for higher status, the Fijians established the Fijian Association so as to protect Fijian rights. This organisation later became the AP. On the other hand, the Indians founded the National Federation Party (NFP) in 1964, which developed from an organisation created during a strike in 1960 by sugarcane farmers. The first General Election was held in 1966, in which the AP gained 27 seats, while the NFP gained 9 seats in The House of Representatives. As a result, it became clear that Indians supported the NFP while Fijians and others supported the AP.

In October 1970, Fiji became an independent state, whose governor-general was Robert Foster, the Prime Minister was Kamisese Mara who belonged to the AP. In the first General Election since independence, held in 1972, the AP obtained 33 of the 52 seats in The House of Representatives. In the second General Election in 1977, the NFP gained slightly more seats and the Mara Cabinet resigned. But the NFP could not form a cabinet because of a split in their party. Thus the Governor-General at the time, George Cakobau, again appointed Mara to the post of Prime Minister. This cabinet was unstable because the AP was the minority party. The NFP passed a vote of no confidence in the Cabinet and a third General Election was held. The AP became the majority party in this election. In the fourth General Election in 1982, the AP gained the majority of seats. The Mara Cabinet was still in power.

The Fiji Labour Party (FLP) was founded in 1985. In the fifth General Election in 1987, the NFP and the FLP were combined to form the NFP-Labour Coalition, which gained more seats than the AP (AP 24 seats / Coalition 28 seats). They established a coalition cabinet, whose Prime Minister was Dr. T. Bavadra. The shift in power expressed the resentment held by labourers of the middle classes living in the cities against the AP's conservative policy that the traditional chiefly system should be retained. One reason for the change of government was that the existing political leaders such as Mara were all from the eastern parts of Viti Levu, and people living in the western parts resented their subordination to the existing leaders. On the other hand, however, it was the new bourgeoisie who criticised the traditional and static politics that had appeared.

The result of the fifth General Election brought about a crisis in the status of Fijians. After just one month from the establishment of the new cabinet, on 14th May 1987, Rabuka, a Fijian army officer, carried out a coup. He dissolved the Assembly without bloodshed. An interim government was founded so as to keep the situation under control, but the army disagreed with the government. Rabuka therefore carried out a second coup on the 25th September so that he could hold real control. He decided to secede from the Commonwealth and to declare Fiji to be The Republic of Fiji. Rabuka then gave the post of Prime Minister to Mara, a civilian, so as to weaken the impact of the military regime. Mara founded a new cabinet in December. The political unrest ended. Fiji was affiliated with the Commonwealth again in September 1997.

In 1998, a new constitution was proclaimed. The former constitution proclaimed in 1990 gave the Fijians an advantage but such racial discrimination was abolished in the new constitution. At the same time, the name of the country became The Republic of Fiji Islands.

As the result of the General Election in 1999, Chaudhry became the first Indian Prime Minister.⁵³ After just one year, in May 2000, Speight, who asserted Fijian advantages in politics, rose up in arms against the cabinet. He occupied Parliament House with an armed group. 30 cabinet ministers, including Prime Minister Chaudhry, were held in custody. Speight abolished the new constitution. In July, Iloilo became the President appointed by the Great Council of Chiefs (GCC), and an interim cabinet was formed with Qarase as the new Prime Minister. In November, the Lautoka High Court decided that the 1998 constitution was still valid, and that the interim cabinet was not legitimate. In March 2001, Iloilo assumed the Presidency again in accordance with the constitution appointed by GCC.⁵⁴ Qarase formed an interim cabinet in order to administer a General Election. In August 2001, the General Election was held. Qarase became the new Prime Minister, in accordance with the result, on the 10th September. The political disorder was finally ended.

3-1-2. Inhabitants in Fiji – the Fijian and the Indian

indentured labour and sugar plantations

I will now provide some more detailed information on the development of land tenure in Fiji, from the time of the first European settlement to the present.

There are several ethnic groups living in Fiji apart from the native Fijian, such as the Indian, the Chinese, and others from the South Pacific islands. The Indians are in the majority. According to the census in 1998, the population of the Indian and the Fijian makes up about 95% of the whole.⁵⁵

In 1879, during the colonial era, the first indentured labourers reached Fiji from India. The British Empire adopted a policy of taking Indian people to its other colonies as labourers working in the plantations. From 1879 to 1916, approximately 60,000 Indian people came to Fiji to work in sugar plantations. Their contract required

⁵³ In the present constitution, The House of Representatives is composed of 71 seats.

⁵⁴ Under the present constitution, the President has to be appointed by GCC. The PM is then appointed by the President of all members in The House of Representatives. GCC has an absolute power over everything in Fijian politics. Even Speight had obeyed the decisions by GCC.

them to work for five years. In addition, they obtained either the travelling expenses to return to India, or the right to settle in Fiji. Altogether about 40,000 workers chose to remain in Fiji and become farmers after their terms ended.

Apart from such indentured labourers, Indian immigrants who intended to go into business in Fiji began to arrive in the 1920's. As a result, the Indian population increased. The Indians, who tend to have more economic sense and motivation than the optimistic Fijians, have increased their population and their power over the economy in Fiji. By 1946, the Indian population exceeded that of the Fijian.⁵⁶

In the colonial era, Fijian people did not have particular feelings against Indian people so much. Since independence, however, their feelings have turned sour. That is because, on the one hand, the Fijian status was stable enough under the British colonial policy that gave an advantage to the Fijians. On the other hand, there is the fact that the modernisation and economic development since independence have created a gap between the rich and the poor. The Indians have surpassed the Fijians in the economic sense and have gained control over the domestic economy. While the Fijians retain their traditional life, the Indians have played a primary role in developing capitalism. But they cannot go into business without leasing land from the Fijians, because they are not allowed to buy land. Therefore, they have come to be dissatisfied with the conservative political system that disfavours the Indian. It was an expression of their dissatisfaction that the coalition between the NFP and the FLP won the General Election in 1987. Besides, the three coups were provoked by the fact that the Fijians disapproved of the Indian Prime Minister elected at the General Election.

land tenure system

The British Empire ceded Fiji in 1874 and determined to govern through the principle of "Indirect Rule". Its guiding principle was to make the Fijians govern their country themselves under the administrative social organisation that was founded by the British colonial government with reference to the traditional Fijian hierarchy. We will see this organisation in Chapter 4.

In the middle of the 19th century, most European settlers were keen to obtain land suitable for plantations.

⁵⁵ The Fijian (51%), The Indian (44%) and The others (5%).

But they obtained the land improperly, by fraud or even plunder, because there was then no legitimate unified government in Fiji. As a result, most land good for plantation was bought up by the European settlers. Under these circumstances, the first Governor-General of Fiji, Sir Arthur Gordon, enacted the "National Land Ordinance" in 1880 to guarantee the Fijians the right to own their land. It was decided that, apart from the land that the European settlers had properly bought, the other land could not be owned by any other people than the Fijians.⁵⁷ This ordinance was the main root of the policy that treated the Fijians well. As it is still valid now, even the Indians driving the Fijian economy have no rights to own land.

There are three types of land tenure in contemporary Fiji. "Native Land" is owned by the *mataqali* a traditional communal organisation in Fiji and may not be owned by any other ethnic group. The ownership of this "Native Land" belongs to each *mataqali*, not to individuals. The members of each *mataqali* can borrow land for cultivation. Other land that is not used by the members of the *mataqali* is usually leased to those who are not members. The NLTB (National Land Trust Board, established in 1940) intermediates and signs a lease between the owner and the tenant. Most of the tenants are Indian farmers, but sometimes the land provides a place for hotels or factories. According to a statistical yearbook of 1986, "Native Land" makes up 1,525,230 ha, 83.2% of all land in Fiji. We will see just how important this fact is for the survival of the traditional Fijian social organisation in later chapters.

"Freehold Land" is land that had been purchased mainly by the Europeans who settled in Fiji before colonisation, and was approved as to the legitimate ownership by investigation by the British colonial crown. "Freehold Land", now mostly belonging to Europeans and Indians, is free to buy and sell. The sale price is usually quite expensive, so that one third of it is leased. "Freehold Land" is 181,035 ha, 9.8% of all land in 1986.

The land that did not belong to a *mataqali* or had been purchased by the British Royal Family by 1875 is called "Crown Land". This now belongs to the Fiji government. It is 131,220 ha, 7.0% of the land in 1986. "Crown Land" can be leased, but most is not ideal for the agriculture.

⁵⁶ Coups that have happened three times have dramatically reduced the Indian population.

⁵⁷ The National Land Ordinance excluded "Crown Land".

As a result of British colonial policy, there is a significant difference as to the form of land tenure available to the Fijians and the Indians. The difference is critical to the Indians. They cannot own land at all. Not only cultivated fields as productive capital, but also the land where they live is not theirs. They are aware that they are likely to be refused an extension to the lease after the expiration of the contract, either because of lack of funds or some personal reason of the Fijian owner. In fact, some Indian people, facing this kind of circumstance, are forced to leave the land.

On the other hand, the Fijians seldom have difficulty gaining something to eat. Anyone in trouble goes back to his or her village, where his *mataqali* supports him. There is still a system of mutual support based on the communal norms of the village. Someone who returns has several choices. He can help to cultivate another's field. Or, he can stay in another's house in his village. That is why the land tenure as the producing capital is guaranteed in the village. There is no worry about food.

The Fijians have traditionally led a lifestyle closely connected with their native land. When they nearly lost their rights to own land in the 19th century, these rights were secured thanks to the British colonising policy. It can be said, and will be stated later, that the root of the "system of traditional values" in Fiji lies in the land tenure system and their views on inherited land. Concretely, the "National Land Ordinance" enacted in 1880 was one of the most decisive events directing the way of the Fijians.

3-2. Geographical and social environment of Fiji

3-2-1. Physical features and industrial structure

geography

The Republic of the Fiji Islands, located at the centre of the South-West Pacific, consists of approximately 330 islands. These islands are located at between 175 degrees of east longitude and 177 degrees of west longitude, between 15 and 22 degrees of south latitude.

The total area of these islands is 18,376 sq. km. The largest island is Viti Levu (10,429 sq. km), followed by Vanua Levu (5,556 sq. km) and Taveuni (470 sq. km).

The total area of sea around Fiji is 1,290,000 sq. km, adjoining Tuvalu, Wallis and Futuna at the north end,

Vanuatu, New Caledonia at the west end, and Tonga at the east end.

Geographically, Fiji is included in Melanesia. But it is also located at a point between Polynesia and Micronesia so that there can be seen both the Polynesian physical type characterised by large body size and the Melanesian type, with a dark complexion. Generally speaking, the Fijian is said to be of the Melanesian type but Fiji is said to belong to Polynesia in climatic terms.

Fiji has a tropical climate. In the hottest season in February, it receives lots of rain. The annual precipitation in the capital city, Suva, amounts to about 3,000 mm. In the coldest season in July, the temperature is around 18 – 28 degrees.

We will see more about the geographical features of Viti Levu in the chapter 4.

industry

The main industries in Fiji consisted of primary industry, especially the sugar industry. The domestic economy has developed on the basis of producing sugar that was introduced by the British Colonial government. As the productivity has not shown much growth in recent years, however, the Fiji government has turned its policy toward promoting the fishing industry and tourism. The main industry currently in Fiji consists of tourism, the sugar industry and the garment industry. It is said that approximately 10% of the population in Fiji is engaged in the sugar industry and tourism. In this regard, Fiji is different from most of the other island countries in the South Pacific, which cannot maintain their economies without depending on economic support from developed countries.

Producing sugar is susceptible to such external conditions as foreign market prices and natural disasters. Production has also suffered from irresponsible management in factories, decrepit machines and transportation, and complications over leaseholds between the Fijian owners and the Indian tenants.

Tourism has grown since its development began in the 1960's. In the 1980's, it exceeded the sugar industry at the industrial level. But it was seriously damaged whenever coups took place. The coups caused hotels to close, workers in hotels were laid off, and ships and flights cancelled so that the number of tourists during the period of the coups decreased.

Exports of garment products have tended to increase recently. Fiji also exports gold, fish, woodchips, copra and palm oil.

The economic growth rate was 7% on average until 1975. But it fell to 3% on average at the end of the 1970's. During the 1980's, the domestic economy was unstable because it was seriously damaged by cyclones and droughts. Furthermore, coups arose twice in 1987 so that Indian capital and labourers flowed out. After the garment industry developed, Fiji achieved its economic recovery at the end of the 1980's. Since the 1990's, its economic condition has hung in the balance.

In 2000, a coup happened again. Australia and New Zealand imposed economic sanctions on Fiji. As the peace and order in Fiji were disturbed during that period, tourism fell, as it had during the previous coups in 1987. Thus, the economic growth in 2000 was negative.

According to the data of the Fiji Reserve Bank, GDP per person in 2002 was US\$2072.5.

the impact of coups on society

The coup in May 2000 did serious damage to the domestic economy in Fiji. Under the circumstances of long-term conflict between the Fijians and the Indians, the Fijians rose up in arms against the Indian cabinet. As a result, most Indian and other foreign capital were withdrawn from Fiji, and the Indian workers fled abroad. This had a drastic effect, especially on the manufacturing industry and tourism. In June, just after the coup, a five star hotel, the Sheraton Royal Denarau Resort decided to close temporarily because the dramatic decrease of tourists made the net working rate fall to 8%. Whereas the growth rate of GDP exceeded 8% in 1999, it fell to -2.8% in 2000.

After the General Election was held in 2001, the political situation became more and more stable. The economic growth rate showed 4.3% in 2001 and 4.4% in 2002. The recovery in tourism was considerable. The number of visitors was approximately 290,000 in 2000 but 400,000 in 2002. Besides, big construction projects such as international resort hotels were restarted.

3-2-2. Population and people

population and the racial constitution

According to data from the Fiji Bureau of Statistics, the population of Fiji in 2000 was 854,000. In addition, its constitution is Fijians (51%), Indians (44%), and others (5%) in 1998.

The others consist of Chinese / Part-Chinese, Europeans, Part-Europeans, Rotumans, Other Pacific Islanders, and Others. Most Chinese live in urban areas, employed in commerce. Some are farmers. Most Part-Europeans have a mixture of European and Fijian or Pacific island ancestry. They have found employment in the copra industry, engineering, boat building, sea transport and commerce. Rotumans are the Polynesians living on the Rotuma Island, located 670km north of Viti Levu. At independence, there was a discussion as to their affiliation. Now this island belongs to Fiji. There are more Rotumans living outside their remote island than on it. They have become urban dwellers and are well represented in the civil service and the professions. There are people of Tongan and Samoan ancestry and from other parts of the Pacific. Approximately 3,000 Banaban people, originally from the Ocean Island in Kiribati, have lived on Rabi Island since the late 1940's. They were forced to move there by Britain because phosphorus can be mined on the Ocean Island. There are also more than 8,000 descendants of Solomon Islanders who were indentured to work in Fiji during the late 1880's and the early 20th century. Distinct Solomon communities exist at Wailoku near Suva, and on Ovalau Island.

religion and language

According to data collected in 1986, 52.9% of the Fijian population was Christian, followed by Hindus (38.2%), Muslims (7.8%), and others (1.1%). Almost all Fijian people believe in Christianity. Apart from the major denomination, the Methodists, there are sects such as Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist, Assembly of God, Anglican, and Presbyterian.⁵⁸

It is said that Christianity was first introduced into Fiji in 1835.⁵⁹ Two European missionaries reached Lakeba Island and started preaching. In this period, the relationship between the missionary and the local people

⁵⁸ According to the questionnaire conducted in Nasilai village, OISCA and Elixir Apartment, Methodist is major. 12 people (42.9%) of all respondents (28 people) belong to the Methodist's. Assembly of God is the second majority (6 people, 21.4%), followed by Catholic (3 people, 10.7%). Generally speaking, it is said that more people belong to the Methodist's in rural area while urban residents tend to belief in the Seventh Day Adventist and Assembly of God, which prohibit drinking *yagona*.

was not so friendly. Since their way of teaching Christianity was not firmly established, there were some conflicts. The chief generally took care of the missionary in order to benefit from the honour that accrued from looking after a stranger with unique items. However, it was often regarded as an affront to the chief that the chief's guest regulated the villagers' habits.

Afterwards, the great chiefs began to find Christianity acceptable since they saw that the missionary performed more effective treatment with Western medicine than did the traditional shamans, and that the Christian countries had massive military resources. Since the greatest chief of this period, Cakobau, was converted to Christianity, a total of 8,870 of his subjects became Christian.

Nowadays, almost all Fijians are Christian. Fijian religion has a unique structure, with the Christian God at the top, below which Degei is set as the highest local god. Degei is said in traditional belief to be the creator god of Fiji. In this hierarchy, the ancestral god in each descent group is set below Degei, followed by the Fijian people. Thus Christianity, harmonised with the traditional belief, is introduced as "Fijian Christianity". This thesis will later discuss in detail how something from outside is introduced, incorporated, and articulated with their traditional system in their own context.

The official language in Fiji is English. Although there are some papers printed in other languages, the English-language paper has a larger circulation than others such as the Fijian-language or Chinese-language paper. Fijian people, however, usually speak to others from the same district in the Fijian dialect, and to others from different regions in the standard Fijian. The Indians speak the standard Fijian Hindi, which has features of the many regional dialects of Hindi spoken by the Indian indentured labourers. As teachers give lessons in English in primary school, they can mostly understand English. But rural people may not speak English fluently because they have few opportunities to use English in their daily life.

conclusion

This chapter has presented the general features of Fijian history and society. A fundamental feature proves to be the conflict between the Indians, who have been present in Fiji since they were taken as indentured labourers

⁵⁹ Although two Tahitian missionaries came to the Oneata Island in the Lau Group in 1830, they seldom preached a sermon

during the colonial era, and the Fijians. Contemporary Fiji thus has some difficult problems underlying its multi-racial country. Thanks to the British colonial government's policy of good treatment of the Fijians, they have secured their traditional lifestyle supported by the permanent right to own land. Their traditional lifestyle is inseparable from their inherited lands. As long as they own land, their life is guaranteed. On the other hand, the Indians are dissatisfied with the existing land tenure system in terms of economic sense. Even though they attempt to extend their businesses, they always encounter the obstacle of the existing law that prohibits them from owning land. In the course of modern politics, the Indian party has won the General Election twice. Whenever they launched a cabinet, however, the Fijians rose up against the Indian cabinet and carried out coups. They were worried that the Indian cabinet might revise the law regarding land ownership. If the law permitted Indians to own land, they who have a superior expertise in economic affairs might occupy almost all the land of Fiji. But it is also a fact that the coups lost Fiji much confidence in international society. Fiji must sort out this political matter peacefully as soon as possible.

In the next chapter, we will look at the traditional social process with reference to the author's material. General information about the villages will be provided in Chapter 4, economic change in Chapter 5, and ritual change will be discussed in Chapter 6. It will also be argued in Chapter 7 that the "system of traditional values", setting the standard for their behaviour, is derived from their traditional land ownership.

Ch.4 Fijian village and life culture – general features of two fields

In this chapter, the general outline of two field locations providing the principal material that comprise this thesis will be set out. The author carried out his fieldwork mainly in an interior village in Naitasiri Province, Waidracia, for one year from May 2002. Almost all the territory of Naitasiri Province is in the mountainous district of Viti Levu island, where it is said that the traditional lifestyle remains relatively strong. Waidracia is a village approximately three hours by bus from Suva. To clarify the subject of social change in Waidracia, another period of fieldwork was conducted. Comparing two villages that differ in diagnostic ways is useful. Nasilai is a coastal village located in Rewa Province, one and a half hours by bus and boat from Suva. Rewa Province traditionally has a higher status in Fiji because these two districts, Rewa and Bau, had been dominant over the whole of Fiji until Fiji was ceded to the British Empire. Hence, some unique features are seen in this area. Nasilai is a fisherman's village, which has played a special role in making pottery to present to people of higher status. Being closer to the capital, Suva, the degree of social change in Nasilai seems much greater than in Waidracia.

These two field locations, Waidracia and Nasilai, will be contrastively illustrated in detail in this chapter. The contrast of the distance from Suva between “far” Waidracia and “close” Nasilai raises a number of interesting issues. There is no-one living in Waidracia working in Suva, as is the case in Nasilai. Waidracia is rather conservative while Nasilai is innovative; the form of monetary exchange within the village is more frequent in Nasilai than in Waidracia; traditional taboos work strongly in Waidracia but not so strongly in Nasilai, and so on. With regard to cash income and subsistence, Waidracia as an agricultural village and Nasilai as a fisherman's village, provides a contrast in food habits. In addition to these contrasts, general features such as the geography, climate, population, the social organisation and the daily life of these two villages will be described with reference to those of Fiji as a whole.

Incidentally, the main field is Waidracia. Nasilai is a supplementary field so as to emboss the characteristics of the material in Waidracia to compare these contrasts. Therefore, the description in this thesis will be concentrated chiefly on Waidracia while Nasilai will be illustrated by contrast with Waidracia.

4-1-1. Physical features

geography

Viti Levu, the main and largest island in Fiji, has an oval shape. The capital city Suva (population: 167,975) lies to the southeast of Viti Levu. Lautoka (population: 43,274), the second largest city in the Republic of Fiji, is almost opposite on the far side of the island. Suva and Lautoka are connected by two main roads around Viti Levu along the coast. Queen's Road (length: 221km), the most developed road in Fiji, links these two cities via the south side while King's Road (length: 265km) runs through the north. Queen's Road is a dual carriageway throughout. It is also all paved. As the Coral Coast area, in which there are a lot of resort hotels with coral beaches, and Pacific Harbour with villas, are located along Queen's Road, plenty of people including foreign tourists visit this area. King's Road has a paved dual carriageway except along the 56km between Korovou and Dama. Since there are very few spots attractive to tourists, only locals use this road. However, the King's Road between Suva and Nausori (population: 22,000) is probably the busiest section in Fiji. Nausori is a kind of "dormitory suburb" placed about 20 km to the northeast of Suva. Nausori has the second largest airport in the country. Thus, each town along the coast in Viti Levu is linked by a circular road system.

Viti Levu has an area of approximately 10,388 sq. km, which is about 57% of the total land area of Fiji. It measures about 146km from east to west and 106km from north to south. The Republic consists of almost 330 islands. Three different types can be distinguished: volcanic islands; limestone islands; and coral islands. The volcanic islands such as Viti Levu generally have a high relief with a series of conical hills rising to a central summit. Flat land is only found in the river valleys. In the interior parts of Viti Levu, the mountain range runs north south. Viti Levu has the highest Fijian peak, Mt. Tomanivi (Mt. Victoria) at 1,323m. Typically the narrow coastal areas are less than 30m above sea level.

Five main rivers flow through Viti Levu: the Rewa; Navua; Sigatoka; Nadi; and the Ba. The River Rewa is the longest of all, which forms the Rewa Delta at its mouth. The River Rewa has two main tributaries, the Wainibuka and Wainimala.

Apart from two the arterial roads along the coast, Queen's Road and King's Road, a few semi-arterial roads link the coast to the interior of Viti Levu. Sawani-Serea Road, one of these semi-arterial roads, is approximately 50km in length, and runs from Sawani to Serea village. It is an unpaved road and has a single carriageway. Sawani is a village placed in the middle of Viti Levu, between Suva and Nausori. The road goes towards the northwest inland up to Serea village in Naitasiri Province. There is another road beyond Serea leading to the Monasavu Dam, which is the only substantial hydroelectric power station supplying the whole of Viti Levu with electricity. The road beyond Serea is, however, not suitable for cars other than 4WD because of its poor condition. As a red clay soil covers Viti Levu, even a small amount of rainfall can turn the road to mire. As almost all semi-arterial roads are well maintained with ballast covering the surface of road, there is little difficulty in driving any type of vehicle on these roads in the rain. Other roads can easily turn to mud if it rains. The condition of life in the interior villages mostly depends upon whether it faces a road in good condition. Accessibility by vehicle to big towns on the coast is quite critical for inland inhabitants. Plenty of villages exist in the interior, though.

Fiji has four levels of spatial and administrative units: Division; Province; District; and Village. The whole territory of Fiji is firstly divided into 4 Divisions: Central; Northern; Western; and Eastern. The Central Division has 5 provinces located in Viti Levu. The Northern Division has 3 provinces in Vanua Levu, the second largest island in Fiji. While the Western Division is divided into 3 provinces in Viti Levu, the Eastern Division consists of 4 provinces that are all placed in outlying islands. There are 15 provinces all together, and 8 are in Viti Levu. The capital Suva is located in Rewa Province. Then each province is divided into several districts (*tikina*).

Waidracia village in Naitasiri Province lies in the interior of Viti Levu, approximately 55km from Suva. One can find Waidracia by following the Sawani-Serea Road to a point just before reaching Serea. It takes up to two hours drive from Suva by car. The River Wainimala, one of the branches of the River Rewa, flows just beside the village. People in Naitasiri Province, almost all of the territory of which is inland, are said to retain a rather traditional lifestyle. The administrative capital of Naitasiri Province is Vunidawa, placed near the juncture of two main branches of the River Rewa, the River Wainibuka and the River Wainimala. Vunidawa is about 4km to the east of Waidracia. Although a primary school, a post office, council offices, a few tiny shops and so on can be

found in Vunidawa, the total aspect of the town looks less developed than other towns on the coast. Vunidawa is, however, the biggest town in the area. People in Waidracia often visit Vunidawa on foot or by bus.

Naitasiri Province has the second largest population, 100,227, at the provincial level. This is approximately 14% of the total population of Fiji. On the other hand, the land area of Naitasiri Province is 1,666 sq. km, which is the fifth largest in Fiji, the third largest of the provinces in Viti Levu. This is about 9% of the total land in the country. Naitasiri Province has 5 *tikinas*. Generally, each *tikina* has 3 or 4 villages. Waidracia village is located in Tikina Rara in Naitasiri Province. Tikina Rara consists of 3 villages: Nasavu; Naluwai; and Waidracia.

There is a regular bus service along the Sawani-Serea Road connecting Serea village and Suva via Waidracia. Buses usually run 6 or 7 times a day. Including local services, one can catch a bus every few hours. It takes 3 – 4 hours to reach Suva. It is not very hard for people living along the Sawani-Serea Road to visit Suva, in crucial contrast with the condition of people living far beyond Serea.

The road system is the primary transport medium in Fiji. The length of proclaimed roads is about 4900km. Although most of the roads are dirt, with only 900 km being sealed, the web of local bus services in almost all areas is well developed. Comparing the bus services running along the arterial and semi-arterial roads with those on the other roads, the latter have some inevitable problems, such as delays or cancellations because of bad weather. The former has the advantage over the latter in its performance. Thus, the road access of Waidracia along the Sawani-Serea Road is rather better than other roads in Viti Levu even though this village is inland. People in Waidracia readily go to Suva by bus.

climate

Fiji has a moderate, tropical maritime climate. Although two mild contrasts are usually noted, there are no really remarkable seasonal contrasts during the year. Viti Levu is divided into windward (the south-east) and leeward (the north and the west) sides. The leeward sides are drier, with clear skies for most of the year and more variable temperatures and wind direction. Rainfall averages 1778 – 2032mm on the leeward side and 2921 – 3175mm on the windward side. Rainfall in Suva, which is in a typical windward locality, roughly averages 3100mm while rainfall in Nadi on the leeward side averages less than 2000mm.

The “wet season” in Fiji is from November to April, and the “dry season” from May to October, but rainfall occurs throughout the year. The heaviest rains fall from December to April. Strong thunderstorms frequently occur around March. The “wet season” is also recognised as a hurricane season. Tropical cyclones originate from low-pressure centres near the equator and move to the higher latitudes. Strong and destructive cyclones are, however, a rare phenomenon in Fiji. Although 52 storms were recorded between 1940 and 1980, only 12 were severe cyclones. Cyclone Kina in 1993 caused severe flooding, which destroyed the bridge over the River Ba. While the author was staying in Fiji, Cyclone Amy, hitting early in 2003, caused serious damage to Vanua Levu. The centre of Labasa (population: 24,095), which is counted as one of the biggest towns in Fiji, was flooded and the communication system was brought down. Taro fields in many parts were also damaged.

It is not only cyclones that cause severe damage. In the “wet season”, continual rainfall often leads to landslides and flooding. There is one small bridge near Naqali village on the Sawani-Serea Road. The Naqali Bridge can easily become submerged in heavy rain. In the “wet season” in 2002 – 2003, the submergence of the Naqali Bridge often prevented the author from visiting Waidracia.

Fiji has mild average temperatures of around 25 degrees. On hot summer days, however, temperatures can reach 30 degrees. During the coolest months, temperatures can drop to 18 degrees. The average yearly temperature is slightly lower on the windward side, and higher on the leeward side. As it is much cooler and wetter in the interior, the temperature in Waidracia is usually lower than in Suva. The weather in the mountainous interior is changeable. It often rains in Waidracia even when it is fine in Suva.

The humidity is high, with averages ranging from 60% to 80% in Suva, and 60% to 70% in Lautoka. Hot, windless, summer days with humidity levels of up to 90% can become oppressive. On such days, people in the villages often rest for a while in the shade of trees. It is common to find people sitting and chatting under a tree in the countryside. In Waidracia, pleasant breezes usually blow from the River Wainimala that flows beside the village.

Supplying water is a crucial problem in Fiji. Compared to small coral islands without big mountains and rivers, in which groundwater is not available, the condition of water in Viti Levu is relatively good. Clean piped

water is currently available to about 70% of Fiji's population. While nearly all (94%) of the urban population has clean piped water, only 27% of rural villages and 40% of non-village rural settlements have this amenity. In rural areas, people often get water from a river or a spring. The most popular system in rural Fiji is to set a tank for the storage of rainwater. Great care should be taken in drinking water from such tanks because something dirty like the carcass of an animal is often to be found inside such a tank. The shortage of water frequently takes place in July or August especially on the leeward side. In Waidracia, spring water is available through pipes. This water is drinkable enough.

animals and plants

The Fijian root crops cassava (*tavioka*) and taro (*daro*) are the country's staple foods. Fijian people are said to distinguish 80 different kinds of taro. After having been boiled with its skin on, taro or cassava is peeled and eaten. Taro leaves are also edible. Tinned meat and fish are often accompanied by taro leaves (*rourou*) in coconut cream (*lolo*). While cassava leaves are also edible, they are usually only eaten by people from the Lau Group.

Breadfruit (*uto*), which is still an important staple in some villages, is obtained from the breadfruit tree. The tree grows up to 18m tall. Its wood was used to make canoes in the past. Bananas, pawpaw and mangoes are also popular.

Kava, which belongs to the pepper family, is widely cultivated in Fiji. The roots are dried, ground and then mixed with water to make *yaqona*.⁶⁰ *Yaqona* is essential in occasional ceremonies, and also often drunk in daily life.

Fiji has various species of pandanus and at least two of these are endemic. They are cultivated around the villages. One of these species, *voivoi*, is quite valuable to Fijian people, for its leaves are used to weave mats (*ibe*) that are exchanged at ceremonies.

The coconut palm has played an important role in Fiji. The young nuts provide juice while coconut milk (*lolo*) is obtained from the mature nuts. The former is less important since Fijian meals require *lolo* almost every

⁶⁰ Kava is *Piper methysticum*, called *yaqona* in Fijian language. In Fiji, the word of *yaqona* means both the plant of kava itself and the ground roots of kava. They sometimes call the beverage made of water and the roots of kava *yaqona*. In this thesis, the term of *yaqona* means the plant of kava, the ground roots of kava, and the beverage, according to the context.

day. The shells are used for making cups in which they serve and drink *yaqona*. The husk is used for charcoal, the oil for cooking, lighting and as a body and hair lotion; the leaves are used for weaving baskets, mats and round fans, or even as mats spread under the slaughtered cattle. In most parts, although rather less in the interior, the coconut palm is planted around the villages.

4-1-2. Social organisation

patrilineal descent groups and territorial groups

Social organisation in traditional Fijian society can be distinguished into two kinds: patrilineal descent groups and socio-political organisations. The former consists of three levels of groups.

For Fijian people, the idea of descent means a child belongs to his / her father's descent group. Although patrilineal descent might not be traced correctly because of the lack of traditional institutions for the memorisation of genealogical data, the patrilineal ideology strongly exists. Thus the descent units stated below are patrilineal.

The smallest unit and the lowest level of division is the patrilineage called *i-tokatoka*, which is composed of a man, his wife and children, his parents, his brothers and his brother's wives and children. With several units of *i-tokatoka* gathering in the same village, a more inclusive unit of *i-tokatoka*, the *mataqali* is constituted. The *mataqali* is the clan, which plays the most significant role in several sorts of affairs within the village, including land tenure and occasional ceremonies. The *yavusa*, which is a larger unit of several *mataqali*, can be interpreted as the phratry. The *yavusa* consists of several *mataqali*, living in one or more villages. The members of a *yavusa* are said to believe they are descended from a common ancestor (source).

The village is the principal unit of local organisation and the most common minimum residential unit in Fiji. Its population may vary from a few to many hundreds, but the average is about 150 to 300. There are said to be 1080 villages in Fiji. A village is divided into two or more *mataqali*, usually no more than 4. Each *mataqali* consists of several segments of *i-tokatoka*. Nayacakalou explains the pattern as follows:

The *i tokatoka* is a sub-division of the *mataqali*, whether the latter is thought of as a patrilineal group or as a local group (see below). In either case, the *i tokatoka* is an elemental patrilineal descent group to which it would seem appropriate to apply the term 'patrilineage'.

The *mataqali*, on the other hand, can be interpreted in at least two ways. Its primary application is not as a descent group of a higher order of inclusiveness than the *i tokatoka*, but as a local division of the village which may include two or more *i tokatoka*, not necessarily patrilineally related to one another. Therefore it may refer to a patrilineal descent group (or to one with an internal structure based on patrilineal descent, actual or putative) which is of a higher order of inclusiveness than the *i tokatoka* and which is itself part of a wider group of the same kind. In this sense, it seems appropriate to apply to it the term 'sub-clan'.

[Nayacakalou 1975: p.21]

Although the *i-tokatoka* is the lowest sub-division of patrilineal descent groups in the village, its significance in the village is much less than that of *mataqali*. According to Ravuvu, the *i-tokatoka* seldom plays an essential role in the village while most affairs are conducted in charge of the *mataqali*.

... the *mataqali* is the unit of organisation for most kin-group activities within the village above the level of individual households.

The *tokatoka* sub-unit is hardly recognised by the people of the areas in which this study was undertaken.

[Ravuvu 1987: p.17]

It always matters who belongs to which *mataqali*, but one's identity at the level of the *i-tokatoka* would hardly be taken into account of in a ritual, except in daily life. Hence, as William R. Geddes points out, it can be said that the essential unit within the village that manages the occasional social actions is the *mataqali*.

These third order groups [the *i tokatoka*] are important in daily life but they are normally unimportant in the overall political and ceremonial structure.

[Geddes 1959: p.205]

While the *mataqali* is a residential unit, the *yavusa* is not. Generally, all the members of one *mataqali* live in the same village. A *yavusa* may, however, consist of plural units of *mataqali* from several villages. Anthropologists, arguing about the definition of *yavusa*, have interpreted the *yavusa* as the phratry, the tribe, the

lineage, the federation, and the stock.⁶¹ The definition of *yavusa* is so complicated that even the Fijian people may find it hard to answer when they are asked, "What *yavusa* do you belong to?"⁶² This is mainly because those who had previously lived together have subsequently divided to dwell in separate villages. Their genealogical memories become vague after mixing with another dwelling group, and because "small and relatively uninfluential local bodies of kinsmen either forgot their origin or refused to reveal it, and posed as part of more powerful *yavusa* in their new village".⁶³ Thus, one finds it rather difficult to declare one's *yavusa* identity if there is a difference between the genealogical and the actual *yavusa*. As mentioned above, there can exist several sorts of *yavusa* in one village. In addition, the *yavusa* identity is not always strict. We will adopt the definition of *yavusa* posited by Nayacakalou here, "patrilineal descent, actual, or putative",⁶⁴ which is conceived in the light of local residence.

The three levels of social organisation, the *i-tokatoka*, *mataqali*, and *yavusa*, based on descent and residence, are the primary units for the practical activities of the village. On the other hand, there is another system in Fiji, the territorial and socio-political organisation. Although the constituent units are patrilineal descent groups, politically united groups form territorial organisations. The lowest sub-division of such organisations is the village, called a *koro*. The upper division of a *koro* is called a *vanua*, made up by several *koro*.

The *vanua* is an ideal. As Ravuvu points out, the *vanua* means "the living soul or human manifestation of the physical environment which the members have since claimed to belong to them and to which they also belong".⁶⁵ This expresses an identity for Fijian people with the owned land that is believed to be inherited from their ancestors. The word *vanua* literally means "the land", but it also implies the entirety of the land to which the Fijians belong. The *vanua* is recognised by those who have been living on, retaining, and inheriting particular land. The tie between the Fijian people and their land is significant. They can live on their own land. By recognising the *vanua*, they can live with a firm idea of who they are.

⁶¹ See [Nayacakalou 1975: p.13].

⁶² Many studies show that "forgetting" line of genealogical links is essential to accordant demographic imbalance.

⁶³ See [Nayacakalou 1975: p.12].

⁶⁴ See [Nayacakalou 1975: p.22].

⁶⁵ See [Ravuvu 1983: p.76].

What is the difference between the *yavusa* and the *vanua*, as both are composed of several sub-units?

Nayacakalou states that the members of a *koro* may be divided into several *yavusa*, but cannot be divided into *vanua*. The *koro* and the *vanua* are interrelationally linked together in a common category.

At least two primary considerations support this view. One is that *yavusa* may be split up between villages which belong to different *vanua*, in which case the parts owe allegiance to different *vanua* according to their villages of residence. In these cases, the ties remaining between them find expression, for the major part, only in terms of kinship obligations. No village, as far as I am aware, is split between different *vanua*. The other consideration is even more direct: enumeration of the constituent elements in a *vanua* is often phrased by Fijians in terms of villages. When the internal structure of any constituent village is made complex by the presence of several *yavusa*, the whole village is then known to the *vanua* in terms of the dominant *yavusa* within it, and the other member *yavusa* within the village are then relegated to apparent insignificance. In this context, the concept of the *vanua* is clearly a territorial one; also, the word *vanua* literally means 'land' or 'territory'.

[Nayacakalou 1987: p.22]

While the *i-tokatoka* – the *mataqali* – the *yavusa* form an interrelated system as segments within the patrilineal descent groups, then the *koro* – the *vanua*, related to the former, expresses another system considered as territorial groups. The upper unit of the *koro* in the territorial sense is the *vanua*. As the *koro* is the very place where they dwell, the Fijians usually take account of what *koro* one is from. On the other hand, rather less consideration is paid of the *vanua* in the practice of daily activities.⁶⁶ The *vanua* gives Fijians their identity, showing the spiritual bonds with their inherited land, through which all members in a *vanua* can securely feel a common sense of belonging.

Several units of *koro*, depending on their political status, are gathered and affiliated into a *vanua*. The leading member of the dominant group of the leading village of the *vanua* will be the head. The chief of the *vanua* normally has a name with the prefix *Tui* followed by the name of the *vanua*.

Some units of *vanua* used to constitute a kind of state called *matanitu*. It was a politico-territorial type of confederacy during the disordered age of the nineteenth century. Throughout this era, the affiliation, attachment, absorption and to some extent, subjugation among territorial groups were seen. Nayacakalou explains:

⁶⁶ Verdon [Verdon 1982] points out that Nuer and Tiv lack descent groups but have segmentary alliances. The inclusive territorial segments among the Nuer emerged in action only and lacked permanence or reality.

... the relations of *matanitu* were in a state of continual flux owing to the development of political alliances, particularly during the turbulent period of the nineteenth century, so it is difficult to be precise about them. They might combine in certain ways for certain purposes and in other ways for other purposes. It is said, for instance, that at one stage prior to effective European political intrusion, only eight or nine *matanitu* were recognised in the whole of Fiji. ... Today there is argument about whether Fiji should be divided into only two or into three major divisions based on the political alliances of former days.

[Nayacakalou 1987: pp.37-38]

These two units, the *vanua* and the *matanitu*, have lost their significance. They had especially developed during the era of warfare in Fiji in the 19th century in order to establish a military alliance. Now there is peace. The social units beyond the village have a less significant function in social life than the units within the village such as the *mataqali* and the *yavusa*. According to Geddes, the fact that the units beyond the village, including the enlarged or integrated *mataqali* or *yavusa*, lack the descent structure in their grouping causes them to be unstable.

The relative instability of the states [the *matanitu*] and to a lesser extent of the confederations [the *vanua*] compared to the phratry [the *yavusa*] and clan [the *mataqali*] was due in part to the fact that they lacked the descent structure of the smaller groups.

[Geddes 1959: p.211]

We have examined the traditional organisations in Fijian society. It is the *mataqali* as a descent group and the *koro* as a territorial unit that is highlighted in social life. Most routine affairs are carried out on the stage of the *koro* where the *mataqali* presides.

"koro – tikina – yasana" as administrative units

Fiji began to be colonised by the British in 1874. With the Fijian Administration established, the British Colonial Government, adopting "Indirect Rule", constituted the administrative system. This system was inspired by the idea that Fijians should manage their own affairs. Taking account of the traditional system of social organisation, Fiji was divided into 12 provinces (*yasana*).⁶⁷ Each province had a chief officer called the *Roko-tui*. A province was divided into several districts (*tikina*) with the chief called the *Buli*. Within each *tikina* there were a

⁶⁷ Now Fiji consists of 14 provinces.

few villages (*koro*). In the village, the administrative chief called the *turaga-ni-koro* was appointed, apart from the traditional village chief. All of these administrative chiefs were Fijian under the policy of "Indirect Rule", to give Fijians a hand in the administration of their own affairs. According to Ravuvu, these systems were made up as follows:

A number of *Vanua* which were socially related to one another or politically affiliated in one way or another were grouped together to make a Province, commonly known in Fijian as *Yasana*. Each *Vanua* unit which made up the *Yasana* was made into a District, or *Tikina* in Fijian. Each *Tikina* comprised a number of villages, or *Koro* in which the members of each *Vanua* normally resided. Each of these administrative units, the *Yasana*, the *Tikina* and the *Koro* – was placed in charge of a Fijian who commanded the respect of the people.

[Ravuvu 1983: p.112]

Thus, a double-standard system was established: the traditional social organisation and the administrative system. For instance, there were two headmen in the village: a village chief and a *turaga-ni-koro*. It was determined that the former was to preside over the traditional and customary activities within the village while the latter had responsibility for administrative matters such as building houses, weeding the village, maintaining footpaths, and cleaning the village. In fact, however, most of the matters occurring within the village were usually conducted by the village chief. The responsibility of the *turaga-ni-koro* was cumbersome and the position was thought to be neither attractive nor prestigious. Nayacakalou says:

For instance, in all meetings of village councils I attended, the village chief presided. In housebuilding and village cleaning, although the village headman [*turaga-ni-koro*] initiated the action by proclaiming what would be done and when, and possibly making assignments to particular individuals, he did not normally act as works foreman on the job. Here 'customary procedure' took over. Normally the men assembled at the work site and began. If there was need for specific decisions or directions, these normally came from one or more older members of the groups or the chief himself.

[Nayacakalou 1987: pp.86-87]

With the institution of the administrative system modified, Fiji is currently divided into 4 Divisions that are the highest level in the hierarchy of administrative segments. A Commissioner and District Officers govern in each Division. 14 Provinces exist below the level of the Division. The Provincial Council consists of elected and

appointed members of an assembly. The *tikina*, into which a Province is sub-divided, is composed of a number, sometimes more than 20, villages. The posts of the *turaga-ni-koro* and *buli* were abolished. Although the *turaga-ni-koro* still exists in some villages, he no longer has any statutory power. There are two kinds of *tikina*, the *tikina makawa* (old *tikinas*) and the *tikina vou* (new *tikinas*). Traditionally, the *tikina makawa* consists of clusters of Fijian villages. All Fijian villagers know to which *tikina makawa* they belong. However, recent censuses have not and could not provide information at the *tikina makawa* level. Locating the exact boundaries at this level is extremely difficult because many *tikina makawa* boundaries can vary as they expand into uninhabited areas. However, it is a more useful unit of analysis than the *tikina vou*, which is officially used as a geographic sector in censuses. The land area at the *tikina vou* level also cannot be determined at a sufficiently accurate level.

social organisation around Waidracia

In terms of the level of *tikina makawa*, Naitasiri Province has 16 *tikinas* and Waidracia belongs to Tikina Rara. Three villages, Nasavu, Naluwai and Waidracia, compose Tikina Rara. These three villages have a close relationship. Lots of villagers mutually come and go in daily life. Since intermarriage among the three villages is common, people in Waidracia often invite villagers from the other villages to their ceremonies. So do they in the other villages. Naluwai is the principal village of the three, where a great chief, Ratu Emosi Balenaivalu, lives. He is a member of the G.C.C.⁶⁸ as well as holding the post of chief of Tikina Rara. He is one of the most highly ranked persons in the district. In many cases, such a traditional chief as Ratu Emosi is also appointed to a governmental post. Although anybody can obtain a high post in the government depending on his ability, not everyone is able to be a great traditional chief. Ratu Emosi belongs to a line of descent that has produced great chiefs. His brothers have the prefix of Ratu, which is an honorific particle and a title of rank.

At the level of Province, there are a few provincial officials. Under the level of *tikina*, no official is appointed. In the case of Naitasiri Province, a few officials such as *Roko* (a native officer in charge of a province), his secretary, treasurer and driver are stationed in the Provincial Office established in Vunidawa.

Waidracia consists of four *mataqali*: Naqaranikula is a *mataqali turaga* (the chiefly *mataqali*), whose headman is Nemani; Gasele plays the role of the *mataqali matanivanua* (the herald), his headman is Pauliasi; Vunivutoro occupies the post of the *mataqali bati* (the warrior), his headman is Sekove; Burenicava is in charge of the *mataqali bete* (the priest), his headman is Taniela Ilisevaseva. There are 28 houses in the village. The population is approximately 200.

Table 4-1 shows how many people live together in each house in Waidracia, according to the questionnaire conducted there. The author obtained 25 responses from 28 households. On average, 6.88 people live together in each house. But there are many temporary visitors or those who temporarily vacate their houses to go somewhere so that the population of each house and even Waidracia is always fluctuating.

⁶⁸ The Great Council of Chiefs has a right to advise the Government on matters regarding the Fijian people. This council is one of the strongest pressure groups on Fijian affairs.

Table 4-1: The number of people living together in a house in Waidracia

<i>the number of people</i>	<i>Waid racia</i>
living together	:
	:
	:
[1]	:
	:
[2]	:
	:
[3]	:
	:
[4]	:
	:
[5]	:
	:
[6]	:
	:
[7]	:
	:
[8]	:
	:
[9]	:
	:
[10]	:

[11]	
over [12]	
N/A	
total	
respondent (total - N/A)	

An administrative chief, a *turaga-ni-koro*, is appointed in Waidracia. Vilive, who belongs to Mataqali Naqaranikula, had been in the post for five years. He earns a salary of about F\$60 a month. The salary is paid every three months. He regularly goes to the Provincial Office to receive an order such as to clean the village. He always stands in the centre of the village to announce the order to the villagers by shouting. Whoever belongs to Mataqali Naqaranikula can become a *turaga-ni-koro*.

On the other hand, the oldest man who belongs to Mataqali Naqaranikula is supposed to be the traditional chief. This principle is mechanical. If a chief dies, the second oldest man becomes the next chief. Nemani was in this position in 2003. However, as he seldom took the opportunity to appear on appropriate occasions so the second oldest person, Levani, acted as the chief in most cases.

Levani's wife, Oripa, brought the author to Waidracia. Oripa is a very kind woman with a broad outlook. She speaks English very well, in contrast to most villagers, whose spoken English is less fluent. She organises a women's group within the village. She also has the experience of giving advice to a Tikina meeting, representing the women's group. Thus she is regarded as an active woman of consequence not only within Waidracia but also in the region. As she was the person who introduced the author to the village, she had taken care of him since then.

Figure 4-1: Levani’s family line

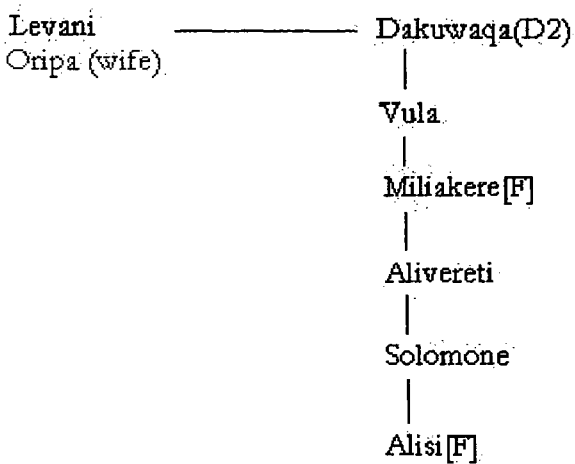
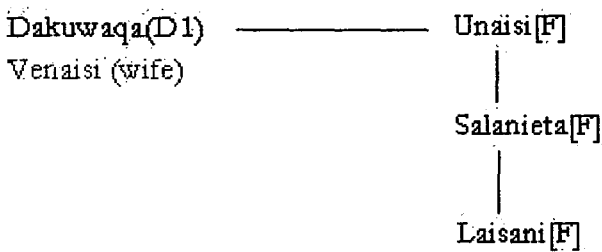


Figure 4-2: Dakuwaqa’s family line



Levani and Oripa have six children: Dakuwaqa (D2) is the eldest son who had graduated from university and lives in Australia; Vula is the second eldest son; Miliakere is the eldest daughter, Alivereti is the third eldest son; Solomone is the fourth eldest son; and Alisi is the second eldest daughter. Miliakere and her husband, their

children, Solomone and Alisi all live in Levani's house.

Levani had two little brothers and one little sister, but apart from one of his little brothers, Dakuwaqa (D1), all had passed away.⁶⁹ Dakuwaqa (D1) is the third oldest man in Mataqali Naqaranikula. If both Nemani as the chief and Levani are absent, Dakuwaqa (D3) acts as the chief instead. Dakuwaqa (D1) lives in a house next to Levani's house. Although Levani's house is big enough, there is very little space because of the many people living there. Therefore, Oripa recommended that the author stay in Dakuwaqa's (D1) house.

The author stayed in Dakuwaqa's (D1) house. There are six people living in this house: Dakuwaqa (D1) is the headman of the house; Venaisi is his wife; Laisani is the youngest of their three daughters; Varanisese is the eldest daughter of Laisani; Salanieta is the youngest daughter of Laisani; and Dakuwaqa (D3) is Vula's second eldest son. The author had used a bed intended for Dakuwaqa (D2) who is living in Australia.

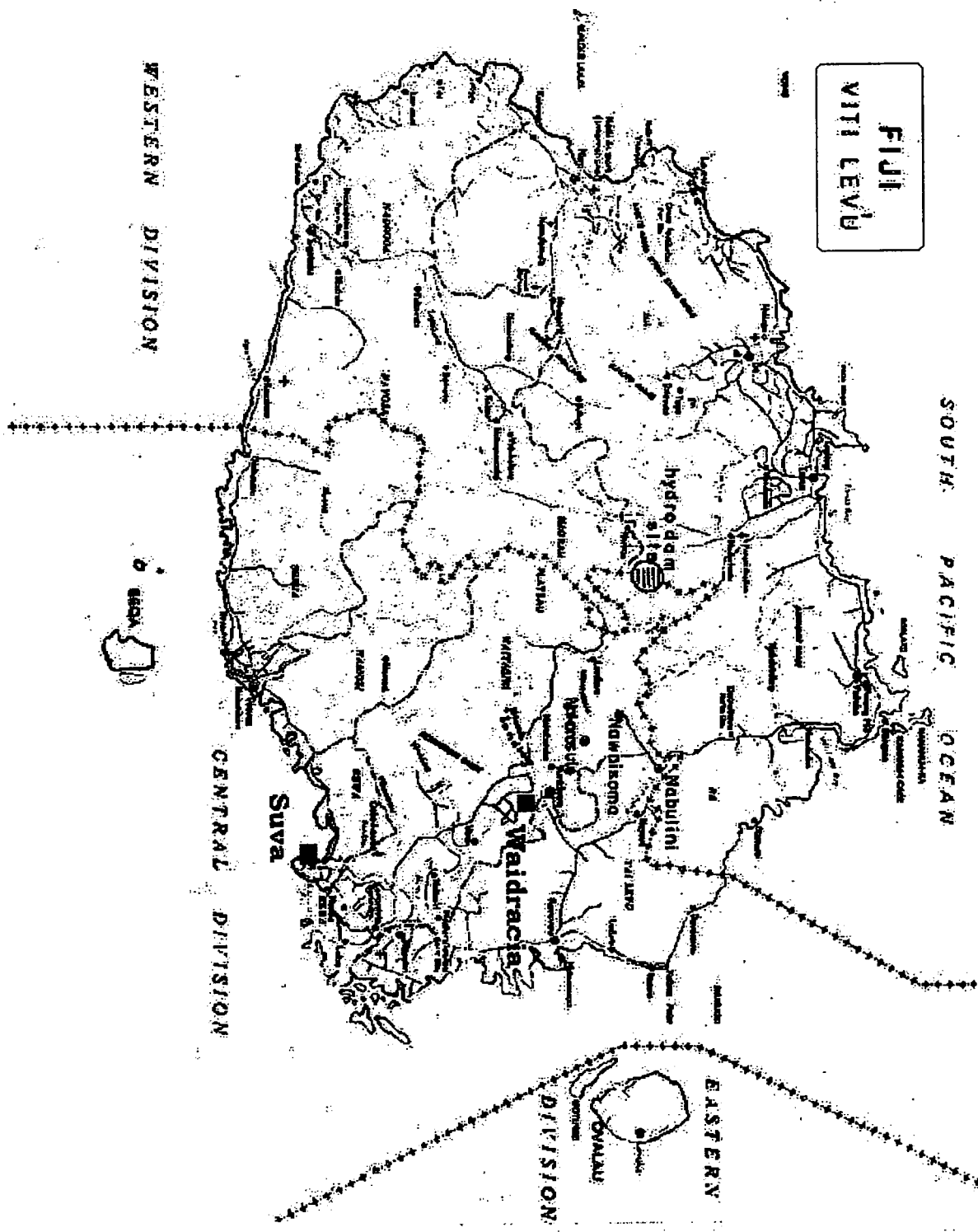
On the opposite side of Levani's house from Dakuwaqa's (D1) house, there is another house where Vula and his children, Alivereti, his wife and his children live.

The people living in these three houses compose one *i-tokatoka*. They have a close interrelationship in daily life. When Laisani and Venaisi, who work at housekeeping, are temporarily absent, for instance, Oripa, Miliakere, and Alisi from Levani's house or Alivereti's wife from Vula's house come to help. In this thesis, the affairs occurring in these three houses are the main object of observation.

Waidracia's map is as follows.

⁶⁹ There are three men around the author whose names are Dakuwaqa. In this thesis, we use the symbol of (D1), (D2) and (D3) to avoid confusion.

Map 4-1: Waidracia village



4-1-3. A day in Waidracia

a day in the life of adult men

Adult men in Waidracia usually wake up early in the morning, between 6:00 and 6:30. The call Cook-a-doodle-doo does not necessarily serve as an alarm clock, for cocks are crowing at random all day. While pious Christians usually pray before getting up, others often omit to. They dress in a T-shirt or an open-necked shirt with a collar known as a “Bula-shirt”, and a *Sulu*, a piece of cloth about 2m long girt around the loins. Although men will often spend a day without putting on any shirts, wearing a *Sulu* or something else around the lower body is compulsory within the village. Taking a toothbrush with toothpaste and a towel, they go to a tap. There are several watering places with taps in Waidracia. Basically they go to a particular place to clean their face and teeth. On getting back from their toilet, breakfast cooked by the women will be ready. Breakfast usually begins at 7:00 and continues at least until 8:30. Except for special days, the men go to their own plantation after breakfast. Putting on their work clothes, they have ten minutes to walk to their taro or cassava fields with their farming tools in their hands. Taro is a primary food in Waidracia so almost all adult men plant taro.

At about 13:00, the men come back from the plantation with a couple of crops to be consumed during that day. On the day they go to Suva to sell crops, they bring back a larger quantity, around 8 bundles of taro or cassava. Taking off their dirty clothes, they wash their body at the watering place. They sometimes have a bath in the River Wainimala flowing just beside Waidracia. As Fijians have a strong desire to keep their bodies clean, they have a bath quite often. When bathing, they neatly wash their body while wearing only a *Sulu*. It is strictly prohibited to bath naked. With quite a few people walking around the taps, one should take great care in bathing. Having had lunch dressed in clean clothes, the men frequently take a nap.

Work is off after lunch so the men spend the free time until dinner by taking a nap, chatting and wandering about. Young men sometimes enjoy playing rugby in the field at the Naitasiri Secondary School in the evening.

As it gets dark, some start drinking *yaqona*, generally called “grog”⁷⁰ by Fijians. There is no definite rule of where, when or who to drink with. The place and the drinking partners vary from day to day. Some, passing by

⁷⁰ This term, meaning “drinking *yaqona*”, is idiomatically used both as a noun and as a verb in Fiji. In this thesis, I sometimes use this term in describing their daily life.

the drinking place, are invited to join in while others have arranged to do so in advance. One visiting a house to do something may join the "grog" if it is taking place. It depends on the conditions how many men "grog", 2 people in some cases and more than 20 in others. One should never "grog" alone. "Grog" drinking occurs in several houses in Waidracia every night. Some join a grog session quite often, almost every night. Others rarely do so, perhaps only once a week.

"Grog" drinking usually goes on until midnight. Men seldom take dinner on the day they "grog". Occasionally, but rarely, a man will take dinner before he goes to "grog". Sometimes, after he has been to a grog session, a man will ask his wife or mother to prepare dinner for him. Usually, the man will go to bed without eating, and will take the previous night's dinner with his breakfast. In either case, adult men never miss eating the dinner meal.

Almost all adult men have their own bed in a particular, highly respected place in the house.

On Sunday, there is no work. Men get up and take breakfast a bit later than on weekdays. By the time the church service starts at 10:00, they have washed and dressed in a Bula-shirt and what they call a "pocket-sulu", a formal type of *Sulu* with pockets made of polyester. Wearing a Bula-shirt and pocket-sulu is a formal enough style to go to church in. They go to church after bathing and shaving. Summoned by a signal given with the native wooden drum (*lali*), villagers gather in the church. The service continues for around an hour.

People in Waidracia belong to several denominations of Christianity so they go to their particular church every Saturday or Sunday. Methodism predominates in Waidracia. The church building in the village is also Methodist.

Occasionally, "grog" drinking takes place after the Sunday service with the ministers. There is no taboo to prohibit "grog" in the daytime. "Grog" drinking during the daytime is apt to be limited to such a case as this, or some special occasions.

No matter whether they "grog", in the daytime or night time, it is usual for them not to take meals while drinking. Even though they miss Sunday's lunch, which is likely to be a bit more luxurious, the dishes for the men are kept until they are ready to eat at dinnertime.

The chief amusements for men in Waidracia are listening to the radio, playing billiards, and visiting Suva city or Nausori town. It takes 3 – 4 hours by the local bus service to get to Suva or Nausori from Waidracia, so these are not difficult activities for them. They often go to cinemas, shopping or to watch a rugby match. As the Naitasiri Provincial rugby team is one of the strongest in Fiji, people in Waidracia sometimes get excited at watching the game played in Nausori.

a day in the life of adult women

Unlike men, adult women have quite a lot of tasks to do during a whole day. Women, getting up at 5 o'clock, must begin to prepare the breakfast. As they do not usually eat taro or cassava for breakfast, they bake roti⁷¹ or boil rice instead. Eating European bread is not usual. Sometimes they eat only a couple of crackers at breakfast.

After eating breakfast, the women have to wash the dishes. Those who live close to the water place directly go to the nearest tap to wash the dishes. Others, carrying a tub of water from the tap, wash the dishes inside their houses. Detergent is little used in washing-up. This is because it makes rinsing easier as well as being more economical.

The next task is sweeping and cleaning the rooms with a traditional Fijian broom. Washing clothes follows at the water sources. Gathering around the tap with washtubs, laundry soaps, washboards and their dirty clothes, the women start cleaning. There is little space for washing so that a few women fully occupy it. As that place is usually busy after breakfast until lunch, they try to make as much room as possible. They will never rush. Chatting to each other, the women take their time.

At the same time, taro or cassava is washed for lunch. Sections of taro stem are cut after the mud has been scraped off and they have been washed. It is then boiled without peeling the skin.

Women simultaneously take a bath, for washing their dirty clothes and taro or cassava makes them sweaty. They wash their bodies with their *Sulu* on. Even when bathing, it is prohibited for women to expose either the upper or lower parts of their body. Women as well as men have to take great care in the bathing place. They nimbly use the *Sulu* to wash the body.

⁷¹ Roti is Indian bread popular in Fiji. It is similar to "naan".

Washing dishes again follows the lunch from 12 o'clock to 1 o'clock. Afterwards, the women have other work to do such as fishing, gathering edible plants, collecting firewood, washing clothes, and weaving, in particular the treated leaves of pandanus called *voivoi*, while the men often loaf and idle during the afternoon. The women do, however, frequently take a nap. There is no rush at all in the Fijian villages. Time passes unhurriedly in the village.

Generally speaking, the dinner meal is the most luxurious. A few plates of a main dish are cooked. The women begin to prepare dinner at about 16:00. On the day of "grog", only the women and children have their dinner. The same process as after breakfast and lunch is to be done after dinner. After washing the dishes and preparing the forthcoming breakfast, the housewives can finally go to sleep.

Women are usually asleep by 21:30 because they need to wake up very early the next morning. They generally sleep on the floor with a few pieces of pillow and blanket. They sleep neither on a mattress nor in a bed.

Although everybody in the village is supposed to join the Sunday service in the church, some women are so busy accomplishing their daily tasks that they are unable to attend. Women going to church necessarily wear the typical Fijian one-piece dress printed with tropical flowers. Before going to church, they take a bath. They elaborately comb their afro-hair, trying to make their spherical hair look bigger. They have to sit down in a cluster at the rear of the church, for women must be modest in public places.

In Waidracia, it is also women's task to sell the harvested crops, like taro or cassava, in the market in Suva as well as to purchase groceries and vegetables that cannot be obtained in the village. In the house where the author was staying, the headman's wife, Venaisi, goes to Suva every Wednesday, and comes back the next day. Every Wednesday afternoon, Venaisi catches the bus to Suva. From 15:00 till 18:00, she sells bundles of taro, cassava and taro leaves in the market. She spends the night at her relative's house near Suva. Next morning, she sells her remaining crops and buys what her household needs for the following week. Venaisi usually gets back on Thursday evening by bus.

While planting taro and cassava is definitely men's work, almost all of the other food producing tasks are women's. They collect bananas, breadfruits, and lemons as well as fishing in the River Wainimala and harvesting

edible plants such as *ota* and *bele*.

Traditionally, it is one of the most significant of all women's tasks to process *voivoi* in order to weave a mat called an *ibe*. Cut *voivoi* leaves are boiled and dried. They are then softened by drawing the back of a spoon along the length of the leaf. Women, especially those of older age, are required to keep at this routine work constantly in order to weave *ibe*. The *ibe* is always scarce in the village because too many ceremonies take place. The *ibe* is an essential item for ritual exchange as well as for daily use. In Waidracia, almost all the women know the procedure, and actually engage in that work.

Women rarely "grog" in Waidracia. If it happens, the session must be separated from the men's session. It is not necessarily taboo but it should not become open.

They occasionally go to Suva city or Nausori town for pleasure as the men do. Yet, the opportunity is rather limited because of the bus fare to be saved.

a day in the life of students

Children of 5.5 years old go to Class 1 in the primary school in Fiji. Although there is no institution of compulsory education, primary school attendance is virtually 100% in Fiji. This seems to be the result of governmental policy making the tuition fee gratis.⁷² In Fiji, some primary schools have from Class 1 to Class 6 while others teach up to Class 8. The students going to the former type of primary school enter Form 1 in the junior high school after graduating from Class 6. On the other hand, the students in the latter type of school go to Form 3 in the junior high school after finishing Class 8. The curriculum of the junior high school ends at Form 4, and the high school runs from Form 5 to Form 7.

Almost all of the students in Waidracia go to the "Rara District Primary School" and "Naitasiri Secondary High School" on foot, as they are next to each other, 1km from the village. A very small number of children go to an Indian school in Vunidawa.

The students, waking up at 6:00, have a bath before going to school. It seems cold because the temperature is still low in the early morning. With a bath towel, soap and a toothbrush set in their hands, children shivering

with cold dash towards the tap as soon as they make up their mind to be soaked with cold water. During the time before breakfast, the water places are always overcrowded with children. They are usually shivering, and wrap themselves up in a bath towel until the breakfast starts.

Girls older than the senior Class in the primary school are expected to behave in the same way as adult women. Such girls help in women's work such as preparing for breakfast, washing dirty clothes, and taking care of infants, before they leave their house.

As it is always busy until breakfast finishes, the formal manners and taboos at the meal tend to be loosened or reduced. Although the older girls, as semi-adult women, are supposed to defer eating until the men finish, everybody usually eats at the same time. There remain, however, some duties that women have to perform at breakfast. Older girls and adult women must serve the dishes to the men.

The students leave Waidracia at about 7:30. It takes 15 minutes by foot to get to their school. After they leave, the village looks as if it were in the lull after a storm.

The high school students, getting back at 16:00, follow the kids from the primary school who come home at 15:30. All except the semi-adult girls play on the mountain, in the river, or on the footpath until the dinner is ready. The village, which has been quiet in the daytime, bustles again. Kids are running, wandering, chatting, playing, and crying here and there within the village. Although the children are basically free until dinner, the women sometimes tell them to help with housework such as collecting firewood. On the other hand, the semi-adult girls, considered to be mature enough to manage almost the same things as adult women do, are expected to take a full share of the housework. Thus they come to acquire the skills to manage the household before they finish primary school. At the same time, the senior boys going to the primary school are also considered as semi-adult. They are no longer kids. As they grow older, the more social rules and manners they have to obey in the village.

a day in the life of preschool children

From the time they wake up until the time they go to sleep, the preschool children under 5.5 years old run and play within the village. Both boys and girls often take off their clothes. They are relatively free of taboos.

⁷² Fiji government started this attempt since 1973. At the first stage in 1973, the tuition fee of Class 1 in the primary school

Even such kids, however, are warned by adults if they expose the lower parts of the body.

It is not only the parents' task to take care of the infants but also the other adults in the village. If a kid walks into a house with unsteady steps, any adult being there by chance should take care of him. In addition, an adult deals with a child who belongs to the same *i-tokatoka* as them as if the kid were their own child. Thus, the relationship between a nephew or a niece and an uncle or an aunt nearly resembles that of the parent and the child.

The "name sake" is quite popular in Fiji. One can give one's name to a baby. One is then concerned about that baby's welfare even after he grows up. In a case in Waidracia, the name of the headman of the house where the author lived is Dakuwaqa (D1). He gave his name for the sake of his brother's eldest son (D2), and also one of his brother's grandsons (D3). Thus there are 3 persons named Dakuwaqa in one *i-tokatoka*. Some kids given a name sleep not in their parents' house but in the house where the one giving the name lives. For example, small Dakuwaqa (D3) lives and sleeps in Dakuwaqa's (D1) house while his father lives in another house.

4-1-4. Life in Waidracia

clothing

Adult men in Waidracia daily wear a T-shirt or a Bula-shirt, and a *Sulu*. Some young boys wear Western-styled clothes such as polo shirts or jeans. It is not a strict requirement to wear the *Sulu* in the village. But, one who visits a village for the first time should be dressed in a *Sulu*. Wearing other clothes in daily life is permitted to an extent, while the *Sulu* is essential in ritual contexts. The author, wearing shorts or *Sulu* after his first visit, brought a *Sulu* to change into before entering Waidracia for the first time. The young are fond of Western-styled clothes when going to Suva. Within the village, men are dressed in a T-shirt, a polo shirt, a Bula-shirt, or a replica of a rugby jersey, or are often naked above the waist. As the weather and the temperature are fairly steady throughout the year in Fiji, the style of dress stays almost the same too. Only when it is "cold", in the morning and the evening during the dry season, are they sometimes dressed in a jacket, a cap and gloves.

In the church, or during the ceremonies, they dress in formal wear such as a Bula-shirt and a pocket-*sulu*.

On some significant occasions, they put on a tie.

People walk barefoot within the village, or sometimes wear sandals. Socks are scarcely used. Except for those sections, where the footpath is paved, almost all the ground in Waidracia is covered with grass and soil. Since frequent rainfall can easily turn the ground to mud, putting on smart shoes is meaningless. They can walk well on the slippery mud with the sole of their foot holding the surface. Their sole is thick enough to walk in the bush without putting on shoes, for they have been doing so since their childhood. The muddy foot is wiped on a doormat when entering a house, which all houses necessarily provide. The doormat is, however, too dirty to clean their feet.

Adult women daily wear a one-piece dress made of cotton, or a T-shirt and a *Sulu* the same as the men. The ordinary *Sulu* worn by men and women is the same, but the pocket-*sulu* is for men only. The one-piece dress, which is unique and impressive, is decorated with tropical flower designs. This is also women's formal dress on some particular occasions.

Mostly, women also walk around the village without shoes. Otherwise, they put on simple sandals. If the footwear becomes ripped, they take it to Suva to be repaired. There are lots of street stalls in Suva that deal with the repair of footwear.

Washing clothes is one of the principal jobs for women. Cleaned early in the morning, they hang the washed laundry out to dry. As the weather is quite changeable in Waidracia, they do not take in the laundry if it starts to rain. The sunlight in Fiji is strong enough to dry the laundry in a few hours. One can easily perspire. Clothes are only changed, once or twice in a day. Nevertheless, bathing is frequent. Fijians are strongly concerned to keep themselves clean, and do so as far as physical circumstances permit.

In Waidracia traditional norms remain relatively strong compared, as we shall see below, to Nasilai. For example, their hairstyle is mostly natural; men cut their hair short while women have "afro" hair. As is often the case, however, some change the hairstyle by dyeing or, in the urban areas, a perm.

Some small girls have dishevelled hair, which has not been cut since they were born. The first haircut used to be considered a serious ritual event. The parents invited relatives and others to celebrate. The actual ceremony

is now much reduced, but the particular framework remains. The first haircut is, even now, somewhat regarded as a precious occasion in Waidracia.

Wearing a showy dress within the village is a taboo. Besides both men and women must conceal the lower parts of the body from the other villagers no matter where they are in the village. One should take great care in wearing a *Sulu* because it is just a cloth wrapped around one's waist that can easily come loose. As sitting on chairs is not usual in Fiji, both men and women sit cross-legged on the floor. In such a situation, one must pay attention to keeping the lower parts of one's body concealed from others sitting nearby. Kids, who sometimes open their legs when sitting, are rigorously told by adults, "Sit properly!"

In a grog session, one might urinate at certain places within the village. One must not do so in the daytime. If one finds a woman is about to pass by before he takes a pee, one should wait for her to pass by him. If a woman finds a man peeing, she must not get close to until he is finished. These scenes can be seen here and there in Waidracia because the village is always crowded, even at night.

food

In Waidracia, the staple foods are taro and cassava. Depending on each house's preference, either predominates. In the house where the author lived, taro was served at most meals while cassava was rarely eaten. Although taro is the most popular crop in Fiji, it cannot be planted in some parts of Viti Levu because of the weather conditions and geographical limitations. In such regions, people eat another crop like cassava or breadfruit instead. In Waidracia, taro can be cultivated pretty well. The other crops like breadfruit, yam, and chestnut (*ivi*) are also eaten as supplementary foods.

Boiled taro or cassava is usually served at lunch and dinner, rarely at breakfast. Instead, foreign staple foods such as roti from India, rice popular in Chinese, bread and crackers from the West are eaten for breakfast. Roti, which is made from flour similar to naan, goes with curry or butter. Several foods originating from the Indian community, which is the second largest in the Fijian population, or from the Chinese as the third, have recently been introduced into Fijian society. Very few houses in Waidracia have a gas ring. They bake roti and boil rice by means of firewood.

Sometimes, just after somebody gets back from shopping in Suva, bread is served at breakfast. Bread is considered precious. Where there is a lack of other foods, crackers are often eaten with butter for breakfast. These are manufactured by a domestic company, "fml". In Waidracia, their crackers are sold at a canteen in the village. It is an everyday practice in Waidracia to visit the canteen to buy crackers for breakfast in the morning.

Butter is provided all the time for eating with roti, crackers and bread. Butter and margarine are available in the village. As there is no electricity in Waidracia, they cannot be preserved in a refrigerator. Instead, butter is kept in a cup with cold water.

Other dishes apart from these staples are hardly ever cooked for breakfast. In rare cases, a curry dish is provided to go with roti. Eggs are also precious, and may be served as an omelette at breakfast following the day somebody gets back from Suva. The breakfast menu depends entirely on how many foods brought from Suva remain in stock, because the breakfast largely consists of what has been bought while lunch and dinner contain more domestic foods such as taro leaves, edible plants and coconut milk. In the house where the author lived, for example, shopping in Suva is usually done on Wednesday. Hence, the breakfast on Wednesday was simple; sometimes only a cracker with butter and tea in some cases.

The menu at lunch and dinner is nearly the same. Taro or cassava is essential. It is never the case that other staple foods such as roti or rice are served at the daily lunch or dinner without dishes of taro or cassava. Roti or rice left over from the previous breakfast may be served again, as is necessarily the case with taro or cassava. Taro and cassava brought from the plantation are boiled in advance before the meal is prepared.

At lunch and dinner, one main dish is usually cooked. There may be two or more dishes in some cases.

Tinned food is quite important for the people of Waidracia, as they do not have refrigerators. Tinned fish such as tuna or mackerel, as well as tinned corned beef or mutton, are frequently consumed. The latter is eaten relatively less often because of the price. Dishes of chop suey, curry or soup are cooked with these tinned foods. Tinned tuna and mackerel are so popular in Waidracia that dishes made of these can be frequently seen, 4 – 5 times a week. On the other hand, the vegetables of which a dish of chop suey is made are mainly brought from Suva. The tinned foods are sold in a canteen in Waidracia while these kinds of vegetables are neither cultivated

nor sold in the village. They have to purchase potatoes, carrots, onions, and Chinese cabbage in Suva. Thus, a dish of chop suey is limited to the day when somebody gets back from Suva.

Taro leaves and coconut milk are requisites for life in Waidracia. Boiled taro leaves and canned meat or fish in coconut milk is one of the most popular dishes in Fiji. Without any tinned foods, only taro leaves could be boiled in coconut milk. Taro leaves can be provided in Waidracia. Coconuts are, however, to be bought in Suva in most cases because the coconut crop from the tiny plantation in Waidracia is not sustainable enough to meet the demand. Climatic and geographic conditions in Waidracia restrict the planting of coconuts. Villagers also cut young coconuts too soon in order to drink its juice. They should wait until it becomes mature enough to collect the milk. This is a problem since coconut milk can be obtained only from matured nuts. Making coconut milk is a routine task undertaken by women before the lunch and dinner, and sometimes by children whom the women tell to assist. Cutting a mature coconut with a hatchet, they scrape the fat clinging to the inside of the nut out by means of a unique tool with a hook shape called *karininiu*. The juice inside the matured coconut is discarded, for it is not suitable for drinking. Some water is added, and then the scraped fat is squeezed several times to make coconut milk. Every day, just before the meal, one can hear the “crunch-crunch” sound of scraping fat out in every house in Waidracia.

Ota and *bele* are plants that are relished. These edible plants are one of the self-sustaining foods in Waidracia. Boiled *ota* goes with coconut milk. *Bele* is usually cooked in a soup with tinned or fresh meats. These plants are also sold in the Suva market, but they provide for themselves in Waidracia.

Freshwater fish and prawns may be caught in the River Wainimala flowing just beside Waidracia. Nobody in the village engages in commercial fishing. Hence, one can either obtain fish for oneself, receive fish as a gift from those who have caught it, or ask those people to sell it. There has recently been an increase in the monetary exchange of caught fish within the village. Women often catch fish in the morning by means of a fishing net set the previous night. Some men also fish by diving with a spear. Tilapia is the fish most frequently caught. Grass carp is also sometimes caught.

In Vunidawa, which is the HQ of Naitasiri Province and four kilometres from Waidracia, there is electricity.

There are several tiny shops with refrigerators or freezers, where people in Waidracia are able to obtain frozen fillets of sea fish. Since the village is in the interior of Viti Levu and it is impossible to run a refrigerator, sea fish is quite precious for the people of Waidracia. In some cases, they quickly cook a fillet of sea fish bought in Suva. In other cases, they walk to Vunidawa to buy it. It depends on their needs. On ceremonial occasions, for instance, they require foods that are a little bit more luxurious. Frozen fillet of mackerel is the most popular sea fish sold in Vunidawa.

Both freshwater fish like tilapia and frozen fillets of sea fish such as mackerel are commonly boiled in a salty soup or deep-fried, which goes with coconut milk.

Meats are considered as precious and great meals that they can seldom eat. Even tinned meats like canned beef are more expensive than tinned fish. Thus a meat dish is rarely served. The occasional ceremony provides an opportunity to get hold of fresh meat dishes. The host *metaqali* of the ceremony must prepare the feast called the *magiti* for the invited guests. Except for small-scale ceremonies, a few cattle and pigs are necessary for any feast. In particular cases in Waidracia, these livestock are bought from a farm near the village, which is run by an Indian. There are frequent ceremonies not only in Waidracia but also in Naluwai or Nasavu. As a member of Tikina Rara⁷³, the people living in these three villages come and go to ceremonies taking place in any of the three villages. When coming back from a ceremony in another village, people bring some pieces of beef with them. Chicken is not commonly presented at a *magiti*. As pigs are associated with taboos, cattle are the animals most commonly slaughtered for a *magiti*. In the ceremony one can get hold of meals of fresh meat, whether it is held in Waidracia, or one of the other villages. Pieces of beef presented at a ceremony are to be distributed within each *i-tokatoka* in Waidracia. Thus one can enjoy eating meat dishes no matter where the ceremony happens.

Beef stew, beef soup and beef curry are popular meals in Waidracia. When fresh beef is available, it is *bele* often boiled with beef soup. Otherwise corned beef is used. Beef chop suey with vegetables is also common. Cooking fresh beef is so rare that adults as well as kids look happy to eat it.

Beef sold in shops is too expensive to purchase in daily life. Eating beef is limited to such an occasion as a

⁷³ See section 4-1-2.

ceremony. Some people in Waidracia breed pigs, but they do not eat pigs themselves. On the other hand, chicken and lamb are often purchased in Suva.

Some houses in Waidracia own free-range chickens and ducks. They are slaughtered only on a special occasion. Hence the chicken eaten in daily life is bought in Suva. Chicken curry or chicken chop suey is not such an exceptional meal, especially just after one comes back from shopping in Suva. Whole chicken is not expensive but eating chicken is still an entertainment. Frozen lamb is also sold in Suva, which is a bit less expensive than beef. In some ceremonies in which there is no need to prepare a whole cow but a certain number of luxurious dishes are required, they often cook lots of cheap lamb to provide the *magiti*. Dishes of lamb, however, are hardly seen in daily meals. Chicken is the most common meat served in everyday life.

The foods consumed during daily life in Waidracia can be distinguished into two groups. Taro, cassava, taro leaves, some edible plants such as *ota* and *bele*, vegetables such as chillies, and freshwater fish, are self-sustaining in Waidracia while they purchase other foods such as potatoes, carrots, onions, garlic, and Chinese cabbages; tinned foods including corned beef and tinned fish; some seasonings such as salt, sugar, and soy sauce; and other materials like cooking oils, coconuts, flour, rice, butter and tea. They regularly go shopping in Suva but sometimes also buy these materials in the canteen in Waidracia. Apart from unusual foods like beef or lamb, most materials used for cooking are not home grown but have to be purchased. Whereas they used to eat taro and taro leaves in coconut milk, which were all grown in the village, they have now come to take eating taro leaves with tinned fish for granted. Their eating habits have more and more come to depend on purchased ingredients.

As mentioned above, roti or chop suey were foreign to Fijian people. Nevertheless, these have been assimilated into the Fijian food culture. The Indians and Chinese occupy a major position in the population of Fiji. For example, soy sauce is so common not only in urban but also in rural districts that chop suey is an ordinary dish even in Waidracia. Although there were no noodles in traditional Fijian food culture, an instant noodle named "Maggie 2 minutes noodle" manufactured by Nestle in Fiji is current in contemporary Fiji. They even say it is a "Fijian noodle", whereas the truth is that that type of noodle originated in Japan. In Fiji, however, the noodle is hardly served in a "proper" procedure. Although it should be a soup noodle, it has become the ingredient of

chop suey or curry.

Although basically, villagers have three meals, they sometimes eat something between meals. Children often eat the taro or cassava left over from the lunch on the sly as soon as they get back from school. They also spend their pocket money on sweets such as lollipops, chewing gum, or a pack of nuts, which are available in some houses within Waidracia selling groceries, sweets, cigarettes, *yaqona*, and so on. Kids feel happy when they find bananas, pawpaw and breadfruits in the kitchen. On the other hand, adult men and women enjoy tea breaks quite often during the day. Fijians are really fond of drinking tea. They drink it not only after meals but also any time between meals if someone wishes. Taken with an unbelievable amount of sugar, sometimes three spoonfuls, it looks awful. As sugar manufacturing has been one of the key industries since Indian indentured labour was adopted, brown sugar is quite cheap in Fiji. Sugar is necessarily in stock in houses, but milk cartons or powdered milk are scarce. There is a long-life milk carton sold in Fiji that can be preserved without putting it in the refrigerator. Although that milk or powdered milk is not expensive, these are not in stock in houses in Waidracia in most cases. Thus they usually drink a cup of tea with sugar and no milk. As tealeaves are also precious to them, they re-use them. One tea strainer of leaves is used up to three or four times. The leaves used at the previous meal are used again at the following meal. Tea bags are more expensive than loose leaves so they are not so common. If tea is out of stock, they sometimes drink their traditional tea, "lemon leaves tea" instead. They used to drink it before tea was introduced into Fiji. They seem to regard it as "something inferior", the same as the other goods originating from Fiji. They tend to think of that which has been introduced from the West as superior to their native materials.

In rare cases, custard tart is baked in houses that have a gas oven. The house where the author lived has gas rings with an oven so that such sweets are sometimes made for a tea break. As cooking by means of gas costs more than by fire, it is limited to such cases as baking a pie or frying vegetables. Kids, coming back from school, find a tart in the kitchen to romp around. The Fijians, no matter how old they are, love something sweet very much. They enjoy such sweets with a cup of sweet tea.

It is a common habit to eat something between meals. Not only the children but also the adults eat pieces of

taro, cassava, banana, pawpaw, cracker, and pie with a cup of tea. Although taro and cassava are heavy enough to be staple foods, the Fijians eat what seems to me an incredible quantity of food.

One cannot obtain cold beverages like Coke or juice in Waidracia. They are available only in Vunidawa. When someone has to go to Vunidawa, the kids eagerly ask to go with him because it is a precious opportunity for them as they may be able to get something special such as cold drinks and frozen juice. In their daily life in Waidracia, however, the only available beverages are water and tea. Even the infants seem fond of drinking tea.

Yaqona, which used to be a special drink served to high-ranking persons only during a ritual, has recently become an ordinary beverage. It used to be drunk in association with various complicated fabrics of taboo, but such taboos have been reduced and loosened so much that the commoners enjoy drinking *yaqona* for pleasure in their daily lives. However, not all taboos are necessarily abolished in the drinking of *yaqona*. There still exist some manners and rules that must be followed. In this sense, it can be said that *yaqona* is not a simple beverage like tea.

A plant of the pepper family, *yaqona* (kava), can be seen in most parts of Fiji. Less is planted in Waidracia, however, as it takes a long time to harvest depending upon the climatic conditions. There are few villages that are self-sufficient in *yaqona* in Fiji, for the daily demand exceeds the possible harvest, even if they try to plant it. Thus the Fijians usually purchase *yaqona* produced by large-scale commercial plantations run by Indians. A small amount of *yaqona* planted in Waidracia neither satisfies their daily demand nor becomes a product for cash income. On the other hand, the River Wainimala also causes people in Waidracia to hesitate about planting *yaqona*. Floods are liable after a cyclone. When the Cyclone Kina hit in 1993, planted *yaqona* was washed away and the crop was seriously damaged. It is now common to buy *yaqona* in Suva market, and only rarely is it harvested from their own *yaqona*.

There are two types of *yaqona* sold in the market: the whole dried root and the ground one. There are also two parts of *yaqona*: the root hair called *waka*, and the stem-base called *lewena*. Hence we can see four types of *yaqona* sold in the market: *waka*, ground *waka*, *lewena*, and ground *lewena*. It is said that the *waka* has a stronger action than the *lewena*. In Waidracia, *lewena* purchased in the Suva market is usually brought, ground, and

packed in bags to sell in the village. When someone comes back from Suva with some pieces of *lewena*, the young men are asked to grind it. Grinding *yaqona* is a co-operative job for the young. Anybody young is expected to do this task.

Drinking *yaqona* alone never happens, nor does it happen that everyone regularly keeps his own *yaqona* in stock. Unlike such items as cigarettes, a person will rarely hold a stock of *yaqona*. Instead, he will buy the appropriate quantity of *yaqona* in a canteen or a house selling groceries. All *yaqona* sold in Waidracia is packed, having been ground by the young. No matter which house possesses the *yaqona*, it is the young people's task to grind it.

Basically, the "grog" begins with some bags of *yaqona* brought by the participants, who bought the appropriate number of bags in advance depending on the situation. As all the *yaqona* is a gift to the host in a sense, a ritual form of presenting and receiving called *sevusevu* is necessarily carried out. While the traditionally proper procedure of *sevusevu* should be carried out at a significant ceremony, the way is, more or less, simplified at the daily grog session. In most cases at the daily "grog", the guests make a short speech expressing their gratitude for being invited and present their *yaqona* to the host. The host then gives a counter-speech. All the participants perform a kind of handclapping called *cobo*, which is a ceremonial act on the completion of any piece of ceremonial activity, expressive of respect or reverence. *Cobo* is to clap with the hands crosswise so as to make a hollow sound.

No one gets *yaqona* by *kerekere*. Whenever it is required, *yaqona* must be gifted by *sevusevu*. The guest never hands over cash as the price of the *yaqona*, either. If the host lives in a house selling groceries, it is possible for the guest to buy some bags of *yaqona* from the host. As a result, the *yaqona* bought by the guest is to be presented to the host. It seems equal to paying cash directly to the host instead of buying and gifting the *yaqona*. But this would never be done. The guest is expected and required to perform *sevusevu* in order to join the session. The host, taking it for granted that the presented *yaqona* was bought in his house, should reverentially make a counter-speech showing his gratitude for the *sevusevu*.

Generally, only adult men participate in the "grog". Occasionally, adult women in Waidracia also hold

sessions. Although the women's "grog" is not necessarily a taboo, it should not be mixed with the men's session. Children are often reproved when they are hanging around the place. In some cases, however, children are allowed to sit near the place where "grog" is occurring.

"Grog" start in the evening when it grows dark. They go on drinking without having a dinner. During the session, women and children take dinner beside the place of the "grog". The dishes in the dinner to be served for the men drinking *yaqona* are left over for the following meal.

The *yaqona* contains intoxicating ingredients that do not cause addiction. While drinking alcohol makes the body feel hot and cheerful, *yaqona* makes the body feel cool and calm. The more *yaqona* they drink, the less talkative the Fijians become. They are usually quite cheerful. At the beginning of the session, the place is filled with vigorous chatting. The "grog" is very important for handing down their traditions from generation to generation as well as for consulting with each other about relevant matters regarding the village. It is also essential for pleasure so that they may enjoy a chat. As time goes by, however, the place comes to resound only with someone's voice exclaiming "Taki!" once in a while, which is a request for another round. In the "grog", a round ends when each of the participants have finished drinking a cup of *yaqona*. One has to gulp down the cup of *yaqona* brought to him at one go. A rest follows after the round finishes, and then, someone says "Taki!" to suggest starting another round. Once they get drunk on *yaqona*, they hardly talk or laugh, and even whisper. Under the dim light of a lamp, the robust Fijian men sit in silence, except for sometimes letting out a loud belch, and go on drinking and drinking until midnight. This is indeed a striking scene.

If the *yaqona* runs out, someone in the session will go to buy additional bags, and present them to the host by *sevusevu*. Things develop. Then the session breaks up. The intoxicated men walk home with unsteady steps. With their head swimming, they go to sleep.

The proper way and the ritual meanings of drinking *yaqona* will be examined in Chapter 6 in detail. Here we have only looked at the background to the "grog".

Basically, drinking alcohol within Waidracia is taboo, except on a special day such as Christmas or New Year's Day. This "special day" does not imply a day in the ritual cycle. Alcohol is never be drunk at a traditional

ritual. Generally speaking, drinking alcohol is regarded as an evil in Waidracia. When someone who has drunk beer in Vunidawa comes back to Waidracia, the villagers seem to be displeased with him. At the same time, however, it is also a fact that beer attracts the young especially. Fijians get drunk very easily. They easily pick a fight. Thus lots of fights between drunk Fijians occur in the big towns like Suva. Some people in Waidracia who used to live and work in Suva have had to return to the village because they made a blunder while drunk. Therefore people abstain from drinking alcohol within Waidracia.

Almost all adult men in Waidracia smoke. In the Fijian price system, something imported is incredibly expensive while domestic products are cheap. Cigarettes are manufactured in Fiji so that one can purchase them relatively freely. Some still smoke a Fijian traditional cigar called *suki*, others prefer commercial products, such as the "Benson & Hedges" brand. Cigarettes are sold in the canteen or some of the houses selling groceries in Waidracia. One can buy either a roll or a packet containing ten rolls. Some people who do not commonly smoke very much want cigarettes only at grog sessions. One never finishes a roll. He is expected to share the roll with his neighbours. Asking *kerekere* for a cigarette also happens frequently. In such a case, the person asked is expected to accept the request generously.

Lollipops or chewing gum as well as cigarettes are preferred at "grog". Less sweetness in *yaqona* might cause nausea. Hence some like sucking on sweets during the "grog" so as to prevent sweetness from leaving the mouth. Asking *kerekere* for the sweets often takes place too. One willingly accepts *kerekere* without hesitation. As noted above, however, *yaqona* could never become an object for *kerekere*.

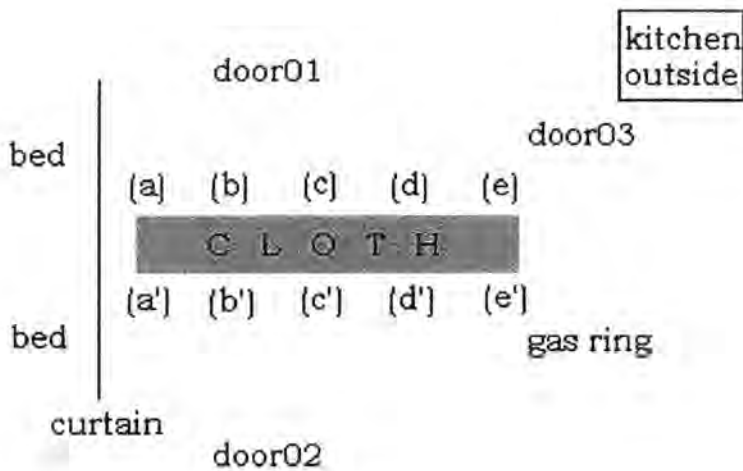
During "grog" in the evening, the women begin to cook. Men have to take great care when entering the kitchen, for it is a "woman's place" where they sometimes change their clothes. Although the house where the author lived has a gas ring inside, the main cooking usually takes place in the semidetached kitchen on a firewood stove. Few houses have such a gas ring. Commonly the firewood stove plays a major role in cooking. Tin pans and pots without any handles are needed, for the flames surround the pots. Each house owns more than 5 pans and pots. The kitchen is an extension next to the main house, usually covered with a tin roof and surrounded by a wall.

To begin with, women sweep a room for the meal with a typical Fijian broom. Then, they spread a large cloth directly on the floor, which becomes a table. Plates, a set of knives and forks, and towels for each are set on the cloth. As they eat by hand, the knife and fork are used in a complementary fashion, as in cutting taro and cassava to an appropriate size. A finger bowl is also necessary. After eating, they wash their hands and mouth, and wipe them on a towel.

When the table is set ready, each sits at a particular position. On all occasions, there is a definite rule dividing the space of the house into the “highly ranked place” and the “low-ranked place”. The space near the beds is regarded as the “highly ranked place”. The farther a point is from the beds, the lower-ranked it is, toward the kitchen. The headman, the elder and adult men sit at the highly ranked places at mealtimes. If there were somebody of a higher status like a chief or a guest, the manner of sitting would vary appropriately. At the meals in the house where the author lived, for instance, the author as a guest sat at position (a) in Figure 4-1 shown below. Dakuwaqa (D1) as the headman of this house sits at the (a’) position. There are no particular meanings to the difference between (a) and (a’). The author and Dakuwaqa (D1) are the only adult men living in the house. If another man who visited the house by chance and is invited to a meal, as is often the case with life in Waidracia, then he would sit at the (b) or (b’) position. Apart from the author and Dakuwaqa (D1), there were five people living in the house: Venaisi is Dakuwaqa’s wife; Laisani is the youngest of the three daughters of Dakuwaqa and Venaisi; Varanisese is the eldest daughter of Laisani; Salanieta is the youngest daughter of Laisani; and Dakuwaqa (D3) is a son of Dakuwaqa’s (D1) brother’s son, Vula. Laisani plays a central role in the household. Varanisese is a high school student while Salanieta goes to primary school. Dakuwaqa (D3) is one year older than Salanieta, given his name from Dakuwaqa (D1) so that he lives in this house whereas his father Vula lives in the next house. At a meal Salanieta and Dakuwaqa (D3), who are not regarded as adults, usually sit at any of the positions, (c), (c’), (d), and (d’), as they want. On the other hand, Varanisese is expected to behave the same as an adult woman although she is still a student. Adult women prepare the meal, give the best and largest portions to the adult men and the guest, serve them, and eat what remains after they finish. A few women, sitting by the adult men and the guest, have to swish away the flies that swarm around their food, with a fan. The others sit at the

low-ranked positions and closest to the kitchen, such as (e) and (e'). The adult men and the guest are expected to eat as much as possible. They are mostly asked to take a second helping. As a result, it may happen that almost all main dishes have gone before the women start eating. Therefore, Venaisi, Laisani and Varanisese have to obey such manners, on principle, according to the proper procedure of the meal. Except for the first time the author visited the house, however, they did not always follow these rules. Varanisese does not necessarily play a role in swishing away the flies. Venaisi and Laisani eat their dishes simultaneously with the men. The norms have been simplified but some of them still remain. The three women still sit at one of the positions of (d), (d'), (e) and (e'). They still give the best and largest portions to the author and Dakuwaqa (D1).

Figure 4-3: Sitting position in mealtimes



Every meal begins with grace, called *masu*. The headman, Dakuwaqa (D1), usually prays. Venaisi or Laisani, even Salanieta does instead of Dakuwaqa (D1) when he is away. Basically the main dish is shared between each plate. Lacking enough quantity of food, children and women may have to share one plate. Even in such a case, the plates of the author and Dakuwaqa (D1) were filled with plenty of food. As they think it is beneath their dignity to serve less food to the guest, the author finally realised that being modest was meaningless

indeed on such an occasion. For the Fijian, it is one of the most significant things for it to be taken into account that they generously entertain the guest with the best and most food, even if doing so means they eat very little themselves. When they had several tilapias, for example, the largest one was for the author and the second largest one for Dakuwaqa (D1). The others would be shared, depending on the situation. It may happen that some do not have a whole fish.

Occasionally, the quantity of the main dish is not enough to fill all the plates. Yet, there is never a lack of taro or cassava at the meal. Even if few pieces of taro and cassava are left after the meal, it rarely happens that the serving plates become empty in the middle of the meal. If by chance this should happen, another plate of taro or cassava will soon be brought by asking *kerekere* of the neighbours. As taro and cassava are self-sustaining in Waidracia, the villagers always hold enough in stock. Therefore, there is no question of starving in Waidracia.

The Fijian is a big eater. Fijians easily eat huge amounts of heavy foods such as taro or cassava. As described above, the main dish is rarely left because it is difficult for them in Waidracia to preserve the leftover food without a refrigerator. Thus women are required to cook a proper quantity of food, not too much nor too little, to satisfy all the participants of the meal.

houses and living

A typical style of house made from wooden frames and pillars, with a tin roof and walls, is usual in Fiji including Waidracia. Such houses are built with plenty of space between the ground and the floor. The number of traditional type of houses, *bule*, has decreased since the 1970s. The elders still know how to build *bule* and they are able to make them now. The next generation of houses had walls made of bamboo or tin. There still exist some houses with walls of woven bamboo in Waidracia. The most recent type of house is made of cement and concrete blocks.

The house where the author lived has wooden pillars, a tin roof and tin walls. The house of Dakuwaqa's (D1) brother, Levani, next to Dakuwaqa's house has wooden pillars, wooden walls and a tin roof. The house of Vula and Alivereti who are two of Levani's sons, which stands next to Dakuwaqa's (D1) house on another side of Levani's house, has walls made of concrete blocks and a tin roof. Tin is so light to carry and so easy to process

that its use as a building material has spread in Fiji. When it is urgently required to build an extension to the kitchen of a house, for example, the young can easily make the walls and roof of the kitchen from pieces of tin. For a funeral in a house, the detached kitchen is easily enlarged and modified with new tin walls and tin roof by the young men so as to provide a huge amount of *magiti* (the feast). Until then the kitchen of the house had had only a shabby roof and no walls.

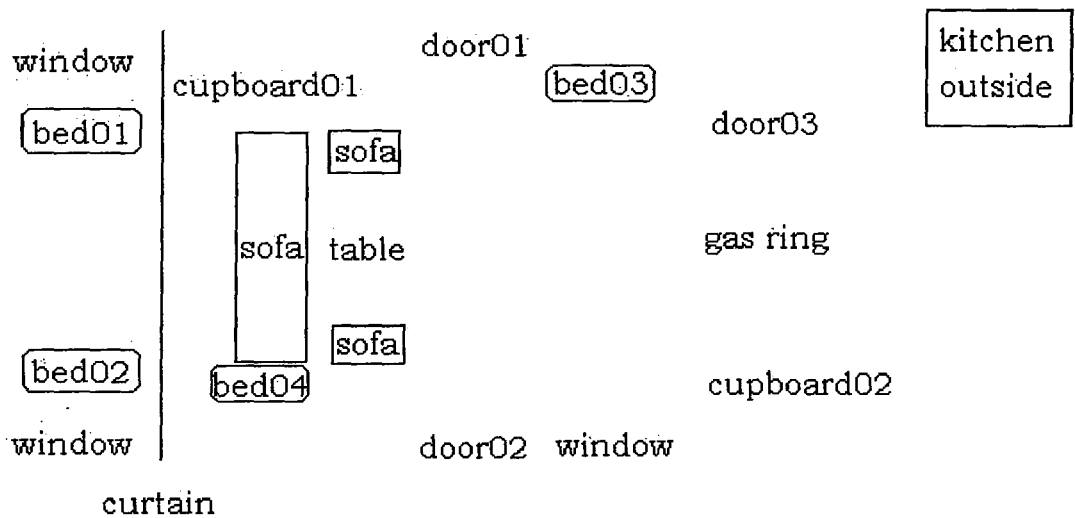
Generally speaking, houses in Viti Levu are built above the ground so as to prevent the inside of the house from being flooded. Some of the bigger rivers flowing through Viti Levu frequently cause floods in the wet season. When Cyclone Kina hit Fiji in 1993, the River Wainimala flooded many parts of Waidracia. There is a space of a few metres between the floor and the ground. The space is used for keeping farm implements, fishing rods, and firewood. One comes in and out at the door via plain steps.

Each *mataqali* has a particular area in which to build houses in Waidracia. Houses belonging to a *mataqali* are usually clustered, according to the direction of the chief in the village. No houses stand right beside the Sawani-Serea Road. Although the houses in Waidracia are built on both sides of the Sawani-Serea Road, they are set back a bit from the road. Paved footpaths link the Sawani-Serea Road to the houses.

The Fijian house mostly has more than three doors, as is illustrated below. As the door close to the kitchen [door03] is a low-ranked exit, the women and the common visitors come in and out at this door. On the other hand, the doors near the beds [door01] [door02] are highly ranked, and are used by the headman of the house, ones of high status, and those who are permitted to go through by the headman. Children going to primary school are sometimes reproved for coming through these doors by the adults, while the infants are mostly overlooked. One can make a guess at which doors are highly ranked and low-ranked by glancing around the room and the surroundings to find one's proper door when at first entering a house. In most cases, however, the visitor tends prudently to enter through the low-ranked door even if he actually finds it is proper to use the highly ranked one. In that case, the headman of the house will strongly suggest that the visitor come in at the highly ranked door. Being modest and humble is a most considerable virtue at any time in Fiji. In Dakuwaqa's (D1) house, only the author and the headman, Dakuwaqa (D1), always came in and out at the highly ranked doors

[door01][door02]. There are no particular distinctions in the ritual sense between these two doors. Two kids in this house, Salanieta and Dakuwaqa (D3), are reprovved in some cases and overlooked in others when they come through these doors. Varanisese being a high school student, however, is necessarily cautioned against her lazy use of the highly ranked door.

Figure 4-4: Dakuwaqa’s house



In principle, the boundary between the highly ranked and the low-ranked spaces inside the house is based on a line between the highly ranked doors [door01] [door02]. In the “grog”, the unique bowl brimming with *yaqona* called *tanoa* is commonly set on this line too. The kitchen-near-side of the line is a lower space for the women and the commoners while the bed-near-side is higher for those who are respected. The places around the beds beyond a curtain are the most highly ranked so that one cannot enter without permission. Generally speaking, something ritually valuable such as a whale’s tooth used as a presentation on all ritual occasions called *tabua*, *ibe*; some goods to be sold such as tinned foods, cigarettes, *yaqona*; cash and so on are, for safekeeping, hidden under the beds. Apart from some particular occasions like when changing clothes or taking out the hidden goods, others than the headman and those who are permitted by the headman cannot enter this space.

They own much more furniture in Dakuwaqa's house than any other house in Waidracia. There is a modern cupboard [cupboard01], a set of sofas and a table, a gas ring, and four beds in the house. Several sets of chinaware are displayed inside a cupboard. Dishes, plates, towels, bottles of seasonings for everyday use are set in another cupboard close to the kitchen [cupboard02]. They have such things only because of their relatives living in the city. Dakuwaqa (D2), living in Australia, is the man who has presented most of their property. Dakuwaqa (D2) is the eldest son of Levani, who is a brother of Dakuwaqa (D1). When Dakuwaqa (D2) comes back from Australia, he gifts various items to his father, Levani, and his uncle, Dakuwaqa (D1), who gave him his name by name sake. Dakuwaqa (D2) is a businessman. He brings more not only to his father and uncle, but also to his *mataqali*. His *mataqali*, Naqaranikula, in Waidracia mostly relies on his economic assistance in running occasional ceremonies. People belonging to Naqaranikula always count on his help whenever something happens because he looks, and actually is, rich from their viewpoint. Furthermore, they tend to depend on their relatives living in Suva. Dakuwaqa (D1) has three daughters, and two of them are living near Suva. They have also presented something to the household. The fourth bed [bed04], which was newly installed in August 2002, was given by one of Dakuwaqa's (D1) daughters. Thus, Dakuwaqa (D2) and the others living in the city are expected to present something, and they actually do. One might therefore suppose that the number of possessions in a house depends on how many relatives are living, working and earning wages in the urban areas. In general, an ordinary house owns a few beds, a simple shelf, a tiny gas stove for cooking. Besides, it could also be pointed out that few of the ceremonies performed in the village could be executed without the help of the relatives living in the city. Each *mataqali*, which has the responsibility of managing their own ceremonies, no longer seems to have the ability to accomplish the ceremonies by itself, especially the financial aspects. This matter will be discussed again in Chapter 6.

The three doors in the house where the author stayed have a bar inside so as to bolt the door. Simultaneously, the door can be locked with a padlock from the outside. The house if empty should be locked up, but this is not strictly carried out. The four windows also have a bolt inside. The windows have awnings because they have to be shut in the heavy rain. The wooden board instead of a windowpane is opened during the day to let sunlight and

breeze into the room.

One bed had been installed during the author's stay so that there are now 4 beds in Dakuwaqa's (D1) house. The headman, Dakuwaqa (D1), used to sleep on a bed [bed02] while another bed [bed01] was supposed to be used for Dakuwaqa (D2) when he returns from Australia. The author slept on this bed [bed01] because Dakuwaqa (D2) was away. The style of beds is exactly the same as a Western one, but they have mosquito nets. Although mosquito repellent incense has spread in Fiji to some extent, the Fijian does not care to be visited by mosquitoes while sleeping. For the author, however, it would be impossible to sleep well without the mosquito net. The mosquito net is a popular gift at weddings. In the cool season between July and September, some blankets are used. The other bed [bed03] is used mainly for children, as a pile of clothes occupies most of the space on the bed. It is so small that an adult could not sleep on that bed. It looks as if it were a lumber space, but a simple curtain set gives it the function of an independent sleeping space. Since the new bed [bed04] came, Dakuwaqa (D3), or, Laisani and Salanieta sleep on that bed. Dakuwaqa (D3) sometimes sleeps on the bed [bed02] with Dakuwaqa (D1). These beds [bed03] [bed04] are used by some of the children and Laisani in turn, depending on the situation. Venaisi, who never uses a bed, and the others always sleep directly on the floor with a pillow and blankets. Sleeping on the floor is the common style in Fiji, for very few houses own as many beds as this. They have enough pillows. The Fijians are fond of chatting while lying on their stomach, in the daytime. The host may suggest the visitor lie down very soon after his arrival, giving him some pillows. One never hesitates to lie on the floor even in another's house. Before and after the meals and the tea breaks, young and old, men and women, lie on their stomachs or sprawl at any time. Even if a person does not lie down, he always sits on the floor. The sofa is, therefore, seldom used. This seems to be derived from their habit in one sense, and from the place of the sofa in another. The Fijians are generally doing something on the floor in their daily life. They eat food, drink tea, and chat with each other, on the floor. Sitting on a chair is not one of their habits. It may be only the habit of "being on something" derived from the West that they sleep on the bed. On the other hand, the sofa is generally set at the highly ranked place. The commoners and the ordinary guests would never sit on the sofa. Only the chief or someone whose social status is high is invited to sit there.

In Dakuwaqa's (D1) house where the author stayed, women commonly cook both in the kitchen in the extension and on the gas ring inside. The kitchen next to a door [door03] has tin walls and roof. There is a firewood-stove set inside. Cooking here is done over the open fire. The firewood, which is gathered by the children and women around the village, is dried under the floor of the house or inside the kitchen. When they need something to be done quickly, such as boiling water, or other cooking with a rather complicated procedure such as frying or baking, the women use a gas ring. The rather expensive cost of replacing a gas cylinder makes them use the gas ring economically.

All the floors of the house, including in the kitchen, are covered with *ibe*. The *ibe* is not only a material valuable for its use in rituals but is also a useful item in daily life. Apart from such an ordinary *ibe*, each house has some spare pieces of *ibe* in stock for the guest or for other cases such as a picnic. They always need sufficient *ibe* to supply both rituals and daily demands. The traditionally shaped round fan made of coconut leaves, called an *iri*, is also necessary. They often use it for themselves. They consider, however, that they should offer a new fan to the guest. They also need the *iri* when performing the traditional dance called *meke*. Hence, the *ibe* and the *iri* are both essential items that are constantly woven so as to be sufficiently in stock.

As they do not have a piped water supply inside the house, people need to carry a bucketful of water from time to time. When one takes a bath, brushes one's teeth, washes taro and cassava, and so on, one has to go to the water place where there is a tap. Otherwise, one uses water in a bucket filled in advance and put inside the house. In Waidracia, most houses utilise an old container originally filled with the breakfast crackers made by "fmf", which is substituted for a bucket. If one wants to drink a cup of water, it can be obtained from the container set inside the house. This water is also used for washing dishes after the meal. The women throw the remaining water away outside after washing-up.

At the time the author stayed in the village, no electricity had reached Waidracia, although the installation work had been going on. The engineering work in the section around Waidracia had finished, and the electric light pole finally emerged within the village. At the time the author left Waidracia in May 2003, however, the electricity had still not arrived.

Two kinds of light are common in Waidracia: the kerosene lamp and the benzine lamp. The latter gives brighter light than the former. The kerosene is cheaper than the benzine. As they have both in Dakuwaqa's (D1) house, these lamps are used depending on the occasion. The benzine lamp is active when the men are active, from the evening until bedtime, while the former is used while they are asleep. One may buy these fuels in the canteen in Waidracia. A 750ml bottle of benzine at the price of F\$1.20 lasts approximately three nights if one uses the benzine lamp from 18:00 till 22:00 every night. On the other hand, a bottle of kerosene sold at F\$1.15 per litre runs for two or three nights if one uses the kerosene lamp from 22:00 till 6:00 the following morning every night. A few houses own benzine lamps. Only one house has a generator, where they sometimes enjoy watching TV. At the bigger-scale grog sessions or meetings, benzine lamps from each house are assembled.

Each house has its own toilet. The toilets stand outside of the village separately from the houses. Each is an independent hut. Some have a water flush toilet. As the toilet of Dakuwaqa's (D1) house is an old-type, the author was recommended to use toilet at Levani's house, as it is a flush toilet. There is no sewerage system but one does not feel dirtiness as far as he catches sight of the places in Waidracia.

Methodism is the major denomination of Christianity in Waidracia as well as in Fiji generally. Waidracia has a Methodist church in the centre of the village. Those who belong to other denominations go to their churches every Saturday or Sunday. A minister living in the chief village among Tikina Rara, Naluwai, sometimes comes to the church in Waidracia on Sunday because they have no official minister in Waidracia.

Dense interrelationships among the three villages, Nasavu, Naluwai and Waidracia, which compose Tikina Rara, makes these villagers come and go mutually on frequent occasions. Not only on a ceremonial day but also on ordinary days, they readily visit each other. The Sawani-Serea Road ends at Serea. As one travels from Serea toward Sawani and Suva, the first three villages encountered are, in this order, Waidracia, Naluwai, and Nasavu. Apart from Serea, these three make up Tikina Rara. In terms of the distance from Waidracia, in fact, the way to Serea is shorter than the way to Nasavu. The frequency of the personal interchange is, however, much more within a *tikina*.

On the other hand, there is more frequent personal interchange between the villages and the towns,

especially Suva. One goes to the city for buying and selling or in some cases to watch a rugby game. In other cases, however, one may visit relatives living in the town. Generally speaking, the internal population mobility in Fiji is rapidly increasing. It is influenced by the development of the roads, the increase of periodic movement, the rise in the number of people working in the towns, and the growth of interregional marriage.⁷⁴ They easily call on their relatives living in the town who belong to the same *i-tokatoka*, *mataqali*, or are from the same village, to obtain living accommodation in order to work in the town or, for example, to see a doctor in hospital regularly. Whether the period is short or long, they visit and stay in relatives' or neighbours' houses with ease. It is an absolute virtue for Fijians to receive a guest with warm hospitality. Besides, the tie within a common group such as a *mataqali*, a village, and even the whole country of Fiji, largely remains close-knit. Needless to say, the host welcomes and grants any request as much as possible when one visits one's relative living in the town. Indeed, the extent of their network is extraordinarily large. Fijians seem to come across a few friends no matter where they walk. When the author sometimes drove a car through other villages with some villagers from Waidracia, they seemed to wave their hands to a person with a smile at whichever place the car was passing. Even in Suva, the author, when walking in the street, was often seen and greeted by people from Waidracia. Just after they called the author's name, they often found someone else with whom to exchange greetings. It seems as if the Fijian has so many friends to exchange greetings with wherever they go that they cannot walk ahead, or, as if they have countless numbers of relatives all over the country. Their interrelationship is spread to such an extent.

These tables show how often people in Waidracia go to Suva, where they sleep if necessary, and whether they have experience of living in Suva. We can see almost half of the respondents usually go to Suva more than once a week. They seem to have relatives living in Suva who offer them a sleeping place. In addition, approximately 30% of the respondents have some experience of living in Suva.

⁷⁴ This would be one of the main topics argued in the section of economic change.

Table 4-2: Number of times per month for people in Waidracia going to Suva

<i>answer</i>	<i>Waidracia</i>	
	num	ratio
once	4	17.4%
twice	6	26.1%
3 times	0	0.0%
4 times	9	39.1%
5 - 8 times	3	13.0%
9 - 12 times	1	4.3%
more than 13 times	0	0.0%
N/A	2	-
total	25	-
respondent (total - N/A)	23	100.0%

Table 4-3: Where they sleep in the city

<i>answer</i>	<i>Waidracia</i>	
	num	ratio
(house)		
relatives (same mataqali)	15	53.6%
relatives (different mataqali)	8	28.6%
friend	5	17.9%
hotel/motel	0	0.0%
other	0	0.0%
N/A	1	-
total	29	-
respondent (total - N/A)	28	100.0%

Table 4-4: Experience of living in Suva

<i>answer</i>	<i>Waidracia</i>	
	num	ratio
Yes (experienced)	7	30.4%
No (not experienced)	16	69.6%
N/A	2	-
total	25	-
respondent (total - N/A)	23	100.0%

4-2. An ethnography of Nasilai village

4-2-1. Physical features

One of the biggest rivers flowing through Viti Levu, the River Rewa, forms a wide boggy region spreading around its mouth. In this damp area, called the "Rewa Delta", is Nausori town, which embraces the second biggest international airport. Along the coastal line of the Rewa Delta there are many mangrove trees. Lots of small streams branching off from the River Rewa make these areas wetlands. Some villages are placed between these streams. Nasilai is one such village.

The township of Nausori is on the eastern bank of the River Rewa, approximately 20km northeast of Suva. The town developed around the CSR sugar mill, which operated from 1882 to 1959. Growing sugar cane is not suitable on the wetter eastern side of Viti Levu as at Nausori or Suva. We can however see many sugar cane plants on the western side, from Sigatoka town along Queens Road, and from Rakiraki town along Kings Road. Seldom are they seen on the eastern side of Viti Levu. These circumstances led to the sugar mill being taken over by the Rewa Rice Mill, operating until now. Irrigation developments created a major rice-producing area. It is said, however, that the factory offers a poor price for rice cultivated on Fiji, and this prevents the commercial plantation of rice from developing. This mill is now polishing rice imported mainly from Australia. Nausori

town has other industries including light manufacturing. Most of the population are engaged in farming or industry. Two arterial roads, Kings Road and Princess Road, link Nausori and Suva, where plenty of regular bus services operate. This area seems to be one of the busiest and crowded in Fiji.

After travelling approximately 40 minutes on an express bus from Suva bus terminal, the traveller will see the Rewa Bridge across the River Rewa, which was built by an American engineer in 1937. Crossing the bridge, one reaches Nausori town. There is a plain bus terminal at the centre of the town, some shops and the Nausori market are around the bus terminal. Narrow and overcrowded roads always cause traffic jams. Many Indian and Fijian people with shopping bags in their hands, and buses beyond number queuing to enter and leave the crowded bus terminal, make the jams terrible. Nausori town always looks lively because of the enormous number of people walking, laughing and chatting in loud voices here and there. Between the incredibly loud noises of the bus engines, one may also hear an Indian shouting in order to hawk packed beans at the terminal.

The next destination after Nausori is the Nasali Landing. There are also regular bus services a few times every hour. The bus proceeds, passing the Nausori International Airport on the left, about 3 km southeast of Nausori town. Beyond a small bridge across the River Wainibokasi, one of the branches of the River Rewa, the road becomes unpaved. The buses in Fiji have no glass in the windows. While the bus is running at full speed, dust swirls inside as well as outside of the bus. On rainy days, passengers lower a kind of curtain set under the roof. The bus passes through a plain of the Rewa Delta, covered with shrubs. This scene is unusual because Viti Levu is a mountainous island. The Indian passengers get off the bus one after another at inconspicuous places. The Indians often dwell alone while the Fijians invariably form a village and live together. The Indian who has got off the bus walks until he disappears along a small path within the shrubs. Passing by a few Fijian villages, the bus reaches the Nasali Landing, where almost all the Fijian passengers get off the bus and transfer to a boat. It takes about half an hour to reach the Nasali Landing from Nausori.

There are a number of branches of the River Rewa flowing around the mouth, which forms the Rewa Delta. The Nasali Landing is placed at the Northeast bank of the River Nasoata, which is one such branch. The wide bog created by the Rewa Delta severely restricts the number of roads in this area. The boat traffic replaces road

travel. Nasilai is not linked with any roads either.

At the landing, ten or more boats are usually waiting for the arrival of passengers. Each boat is so simple and tiny, powered only with an outboard motor, that ten passengers occupy the whole space. The passengers get on a boat. Since the captain and the passengers are well known to each other, negotiations of the destination and the fare never happens. Only when a stranger such as the author comes, do the captains eagerly invite him into their own boat. Mostly in that case, they preposterously overcharge.

After stopping by a few villages, the boat reaches Nasilai village. It takes 10 minutes or less. Some villages can be seen on each bank. Otherwise, the remaining places along the river are all covered with mangroves and shrubs. Nasilai is located on the opposite side of the landing, on the southwest bank. As the village has no landing, the boat is pulled up a simple embankment. One needs to take great care to land on the ground without slipping and getting wet.

Nasilai is on the wetlands close to the sea. Plenty of creeks streaming through the village cause the ground to be damp all the time. Except for some paved footpaths, which were built with Australian aid, all the other land is grassed. If it rains, however, this ground easily becomes mud.

A footpath links Nasilai with some neighbouring villages. A few villages exist around Nasilai. The distance between them is small enough that one can pass by 2 or 3 villages on a 15-minute walk. The next village is Nadoi; only 5 minutes walk away from Nasilai.

Nausori is the closest town to Nasilai. It is also possible to get directly to Nausori from Nasilai by boat. When one wants to catch a boat at Nasilai, one just has to whistle to call one. A few boats are always coming and going. People in Nasilai commonly go to Nausori town for simple shopping. They also visit Suva frequently.

The most distinctive plant along the coastline, the mangrove, covers large areas around the Rewa Delta. It is important for protecting the seashore against damage by sea and wind. The aerial roots, sulphurous mud and saline water of the mangrove forests provide suitable conditions for various kinds of fish. Mangrove wood is used for firewood and for building houses, which however causes serious destruction of the mangrove areas.

The coral reef provides a variety of algae (i.e. seaweed). An algae looking like miniature green grapes,

called *nama*, is considered a delicacy. Various kinds of clams, shellfish, crabs, prawns, sea urchin and seaweed can be caught on the shore. *Vasua*, which is the largest clam in Fiji and grows up to 30cm in length, is a delicacy too. The seashell is also sold at a high price in the market.

Fiji has 20 species of land-dwelling reptiles. Sea turtles used to be valuable. The meat and eggs were a delicacy, but it is now illegal to take the eggs or catch adults. Turtle shell can be seen displayed in various places in Fiji.

Many species of tropical fish in Fiji have descriptive names such as the soldier fish, surgeon fish, trumpet fish, red lizard fish, goat fish, bat fish, butterfly fish and parrot fish. The parrot fish is commonly caught by people in Nasilai.

The boggy ground around Nasilai provides much less space for planting crops. They barely cultivate taro, cassava, coconut, banana, mango, pawpaw, or breadfruit. Much less taro can be harvested than in Waidracia. Nasilai is a fisherman's village. Their main source of cash income is from selling fish.

4-2-2. Social organisation

social organisation around Nasilai

Nasilai belongs to Tikina Rewa, which consists of 12 villages. A woman named Ro-Lala is the chief of Tikina Rewa. She also holds the position of Provincial Chief in Rewa Province.

Nasilai has one *yavusa*, named Vulagi, and four *mataqali*: Daunakelo is the *mataqali turaga* (the chiefly *mataqali*); Tuirara is a *mataqali matanivanua* (the herald); the others are Burelada and Vusaniu. According to a narrative, Tuirara had reached this place first, and then presented the first bowl of *yagona* to Daunakelo. This is the reason why Mataqali Daunakelo is supposed to produce the chief. But it is also said that Mataqali Tuirara owns the whole land of this village. Seson Godro is the traditional chief of the village as well as the headman of Mataqali Daunakelo and Yavusa Vulagi. The headman of Mataqali Tuirara is Ilikena Kalounisawana. The headman of Mataqali Burelada is Beni Biloni while Mataqali Vusaniu's chief is Voate Godro. There is an administrative chieftainship, *turaga-ni-koro*, which is occupied by Malakia Raoma. There are 22 houses. The population is 100.

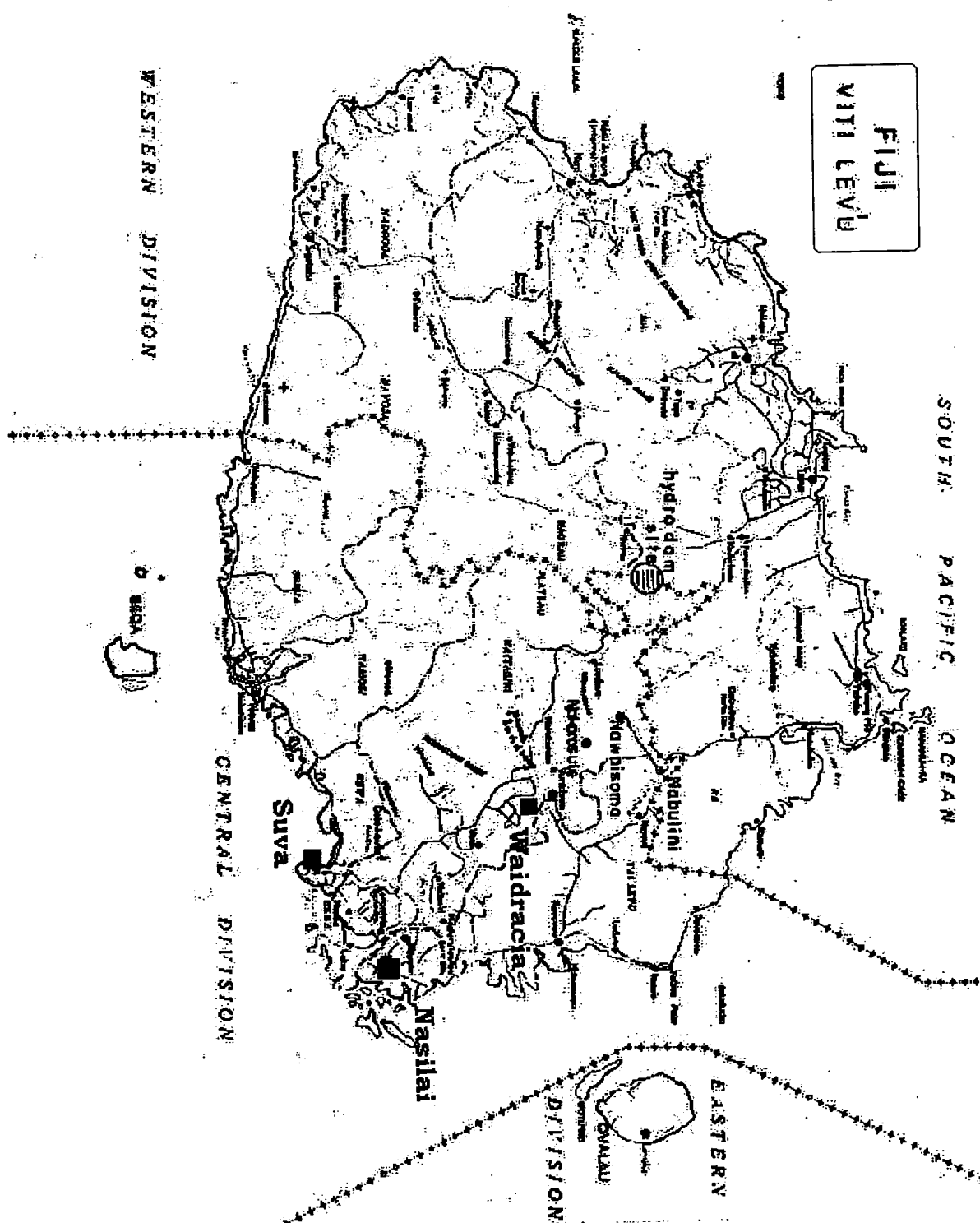
Significant announcements from a big chief such as a Provincial Chief are usually conveyed to the village as follows. A messenger (*matanivanua*) comes to the headman of Mataqali Tuirara, Ilikena, who is in a special position called Matakiki Burebasaga. Ilikena then brings the message to Mataqali Daunakelo. The message is finally brought to Malakia as *turaga-ni-koro*. He announces it to all the villagers.

It was a woman named Maraia who introduced the author to this village. She is also an active woman with a broad outlook. As is stated later, artistic activities have been flourishing in Nasilai. Making pottery is traditionally a special role of Nasilai. Maraia is one of the central persons who make pottery. She had been invited to New Zealand to teach Fijian pottery making techniques.

Maraia has eight children. There are eight people living in her house including Seru who is Maraia's second eldest son, and Seru's wife and children, Sarote who is Maraia's second eldest daughter and Rosi who is Maraia's youngest daughter. As this house is small, the author was advised to sleep in a neighbouring house. However, the author spent almost all the time except for when asleep in Maraia's house. Therefore, the observations of Nasilai are mainly based on life in her house.

Nasilai's map is as follows.

Map 4-2: Nasilai village



4-2-3. Life in Nasilai

clothing

Few differences are found among Fijian villages in terms of clothing.

In Nasilai, however, while they commonly wear almost the same style of clothes as in Waidracia, Western style clothing seems to be more common than in Waidracia. One reason is the easier accessibility to Suva. In principle, everyone is supposed to wear a *Sulu* in the village. Some young people are, none the less, often dressed in shorts or jeans. Some women have their hair permed or dyed as in the urban areas, although this is rare in Waidracia.

Piped water is installed at some places in Nasilai. People take a bath in such a place or in the river. They do the washing in the same way. The water place that the author was advised to use had a simple wall, a roof, and a door with a bolt. Next to the tap, there was a plain shed with a flush toilet.

food

Waidracia is an agricultural village where plenty of crops such as taro and cassava are planted. The harvest is plentiful enough to feed the villagers and provide a surplus for selling. They never suffer a shortage of these staples. Nasilai is, on the other hand, a fisherman's village where less harvest can be gained from their tiny plantation. The ground around Nasilai is boggy, which is not suitable for the large-scale cultivation of crops. They acquire plenty of fish instead.

The staple food in any Fijian village is definitely taro, followed by cassava. Taro is the most preferred among the Fijian people, too. Yet, the actual quantity of taro consumed in a village depends substantially on what can be produced, as determined by the geographical and climatic conditions. The drier area on the western side of Viti Levu is suitable for the planting of sugar cane, but not suitable for taro. Compared to the eastern side, where one can see a number of taro fields ranging over any location, less taro is grown in the western area. A friend of mine living in Sigatoka, on the western side of Viti Levu, envied the author when I told him that I had eaten taro in Waidracia every day. In Sigatoka, it is said that taro is rather precious.

In the case of Nasilai, the particular location of the village limits the plantation of taro. This is the reason that Nasilai has traditionally been a fisherman's village, not expected to be self-sustaining in taro. Although their staples are taro and cassava, alternative crops such as breadfruit seem to be served more frequently than in Waidracia. They plant breadfruit, banana, pawpaw, mango, and coconut as well as taro and cassava in and around the village, the harvest of which is insufficient to feed them let alone to be sold. Therefore, large quantities of taro and cassava are the main goods for sale in the market. People from the interior villages like Waidracia bring those crops to the market. The villagers living near the coast, as in Nasilai, and the town dwellers usually purchase these crops.

In general, the diet in Nasilai is nearly the same as in Waidracia. They take boiled rice, roti, crackers and Western bread at breakfast. The staple crops such as taro, cassava and the other substitutes are eaten at lunch and dinner with some main dishes such as chop suey.

The most significant contrast with Waidracia is the frequency with which fresh fish and seafood are eaten. In principle, men wearing diving suits go to sea by boat every night. The captured fish is kept in a freezer. Eight houses in Nasilai own a freezer. One has to pay F\$1 per night to the owner to keep one's fish in the freezer. Hence, they can cook fish whenever they want in Nasilai. If someone wants fish when he is out of stock, he would ask somebody else in the village, and buy it. In Nasilai, such monetary transactions are common. That is, in principle anyone who wants to eat it can obtain fresh fish at anytime. In fact, however, they rarely eat fresh fish in daily life because the fish makes a significant contribution to their cash income. They commonly go to the Suva market to sell the fish every Saturday.

While the men fish by diving, the women usually gather clams, sea urchin, and capture sea prawns and crabs on the shore. Such seafoods are mainly for their own consumption or in some cases for sale. When an important guest comes, seafood including fresh fish is necessarily served.

Some kinds of "urbanised" foods such as Western bread are often consumed in Nasilai, while they are rather scarce in Waidracia. The easier accessibility to Suva city or Nausori town seems to enable an increasingly urbanised lifestyle in Nasilai.

Having electricity may also accelerate the transition to an urbanised lifestyle in Nasilai. Even though they are able to purchase only a limited range of electrical equipment, having electricity has influenced their village life. A refrigerator and a freezer has given them the idea of “stock”, and changed their way of fishing. With an electric light installed, people go to bed later.

It may not be the case that everyone has his or her own plate at mealtimes. After portions have been served from the shared main dish in Waidracia, women and children may have to share what is left on a plate together. The quantity of the main dish eaten by women and children is usually less than for men in Waidracia. In Nasilai, on the other hand, everybody including small kids have their own plate with a sufficient amount on it. In most cases, there is sufficient for them to have a second helping.

Here is an example showing the menus over three days in Nasilai:

- 2/Apr/2003, lunch: Fried prawns with garlic, carrot and onion. Boiled taro. Tea.
- 2/Apr/2003, dinner: Fresh beef and *bele* soup. Boiled taro. Boiled banana. Tea.
- 3/Apr/2003, breakfast: Bread. Cracker. Boiled banana. Tea.
- 3/Apr/2003, lunch: Corned beef and *bele* in soup. Boiled taro. Boiled rice. Dhal curry soup.
- 3/Apr/2003, dinner: Taro leaves in coconut milk. Boiled taro.
- 4/Apr/2003, breakfast: A kind of dumpling (*topo*). Guava jam. Tea.

The tables below show what the staple food was on one day in Waidracia, Nasilai and Nadoi according to the questionnaire. There are fewer tendencies to eat taro at breakfast. Instead, they tend to eat foreign foods such as roti (Indian food), crackers (Western food) and rice (Chinese food) at breakfast. Taro and cassava eaten at breakfast are probably leftovers from the previous dinner. On the other hand, most villagers seem to eat their traditional staple food, taro and cassava, at lunch and dinner.

Table 4-5: Staple food at breakfast on a day

<i>answer</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Waidracia</i>		<i>Nasilai</i>		<i>Nadoi</i>	
	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio
roti	6	18.8%	6	22.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
bread	1	3.1%	1	3.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
cracker	6	18.8%	6	22.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
rice	9	28.1%	8	29.6%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
dhal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
taro	3	9.4%	2	7.4%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%
cassava	4	12.5%	3	11.1%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%
yam	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
other	2	6.3%	1	3.7%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%
breadfruit	1	3.1%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%
total	32	100.0%	27	100.0%	4	100.0%	1	100.0%

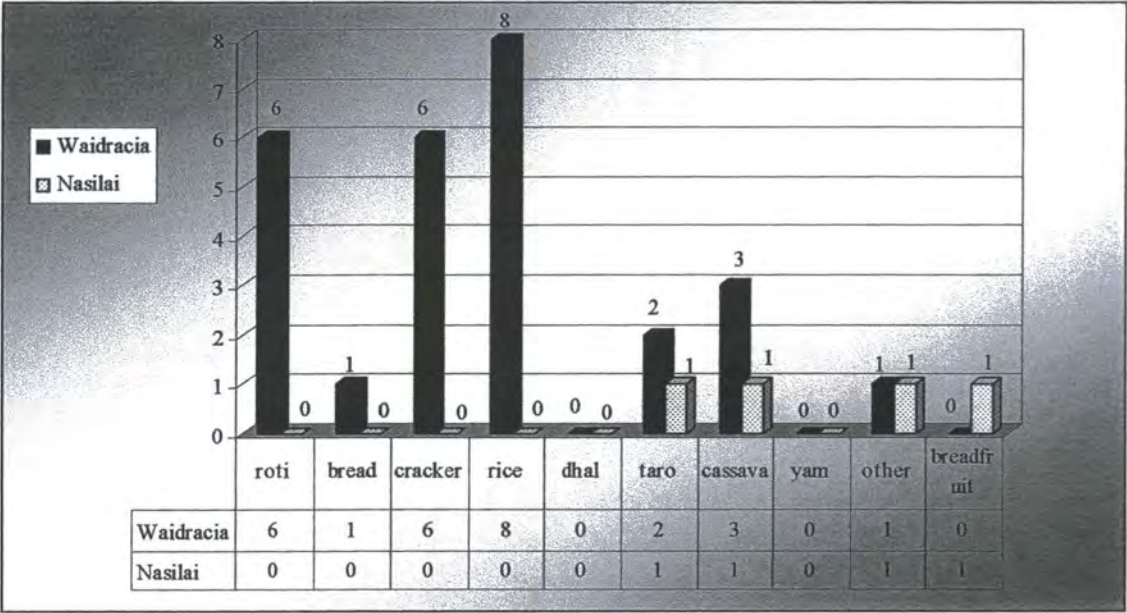


Table 4-6: Staple food at lunch on a day

<i>answer</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Waidracia</i>		<i>Nasilai</i>		<i>Nadoi</i>	
	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio
roti	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
bread	1	3.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%
cracker	1	3.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%
rice	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
dhal	1	3.4%	1	4.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
taro	19	65.5%	18	72.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%
cassava	5	17.2%	4	16.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%
yam	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
other	1	3.4%	1	4.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
breadfruit	1	3.4%	1	4.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
total	29	100.0%	25	100.0%	2	100.0%	2	100.0%

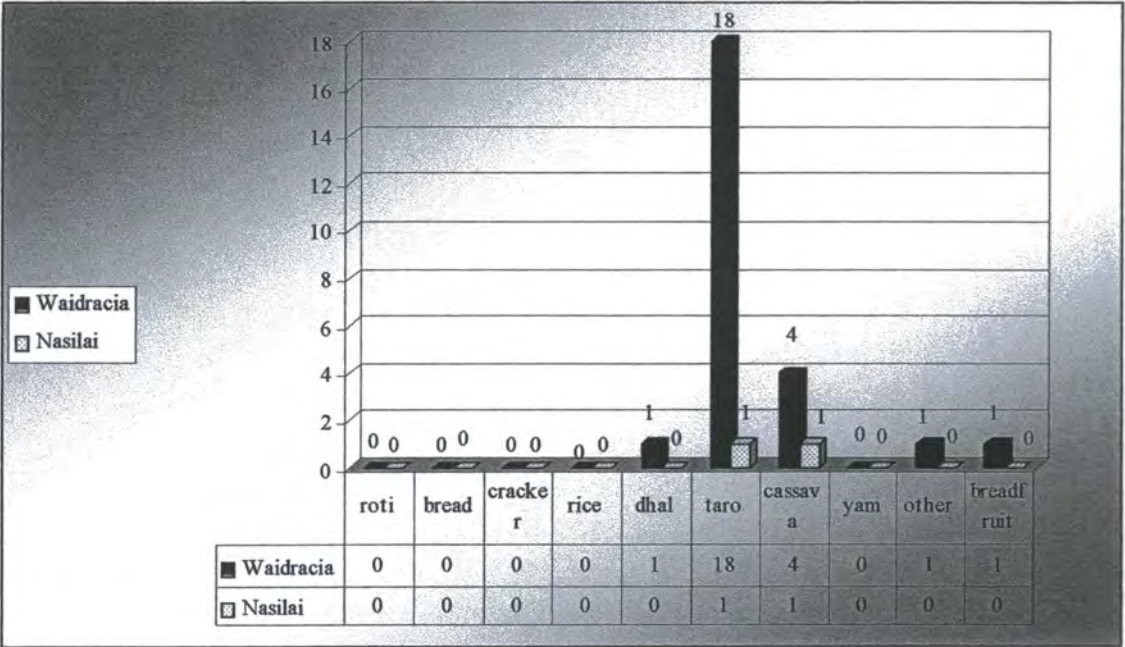
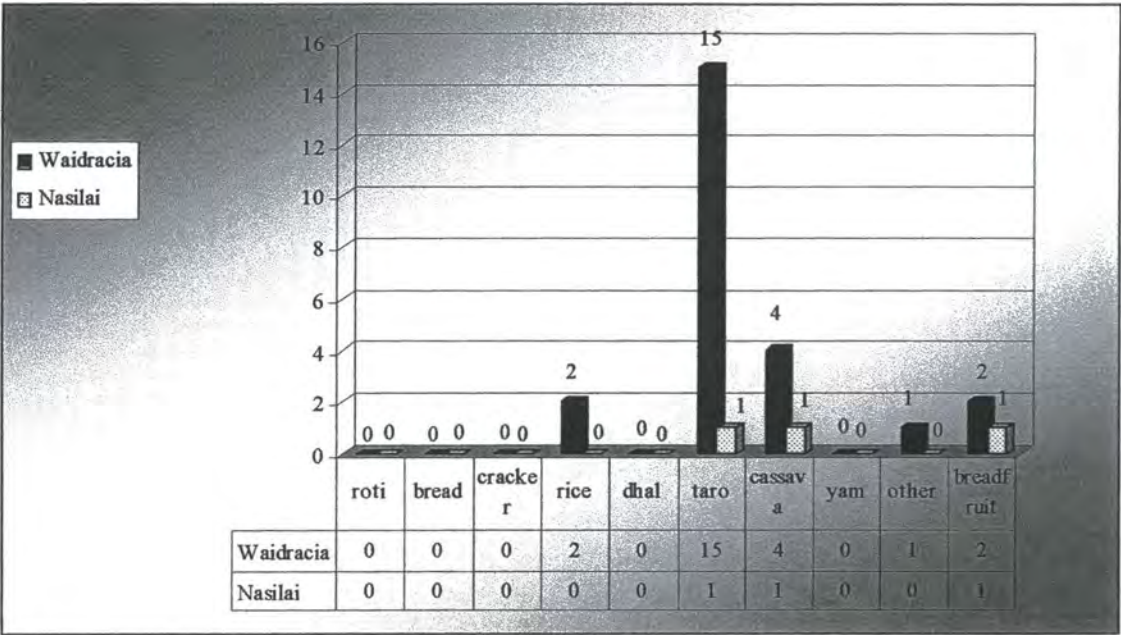


Table 4-7: Staple food at dinner on a day

<i>answer</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Waidracia</i>		<i>Nasilai</i>		<i>Nadoi</i>	
	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio
roti	1	3.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
bread	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
cracker	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
rice	2	7.1%	2	8.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
dhal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
taro	16	57.1%	15	62.5%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%
cassava	5	17.9%	4	16.7%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%
yam	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
other	1	3.6%	1	4.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
breadfruit	3	10.7%	2	8.3%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%
total	28	100.0%	24	100.0%	3	100.0%	1	100.0%



The way of “grog” in Nasilai is slightly different from in Waidracia. For example, men and women sit together at a session, which would never happen in Waidracia. Traditionally, taboos have strictly regulated the way of sitting and sharing space between men and women in Fiji. Women sitting by men in the very situation of drinking *yaqona* are definitely a deviation from the traditional norms. Recalling the fact that *yaqona* used not to be a daily beverage but a special drink at rituals, served only to the higher-ranked persons, reminds us that the transition of the significance and function of *yaqona* from a ritual to a daily beverage is already a deviation from the tradition. The matter of women sitting by men in a grog session appears to be a further deviation.

More women in Nasilai smoke than in Waidracia, typically during a “grog”. People have a significant reaction to the Fijian traditional cigar, the *suki*. Everybody in Nasilai, knowing the author to have been staying in Waidracia, frequently asked about the interior way of life. Once they came to know that the author himself, as well as the villagers in Waidracia was smoking *suki*, a slightly disdainful look often came over their faces. As one prepared the *suki* wrapped with a piece of newspaper for smoking, they sometimes said to me with a laugh, “You don’t care if your lips become smeared with ink, do you?” This appears a typical tendency when the Fijians evaluate an indigenous item that has been replaced in function by another thing introduced from the outside, especially from the West. The fact that conversion to Christianity has made the Fijians take less account of their inherited native belief system exemplifies this tendency of disdain. Lemon tea, which is also their indigenous beverage but served less frequently than Western tea, is regarded by the Fijian in the same way.

Drinking alcohol seems to be accepted in Nasilai. As is the case in Nadoi village, only 5 minutes walk from Nasilai, a house has a few bottles of beer in a fridge. As will be mentioned later though, art has flourished traditionally in Nasilai. Recently a young painter living in the village has developed a different lifestyle from the other villagers. There are bottles of rum and gin lying around his workshop. Needless to say, not everybody in Nasilai follows this kind of lifestyle. It is also the fact, however, that the village has room to accept the infiltration of a heterogeneous lifestyle, alongside their inherited one into the village.

Thus, the geographic location of Nasilai, with for example easier accessibility to Suva, has brought about a greater transition of lifestyle, including their way of thinking, than has occurred in Waidracia. This subject will be

analysed in Chapter 7.

houses and living

Little difference between the style of building houses in Waidracia and in Nasilai is found. People in Nasilai also live in houses made of thatch, bamboo, wood, tin and concrete blocks. There are a few beds and cupboards inside. The kitchen and the toilet are separate from the main house.

The first point as to the living circumstances differing from Waidracia is that electrical facilities are available in Nasilai. As they have electric light, there is no longer a need for kerosene or benzine lamps. Some houses own a few electrical items such as a television, a video tape recorder, an electric fan, a refrigerator and a freezer. Very few houses have a TV game or other audio-visual equipment. Regarding the standard of living in terms of the private properties in a house, more distinction seems to be found in Nasilai than in Waidracia. Such differences of standards among houses also appear in the form of the house. One house has a kitchen, a bathroom, and a toilet inside the house, which the installation of piped water makes possible. Another house is large enough to have five bedrooms, a living room and a dining room inside the house. Such contrasts with the typical house cannot be seen in Waidracia.

Secondly, in Nasilai there exist lots of women who would not, or even cannot weave *ibe* in daily life. The *ibe* is one of the most significant goods in rituals. This is the case even in the towns. No matter where one lives, one necessarily needs a few *ibe* not only in one's daily life but also in occasional ceremonies such as weddings and funerals. Hence, the demands for *ibe* are still high throughout Fiji. Normally the *ibe* should be woven for oneself as one needs. The *voivoi* should be also planted in order to weave the *ibe*. Since one needs a few *ibe* both regularly in daily use and occasionally for ceremonies, a sufficient amount of *ibe* should be always in stock. It cannot be said, however, that they obtain a sufficient harvest of *ibe* in Nasilai. On the contrary, most women do not know how to weave *ibe*. This seems a typical lifestyle in the towns. As mentioned above, town dwellers also occasionally require *ibe*. On such occasions they purchase a few *ibe* in the market, if necessary. They no longer weave *ibe* for themselves. Since there is such a demand, *ibe* or dried and prepared *voivoi* for weaving *ibe* are sold as commodities in the market. It has become the specialised skill of particular people to weave *ibe*. It is no more

one of women's daily tasks. Only a few women, including Maraia who is an older woman living in the house where the author stayed, are able to weave *ibe*. But they do so to sell to others in Nasilai or to people in neighbouring villages. Selling *ibe* is their first purpose. The *ibe* has become a commodity within Nasilai where an urbanised lifestyle is to some extent spreading. There is also another reason for the fact that *ibe* is not woven in Nasilai, which will be explained below.

A third point of contrast between the life in Waidracia and Nasilai is that there are six villagers living in Nasilai but working in Suva. No such cases are to be found in Waidracia. The distance from Nasilai to Suva is close enough to come and go in the same day.

Fourthly, Nasilai is a village conspicuous for its traditional artistic activities. Making pottery is their own peculiar activity. Maraia and her relatives are the centre of artistic activities such as making pottery, painting, performing dance and making objects of art. According to Maraia's narrative, this unique role used to be Nasilai free from weaving *ibe*. They used to make pottery instead of weaving *ibe*.⁷⁵ It would be the fact that the spread of the urbanised lifestyle has made the Fijian women living in such areas as Nasilai cease weaving *ibe*. It might also be a fact, however, that the unique circumstance of Nasilai has led the women in the village to be indifferent to weaving *ibe* for themselves.

Finally, Nasilai has accepted tourists participating in a "village tour" since 1987. The company organising the tour was attracted by the conspicuous speciality in Nasilai of making pottery. The company is supposed to pay F\$7 per tourist. The fact that the village enters into such a contract shows that the concept of a monetary economy has apparently influenced Nasilai to a large extent. In the tour, Maraia's weaving of *ibe* has also become an attraction for tourists. While she is weaving, a Fijian tour guide explains the meanings of *ibe* to the tourists sitting around her. Then the tourists are shown a few ceramics. These pots are, of course, for sale.

We have seen a general outline of Waidracia and Nasilai. In the next chapter, some topics associated with economic affairs will be taken up for discussion in relation to the subject of social change.

⁷⁵ There were several groups descended from the younger sons of chiefs in Rewa. Nasilai as well as Vutia and Nukui were the fishermen. They owed service in the form of the exercise of their trades and received land in return. Nasilai might have been privileged because of its special skill. See [Routledge 1985: p.30].

Ch.5 Development of capitalism and the change in economic affairs

As globalisation intensifies, Fiji is no longer the “isolated island in the South Sea” that it used to be. Lots of products and goods are flowing into Fiji from several foreign countries; one can enjoy a sufficiently ‘civilised’ life nowadays, which displays few material differences from Western culture. In big towns and cities, especially Suva, it has become possible for people to wear Western clothes, to eat imported foods in restaurants and to live in houses furnished with plenty of electrical equipment such as TVs, audio sets and refrigerators. One can easily see the latest films in cinemas; or listen to pop music if one borrows a CD from a CD rental shop. Fijians and Indians often enjoy surfing the Internet in a downtown net cafe. Fijians who are eager about rugby sometimes enjoy seeing an Australian professional league rugby match broadcast on cable TV. When one looks inside a McDonald’s or KFC in Suva, one will see many people talking on mobile phones.

Development of the infrastructure of Fiji has been proceeding. Completion of the Monasavu Dam Site has enabled the stable supply of electricity to the whole of Viti Levu so that the frequency of power failure is reduced. Even in the interior region, which is less developed than the coast, electricity is gradually being installed. Although few houses own a private telephone line, a party line has become current not only in towns but also in villages. Until recently the road condition in Viti Levu had been poor because Viti Levu is mountainous. Recently, however, the condition has been modified. A road that used to be impossible for vehicles to drive along has become adequate. A road that used to be unpaved is now paved. The unpaved section of Kings Road is now under paving work. The development of roads has made it possible to establish an extensive bus service.

These facts have played a role in changing the Fijian’s lifestyle. Easier accessibility between villages and towns brought by the development of roads has increased the domestic mobility of the population. One goes to a town for a job. Another moves to a distant village because of marriage. The rise in the number of inhabitants in urban areas is significant.

The “urbanised lifestyle” implies a number of contrasts to the “traditional lifestyle” based on the system of traditional values. Village life in Fiji has been guided by a strong sense of belonging to the traditional social

organisation and of mutual co-operation. The land, which is the most important means of production, is managed by the *mataqali* under joint control. Co-operation appears as *kerekere*, which is often seen in daily life. Generally speaking, the villagers have little idea of individual possession. Until now life in the village has lacked capitalistic ideas such as seeking individual profit.⁷⁶

Singing the praises of material consumption in the towns is the other side of the spread of capitalism. In the towns one cannot obtain an attractive item by *kerekere*. As there is less meaning to mutual co-operation in the towns, the individualistic way of behaving has become general instead. Living far from one's own village, there are less bonds of *mataqali* in the towns. One has to earn one's living as a wage labourer. The different subsistence economies in the village and the town are typically associated with different patterns of behaviour or, in Bourdieu's terms, different habituses. Agents who have grown up in the village must habituate themselves to different practices in the manner of conducting social relationships in the town. Agents who move backward and forward between village and town must adjust their habitual behaviour accordingly. To the extent that economic relations in the village are converging on those in the town, agents will tend to modify their habitual practices and understandings of other agents' intentions. Although Bourdieu seems to think that habituses do not change, we shall show how they may change during the agent's lifetime.

This chapter will show some relevant concepts such as the "agent" and "habitus", which will be explained in more detail in Chapter 7.

5-1. The change in economic life brought by modernisation – a general tendency in Fiji

5-1-1. Development of infrastructure and the change of lifestyle

development of roads, transportation, electricity and telecommunication

Viti Levu Island is mountainous. Apart from the coast almost all the land is covered with hills. Thus the interior region, far from the orbit of Queens Road and Kings Road along the coast, had far fewer developed roads.

It was difficult for people living in the interior villages to move to other regions. In an inland village such as

⁷⁶ There could be aspects of traditional Fijian society where making a profit was a goal in the past as well. In Nasilai, for example, there was a trade between coast and interior. Because Nasilai is a fishing village, crops were in short supply. They sold fish to people living in the interior in order to get crops such as taro.

Waidracia, most transport was by river using a bamboo raft, called a *bilibili*, rather than by road.

Recently, the roads in Fiji have been increasingly developed. Since independence the Government has constructed and upgraded the basic transportation infrastructure such as roads, bridges, ports and airports. Although the development work had declined in the 1980's, the government has concentrated on upgrading the existing infrastructure rather than expanding it.⁷⁷ It is said that in 1993 approximately 900 kilometres of the 4900 kilometres of road in Fiji were paved.⁷⁸ Although the government continues to develop the transport infrastructure, the most serious problem in Fiji is that huge cyclones and heavy rainfall readily occur, which seriously damage the work.

Fiji has no passenger train service. Such services as buses, carriers and taxis are the centre of land transportation. Since unpaved roads good enough to be used by vehicles have been extended towards deeply inland areas, a number of villages have become linked by public bus services. It is said that about a half of all registered vehicles (estimated at 84,000) are used for such services.⁷⁹ Therefore it is rather easy to catch a taxi in the urban areas. In the rural areas, on the other hand, one may see a bus or a carrier full of passengers.

The water taxi service by means of small boats around big rivers is a supplementary form of transportation. The shipping service linking small islands together is also important.

The development of roads makes bus services possible, which could change the lifestyle to some extent. In an inland village where the difficulty of access to a town used to restrict the planting of commercial crops, one can now easily go to town by bus or carrier to sell crops in the market. The introduction of commercial crops changes the economic system within the village. In such villages, there used to be no monetary exchange because they were self-sufficient in the basic items needed for life. The inflow of money has made the monetary exchange system spread within the village. For example, Nayacakalou points out as such:

⁷⁷ See [Donnelly 1994: p.211].

⁷⁸ See [Chandra 1998: p.8].

⁷⁹ See [Donnelly 1994: p.211].

There is an increasing use of money as a medium of exchange; there are new patterns of exchange and distribution relations.

[Nayacakalou 1978: p.127]

Money has been at least partly responsible for most of the fundamental re-arrangements in the socio-economic pattern of Fijian society. These changes are the end-result of conscious evaluation of alternatives of action, and choice of those which make it possible for the introduction of money to be accommodated into the traditional pattern.

[ibid.: p.122]

Therefore, it can be suggested that the extent of expansion of monetary exchange in a village is proportional to the accessibility to the urban area. The point in this thesis is, however, to emphasise how the Fijian people in the contemporary village the author studied interpret the capitalistic system. This will be examined later.

The extension of roads also gives an opportunity for new development in inland areas. Modification of transport conditions may bring about a new scheme for plantation. For example, a network of interior roads has been constructed for a new pine plantation scheme.⁸⁰

The upgrade of land transport promotes inland development. The Monasavu Dam, which was completed in 1983 at a cost of F\$233 million, is capable of generating 80MW. It provides 93% of the power needs of Viti Levu. Before the completion of the Monasavu Dam, there were a few hydroelectric power dam sites in Viti Levu such as the Bukuya Dam that was capable of generating only 100KW. Power was largely provided by diesel generator. Construction of the Monasavu Dam has saved Fiji about F\$250 million in diesel imports for power generation.⁸¹

The environmental development of rural houses is one of the government's significant projects. The percentage of inadequate houses lacking a safe water supply (such as houses getting water from a borehole, well, river or creek) decreased from 19.5% in 1986 to 16.9% in 1991. The percentage of houses lacking electricity decreased from 51.5% to 44.7% from 1986 to 1991.⁸²

The Fijian's desire for electrical equipment is strong. Popular equipment such as TVs, videos and refrigerators are status symbols. Improved access to towns not only lets the villagers learn about this equipment but also increases their wants. This is closely related to the two facts mentioned below: the increase of

⁸⁰ See [Chandra 1998: p.8].

⁸¹ See [Donnelly 1994: p.198].

populational mobility appears as the inflow of population into the urban areas, and also the inflow of population into the rural areas. Development of roads increases the mobility of everything including people, things and information between the urban and rural areas.

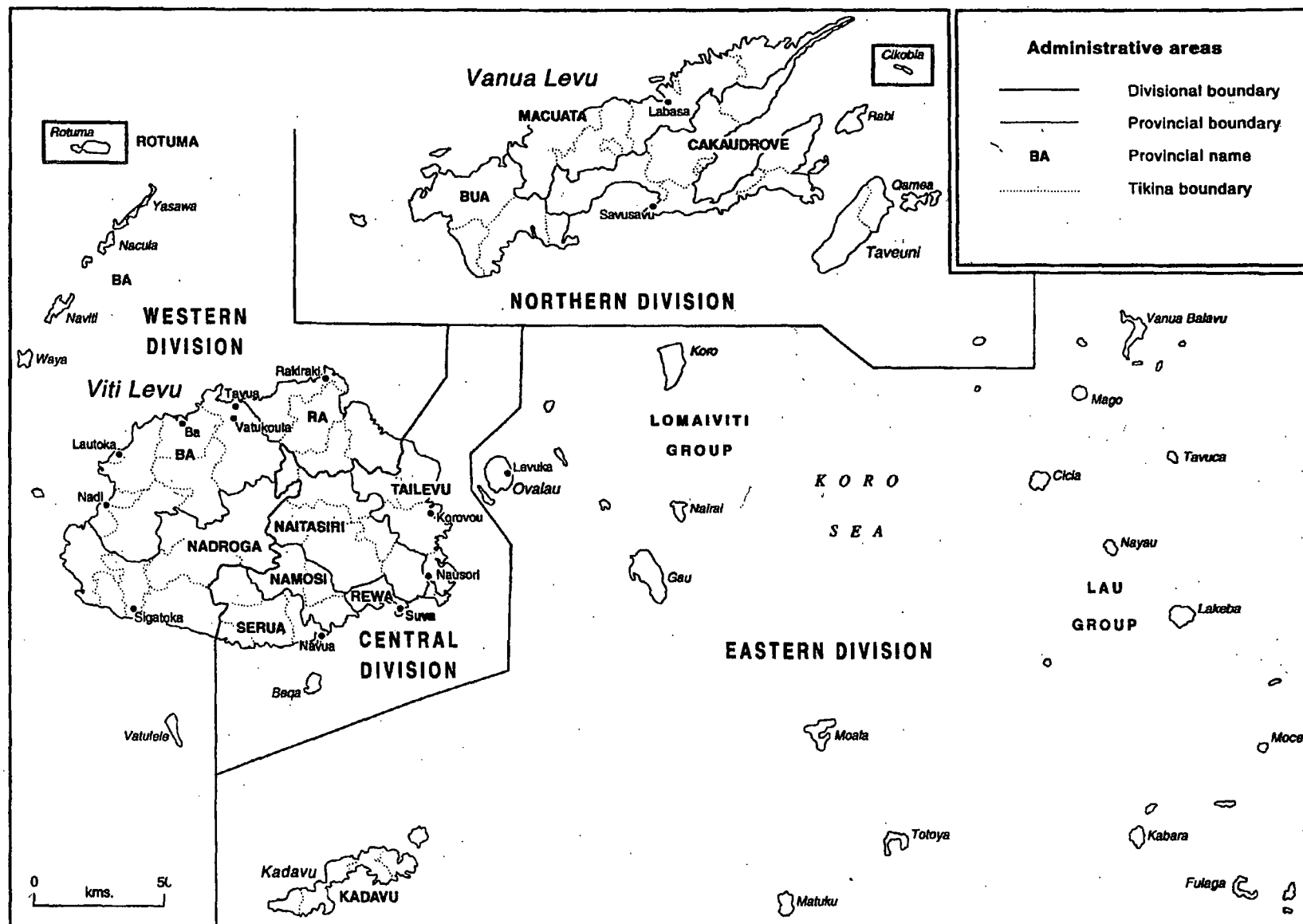
the increasing mobility of the population

One may say that the Indians are typically found in towns while the very many Fijians live in village. The Indians, managing commercial farms in the rural areas and shops in the urban areas, live individually.⁸² On the other hand, the Fijians living in the fabric of their traditional social organisations such as the *matagali* and the village rarely used to leave their birthplace. Particularly in the precolonial era, the internal mobility of the Fijian population was quite low because it was dangerous to leave the birthplace and the protection of social relationships in a period of warfare. Even though peace has come now, the Fijians still retain a strong bond with the traditional social organisations. Development of roads and public transportation, however, has brought about higher mobility in the population.

⁸² See [Chandra 1998: p.131].

⁸³ This does not necessarily generalise about all Indians on Fiji, just contrasting the actions of local Indians in the Waidracia district, with those of native Fijians.

Map 5-1: Provincial map in Fiji



According to the 1996 Census,⁸⁴ the population of Fiji was 775,077. Approximately 77% of the total population, or 594,791 people, live in Viti Levu. According to a previous census, the total population in 1976 was 588,068, and about 76% of the total, 445,422 then lived in Viti Levu. The ratio of the population of Viti Levu to the total has thus been fairly steady for 20 years. Ba Province had the highest population of all the provinces (212,197) in 1996, which was 27% of the total. Naitasiri Province had the second largest population, 126,641, or 16% of the total. 13% of the total, 101,547 people, live in Rewa Province, the third most populated.

The 1996 Census also shows the change of population in each province from 1986 to 1996.⁸⁵ Naitasiri Province had grown the most, with an increase of 26,414 in 10 years. Ba Province had gained the second largest number of people, 14,564. 11 of the 15 provinces in Fiji had increased in population over the 10 years.

“An Atlas of Fiji” points out several interesting matters regarding the internal mobility of population in Fiji as recorded in the 1986 Census.⁸⁶ Although the data is not the latest, we will rely on them here as a guide to populational mobility and the relationship between the urban and rural areas.

The mobility of the population has been influenced by such factors as the development of roads, the upgrade of transportation and the increase of employment opportunities. The type of mobility can be divided into daily commuting, temporary short-term movement, and lifetime migration. The 1986 Census shows 29% of the total population had left their birth province. The internal mobility of the population has risen in current Fiji. Naitasiri gained the most population (17,629) from 1981 to 1986 as well as in the period from 1986 to 1996 as seen above. “An Atlas of Fiji” suggests a reason for this increasing tendency. Almost all the developments around Suva city have occurred in Naitasiri. The reason why the population increased in Nadroga Province and Serua Province, which have gained the second and the third largest population from 1981 to 1986, is also explained by the development of tourist industries in the Coral Coast region.

According to “An Atlas of Fiji”, the most obvious feature of the populational mobility is the inflow of people from the rural to urban areas. The concentration of population in the cities, accelerating urbanisation, is a

⁸⁴ See [Bakker 2000: p.36].

⁸⁵ See [Bakker 2000: pp.116-117].

⁸⁶ See [Chandra 1998: pp.60-69].

common tendency in all developing countries. There is, however, another unique tendency observed only in the South Pacific including Fiji. Many people go to the urban areas as temporary migrants and later return to their rural villages. This is not a common form in other countries, apart from Fiji. For example, the capital city, Suva, has gained the most inflow of population, estimated to be approximately 47% of all the inflow into the urban areas. This exceeds the second largest number of inflow into Lautoka city, which is estimated at about 15%. However, Suva has simultaneously lost a lot of population as well. While the enlargement of cities is the most obvious and general feature in all developing countries, both the inflow and outflow of population in the urban areas are quite high so that such a city as Suva has experienced a relatively limited net increase. According to the 1996 Census, as seen above, the greatest increase of population from 1986 to 1996 turns out to have occurred not in Rewa Province, where Suva city is, but in Naitasiri Province. As Rewa Province had the third largest population of all the provinces in 1996, it is one of the most overpopulated provinces in Fiji. It is also a fact that Rewa Province is one of the provinces that have gained the most number of inflows. The fact that the increase of population in Rewa Province is not so drastic shows, however, the outflow of population from Suva city is also high. This is one of the most significant aspects underlying populational mobility in Fiji. Recent development of roads and transportation has made accessibility to the urban areas easier so that the tendency of populational inflow into the cities has risen. In Fiji, however, the mobility from the urban to the rural areas is quite high as well. One can imagine a Fijian who finally returns to his village after he has faced several difficulties in urban life. The idea, "It is better to return to the village if something happens in the city", seems to be common among Fijians, as is examined later. The young people especially have a strong desire to live in city. Yet, the bond within traditional relationships is still active too. They readily decide to move to the city seeking jobs, but just as readily determine to return to their village. Less difficulty in life exists in the rural villages. Thus, we can find a unique feature linking with the persistence of tradition in the data of populational mobility in Fiji.

dwellers in city and village

As seen above, the development of roads and transportation has increased the internal mobility of the population of Fiji. The easier accessibility both between rural and urban areas and between different rural areas

has created a lively traffic. In big cities such as Suva and Lautoka, many people gather from everywhere. More marriages between men and women whose birthplaces are far from each other are occurring, and so there is more migration from one rural region to another.

Two of the reasons for people aiming to go to the city are to seek jobs and to study in higher education. Fiji has another unique aspect of internal migrant inflow from urban to rural areas. Some return to the birthplace after marriage. Others fail to find jobs and go back to their village. Young people are often seen who went to the city and came back to the village after a while without a particular aim. Such a mutual stream of people between the urban and rural areas has caused urban social problems that I describe below. In the rural areas, on the other hand, the urbanised lifestyle and formerly unknown ideas are being introduced.

In the colonial era, Levuka, the pre-capital city on Ovalau Island, was the only place that was worth calling “an urban area” with sufficient accumulation of people and things. Levuka, where the trade of sandalwood and plantation of cotton had flourished, became the first capital city in 1874 after the cession of Fiji was officially accepted by Britain in Nasova, located just to the south of Levuka. However, the capital was moved to Suva in 1882 because Levuka was located on too small an island. There was very little room for the expansion of the city, and future economic development was expected to occur on the biggest island, Viti Levu. Suva has a good port with better natural conditions. Suva is also close to the fertile Rewa Delta and has space enough to allow expansion of the city. Therefore, Suva was selected from among other candidates such as Nadi and Savusavu to be the new capital city.

Now Fiji has two cities, Suva City and Lautoka City. Suva became a city when its population exceeded 30,000 in 1953. There are also several middle-sized towns with populations between 10,000 and 17,000, Lami, Labasa, Nadi, Nausori and Ba. In addition, there are some small towns with populations up to 10,000 such as Sigatoka, Levuka, Savusavu, Vatukoula, Rakiraki, Navua, Tavua and Korovou. Only these two cities and thirteen towns are designated “urban” in Fiji. The two cities of Suva and Lautoka, and eight towns of Lami, Labasa, Nadi, Nausori, Ba, Sigatoka, Levuka and Savusavu, each have their own council enacted by the Local Government Act.

“Towns” are distinguished into two types: the “incorporated, official township” has its own council; and the “unincorporated, unofficial township” is administrated by rural development authorities without its own council. This distinction is not necessarily in correspondence with population. For example, the population of Savusavu, which is an official town with a town council, is less than that of Vatukoula, which is an unofficial town. The headman of the town council is called the Mayor. In the case of Savusavu Town, there are nine town councillors and a Mayor, who are elected every three years.

The urban population is increasing as follows, 159,259 [33.4% of total] in 1966, 218,495 [37.2% of total] in 1976, 277,025 [38.7% of total] in 1986, and 359,495 [46.4% of total] in 1996.⁸⁷ A number of people living in rural regions close to urban areas commute. Such dwellers have more opportunities to experience and acquire the urbanised lifestyle.

⁸⁷ See [Bakker 2000: p.34].

Table 5-1: the increase of urban population (cited from [Bakker 2000])

Division	Year	Tot. Pop. [Nr]	Rural Pop		Urban Pop.		Urban Pop. as %	
			[Nr]	[%]	[Nr]	[%]	Tot. Urb	Tot. Fiji
Total Fiji	1966	476,727 [*]	317,468	66.6	159,259	33.4	100.0	33.4
	1976	588,068	369,573	62.8	218,495	37.2	100.0	37.2
	1986	715,375	438,350	61.3	277,025	38.7	100.0	38.7
	1996	775,077	415,582	53.6	359,495	46.4	100.0	46.4
Western	1966	195,760	142,890	73.0	52,870	27.0	33.2	11.1
	1976	238,547	171,573	71.9	66,974	28.1	30.7	11.4
	1986	283,349	203,705	71.9	79,644	28.1	28.8	11.1
	1996	297,184	186,114	62.6	111,070	37.4	30.9	14.3
Central	1966	154,429	62,617	40.5	91,812	59.5	57.6	19.3
	1976	206,875	73,369	35.5	133,506	64.5	61.1	22.7
	1986	260,110	85,033	32.7	175,077	67.3	63.2	24.5
	1996	297,607	82,979	27.9	214,628	72.1	59.7	27.7
Northern	1966	84,244	72,667	86.3	11,577	13.7	7.3	2.4
	1976	103,122	87,871	85.2	15,251	14.8	7.0	2.6
	1986	129,154	109,745	85.0	19,409	15.0	7.0	2.7
	1996	139,516	109,465	78.5	30,051	21.5	8.4	3.9
Eastern	1966	41,248	38,248	92.7	3,000	7.3	1.9	0.6
	1976	39,524	36,760	93.0	2,764	7.3	1.3	0.5
	1986	42,762	39,867	93.2	2,895	6.8	1.0	0.4
	1996	40,770	37,024	90.8	3,746	9.2	1.0	0.5

Note: * The urban areas in Fiji were for the first time delineated before the 1996 census

^{*} In 1966, 1,046 persons were enumerated on ships.

According to the data in the "Fiji Poverty Report" of 1991 – 1992,⁸⁸ approximately 62% of all wage labourers engaged in permanent jobs dwelt in the urban areas. Besides, 93% of all households in the urban areas gained their income from sources other than agriculture. The urban dwellers earned about 30% more money on a weekly average than people in the rural areas. It is also a fact, however, that rural dwellers do not necessarily need to earn more cash income since they own the land as a means of production.

Working in hotels is a typical job for urban labourers. It is often the case that the Indians occupy the posts behind the scenes such as managers and accountants while the Fijians work in the places which catch the public eye, jobs such as room clerks, waiters and at the reception. In urban workshops, it is normal to see the Fijian and the Indian working together.

Urbanisation has caused new kinds of social problems. Unemployment has become chronic so that the gap between the rich and the poor is rising. Lacking houses to live in, people often live in shabby shacks. It is frequently the case that a family lives in a single room, and do not know their neighbours. Such dwellings are called "informal" houses and are without water supply, electricity and sewerage. More than 20,000 people are said to live as squatters in Suva.⁸⁹

More people are gathering in the urban areas in order to take higher education. It has now become general knowledge among Fijians that taking higher education can provide access to jobs with better wages. Until the 1960's, almost all the rural schools lacking further courses beyond Form 4 (15 years old), and had been unable to offer any higher education. Development of roads and transportation has made it possible for the rural students to go to secondary schools and colleges in the urban areas. This circumstance, however, brings about another problem. Most of them stay in their relative's houses in the city. There is no *turaga-ni-koro* or chief, such as would have supervised them if they were in the village. The rooms are too small to concentrate on studying. As a result, many students drop out. Even though one completes the course, it is becoming more difficult to find a job. Thus, a number of the young gathering in the city are addicted to drinking beer and "grog".⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Cited from [Bloomfield 1999: p.5].

⁸⁹ See [Bloomfield 1999: p.96].

⁹⁰ See [Bloomfield 1999: p.93].

Although there is less opportunity for contact between different cultures in rural houses, villages and schools, contact can more often be seen in urban schools, offices and workshops so that the inter-cultural interaction in urban life is necessarily increasing. This brings Indians, Chinese and Fijians from distant islands into contact with one another. In the urban areas, with the Western things introduced from overseas, one may know more and more new materials. One takes for granted the economic act that one “purchases” such “commodities” in the city since urban life is completely involved in the monetary economy. On the one hand, the rural economy had a small-scaled self-sufficient productive system based on agriculture or fishery. The circulation system in the rural economy has been pretty small-scale, where the exchange system is mainly based on the reciprocal *kerekere*, and there is only the simple aspect of the consumption of domestic goods provided for oneself. On the other hand, one becomes a wage labourer in the city, instead of having been a producer in one’s village. All products, circulating by means of monetary exchange, are obtained and consumed in the form of a commodity in the urban economic system. Everything is contrastive. Thus, the Fijians who have experienced life in the city commonly complain as follows: “Life in the city is quite hard because everything is linked with money. We always think about money, money and money in the city. Everything is free in the village, though”. Nevertheless, both a form of monetary exchange and a notion of seeking profits derived from capitalism are steadily spreading through the rural areas, since more Fijians who have acquired the urbanised lifestyle are returning to their villages.

To sum up, three dimensions have been examined in Fiji. Firstly, the development of roads, transportation and social infrastructure accelerates urbanisation in towns and cities. Secondly, Fiji has a unique feature of internal migration, in that their tighter relationships and bonds among the traditional social organisations such as the *mataqali* and the village are liable to encourage urban dwellers to return to the village. Finally, the urbanised lifestyle including the capitalistic thoughts and behaviour acquired during urban life is more and more brought into rural spheres.⁹¹ As a result, such urbanised economic behaviour as monetary exchange is replacing *kerekere* or reciprocal presentation and individualistic behaviour aimed at gaining profits instead of contributing to the well

⁹¹ We note that each “sphere” has its own tendency of convergence of individual habitus at the collective dimension. In rural sphere, the individuals would make their practices in accordance with the “rural purposiveness” so that their purposive acts could converge to an extent. See section 2-1-4.

being of the community emerges in the rural village. Besides, there appears another “aim” in rural economic life, which is to purchase some fascinating commodity in the city. There was not, but now is, the idea of saving money so as to purchase something in the future. Needless to say, however, such urbanised economic behaviour is not in correspondence with their traditional economic behaviour. While rural dwellers coming back from the city have acquired this urbanised lifestyle, people going to the city have been acquiring the traditional lifestyle of their village since their birth. Thus, the conflict between the urban and traditional lifestyle appears both in the rural and the urban areas.

5-1-2. Infiltration of an idea of capitalism and change in economic life

traditional “life structure” in Fiji

The traditional economy in Fiji has been based on agriculture and fishing. In Fijian villages, they have gained their living by using the land and sea. Fijians have made their living not only by cultivating such staple crops as taro and cassava, collecting wild plants, catching fish, but also by gathering firewood, cutting mangrove trees to build houses, and raising cattle on their inherited land. The “life structure” is a sociological concept representing the entire set of relationships of which life is composed.⁹² In this thesis, we shall use this term as the structure of the living field. The “life structure” is a compound system including the social, cultural and material conditions. For example, social organisation and political institutions are included in the social conditions, while ritual systems and ceremonies are cultural. The material elements consist of food and clothing. As needs and desires are excluded, we can objectively grasp the living field with this term in the framework of time and space.⁹³ In thinking of social change, it would be useful to analyse the state of the objective living field.⁹⁴

It can be said that the traditional life structure in Fiji has been inseparable from the land. Not only the place of residence such as house and garden, but also the other places in which villagers obtain natural resources such as wild plants and firewood, are also located in particular areas of inherited land. Each Fijian village has its own

⁹² This term was conceptualised in Japanese sociology in the 1970's. When the life of Japanese people dramatically changed during a period of high growth since the 1960's, it was required to grasp life comprehensively so as to recognise the realities of life systematically. Under the circumstances, this term was proposed.

⁹³ When the structure of living field becomes internalised in the individual, it constitutes habitus in the sense that Bourdieu writes of “structured structures” the agent has internalised, which then have a structuring effect on his or her future social behaviour [Bourdieu 1977: 72].

⁹⁴ While the idea of “sphere” is a conceptual construct, the living field implies concrete meanings.

particular land.

Villagers use communal land managed by and belonging to social organisations such as the *mataqali* and the *yavusa*. Whoever belongs to the social unit is entitled to use a certain plot of land. Although the practical division and allocation of land depends on circumstances, all villagers reliably secure land as the means of production. In the village, they occasionally offer mutual, reciprocal and co-operative help to each other while they independently plant crops on their own land. Co-operation is required on various occasions such as when house building, cleaning the village, and helping older people to bring heavy taro from their garden to their house. This practice may be derived from, on the one hand, a unique and traditional Fijian view putting value on reciprocity as a virtue. On the other hand, their peculiar attitude to the land may have another reason. The land (*vanua*) for the Fijian functions not only as an essential means of production supporting their practical subsistence, but also as a mental, emotional and psychological support, providing their identity and securing the life of their descent group since their ancestor arrived there.⁹⁵ Belonging to a particular *vanua* realises their well being in both the mental and material sense. The land is not personal property. It is communal property managed through social organisations. As the *mataqali* is a descent group, the members can recognise their identity as belonging to the *mataqali* through the land. In that sense, therefore, the land is the basis of social groups as well as of the economy. Hence, the norm offering reciprocal co-operation expresses the group's shared identity through the land.

Ravuvu distinguishes the particular types of land into four categories.

The land and water areas belonging to a *vanua* (tribe) or *yavusa* (clan) are generally of four main classes. They are the *qele ni teitei* (gardening land), the *veikau* (forest land), the *yavutu* (founding ancestor's house sites) and the *qoliqoli* (fishing area).

[Ravuvu 1983: pp.71-75]

The cultivated land surrounds the village.

⁹⁵ Toren [Toren 1995: pp.165-173] analyses the meanings of the land in Fiji from the viewpoint of the ancestral places, *yavu*.

The *qeke ni teitei* includes all land areas under cultivation and those in fallow. Much of the land is within easy access of the village, so the people do not have to go far to work and bring back food from their gardens.

[Ravuvu 1983: p.71]

Since the official registration of land began, the management of land including forests and uninhabited areas has become stricter. Such land has been influenced by economic development.

The forest land [*veikau*] was generally used by the people to supply materials for house building and firewood, as well as for hunting and foraging. ... But lately each group, through the influence and pressure of modern economic development, has started to exert its legal rights of ownership and begin to disallow non-rightholders from using it whether they feel like it, as was the traditional practise (sic, i.e. practice).

[Ravuvu 1983: pp.73-74]

The inherited and sacred areas are strictly administrated by the *mataqali*. As the right to such land is concerned with mental aspects, less influence of the economic development has been taken.

These are traditional ancestral house-sites or foundations of the groups' founding ancestors and the surrounding areas bordering them. Rights to traditional ancestral house sites are exclusively vested in the *mataqali* group whose male ancestors had occupied them and which they had successfully claimed at the various Native Land Commission sittings from 1913 to 1929. ... These rights to the *yavu* [house-foundation] are little affected by modern economic development.

[Ravuvu 1983: pp.74-75]

All fishing areas are also the property of social organisations.

Like the forest land, the *qoliqoli* (fishing ground) used to be and still is to some degree vested in the community. It includes all rivers, creeks, lakes and stretches of sea which a particular *vanua* or its component *yavusa* and *mataqali* claimed as their traditional fishing grounds.

[Ravuvu 1983: p.75]

The primary crops are taro and cassava. Taro matures after between six and nine months while cassava takes from five to seven months. Cassava grows well on relatively poor or steep land, but taro has much greater food value than cassava. In general, crops with the highest food value are planted first. As soil fertility decreases

with each crop, less demanding crops are planted. Good land can be used for more than four years. A typical order of planting might be: taro, banana and *yagona* first; taro is planted again in the next year; cassava will be planted in years three and four. The land must then be left fallow for at least seven years.

Thus one is guaranteed well being, given land as the essential means of production, secured by the social organisations such as *mataqali* or *yavusa*, as long as one stays in one's village. One can achieve self-sufficiency by planting crops or catching fish on one's territory. In the village, the principles of reciprocity and mutual co-operation are active. Villagers respect their communal bonds as they share a common descent. The youths would help the elders working in their gardens while the household that temporarily lack foods would to some extent be supported. As long as access to land as the essential means of production is guaranteed, life in the village remains stable. Hence, the traditional life structure in Fijian villages has been inseparable from the land. In the following section the development of a commercial economy and its effect on social life in rural Fiji will be outlined.

industrialisation and expansion of capitalistic system

As globalisation intensifies, Fiji has been drawn into the framework of the world economy. As the "World-System Theory" points out, the capitalistic economy entangles even a tiny island in the South Pacific, such as Fiji, in the global system.

Let us consider the situation of Fiji with reference to foreign trade. The Fijian economy depends considerably on foreign trade. While the trade balance has been in deficit because of an excess of imports, the amount of trade has tended to increase.

The acquisition of foreign currency in Fiji used to rely on the export of raw sugar, copra products and gold. The production of sugar, which was started by Indian indentured labour in the colonial era, has been a key industry in Fiji. Raw sugar exports valued at F\$221 million brought in over 40% of the country's domestic export earnings in 1992. The amount of raw sugar produced in 1987-1992 was between 360,000 and 460,000 tonnes, derived from sugar cane whose annual harvest was from 3 million tonnes to 4 million tonnes. The industry provides direct employment for 22,000 farmers, 20,000 seasonal cane-cutters and 2,200 mill workers, and

accounts for approximately 10% of GDP in Fiji.⁹⁶ Copra had been the second most important agricultural export for many years. Although copra production had been more than 30,000 tonnes a year during the 1950's and 1960's, it now averages around 12,000 tonnes. Exports of coconut oil in 1992 were valued at F\$5.7 million.⁹⁷ Besides, mining has been a dominant industry in Fiji, thanks to the production of gold at Vatukoula. Production of gold from 1986 to 1992 was around 2,800 kg to 4,200 kg, valued at F\$40-80 million. The company employs up to 1,600 people, including Fijians and Indians.⁹⁸

Recently, the nature of export has changed. The most valued items for export in 1992 were raw sugar (40.85%), garments (19.38%), gold (11.21%), canned fish (5.30%) and woodchips (4.22%). Garments valued at F\$105 million were responsible for nearly 20% of the value of all domestic exports in 1992.⁹⁹

Manufacturing is one of the most rapidly growing industries in Fiji, producing garments, cement, paint, soap, furniture, paper and packaged food. Annual exports grew to F\$131 million in 1991 from less than F\$1.0 million in 1985. Garment production requires relatively little capital investment and can be established quickly. As it is labour intensive, it is said that an estimated 12,000 new jobs had been created by 1993. In addition, fish products such as canned tuna have become the most important of all exports and created lots of new jobs. Until the 1960s most fishing and collecting was small scale and non-commercial. However, large-scale commercial factories and companies such as PAFCO (The Pacific Fishing Company, established in 1963) aiming to produce commodities have been founded. Canned products have now grown to be one of the key industries. In the case of PAFCO, the company has the capacity to process more than 20,000 tonnes of tuna per year, produces sixty million cans of tuna, and employs up to 1,000 labourers.¹⁰⁰

Thus, the key export industries in Fiji have been transformed from primary to secondary industries such as processing and manufacturing. The total value of domestic exports in 1992 was F\$541.7 million. The principal countries receiving Fijian exports in 1992 were UK (F\$178.1 million), Australia (F\$107.2 million), US (F\$76.8

⁹⁶ See [Donnelly 1994: pp.149-150].

⁹⁷ See [Donnelly 1994: p.159].

⁹⁸ See [Donnelly 1994: pp.193-195].

⁹⁹ See [Donnelly 1994: p.219].

¹⁰⁰ See [Donnelly 1994: pp.170-176].

million), Malaysia (F\$40.8 million), Japan (F\$33.7 million), New Zealand (F\$32.6 million), Canada (F\$17.6 million), China (F\$5.3 million) and other countries (F\$49.6 million). Besides, Fiji, which is the biggest industrial country in the South Pacific, is the hub of Pacific trade. The Pacific partners in 1992 were American Samoa (F\$8.7 million), Western Samoa (F\$7.0 million), Tonga (F\$5.3 million) and Kiribati (F\$3.0 million).¹⁰¹

Despite the massive growth in exports, an excess of imports over exports in the balance of trade has remained chronic in Fiji. In 1992, Fiji spent F\$938 million on imports. Even though F\$111.5 million was spent on imports of petroleum products for reexport, imports of consumer goods such as foods (15.35%) and manufactured goods (24.90%) made up the bulk of all imports.¹⁰² Rapid adoption of a Western lifestyle has created an economy characterised by excessive dependence on imported consumer goods.

The other industry contributing most to the GDP is tourism. In 1992, 278,000 people visited Fiji. Since the development of tourism started in the 1960's, it has grown well. Tourism grossed F\$367 million compared to F\$221 million for sugar in 1992. Tourism is the major source of paid employment in Fiji, generating jobs for about 30,000 people.¹⁰³ However, political coups seriously damaged the industry. Several airlines in New Zealand, Canada, Japan and South Korea stopped flights to Fiji after the coups of 1987 and 2000. Tourism is an industry depending wholly on capital investment from overseas. Although it is one of the principal industries that can most compensate the chronic trade deficit in normal circumstances, it is also the case that tourism is vulnerable to world economic trends and local political situations which have direct consequences on the industry.

As suggested above, the recent stream of modernisation has developed the domestic industries in Fiji, which has created new employment opportunities. Even though the Fijian economy has a peculiar tendency to excessive consumption of imported products, which prevents any dramatic enlargement of the domestic labour market, it is a fact that the inflow of people into urban areas is increasing, as was seen in the previous section. When Fijian people who were previously engaged in small and non-commercial agriculture and fishing in rural

¹⁰¹ See [Donnelly 1994: p.221].

¹⁰² See [Donnelly 1994: p.219].

¹⁰³ See [Donnelly 1994: p.205].

areas go to the city, they are involved in a large scale, commercial labour market. While labour is directly done on their own land in the village, it takes the form of wage labour in the city. Less communal norms are at work within the framework of capitalism. Acting not as a “communal” person but as an “individual” wage labourer in the capitalistic system, one has to make one’s living independently.¹⁰⁴ One’s own land is no longer the essential means of production nor is there the security provided by the traditional social organisations. One has to be an independent and individual “homo-economicus”. Fijians who have experienced working in a factory, tourist hotel or company, acquire such capitalistic principles more and more. While effort and talent may realise better wages, idleness and inability will generate nothing. If one lacks something to eat, one is not able to obtain food by means of *kerekere*. Everything appears in the form of a commodity. Building a house requires money. Even a haircut is a commodity. One can obtain commodities only by purchasing them. Those who are involved in the capitalistic consumptive economy in urban areas simultaneously come to recognise both sides of money, the attractive aspect and the “fetishistic” aspect, as Marx conceptualises. Thus, the experience of urban life leads Fijian people to recognise such capitalistic notions as profit, the commodity and capital so that they come to acquire an urbanised lifestyle.

spread of the urbanised lifestyle into rural areas

The term “lifestyle” used in this thesis is, as explained in Chapter 2, inseparable from Bourdieu’s concept of “habitus”. “Lifestyle” means certain forms of thoughts and behaviour derived from the “practical sense” and “dispositions” that are immanent in the agent such as the style of residence, the selection of furniture, table manners, preference of clothes, favourite sports, music and cinema, the way to enjoy leisure, and so on. The

¹⁰⁴ But there still exists an interrelation between people in the village and the city. Nayacakalou describes the situation in the 1970’s as follows: “Now money may be required to satisfy some traditional needs, so that in this way the money incentive is supported by traditional needs; the converse is not true. Hence there would seem to be some preference for working for a money reward. Payment for the use of capital equipment in the form of money means that the transaction is more purely economic rather than social.” [Nayacakalou 1978: p.126] and “But it has wider social effects, due to the interdependence between village folk and their urban relatives, for urban folk visit their relatives in the village and distribute part of their earnings among them. In return they are visited by their village folk who often bring presents of fresh food, perhaps mats, etc.” [ibid: p.129] Even in Waidracia in 2002, people living in the town are expected to take care of those who come to the town from their village. They even take care of students who come to live in the town to go to school in the town during the time. Urban people sometimes try to take their children to their village, in order to “educate” their children in the traditional manner. In some ceremonies in the village, the urban people are supposed to give some yaqona, tabua, and even money. Please refer to 6-2-2, “Oripa’s narrative” section. Thus, there is a significant interrelation between the towns and the villages. While urban people internalise “rural habitus”, rural people do “urban habitus” nowadays. The conceptual division between the urban and the rural is not exclusive from one another at all.

habitus, which is being generated through constant and mutual feedback between social and individual dimensions, determines the form of the lifestyle. Such theoretical explanations about the habitus and the lifestyle will be carried out in Chapter 7. We will trace the inflow of urbanised lifestyle into rural areas.

We have shown that one cannot make a living in the towns without being involved in the capitalistic system. One comes to know quite a different lifestyle to the traditional lifestyle so that one may acquire it. Let us raise several contrastive points between the two lifestyles.

aspects	urbanised lifestyle	traditional lifestyle
exchange	more monetary	less monetary
kerekere	less frequent	more frequent
thoughts	individualistic	communal
family	nuclear	multiple
income	wage labour	peasant
education	higher	lower
English	well spoken	not well spoken
drinking	beer	yaqona
towards Indian	more co-operative	more prejudiced
meal	inconsistent	all together
privacy	more concerned	less concerned
clothing	more Western	less Western
hairstyle	sometimes permed	natural afro
favourite rugby team	Aussie pro-league	domestic team
aim of economic life	individual profit	communal well-being
traditional taboo	weak	strong
reciprocal care	less necessary	more necessary

The rise of population mobility and the peculiar tendency for the Fijian people to be liable to return to the village have brought such an urbanised lifestyle into rural areas. Some go back to their village after graduating from the urban schools. Others return with experiences of working in the city for a while. Marriage is also a chance to move. Several kinds of imported consumer goods popular in the cities are brought to the villages. Besides, several capitalistic ways of thinking and values are also introduced to the village.

The rural economy is no longer self-sufficient. Villagers want more money to buy fashionable clothes, to eat imported foods and to enjoy leisure in the city. As the monetary economy is spreading into rural life, there are increasing circumstances in which one needs to pay money, such as payment of tuition fees, donations to church

and accumulating reserve funds for *mataqali*. The easier accessibility of the city has allowed dwellers in inland villages to go to the city market to sell cash crops. The rise of populational mobility has created job opportunities such as forestry and contract work installing electricity not only in urban but also in rural areas. Some villagers living near urban areas commute to work in the city.

The rural economy was little dependent on money. It was characterised by a small-scale and limited structure of reproduction, based on autonomous “production – circulation – consumption” within the village. Economy with commodities scarcely existed.¹⁰⁵ This is why there were very few items that could become a commodity within the village. There was less inflow of potential commodities from urban to rural areas because of less developed traffic. Indeed, villagers had not yet acquired a concept of commodity. Land as the essential means of production as well as natural resources around the village were common property. Although agricultural products or captured fish belonged to each producer, the rural economy including the structure of reproduction as “production – circulation – consumption” must have been considered as the idea of communal rights. For example, most Fijians often say that the *kerekere* is translated to “borrow” in English.¹⁰⁶ *Kerekere* never means the transferring of ownership for them. There seems to be no concept of “private ownership” in *kerekere*. Everything belongs to the community. Any member in the community can temporarily “borrow” it. Hence *kerekere* never implies any ideas of the equivalent, the equilibrium and the demonstration of prestige.¹⁰⁷

Yet, the urbanised lifestyle brought to the village has quite different elements from the traditional lifestyle. Monetary exchange is spreading more and more into various spheres of rural economic life. What had been presented by *kerekere* is becoming now an object to be exchanged through the medium of money. Some houses in the village have begun to sell groceries that have been bought in the city in advance. More opportunities where one requires money in rural life have made one’s want for money increase. Villagers attempt to plant more cash

¹⁰⁵ The fact that there were no commodities does not necessarily mean that there could not be any forms of commodities.

¹⁰⁶ According to the questionnaire, 84.1% of all respondents in Waidracia, Nasilai, Nadoi, OISCA and Elixir Apartment think it appropriate to translate *kerekere* to “borrow” in English. 14.3% of respondents answer “beg”.

¹⁰⁷ As for the matter of reciprocity, many anthropologists have discussed. Mauss [Mauss 1970: pp.10-12] suggests three “obligations” in reciprocal exchange, which are the “obligation to give”, the “obligation to receive” and the “obligation to repay”. Gouldner [Gouldner 1960: pp.169-171] analyses “reciprocity” in association with “complementarity”. Elau [Elau 1967: pp.28-29] mentions that imbalance in reciprocal exchange may create unilateral power. Sahlins [Sahlins 1972: pp.191-204] illustrates that the equilibrium between gifts and counter-gifts depends on kinship distance. In all these arguments, it does matter whether reciprocity implies any ideas of obligations, equilibrium and competition.

crops to sell in the market. Some villagers have appeared selling such groceries as cigarettes or *yagona* in their community. Such villagers hold, from the very beginning, a clear aim to purchase consumer goods in the future. The rural economy is no longer a self-sufficient and autonomous system with a small-scale and limited structure of reproduction. The monetary economy might seem to have reformed the traditional life structure. In fact, however, there emerge several conflicts in some spheres of economic life where the incoming principle underlying the capitalistic system collides with the traditional norms, which still remain active. This appears in various forms, more or less, both in urban and rural areas.

the conflict between two forms of lifestyle

As one cannot live without being involved in the current capitalistic system, one must introduce and adopt an urbanised lifestyle with its capitalistic and individualistic aspects whether one wishes to or not. Conflicts and contradiction between the traditional lifestyle and the urbanised lifestyle, and between the traditional life structure and the urbanised life structure are seen in both rural and urban areas.

Most wage labourers in the urban areas are paid by the week. However, it is often the case that Fijians, who seem not to be well-acquainted with the notion of an "employment contract", lose their jobs for reasons such as nonfulfilment of the contract, failure to obey their employer, unauthorised absence and go-slows. Those who have lived in a village at a rather loose pace tend to put less importance on the precise execution of the terms of contract. Frequently, the principles and senses of value characteristic of the capitalistic system such as the fulfilment of a promise, punctuality and the settled extent of responsibility are not coincident with what one needs to keep in mind in rural life. It is also the case that a command system from a supervisor does not function well if a person from a chiefly descent group works among other employees. For the Fijian people, status in the traditional order should be respected in all social contexts. In such a case, however, the capitalistic principle requires the employee to fulfil the contract precisely even though the traditional status is not coincident with the relationships in the workshop. Thus it often happens in urban areas that the practical sense cultivated through the traditional lifestyle encounters a phase with a different kind of practical sense making rural people aware of a different practice.

In rural areas, on the other hand, the traditional lifestyle basically takes advantages from the brought urbanised lifestyle although the former is consistently threatened by the latter. This is because the traditional bonds to be respected are still strong in the social processes of the village. It is descent for the Fijian that gives them their identity. They consider that they can only be in social relationships derived from the descent groups. Besides, land still remains the essential means of production nowadays. As long as the rules of land tenure and the life structure dependent on land do not change, it is necessary that, in principle, the traditional life structure should have primary importance.¹⁰⁸ Lots of Fijians readily return to their birth village. They often say while they are in the city, "Even if this urban life does not go well, there will be no worry at all. It is better to return to the village. That's it!" The reason why they readily return to the village, and why they still put great value on their bonds with the traditional social organisations lies, therefore, in the fact that they are guaranteed to obtain sufficient land to earn their subsistence if only they go back to the village. Land is still managed by the *mataqali*. The bonds of traditional social organisations are linked with this land tenure system. In terms of not only the economic aspect but also the mutual and co-operative norms existing, one's well being is secure in the village.

Where aspects of urban life can enhance the quality of life in the village, capitalistic ideas and procedures are increasingly common in rural life; those houses or canteens selling groceries for example.¹⁰⁹ Such houses do not necessarily intend to earn their living only as a merchant by selling groceries. People living in such houses are still farmers or fisherman. Money earned by selling groceries is a supplement to the household. Goods that were bought in the city and are usually consumed in the village such as cigarettes, *yaqona*, tinned foods, sweets and instant noodles become commodities. They sell the goods so as to gain profits. In other words, they understand the concept of "profit".

Conflict between the traditional sense of value and the capitalistic principle is also seen. Villagers may ask to buy something on credit. Those who have not sufficiently acquired such capitalistic principles as the idea of

¹⁰⁸ The traditional system still has a vital function in the village because it guarantees secure life to the Fijians. This will be discussed in Chapter 7 in terms of the system of traditional values.

¹⁰⁹ Trainee is gathering to OISCA from several parts of Fiji. There was a question in the questionnaire conducted in OISCA, "How many shops (including the house selling something) are there in your village?" This may provide us with a general tendency of the number of shops in the village. The author obtained 24 respondents in OISCA. According to this, they answered 2 shops (9

private ownership, the fulfilment of a promise, and the rules of credit transactions are often liable to fail to execute the credit without intending any harm. Otherwise, they easily continue to defer the payment so that things finally go beyond the manager's capability of settlement. As the communal, co-operative and reciprocal norms are acting in the village, it is difficult for the manager to reject the request for transactions on credit. Thus such houses and canteens often go bankrupt caused by the inability to cover operational costs.¹¹⁰

It is the "dispositions" and the "practical sense" that have become immanent in each "agent" that spins the lifestyle. In addition, the "dispositions" and the "practical sense" are derived from the "habitus", as reflecting the actual and practical circumstances. The habitus is reproducing itself constantly while incorporating new elements. The capitalistic principle is centred on urban life. The practical sense acquired through urban life accords with the "urban purposiveness".¹¹¹ On the other hand, the "rural purposiveness" centred on rural life has been generated, modified and transformed in light of the land tenure system, the traditional social relationships derived from the land tenure system, and the norms or value systems learned through social life. When the practical sense and the lifestyle led by the "rural purposiveness" encounter those led by the "urban purposiveness", there can be observed a process of reproduction of the habitus with unification, articulation and transformation. Both dwellers in rural and urban areas, objectifying and interpreting the surrounding capitalistic circumstances from the vantage point of the traditional sense of value, as an "agent" incorporate change into their own context. This subject will be theoretically examined in detail in Chapter 7. The next section will illustrate how the general tendency mentioned above appears in practice in Waidracia and Nasilai.

people [villages], 37.5%), 4 shops (5 people [villages], 20.8%), and 3 shops (4 people [villages], 16.7%). No respondents answered, "There aren't any shops in my village."

¹¹⁰ The conflict between kinship/neighbourhood obligations and the "impersonal" character of ideal market transactions has often been noted in some studies in the general region of the Pacific. According to Belshaw, it is often difficult for the entrepreneur to sort out the function of risk taking, because the entrepreneur is assumed to work with his own money or resources in the transactional links consisting of a blend of particularism and universalism. [Belshaw 1965: pp.114-117] In Waidracia, on the other hand, Laisani, who runs a canteen, seemed to understand this problem because she had studied at business school in Suva.

¹¹¹ In urban sphere, the individuals internalise a series of the "urban purposiveness". They allocate resources according to the relationship between their means and the purposive ends to make their practices. See section 2-1-1.

5-2-1. Some aspects of modernisation

economic life in contemporary villages

Mr. Mosese Qalitakivuna is a man in his late twenties living in Waidracia. He is one of those who took care of the author, and attempted to answer the author's anthropological questions with "their anthropological view" from the beginning. As Mosese has been to Japan as a member of a governmental project for youth education, he might have a particular affection for the author. Mosese, who not only has had the experience of visiting foreign countries, which is rare for villagers, but also is one of a few people entitled to read the Bible in church, and seems to have a broad outlook. Such "extraordinary villagers" as Mosese who have a broader outlook than others in Waidracia always attempted to reply to the author's questions comprehensively after they understood the author's intention.¹¹² When the author spoke of Western civilised life in Britain or Japan in a way that all the villagers may not perfectly perceive, for example, it was impressive that these "extraordinary villagers" seemed to comprehend, as contrasted with the other "ordinary villagers" who simply admired with an envious gaze. These "extraordinary villagers", understanding that this was the case, gave the author some useful comments from the viewpoint of "their anthropology". Three people can be counted as these "extraordinary villagers". Oripa, who first took me to Waidracia, is the wife of Levani who is an elder brother of Dakuwaqa (D1). Taking account of the fact that another Dakuwaqa (D2), the eldest son of Levani and Oripa, has graduated from university and now succeeds in his life in Australia, there seems to grow an unusual "practical sense" in this house different from the one of ordinary villagers. Waisea, who is a man in his mid-thirties, is also entitled to read the Bible in church. He proposed and manages a canteen in Waidracia; and Mosese is now a good father to two daughters. Mosese has had, however, a bad experience in the past in association with the typical social problems brought by modernisation.

According to his narrative, Mosese had worked in Suva until 1997. His wages were spent on beer and

¹¹² Such a distinctive term as "extraordinary villager" should not be used, but it would be important to "distinguish" those "extraordinary" villagers who would possibly acquire "innovative" habitus from "ordinary" villagers. Various "distinctions" derived from several criteria such as "urban / rural" or "more educated / less educated" could provide each person with peculiar "practical sense" so that there may occur the contrast among their practices. We will discuss this matter in Chapter 7.

yaqona at once. He was almost an alcoholic. One day he conflicted with his boss and hit him. Mosese was fired. Then he neither sought another job in Suva, nor became a farmer in Waidracia. Since he came and went from Waidracia to Suva without any particular aims, everybody laughed at him. After his marriage, he spent his money on beer and *yaqona* once he had earned it without taking care of his wife and children. But he heard “the word of God” in 2000, which led him to change his mind. He believes in the Seventh-Day Adventists. He attempted to obtain a qualification for reading the Bible. He is now entitled. As the Seventh-Day Adventists prohibit drinking beer and *yaqona*, he has now quit. He said that he now works industriously, goes to church every Saturday, and takes great care of his wife and two daughters.

His rehabilitation aside, this is a typical case where a villager goes to the city and is liable to lapse. In rural life, drinking beer is a taboo in general as well as there being a certain restriction on the “grog”. As the regulation of communal norms rather than self-regulation is acting, extremely deviant behaviour would be seldom sanctioned. In urban life, on the other hand, there are no traditional taboos, nor communal regulation. There is only drinking beer or *yaqona* as a consumptive behaviour. This consumptive behaviour, which should be rationally self-controlled, looks endlessly fascinating to the Fijians who have had less experience in the self-control of individual consumption. These Fijians with little perception of such economic notions as saving or budgeting are apt to continue drinking beer or *yaqona* as long as their money lasts so that they finally go into bankruptcy or become alcoholic. It is also generally pointed out that the Fijians become drunk very easily and are liable to fight too soon. While drinking *yaqona* makes a person calm, alcohol brings about high tension. This is a typical way that the Fijians that work in the city in order to earn good wages that they cannot obtain in the village yield to the temptation of the endless drinking of beer or *yaqona* so that they finally make some trouble and return to their village. Although Mosese had also followed this typical way, he is now rehabilitated. Belief in a religion is one of the reasons in his case. On the other hand, other reasons are that he was able to claim his guaranteed land in Waidracia as the means of production as well as that the regulation of traditional norms is still acting.

In principle, there is no opportunity for wage labour in the village. The development of roads and social infrastructure may bring some occasional opportunities. Installing works of electricity was going on in Waidracia

from 2002 to 2003. Work regarding electricity in Fiji is conducted by the FEA (The Fiji Electricity Authority). However, the work around Waidracia was subcontracted by Mr. Jone Roko from Vilia village. As he had worked for FEA as a senior supervisor, he took responsibility of this work. He individually hired his relatives living in Vilia as staff. When the working section reached Waidracia, they slept in there. "Grog" with them took place every night. At last, some young men in Waidracia became hired as wage labourers, and moved to the next working section after the completion in Waidracia.

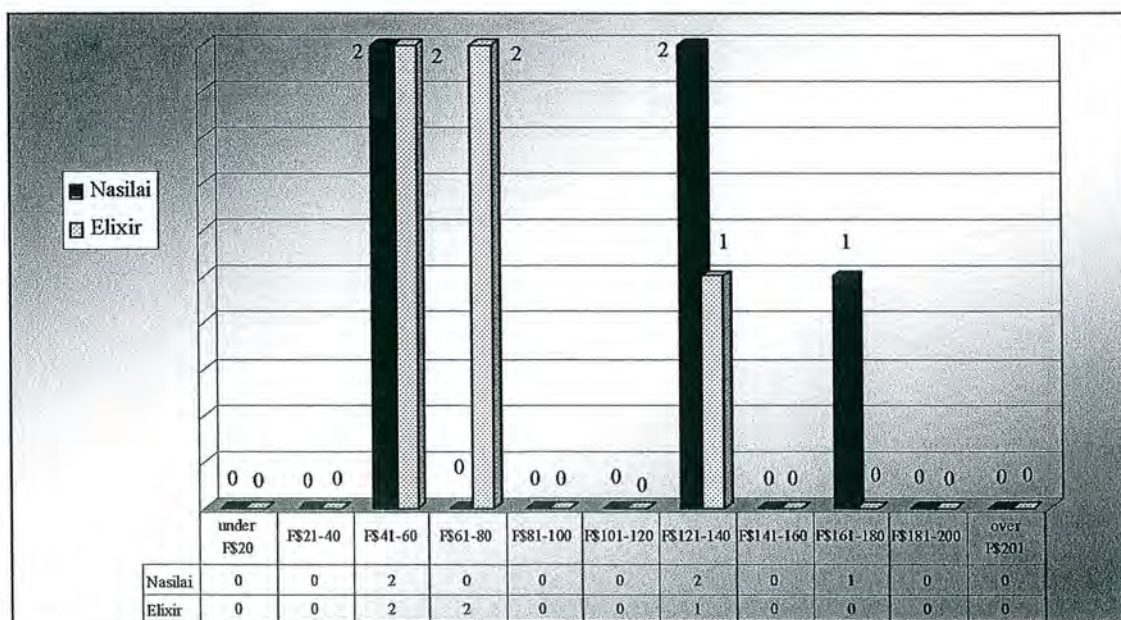
Apart from small-scale business, there is rarely such an opportunity for wage labour in the village. As Waidracia is distant from Suva, villagers basically make their living by agriculture.¹¹³ Nasilai is, on the other hand, close enough to commute to Suva. There are some villagers commuting to Suva from Nasilai although most earn their living from fishing. Six villagers are wage labourers in Suva, whose working places are the Forestry Department, a factory (Red X), a bank (NBF), an office (FNPF), a shop (Handicraft Centre) and a factory (Government Factory).

The table shown below tells us how much the wage labourers in Nasilai and the Elixir Apartment in Suva earn in a week. The author obtained answers in 2003 from 5 of the 6 people in Nasilai working in Suva.

¹¹³ No person in Waidracia is commuting to Suva everyday, but several people earn money by means of the other ways than farming. There are two schoolteachers and two policemen. They sometimes return their houses in Waidracia. There is one person running a daily farm business on his own, who occasionally sells his livestock to the villagers in Waidracia. Some people who used to belong to army are obtaining a monthly "after care fund" from the social welfare.

Table 5-2: Wage per week

<i>Answer</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Nasilai</i>		<i>Elixir</i>	
	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio
under F\$20	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$21-40	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$41-60	4	40.0%	2	40.0%	2	40.0%
F\$61-80	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%
F\$81-100	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$101-120	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$121-140	3	30.0%	2	40.0%	1	20.0%
F\$141-160	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$161-180	1	10.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%
F\$181-200	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
over F\$201	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
respondent (total - N/A)	10	100.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%



The gift and *kerekere* are the traditional forms of exchange in Fiji. When one temporarily lacks something, one can easily obtain it by *kerekere*. For example, they ask a neighbour for *kerekere* when they lack taro for meals. If one obtains something special, one is expected to present a part to the people sitting there. One day, Waisea came to invite me to the River Wainimala to fish with him. He was regarded as one of the greatest fishermen in Waidracia. I went to the river with Waisea, Mosese and other young boys. Seeing Waisea diving into the water with a spear (*nu nu*), we enjoyed swimming. Waisea sometimes came to me and said, "It is too cold today to catch fish." After a while, we went back to Waidracia. Waisea caught more than ten fish in that time. Only Waisea was engaged in fishing. The others, including me, did nothing to assist in the fishing. However, Waisea presented some of the fish he had caught to all the people who were there. He gave me a particularly big fish. That evening, "grog" was held in Dakuwaqa's (D1) house with Waisea and others. Dakuwaqa (D1) asked me to buy two packets of cigarettes to requite Waisea.

Thus, reciprocal gift exchange still persists in rural life. On the other hand, the more widespread the form of monetary exchange transactions becomes, the more the opportunities to use money are increasing in rural life. These include not only opportunities for purchase but also for payment or donation.

The Tikina Rara Meeting was held on 27th September 2003 in Naluwai. This meeting aimed to have a question-and-answer session about the Government's policy and scheme regarding this district between officials and locals. An Assistant Roko Tui as a representative from Naitasiri Province and some local chiefs including a representative of Ratu Emosi who is the chief of Tikina Rara were gathered to talk about nine issues proposed by both sides.

1. To establish a fund for students in Naitasiri aiming to take higher education. Adult men are supposed to pay F\$20/year.
2. Proposal for funds for youths.
3. Everybody between the ages of 18 to 55 is supposed to pay F\$18/year apart from tax. This money would be used for communal activities in Naitasiri.
4. A report on building water flush toilets and installing electricity.
5. A report on a fund founded for "Bilibili race".
6. A report on scholarship.
7. Donation to the church of F\$15/year.
8. Oripa's report and proposal on a ladies' society. Collecting F\$2/month from each woman one third being for the ladies's society fund and two thirds for common benefits in Tikina Rara. Oripa proposes this scheme to the official.
9. Explanation of the "Eco-Challenge" to be held soon.

Four out of the nine subjects are related to paying money. Money is now required not only for purchase but also for payment, donation and funding in various cases even in rural life.¹¹⁴

Oripa made a speech at this meeting as a representative from the ladies' society. She was the only woman giving a speech on this occasion. She organises a ladies' society in Waidracia, and co-ordinates selling rice. The members of the society co-operatively buy rice to sell in Waidracia. The profit is banked for the benefits of the society. The idea was Oripa's, and she is the person who has implemented it. She seems to have gained a rather special "practical sense", different from that of the other women.

Contemporary rural life requires more money. Yet, there is no clear distinction in the standard of living of each villager in Waidracia, since wage labourers and wealthy men do not exist. Thanks to Dakuwaqa (D2) who succeeds in his life in Australia, his parents and uncle, Levani, Oripa and Dakuwaqa (D1), own more properties than do others, but the difference is not extreme. As the means of earning still depends on cash crops produced by members of the household, there is little opportunity for social differentiation. In Nasilai, however, considerable contrasts in the standards of living can be seen, which have been caused by the more continuous inflow and outflow of people from Suva, including wage labourers living in Nasilai.

Although Maraia now lives in quite a small house, which was temporarily built after her previous house had been burned down a few years ago, she intends to build another large house in the future. Her property seems to

¹¹⁴ Kerekere is based on a principle of communal welfare in non-monetary sense. When cash-economy is installed, such an activity as No.8 will more and more replace for communal well being in monetary sense.

be nearly the same as those owned by villagers in Waidracia. Yet, some houses in Nasilai own a TV, audiovisual equipment, and so on. Other houses have a kitchen, toilet and shower room inside the house. One house has a table for meals. Another has a private telephone line installed. Apart from the difference in the current situation where Waidracia is without electricity and Nasilai is with, the easier accessibility to Suva seems to provide a definite distinction in both income and standard of living.

means of earning

Waidracia is an agricultural village. Their income mostly depends on cash crops sold in the market in Suva. Popular items grown to be sold are taro, taro leaves and cassava. Other supplementary items for sale are bananas, lemon and *ota*, but these are rarely sold.

The selling price of taro is around F\$1.10/kg, greater than that of cassava which has a selling price of F\$0.50/kg. Taro takes 6 – 9 months to mature while cassava requires 5 – 7 months to harvest. The weight of one taro is approximately 2.5 – 3.0 kg. Mosese estimates he can harvest about 2000 pieces of taro at one time. Manure costs F\$25.00/bag, and weed-killer costs F\$30.00/2litre.

In the case of Dakuwaqa's (D1) house, it is Dakuwaqa (D1) who deals with the taro. As he is the only adult man in his house, he goes to his garden every day and brings a certain amount of taro back depending on the circumstances. Dakuwaqa's (D1) wife, Venaisi, and his daughter, Laisani, deal with the other crops, edible wild plants and fish. They sometimes collect *bele* or *ota* from the garden, gather lemons or bananas, and catch fish in the river. Then Venaisi goes to Suva once a week with bundles of taro to sell.

Venaisi prepared crops for sale after dinner 24th September 2002. It was a Tuesday night, because she was supposed to go to Suva every Wednesday. On this occasion the items for sale were 3 baskets of taro leaves and 8 bundles of taro. One basket contained 12 bundles of taro leaves, with a selling price of F\$5, while one bundle is composed of 7 – 8 pieces of taro at a selling price of F\$10. Therefore, they will have earned F\$95 if all is sold. On the Tuesday night after dinner, Venaisi wove baskets made of coconut leaves. She crouched over her work, with her back bent. It takes 15 minutes to weave one basket. While Venaisi was weaving, Laisani was thinking with a calculator in her hand what, and how many, items to buy in Suva. According to the list she drew up, Laisani asked

Venaisi to buy 3 packets of biscuits (F\$3.00), 4 bags of sticks of chocolate (F\$2.00), 2 bags of bean snacks (F\$4.30), 20 cans of tinned tuna (approx. F\$15.00), 16 cans of tinned mackerel (F\$27.52) and 1 kg of *yaqona* (F\$12.00) for Laisani's "business" as well as a bar of washing soap, cooking oil, butter, onions, potatoes, matchsticks, steel wool, sugar, curry powder, baking powder and eggs for the daily groceries.¹¹⁵ These will cost as much as the income from the crops sold, apart from some spare money.¹¹⁶ Besides, one of the significant goods bought in Suva for Laisani's "business" are cigarettes, but they were not ordered on this occasion. Laisani occasionally asks Venaisi to buy bread, flour, salt, chicken, chilli, soap, cabbage, garlic, frozen fillets of fish and coconuts for daily use. Thus, it was a custom in Dakuwaqa's (D1) house that Venaisi went to the Suva Market to sell crops every Wednesday, bought something for both business and daily use, and came back to Waidracia on Thursday. Venaisi, changing to rather smarter clothes after lunch, light-heartedly departed for Suva by the 13:00 bus every Wednesday. Although some bundles of taro are too heavy for old Venaisi to carry, some women going to the market together help each other. Women from Waidracia gather in a particular section in the market, and sell their crops on Wednesday afternoon and Thursday morning. Venaisi usually sleeps in a relatives' house in Suva. One of the daughters of Dakuwaqa (D1) and Venaisi has lived near Suva since her marriage. Venaisi and the other women going to Suva to sell crops are to stay in their relatives' houses.

On the other hand, Nasilai is a fisherman's village. They mainly earn their living from fishing. One person owns a boat, and four people own diving suits. Others must rent boats and diving suits from the owners in order to fish.

Fishing is usually done in groups of four persons, from 20:30 till 5:30 the next morning. One of the sons of Maraia, Seru, went fishing on the night of 9th April 2003. One fishing trip costs him F\$10 for the rental fee of diving suits from the owner, Nabua Youth Club, F\$15 for the rental fee of a boat, and F\$7.50 for buying batteries.

As an additional apprentice fisherman came with them, the members of his group were unusually five on this

¹¹⁵ There seem to be no "consumption fever" in Waidracia that often happens to an area where the capitalism has rapidly grown up. In such a place, one tends to prefer the symbolic commodity of capitalism such as tinned fish rather than fresh fish. However in Waidracia, tinned fish seems to be only a supplementary food. While the author and Dakuwaqa (D1) are always served with fresh fish if available, women and children sometimes eat tinned fish instead.

¹¹⁶ They do not necessarily make a strict estimate of shopping. For example, Laisani did not know the exact price of a can of tuna.

occasion, including Seru, Abete, Qani, Godro and Lasarusa. It is Sukulu who owns the boat in Nasilai. He sometimes goes fishing. Commonly the group consisting of Malakia, Tevita, Niko and Amitai is expected to rent the boat from Sukulu. Hence Seru's group rent a boat from Koroi, who lives in the next village, Lomanikoro. Koroi's brother, living in Australia, sometimes sends money to his house in Lomanikoro. Koroi bought a boat with the money his brother sent. Since Lomanikoro is not a fisherman's village, Koroi earns money by using his boat as a water taxi in the daytime while he usually rents it to others to fish at night. Each man keeps what he has caught, even if others are fishing with him in the same boat. If conditions are fine, one may often catch 10 bundles of fish. On this day, conditions were bad so that: Abete caught 8 bundles; Seru 4 bundles; Godro 4 bundles; Qani 3 bundles; and Lasarusa, who was a probationer, caught 1 bundle. The caught fish is kept in a freezer. There are eight houses owning a freezer in Nasilai. Those who do not own a freezer pay F\$1 as a rental fee for one night to the owner to keep their fish in the freezer. If somebody wants, the frozen fish may be sold for him. The selling price of one bundle of fish within Nasilai is F\$10. Fish caught every day is stocked in the freezer to be sold in the fish market in Suva on Saturdays. Selling fish is women's work. The selling price of one bundle of fish in Suva is F\$15-18. Seru wishes to buy his own diving suits and boat. Even if he obtains them in the future, he will not run a rental business but will use them himself.

The tables below show the weekly total income, expense and savings of each household in Waidracia, Nasilai, Nadoi, OISCA and the Elixir Apartment. As all respondents from the Elixir Apartment and most respondents from Nasilai are wage labourers, their income is fairly high. On the other hand, however, the income of those in Waidracia and OISCA who mostly engage in farming or fishing is low so that their scale of domestic economy is quite small.

Table 5-3: weekly total income in each household

<i>answer</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Waidracia</i>		<i>Nasilai</i>		<i>Nadoi</i>		<i>OISCA</i>		<i>Elixir</i>	
	num	Ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio
under F\$20	6	10.0%	2	8.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	20.0%	0	0.0%
F\$21-40	15	25.0%	10	41.7%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	4	20.0%	0	0.0%
F\$41-60	14	23.3%	8	33.3%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	4	20.0%	0	0.0%
F\$61-80	3	5.0%	1	4.2%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	0	0.0%
F\$81-100	6	10.0%	1	4.2%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	2	10.0%	1	20.0%
F\$101-120	2	3.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	5.0%	0	0.0%
F\$121-140	1	1.7%	1	4.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$141-160	4	6.7%	1	4.2%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	1	20.0%
F\$161-180	2	3.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	1	20.0%
F\$181-200	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
over F\$201	7	11.7%	0	0.0%	3	30.0%	0	0.0%	2	10.0%	2	40.0%
N/A	8	-	1	-	1	-	0	-	6	-	0	-
total	68	-	25	-	11	-	1	-	26	-	5	-
respondent (total - N/A)	60	100.0%	24	100.0%	10	100.0%	1	100.0%	20	100.0%	5	100.0%

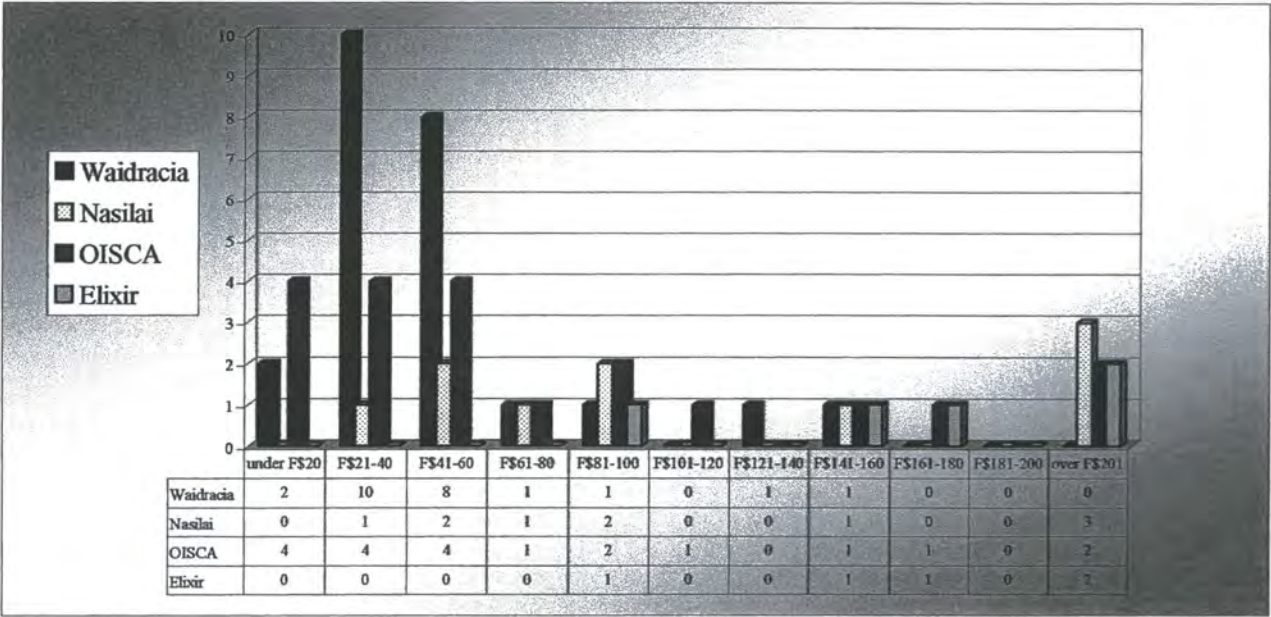


Table 5-4: weekly total expense in each household

<i>answer</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Waidracia</i>		<i>Nasilai</i>		<i>Nadoi</i>		<i>OISCA</i>		<i>Elixir</i>	
	num	Ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio
under F\$20	16	26.7%	6	25.0%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	8	40.0%	0	0.0%
F\$21-40	18	30.0%	10	41.7%	2	20.0%	1	100.0%	5	25.0%	0	0.0%
F\$41-60	9	15.0%	6	25.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	2	10.0%	0	0.0%
F\$61-80	3	5.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	1	20.0%
F\$81-100	4	6.7%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	2	40.0%
F\$101-120	5	8.3%	0	0.0%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	2	40.0%
F\$121-140	1	1.7%	1	4.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$141-160	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$161-180	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$181-200	3	5.0%	1	4.2%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	0	0.0%
over F\$201	1	1.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	0	0.0%
N/A	8	-	1	-	1	-	0	-	6	-	0	-
total	68	-	25	-	11	-	1	-	26	-	5	-
respondent (total - N/A)	60	100.0%	24	100.0%	10	100.0%	1	100.0%	20	100.0%	5	100.0%

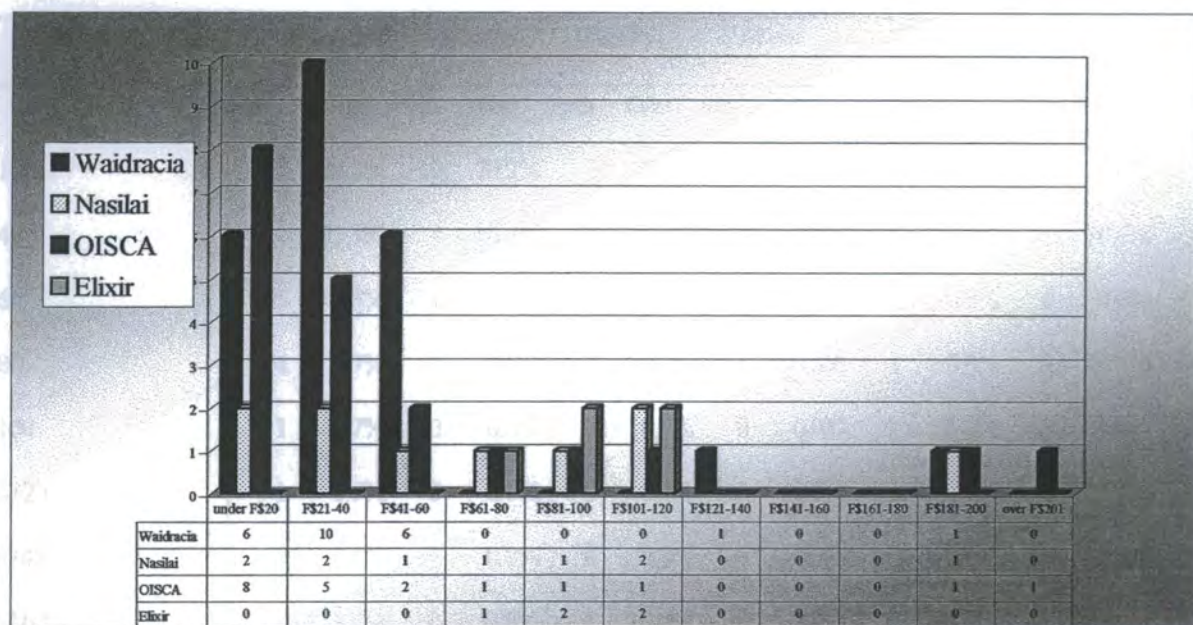
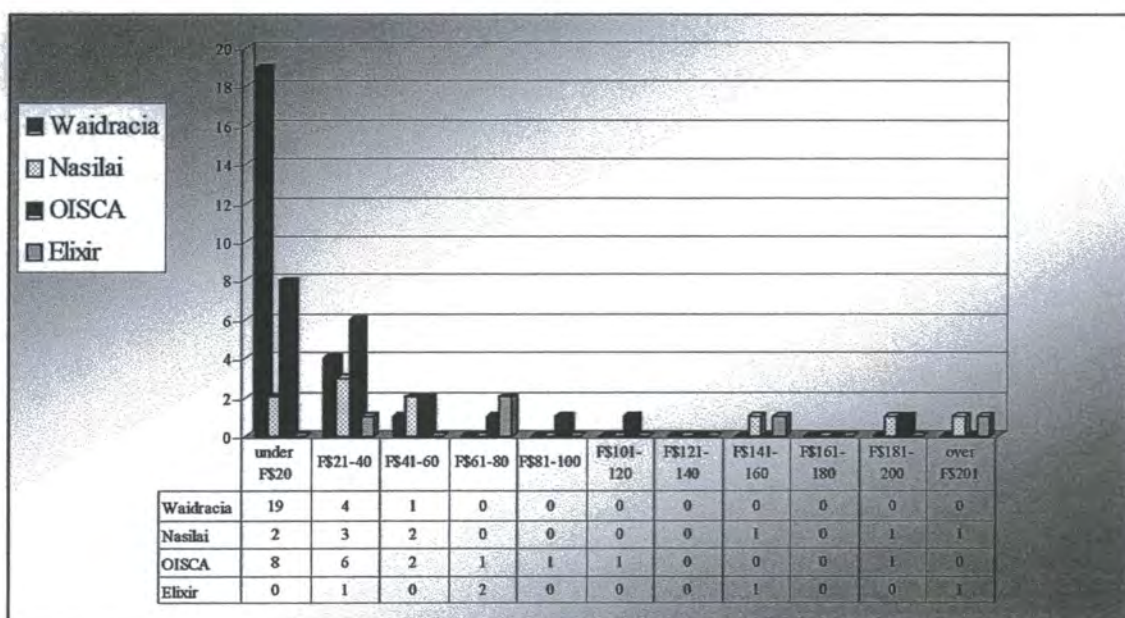


Table 5-5: weekly total saving (income – expense) in each household

<i>answer</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Waidracia</i>		<i>Nasilai</i>		<i>Nadoi</i>		<i>OISCA</i>		<i>Elixir</i>	
	num	Ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio
under F\$20	29	48.3%	19	79.2%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	8	40.0%	0	0.0%
F\$21-40	14	23.3%	4	16.7%	3	30.0%	0	0.0%	6	30.0%	1	20.0%
F\$41-60	5	8.3%	1	4.2%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	2	10.0%	0	0.0%
F\$61-80	4	6.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	5.0%	2	40.0%
F\$81-100	1	1.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	0	0.0%
F\$101-120	1	1.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	0	0.0%
F\$121-140	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$141-160	2	3.3%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%
F\$161-180	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
F\$181-200	2	3.3%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	0	0.0%
over F\$201	2	3.3%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%
N/A	8	-	1	-	1	-	0	-	6	-	0	-
total	68	-	25	-	11	-	1	-	26	-	5	-
respondent (total - N/A)	60	100.0%	24	100.0%	10	100.0%	1	100.0%	20	100.0%	5	100.0%



A condition not seen in Waidracia appears in Nasilai. First of all, there is a definite distinction between those who do own, and those who do not own essential “capital” for fishing such as a boat and diving suits. Needless to say, acquiring a boat must be hard for them. There must be various backgrounds to boat ownership. However, such inequality would not be observed in Waidracia. Secondly, the monetary form of exchange transaction is commonly seen within the village. In Waidracia small-scale monetary exchange in the domestic economy is seen only in transactions in the canteen or houses selling groceries. Finally, a notion of “private property” clearly emerges in Nasilai. Not only the owner but also the renter takes it for granted that one should pay a rental fee if one rents a boat, diving suits, even space in a freezer. Unless all villagers agree in their mind that one has to pay a rental fee to borrow some private property, even when borrowing is short-term, the rental business cannot be realised.¹¹⁷ The traditional reciprocal form of exchange in Fiji, the *kerekere*, seems to be excluded from the scene. *Kerekere* is less concerned about a precise view of debits and credits because the practical sense regarding everything as communal property in a broad sense is immanent in all villagers. However, the spread of a capitalistic system has caused distinctions in the economic status of the villagers where none existed before. The Fijians generally say that the term “*kerekere*” can be translated into “borrow” in English.¹¹⁸ Now the concept of “rent” instead of “borrow” is being introduced. Moreover, they now approve of renting as a commodity. This can only be sustained as a practice subject to social sanction, towards something that is classed as a commodity.

what could become a commodity

What kinds of goods can become commodities that are the object of the monetary exchange transaction? What kinds of goods remain the objects of the non-monetary exchange such as *kerekere* or gift? Nowadays most households earn cash income by selling crops. Taro and cassava are not commodities within Waidracia’s domestic economy while caught fish is a commodity within Nasilai’s domestic economy. Both are “self-sustainable” items. Yet, one becomes a commodity whereas the other does not. What determines the

¹¹⁷ Altman and Peterson [Altman and Peterson 1988: pp.80-83] exemplify that the accumulation of material wealth could be difficult to be recognised as the “private property” in hunting and gathering societies because there is no mechanism. Rights to the purchased goods such as sugar or clothes would be recognised, but usufruct to “large capital items” such as a vehicle or a video could end up being communal.

¹¹⁸ See footnote 100.

different outcome?

What is a commodity in Waidracia? The canteen, which was co-operatively founded by the Mataqali Naqaranikula and is managed by Waisea, is the only shop in Waidracia. In the canteen, kerosene, benzine, sugar, salt, cooking oil, instant noodles, flour, baking powder, rice, dhal, toilet paper, toothpaste, *yaqona*, and so on, are sold. In addition, there are a few houses selling groceries. Dakuwaqa's (D1) house is one. Laisani, who began and manages this, declares it is her "business". In such houses, mango skin, lollies, chewing gum, bean snacks, cigarettes, tinned fish, instant noodles and *yaqona* are sold at a bit higher price than in Suva.

Laisani has studied management at a college in Suva. She had the idea of selling bean snacks in her house 5 years ago. Since then, she has added to her lines in this order *yaqona*, cigarettes, sweets, tinned fish and instant noodles. As she understands from her background of management study that selling on credit always leads shops in Fiji to go into bankruptcy, she commonly attempts to reject credit.¹¹⁹ She clearly recognises this as business for profit. However, she seems less concerned with other capitalistic thoughts such as "competition". She is relatively indifferent to conditions in the other houses selling groceries, or the canteen. In Dakuwaqa's (D1) house, it is the custom that Venaisi goes to Suva every Wednesday to sell crops and buy daily groceries and what is needed to replenish the stocks of Laisani's business. It depends on how many items are left at that moment.

These are all the commodities within the domestic economy in Waidracia. What cannot be produced for themselves and, hence, is purchased in Suva is circulated as a commodity in Waidracia. Taro and cassava can become commodities in urban or coastal areas where harvesting these crops is difficult. Yet, the harvest in Waidracia sufficiently satisfies their demands. Thus, it could be suggested, firstly, that "self-sustainability" determines whether something becomes a commodity or not. Although *yaqona* and coconuts can be produced, the harvest is too small to satisfy their demands, so within Waidracia they become commodities.¹²⁰

In the case of Nasilai, however, things do not seem to be so simple. Despite the fact that anyone in Nasilai can, in principle, obtain as much fish as they need, fish has still become a commodity. Some may temporarily

¹¹⁹ In other words, the cash-for-rent norm does not exist in Waidracia.

¹²⁰ Laisani sometimes adds coconut to her lineup for sale.

lack fish when they need them. Others may quit fishing because of age or for other reasons. If in such a case they want some fish, fish should circulate through the forms of *kerekere* or gift, as in the traditional economic system in Fiji. As long as every villager has nearly the same life structure, there would be little difference of situation among the villagers. Things repeat themselves. If the communal norms are acting, one may not think that the fish one catches is one's private property. *Kerekere* is appropriate to a subsistence economy where each household produces the same staple foodstuffs. *Kerekere* is a form of exchange without a precise balance sheet of debits and credits in the short term, which could exist only in a situation where every villager commonly has the same economic life, with the same standard and life structure, and where shortages are experienced in an unpredictable fashion. Things would move from one to another depending on the requests in *kerekere*. Yet, other things might later come to one from another person. Such common sense immanent in the social organisation makes *kerekere* exist beyond counting a balance sheet in the short term. In this sense, *kerekere* is recognised as the "borrowing", even though some borrowed item will never be returned to the original owner. With this norm acting, those who lack fish in some reasons could have obtained fish. Fish could have been an object for *kerekere* in Nasilai, as taro is in Waidracia.

In Nasilai where the urbanised lifestyle involved in the capitalistic economy is spreading, however, the surrounding situations are totally different from those of Waidracia. Money has the capacity to break off the personal bonds between people that are supported by the communal norms. Person and person, or, person and thing directly faced each other. But now, money comes between person and person as well as person and thing. One cannot make relationships with another or a thing without the medium of money. When the spread of the monetary economy turns things into commodities, the reciprocal relationships linking people with one another are no longer embedded in action. The fish caught by an individual is now his private property, and becomes a commodity.

The *ibe* (mat) is one of the new commodities embodying such circumstances. The *ibe* used to be provided for themselves, woven by women. It is still in high demand as an essential ritual good. While one needs *ibe* in daily use, one must also bring a few *ibe* to occasional ceremonies even now. Thus weaving *ibe* used to be a

significant part of women's work in every village. Nowadays, however, in urban areas *ibe* is purchased if necessary instead of being made by the user. So it is in Nasilai.

Maraia is one of a few women who are able to weave *ibe* in Nasilai. She has been selling *ibe* since 1990. She firstly began selling simple woven *ibe* at the price of F\$10-20 so as to earn a little money for buying sugar or getting on a bus. Now she produces elaborate *ibe* to sell at a price of F\$60 for a plain one and F\$150-200 for a patterned one. Basically she sells *ibe* only in Nasilai. The villagers occasionally buy or request her to weave *ibe*. As Nasilai has traditionally had another privileged task, namely to make pottery, it is true that weaving *ibe* was never so important. Besides, the less the meanings of the privileged task are significant in social life, the fewer villagers are engaged in making pottery. According to Maraia's narrative, she always encourages women to learn how to make *ibe* and pottery. But they are not learning it. They say it is better and easier to collect seashells. She told me with some anger that if they learn to weave, they will no longer need to buy *ibe* whenever a ceremony takes place.

The spread of the monetary economy excludes *kerekere*, which is part of the alternative economy. In Nasilai, even rental space in a freezer has become a commodity. Fish and *ibe*, in which the village could and should have been self-sufficient, have become commodities within the village. In a situation where goods are exchanged by means of money, one is able to obtain them as long as one pays money. The life structure in the Fijian village used to be uniform. Villagers, organically related with each other in social organisations such as the *mataqali* or the village, led a uniform economic life. Everyone without exception planted taro and cassava, or caught fish. There were no remarkable differentiae in the life structure at all. However, the life structure has become diversified in Nasilai. One earns his living as a wage labourer. Another is engaged in other work than fishing. Some weave *ibe* as a commodity. Others collect seashells. When the once uniform life structure becomes diversified, people who used to be self-sufficient can no longer provide for themselves. New demands have also occurred within the domestic economy. Thus such items become a form of commodity. These factors have created a "specialised producer" on the one side, and a "specialised purchaser" on the other side within the domestic economy. This would be the second reason for determining whether something could become a

commodity. Moreover, the situation that one always obtains something one wants by means of money if necessary simultaneously reproduces its own structure. The more such a situation is current, the more the life structure would be diversified. The current economic organisation is principally getting to be depending on the money.¹²¹ People in Nasilai, at first glance, seem to lead individual life as an independent “homo-economicus”.

5-2-2. Transforming practical sense

seeking money

Contact with changing circumstances has generated a new lifestyle. This lifestyle embodies a sense of seeking money, which has become immanent in urban people as the capitalistic system has matured.

As I always visited Waidracia with some groceries, on 1/8, 2002, I brought biscuits to Waidracia, to add to such usual groceries as beef, vegetables, tinned fish, rice and tea. Two kids, Salanieta and Dakuwaqa (D3), live together in Dakuwaqa's (D1) house. I brought biscuits especially for them, knowing they would be happy. As mentioned above, Laisani runs her business selling sweets, cigarettes and so on in Dakuwaqa's (D1) house. She deals in lollies, chewing gum, bean snacks and chocolate sticks. As soon as Salanieta, a girl of only eight years, glanced at the biscuits I had brought, she suggested that Laisani sell the biscuits one by one. Since they had only one packet of biscuits that day, which was insufficient to sell, they ate the biscuits at teatime. Afterwards, Venaisi came back from her usual shopping in Suva with several packets of biscuits. As expected, each biscuit became a commodity managed by little Salanieta. Single pieces of gum or lolly had already been commodities in Laisani's business, which small neighbourhood children often came to buy. As soon as a piece of biscuit was added to the line-up in Laisani's business the next day, kids purchased the biscuits without hesitation. The profits from selling the biscuits belonged to Salanieta, and she saved the money in her piggy bank.

One day in September 2002, Mosese bought fishing net in Suva. Since then it has become his daily task in the early morning to haul in his fishing net that had been thrown into the River Wainimala the previous evening. On the day when he first caught a lot of fish, he presented some fish to his neighbours. Afterwards, his wife, Makareta, suggested he sell the fish he had caught instead. Mosese showed little enthusiasm for the suggestion.

¹²¹ People in the village felt there had been a dramatic change in the importance of money, and their perceptions were supported by the record of [Nayacakalou 1978: pp.124-126].

But because he usually caught a lot of fish he, at last, began to sell fish.¹²² One reason for his decision was that he had only a little cash with him at the time. His first customers were two women living in a settlement near Waidracia. On a third occasion, Laisani bought one grass carp and three tilapia at the price of F\$3 from Mosese. While Mosese was a little hesitant to sell fish within Waidracia, Makareta took a more positive attitude, as she wished to save more money so as to buy a new carpet and refrigerator.

At the beginning of September 2002, a villager in Waidracia built an extension onto his main house. He set a billiard table on the extended, roofed terrace. One play costs 20 cents. The billiard table belongs to an Indian who runs a business renting billiard tables in various villages. The villager was the manager. The profits were divided equally. The owner was to come to Waidracia to open the coin box once a month. He took half of all coins. When the coin box was opened, it contained 20 cent coins valued at F\$130.

Such “attempts” at profit making could not be generated from the previous practical sense. Involved to an extent in the monetary economy, with its immanent capitalistic notions, the villagers seem to acquire a different practical sense to the previous one. In other words, the practical sense has been transformed with reference to the new situation. Whereas Salanieta is only eight years old, she developed her own idea to create a commodity. According to Waisea, even little kids are now well versed in using money. He told me, “In the 1980’s, kids did not understand how to use money nor know the value of it. Even though a kid obtained money, he would not know what to do with it. If a kid found a 5-cent coin on the road, for example, he would think nothing of it nowadays. (i.e. 5 cents is worth little.)” Children commonly purchase sweets from houses selling groceries. Salanieta had an idea that would enable her to save money in her piggy bank. Such behaviour is generated from a new practical sense they have acquired. A change of surroundings and lifestyle constantly causes the practical sense to be regenerated.¹²³

¹²² According to Barth [Barth 1967], one may learn to plant other cash crops for sale than millet, who will then save money. Another may not organise such an innovative way of planting. In Darfur, millet is a special item to brew beer. As every person plants millet, millet cannot be sold any more. As a result, there might be increasing the difference between “the Haves” and “the Have-nots”. In Waidracia, selling fish could be such an innovative practice. See 2-1-1 section.

¹²³ The informant would reflect on his/her own past, but each person’s experience is always unique. Besides, the tenor of village life is changing. We cannot know when a good understanding of what one could do with money in the village life was generated in Waidracia, but Toren [Toren 1995: pp.173-176] points out that such behaviour must have started earlier than the 1990’s in Sawaieke.

In Waidracia, which has experienced the spread of the monetary economy to a lesser extent than Nasilai, a definite concern to seek profits seems less pervasive, although such ideas as selling fish or hiring a billiard table have developed. In Waidracia, several houses are selling groceries. It is said that there must be a few such houses in every village. It can also be said that such houses would not be concerned about the selling price, what a best-seller is or what the trends are in other houses with rival shops. They are generally indifferent to a sense of rivalry or the entrepreneurial spirit. They would not reduce the selling price as low as possible, nor intend distinction by dealing with unique commodities. Even in Nasilai, on the other hand, it could not be said that such entrepreneurial spirit have grown sufficiently. Yet, here there seems to be more definite concern and planning regarding profits. A man running such a business in a village neighbouring Nasilai, Nadoi, said to me while pointing towards a modern sofa and table, "I have been selling cigarettes and *yagona* so as to purchase these." He then explained his scheme, revealing a definite calculation of the profits. He understood how much profit he would gain if he set a certain selling price, and he also knew when he could obtain enough money to purchase the sofa set through his scheme. Although Mosese's wife, Makareta, has a similar sense of saving money for buying something, she does not seem consciously to undertake such an "economically rational" calculation in her mind. Recalling that Mosese showed little enthusiasm for selling fish within the village, it is apparent that he considers it less appropriate to seek profit from exchanges with his fellow villagers. In Nasilai or Nadoi, however, a sense that to adopt the means appropriate to accomplish an "economically rational" end is taken for granted and has been acquired by the villagers. Such a sense seems to be immanent in every villager in Nasilai or Nadoi. This would be one of the reasons why Nasilai has accepted visiting tourists on their "village tour" since 1987. There is a contract between the village and the company to pay F\$7 per a tourist.¹²⁴ Visiting tourists see Maraia weaving *ibe*, look at the pottery and experience drinking *yagona* as attractions on the tour. People in Nasilai have discovered that performing their traditions can also become a commodity so that they must have been articulated such feelings with their own practical sense. Besides, they must have reformed their practical sense to approve of

¹²⁴ The other village to which the tourist company offered the scheme of the village tour claimed more money than Nasilai did (F\$15 per a tourist). Hence the company made a contract with Nasilai.

the specific “market rationality” of the market.¹²⁵

transformation of the practical sense

Apart from the creation of a sense, there must also be a challenge to the existing sense. *Kerekere* is a form of exchange less concerned with a balance sheet of debts and credits in the short term, but is sustained by a broader sense of co-operative ownership. *Kerekere* works well only on condition that there is established a uniform situation in the community as an autonomous society without differences in the life structures or the standards of living. Yet, the diversification of life structures and the standards of living within the village has increasingly emerged while the differentiation between urban and rural people has also increased. These circumstances have given rise to various kinds of influence upon the practical sense regarding *kerekere*.

First of all, the inflow of the monetary economy into the rural arena has caused the transformation of objects used in *kerekere*. What used to be exchanged through *kerekere* has, more and more, been turned into commodities exchanged for money. In Waidracia, nowadays, even a single biscuit has become a commodity. Such a “trivial” thing would previously have been exchanged through *kerekere*. Selling fish has already begun. Since some “ready-to-eat” foods such as boiled taro or cassava are usually commodities in Suva, demands for the sale of such foods might be created in Waidracia in the future. What kinds of items, and to what extent, can one “borrow” by means of the *kerekere*? Simultaneously, what kinds of items, and to what extent, can one “sell” in the form of a commodity? The practical sense of the villagers dealing with such matters has changed during the transition of the domestic economic system. Mosese said, “One may sell everything one wishes. But taro could not become a commodity because no one would buy it.” Uniformity in the life structures and standards of living within Waidracia still largely remains. Since everyone commonly plants taro, there is surely no demand for taro as a commodity at present. If the uniformity were diversified in the future, however, would Mosese still make the same comment? In Nasilai, such diversification is in progress. The differentiation of the villagers in terms of their private properties has risen. There is a definite distinction between “the Haves” and “the Have-nots”. Even renting a space in a freezer has there become a commodity. Although their view on *kerekere* will be discussed in

¹²⁵ Note that reciprocity has its own rationality as well, as long as there is a uniformity in the life structure so that each

Chapter 7, it may be supposed that the conditions for *kerekere* have been significantly reduced.

There is an interesting result from the questionnaire. More people in Waidracia think it acceptable to obtain even one bundle of taro or cassava by *kerekere* whereas nobody in Nasilai does. This would be because they have a larger harvest of taro and cassava in Waidracia. It is quite interesting that only a half of the respondents from Waidracia (50%) admit *kerekere* for river fish. That must show river that fish is now transforming into a commodity in Waidracia. It seems to be fairly hard for both those in Waidracia and Nasilai to obtain a packet of cigarettes or tin of fish by *kerekere*, because those items are strictly recognised as that which is purchased. Lastly, we should note that they would never obtain *yaqona* by *kerekere*. It is always purchased, and then presented ritually in *sevusevu* or in routine “grog” sessions. This will be discussed in Chapter 6.¹²⁶

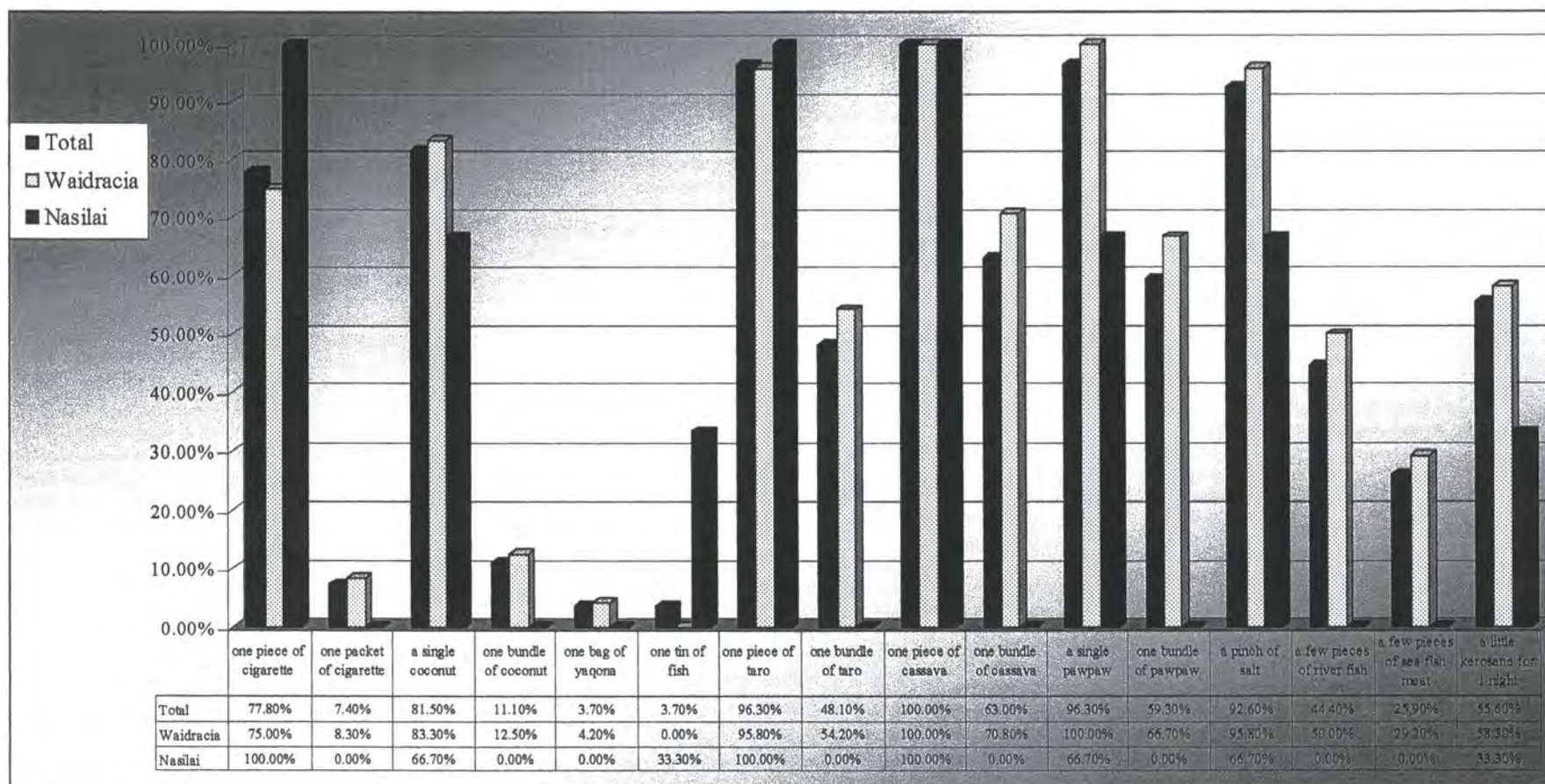
households produces almost similar goods in the economic life.

¹²⁶ Toren suggests that people would never have routinely used *kerekere* as a means of getting food for oneself. It's shameful to ask for food – even if one is a child; one might, however, do *kerekere* food because one have unexpectedly to feed visitors. See [Toren 1998c: 95-115].

Table 5-6: Which items do you think is affordable for kerekere? (Plural items answerable)

<i>answer</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Waidracia</i>		<i>Nasilai</i>	
	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio
one piece of cigarette	21/27	77.8%	18/24	75.0%	3/3	100.0%
one packet of cigarette	2/27	7.4%	2/24	8.3%	0/3	0.0%
a single coconut	22/27	81.5%	20/24	83.3%	2/3	66.7%
one bundle of coconut	3/27	11.1%	3/24	12.5%	0/3	0.0%
one bag of yaqona	1/27	3.7%	1/24	4.2%	0/3	0.0%
one tin of fish	1/27	3.7%	0/24	0.0%	1/3	33.3%
one piece of taro	26/27	96.3%	23/24	95.8%	3/3	100.0%
one bundle of taro	13/27	48.1%	13/24	54.2%	0/3	0.0%
one piece of cassava	27/27	100.0%	24/24	100.0%	3/3	100.0%
one bundle of cassava	17/27	63.0%	17/24	70.8%	0/3	0.0%
a single pawpaw	26/27	96.3%	24/24	100.0%	2/3	66.7%
one bundle of pawpaw	16/27	59.3%	16/24	66.7%	0/3	0.0%
a pinch of salt	25/27	92.6%	23/24	95.8%	2/3	66.7%

a few pieces of river fish	12/27	44.4%	12/24	50.0%	0/3	0.0%
a few pieces of sea fish meat	7/27	25.9%	7/24	29.2%	0/3	0.0%
a little kerosene for 1 night	15/27	55.6%	14/24	58.3%	1/3	33.3%
Respondent	27	-	24	-	3	-



Secondly, the contrast in the material standards of living of urban and rural areas is increasing. The reason why *kerekere* does not contain a precise concept of equilibrium on a balance sheet of debt and credit is that the parties concerned share a sense that equilibrium will be obtained in the long term. The parties have a common outlook. If the material circumstances are similar for the parties concerned, and if they are able to obtain something similar, then equilibrium will indeed be attained in the long run. If someone lacks salt today, others will lack it tomorrow. If someone buys salt today, others will buy salt next month. *Kerekere* stands on the precondition that all commoners in the village have a similar scale of life structure, standard of living and material circumstance. However, the scale of those in the town varies from those in rural areas. Urban people enjoy a consumer lifestyle. In terms of their material circumstances, they are able to obtain more kinds, and quantities, of goods than rural people are. Whenever the villagers go to a city, they are always dependent on their urban relatives. The villagers always ask *kerekere* for everything. It is also the duty of urban dwellers to take care of them if possible. A definite inequality occurs here. Rural people ask for *kerekere* of their urban relatives in requests for food, clothing, a place to stay, and even money, as if they were in the same status as rural people. Thus urban people only give, while rural people only ask for something. With the inequality in terms of material and economic status, the equilibrium will never be attained, even in the long run. In light of this situation, the recognition of *kerekere* has been modified, especially for urban people. They have come to distinguish between "good *kerekere*" and "bad *kerekere*". Granting *kerekere* generously used to be a virtue that anyone should obey. With their traditional practical sense, all requests should be respected. Even urban dwellers must have held such a sense. Taking account of the actual scenes, however, they come to evaluate granting such unilateral *kerekere* as "irrational" in light of the "market rationality" governing the urbanised lifestyle. Hence, a practical sense that rationally evaluates the requests, the implications and the conditions in the context of a requested *kerekere* is supplemented to distinguish between "good *kerekere*" and "bad *kerekere*".¹²⁷ This is, however, remarkable not

¹²⁷ Presumably some *kerekere* would be tolerated in the sense that people in towns expect to return to the village, although keeping a good relationship with the village, with granting *kerekere* in light of the principle of reciprocity, is essential for urban people whether they clearly have an idea to return to the village in the future, or not.

only in urban but in rural areas. This subject will be examined fully in Chapter 6.

Willy is in his late fifties and living in Waidracia. He perplexed the author by his frequent *kerekere* demands for money. As the author had already completed *sevusevu* rituals, he was officially approved as a member of Waidracia village and of Mataqali Naqaranikula. Within the community, it is taken for granted as a norm that “the Haves” should give “the Have-nots” something. The members should help each other on certain occasions, within their capability. Hence it was quite natural that Willy asked me to *kerekere* money,¹²⁸ literally, ‘Can I borrow your money, please?’, and that I would generously grant his request. But it would have been imprudent of me to accede every time. Whenever and wherever he found me, even in Suva, he always asked me to *kerekere* for money. When I walked around Waidracia one day, Willy found me and said, “F\$5 please?” as he always did. While I thought for a while whether I should grant it or not, Venaisi, Varanisese who is Laisani’s eldest daughter, and a few women came upon us. They found us and understood very quickly what was going on. These women, unanimously blaming Willy for his indiscreet *kerekere*, drove him away. After that day Willy ceased asking me to *kerekere* in such a way. On another occasion, however, Venaisi asked me to *kerekere* money for something. That is to say, it does not necessarily mean that Venaisi does not consider it appropriate to *kerekere* for money itself. She distinguishes an appropriate *kerekere* from an inappropriate one in terms of her own “rational standard”. Such a practical sense, providing the rational standard that distinguishes what is appropriate from what is not, is generated through modification of the existing sense.

Lifestyle has also been reformed. Modernisation, including the development of the social infrastructure and the spread of the consumption economy, has increased the demands for electrical equipment. TV is no longer a rare item in the village. Since they no longer need to conserve fuel for the lamp, they might go to bed later than before. It has become common for them to enjoy the “grog” until midnight while watching an Australian professional league rugby match on TV. With a refrigerator installed in their life, they might have acquired a new notion of “stock”. The distinction between “the Haves” with a refrigerator and “the Have-nots” might have generated the idea that space in a refrigerator could be a commodity. The distinction between collective and

¹²⁸ The word “*kerekere*” can be used both as a verb and a noun.

private property, on the other hand, has increased theft within the village so that each house in Nasilai now takes great care in locking up securely. In many villages close to the city, including Nasilai, drug users are said to have increased. When the author temporarily slept alone in a house one day in Nasilai, Maraia strictly cautioned him not open the door even if somebody came in the night. Trust in neighbours seems to be weakening while the regulation of communal norms has been reduced. Such things were never observed in Waidracia.

Such changes of lifestyle lead people's practical sense to be transformed too. Fijians, in Nasilai as well as in Waidracia, often say, "Urban life costs much. Rural life is better." It always seems to remind them that life is securely guaranteed as long as they are in their village. In Nasilai, there are more people who have experienced urban life in Suva, including a few who are working in Suva right now. One of those, Seini,¹²⁹ declared that urban life is much better. She said so just because of the money. She changed her job because the wages in her new job were better. She also said, "Rural life is too much trouble!" Although everything takes the form of a commodity in urban life, it is also a fact that one can obtain a convenient life with money. One can enjoy a lifestyle based on consumption on a larger scale in the city than in a village. While one can watch only one TV station in the village, one can also enjoy cable TV in the city. *Yaqona* is sold 24 hours a day. There are lots of bars where one can drink beer. Seini said, "Rural life is bothering." It is quite natural for her that the *ibe* is not woven. She said without thinking, "I will buy *ibe* if necessary. I do not have enough spare time to weave *ibe*." She did not hesitate to drink *yaqona* at men's sessions. She also said, "Beer? Yes, I like it." Therefore, quite different types of practical sense from the existing one are also growing in such a lifestyle. Taking the circumstances into one's mind, one acquires one's own habitus. How will one evaluate the surrounding circumstances? What kinds of practical sense will be immanent in one's mind? Each process would differ. Some may agree with Seini while others would persist in the traditional lifestyle. Even if people live in similar circumstances, there are various kinds of practical sense in each mind so that each would act in accordance with their own habitus. However, it could be found that there is a certain general tendency in such a situation. Whoever belongs to a particular social group would tailor their behaviour in accordance with a certain tendency, despite some deviancy. There might be formed a certain

¹²⁹ Refer to section 7-2-2 for a biography of Seini.

convergence of habitus at a group level beyond the individual. This is the main subject of Chapter 7.

conclusion

We have seen the changes in economic affairs in Fiji as a whole, and in two fields of study. In the stream of modernisation such as the development of roads, traffic and social infrastructure, capitalistic thoughts, views, values and economic systems have matured in urban areas and then expanded into rural areas. Better accessibility in the whole of Fiji has caused a unique tendency for the outflow of the population from the city into villages as well as rapid urbanisation. More populational mobility has brought urbanised lifestyles into rural areas, which has resulted in a conflict between the traditional and urban practical senses. As the transformation of the meanings and occasions of *kerekere* and of things into a form of commodity takes place, an urbanised lifestyle seems to replace the traditional lifestyle ever more rapidly. The practical sense seems to be modified to conform to an urbanised lifestyle so that the habitus reproducing approval of an urbanised lifestyle seems to be primary. Can it really be true that the tradition is going to be embedded in modernity?

In the next chapter, we will see the changes that affect ritual affairs in the same way.

Ch.6 Traditional ritual activities and change

Modernisation has dramatically changed the Fijian life style. While it has influenced the economic life, the ways of ritual activities have been transformed as well.

The traditional social groups still play a great part in the social life of Fiji. In rural areas, most of the social activities are led and run by such social groups as the *mataqali*, the *yavusa* and the village. Those who belong to the same group help each other in urban areas too.

There are some essential rites of passage on various occasions in social life. Although the scale and frequency of these rituals are tending to be reduced recently, ritual still plays a precious role in their lives. In the rituals, such goods as *tabua*, *yagona*, *ibe*, and *masi* are exchanged in particular contexts. Yet, modernisation has also had a great impact on the way these ritual goods are dealt with.

The Fijians signify the distinction between "Self" and "Other", in other words, "something in a homogeneous sphere" and "something in a heterogeneous sphere",¹³⁰ The *sevusevu* ritual is executed so as to sanction something in a heterogeneous context. Thanks to *sevusevu*, "Other" or "something heterogeneous" comes beyond the barrier between the two spheres so that the two contexts now become integrated. The *sevusevu* with the presentation of *yagona* is necessarily conducted not only in a significant ritual but also on various occasions in daily life.

This chapter is constructed in the same way as the previous chapter. Firstly, we will see a general tendency of ritual change in the whole of Fiji. We will refer to Toren's argument explaining how the traditional values are represented in the form of ritual practices. Secondly, the facts observed in Waidracia and Nasilai will be described. The ritual changes are closely connected with the change in economic circumstances.

¹³⁰ The contrast between "homogeneous" and "heterogeneous" also implies "self" and "other" or "own" and "other" in ritual sphere. The term of "sphere" will be explained in detail in Chapter 7.

6-1-1. The forms of rituals

rite of passage and ritual items

Let us see the rites of passage in Fiji in terms of the life cycle. Marriage is a typical rite of passage in which a woman in a heterogeneous context is invited into this sphere so that she becomes sanctioned as a member of a social group. According to the Fijian traditional style, marriage should be arranged by the parents or the elders of the *mataqali*. In other words, the boy and girl as the parties used to have no choice at all. In general, the parents on the groom's side used to choose a deserve woman in some social groups that have had a certain relationship with the groom's one. With a certain relationship, each member in both groups is well known to each other. This style of marriage has the merit that a good understanding of the social circumstances makes the bride as a person from a different sphere easier to be invited into the groom's social group. Therefore, marriage between a boy and a girl from social groups without any existing social relationships used to be rare. Nowadays, however, the more individual the choice becomes, the more it is the case that the groom and bride decide to marry by themselves. Marriage has extended beyond local social relationships so that the social relationship caused by marriage has also expanded. In urban areas, there are increasing opportunities for boys and girls to come across each other in various places such as workshops, sports clubs and churches. Marriage between a boy and girl whose villages are far away from each other often occurs. In such a case, the distance between the villages where each relative lives restricts the ability to hold the ceremonies in the traditional way. Besides, the sphere in which a social group will be involved in occasional ritual is going to expand more and more after such a marriage, while marriage within locally limited social groups used to remain the sphere to an extent. Thus traditional rituals that have become more difficult to execute in accordance with the traditional way have been modified, simplified and abolished in their scale and frequency. The procedure of marriage has also changed. According to the official and proper procedure, the engagement is approved by both social groups only after the headman of the groom's *mataqali* or the groom's father has made a proposal of marriage towards the bride's parents with some *tabua* (whale's tooth). But a form of "run-away marriage" is replacing this tradition in recent cases. In this case, a boy and girl, at first,

elope and disappear from public eyes. Afterwards, they are, or may be, socially approved by means of the accomplished fact. This “run-away marriage” is liable to take place when one is not fond of one’s partner as arranged by one’s parents, when one is in a particular situation in which one or one’s parents cannot implement the proper procedure, or when one and one’s parents have difficulty in preparing the *tabua* to present to the bride’s parents. Once it has happened, the headman on the groom’s side must present some *tabua* to the bride’s parents sooner or later, even one year later in some cases, as an apologetic ritual. If the bride’s parents accept this, the marriage is socially approved. The “run-away marriage” is so popular in current Fiji that there is no difference in social context from the “proper” marriage once it is socially sanctioned.

The birth ritual is also significant. When the first baby is born, the baby’s father’s *mataqali* prepares the *magiti* (feast) to entertain the gathering of guests. At this stage, the relatives officially visit the new baby and hug it in a particular way. Through the ritual called *roqoroqo*, the baby is approved as a member of the *mataqali*. The host must entertain all persons who come for this *roqoroqo*. Thus the host should be careful when forecasting the number of guests and the size of feast to be prepared in advance. The wife and children traditionally lived in the husband’s village. Yet, they often live in the city nowadays. In this case, they have an obligation to take their baby to their village.

Funerals are rituals where the individual’s death is dealt with in the dimension of the social groups. In Fiji, men socially deal with a death by means of drinking *yaqona* with relatives, while women emotionally face a death crying loudly. When a death happens, they visit the place as a unit of the social group such as the *mataqali* or the village. Men bring appropriate amounts of *tabua* and *yaqona* while women bring some *ibe*. The *mataqali* where the death occurred has to prepare the *magiti* for the guests. The very house whose member has died must be occupied by a few female relatives for four nights after the burial, which is thought to prevent the spirit of the dead person from returning to his house. The period of mourning is for a hundred nights after the burial. On certain nights such as the fourth, the tenth, the fortieth and the hundredth, a *magiti* is prepared.

There are three essential items to be exchanged in this ritual: men manage the *tabua*; women manage the *ibe*; and the *yaqona* is mostly dealt with by men. Besides, the *masi* (bark cloth made of mulberry tree), taro and

cassava are sometimes exchanged at the ritual if necessary.

The *tabua* is a whale's tooth, which is gifted on occasions such as when the sentiments of a social group are represented by visiting rituals such as funerals or birth ceremonies, when one requests something such as asking for a woman in marriage, or calling for labour in building a house, or when an apology is offered for committed faults or mistakes. The ritually exchanged *tabua* functions as a medium embodying such various intensions as intensifying, utilising and restoring the existing social relationships, with the individual affairs converting into the social dimension. The *tabua* represents all values at the occasional ritual. At the new-birth ceremony, the gifted *tabua* represents the sentiment of celebration and the approval of the new baby as a member of the social group. In the case of the "run-away marriage", the presented *tabua* is intended to apologise for the committed fault, to request the woman, and to congratulate on the marriage at the same time. In rural life, each individual affair appears inseparable from the social context in a broader sense. If something extraordinary invades the existing relationships, certain equipment to rectify is required in the social dimension. Toren suggests the *tabua*, which represents plural cultural values, can function as the medium for the intension of social groups. At the naming of a first child, for example, any person in the senior generation can name the child, providing the *tabua* they present to the child's paternal kin is accepted.¹³¹ Similarly, at some point during a big *yaqona* ceremony, she says as follows:

There is a ceremonial exchange of *tabua*. They may be presented by the guests to the hosts... and by the hosts to the guests.

[Toren 1990: p98]

Yaqona is used in a similar context as that of *tabua*. Since *yaqona* is commonly sold as a commodity, it is much easier to obtain and circulates more than *tabua*.¹³² If one does not have *tabua* available on a particular occasion, one can use *yaqona* to a certain extent instead in this ritual context. Hence the social meanings

¹³¹ See [Toren 1990: p.170].

represented by these two ritual goods seem to be similar. In one case, *tabua* is necessary when some intension is officially manifested by the representative of a village or a *mataqali*. In another case, however, *yaqona* can replace the role of *tabua* when the values represented by the ritual goods are relatively less, or when the occasion takes place in a much more private context. *Yaqona* may be gifted if one apologises for one's personal faults as well as if one asks somebody if you may stay at his house.

... if one wishes to ask someone a favour (the use of his land, perhaps, or the right to name a child) or to beg forgiveness for a fault committed (raising one's hand against one's father or wife, for example), one asks a senior man to present *yaqona* on one's behalf with a speech that asks the favour or begs forgiveness, and in the acceptance and the subsequent drinking the favour is granted or the fault buried.
[Floren 1990: pp.103-104]

Yaqona thus has the function of a medium expressing such plural values as celebration, gratitude, condolence, respect, apology and request. On the other hand, it has another ritual implication, which takes the form of *sevusevu*.

The *sevusevu* is a ceremonial offering of *yaqona* by the host to the guest, or the guest to his host, by which recognition and acceptance of one another are sanctioned with respect. As for the ritual of drinking *yaqona* together, it is suggested by such anthropologists as Arthur Maurice Hocart [Hocart 1972: p.27], Sahlins [Sahlins 1987: pp.73-103] and Ravuvu [Ravuvu 1987: pp.240-243] in reference to Fijian narratives that a king from outside acceded to the throne at an enthronement ceremony after he was "symbolically" killed and then revived by drinking *yaqona*. We will not mention their symbolic interpretation in detail here. Their particular view that a person or a thing from a heterogeneous sphere is socially sanctioned, approved and incorporated to be now in "this" sphere, after the heterogeneous differentiae underlying the two spheres is ritually dissolved and then, articulated by drinking *yaqona* could be applied to this thesis. As will be argued in Chapter 7, it is significant for the Fijians to distinguish "Other" or "something in the heterogeneous sphere" from "Self" or "something in the homogeneous sphere" by dealing with them in a social or ritual sense. As the symbolic death and revival of a

¹⁵² *Tabua* is usually treated and managed by the headman of a group secretly. For example, even the other members in a household do not know how many pieces of *tabua*, and in what places, the headman of the household have.

king from the outside who is in the heterogeneous sphere is required by means of *yaqona* so as to sanction him to be now in the same context as the common norms, the integration or the articulation of different spheres by drinking *yaqona* in the *sevusevu* is necessary if the guest from the outside is to be treated in “this” context. In other words, the *sevusevu* with the presentation of *yaqona* can be interpreted to be ritual equipment by which disorder in the social process caused by the visiting guest in whom heterogeneous norms and senses are immanent can be rectified to restore the ordinary order. Through the *sevusevu*, the guest is officially invited into “this” sphere and socially sanctioned. At this stage, a barrier having given a distinction between the host and the guest now disappears so that the guest becomes no longer a “guest”. We will see the *sevusevu* with the presentation of *yaqona* again with reference to Toren’s argument.

Compared with *tabua*, which is dealt with only by men, the *ibe* is a ritual item managed by women. This is also essential in each ceremony. The quantity of *ibe* to be brought for the ritual gift depends on the ritual circumstances. The elders including men and women decide the quantity before they leave their village. In the case of marriage, women can take their time to prepare some *ibe* as it has been planted in advance, because the date of the ceremony is fixed. In the case of funerals, however, they must prepare a certain quantity of *ibe* as soon as they hear of the death. Moreover, *ibe* is also used daily as a mat. The cycle of *ibe*, production (obtainment) – circulation – consumption (daily use or ritual gift), is faster than those of the other ritual goods. Therefore, women must always take care to keep sufficient *ibe* in stock.

The host and his *mataqali* have a duty to prepare the *magiti* (feast) for the ritual. While they are presented with *tabua*, *yaqona*, *ibe*, and even taro by the guests, they themselves must provide a sufficient feast. The men slaughter cattle while the women cook special dishes in the host’s *mataqali*. At funerals, a feast held for all the mourners after the burial, called a *burua*, is prepared. In such ceremonies, the guests take home a certain amount of the taro, cassava, beef, and dishes that are left over.

Masi (bark cloth made out of mulberry plants) is another item used in ritual exchange. It used to be clothes worn by a higher chief, but it is now used for decorations in the room of the ritual or for covering the grave.

Although it should be presented especially at weddings, *ibe* may replace it, as Ravuvu points out.¹³³

the *sevusevu* with *yaqona*

The *sevusevu* with the presentation of *yaqona* has a function by which the different contexts of the host and guest can be dissolved so that the guest can now be treated in the host's sphere as he is no longer a guest. As Toren points out, the *sevusevu* is constantly executed not only in a significant ceremony such as greeting a person of higher status but also in daily situations.

The *yaqona* ceremony and the *sevusevu* associated with it are the central rituals of Fijian social life. They are performed on all occasions from the most minor, everyday affairs – such as a few men getting together for a chat around the *tanoa* – through all rituals attendant upon birth, marriage, circumcision and death, to the grand and lengthy ceremonial mounted to install a chief, or to welcome a high chief or other dignitary such as the Queen of England.

[Toren 1990: p.100]

Even at a private “drinking *yaqona*” session, the individual has to perform *sevusevu* in order to join it. The guest presents a certain quantity of *yaqona* to the host so that the host approves of him being in his sphere.

Moreover, since every man is a chief in his own house, it is not surprising that the *i sevusevu* is an everyday occurrence. The *i sevusevu* requests the freedom of a place, so one takes an *i sevusevu* when going to visit another village or, within one's own village, when one wishes to join a group of people already drinking under a shady mango tree, or in a temporary shelter adjacent to an area where house-building is in progress, and so on.

[Toren 1990: p.103]

In such cases, whoever is in a suitable position will make a speech to acknowledge receipt of the *yaqona*, respecting the presentation and approving the guest. With the *cobo* (clapping the hands crosswise so as to make a hollow sound) by all participants expressing respect or reverence, the *sevusevu* is completed.

¹³³ See [Ravuvu 1987: p.276].

At its most simple the *sevusevu* involves only a brief, formal acceptance. A newcomer enters the space where the drinking is taking place and throws down a small bundle of dried roots beside the *tanoa*. In a few moments a silence falls on the assembly and one who is able to make formal acceptance of the *yaqona* places it on the floor where he can touch it, claps his hands three times and says: 'I am touching, sirs, the *i sevusevu*, the chiefly *i sevusevu*, the big *i sevusevu*. Ah, it is over, over.' He claps again and the others join in with their clapping, saying, 'Thanks, thanks' [*vinaka*], and the thing is finished.
[Toren 1990: p.103]

Drinking *yaqona* represents various values in relevant social contexts. It does not simply mean the individual activity but expresses the collective intention. Therefore, behaving in one's own way is not permitted. All participants must obey the formal manner.¹³⁴

If *yaqona*-drinking is in part constitutive of a notion of social order, to refuse to drink is an act of rudeness, a denial of social relations and a rejection of the status quo. So people drink *yaqona* even if they do not like it. ... Once prepared the *yaqona* must be drunk in the approved manner, bowl after bowl, until the *tanoa* is dry [*maca*].
[Toren 1990: p.106]

Since drinking *yaqona* is a social activity, there is a common rule from which no participants can deviate. Recognising the formal manner, everyone is expected to obey it.

...one must 'sit properly', with legs crossed, when actually drinking, clap before accepting the proffered bowl of *yaqona*, drain the bowl without pause and clap again politely after handing the bowl back to the server. Before stretching one's legs one should ask permission of one's immediate neighbours.
[Toren 1990: p.107]

Thus, the *sevusevu* is central in all occasional rituals. Besides, drinking *yaqona* always has a social meaning, in which common norms are acting. Under the common principle, everyone knows how the "Other" as well as the "Self" should behave, and is expected to behave appropriately in the social context.

native belief and Christianity

The traditional chief used to possess absolute power in political and economic affairs, derived from a supernatural power, called *mana*. Since drinking *yaqona* had close connections with the supernatural power

possessed by the chief, there used to be several taboos. Since the conversion to Christianity, however, the strict belief in the chief's supernatural power has been weakened. The establishment of democratic government has also decreased the practical position of the contemporary chief in political and economic events. However, these situational changes have not necessarily caused the traditional chiefly system to collapse. The Fijian people have kept such rituals as drinking *yagona* and the *sevusevu* in which they represent their traditional hierarchy including revering the chief, respecting the elders and knowing the distinction between men and women. Adapting and modifying itself in the course of social change, the traditional norm still remains. In addition, there has been seen a mixture of something traditional and something derived from the West.

Currently, almost all Fijians belong to the Methodist Church. There are several denominations of Christianity such as the Methodists, Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists, Assembly of God, Anglicans and Presbyterians. As we have seen in Chapter 3, the conversion to Christianity by King Cakobau caused nearly 100% of Fijians to become Christian. While they devoutly believe in Christianity, they seem to discard their traditional belief and values too readily. They often talk about their past days in a rather self-deprecatory way.

So my teacher [Toren's teacher giving her lessons in Fijian] ... also referred to the pre-colonial era as 'the time of the devils' and to Christianity as 'the light'. These very common expressions suggest that Fijians view their past as amoral, if not immoral, especially with respect to polygamy, witchcraft and cannibalism, which are said to be 'ancestral practices in the manner of the land'.
[Toren 1999a: p.36]

Their belief in Christianity has weakened their traditional belief in the supernatural power connected with their ancestors. The dread of magic and the devil seems to an extent to have been reduced by means of the belief in Christianity.

¹⁸⁴ As Toren points out, "To accuse someone of drinking *yagona* alone is to accuse the person of witchcraft," drinking *yagona* alone is extraordinary behaviour. See [Toren 1990: p.104].

Today the salience of ancestral power has been much reduced by Wesleyanism. The ancestors still stand behind a paramount chief – indeed, the *lowliest* person has *ancestors* to call on – but they are said to be weak in face of the Christian God. Neither is magic what it once was, as is apparent in these half-serious, half-joking remarks from a man in his seventies to another old man and myself as we sat one afternoon round the *tanoa*: ‘Magic is not so effective [*mana*] today, eh?’
[Toren 1990: p.105]

In fact, lots of traditional customs and habits have been abandoned since conversion to Christianity so that their view on values has been greatly modified. Polygamy and cannibalism have been abolished. The view that the wife should die at her husband’s funeral, or that some dead bodies should be prepared and put between the surface of the grave and the chief’s body when a chief died, has been reformed. The gods of their traditional ancestral belief have been distanced from the Christian God. Thus, the status of the traditional chief who has absolute power derived from an inherited supernatural spirit has decreased. Toren, who conducted her research on the island of Gau from 1981 to 1983 and in 1990, writes:

Today, chiefly status and prerogatives are given by the power of the Christian god; the salience of ancestral power is reduced in the face of Wesleyanism. The authority of a high chief still lies in *mana*, but it is ultimately derived from ‘the strength of Jehovah, the high God’ and is ratified by association with his divine nature.
[Toren 1999a: p.54]

Even in contemporary Fiji where the era of traditional belief in the ancestral spirit has been converted to be viewed as the “dark age”, their system of traditional values, morals, rituals and respect for the traditional hierarchy still remains.¹³⁵ As Geddes, who conducted fieldwork during the period of second World War and in 1954, points out,¹³⁶ such social actions as the economic, political, religious, ritual and ceremonial activities are still executed through the social groups in general.¹³⁷ The significant principle of social structure in Fiji mainly depends on the three elements of descent, sex and age. The father is thus the most respected in a house. This principle can be applied to other groups beyond the house. The father’s brothers are regarded as the same as the

¹³⁵ In chapter 7, we will analyse why it is still important.

¹³⁶ See [Geddes 1959: pp.202-205].

¹³⁷ Needless to say, we cannot simply compare Geddes’ argument with Toren’s, because their works were done at different times and places. Toren was working in Sawaikeke village during the years 1981 to 1983, five months in 1990 and two months in 1993, while Geddes studied during the period of second World War and during January and February in 1954.

father. Brothers' children are treated as the same as one's own. Furthermore, this can also be applied to all dimensions of social relationships, which is the core principle in the social context. This structure consists of the members of the descent groups who have a common ancestor. Although the status of the traditional chief with supernatural power has been weakened, the social system of behaviour with the chief sitting at the top of the traditional hierarchy is still retained along with the three values of descent, sex and age.

Christianity has implanted its own moral ideas in the Fijians. According to Hashimoto, their conversion to Christianity is the result that they accepted the power of Christianity God in accordance with their own ways of thinking. ... But the conversion does not mean that their ways of thinking itself had also changed. They thought a ruler should have *mana*, as the former traditional gods had. Then they recognise that Christianity God now gains the stronger power than *mana*, and that God is now superior to their traditional gods.¹³⁸ From this point of view, their traditional beliefs and values might have been "amoral". With the conversion of the primary belief into Christianity, the reorganisation of values within Christianity has caused the function of the chiefs to be reduced. For example, such things as the wife dying at her husband's funeral in the indigenous way and human sacrifice were abolished. Instead, such rituals as choir singing and worshipping in church have been introduced into their ordinary way of funerals. Yet, these rituals based in the context of Christianity are organised by the traditional social groups in light of the traditional hierarchy. *Yaqona* also became to be drunk at such ceremonies as funerals. Although only the chiefs of higher status used to be entitled to drink *yaqona* on these special occasions, every commoner now drinks it at such ceremonies. However, drinking *yaqona* is not individual but socialised behaviour. In the context of the relationship between the host and the guest, its function is to allow the invitation of the guest in the heterogeneous sphere into this sphere to be articulated. In the context of the relationship between a person of high status and the commoners, on the other hand, the seating order at the session represents their social ranks. Christianity has implanted new values and introduced new customs such as celebrating Christmas and Easter. Services in church are firmly established in their life. In addition, Christianity has made the Fijians renounce what is not desirable for Christianity. At this stage, one may think that Christianity is completely

¹³⁸ See [Hashimoto 1996: p.69].

established in Fiji. In fact, however, they have reinterpreted their traditional values and hierarchy in the context of “Fijian” Christianity. Without changing the framework of the cultural equipment underlying society, they have reinterpreted and converted the implications, passively into what will not contravene Christian values, or more positively into what it means in the Bible such as Christ’s death and the Resurrection. The traditional values remain on the basis of Christianity while Christianity has been converted into “Fijian” Christianity that sustains the traditional culture. They have incorporated, interpreted and articulated Christianity into their own context so that they have reinterpreted, reorganised and reproduced their indigenous values in association with a modified Christianity.

6-1-2. Change in ritual procedure

the reduction of the scale of and the opportunities for rituals

As we have seen in the previous chapter, increasing population mobility with modernisation and the spread of the capitalistic system in urban areas has influenced the scale of and the opportunities for rituals in rural areas. Firstly, a new opportunity for marriage has emerged that has widened the range of social relationships. Secondly, the increase in the number of urban people coming from rural areas has increased the numbers benefiting from the higher standard of living in the towns. In addition, some Christian denominations such as the Seventh-Day Adventists, whose congregations are growing, especially in the cities, prohibit drinking *yaqona* so that the procedure in traditional rituals has been affected.

Modernisation has caused a concentration of population in the cities. Boys and girls from distant places, who used to have no opportunities to come across each other, can now get acquainted in such places as schools, workshops, sports clubs and churches. Increasing numbers are marrying. In the past, marriage was arranged by the parents or other relatives. Hence, there was no room for the spouses’ will to be realised. The parents or relatives chose an appropriate person from social groups already related by previous marriages. In this case, the range of social relationships generated by means of marriage was naturally limited. Only rarely did marriage generate more and more relationships beyond the existing range. Nowadays, the young people agree less with arranged marriage. They prefer to decide their marriage by themselves. They now have unlimited opportunities

to encounter each other in the city.¹³⁹ To an extent their parents have also come to accept this new form of marriage. Therefore, the range of social relationships generated by marriage is no longer limited.

Most traditional rituals in Fiji are visiting rituals. Those who want to participate visit the place where the ritual takes place. This style of ritual can only be possible if the social relationships are to an extent limited by distance. With the relatives scattered, the same procedure cannot be organised. As a result, the scale and opportunity for rituals is reduced. Some traditional ceremonies such as the *koti*, the first haircutting ceremony to celebrate that the baby has reached childhood by gathering relatives together are now seldom executed.

Secondly, the number of dwellers earning their living in the city who have come from a village is increasing. Urban dwellers can earn more money than rural people. The former rituals were organised within rather narrower geographical range. As the number of guests at a ritual was to an extent fixed, the hosts were able to provide the goods for ritual exchange or the food for the *magiti* by themselves. The demand for things necessary for the ritual did not exceed their capability to supply them. Yet, the greater the number of concerned people at rituals such as weddings and funerals has become because of expanding social relationships, the less the hosts can manage to resource the ritual by themselves.¹⁴⁰ Rural people no longer have enough money to purchase the necessary amount of food and goods. Rituals are therefore no longer autonomously organised. At this point, rural people ask their relatives in urban areas instead. *Kerekere*, with the principle of reciprocal support, approves that "the Haves" should give to "the Have-nots". This used to be taken for granted when the life structure and the standard of living were uniform. Today's debt might be tomorrow's credit. On such occasions, equilibrium would, more or less, be attained in the future. There is however no such condition at all between urban and rural people now. Thus, a practical sense that distinguishes between "good *kerekere*" and "bad *kerekere*" has grown. As long as rituals cannot be autonomously executed without urban people's support, they have to find another way to

¹³⁹ According to Oripa's and Waisea's narrative in Waidracia, most marriage was organised among wider groups which were mutually related. Of course, this does not mean marriage was always organised only by the local village. But nowadays, it may happen that a boy and a girl, who are unknown to each other, whose villages are not related, even whose villages are in different islands, or, this is rather rare case, who are Fijian and Indian, meet in a work place or school so that they come to fall in love. Actually, Waisea's wife is from the Lau groups, that is, a different island. They met in Suva.

¹⁴⁰ Some rituals have been abolished while other rituals have widened their scales and opportunities. For example, wedding or funeral ceremony cannot be abolished whereas the number of the involved relatives is more and more increasing. On the other hand, however, a series of the following ceremonies after weddings or funerals such as the "fourth night", the "tenth night", the "twentieth night", the "thirtieth night", and so forth, tends to be simplified or sometimes omitted.

manage. The scale of and opportunities for ritual are also reduced.

Furthermore, the fact that some Christian denominations prohibit drinking *yagona* has affected the procedure of rituals. More urban people belong to denominations such as the Seventh-Day Adventists. Drinking *yagona* is not a personal but a social behaviour. Notwithstanding this, some do not drink *yagona* at rituals. Others refuse to even participate in rituals that include drinking *yagona*. Those who drink *yagona* together in a certain place are celebrating the traditional values, manners and norms in common. The more people absent themselves from such places, the more they are deviating from the traditional norms.

In urban areas, on the other hand, the form of rituals has been transformed in association with the urbanised lifestyle. Urban people cannot afford to take a few days to execute a ritual. At funerals, for instance, they do not wait for all the relatives to come before carrying out the burial. Some relatives arrive after the ceremony has begun. As Ravuvu points out,¹⁴¹ the *bulubulu*, the purifying ritual performed after one carries and buries the dead body, is omitted in urban areas because the burial is organised by the government.

change regarding the ritual items

Changes to the production and circulation of ritual items are also seen. The *ibe* (mat) is now sold in the market. Women who have ceased weaving purchase *ibe* instead. As it is still in great demand for its ritual function, the *ibe* is now a commodity. They obtain the item destined for gift exchange through monetary exchange. Besides, the *masi*, bark cloth made out of mulberry plants, is also purchased in some souvenir shops, if necessary.¹⁴² Apart from ritual exchange, the *tabua* (whale's tooth) also circulate through monetary exchange in pawnshops.¹⁴³ In urban areas with a more diversified range of social relationships, people are said to be vexed about how to obtain the *tabua*. In rural areas, one can ask one's father, other relatives, and the elders in one's *mataqali*, if one does not have the required number of *tabua*.¹⁴⁴ There is a certain procedure to sort out such a problem in the traditional context. In urban areas free from such procedures, however, those who need *tabua*

¹⁴¹ See [Ravuvu 1983: pp.65-69].

¹⁴² As mulberry tree is planted to produce the *masi* in limited areas such as Lau groups, most Fijians have to buy it.

¹⁴³ Deane [Deane 1921] mentions that the *tabua* could be also obtained in pawnshops in the 1920's at a price of 5 to 10 pounds. The *tabua* as an object for monetary exchange had already emerged in the colonial era.

¹⁴⁴ According to the questionnaire conducted in Nasilai and OISCA, 67.8% of respondents would obtain *tabua* by *kurukuru* for their *mataqali* or the elder if necessary. The others would buy it.

have to obtain the required number by purchasing them.¹⁴⁵ Although monetary exchange intrudes into the context of ritual exchange, monetary exchange does not necessarily replace the function of ritual exchange. The exchange of *tabua* or *ibe* at funerals, for example, has not been replaced by monetary exchange. The implication and significance embodied in the *tabua* and the *ibe* in their social context still remains. The *tabua*, representing every social value, has a particular function in mediating intention. It converts things from the individual to the social dimension. The fact that the *tabua* is still essential even in urban areas shows that urban people are still regulated by the traditional norms. Wherever he is, in rural or urban areas, the individual does not exist outside the society.

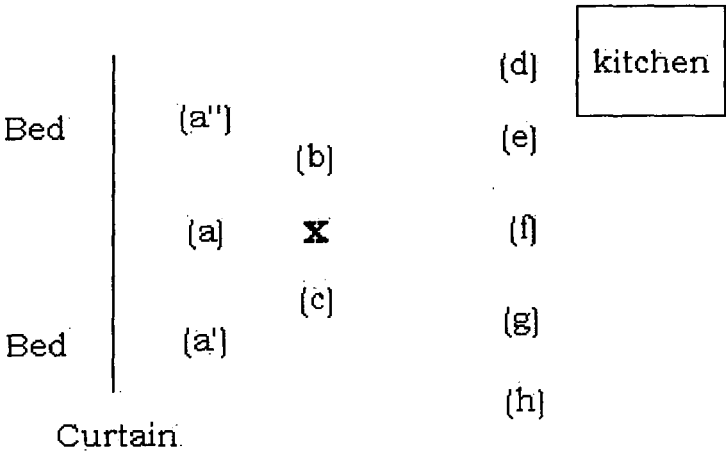
Since harvesting *yagona* takes lots of trouble, it is almost entirely produced on intensive commercial farms. Drinking *yagona* becomes common. It is essential not only for rituals but also for daily life in Fiji. As there is a high demand, it becomes a commodity. Although *yagona* used to have a particular ritual significance, presiding over the symbolic death and revival of the chief in an enthronement ceremony, the traditional meanings seem to have been transformed to a large extent as it has come to be drunk in daily life. The Fijian people have incorporated a new custom, the drinking of *yagona* by commoners in their daily life. That is, they have reinterpreted and reproduced the ritual code embodied in *yagona* in a new context. This is revealed in the manner of drinking *yagona*.

"Drinking *yagona*" starts with setting the *tanoa* (a large wooden bowl for infusing *yagona*) in its proper position by the host. The space beyond the boundary of the *tanoa* towards the beds is high-ranked. Commoners are supposed to sit in the space below the boundary, close to the kitchen [(d) – (h) in figure 6-1]. If guests or people of high status are attendant, they are recommended to sit in suitable positions. In general, a guest will be recommended to sit in the best seat [(a)] where he can face the other participants beyond the *tanoa*. The guest will reservedly hesitate to sit there at first. But he finally sits in the suggested seat after he is strongly invited several times. If there are several people to be respected, they will sit in the next seats [(a') or (a'')]. The order in the

¹⁴⁵ Bakker [Bakker 1986: p.199] suggests urban people in Fiji are always worried about how to find a *tabua* for an exchange in occasional rituals. In urban areas, one must purchase it because one can hardly find anybody to whom one may ask for *korekore*.

high-ranked space [(a'') – (a) – (a')] depends on the context of the moment. If nobody of higher status participates, the high-ranked space will be vacant. Generally speaking, the young men will sit just beside the *tanoa* [(b) and (c)] strain the *yaqona* and carry a cup of it to each attendant. The host will probably sit either in the lower section [(d) – (h)] or beside the *tanoa* [(b) and (c)] and serve, depending on the situation. At the very beginning, the young men [(b) and (c)] call children playing around the place to tell them to bring some water. While one sitting beside the *tanoa* [(b)] puts a few spoons of ground *yaqona* into a cloth bag, another [(c)] pours an appropriate amount of water over the bag held by [(b)]. Then, they squeeze the liquid from the bag to strain the *yaqona* drink. Whenever they need additional water, the children around them are called and told to bring water. Once the first *yaqona* becomes ready in the *tanoa*, the first cup is carried to the most suitable person to drink first.

Figure 6-1: Sitting position of people at *yaqona* drinking



note) X: Tanoa

As Toren exemplifies, those who intend to enter the room and join the “drinking *yaqona*” session have to conduct themselves in a certain manner. Even though it is a simple session in daily life, would-be participants should be alert to the circumstances so as to take proper action.

One may loiter outside, perhaps, and exchange a few words with the young men who are pounding *yaqona*, or stand to one side of the doorway to obtain a partial view of the interior; if it is dark one can stand outside the pool of light that issues through the door and get a good view of what is going on inside. Or, if the building is made of bamboo slats or other material that allows of chinks and crevices, one can go up to the walls, peer through the cracks and overhear the talk.
[Toren 1990: p.91]

Drinking *yaqona* is not a personal activity. Even though it is a session held in a “light-hearted” daily context, one must not slight the implication and the significance underlying the drinking of *yaqona*. Even daily sessions embody the traditional hierarchy in the social context as well as having the ritual implication of earlier days representing the symbolic death and revival of a chief, and sentiments such as atonement, request and gratitude in the social dimension, and the integration of something heterogeneous through the *sevusevu*. One perceives and recognises the traditional hierarchy through obeying the common manner in drinking *yaqona*.

It is prepared and drunk under the auspices of chiefs; if no actual chief is present the person of highest status must sit above the *tanoa* so that it ‘faces the chiefs’, even when the drinking is at its most informal. ... So in *yaqona* drinking people take their positions in terms of an interaction between rank, seniority and gender – that is, in terms of hierarchical kin relations.
[Toren 1990: pp.107-108]

The changing circumstances have caused a transformation in the form of ritual and the treatment of ritual goods. With their practical sense exposed to the modified lifestyle, Fijians have objectified the circumstances as agents so that they have acquired the modified practical sense with which they articulate the changing lifestyle with their own style in their own way. Even though one can obtain the ritual items with money, one would never abolish the ritual exchange itself, respecting the ritual function in the traditional way. Although the *ibe*, the *masi* and the *tabua* have become commodities, the Fijians never attempt to embody the existing implication of ritual exchange by replacing the traditional artefacts with the same value of money. Money is an almighty means of exchange but it cannot embody the social meanings immanent in the exchange itself. While *yaqona* has become a beverage drunk in daily life by commoners, they have objectified the new custom, reinterpreted the ritual implication immanent in drinking it, and reproduced a new form. Commoners used not to be allowed to drink

yagona. This has now changed. If commoners drink *yagona*, in what way should they do so? They have reproduced a new code in which the session embodies social status in association with social relationships. It is the case that they have incorporated the objectified circumstances into their own context as an agent without being drowned in the stream of accelerating modernisation. On the other hand, urban dwellers continue to respect social relationships with their home village or *mataqali*. Their newly acquired “rational” evaluation prompted by the gap in the standard of living between urban and rural life may have refused unbalanced *kenkere* or reduced the company they keep with their village. However, they still respect traditional social relationships to a certain extent.¹⁴⁶ It can be seen, for example, that they may abstain from a fashionable hairstyle or clothing when returning to their village, or that they are deeply concerned about teaching the traditional manners and norms to their children born in the city. In other words, urban people have also acquired a practical sense by which they evaluate what should be done in order not to bring the whole of the urbanised lifestyle into their village. They also objectify the gap between the urbanised and traditional lifestyles to reproduce a new form of behaviour appropriate to the circumstances. The practical senses immanent in rural and urban people is thus generating each new habitus. With the differentiation between urban and rural convergence of habitus connoted, the spheric convergence of habituses over the whole of Fijian society is also being regenerated.

6-2. Ritual and its change in the fields

6-2-1. Some aspects of modernisation

embodied social values

When *yagona* is drunk, various social values including the traditional hierarchy based on rank, sex and age, and particular relationships between certain social groups, are embodied. They appear in the taboos and manners of the seating arrangements.

Let us consider the taboos regarding seating positions. Generally in Fiji, women are required to be in lower-ranked positions than men. It used also to be taboo for a man to talk to his sisters, although this has almost

¹⁴⁶ According to the questionnaire, 82.3% of all respondents in Waidracia, Nasilni, Nadoi, OISCA and Elixir Apartment regard *kenkere* as a “good custom”.

been abolished.¹⁴⁷

One day in October 2002, engineering work to install electricity in Waidracia came to its final stage. The labourers in the working group from Vilia village in Lomaivuna Region were staying in Waidracia for several weeks to complete the work. As we have seen in Chapter 5, this was contract work undertaken by Mr. Jone Roko from Vilia, who had worked for the FEA (Fiji Electricity Authority) as a senior supervisor. Employing his relatives from Vilia as wage labourers, Mr. Roko organised a working group to come to the area around Waidracia. It takes approximately an hour to come by car to Waidracia from Vilia. At first they came and went to Vilia each day but later they tended to sleep in Waidracia. On such a night, a “drinking *yagona*” session with the workers in Waidracia was held. On that occasion, the workers from Vilia village in Lomaivuna Region were sitting in the high-ranked position. This is because, on the one hand, distant guests should be respected. On the other hand, however, there is a particular taboo determining the relationship between the seating positions of people from Tikina Rara (to which Waidracia belongs) and those from Lomaivuna Region.

According to Waisea, people from Tikina Rara have to behave as warriors in front of people from Lomaivuna. This is derived from a traditional relationship. If a person from Tikina Rara shares space with people from Lomaivuna, that person should pay a certain respect toward them. It does not matter whether they are children or adults. People in Tikina Rara have other taboos as well. In sitting together with people from Tikina Verata or Lomaivuna, they should eat pork and *vudi* (banana) while people from Tikina Rara would eat fish and coconuts.¹⁴⁸ In sitting with people from Tikina Lutu or Tikina Matailobau, they would eat fish and coconuts while people from Tikina Rara should eat pork and *vudi*. If there are people from all these regions sitting together in one place, the former taboo is more highly respected than the latter.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ There is a particular relationship, called *vasu*, between a person and his mother's social group. A person is allowed to take whatever he wants from his uncle's goods in his uncle's village.

¹⁴⁸ Waisea told me, “We have historically played a role of warriors for people in Lomaivuna. We have to fight for them.” And he added with laughing, “If we ate such a kind of foods as pork, we could not sufficiently fight against an enemy in the case of emergency because pork is sitting heavily on our stomach!” In fact, pork was actually cooked and provided for the labourers in the FEA group on the day of the completion. At that time, people in Waidracia would never eat pork at all. But some pork dish left over was shared by some people in Waidracia after the labourers went back to Vilia. Dakuwaqa (D1) ate pork at dinner too.

¹⁴⁹ The way of division of *tikina* is complicated. The traditional division (*tikina makawa*) coexists with the combined division (*tikina vou*). Either or both are often used in one's narrative with confusion. In this case, Lomaivuna is a name of *tikina vou*, Rara (*tikina makawa*), Verata (*tikina makawa and tikina vou*), Lutu (*tikina makawa*), and Matailobau (*tikina makawa and tikina vou*). Besides, the name of Lomaivuna represents not only the name of *tikina*, but also the name of region. Actually, Vilia village is

Ravuvu characterises this particular taboo relationship as *veibatiki*, “*Bati*” means “edge” or “border” in Fijian. “*Veibatiki*” is a social relationship between social groups, which are located on the “*bati*” to each other. In other words, social groups that have traditionally shared a territorial border in common have a particular relationship called *veibatiki*. A social group, which owes a special allegiance to another group as defensive warriors on the border, has taboos as to seating places and food.

The members of my [Ravuvu's] group, the Waimero people at Nakorvutule in the upper Wainimala River, must not eat fish when the Nasautoka people are present because fish is traditionally forbidden as food for the Nasautoka people. Likewise, the Nasautoka people must not take pork or coconut in our presence, because pork and coconut are traditionally prescribed as our food.
[Ravuvu 1983: pp.34-37]

People in Waidracia owe a special allegiance to people from Lomaivuna. Hence they sit at a lower-ranked position than people from Lomaivuna, even though it is merely a daily session. Then someone from Waidracia is expected to play the role of *rabe*. Literally, *rabe* means drinking the *yagona* second. That is, it implies that the chief's herald drinks after the chief has drunk the first cup of *yagona* presented in the ritual. The session I describe was not a ritual. Nor was there any traditional chief or his herald, in an official sense. This was just a daily session. But the quasi-relationship between the chief and the herald in traditional ritual was reified. The order of drinking *yagona* in this case was: 1. Simi (a chiefly guest from Lomaivuna), followed by Lote as *rabe* (from Waidracia); 2. Levani (the chiefly person among the participants from Waidracia), followed by Jo as *rabe* (from Waidracia); 3. the author, followed by Seva as *rabe* (from Lomaivuna).¹⁵⁰ In this case, the social relationship of *veibatiki* between Lomaivuna and Waidracia was put in the most respected context so that Simi, who was the chiefly guest of the people from Lomaivuna at that moment, took the first cup as “chief” on this occasion. He embodied the quasi-role of the traditional chief in the ritual. The order of drinking represented the social rank on this occasion as

located in Tikina Vilis (*tikina makawa*), but also in Lomaivuna Region to a larger extent. The labourers in the FEA group were treated as people from Lomaivuna Region in this case.

¹⁵⁰ Whoever is present in the place can play the role of *rabe*. There is no definite rule in advance. In some cases, a person in the position to carry a cup of *yagona* may give the cup for *rabe* to somebody sitting near him. In other cases, somebody may request to take the cup for *rabe*. After every person for whom somebody serves as *rabe* has finished drinking *yagona*, there is no certain rule of the order to drink.

follows: Levani as the acting chief of Waidracia held second status;¹⁵¹ and the author as Levani's "son" and a guest from overseas held third.¹⁵² The social rank and the hierarchy on such occasions are reified in the entangled contexts. In this case, they objectified several entangled relationships in which the rank and the hierarchy were immanent, including the context of the *veibatiki* between Lomaivuna and Waidracia, the context between the guest and the host, the context between the (acting) chief of Waidracia and the commoners, and the context between the author as a foreigner and the Fijians, so that they reified a certain hierarchy on this occasion. The distinction between the three for whom somebody had served as *rabe* and the others was first embodied. Then the order of drinking among these three represented a certain social hierarchy. They, as agents, reinterpreted the traditional social relationships in the ritual to reproduce them appropriately at this daily session. Thus, the manners involved in drinking *yagona*, including the seating positions, the order of drinking, with or without *rabe*, embody lots of values in social relationships. Taking account of the fact that each agent objectifies the entangled contexts on each occasion in order to behave consistently and with a certain common form, there must be a certain habitus not only in the individual but also in the collective. Bourdieu postulates the "class habitus", which is commonly acquired and held in each social class. If the "class" forms a "sphere" within which a "spheric habitus" is commonly expressed, we might suppose a "sphere" exists in Fiji as well.¹⁵³

Let us look at another case in which the seating positions as part of the ritual represents the social relationship. On 19th February 2003, Dakuwaqa (D2) and his two children, Iisavani and Julien, came from Australia to Dakuwaqa's (D1) house. Ratu Emosi, who is the chief of Tikina Rara and one of the greatest chiefs in the region, was also present at lunch. Dakuwaqa (D1) was temporarily absent. Hence, there were nine people around the table cloth, including Ratu Emosi, Dakuwaqa (D2) as Dakuwaqa's (D1) brother's son, Iisavani as Dakuwaqa's (D1) son, Julien as Dakuwaqa's (D2) daughter, the author, Varanisese as Laisani's eldest daughter,

¹⁵¹ Although the chief of Waidracia was Nemani, he had been seldom seen in public place. Instead of Nemani, Levani, who was the second eldest man in the chiefly *mataqali*, Mataqali Nagaranikula, was the acting chief of Waidracia in the most cases.

¹⁵² The author had been treated as Dakuwaqa's (D1) son, Laisani's brother and a member of Mataqali Nagaranikula. Even though it is the quasi-relationship, one cannot hold social life without setting oneself in the social relationships in the village. In Fiji, one's brother's son is regarded as one's son. Therefore, the author had been also treated as a son of Levani, who was Dakuwaqa's (D1) brother.

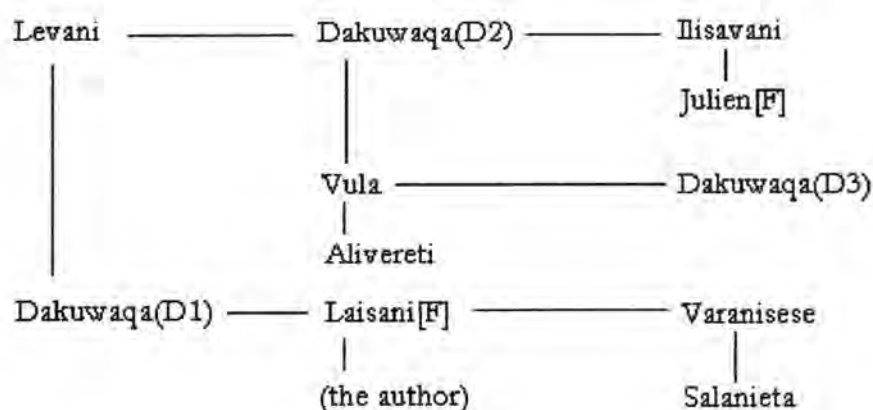
¹⁵³ In Moeran society, for example, the dualism of "land / sea" signifies the cultural organisation of a natural distinction. Sahlins [Sahlins 1976] illustrates that the distinction between these two groups is continually practiced in social life so that this natural elements are given cultural order.

Salanieta as Laisani's second daughter, Dakuwaqa (D3) as Dakuwaqa's (D2) brother's son, and Laisani as Dakuwaqa's (D1) daughter. Ilisavani and Julien are teenagers. They sat as follows.

Figure 6-2: Sitting positions at mealtimes with a chief



Figure 6-3: Simplified family line



Since a great chief was present, everyone looked very tense at lunch. Children such as Salanieta and Dakuwaqa (D3) behaved meekly while Varanise and Laisani were silently cooking with a nervous look. Once Emosi sat in his position, nobody was allowed to go beyond that place. Although the author had been permitted to use the highly ranked doors [Door 1] [Door2], it was recommended he use another door [Door3] at this time. First of all, Ratu Emosi, Dakuwaqa (D2) and his children began to eat. Dakuwaqa (D3) sitting beside Ratu Emosi and Varanise beside Julien were fanning away flies from their eating plates. The others were just sitting silently. After approximately five minutes, Laisani suggested I start eating. As Salanieta was just a small girl, she was told to start eating as well. At this moment, only six people were eating. While Emosi and Dakuwaqa (D2) were chatting while they ate, the others still remained silent. Emosi talked to Laisani once. She replied to Emosi prudently. At one point, Varanise had got something to do beside the beds in the highly ranked space. She went to the space behind not Emosi but Dakuwaqa (D2) while stooping down as low as possible. She returned to her previous position as soon as she finished. Had she not been able to go without passing behind Emosi, she would have asked some small child to go instead. After Emosi finished eating, he sat on the sofa. Then those who had not eaten yet sat in their proper positions to eat. While Emosi was eating, some men came to the house. Alivereti, who is Dakuwaqa's (D2) brother, sat in the position where Emosi had previously sat. When all the men present there including Dakuwaqa (D3) had finished, the women such as Varanise and Laisani finally started. Even after one had finished eating, one could not leave the place as long as Emosi was there. Unless Emosi proposed it, one could not lean against a wall or lay on the floor.

In this case, we can see some entangled contexts as well. Ratu Emosi is the greatest chief. Dakuwaqa (D2) is the acting host of the house because Dakuwaqa (D1) is absent. But Dakuwaqa (D2) is also a guest because he is from overseas. Dakuwaqa's (D2) children, Ilisavani and Julien, are thus treated as guests from overseas. The author is also a guest from overseas as well as a quasi-son of Dakuwaqa (D1). Salanieta and Dakuwaqa (D3) are regarded as small children. While Dakuwaqa (D3) is told to play the child's or woman's role of fanning flies away, small Salanieta is free from taboos to an extent. But as a high school girl, Varanise, is considered to be mature enough to behave the same as other adults such as Laisani. While as a woman she plays the child's or

woman's role of fanning, she is as an adult also required obeying taboos when she tries to go to the highly ranked space. Thus, they objectified at least four entangled contexts in this episode, including the relationship between the chief and commoners, between guest and host, between male and female, and between adult and child. They objectified the entangled relationships in their own context to reify the hierarchy in which Ratu Emosi embodies the foremost status, Dakuwaqa (D2) and his children the second, and the author the third. Especially, the author is not recommended to start eating when Emosi and Dakuwaqa (D2) begin. Nor is it suggested he wait until the other men such as Alivereti start eating later. Although the author's status is commonly the highest in this house, equal to Dakuwaqa (D1), people whose status is considered higher than the author's in their objectified context are present on this occasion. In Firth's concept, there occurs an organisational change. The fact that a Japanese sits with Fijians on such an occasion must be extraordinary and deviates from regular practice. They objectified and reinterpreted this irregular circumstance so that they incorporated it into their own context. The author was given a status between Dakuwaqa (D2) and the other men in the hierarchy formed on this occasion. They thus rectified the extraordinary situation. Entangled social contexts at times of sessions of drinking *yagona* or meals are objectified and reified in a certain form of organisation.

the state of affairs in marriage

Instead of "proper marriage", "run-away marriage" is increasing in contemporary Fiji, even in Waidracia itself. Almost all couples in Waidracia seem to have married by the procedure known as "run-away marriage". However, they still think that one should get married in the proper way. An estrangement between ideal and reality is taking place.

In the proper way, marriage is arranged by the parents. As a boy or girl cannot choose his or her partner, such problems as divorce or extra-marital affairs are liable to occur. In general, the marriage of a person of high status tends to take the proper form, where the father on the groom's side is supposed to bring some *tabua* to ask for a girl at the bride's house. Recently, it is increasingly the case that the parents ask their child's intention in advance of the marriage being arranged.

In the way of the "run-away marriage", a boy and a girl suddenly elope to make their union an

“accomplished fact”. They hide themselves in either house, or count on an older acquaintance that will shelter them to arrange their marriage. Elopement mostly occurs at midnight. The parents on the boy’s side have to manage this situation. The father or an older person in the boy’s social group prepares some *tabua* as soon as possible to beg for atonement and to ask for the girl. Otherwise, the elopement that has not yet been atoned gives vast disgrace and humiliation to the boy’s social group. They have to obtain sufficient *tabua* even by *kerekere* from somebody in the same *mataqali*. All members in the *mataqali* share the disgrace and humiliation caused by the elopement. They need to execute the ritual of atonement, called *bulubulu*, in which they bring the *tabua* to the girl’s social group to beg for forgiveness. In this ritual, the members of the boy’s group admit their fault, apologise for the sin committed, and ask for approval of the marriage. The later the *bulubulu* is executed, the more honour the boy’s social group loses. If the girl’s father or a person in the girl’s social group receives the presented *tabua*, the marriage is sanctioned. Now all is sorted out. From this point, there is no negative aspect to this kind of marriage at all in the social sense, even though it started with an elopement. The sanctioned “run-away marriage” is thought to be much better than a girl becoming an unmarried mother.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the procedure in the “run-away marriage” naturally connotes the social device of *bulubulu*, which transforms the extraordinary state into a regular condition by means of conciliation with *tabua*. But this device is not necessarily natural in Fiji society because marriage has traditionally taken place in the form of the “proper marriage”. Recently, there is the fact that “run-away marriage” has replaced “proper marriage” forcing an economic burden on the concerned parties. We can interpret this as the objectification of the circumstances to generate the social device of *bulubulu*.

Almost all couples in Waidracia were married by means of a “run-away marriage”, including Mosese and Makareta, Dakuwaqa (D1) and Venaisi, and Waisea’s parents. Waisea is their first son but was born before his parents got married. Hence Waisea belongs to his mother’s social group while the other children of his parents belong to his father’s group. This is often the case in a “run-away marriage” where the couple elopes because the girl has become pregnant.

On 23rd March 2003, the elopement of Laisani, who had been the centre of the housekeeping in

¹⁵⁴ This is one of the most serious social problems in contemporary Fiji.

Dakuwaqa's (D1) house, came to light. There were five people living in this house in addition to Laisani, including old Dakuwaqa (D1), his wife Venaisi, three children of Varanise, Salanieta and Dakuwaqa (D3). Varanise was mature enough to manage the housekeeping although she was still a student. Venaisi was also managing the housework but she was in her late sixties. Therefore, Laisani had played a central role in the housekeeping.

There was a man named Jale in his forties in the FEA team working to install electricity. He was married but had been separated from his wife. He had an affair with Laisani. They had had several dates in Suva in which were secret from Dakuwaqa (D1) and the other villagers. On 15th March, I came across Laisani in front of the Suva market. She was alone but looked smarter than usual. On 22nd March, I had a "drinking *yaqona*" session with Dakuwaqa (D1) and Waisea. On that day, Laisani had not appeared in the house. Dakuwaqa (D1) said that Laisani had not come back yet from Suva. As came to light later, Laisani had in fact come back from Suva by bus that evening and had been hiding somewhere in Waidracia. In the very early morning of 23rd March, Laisani secretly came back to her house and woke Dakuwaqa (D1) to say that she was going to elope. Venaisi and Miliakere, who is Dakuwaqa's (D1) brother's [Levani's] daughter, then woke up and gathered together. They attempted to stop Laisani. They said that Laisani should take care of her old parents and the small children. But Laisani chose after all to elope. Laisani and Jale seemed to have made an elaborate plan to run away. After the elopement, they stayed at the house of Sitiveni, who is Jale's relative, just outside Waidracia. On the morning of 24th March, Sitiveni called on Dakuwaqa (D1) and informed him that they were staying at his house. After breakfast, Dakuwaqa (D1) visited Sitiveni's house to attempt to change Laisani's mind. Dakuwaqa (D1) also asked Jale, "If your wife returned, what would you do?" Jale replied, "I would divorce her and get married to Laisani." Dakuwaqa (D1) then told Jale to go back to his village, Vilia, immediately, if he wanted Laisani. They stayed there and went back to Vilia the next day, 25th March, by the 14:00 bus. They have lived in Vilia since then. Jale's father came to see Dakuwaqa (D1) a month later with one *tabua* to explain the circumstances. This is a necessary procedure for the ritual of *bulubulu*. Jale's father came several times because Dakuwaqa (D1), in anger, would not see him. But Dakuwaqa (D1) finally approved the marriage. The ritual of *bulubulu* has not

taken place yet.

Here is another example. An elopement also occurred in Maraia's house in Nasilai on 5th April 2003. Maraia's twenty-year-old daughter, Sarote, had been living in Maraia's house. But it came to light on that day that Sarote had run away. Maraia had told Sarote to go to an employment bureau and to buy something in Suva a few days previously. Sarote had never come back. It was only when an uncle of the boy with whom Sarote had run away with telephoned Maraia the next day, 6th April, to tell her that Sarote and the boy had eloped and that they were staying at his house, that Maraia discovered she had run away. The uncle of the boy tried once to persuade Sarote to go back to her house, but she refused. Maraia said to me, "I have no idea at all what has made Sarote do this. I could not sleep because of my fears. But I now think Sarote may as well do what she wishes because it is her own life." At this stage, the boy's relatives were going to come to Nasilai to explain this circumstance with *tabua* and *yaqona* on the evening of 9th April.

At 19:30 on 9th April, three men, including Atu as the representative of the group, Lai and Dau, who is Maraia's daughter's husband, came to Nasilai. Maraia's daughter, Unaisi, had been married to Dau. Hence, there was already a certain relationship between this and Maraia's group. Lasarusa, who is the headman of Maraia's group, welcomed them. Lasarusa's wife, Maraia and the author were present at Lasarusa's house. There was no unpleasant atmosphere at all. The people on both sides were smiling. Atu and Lasarusa looked to be enjoying their first chat in a long time. Then Atu presented *yaqona* worth about F\$20 to Lasarusa for *sevusevu*, after which Lasarusa made a speech of acceptance. Atu presented one *tabua* to Lasarusa, and then Lasarusa made another speech. After *sevusevu* had been completed, a *tanoa* was prepared. Atu was recommended to sit in the higher-ranked position. Dau and Lai took on the role of serving *yaqona*, sitting just beside the *tanoa*. Lasarusa made a speech while serving *yaqona* to the group, followed by Atu's speech of gratitude. Lasarusa asked Lai to pray. While Lai prayed, everyone closed their eyes and prayed together. They then started drinking *yaqona* in this order: 1. Atu and Lai as *rabe*; 2. Lasarusa and Dau as *rabe*; 3. the author and Maraia as *rabe*. Lasarusa asked his wife whether she wanted to drink. She said, "No, thank you", but drank at last. The *yaqona* used for drinking was brought by Maraia, so the presented *yaqona* was not used. The other people, including the women, in Maraia's

group in Nasilai gathered as the session went on. Although the women sat in the lower-ranked positions, they were allowed to drink *yaqona* on this occasion. Consequently, it was agreed that Lasarusa would keep the presented *tabua* and *yaqona* until Sarote's father, who was going to come, reached Nasilai.¹⁵⁵ He arrived at Lasarusa's house at 12:00 on 10th April. Lasarusa instead of Atu presented the *tabua* and the *yaqona*, which had been presented to Lasarusa by Atu, to Sarote's father for *sevusevu*. Sarote's father accepted and approved it. Now the marriage was sanctioned.

funerals

One day in December 2002 the wife of Ratu Emosi, who is the greatest chief in the region around Waidracia, died. Tikina Rara consists of three villages, Nasavu, Naluwai and Waidracia. Ratu Emosi is the chief of Tikina Rara, and lives in Naluwai. On 10th December, the funeral for Emosi's wife was conducted.

The funeral was on a grand scale. There were a great number of assembled mourners who were dressed in white shirts with black ties. Some wore a jacket. People from Waidracia went to Naluwai in a people carrier. On arrival they sat and waited for a while in a house in Naluwai. A *tanoa* was set. The chief of Waidracia, Nemani, Levani and the chief of the FEA working team sat in the highly ranked positions. There were only people from Waidracia and Naluwai in the house. One of the people from Naluwai made a speech expressing gratitude for the mourning of the people from Waidracia, followed by Levani's reply. During the session, Avorosa, who is Levani's and Dakuwaqa's (D1) cousin, made a speech and presented *tabua*. There were two *tabua* brought from Waidracia to this funeral.

Then they moved to the place of the session outside, where all the mourners from various villages were gathering. Men and women were separated. Only men were in the place of the session while the women moved to various houses to help with cooking, decorating, and so on. In the church in Naluwai, some women and a few men were singing in a choir. Generally speaking, all the male mourners were drinking *yaqona*. The only exceptions were some young people from Naluwai or some related *mataqali*, or even from other villages, who were in a position to work on the preparation for the funeral. As *Mataqali* Naqaranikula, to which Levani,

¹⁵⁵ Sarote's father did not live in Nasilai at that moment.

Dakuwaqa (D1), and the author belong, is also related to Ratu Emosi, some young men from Waidracia in this *mataqali* were engaged in, for example, digging the grave, carrying the coffin and burying the body at various stages in the ritual. During the session at Naluwai, a few people from various villages constantly came to present *tabua* and *yaqona*.

Men began to move to Emosi's house from the drinking place. So did the women from the places where they had been working. In Emosi's house there were fifteen women and two children of the bereaved family sitting in the highest-ranked positions around the coffin. The walls were decorated with *masi*. A *tanoa* was set in the middle, beside which Emosi was sitting. Above the boundary of the *tanoa*, Emosi, Levani and a few more men from various villages were sitting while the other men and women were below the boundary, that is, in the lower-ranked position. In the house, lots of *ibe*, which were presented by the mourners, occupied the spaces. There were too many people in too small a space in the house, so the *ibe* presented were taken out of the room so as to make more space for the mourners.

A minister came to the room. He read the Bible. Then people began to move to church in Naluwai. The young people from Waidracia belonging to Mataqali Naqaranikula carried the coffin. Almost all the women and some men moved to the church while other men went back to the drinking place. In church, a ceremony was held with singing by the choir, Bible reading by the minister, and speeches by a few men reminding the congregation of the deceased. Women were crying with tearful voices. After they prayed, a few children singing and with flowers in their hands left first, followed by the coffin carried by the young people. All the other participants then left, forming a line. They walked towards the grave in single file. The grave was on a hill on the opposite side of the village. Those who had dug the grave and carried the coffin also served as buriers. The flowers and *masi* that had decorated the walls were brought to decorate the grave. Many women and children were present at the burial while most of the men except the buriers were drinking *yaqona* instead.

After the burial, the mourners ate a *magiti* (a feast) in turn. There were more than five or six kinds of dishes mainly made of beef such as beef curry, beef stew, beef bone soup, and coleslaw. Then men went back to the place of drinking *yaqona*. In the evening, they returned to Waidracia with fifteen *ibe*, two *tabua* and a large

portion of fresh beef from the redistribution. According to Oripa, these *ibe* and *tabua* were kept once, and then were going to be brought to Nasavu the following Friday where another funeral would take place.

This is a description of the procedure of a funeral occurring in Waidracia. We will examine the changes in current rituals in the next section.

6-2-2. Transforming practical sense

ritual expenses

With the expansion of social relationships, the number of people involved in a ritual is increasing. The more social relationships are generated, the more wedding ceremonies and funerals will be attended. People are always concerned about bringing *tabua* or *ibe* to a ritual. The hosts are worried about managing the ceremony well. As rituals used to happen in limited areas, the most social group, such as the village or *mataqali*, could autonomously organise the ritual. There was no imbalance between that group's capabilities of managing and "what it should do" in the ritual. However, it has become more difficult for the hosts to accomplish occasional rituals by themselves because the expenses are rising.

On 2nd November 2002, Vula, who was a son of Levani and Oripa, passed away. He was a friend of mine. He lived next to Dakuwaqa's (D1) house with his brother. He sometimes counted on our "drinking *yaqona*" session. His mother, Oripa, appeared to be suffering so much from the grief at the loss of her son that everyone became concerned over her own condition. During the mourning period, ceremonies were held on the fourth, the tenth, the twentieth, the thirtieth, the fortieth, the fiftieth and the hundredth night. The twentieth night's ceremony was held on 20th November. Three women, including Oripa, Oripa's sister and Mosese's mother, had stayed at Vula's house from the burial until the twentieth night. Besides, all the relatives in Waidracia were supposed to gather in Vula's house to share the meal at every breakfast, lunch and dinner until the twentieth night. A daily "drinking *yaqona*" session was also held in Vula's house on most occasions. After the twentieth night's ceremony, the other two women returned to their own house, while only Oripa remained until the hundredth night when the mourning period was over. Male relatives did not shave or cut their hair until the hundredth night. Thus, the twentieth night's ceremony was a turning point in the mourning period. Women cooked special foods for the

magiti, while men were working in different places. Some fished in the River Wainimala to catch lots of tilapia. Others enlarged the kitchen in Vula's house to add an extension to the roof and walls, which had been too humble to cook the large-scale feast. With a generator borrowed from a person who owned the only one in Waidracia, the house had light by electricity. Thus, more than thirty people had the ceremonial food.

How do they raise money for the expenses? The host must provide a sufficient feast for all the gathered guests. Only taro, cassava and tilapia of all the materials cooked for the feast were provided by the hosts themselves. The other materials such as beef, lamb, chicken, and some vegetables were all purchased. Who is supposed to pay? Who did they think should pay? In Fiji, a personal death is treated as a matter for the social group. In this case, death was a group affair. Does Mataqali Naqaranikula have sufficient capability to manage by itself all the rituals? Oripa's narrative about this matter is shown below. Oripa seems to have an "innovative" or "progressive" practical sense in Waidracia as well as being Vula's mother.

Oripa's narrative

On the twentieth night's ceremony of Vula's death, Oripa told me her view on the management of rituals.

We are feeding some cattle or pigs, but they cannot sufficiently satisfy the demands in occasional rituals. As too many ceremonies take place, we are always worried about *magiti*. Whenever any ceremony happens, we will have to purchase cattle and pigs from the Indian farm near the village instead of slaughtering our own ones. Approximately, one cow costs F\$300, and one pig costs F\$100 – 200. The *mataqali* is a unit to organise the ceremony so that it is also a unit to pay money. The *mataqali* keeps some money in stock but it is, of course, insufficient. Hence, each member will be expected to contribute some money individually: for example, Waisea F\$50; Levani F\$50; Lote F\$50; and so on. In this time, I suggested Dakuwaqa (D1) to purchase one cow for the funeral ceremony. But he did not buy anything. Nor did the others. They are always reluctant to contribute money. And in fact, they cannot afford to do so. They readily rely on my son, Dakuwaqa (D2) instead. They always say, “Ask Dakuwaqa (D2).” He had graduated from university, lived in Australia for 25 years, and runs his own business. It is true that he is a rich person. That is why the villagers are always going to ask *kerekere* to him too easily.

I think affairs occurring in the *mataqali* should be sorted out within the *mataqali*. In particular, Mataqali Naqaranikula is the chiefly *mataqali* of Waidracia, Naluwai and Tikina Rara.¹⁵⁶ We have a responsibility to manage affairs for ourselves. In fact, however, we depend on Dakuwaqa (D2) to a larger extent. Although he is, of course, a member of our *mataqali*, he has his own life in Australia. Whatever happens, the villagers would readily ask me to call Dakuwaqa (D2) for *kerekere*. He would accede to it without hesitating. I know it. But we have our own responsibility to sort it out by ourselves. Therefore, I suggested Dakuwaqa (D1) to contribute one cow in the funeral for Vula. Dakuwaqa (D1) is not only an elder member in Mataqali Naqaranikula, but also dead Vula’s uncle. He should do what he can do. Asking Dakuwaqa’s (D2) help should be limited only to the occasion where we cannot afford to manage at all in large-scale ceremony. In such a small-scale case as the twentieth night’s ceremony today, we should, and have to try to, organise it within our *mataqali*.

In the morning today, Avorosa called on me and said, “How about postponing the twentieth night’s ceremony until tomorrow? We don’t have sufficient foods for *magiti* now.”¹⁵⁷ He also asked me, “What about calling Dakuwaqa (D2)?” I replied to him, “No. Ryo has brought some meats and vegetables for the ceremony.”¹⁵⁸ We have sufficient taro, cassava and fish now. We would not need to postpone the ceremony at all.” On Vula’s funeral, ten cattle and three pigs were required on the whole. Dakuwaqa (D2) contributed six cows and one pig of all at that time. Apart from such a big ceremony with vast consumption as funeral or the hundredth night’s ceremony, we have to manage occasional ceremonies such as today’s one within our *mataqali* in Waidracia, without begging for Dakuwaqa’s (D2) support.

As she points out, many villagers in Waidracia seem to rely on Dakuwaqa’s (D2) support too readily, whenever anything is more or less beyond their capability.¹⁵⁹ They seem to hold this practical sense in common. Since the habitus embodying co-operativeness, reciprocity and mutual support is immanent in the Fijian people, they have the particular principle in common that “the Haves” are naturally expected to give or offer their support

¹⁵⁶ *Mataqali* to which the chief of Tikina Rara, Ratu Emosi living in Naluwai, belongs is closely related to Mataqali Naqaranikula.

¹⁵⁷ Insufficiency of foods in occasional ceremony seems to be a chronic problem.

¹⁵⁸ Oripa had, in advance, asked the author to contribute 4kg of lamb, 4kg of potatoes and F\$2 of Chinese cabbage to the twentieth night’s ceremony. A part of the cooperative contribution to which the members are responsible to a more or less extent was thus allocated to the author as a member of Mataqali Naqaranikula.

¹⁵⁹ At this time, Oripa talked to the author about the advance cost. Their *mataqali* as a host should prepare for the feast for funeral. At the point to plan to organise the funeral in advance, Oripa and the other elders wished Dakuwaqa (D2) to help them. Without Dakuwaqa’s support, they could not have held the funeral. And of course, some *tabua*, *yaqona*, and *ibe* were presented by the guests. But it is the matter right in the middle of the funerals, not for the preparation.

to “the Have-nots”. This new practical sense must have been acquired. Yet, the recent diversification of life structures and standards of living has unbalanced this reciprocity. On the one hand, the ritual expenses are rising. On the other hand, diversification is increasing between urban and rural areas. The more such circumstances accelerate, the more such a practical sense may be put into practice.

The number of children who are born and grow up in the town is increasing. Most of them have acquired little knowledge from their own experience about respect for their *mataqali*, the way of *sevusevu*, the proper behaviour in the village (e.g. “proper” clothes, “proper” hairstyle, speaking words “properly” and taboos in the village). Educating them to be able to behave properly in the village is their parents’ responsibility. Unless the children do well when visiting their village, their parents will be laughed at. Even urban dwellers cannot break the relationship with their village or social groups so that they necessarily have opportunities to visit the village. They still think that visiting the village without the proper behaviour is shameful. Living in urban areas has led them to be involved in the monetary economy, to learn the values of capitalism, to enjoy consuming plenty of material goods, to acquire individualistic thoughts, to put less value on relationships with others, to be free of the strict respect for the chief and the troublesome taboos. This urbanised lifestyle has transformed urban dwellers’ practical sense. They have come to distinguish between “good *kerekere*” and “bad *kerekere*”, as we have seen in section 5-2-2 for example. It is one of the practices in their “embodied” habitus, which has been structured and generated through an urbanised lifestyle. Even in rural areas, on the other hand, people with an innovative or progressive practical sense such as Oripa are appearing. The fact is that the ritual expenses are rising beyond the host’s capability. But one must attempt to accomplish what one can do in the objective circumstances with the distinction between what one may rely on “the Haves” for, and what one should not. Oripa interprets the circumstances in such a way. In other words, she reinterprets the attitude suitable towards urban dwellers as “the Haves”, to a certain extent taking account of the urbanised lifestyle and habitus, which urban dwellers have acquired. In addition, such “Haves” as Dakuwaqa (D2) or other urban dwellers still continue to support the management of rituals on some occasions. That fact shows that the traditional principle or habitus still persists in their minds even though they are living an urbanised lifestyle. Their actions signify not only the retention of the

principle in their mind, but also educating their children to acquire such a practical sense.

Since the death of Vula, Oripa had been crushed by grief. She was naturally warm, cheerful and kind to everybody as well as active and innovative in social affairs. Her hearty laughing voice uttered from her massive body was, as it was rather deep for a woman, resonating everywhere in the village. But she seemed to cease laughing once her son had died. I was rather concerned about her physical condition.

On 13th February, 2003, Oripa passed away. At her funeral on 19th February, thirteen cattle and three pigs for the *magiti*, and more than F\$1200 worth of *yaqona* were provided. This vast quantity of items symbolised the fact that she was somebody important.

conclusion

We have seen the transforming forms of ritual. Changing circumstances have caused the scale of and opportunities for ritual to be reduced. Some ritual procedures have been changed. On the other hand, each persisting ritual has involved more people so that the ritual expenses have increased. The imbalances between urban and rural people in their standard of living seems to have transformed Fijian traditional norms such as mutuality, reciprocity and co-operativeness.

However, these changes have been accomplished by human agents, who objectify the surrounding circumstances to reinterpret the context using their practical sense. Two contrastive kinds of habitus, urban and rural, might be thus articulated to each other. We may see the articulating process, enacted by the agent with a more innovative practical sense from the micro viewpoint, and in the system of traditional values that have remained immanent in the Fijian people from the macro viewpoint.

In the next chapter, we will see the process through which the individual as an agent behaves to make the individual habitus ripen while plural individuals' acts in a sphere will converge. The chapter will also describe how such a spheric convergence of habituses in Fiji, which has been formed in association with the system of traditional values, is closely connected with the particular land tenure system in Fiji. We will test some concepts derived from other theories to analyse the collected materials so that the original contribution to knowledge about social change will be clarified.

Ch.7 Social change and tradition

In this chapter, I first set out the theoretical orientation of my thesis, in relation to the ideas of Bourdieu, Sahlins, Thomas and Toren (section 7-1). I then analyse some examples, to show how the principles identified in 7-1 are realised in practice (section 7-2).

Social processes can be understood as the interrelationship between the individual's act as the micro dimension and the society as the macro dimension. Individuals, being the "agents" who choose their acts with an independent mind, construct "practices" in accordance with their own "practical sense" derived from the "individual habitus". The "habitus", structuring the internal system of values as well as incorporating the external system of values, is being reproduced. Bourdieu uses the term "class habitus" to discuss the consistency in individual habituses within a social class. In this chapter, however, I shall try to uncover the processes that lead individual habituses to converge on common purposes. I shall argue that the individual internalises what I shall call the "spheric purposiveness" in a "sphere" into one's own "individual habitus". The "social norm" or the "social standard" is thus structured in the individual's mind to regulate behaviour. In the traditional situation, envisaged by Bourdieu, children acquire their habitus by observing the behaviour of their parents, and reproduce this behaviour as adults. However, in a situation of rapid change, such as we see in Fiji, adults will be revising their habitus as they encounter fresh situations in daily life.

On the other hand, the "practices" made by the "agent" constitute the "events". Social process consists of the accumulation of these "events". Agents in a "sphere" with common "spheric purposiveness" continuously make fresh "practices". Hence, there is not "consistency" but "continuity" in social process.

In this chapter, a dimension of Fijian social life with two states "urban / rural" will be analysed. This criterion will provide us with some of the peculiar features of the Fijian social process. Then the concept of the "system of traditional values" will make it easier to find what determines the Fijian identity. This system consists of two main principles, "respect" and "reciprocity". The Fijians always keep "proper behaviour" based on these principles in their mind. It is this that underlies the typical Fijian personality.

Finally, it will be stated that the system of traditional values depends on the unique institution of land tenure in Fiji. The characteristics of the institution have persisted since Fiji was colonised. Social process has two sides: “innovation” and “persistence” of tradition. The former is understood as “social change”, while the latter forms the “inherited tradition”. As long as the unique institution of land tenure is retained, the system of traditional values in Fiji will remain. On the other hand, the “distinction” in the “objectification” of things in a particular context may result in the “innovation” of tradition through the process of articulation or re-distinction.

7-1. Analysis of social process – society and individual

7-1-1. Macro view

the definition of “sphere”

In this chapter, we will attempt to analyse the relationship between society and individual from the original viewpoint in this thesis, referring to several key concepts and theories that are mentioned in Chapter 2.

Society consists of an aggregation of individuals. The social process is compounded of the accumulation of individual actions.¹⁶⁰ Society is not substantial, while individuals are not independent of society. These two viewpoints of society and individuals are, therefore, the front and backside of the same process. Here we will introduce the dichotomy of the “macro viewpoint” and the “micro viewpoint” so as to make the original analysis in this thesis clear.

Even without referring to the “World-System Theory”, it is obvious that the capitalistic economic system is expanding over the world. Taking account of new direction in globalisation, we can say, more or less, that there would be no region with a closed economic system that has escaped all influences of capitalism. We cannot agree with the purport of the “World-System Theory” that the local economies in “peripheral” areas are involved in the expansion of world capitalism to be integrated in the “World-System”. It is a fact, however, that the capitalistic economic system is developing and spreading under the general tendency of the international economy.

The situation in an island nation in the South Pacific, Fiji, is no an exception. The global stream of

¹⁶⁰ Individual actions are interactions with other people. Through interaction, mutual understanding is negotiated so that convergence of individual habituses may occur.

modernisation and developing capitalism is being brought to Fiji too. Development of the global transportation and communications network has made it easier to collect the latest information everywhere. In contemporary Fiji, some are chatting on mobile phones, while others know the latest world news from the Internet. Some international companies have come to Fiji. Fiji is no longer an isolated island in the South Pacific. This stream has also brought capitalistic ideas and the principle of “market rationality” into Fiji. This is an objective situation. Even though Fiji is still located in an isolated area in the geographic sense, it cannot exist without relating to the global economy.

It is true that, as the “World-System Theory” claims, the expansion of the capitalistic economic system has been extinguishing the peculiarity underlying each local economic system to yield uniformity. The capitalistic economic system with its commodities, money and market has an influence huge enough to drastically transform the traditional indigenous economic system. Nowadays, the monetary economy is spreading over the “peripheral” areas. The infiltration of capitalistic ideas and the principle of “market rationality” is one of the results of the trend toward uniformity.

It should also be noted, however, that modernisation with the expansion of the capitalistic economic system is bringing not only uniformity but also creating local differentia. Differentiae in class, poverty and wealth, the standard of living in urban and rural areas, educational background, ethnicity, and so forth are necessarily involved in the modern society. In this thesis, we define these limitless differentiae in society as “distinctions”, taking account of Bourdieu’s argument.¹⁶¹ The “distinction” is generated through the process of interrelationship between society and individuals. In any phase, there is a difference among each individual behaviour. As Toren points out,¹⁶² individuals are always “social individuals” and “Intersubjectivity is a fundamental condition of human being.” Simultaneously, however, individuals necessarily have personal differentia as human beings. As a result, there is a difference in the “position in society” of individuals in each phase. The “position in society” yields the “distinction”.

¹⁶¹ See [Bourdieu 1984].

¹⁶² See [Toren 1999a: p.2].

We can identify limitless “distinctions” existing in society, depending upon which criterion we take. If we think of the parameter of annual income, we can understand the “distinction” of poverty and wealth. If we take the criterion of residence, the “distinction” of urban and rural inhabitants is provided. Society is not substantial. Neither is the notion of “distinction”. This is conceptual. We can recognise it only by taking a criterion. Yet if we take an effective criterion it can be a useful device for the analysis of the social process.

Individuals placed in a “position in society” by a criterion share a certain set of norms and standards. A society has social norms and social standards, as Firth discusses. On the other hand, there is a certain set of norms and standards shared by the individuals in several phases of “distinction”. For example, British middle class people are caring more about which school they send their children to than working class people are. Generally speaking, punctuality is less important in rural life than in urban life. In this sense, a certain set of norms and standards characteristic of a certain phase is acted out in a particular arena. We can conceptualise a phase where the individuals, sharing this certain set of norms or standards, behave and act. In this thesis, we call this a “sphere”, which we will use as a conceptual device for analysis,¹⁶³ for example the “rural sphere”, or the “urban sphere”.

As long as the social process is made up of activities occurring in time and space, its continuity must be addressed in the analysis. The social process consists of individual behaviour, while the individuals exist in time and space. As a result, it has been one of the most significant subjects immanent in social science to consider how the continuity of society can be grasped. As is mentioned in Chapter 2, Sahlins and Thomas discuss this matter. Sahlins argues that society is substantial, and that the continuity of society is to be obtained through the social structure existing consistently in history. According to Sahlins, society is necessarily unchangeable. With his original concept of the structure of the conjuncture, Sahlins views history as the synthesis of social structure and events. Yet can we find a macro concept of social structure that must be consistent in history? Thomas’ criticism of Sahlins seems valid. If a macro concept of the consistent substance is premised, the extent of changes occurring cannot exceed the limits of the substance of social structure. Thomas rejects the search for what has

¹⁶³ This is not necessarily in correspondence with Barth’s idea of sphere. In his context, this term means a bounded set of goods, which are transacted according to a particular principle of exchange. The concept of “sphere” in this thesis means, however,

consistency in history. He also disapproves of substantial dichotomies such as self-culture / other-culture, and self-history / other-history. According to Thomas, society can be understood only through the process. Things have their meanings only through the process. However, if we rejected all the things that have been inherited from the past, as Thomas thinks, then we would miss any continuity through the social process. When Thomas investigates the process in colonial Fiji, he excludes from his analysis the macro dichotomy of “the colonising side” and “the colonised side”. However, “the colonised side” aside, the Fijians must have internalised certain peculiar values inherited throughout Fijian history. We might agree with Thomas’ assertion that a macro dichotomy such as “the British people on the colonising side” / “the Fijian people on the colonised side” has no meaning when investigating the objectification of things. But it should also be noted that we couldn’t deny macro continuity in the social process. When we examine how the Fijians behaved independently as regards the objectification of things in the colonial era, we cannot ignore the “self-tradition” in Fijian history. The “self-tradition” has continuity.

Toren suggests that systems of values can change on Fiji when they are expressed in action.

Fijian ritual is effective not because it denies the passage of time and the changes that time brings... but because it incorporates change under the rubric of appropriate action.

[Toren 1999a: p.63]

Cultural change such as the coming of Christianity may lead to a reinterpretation of the past that makes it seem consistent with the present. She writes: “What constitutes a living tradition may reveal an extra dimension to the past”,¹⁶⁴ although Fijians must also recognise that other aspects of tradition have changed or been forbidden. According to Toren, values held in the mind are expressed in human actions. She writes that “any idea of human beings entails a theory of mind”,¹⁶⁵ but also that “we literally embody our history, that is our history of our relations with all those others we have encountered in our lives,”¹⁶⁶ and “Mind is evident in bodily praxis.”¹⁶⁷

a phase of “distinction” in society where the individuals share a certain set of norms or standards. This is not concrete, but conceptual. It is more similar to Bourdieu’s concept of “class”.

¹⁶⁴ See [Toren 1999a: p.45].

¹⁶⁵ See [Toren 1999a: p.2].

¹⁶⁶ See [Toren 1999a: p.2].

The individual is not only a “social individual” but also a “human individual”. Toren writes that “the workings of the brain cannot be understood apart from the workings of the nervous system and the body to which they are intrinsic.”¹⁶⁸

The concept of the “sphere” in this thesis can theoretically be supported by Toren’s argument. Social process is made up of individual actions taking place in time and space. In this thesis, we call this accumulation of individual actions “events”. Although social behaviour within a particular sphere of behaviour is generally associated with norms and standards, that does not imply that every one acts in exactly the same way. A “sphere” is the field within which a particular type of habitus is acted out. If the individuals placed in a sphere come to share a certain set of norms and standards, the anthropologist must discover what practical factors have caused this convergence.

The particular form that “events” take derive from the individual objectification of circumstances. “Human individuals” are “social individuals”, as individual action is necessarily negotiated with other individuals. Thus, the individual must take into account their need for other individuals if they are to achieve their ends, and negotiate social relationships. Urban and rural contexts place different demands on people. In the rural context, the individual can only gain rights to land, and help with working that land, through membership of a *mataqali*. Therefore, the individual’s actions must meet the expectations of other members of the *mataqali* if he is to keep their support.¹⁶⁹ In the urban context, much of daily life is conducted through market relations. The individual must learn to act in the appropriate way by observing how others act, and how they react to him.

We suppose that over time members of a *mataqali* are continually renegotiating what they believe to be reasonable demands among themselves. This does not mean that negotiation always starts from the beginning. People always have expectations they bring from previous events. A certain similarity inherited from the past will therefore be reflected in actions reproduced through time. These similarities become apparent when one “integrates” successive cross-sections, or moments in time. Thus, a certain set of norms and standards showing

¹⁶⁷ See [Toren 1999a: p.5].

¹⁶⁸ See [Toren 1999a: p.5].

¹⁶⁹ See [Bourdieu 1977: p163].

historical continuity is inherited in a sphere.

In principle, habitus is defined as social values internalised in individuals. Something is being “structured” in the habitus at the same time that the habitus is “structuring” something. In the micro (individual) sense, social values outside any single individual are being “structured” in the habitus, as that individual tries to imitate what other people are doing. At the same time, the habitus already learnt by the individual is “structuring” his inherent disposition to act in a certain way. However, the anthropologist can see similarities between individual habituses. Taking account of Bourdieu’s argument, in this thesis we call it the “spheric convergence of habituses”.¹⁷⁰ This is the anthropologist’s generalisation, based on observed similarities in the individual habitus. As is obvious when looking at Bourdieu’s introduction of the concept of “class habitus”, habitus could be reflected in a collective dimension.

We cannot postulate that the convergence of habituses in a sphere takes place because there exists something substantial at the macro level, which regulates or controls individuals’ practices. The emergence of convergence is not a priori. In other words, we do not premise that a “collective consciousness”, in Durkheim’s sense, exists. Nonetheless urban dwellers do act, much of the time, with the principle of “market rationality”, while rural people keep in mind more often how their communal life is secured. Such common principles provide the individuals with a certain set of “purposive guidelines” for their actions. Individuals keep it in mind to practise the “purposive acts” that they share in common with others in the sphere. Interaction of different individuals’ “purposive acts” generates a mutual understanding between individuals in the sphere. I refer to this negotiation of mutual understanding as the “spheric purposiveness”. This sense, the “spheric convergence of habituses” is abstract and conceptual. We cannot suggest, for example, “urban dwellers’ actions have a similar tendency because there exists the urban habitus”. Instead, we dare to say that urban dwellers internalise the “urban purposiveness” common in the “urban sphere” so that their actions converge to an extent. Thus, the habitus is expressed in the convergence in the sphere in the macro sense.

¹⁷⁰ Layton explains why the relative consistency in the habitus emerges so that the agents’ patterns of thought and behaviour in the community would converge. According to him, individuals set in certain positions would wish to develop relations of mutual

The individual, objectifying the changing circumstances, takes action. But there would be the difference in the way of actions between spheres. With reference to Thomas' illustration, the criterion of "the colonising side" / "the colonised side" makes it possible to establish two contrastive spheres. This contrast is, however, not substantial. Each individual internalises various "distinctions" caused by the "position in society" in which they participate. Society has various kinds of sphere. This concept of the "sphere" does not imply a concrete and territorial division. For example, it cannot be said that a person physically or concretely belongs to a certain "sphere". The social process is an "integration" of individual actions that occur constantly. The term "sphere" is just an analytic concept provided by a mathematical analysis of the "differentiation" of the social process. In this sense, each "sphere" of "the colonising side" and "the colonised side" reveals to analysis its own convergence of habituses. On the other hand, the individual has limitless sorts of "distinction" within such a broad sphere. Among people who are placed in the sphere of "the colonised side", there would be other internal "distinctions" given by, for example, the ethnic group, the descent group, the place of residence and so forth, to which they belong. Among the Fijians on "the colonised side", a person who belongs to a chiefly descent group may differently objectify circumstances from commoners. The Fijians may have a different set of norms and standards to that of the Indians. There may be a contrast between the system of values among residents of the Lau Group where a Tongan chief used to govern, and residents of Viti Levu. Nevertheless, there will probably be a certain broad convergence of habituses in the sphere identified by the criterion of "the colonised side". We can recognise to some extent a peculiar feature when seeing the events occurring in the sphere of "the colonised side". In this sense, it is useful when analysing the social process to define a certain general sphere, using an appropriate criterion of common behaviour identified by the anthropologist.

distinction of sphere – process of articulation / re-distinction and reproduction

There exist limitless "distinctions" and "spheres" in the social process generated by the individual's "position in society". Within each sphere, the spheric convergence of habituses is formed. In the context of Bourdieu's argument, the individual undertakes "practices" by means of operating in the "practical sense".

support. Through interaction, their strategies would coincide to an extent with the principles of mutual aid in Pellaport. See

As has been emphasised several times, the concept of the “sphere” does not provide any substantial territory nor physical boundary. This is an analytical concept, expressing a stage where a certain “spheric purposiveness” is shared. This is not a concrete concept with either a physical or spatial implication, and can be obtained only by “differentiation” of the social process. Therefore, the individuals, undertaking various practices in actual social life, confront the differentiae of spheric convergence of the habituses. For example, a Fijian person who belongs to a commoner’s descent group in Viti Levu may encounter those who belong to a chiefly descent group, or those who live in Lau Group where people are said to have Tongan values. He may come into contact with Indians, or may be employed by the British who are on “the colonising side”. In actual social life, one may come to know different systems of values from one’s own. As the tendencies of the individual objectification of circumstances are represented in the spheric convergence of habituses, different kinds of spheric convergence of habituses may come across each other in the practicalities of social life. In other words, the “spheric purposiveness” is constantly reproduced through the process of encounter and articulation / re-distinction. Through events occurring constantly by means of the individual objectification of circumstances, each “spheric purposiveness” has an articulation with or distinction from the others. The “sphere” is also being reproduced through the social process.

In order to address the question of continuity, we need to make a practical decision to draw boundaries around selected spheres. We shall take the criterion of “urban / rural” in this thesis so as to analyse two spheres with ongoing systems of values.

As is pointed out in Chapter 4, the “distinction” given by the “urban / rural” criterion would make it easier for us to recognise quite a contrastive and peculiar feature, especially in Fiji. Urbanisation and modernisation have caused population inflow from rural to urban areas in not only Fiji but also most other developing countries. However, the statistics of internal populational mobility in Fiji illustrate a peculiar feature, which is of the considerable outflow of urban population to rural areas. The “distinction” of “urban / rural” gives enormous contrasts in various dimensions of the social process, such as the living environment, the economic system, and the ritual procedure. Generally speaking, urban life is more westernised and less traditional than rural life. In the

general sense, this “distinction” is just one of the limitless numbers of other “distinctions” existing in the social process. In the particular sense of Fiji, however, this could clarify the significance of the analysis of the social process. Above all, the Fijians themselves often distinguish between “urban” and “rural” in mind as well as in action. In this thesis, the particular “distinction” given by the criterion of “urban / rural” could be a guidepost when analysing the social process in Fiji.

The events occurring in the sphere with “urban purposiveness” are made up of the accumulation of individuals’ “practices”, yielded by the operation of “practical sense”. The “urban purposiveness” is, more or less, internalised in the “practical sense” in this context. On the other hand, the events occurring in the sphere with “rural purposiveness” are also made up of the accumulation of individuals’ “practices”, yielded by the operation of “practical sense”. The “rural purposiveness” is, more or less, internalised in the “practical sense” in this context. In the actual entanglements of social life, these “urban convergences of habituses” and “rural convergences of habituses” are being constantly reproduced through the process of articulation or re-distinction. They are, therefore, not consistent but continuous. We can grasp a certain particular feature when investigating these two sorts of habitus. We shall bring up this criterion when analysing social affairs in the various dimensions so as to recognise the peculiarity of Fijian society from the macro viewpoint.

7-1-2. Micro view

definition of the “agent”

The individual is always a “social individual” with limitless “distinctions”. On one hand the individual, placed in a certain “position in society”, takes actions under the regulation of a certain set of norms and standards shared in the “sphere” given by the “distinction”. On the other hand, however, the individual is a “personal individual” as well. Each individual innately or postnatally, acquires his or her own personality, disposition, habits and preferences. In this sense, individuals are different from one another.

As is mentioned above, field research shows that a certain set of norms and standards is shared in a sphere. Its entity forms a certain “spheric purposiveness” with particular features. For example, it can be generally said that urban dwellers have more individualistic values than rural dwellers have, and that the Indians place more

significance upon economic affairs than Fijians do. Those who have taken higher education might want their children to take it too. There might be differentiae of the practical sense between urban Fijian dwellers with a higher educational background and urban Fijian dwellers without as well as urban Fijian dwellers with higher educational background and rural Fijian dwellers with higher educational background. Thus individual habituses vary along several dimensions that are structured in the individual in accordance with his or her "position in society". Although the conceptualisation of the analytical term "sphere" makes it possible to describe the unique features of a certain convergence of habituses, a number of "spheric purposiveness" are actually structured and internalised in complete harmony in the individual.

In the social sense, the individual behaves, taking account of a certain set of norms and standards in the sphere. In the personal sense, on the other hand, the individual behaves in accordance with their disposition. While individuals behave under regulation in the social sense, they behave independently in the personal sense. In this thesis, we call such individuals "agents".¹⁷¹ The "agent" means the individual acting independently. With reference to Bourdieu, in this thesis we define what actually makes the "agent" behave as the "practical sense". The practical sense connotes the norms and standards derived from the experience of "spheric purposiveness" and internalised in the "agent", as well as his or her personal disposition. Among the urban Fijian dwellers with a higher educational background, there also exist personal differentiae. Hence, the "agent" has acquired a unique "practical sense".

Each "agent" yields the "practices" by means of the operation of their own "practical sense". The accumulation of these actual "practices" constitutes the "events". Placed around the entangled "events", each "agent" objectifies and interprets circumstances to give meaning to them. Through this process, the "practical sense" immanent in the "agent" is being reproduced. Afterwards, the "agent" yields the "practices" again by means of the operation of the reproduced "practical sense". The matrix generating this series of the whole process is called the "individual habitus" in this thesis.

¹⁷¹ We should note the different views of "agent" in Bourdieu's and Giddens' arguments. Bourdieu seems to attempt avoid using the term of "agent". Bourdieu is sceptical about the "agent" acting just as it wanted of its own volition. He seems to have a

The "agent" may find different ways to objectify the circumstances of the "events". The individual habitus can never correspond to a single kind of "spheric purposiveness". The "events" are made up of the agents' practices, where each "agent" recognises the differentiae of each individual habitus.

If we test the analytical concept of "sphere" here, however, there can be seen a certain regularity to some extent in the way of objectification by agents in a "sphere", even though it may contain some deviation. This is because the individual habitus is being reproduced within structured circumstances. Personal and innate differentiae aside, urban Fijian dwellers with a higher educational background would, we hypothesise, share a certain particular feature in the form of their practices. The link between the "individual habitus" and "social norms" is crucial. Social norms are not exactly the sum of individual habituses. Social norms imply the need to co-operate to encourage convergence or the need to punish those who fail to honour obligations, etc. A norm is a form of interaction that the participants are expected to agree with. They can express it in words. They are aware of it so that mutual understanding is obtained. Thus individual actions in a "sphere" become converged, which provides the anthropologist with an analysed construct, the "spheric convergence of habituses".

Thus, the "agent", objectifying and interpreting circumstances, undertakes practices using "strategy". Circumstances around the "agent" are constantly changing. The available means to an end around the "agent" may also be transforming in accordance with the changing circumstances. Under such a dynamic condition, the "agent" determines his or her own behaviour through "strategy". Each sphere contains a common series of norms and standards and the accumulated events from the past. Taking account of these accumulated events, each "agent" is aware of each other agent's expected role. The "agent" knows what he or she should do, or what he or she should not do, during a particular phase in time. With this knowledge, the "agent" yields proper practice by means of "strategy".

As Giddens suggests, there is possible room for "uncertainty", which is derived from the discrepancy between the expectation and the practices. It is possible that the practices may deviate from the regular form

determined by the existing norms or provided by the accumulated events from the past. Yet, such deviations also constitute circumstances.

In the course of social interaction, the individual may become aware of discrepancies between his own habitus and those of the people around him. He may also realise his own habitus offers alternative courses of action. Various kinds of “spheric purposiveness” are structured in the individual habitus. When “uncertainty” is internalised in the “agent”, different strategies may be generated. But these strategies are enacted in a sphere of interaction. The actual “uncertainty” causing deviation in individual practices may therefore also generate difference in the sphere. For example, an individual agent may be confronted with the choice between obtaining an object by purchase or gift exchange. At the moment he makes his decision, a “distinction” occurs. Afterwards, some may persist with gift exchange while others copy the new habit of commoditisation. Now articulation of the new practice is taking place. Two types of habitus have arisen.

The “sphere” defined by the “urban / rural” criterion is the main analytical device in this thesis. The form of practices yielded by the “agent” with an individual habitus, which consists of more “urban purposiveness”, will provide a concept of “urbanised lifestyle”. Urban dwellers seek the “urban purposiveness” in actions according to such typical principles as wage labour, individualism and the market economy. On the other hand, the form of practices yielded by the “agent” with an individual habitus, which consists of more “rural purposiveness”, will provide a concept of “rural lifestyle”. Rural villagers will also seek the “rural purposiveness” in actions according to such typical principles as reciprocity, co-operation and appropriate access to land.

In actual social life, individuals may go to a city or return to a village. Some rural people may wish to live in a city for a short term, while other working people may think of returning to a village after they retire. But we cannot simplify matters by considering the former people as being in the “rural sphere” as well as the latter people being in the “urban sphere”. The term “sphere” does not concretely mean a spatial or physical territory. It represents a phase in social life where the “spheric purposiveness” and a certain set of norms and standards are shared. The individual has a number of “distinctions”. The criterion of “urban / rural” is one of the criteria with which one can identify a certain “sphere”. Both rural people going to a city for a week and urban people returning

to a village for an occasional ceremony have, more or less, acquired both the “rural purposiveness” and the “urban purposiveness” in their individual habituses.

7-2. Social change and the invention of tradition

7-2-1. Analysis of the system of traditional values

Fijian identity

The “individual habitus” provides the “practical sense” of the “agent”. In other words, it represents a tendency or preference with regard to the relationship between means and ends during a particular phase in time. Social individuals properly allocate resources when choosing “purposive acts”. Individuals are required to choose “purposive acts” in several phases of social life. It is the “individual habitus” that gives a standard to this choice. The “individual habituses”, personal dispositions and characteristics constitute a unique system of values. Hence, there are differentiae among “agents” in the way they choose “purposive acts” in several phases of social life. For example, if an Indian unexpectedly obtained F\$50, he might save it up. If a Fijian unexpectedly obtained F\$50, he might “waste” it over “grog”. On the other hand, another Fijian in the same situation might buy a few packets of cigarettes and donate the remaining money to a church. How is an “agent” going to allocate the limited resources? The “practical sense” is derived from the “individual habitus”, connoting a system of values.

There are unlimited phases in social life within which to choose acts. The most essential choice of all in social life concerns the existence of human beings. Individuals must reproduce their own existence in social life.

In Fiji, the word *vanua* means the land. As is mentioned below, the word implies not only the land but also what provides the Fijians with their mental identity. The *vanua* has been inherited from their ancestors, which supports their Fijian mentality. It is said that the Fijians live together with their land. None of their social life can exist without this connection with the land. In this sense, the *vanua* is the Fijians while the Fijians are the *vanua*. The *vanua* is, therefore, a mental condition for the existence of human beings in Fiji.

On the other hand, the Fijian rights to land ownership have been admitted permanently, thanks to the policy of the British colonial government. The land is a physical condition for the existence of human beings as well. By means of their inherited land, they earn their living by planting taro and cassava, or fishing. The land is the one

and only means of production as well as productive capital for the Fijians. As long as they own their land, the reproduction of their mind and body continues so that their social life is secure.

There is a system of values that gives a direction in a phase of social life with choices concerning the existence of human beings. This choice is the most essential and significant of all choices in social life. What would individuals put the value on in this phase? How would individuals behave? What kinds of acts should individuals choose? That which gives a direction as to the choices concerning the existence of human beings is called the “system of traditional values” or “traditional purposiveness” in this thesis. In such a phase, individuals would choose a “purposive act” in accordance with a direction given by the system of traditional values.

In the Fijian case, the system of traditional values has been supported by the peculiar land tenure institution. Social life in Fiji is inseparable from the land in both the mental and physical sense. The land secures both mental identity and absolute productive capital for them. Therefore, the principle as to the connection with the land becomes a dominant consideration when facing choices that affect the existence of human beings. Moreover, the contents of the system of traditional values have been consistent to an extent because the basic principle of land tenure has been constant since the colonial era.

As is stated in Chapter 4, the village as an administrative organisation and the *mataqali* as a traditional organisation are the most significant elements in social life in Fiji. None of social life can be conducted without these social organisations. Even though modernisation has caused differentiae in the “life structure”, the system of traditional values that gives mental identity to the Fijians still remains alive in their mind. With the growth of the international market economy diversification of the “life structure” has generated Fijian people who have productive capital other than the land. Without the land, such people can now make a living. Even these people, however, may not ignore the system of traditional values concerning the *vanua* because it gives them a mental identity as Fijians. Even though they no longer need the land that had previously satisfied the physical conditions of existence, they could not cease being the Fijians. Even a rich Fijian businessman who no longer needs the land as the one and only means of production should choose a “purposive act as a Fijian” when he should behave as a Fijian. His identity as a Fijian can be confirmed through undertaking the practices according to the system of

traditional values. As long as the “traditional purposiveness” is one of the “spheric purposiveness”, it has certain continuity in the sphere of the Fijians. On the other hand, the “traditional purposiveness” is deeply connected with the condition of the existence of human beings. The Fijian condition is inseparable from the land tenure institution. In other words, the simple reproduction of the “traditional purposiveness” is supported by the existing land tenure institution. Until the cession of Fiji to Britain, land in Fiji was being more and more stolen by Western settlers through intimidation, swindles and deception. It is said that Sir Arthur Gordon, the first Governor-General of Fiji, commented, “If the Fijians lost their own land, they could not live any more.” He therefore enacted the “Native Lands Ordinance” to give the Fijians permanent rights to land ownership. The Fijians and the land are unified.

reciprocity and respect

In social life in Fiji, the “distinction” in the social organisation has the most significant meaning. While the land provides the condition for the existence of human beings in both the mental and physical sense, the actual social life is conducted by means of units of social organisation such as the *mataqali* or the village. In other words, most of the resources providing the condition for the existence of human beings are concerned with the land, while such resources are actually allocated through the social unit of the *mataqali* or the village. The actual practices undertaken in association with the system of traditional values appear on the stage of the *mataqali*, which represents the concrete descent, and the village, which represents the concrete territory. Each *mataqali* or village has its own norms and standards.

The word *vanua* connotes the concepts of “communal”, “common” and “reciprocal”. The land is managed by the *mataqali* as a descent group, while it exists in and around the village in the territorial sense. The land is, historically and spatially, possessed by the members of the *mataqali* sharing a common ancestor, and by the village sharing a common residence, so that a sense of belonging through a common land is generated. The land is the matrix of history, the point where their ancestors arrived, the place where life has been going on, and the productive capital has guaranteed the basis of living. Individual identity is recognised through belonging to the common land. The sense of belonging to the *mataqali* or the village is derived from the land providing the

individual identity. All the members belonging to the same land have the same source as well, “we are the *vanua* while the *vanua* is us”. Since all practices in social life are yielded by “us”, a unique series of norms and standards are shared in the *mataqali* or the village to which “we” belong. These are the objective conditions that bring about a convergence of habituses within the rural sphere.

Norms and standards are defined as follows: firstly, they are guidelines for conduct based on the particular principles derived from the “spheric purposiveness”; individuals in a sphere are aware of, and agree with them; thirdly, those who deviate from them would be punished; and lastly, these are not real entities in society regulating the individual’s actions but immanent in the “agent”. The agents, taking account of these norms and standards immanent in their habitus, choose their own purposive acts, and support or criticise those of others.

Such unique series of norms and standards exist within the system of traditional values. As long as one is a Fijian, he must acquire the system of traditional values in his mind. Although the “distinction” in the social organisation generates a unique series of norms and standards, such a unique series of norms and standards never goes beyond the “social norms” or the “social standards” underlying in the system of traditional values.

We can postulate two kinds of mentality, “respect” and “reciprocity”, which represent the “social norms” and the “social standards” internalised in all Fijians.

The system of traditional values has strictly determined the traditional hierarchy. Fijian society connotes the hierarchical order strictly determined by rank and lineage. The proper manner of behaviour is determined according to several standards of “distinction” such as descent, age, and sex. Even though the traditional hierarchy with paramount chiefs has transformed, it is still re-interpreted and retained according to several contemporary situations, as was examined in Chapter 6. “Respect” is significantly recognised as the principle that regulates behaviour in the face of others. One has to behave with “respect” in the face of others according to one’s rank. With “respect”, the traditional hierarchy has been properly reified in accordance with several contemporary situations.

The land is, mentally and physically, shared. The actual practices occurring on the land in social life are also made reciprocally. As the *vanua* implies communal and co-operative concepts, private and individualistic acts

never take place in social life. Acts realised through the unit of the *mataqali* or the village are, therefore, always social. Besides, the principle of these acts necessarily implies the "reciprocity" such as reciprocal or co-operative support.

It could be supposed that the principle of "respect" and "reciprocity" significantly constitutes the system of traditional values shared by all Fijians whose conditions of existence lie in the communal land. Whenever and wherever the Fijians are, they take account of the principle of "respect" and "reciprocity" in choosing their acts. They are aware of how they should properly behave in a situation. Ravuvu shows four kinds of essential concepts in which the idea of mutual care and sharing can be embodied: *veivukei* (offering a helpful hand); *veinamumi* (the act of being considerate); *veilomani* (loving and friendly with one another); and *duavata* (togetherness) or *yalovata* (of the same spirit).¹⁷² As long as one acts in accordance with these concepts, the social relationships in social life keeps well organised and well ordered. Simultaneously, these concepts consciously or unconsciously regulate one's behaviour. Now one knows how one "should" and "should not" act in social life. So do others. The system of traditional values gives the Fijians a set of ideal, proper and suitable ways of behaving. Ravuvu illustrates the ideal personality for the Fijians as *vakaturaga*, which implies these four dispositions.

Fijians use a number of concepts to describe personality. The most important and commonly used term for ideal behaviour is *vakaturaga*. It denotes firstly that one's actions and characteristics befit the presence of a chief. It includes *veidokai* (respect), *vakarokoroko* (defence), *vakarorogo* (attentive and complying), *yalo malua* (humble). ... An individual who is labelled *vakaturaga* in his behaviour knows his place in the society and complies unquestioningly to his various traditionally defined obligations and responsibilities. ... He should also act *vakaturaga* in his interaction with people who are socially lower than him, or with whom he has little known established customary relationship.
[Ravuvu 1983: p.103]

Kerekere is a form of act representing the system of traditional values that gives a significant direction to their choice of practices in the economic dimension. As long as the *vanua* connotes communal, common and reciprocal ideas, private and individualistic values cannot coexist with the system of traditional values. It is the basis of reciprocity, to offer support if one is asked.

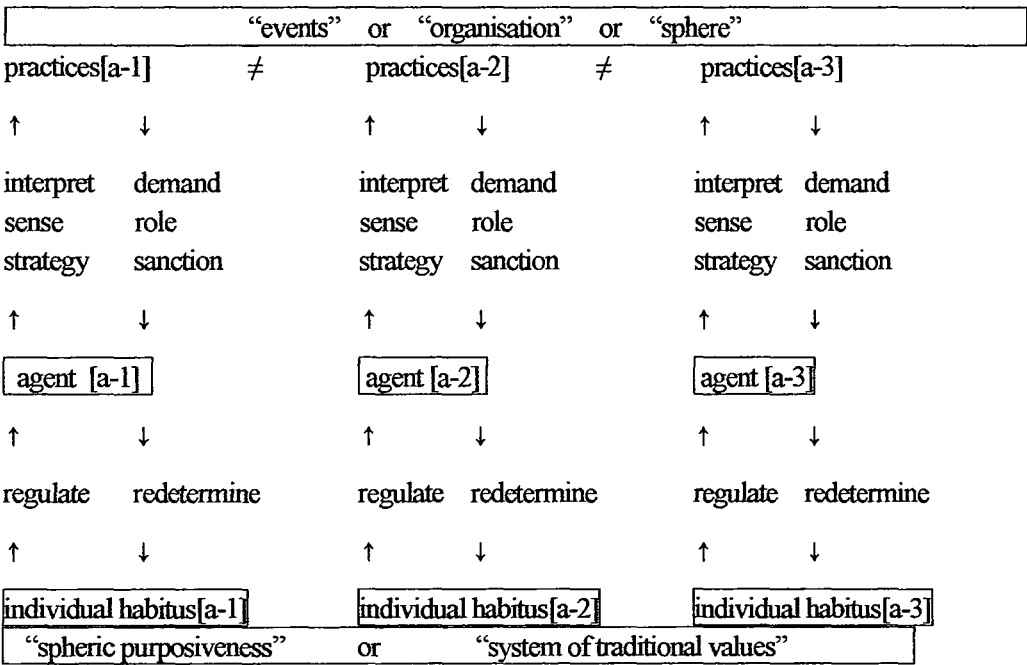
¹⁷² See [Ravuvu 1983: p.82].

It has already been pointed out that “distinction” in the social organisation has significance in making practices in social life. Most of the social practices are conducted through the organisational unit of the *mataqali* or the village. There is a certain series of norms and standards in each organisation, without going beyond the “social norms” or the “social standards”. Since all acts appear as social acts on the stage of the *mataqali* or the village, one might suppose that all of the participants are required to share the series of norms and standards. However, it occurs in actual life that a “heterogeneous” person who does not share such norms and standards does take part in the conduct. A guest from a distant village may come to a wedding ceremony. A foreign tourist may visit a village. In a phase in social life where individuals are required to choose a practice in association with the system of traditional values, all the participants must share the common context. The “distinction” in the social organisation must be dissolved so as to behave properly applying the principles of “respect” and “reciprocity” in front of others. If others remained “heterogeneous”, one could not “respect” them. If others were in a different context, the principle of “reciprocity” would not work well. Actually, others share the system of traditional values in common. Therefore, a device to dissolve the “heterogeneous” context, derived from the differentiae in each series of norms and standards caused by the “distinction” in the social organisation, is required. This is the *sevusevu*. Through the *sevusevu*, the host dissolves the guest’s “heterogeneity” so as to allocate the guest a place in the local context. Once the *sevusevu* is completed, the guest is no longer a “guest”. He is now a member of the same social organisation sharing the same norms and standards. One can behave properly applying the principle of “respect” and “reciprocity” towards a guest in the same context. Needless to say, the *sevusevu* is just a ritual device to dissolve the “distinction” in the social organisation. The guest’s actual *mataqali* or village will never change by the *sevusevu*. However, the “distinction” in the social organisation must be dissolved in a phase of choices of practices the based on the system of traditional values, because individuals must “socially” behave there as the Fijians.

7-2-2. Analysis of concrete materials by a model

a formalised model

This is a model, using several analytical concepts employed in this thesis, which represents the integrating mechanism of the macro and the micro dimension in the social process.



interpretation of an “object” to make practices

1. an “object” appears in a “sphere”
2. an “agent” in the “sphere” objectifies and interprets this “circumstance” with the “object”
3. the interpretation firstly depends on the agent’s “knowledge”
4. the accumulation of “events” in the past provides the agent with the “knowledge” about the “object”
5. the interpretation secondly depends on the agent’s “disposition” or the “individual habitus”
6. each agent has their own “disposition” and “personality”
7. the interpretation thirdly depends on norms or the “spheric purposiveness” underlying the “sphere”
8. there is a particular series of norms in each “sphere”
9. the agent interprets this “circumstance” to make “practices” according to this context
10. agents’ “practices” constitute the “events”
11. the “events” re-constitute the “spheric purposiveness” in the “sphere”
12. the information of “how the agent behaves against the object” is also reflected in the “spheric purposiveness”
13. the reproduced “spheric purposiveness” is structured and internalised in each agent’s “individual habitus”
14. agents in the “sphere” determine their own “strategy” according to their “role” and others’ “practices”
15. a certain regular form of “practices” is thus yielded by agents in the “sphere”

analysis of some concrete examples

We shall analyse some concrete examples illustrated in this thesis by means of this model. The individual reaction to an “object”, an “idea”, a “situation” and an “act” is reflected in the macro system of values. The process is explained below.

Example① : a billiard table is set – interpretation of an “object” to make “practices”

One day in Waidracia, a billiard table is set. Levani, who is a primary school teacher in Vunidawa, builds an exterior terrace onto the main house to set this table. An Indian owns and manages this table. One needs a 20¢ coin to play a game. After the game, the inserted coin is stored in a box under the table. The Indian owner comes to open the box to check the stocked coins once a month. Levani gains a half of these coins. This kind of billiard table is so popular in cities or some villages that people in Waidracia are already aware of what billiards are. This is the first time to set a billiard table in Waidracia. Formerly, some young people went to some villages to play where there were such a billiard table. Yet, everyone in Waidracia can enjoy it now without going somewhere. Billiard is one of the precious pleasures in rural life. Some people from neighbouring villages often come to play billiard. Something of a boom of billiard has come to Waidracia.

In the case of Varanise (17/F)

She looks quite mature for her age. She is also at a difficult age. Sometimes she pretends not to obey the elders. She has some experience in playing billiards. She becomes much interested in the billiard table set in Levani's house. She often plays with boys and girls of the same generation. She is prudent if adult men are around the table. But she sometimes plays stealthily even with some adult men if there is nobody present who would reprove her. If she becomes caught in the act of playing billiards in such a situation, she is warned. She accepts the warning without protesting in such a case.

interpretation of an “object” to make practices

1. **“billiards”** appears in the “sphere” of **Waidracia**
2. **Varanise** in the “sphere” objectifies and interprets this “circumstance” with **“billiards”**
3. the interpretation firstly depends on **Varanise’s** “knowledge”
4. the accumulation of “events” in the past provides **Varanise** with the “knowledge” about **“billiards”**, because **she has experiences of playing it before**
5. the interpretation secondly depends on **Varanise’s** “disposition” or the “individual habitus”
6. **Varanise** has her own “disposition” and “personality”, including **“she wants to play as much as possible”**
7. the interpretation thirdly depends on the norms or the “spheric purposiveness” underlying in the “sphere” of **Waidracia**
8. there is a particular series of norms in the “sphere” of **Waidracia**, including **“pleasures such as billiards should be played according to the situation”**
9. **Varanise** interprets this “circumstance” to make “practices” according to this context, including **“she would not care to be openly with adult men, but would also let loose to an extent if nobody reproves her”**
10. the agents’ “practices” constitute the “events”
11. the “events” re-constitute the “spheric purposiveness” in the “sphere” of **Waidracia**
12. the information of “how **Varanise** behaves against **billiards**” is also reflected in the “spheric purposiveness”
13. the reproduced “spheric purposiveness” is structured and internalised in each agent’s “individual habitus”
14. agents in the “sphere” of **Waidracia** determine their own “strategy” according to their “role” and others’ “practices”
15. a certain regular form of “practices” is thus yielded by agents in the “sphere” of **Waidracia**

In the case of Dakuwaqa (67/M)

He is the third eldest man in Mataqali Naqaranikula so that he has the third highest status in Waidracia. He is calm, taciturn and conservative. He is a devout Christian. He would not miss any of his daily morning and evening prayer, which other ordinary Christians are apt to skip over. He is too strict to tolerate inappropriate behaviour or manners. While he feels a bit disgusted by the drastic changes brought by modernisation, he is interested in new electric appliances. He has no interest in billiards at all. He does not want to play it. Rather, he feels unpleasant when he sees young people playing billiards until midnight. He lives with his grandchild, Varanise, in his house. As he is the only adult man in his house, he plays a role in reproving Varanise. Since he is always too strict, he is often kept at a distance by Varanise.

interpretation of an "object" to make practices

1. **"billiards"** appears in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**
2. **Dakuwaqa** in the "sphere" objectifies and interprets this "circumstance" with **"billiards"**
3. the interpretation firstly depends on **Dakuwaqa's** "knowledge"
4. the accumulation of "events" in the past provides **Dakuwaqa** with the "knowledge" about **"billiards"**, because **he has seen it before**
5. the interpretation secondly depends on **Dakuwaqa's** "disposition" or the "individual habitus"
6. **Dakuwaqa** has his own "disposition" and "personality", including **"he does not want to play it at all"**
7. the interpretation thirdly depends on the norms or the "spheric purposiveness" underlying in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**
8. there is a particular series of norms in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**, including **"pleasures such as billiards should be played according to the situation"**
9. **Dakuwaqa** interprets this "circumstance" to make "practices" according to this context, including **"it should be obeyed that one avoids playing billiards if a meeting is held, if there are older people, and is in early morning or midnight, and that Varanise plays with adult men together"**
10. the agents' "practices" constitute the "events"
11. the "events" re-constitute the "spheric purposiveness" in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**
12. the information of "how **Dakuwaqa** behaves against **billiards**" is also reflected in the "spheric purposiveness"
13. the reproduced "spheric purposiveness" is structured and internalised in each agent's "individual habitus"
14. agents in the "sphere" of **Waidracia** determine their own "strategy" according to their "role" and others' "practices"
15. a certain regular form of "practices" is thus yielded by agents in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**

In the case of Waisea (38/M)

People at his age are expected to take leadership in doing something in the village. Waisea is one of the leading men in Waidracia. He has innovative thoughts with a broad viewpoint. He is a pastor and sometimes takes command of choir practice. He got an idea to found a canteen, which is now managed by him. He is interested in something new. Even though he has not seen something, he can comprehend it from one's explanation. For example, he seems to understand what the Internet is when the author explains it. Whenever the author asks him about something in Waidracia, Waisea always tries to explain. He is good at everything, including billiards. He is one of the men who have played billiards quite frequently. He often played it until midnight, but he later came to refrain from playing until midnight.

interpretation of an "object" to make practices

1. **"billiards"** appears in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**
2. **Waisea** in the "sphere" objectifies and interprets this "circumstance" with **"billiards"**
3. the interpretation firstly depends on **Waisea's** "knowledge"
4. the accumulation of "events" in the past provides **Waisea** with the "knowledge" about **"billiards"**, because **he has played it before**
5. the interpretation secondly depends on **Waisea's** "disposition" or the "individual habitus"
6. **Waisea** has his own "disposition" and "personality", including **"he wants to play billiards even at midnight"**
7. the interpretation thirdly depends on the norms or the "spheric purposiveness" underlying in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**
8. there is a particular series of norms in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**, including **"pleasures such as billiards should be played according to the situation"**
9. **Waisea** interprets this "circumstance" to make "practices" according to this context, including **"he firstly thought it sanctioned to play billiards even at midnight, but he later changes his mind and tries to refrain from billiards at midnight because of the elder's notice"**
10. the agents' "practices" constitute the "events"
11. the "events" re-constitute the "spheric purposiveness" in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**
12. the information of "how **Waisea** behaves against **billiards**" is also reflected in the "spheric purposiveness"
13. the reproduced "spheric purposiveness" is structured and internalised in each agent's "individual habitus"
14. agents in the "sphere" of **Waidracia** determine their own "strategy" according to their "role" and others' "practices"
15. a certain regular form of "practices" is thus yielded by agents in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**

Example② : Mosese, selling fish – interpretation of an “idea” to make “practices”

In the River Wainimala flowing beside Waidracia, river fish such as Tilapia can be captured. There are no commercial fishermen in Waidracia. Some occasionally fish by fishing net or a fishing rod. Others dive into the river to spear fish. Fish catch is uncertain, depending on the river condition. If one captures too much fish for one's household, he cannot keep the surplus because nobody has a freezer. Therefore, captured fish must be consumed during the day of catch. If one obtains surplus, he will gift his neighbourhood with it. Recently, however, there are emerging people who sell surplus fish in Waidracia. This tendency becomes more and more general nowadays.

In the case of Mosese (29/M)

He has been a devout Christian since he heard the word of God. He devoted himself to his religion and became a pastor. He loves tradition. He prudently pays careful attention to his surroundings. He takes good care of his family, including his two young children. He does not miss any of his daily work on his farm, while he sometimes reads a book in his spare time. On the other hand, he likes pleasures such as playing billiards or watching a rugby game the same as other people of his generation do. One day, Mosese bought a fixed net for fishing. He started fishing with the fixed net. He has gained a certain catch of fish since that day. Besides, he has also gained surplus more or less. Although he is aware of some people selling fish, he takes little interest in doing such an “innovative” act as selling fish within Waidracia. He still thinks that those who have fish should gift them to those who do not. One day, a woman living in a settlement near Waidracia came and asked him to sell his fish. Mosese finally decided to sell fish to her because she is not a villager from Waidracia.

To avoid repetition, we will sum up each interpretation from the next example succinctly.

interpretation of an “idea” to make practices

Mosese in the “sphere” of **Waidracia** objectifies the “circumstance” of “**selling surplus fish**”. He thinks that **the villagers should be reciprocal within the village**. On the other hand, “**selling something within the village**” could be sanctioned in **Waidracia**. **Mosese** interprets this “circumstance” to make “practices” according to this context, including “**he finally decides to sell fish to a woman living in a settlement near Waidracia, with little interest**”. The “events” re-constitute the “spheric purposiveness” with the information of **how Mosese has behaved** in the “sphere” of **Waidracia**.

In the case of Makareta (25/F)

Makareta is Mosese's wife. She is always cheerful and talkative. She likes to gossip here and there in the village. She has a strong curiosity about whatever she does not know. When an Indian came to Waidracia by car to sell some clothes, she quickly found it and rushed towards the car shrieking merrily. She looks as if she still remains in her girlhood, whereas she is actually a mother with two children. She has proposed that Mosese should sell his surplus fish. She takes it for granted that Mosese will sell fish to those who want it even within Waidracia. She intends to save the money in order to buy a new carpet in the future. But at this moment, she obeys Mosese's direction.

interpretation of an "idea" to make practices

Makareta in the "sphere" of **Waidracia** objectifies the "circumstance" of "**selling surplus fish**". She thinks that **she wants to extend Mosese's business to sell surplus fish in order to save money**. On the other hand, "**selling something within the village**" is sanctioned in **Waidracia**. **Makareta** interprets this "circumstance" to make "practices" according to this context, including "**she thinks she should obey her husband's opinion at this moment**". The "events" re-constitute the "spheric purposiveness" with the information of **how Makareta has behaved** in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**.

In the case of a woman living in a settlement near Waidracia

The author does not know her details. There are a primary school and a secondary school approximately 1km from Waidracia. The teachers and their families are given a house. The houses are gathered next to the school buildings to form a settlement. The woman lives there. Lots of people are usually coming and going from Waidracia to this settlement so that residents in this settlement are well known to people in Waidracia. She heard that Mosese had gained surplus fish since he started fishing by a fixed net. As only a few people fish, those who do not fish cannot obtain fish. There is also no shop selling fish around the settlement. She wants to eat fish daily, but she has no means to obtain fish for herself. When she knows Mosese has surplus fish, she asks Mosese to sell fish regularly. Then she becomes a regular customer of Mosese.

interpretation of an "idea" to make practices

A woman in the "sphere" of **Waidracia** objectifies the "circumstance" of "**selling surplus fish**". She thinks that **she wants fish even though she pays money for it**. On the other hand, "**selling something within the village**" is sanctioned in **Waidracia**. **The woman** interprets this "circumstance" to make "practices" according to this context, including "**she is better to ask Mosese to sell fish, and to become his regular customer**". The "events" re-constitute the "spheric purposiveness" with the information of **how the woman has behaved** in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**.

Example③ : the nature depending on Dakuwaqa (D2) – interpretation of a “situation” to make “practices”

With ritual expenses increasing, it becomes more and more difficult to manage occasional ritual only by the mataqali or the village. In Waidracia, it has become serious how to contrive ritual expenses on increasing occasions. However, Dakuwaqa (D2), who has been successful as a businessman in Australia, belongs to a chiefly mataqali, Naqaranikula. Whenever occasional ritual takes place, villagers readily expect Dakuwaqa (D2) to fund ritual without hesitation. Diversification of life structure between urban and rural residence has enlarged the contrast between “the Haves” and “the Have-nots”. Villagers in Waidracia are acquiring the nature depending on Dakuwaqa (D2) as the representative of “the Haves”. On the other hand, Dakuwaqa (D2) often accedes to the request to send money in occasional ceremonies.

In the case of Avorosa (60/M)

Avorosa is one of the elders in Mataqali Naqaranikula. He sometimes takes command of affairs related to the mataqali. With a typical “rural view”, he takes it for granted that “the Haves” should support “the Have-nots”. One day, Mataqali Naqaranikula has to manage a ceremony. Avorosa comes to Dakuwaqa’s (D2) mother, Oripa, as usual. He proposes that Oripa should ask Dakuwaqa (D2) to fund the ceremony.

interpretation of a “situation” to make practices

Avorosa in the “sphere” of **Waidracia** objectifies the “circumstance” of “**how to gain ritual expenses**”. He thinks that **it will be all right if only Oripa asks Dakuwaqa (D2) to fund it**. On the other hand, **all the members in Waidracia should contribute to their mataqali**. Avorosa interprets this “circumstance” to make “practices” according to this context, including “**we are better to ask for Dakuwaqa’s (D2) support because we have traditionally helped each other within the mataqali**”. The “events” re-constitute the “spheric purposiveness” with the information of **how Avorosa has behaved** in the “sphere” of **Waidracia**.

In the case of Oripa (65/F)

Oripa is Dakuwaqa’s (D2) mother. She has the ability to comprehend things in a broad way, different from a typical “rural view”. She is also active, kind and virtuous. She is aware that occasional rituals cannot be managed only by the members of Mataqali Naqaranikula living in Waidracia. However, she feels it inappropriate for the members to depend on Dakuwaqa (D2) so readily on every occasion. They can rely on Dakuwaqa (D2) in some cases. But in other cases, they should attempt to manage it as much as possible. In her opinion, asking for Dakuwaqa’s (D2) support should be limited to large-scale rituals.

interpretation of a “situation” to make practices

Oripa in the “sphere” of **Waidracia** objectifies the “circumstance” of “**how to gain ritual expenses**”. She thinks that **the members should not rely on Dakuwaqa (D2) too readily**. On the other hand, **all the members in Waidracia should contribute to their mataqali**. Oripa interprets this “circumstance” to make “practices” according to this context, including “**we can ask Dakuwaqa (D2) for his support only for large-scale rituals, but we should attempt to manage the other rituals by ourselves to some extent**”. The “events” re-constitute the “spheric purposiveness” with the information of **how Oripa has behaved** in the “sphere” of **Waidracia**.

In the case of Dakuwaqa (D2) (forties/M)

Dakuwaqa (D2) is the eldest son of Oripa. He has graduated from university, rare experience among rural people. He belonged to the Australian army. After his discharge from the military service, he succeeded as a businessman in Australia. Mataqali Naqaranikula is the chiefly mataqali in Waidracia. His father, Levani, is the second eldest man in Mataqali Naqaranikula. Hence Dakuwaqa (D2) knows his expected role in Mataqali Naqaranikula. He comes back to Waidracia several times a year with plenty of gifts such as new clothes. He often accedes to the villagers' request to send money to support the occasional ritual.

interpretation of a "situation" to make practices

Dakuwaqa (D2) in the "sphere" of **Waidracia** objectifies the "circumstance" of "**how to gain ritual expenses**". He thinks that **he should accede to the villagers' request as a member in Mataqali Naqaranikula**. On the other hand, **all the members in Waidracia should contribute to their mataqali**. **Dakuwaqa (D2)** interprets this "circumstance" to make "practices" according to this context, including "**he appropriately attempts to support the management of the occasional ritual to some extent**". The "events" re-constitute the "spheric purposiveness" with the information of **how Dakuwaqa (D2) has behaved** in the "sphere" of **Waidracia**.

Example④ : the tendency of urban dwellers to return their village – interpretation of an "act" to make "practices"

Even urban dwellers keep close ties with their village or mataqali. On occasions such as Christmas, Easter, and important ceremonies such as weddings or funerals, they return to their village. They commonly contribute to their mataqali by means of sending money. Even people born and living in city are educated by their parents to acquire proper behaviour and knowledge about their registered village so that they cannot live without any connection with their village. Some are succeeded to make a higher salary in city, while others give up living in city where life costs highly to return to their village. One needs to be, more or less, independent as a "homo-economicus" in urban life. If one comprehends this and acquires the sense of "market rationality", one seems to find oneself absorbed in urban life.

In the case of Seini (38/F)

Seini has made a high salary in Suva. She temporarily lives in Nasilai to recuperate after she lost her health. She has been educated only in the city since her childhood. She declares that she is not a villager. She has changed her job several times. The reason is simply to get a higher salary. As she has graduated from a university, she takes it for granted that she should make a higher salary. She feels that rural life is too troublesome and not suitable for her. She would never live in the village permanently.

interpretation of an "act" to make practices

Seini in the "sphere" of **city** objectifies the "circumstance" of "**whether one keeps on living in the city, or returns to the village**". She thinks that **she will never give up living in city, where one can obtain everything with money**. On the other hand, **one as a 'homo-economicus' should independently make one's living in the city**. **Seini** interprets this "circumstance" to make "practices" according to this context, including "**she wants to obtain a job with a higher salary to keep her urban life**". The "events" re-constitute the "spheric purposiveness" with the information of **how Seini has behaved** in the "sphere" of the **city**.

In the case of Seremaia (23/M)

Seremaia is Maraia's nephew, living in Nasilai. He is intelligent and kind. He speaks English fluently. He has experience of working in the Ministry in Suva for three years. When he quitted his work, he did not attempt to find another job. He chose to abandon urban life with its higher cost, and to return to Nasilai. Life in the village is so comfortable that he is perfectly satisfied with it. He thinks that he will not quit living in the village so as to move to the city in the future.

interpretation of an "act" to make practices

Seremaia in the "sphere" of the **city** objectifies the "circumstance" of **"whether one keeps on living in the city, or returns to the village"**. He thinks that **he prefers the rural of life at ease to the urban life with the higher costs**. On the other hand, **one as a 'homo-economicus' should independently make one's living in the city**. **Seremaia** interprets this "circumstance" to make "practices" according to this context, including **"he keeps on with his rural life permanently without obtaining any jobs in the city"**. The "events" re-constitute the "spheric purposiveness" with the information of **how Seremaia has behaved** in the "sphere" of the **city**.

In the case of Domole (32/M)

Domole lives in Nadoi village neighbouring Nasilai. It takes only a ten-minute walk to go to Nadoi from Nasilai. He is lively and wise. He works as a "reliever" at the School of Nurse in Suva, he will work for the following three months after his absence of the previous three months. He is also selling cigarettes and yaqona in Nadoi and saving the profits. His saving scheme is quite clear. He has purchased several pieces of furniture because of his scheme. He seems more eminent in his economic sense as he memorises a balance sheet regarding his selling.

interpretation of an "act" to make practices

Domole in the "sphere" of the **city** objectifies the "circumstance" of **"whether one keeps on living in the city, or returns to the village"**. He thinks that **he will not give up working in the city, where he can earn more money than by selling in the village**. On the other hand, **one as a 'homo-economicus' should independently make one's living in the city**. **Domole** interprets this "circumstance" to make "practices" according to this context, including **"he keeps to being a 'reliever', while he sells groceries in Nadoi"**. The "events" re-constitute the "spheric purposiveness" with the information of **how Domole has behaved** in the "sphere" of the **city**.

7-2-3. Persistence and innovation of tradition

social change

In the face of an “object”, an “idea”, a “situation” or an “act” in a particular context, individuals as “agents” choose their “practices”. As analysed in the previous section, there are differentiae in the way they “objectify” circumstances and undertake practices. These differentiae will be included in the spheric convergence of the habituses, which is newly reproduced through the process of articulation / re-distinction among the differentiae in the sphere. Where agreement is reached, we can speak of a renegotiated “spheric purposiveness” expressed as norms and standards that will regulate the individuals again. The social process is compounded by the constant repetition of this process. And we can grasp “social change” in the entire process.

In Waidracia, a person appeared who intended to earn some money by providing a billiard table, while others attempted to sell fish that used to be gifted. This “idea” resulted in the spread of the sense of “market rationality” in Waidracia. In the questionnaire conducted in Waidracia, I included a question that asked “If electricity comes in the future, what will be the best thing for you?” One villager answered, “I will buy a freezer so as to sell ice blocks.” Selling within Waidracia at present includes no more than *yaqona*, cigarettes and some groceries. If electricity comes, however, other things may become commodities. The spread of monetary exchange with commodities may weaken the communal bond. Individuals are related to each other directly through the medium of things in the community. The more that monetary exchange for commodities is spread, the more indirect the relationships among individuals will become. The “rural purposiveness” will also be transformed. It will come to connote more individualistic values and a sense of “market rationality”. Such “social change” is gradually generated through the interrelationship between individuals and the negotiation of consensus.

We can see interesting differentiae in the viewpoints on education. In Waidracia, on the one hand, there is little concern about education, except among a few people. These have certain knowledge that people with a higher educational background may obtain a better job. In fact, however, the practical desire and attempts to take higher education are not necessarily growing. Financial constraints are one factor. Standards of living in rural

areas are generally low. It needs considerable amounts of money to live in the city to study for higher education. Most student grants are held by urban students. Whereas some provincial grants are available for residents in the provinces with priority, however, rural people seem little interested in them so far. When the author participated in a *tikina* (district) meeting in Naluwai, a provincial official announced such a student grant in order to persuade children to apply. But the villagers present looked little interested. Waisea and Oripa said to the author in deploring tones, "Parents should have made good use of such grants more and more. Why are they so little concerned?" Actually, not a few students in Waidracia have given up going to school because of their failure in exams. The practical sense that one may as well enjoy a tranquil life as go industriously to school seems to be greatly internalised in them.

In the city, on the other hand, residents seem to be more concerned about education. Generally speaking, parents who have taken higher education tend to expect their children to do the same. In the questionnaire for urban residents, the author asked, "Why do you want to keep on living in the city?" Most respondents replied, "Because the educational environment is much better than in the villages." Some answered, "I will raise my children in the city. It would be better for them rather than growing up in the traditional community in the village." Such kinds of practical sense and practice constitute the "urban convergence of habituses".

Some urban dwellers continue to live in the city, while others return to their villages. One of the primary considerations seems to lie in whether one can secure a steadfast livelihood in the city. In the city, as an independent "homo-economicus", one has to earn one's living. Most people coming from villages have failed to secure permanent employment so they will return to their villages. However, some have succeeded in establishing themselves in the city. They might therefore to some extent successfully acquire a sense of capitalism and "market rationality". So far, they no longer require land as productive capital in their village. The physical conditions for the existence of human beings are now satisfied by their individual efforts. Yet, they cannot dissolve their bond with their *mataqali* or village, as long as they are Fijians.

Some return to the village because of the failure of urban life, while others positively go back to the village to seek a tranquil and easy rural life. The land that mentally supports the Fijians is still located in the villages. In

this sense, rural life still remains attractive. As long as the existing institution of land tenure is alive, such kinds of practical sense must be also alive in the Fijians. As long as they anticipate a need for access to land in the future, they must continue to participate in the rural sphere.

The author asked in the questionnaire, “Which do you like, life in the city or life in the village?” The answers are shown below. Almost half of the respondents from Nasilai and all the respondents in the Elixir Apartment are wage labourers in Suva. Apart from the respondents in the Elixir Apartment, however, almost all respondents seem to like life in the village. Thus we see that the Fijians still tend to internalise the practical sense of seeking a secure life in the village.

Table 7-1: Which do you like, “life in city” or “life in village”?

answer	Total		Waidracia		Nasilai		Nadoi		OISCA		Elixir	
	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio
"life in city"	11	16.9%	2	8.7%	2	18.2%	0	0.0%	2	8.0%	5	100.0%
"life in village"	54	83.1%	21	91.3%	9	81.8%	1	100.0%	23	92.0%	0	0.0%
N/A	3	-	2	-	0	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
total	68	-	25	-	11	-	1	-	26	-	5	-
respondent (total - N/A)	65	100.0%	23	100.0%	11	100.0%	1	100.0%	25	100.0%	5	100.0%

In addition, when asked what they thought about whether *kerekere*, which can be classed as a “rural purposiveness”, still exists among urban people, they responded as follows. The evaluation seems striking. Surprisingly, approximate 50% of all respondents answered “No” whereas 100% of wage labourers at the Elixir answered, “Yes”. Such striking “distinction” in the agents’ practical sense, with articulation or re-distinction, is reflected in the spheric convergence of the habituses.

Table 7-2: Do you think urban people still have the custom of kerekere?

<i>answer</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Waidracia</i>		<i>Nasilai</i>		<i>Nadoi</i>		<i>OISCA</i>		<i>Elixir</i>	
	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio	num	ratio
yes	33	50.8%	12	50.0%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%	13	54.2%	5	100.0%
no	32	49.2%	12	50.0%	8	72.7%	1	100.0%	11	45.8%	0	0.0%
N/A	3	-	1	-	0	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
total	68	-	25	-	11	-	1	-	26	-	5	-
respondent (total - N/A)	65	100.0%	24	100.0%	11	100.0%	1	100.0%	24	100.0%	5	100.0%

We have shown that there is no invariable “structure” that is consistent throughout the social process. Hence, it would not be fruitful to discuss how or to what extent “social change” deviates from a consistent “structure”. Certainly, there exists continuity in social process. But the continuity is not defined by any given conditions. It is derived from the results of the process. Through the flow of time, the fruit from the past is necessarily inherited in a certain form. We can therefore see continuity. In this thesis, therefore, we take the position that we cannot bring the concept of a “structure” consistent through history into the analysis of “social change”.

inherited tradition

Social process connotes both “innovation” and the “persistency” of tradition. The former means “social change”, while the latter is concerned with “inherited tradition”. These are, so to speak, two sides of the same coin.

As is seen in the previous section, “social change” emerges when the differentiae in agents’ practical sense and practices converge in the macro dimension.

On the other hand, the inherited fruit from the past provides certain continuity. Individuals know a system of inherited values through events accumulated from the past. The inherited values are “sifted” each time through the agents’ practical sense. Some values might disappear, while others would remain. Some values might be

articulated with another value, while other values would be given a new meaning. As Toren postulates that values immanent in the individual's mind are reified through physical activities, so such values are realised in the macro dimension again through the practices as physical interaction. The continuity, appearing in the accumulation of the agents' practices, forms the "persistency" of tradition. The system of values concerning the existence of human beings is the system of traditional values in Fiji, which has certain continuity. As long as the physical and mental conditions of the existence of the Fijians remain the same, the system of traditional values will also be continuous and form the "persistency" of tradition.

The mental definition of the Fijians is still determined by the system of meanings derived from the land and traditional social organisations. In the phase of the reproduction of mental life, their "purposiveness" in action is still derived from the system of traditional values.

One of the main reasons why lots of urban residents have failed in the city, and returned to the villages, lies in their failure to sufficiently acquire the capitalistic sense of "market rationality", as opposed to the system of traditional values. Without such a sense, they could not obtain a job or keep on working as required by their employer. However, there is another reason. Fijians can be certain of securing the reproduction of physical life only if they return to their village. If one failed and became "penniless" in the city, one would still be guaranteed one's livelihood in the village.

To sum up, the system of traditional values provides the "persistency" of tradition in Fiji. Whoever he or she is, the system of traditional values is, more or less, structured in the Fijian individual habitus. Through the process of articulation / re-distinction among various kinds of objects, ideas, situations, acts and practices, "social change" is seen as the "innovation" of tradition, while "persistency" appears in the inherited system of traditional values. As long as the existing institution of land tenure in Fiji remains, the system of traditional values, providing the physical and mental conditions for the existence of the Fijians, determines their peculiar identity.

conclusion

The unique features of the Fijian activities given by the criterion of "urban / rural" are now clarified. This is because the "distinction" provided by this criterion has a critical significance for the Fijians, which is not

separable from the inherited tradition regarding land. Therefore, "social change" in Fiji cannot be understood without taking into account the unique institution of land tenure.

Recently, political conflict has become serious in Fiji. During the era when Britain dominated, there was no anxiety about the *maintenance* of the unique institution of land tenure. Since independence, however, ethnic conflict between Fijians and Indians has created political problems. While the Fijians attempt to keep the land tenure system as it is, the Indians try to abolish racial discrimination in land tenure. Three coups caused by this basic problem were inconclusive, and brought no fundamental settlement. In the next chapter, we will examine other matters with reference to problems underlying contemporary Fiji.

Ch.8 Conclusion

8-1. Conclusion

8-1-1. Characteristics of social change

distinction between generations

Our subject in this thesis is to clarify the mechanisms of change and persistence in social process theoretically. We have analysed it by means of the mathematical method of differentiation and integration in social process. Therefore, less consideration has been given in this thesis to the matters of how the concrete state of social change in Fiji will go on in the future. In this chapter, we will look at some examples that can provide us with the concrete direction of social change in Fiji.

Solrun Williksen Bakker illustrates how difficult the fulfilment of traditional rituals has become in urban areas. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the typical “urban purposiveness” embodies many individualistic values. Yet, there is a certain view that the traditional rituals should not be readily abolished even though modernisation and urbanisation are accelerating. Taking account of current conditions, how can the traditional rituals in the city be objectified? How are they carried out? Bakker suggests that there is a difference between generations. He points out that the young people’s view on marriage is different from that of the older people.

At one time, the betrothal (*dugua*) may have been dramatic enough: ... Today, this has come to be regarded by young people as rather an “old fashioned” procedure.

[Bakker 1986: p.204]

There are two kinds of procedure in marriage, the “proper marriage” with betrothal and the “run-away marriage”. In fact, the latter is increasing in Fiji. If this continues to happen, it will cause a disordered condition in social relations. The ritual of *buhubulu* must be accomplished so as to rectify this condition and to re-order the social context. There is no need to do this ritual if the marriage is fulfilled in accordance with the proper procedure. However, it is still not permitted even in urban areas for the disordered condition caused by the

“run-away marriage” to remain.

Full awareness by the girl's parents often only comes after one or more of the man's relatives visit them, present a *tabua*, and explain things. ... Full acknowledgement and forgiveness can only come with the *bulubulu*.

[Bakker 1986: pp.202-203]

Fulfilment of the ritual of *bulubulu* has become more and more difficult especially in the city. Several kinds of ritual goods and the proper procedure are required if the *bulubulu* is to be perfectly accomplished. But the cost is high. In the city, there is less of the reciprocal support provided by the traditional social institutions such as the *mataqali*. In a village, most of the older people own several *tabua*. Even if one in need has no *tabua*, he is able to obtain it by *kerekere*. In the city, however, a man has to purchase such ritual goods at a high price if he intends to carry out the *bulubulu*. Hence, most of the older people in urban areas who are in a position to manage such rituals seem to prefer the “proper marriage” to the “run-away marriage” with its higher cost.

... it would appear that in the urban areas where traditional items such as *tabua* are more difficult and expensive to come by than in the villages, the *duguci* [betrothal] (which requires fewer whales teeth and participants than does the *bulubulu*) would be the most sensible arrangement.

[Bakker 1986: p.201]

The young people prefer acting with more individualistic values. They are fond of the “freestyle” marriage in the form of the “run-away marriage” unconstrained by the “old-fashioned” values. Even though the “urban purposiveness” contains more and more individualistic values, it has not reformed the contents of the system of traditional values. Confronted with the circumstances of a “run-away marriage”, parents would still think that they couldn't manage without fulfilling the *bulubulu*, which is an objectified and reinterpreted ritual in order to settle this unconventional condition in light of the system of traditional values.

Older relatives on the groom's side will often utter words of regret that such a thing [an elopement] has happened. In one case, a father confided to me that they did not know how they would be able to arrange for a *bulubulu*, but hoped it would be within six months or a year. A *dugwai* would have been far easier, he said. ... Why then an elopement? ... they eloped because they were 'so young' and wanted to demonstrate that they could decide things for themselves. ... By elopement the couple assert their individuality and independence in a communalistic social system.

[Bakker 1986: p.203]

Here can be seen the difference in the objectification of circumstances between generations. The young people intend to grasp the marriage with more individualistic values, but parents, while admitting the individualistic values to an extent, still think that such activities should not go beyond what the system of traditional values regulates. Actually, the form of the "run-away marriage" was itself originally a deviation from the traditional norm. Then, they objectified the deviated form of the "run-away marriage" so that they could reinterpret it within the system of traditional values by establishing the ritual of *bulubulu*. The deviated form of the "run-away marriage" is now articulated to the system of traditional values. It can be said that the young people's desire to behave according to individualistic values is not sanctioned at this moment.

The father just mentioned recognised the desire of young people today to assert themselves by their own decision-making and activity. To take this further, however, we could say that elopement and the activities of atonement represent an expression of individualism within the framework of communal norms and social institutions.

[Bakker 1986: p.203]

This example provides quite an interesting implication when considering "social change" in the modernised city. Individuals internalise limitless sorts of "distinction" with its "spheric purposiveness". The criterion of "urban / rural" set in this thesis to analyse the social process in Fiji gives one dimension to the sphere. However, there are further dimensions to the sphere within the "urban purposiveness". Combined with several criteria such as "urban / rural" and "young / elder", for example, there would be given three dimensions. Taking account of this example, the practical sense of the young and the older people is slightly different from each other even among the urban residents sharing the "urban purposiveness". In fact, this slightly different practical sense actually yields different kinds of practices. The young people, paying less attention to the accomplishment of

bulubulu, are likely to behave with individualistic values, while the older people do not sanction their activity. Parents who feel obliged to fulfil *bulubulu* will attempt to accomplish it, even though they have difficulty in doing so. Despite suffering and sighing, they do not think to omit *bulubulu* at this moment.

The young people's outlook is not sanctioned by the process of re-distinction from the older people's outlook in the urban sphere. Yet, it is probable that the contents of the "urban purposiveness" will transform in the future. The shortage of circulating *tabua* in the city might change the form of executing *bulubulu*, or might cause a new form of ritual without any ritual goods to replace *bulubulu*. The social value of atonement might be reduced to eliminate the meaning of atonement rituals. However, it is pointless for us to predict here the tendency of social change in the future. Social values will be sifted or inherited through the interaction between the "individual habitus" and the "spheric purposiveness". It is sufficient for us to suggest considering the subject of "social change" in association with the two faces of "innovation" and "persistency" in tradition. The transformed practical sense of urban residents according to material or non-material environments may well cause a new lifestyle to spread to the rural areas. But we cannot generalise such tendencies here. We are only in a position to grasp the current state of Fiji in order to analyse theoretically.

distinction between ethnic groups

Apart from the "urban / rural" dimension, the criterion of "the Fijians / the Indians" provides us with political matters. British governmental policy made it possible for the two ethnic groups to live apart and seldom contact one another for more than a century. Although modernisation has increased the opportunities for contact, especially in the city, their life structures still contrast. Obviously, their habitus is therefore also different.

The Indians, who have developed several kinds of industry in Fiji, do not have the right to own land under the existing law. Even if the Indians work harder, they are not entitled to own their land. Their dissatisfaction has caused three coups. The coups gave an opportunity for both ethnic groups to recognise the "distinction" all over again. It is to be supposed that there is less probability at this stage that they will articulate their habituses to one another. It would require a political approach to take discussion about this matter further. But that is not the subject of this thesis.

8-1-2. Evaluation of this thesis in the context of anthropological theories

It is significant when analysing social change to grasp the social process from the past until the present.

Particular analysis of the concrete matters is also required.

This thesis has provided its original argument concerning “social change” with reference to several concepts derived from previous anthropological theories. Its framework is constructed in light of the current state of Fiji, taking account of the historical background.

There are “generalised theories” and “specialised theories”. They must be complementary. Hence, the final goal of this thesis is to construct a generalised theory to understand the mechanisms of social process and social change. On the other hand, analysis of particular facts is essential in anthropology. To clarify the peculiarity of a region or society is one of the problems faced by anthropology, which distinguishes it from the other social sciences. It has remained one of the propositions in social science to establish a general theory to explain social facts. Each society, despite its peculiarity, must embody general processes characteristic of human society. Therefore, it must be possible to establish a general theory. As long as anthropology deals with society, it must rely on induction. This thesis has attempted to discuss social process and social change as a generalised theory, by means of such abstract concepts as *habitus*, the agent, the sphere, and so forth.

Anthropology is also required to analyse the concrete materials. This requires the construction of a specialised theory consistent with the more general one. There are many methodological approaches to the understanding of concrete affairs. In this thesis, the significance in the particular field of Fiji has been described within a framework of the “distinction” between “urban” and “rural”. This criterion is an original standpoint in this thesis, which gives concreteness to the abstract concepts, and with which the analysis of the concrete facts in Fiji is also given theoretical consistency.

The goal of social science is to establish a generalised theory of society by a certain approach. In the case of anthropology, we have to accumulate particular case studies and analyse them so that we might be able to suggest general concepts of society at a higher level. Although this thesis intends to analyse the particular mechanisms of social process and social change in the specialised field of Fiji, it also hopes to clarify the generalised mechanism

of social process and social change. The method in this thesis could not be directly applied to the analysis of other fields. This is a specialised theory derived from the materials gathered in Fiji. However, we might be able to obtain insights at a higher level by comparing Fiji with other cases that have been analysed from a similar theoretical position.

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