# AN APPROACH TO THE EXAMINATION OF LAND MANAGEMENT CONSIDERATIONS IN A DEVELOPMENT PLANNING PROCESS: SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE NATIVE LAND TRUST BOARD OF FIJI, 1940-1985

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Paul Willion Munro-Faure
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London
Malet St
London W.C.1

**ABSTRACT**

The thesis aims to identify a philosophical approach to the question of how we can attempt to resolve problems in the social sciences. Two particular problem areas that have geographical relevance in this area are development planning and the management of the land resource. Following this defined approach relevant areas of theory are discussed and assessed in the light of the philosophical criteria. A conceptual framework within which a development planning process might operate is proposed, and linkages with land identified. This material is viewed in the context of relevant information drawn from the experience of Fiji.

It is argued that all 'development' results from individual and joint decisions in any given system (or impingeing thereon) being converted into action. Until such time as substantial advances are made in individual and group behavioural theory, understanding of processes operating and the ability to predict outcomes (which it is argued is essential for effective development planning) will be very restricted. Understanding and the accumulation of knowledge in such circumstances may depend not so much upon the construction and testing of hypotheses but upon the careful observation, recording and analysis of changes. In the present case, pressures and processes resulting in changes in the management of Native Land are considered using detailed materials from field research.

Conclusions are drawn regarding the philosophical approach adopted, development planning and the developed conceptual framework, and the processes of change and impacts arising from the policies and operations of the Native Land Trust Board in the context of Fiji's development for the period 1940-1985.

## PREFACE

The main concern and content of the thesis is the development of the Native Land Trust Board of Fiji between 1940 and 1985.

The Board was created in 1940 by the Native Land Trust Ordinance of that year. It was assigned responsibility for the administration and management of Native Land, which hitherto had been subject to an ad hoc process.

Land and its availability for use play a central role in enabling development to proceed. It is, as a result, a factor to be considered in planning for development at the national level.

This is of particular importance in the context of Fiji, where land ownership is divided into freehold (8%), Crown (9.5%), and Native (82.5%) - creating what amounts to a virtual monopoly in the supply of land for new development on the part of the Board.

The thesis views changes in the Board against this background and against that of national development.

The thesis pays particular attention to the legal and administrative establishment of the Native Land Trust Board, and to how this has changed over time. It reviews the development of its policies in relation to the administration and leasing of the land resource, and examines the pressures and constraints upon the Board in the broader context of Fiji and its national development planning.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Acknowledgements**

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance of those who have been good enough to help in some way in the research and preparation of this thesis.

I should like to thank those members of the staff and of the student body of the School of Oriental and African Studies who have lent an ear during my period of study. Harvey Demaine and Keith McLachlan as supervisors have been kind and generous in their interest, encouragement, and advice.

I should like to record my gratitude to Brian Robson, my erstwhile Director of Studies, for suggesting that I consider registration at the School; and to Dick Hodder for his early thoughts and enthusiasm which have done much to sustain me as my ideas have developed.

I owe a great and continuing debt to the Native Land Trust Board for its friendship, its hospitality, and its generosity in honouring me with access to its records, and in allowing me to discuss matters freely with its management and staff. I hope that they will find this work to be of some interest.

There are, of course, many other people to whom thanks are due within Fiji: at the Agricultural Tribunal's office; at the University of the South Pacific; in the Government Archives, in the Central Planning Office Library and in various other Government and local government offices; in the Institute of Valuation and Estate Management of Fiji; in the Fiji Institute of Agricultural Science; and elsewhere. To all of them thanks are given.

It is inappropriate to list all of those who have been of assistance, but it is a pleasurable duty to mention two guiding spirits from within the Board, Josefata Kamikamica and Waisake Savou, and to thank them for their indulgence. Vinaka.

The typing of the thesis has been a long and drawn out affair since early 1986 when Mary Tull and Carole Moody first started to feed it into a rather geriatric Racal word processor. Their fortitude in struggling with my handwriting and with such a trying machine deserve a heartfelt thankyou.

It is curious to observe how one's family invariably falls to be considered last. I thank my parents for their generosity both of funds and of spirit which has continued beyond all the bounds of reasonable parental duty.

My efforts as they follow, and such as they are, are however best put into context by those of my wife Judith; who has been delivered of our three children, Napier, Hannah and Sophie; who has suffered the death of our first daughter, Hannah, in New Zealand; who has organised six changes of address; who has put up with her husband changing employment three times whilst researching and writing up his thesis; and who has even found time to work intermittently over the past five years.

Highcliffe
Minchinhampton
Gloucestershire.

## List of Tables

## List of Figures

## Glossary of Terms

### A note on Fijian spelling and pronunciation

Throughout this thesis the accepted standard spelling of Fijian words is used.

For pronunciation the equivalents are as follows:-

**b** is pronounced **mb** as in timber
**c** is pronounced **th** as in this
**d** is pronounced **nd** as in band
**g** is pronounced **ng** as in king
**q** is pronounced **ng** as in finger

**Galala** independent Fijian farmer who paid a commutation rate to be released from communal services under the old Fijian Regulations

**Mataqali** a sub-clan; subdivision of a **yavusa**; the primary landowning unit

**Tokatoka** family group; subdivision of **mataqali**

**Turaga** chief; thus, for instance, **turaga-ni-qali** is chief of the **mataqali**

**Vakavanua** in the manner of the land; customary

**Yavusa** widest patrilineal kinship group; descended from a common ancestor.

For the promise that bore fruit ...

"... I regard everything that is said here as corrigible precisely because I wish philosophy were always done in a scientific mood".

M. Bunge
"The Myth of Simplicity"

# CHAPTER 1

## Introductory

'It was a dark and stormy night;
The lightning flashed, the thunder crashed,
And the rain came down in buckets.
The Robber Captain said; "Antonio tell us a story.",
And this is the story Antonio told:

'"It was a dark and stormy night;
The lightning flashed, the thunder crashed,
And the rain came down in buckets.
The Robber Captain said; "Antonio tell us a story.",
And this is the story Antonio told:

'""It was a dark ... "'"'

"Antonio's Tale". Traditional.

## CHAPTER 1

### Introductory

The significance of the relationship between received or taught 'knowledge' and first hand practical experience is remarkable. It is arguably one of the first pieces of knowledge that an individual acquires, and is possibly one of the most important.

Take, for instance, a child standing at a bus stop waiting for the 8.30 a.m. bus to take him to school; he does not give up his vigil at 8.30 a.m. just because the bus has not pulled into sight, since in his experience the timetable is very often inaccurate, and the bus frequently late.

"Why do I say this?", and "How can this be narrowed down into a more meaningful statement?" will be two very important questions running through these pages.

For the moment, however, a general clarification of the general statement will suffice to indicate the intended direction of travel.

What is "received or taught 'knowledge'"? It may be taken as being reported explanations of events or entities, of their existence and behaviour both as regards themselves as individuals, and as regards themselves in the context in which they have their being. The level of investigation and explanation is important and is, of course, defined in the first instance by fundamental questions of scale and in the second perhaps by conceptual capacity.

But what status do these explanations have?

"First hand experience", insofar as it relates to received or taught 'knowledge', may be instanced in two ways. On the one hand, first hand experience represents the opportunity to test explanations against the real

world. On the other, it gives the opportunity to examine how explanations have been related in the past to desired changes in the events or entities and their existence or behaviour.

Explanations are therefore strongly related to expectations, and in the latter sense, to predictions.

It is important to be aware that none of the above makes any great departure from anything that has been often stated before, and indeed it may be drawn from common sense. It does, however, present a useful orientation exercise to facilitate the introduction of some of the most fundamentally difficult problems not only facing the developing world, but also, it may be added, underwriting many of the difficulties of the developed world.

It is relevant to ask to what extent explanation is a valid procedure for the accurate identification of expectations and predictions. Any question providing information defining the status of explanations in the above context is valuable.

Such questions are of crucial significance in the developing world because explanatory statements are necessarily precursors of decisions governing the utilisation of resources and their allocation. From a rational point of view it is important to secure the best available return from scarce resources. How much more so for those parts of the world characterised by lack of resources of all kinds!

Travelling through a number of countries a superficial awareness of the impact of this potential problem was generated in a wide variety of fields. The ecological consequences of the Aswan Dam; the long term financial prospects of major irrigation development schemes; the Jonglei Canal and proposed draining of the Sudd; an experimental sheep scheme in Kapoeta, Southern Sudan; the long term consequences of land registration and consolidation schemes in Kenya; and so on.

This wide range of, albeit superficial, first hand experience provided an important first indication that explanation, in terms of theorification, is not an automatic solution to the fulfilment of expectationsand predictions. (Although at that stage, the question was not formulated in such a general

manner; it was found in a succession of "why?" and "how?" questions.) Why could not the ecological problems of displacing the silting process be foreseen?[1] How could a country like Sudan undertake major development schemes which officials felt would never be financially independent?[2] How could the future impact of the Jonglei Canal and the drainage of the Sudd ever be assessed to the satisfaction of the whole region affected?[3] How could the planners of the Kapoeta sheep scheme not be aware of the potential difficulties created by taking land without negotiation or compensation for the customary owners?[4] Why had not Kenya enacted minimum and maximum landholding legislation to try to prevent future problems of excessive subdivision of land and the emergence of absentee landlordism?[5]

And so on.

This unease found parallel expression in writings on the subject. The keynote address of the PTRC Seminar on "Planning and Development in Developing Countries" in 1981:

> "Thus, a substantial proportion of aid to developing countries in the post war period was of the wrong kind and it is only in the past 10 years that a greater understanding of the issues has begun to emerge which will result in more relevant and potentially more helpful and successful approaches..."
>
> "In the planning field, the wrong terms of reference inevitably resulted in the wrong kind of plans. No wonder that so many plans prepared laboriously at considerable cost were never implemented..."
>
> "In international funding agencies over-sophisticated academics wrote terms of reference for equally over-sophisticated practitioners to provide over-sophisticated services for Third World countries which did not have the material or skilled manpower resources to implement the resulting largely irrelevant proposals. Other mistaken approaches were academic final state master plans, which were invariably overtaken by events."[6]

Critical awareness of this problem from a practical point of view was fostered and perhaps matured by further experience in England. Planning, which may be taken for the present as any intervention in an existing set of circumstances or procedures in an attempt to secure certain desired ends on the basis of an analysis of the existing circumstances, seems to be in an almost identically similar and difficult situation.

The context of the problem thus widely observed, intuitively takes on a more general aspect, and with this, slow dawning of the realisation that perhaps these difficulties are not the result of shortcomings in the theory that is being applied; that possibly they result from the nature of the pretheoretical environment in which the theory itself is at present structured.

Such a widely experienced problem seems to argue for a fundamental error in approach. There is a suspicion that the social sciences as a whole, at least insofar as they are applied in the real world, tend to operate on a similar level to "Antonio's Tale": telling much the same story, albeit in increasing detail, with relatively little variation over the years.

There is no theoretical basis for objecting to this, in the same way that there is no objection to the telling of Antonio's Tale in the nursery, particularly when the lights are out and the thunder is crashing and the lightning is flashing. It creates a splendid environment which gives off an atmosphere of credibility.

But what happens when we recite "Antonio's Tale" in the outside world and gather together under a tree to shelter from the stormy blast? It tells us nothing of any practical use; although we may derive some comfort from the familiar words, this is swiftly dispelled when lightning strikes....

. . .

The pretheoretical environment with which we must initially be concerned, and which will have first claim on our time, will involve a close look at the theory of knowledge; the philosophical realm perceptively summed up by Hume in the mid eighteenth century:

> "Our problem belongs to the theory of knowledge, or to epistemology, reputed to be the most abstract and remote and altogether irrelevant region of pure philosophy."[7]

But this itself requires a problem, a defined context in which to be discussed and applied; in a philosophical sense, in a theoretical sense and ultimately in a practical sense. How else may it otherwise be judged?

The philosophical and theoretical themes are thus pursued, and tentative suggestions made in such a form as to facilitate examination in the context of the real world.

As to the choice of problem?

It has already been indicated that a very substantial problem area is to be found in assessing the consequences of various planned activities in any given environment. Whether acknowledged or not it is a problem that is of significance to all people; but, in terms of impact it is arguable that the greatest significance is on the peoples of the developing world. Who is ultimately most affected by these consequences is not, however, of particular relevance (except, of course, to the individuals and societies concerned) because the particular "How?" and "Why?" questions that are examined are probably capable of fairly general application.

None-the-less, as is perhaps inevitable, circumstances have indicated a certain direction.

In the present instance, background, training and practical experience all combine to suggest that land, its place in the scheme of things, and the impact of changes in the factors controlling its use, are most likely to be reasonably effectively dealt with. Likewise opportunity has dictated that the specific context in which the resulting proposals are discussed will be drawn from the South Pacific Region.

It is for these, largely chance reasons that the central topic of "Land Management considerations in the Development Planning process" has been selected; and indeed that the specific case study utilised should be that of Fiji's Native Land Trust Board and the nature and effects of its changing role in the development planning process.

It is fortunate that such an example is to hand insofar as it has had substantial impacts not only in Fiji, but also spreading throughout the Region.

## CHAPTER 2

### Philosophical Approach

" 'I will read the inventory', began Craven gravely, picking up one of the papers, 'the inventory of what we found loose and unexplained in the castle...

'First item. A very considerable hoard of precious stones, nearly all diamonds....

'Second item. Heaps and heaps of loose snuff....

'Third item. Here and there about the house curious little heaps of minute pieces of metal, some like steel springs and some in the form of microscopic wheels....

'Fourth item. The wax candles... By no stretch of fancy can the human mind connect together snuff and diamonds and wax and loose clockwork.'

'I think I see the connexion,' said the priest. 'This Glengyle was mad against the French Revolution. He was an enthusiast for the **ancien regime**, and was trying to re-enact literally the family life of the last Bourbons. He had snuff because it was the eighteenth-century luxury; wax candles because they were the eighteenth-century lighting; the mechanical bits of iron represent the locksmith hobby of Louis XVI; the diamonds are for the Diamond Necklace of Marie Antoinette.

Both the other men were staring at him with round eyes. 'What a perfectly extraordinary notion!' cried Flambeau. 'Do you really think that is the truth?'

'I am perfectly sure it isn't,' answered Father Brown....

Then he said: 'The late Earl of Glengyle was a thief. He lived a second and darker life as a desperate house-breaker. He did not have any candlesticks because he only used these candles cut short in the lantern he carried. The snuff he employed as the fiercest French criminals have used pepper: to fling it suddenly in dense masses in the face of a captor or pursuer. But the final proof is the curious coincidence of the diamonds and the small steel wheels. Surely that makes everything plain to you? Diamonds and small steel wheels are the only two instruments with which you can cut out a pane of glass.'

'Diamonds and small wheels,' repeated Craven, ruminating. 'Is that all that makes you think it the true explanation?'

'I don't think it the true explanation,' replied the priest placidly; '... The true tale, of course, is something much more humdrum. Glengyle had found, or thought he had found, precious stones on his estate. Somebody had bamboozled him with those loose brilliants, saying they were found in the castle caverns. The little wheels are some diamond-cutting affair. He had to do the thing very roughly and in a small way, with the help of a few shepherds or rude fellows on these hills. Snuff is the one great luxury of such Scotch shepherds;

its the one thing with which you can bribe them. They didn't have candlesticks because they didn't want them; they held the candles in their hands when they explored the caves.'

'Is that all?' asked Flambeau after a long pause. 'Have we got to the dull truth at last?'

'Oh no,' said Father Brown.

'I only suggested that because you said one could not plausibly connect snuff with clockwork or candles with bright stones. Ten false philosophies will fit the universe; ten false theories will fit Glengyle Castle. But we want the real explanation of the castle and the universe.' "

from 'The Honour of Israel Gow'
'The Innocence of Father Brown'
G. K. Chesterton.

## CHAPTER 2

### Philosophical Approach

**Why are we primarily concerned with philosophy?**

Philosophy, philosophers and works of philosophy cover a wide spectrum of interest and of approaches. In view of the fundamental nature of the discipline this is perhaps surprising, as the tyro might be forgiven for presuming that all correctly analysed problems should properly reduce to some common basis of explanation, even though not necessarily some common method of explanation.

A cursory exploration of libraries of philosophy will produce the realisation that this presumption is emphatically not the case. More detailed examination of the subject material produces an impression of a fascinating range of competing explanations of explanation, and of the contextualisation, mode, method and approach thereto. The force with which such competition is argued, particularly in certain key areas, is indicative of the strength of the views held and of the degree of commitment thereto by the personalities involved.[1]

These are significant observations, for all their superficiality, as they serve to emphasise that virtually any pronouncements in philosophy must be seen on an, as it were, sub judice basis. There do not appear to be any identified absolutes in the study of the absolute, for the present at least.

Philosophy subdivides into a number of identifiable problem areas, commencing with logic and semantics, and ranging through to the more metaphysical areas of epistemology and ontology. Disagreements exist in all areas; over, for instance, many valued logics, and definitions of truth, but the more vehement contentions from the present point of view appear in the areas of epistemology and ontology. These may be defined respectively as follows; "the theory of the method or grounds of knowledge", and "the theory of pure being or reality." In essence the "how?" and "what?" questions of the universe writ large.[2]

It is with these questions that this chapter will be concerned, because the prime interest of a social, as of any, science must be in these "how?" and "what?" forms of question. Geography is no exception in this respect.

The sciences are, of course, also dependent upon the other areas of philosophical concern identified. Questions of logic and of semantics are viewed as being relatively uncontentious in the present context and are thus not examined specifically. Broader questions of metaphysics, however, particularly in a geographical context, require brief consideration as they may be a significant determinant of the philosophical approach adopted towards an identified problem.

Such interrelationships as there may be between the metaphysical standpoint and the wider philosophical view pertain to the individual problem-solver's attitudes. Individual standpoints are necessarily unique and have an impact upon the identification and selection of, and the approaches to problems. It is reasonable to argue that the aggregation of such approaches may be instrumental in the definition of a problem and of its proposed solution. This may be potentially of considerable relevance to geographical problems, since divergent regions and cultural groupings may favour certain metaphysical and accordant philosophical approaches to study. Some form of metaphysical consideration may therefore be of significance particularly where the problem is of such a nature, and especially where a problem-solver treats with problems outside his own cultural and regional frames of reference.[3]

For the moment, however, concern is with the approach to problems and their selection:

> "...and it is a prime concern, for just as geographical study in social science cannot proceed without at least a philosophical viewpoint (whether explicitly or by implication), so philosophy becomes barren without problems."[4]

It has been stated by Popper that the legitimate areas of concern are the self-evident "concrete evils" of society:

> "Work for the elimination of concrete evils rather than for the realisation of abstract goods. Do not aim at establishing happiness by political means. Rather aim at the elimination of concrete miseries. Or, in more practical terms: fight for the elimination of poverty by direct means - for example, by making sure that everyone has a minimum income.
>
> "It is a fact, and not a very strange fact, that it is not so very difficult to reach agreement by discussion on what are the most intolerable evils of our society, and on what are the most urgent social reforms. Such an agreement can be reached much more easily than an agreement concerning some ideal form of social life. For the

evils are with us here and now. They can be experienced, and are being experienced every day, by many people who have been and are being made miserable by poverty, unemployment, national oppression, war and disease. Those of us who do not suffer from these miseries meet every day others who can describe them to us. This is what makes the evils concrete. This is why we can get somewhere by arguing about them, why we can profit here from the attitude of reasonableness. We can learn by listening to concrete claims, by patiently trying to assess them as impartially as we can, and by considering ways of meeting them without creating worse evils.

With ideal goods it is different. These we know only from our dreams and from the dreams of our poets and prophets. They cannot be discussed, only proclaimed from the housetops. they do not call for the rational attitude of the impartial judge, but for the emotional attitude of the impassioned preacher."[5]

The concrete analogy is instructive. Concrete comes in a wide variety of different types and mixes determined by the tensile and other requirements of the product. It may require reinforcing. It may be an inappropriate material for some forms of construction, moreover, if improperly used it may be responsible for severe defects in a structure.

Concrete, therefore, requires to be appropriate to the task in hand, and to be appropriately used. It can be no less the case with the identification of the "concrete evils" in society. The definition is not an easy, nor an absolute task as is suggested; still less so is agreement on proposals for their resolution.

Whilst sympathetic to the general point being made by Popper, it is not feasible in reality to restrict efforts to those designed to eliminate such autodefining evils as may exist. Little credence would be given to such a simplistic view in practice in any case.

It is preferred within reason to follow the spirit of Harvey:

"My own objective has been to give the geographer free reign in his choice of objective, in the belief that geography always has been and always will be what those who call themselves geographers choose to do."[6]

**a) The aims of research**

The aims of research are manifold and are at base the result of personal inclinations of the individual researcher. It is this personality of perception that the present approach attempts, if not to eradicate, at least

to defuse by making it explicit. Such personal inclinations are bound, wittingly or not, into a set of common bundles of philosophy. These bundles can generally be gathered into a meta-aim, independent of philosophy, which is to attempt to solve problems.

Important research is normally to be found by sorting out from the mass of competing problems those problems which matter. The resolving of such problems occurs at the point where subjective opinion is converted into objective knowledge. This is, in itself, the subject of considerable heated debate both as regards the areas of legitimate interest in reality and as regards how objective knowledge is procured and defined.

For the present purposes it is possible to put forward a general view that the bare minimum requirement to be aimed for in a piece of research is that the proposed solution must be internally and externally consistent and that it must be demonstrably so. It must be internally consistent insofar as the logic of the reasoning in the solution must conform to a rational norm. It must be externally consistent because the devised conceptual scheme must be capable of fitting and, by virtue of the former quality, of explaining the situation in some way.

Research therefore attempts to provide non-trivial and rational explanations of observed events, independent of personal, and ideally of temporal and locational considerations.

This chapter will attempt to identify the approach to be adopted in the present thesis as regards both internal and external consistency.

**b) The disadvantages of not defining an appropriate philosophical approach**

Whether or not an individual is aware of it, he must, of necessity, adopt some philosophical stance in his attempts to resolve problems in reality.

Returning to the previously identified schoolboy at the bus stop; he stays waiting there because:

i) He knows that the 8.30 a.m. bus has not gone past the stop.

ii) He knows that a bus normally leaves and is timetabled to leave the bus depot to reach the stop by 8.30 a.m.

iii) He knows from past experience that traffic and passenger boarding in buses can lead to delays.

iv) He reasons that under normal conditions, and there was neither snow nor frost that morning, he can anticipate the bus to arrive at some time in the near future, and waits.

v) He considers the possibility, as time goes on, of walking, or of bicycling since his school is not far away.

vi) He may not, however, consider the possibility of a taxi, or of chartering a helicopter, or of returning home to take a lift from his parents, since they may not have the necessary resources.

Now, the schoolboy will not consider the philosophical implications of these reasoning processes. There are, however, implied statements regarding the nature of logic, the epistemological considerations of how the problem should be approached, and an ontological statement regarding the nature of the reality in which the problem of getting to school takes place.

A child in the same situation from a more affluent background could see the problem differently, as he may well be able to afford a taxi, or to take a lift from home.

Likewise, the child who reasons that if the 8.30 a.m. bus does not arrive by that time then it is the act of a benevolent God which he interprets as indicating the necessity for taking the day off as a truant.

And so on, ad infinitum.[7]

The philosophical outlook is thus inevitably present. Under existing conditions in the United Kingdom it is thought that the most likely schoolboy option scenarios would be contained within the first two possibilities. Such a likelihood is, however, determined at that level of problem solving by current social and economic criteria, and is probably not a temporal and location independent observation.

The vital point is that the philosophical outlook defines the way in which the problem is seen, and the way in which a solution is sought. In short, philosophical outlook has a defining impact upon the way in which a problem solver treats with his material.

In order to fulfill the basic aim of research, which is objectivity, and since it is impossible to approach a problem without some philosophical

preconceptions, it should therefore be a fundamental duty of the problem solver to state what stance he proposes taking. This is important for two reasons.

Firstly, an a priori attempt to resolve such approach problems should have a beneficial impact upon the quality of the solutions being proposed. It will normally impose a stringent mode of self criticism particularly in the field of the internal consistency but also in terms of the external consistency of the approach to a problem. Moreover, as it extends the responsibility of the problem solver back to the borders of metaphysics, it explicitly opens up the maximum spectrum of the subject matter of the problem and of the adopted approach to close scrutiny.

Hence the second area of importance; not only does this approach open the material to self criticism, but by making it explicit, it also opens it to the refining or refuting criticism of other problem-solvers.

This is of particular importance, not simply because it is seen as a matter of intellectual honesty, but because the philosophical variable should ultimately be a stringently definable variable in the approach to problems. As such the attempt should be made to identify it clearly, as even limited alterations in this variable may have a profound impact upon results and thus upon proposed solutions to problems.

The unstated presumptions of the flatearthers may henceforth be avoided.

**What are the options as regards different philosophies?**

It has been observed that there exists a wide range and variety of philosophies, and it has been argued that it is important when undertaking research to make the particular philosophy adopted explicit insofar as that is possible. There must exist, therefore, an apparent choice for the individual researcher. The choice itself and the rationale for the decision making process of choosing will vary from person to person for a number of reasons which revolve around personality, and around experience. There is an interrelationship between these two which seems to compound the divergence of conflicting philosophies: an albeit limited reading of philosophy does not indicate any tendancy towards the classic dialectic approach to problems.

Personality, in a non-specific and general sense, is thus of critical

importance in the decision as to the appropriate philosophical approach to a problem. This indicates two important points; firstly, questions of personality demand further detailed investigation in this chapter, and secondly, from here on the subject matter is overtly personal, albeit treated in an objective fashion.

**a) Do we have any option?**

It is unrealistic, to suppose that individuals, groups of individuals, societies, and groups of societies, will ever agree upon a basic philosophy of life. This makes it unproductive in view of the stated aims of research, to attempt to select a particular viewpoint favoured by particular parties at a particular time with a view to establishing it in perpetuity. The most appropriate approach, even if only from a pragmatic point of view, is to utilise the ontological and epistemological schemes that appear to present the nearest to absolute given the researcher's perception of the current state of knowledge. It is intriguing to propose that those of different philosophical persuasions may ultimately be able to identify and extract valuable information from such an analysis in the absolute by selecting from and interpreting the views presented according to their level and mode of understanding.

In order to achieve such an ideal situation the ultimate requirement would be to be able to present the philosophical approach in axiomatised fashion, as a series of axioms none of which is either subject dependent or problem dependent which would produce a philosophical regime to which all other logically valid regimes would reduce.[8]

In answer to the question as to whether there exists any real choice in philosophy the answer must therefore be affirmative. It is worthwhile briefly illustrating this by looking at particular areas of philosophy in order to try to identify the different impact of different philosophies upon ability to achieve the aims of research.

**b) What options do we have?**

Lau Tsu writing in the sixth century B.C.:

> "In the pursuit of learning, every day something is acquired.
> In the pursuit of Tao, every day something is dropped.
>
> Less and less is done

Until non-action is achieved.
When nothing is done, nothing is left undone.

The world is ruled by letting things take their course.
It cannot be ruled by interfering." [9]

Dhirendra M Datta writing in 1961:

"Philosophy, of even the most catholic kind, if confined to mere intellectual discussion, will remain a helpless spectator of war, intrigue and devastation repeatedly carried on by persons with narrow outlooks and uncontrolled passions." [10]

Karl Marx writing in 1845:

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it." [11]

J. S. Mill in his essay "On Liberty" wrote in 1859:

"The object of this Essay is to assert one very simple principle...that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection.. to prevent harm to others... The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs."

K. R. Popper writing in 1969:

**"...the main task of the social sciences. It is to trace the unintended social repercussions of intentional human actions."** [12]

Five different philosophers, five different philosophies and five different approaches to problems.

There is no necessity for the present purposes to attempt to outline the range of options in philosophy, for that would border upon an infinite task; nor is there a necessity to review the general areas of agreement and disagreement, for this is not a philosophical treatise.

The principle present concern is to identify those approaches which most closely relate to the option situation preferred above. The approach to be adopted for the present purposes may then be identified. Whilst this implies a general knowledge level of background information on a range of philosophies in order to provide contextual indexing, it does not demand detailed consideration of other than those ideas that are to be specifically incorporated.

Various elements and ideas put forward by workers in relevant areas of

philosophy therefore require to be examined and pieced together to form an integrated structure. Such a structure must not only satisfy those requirements specified above which relate predominantly to the academic and theoretical spheres; it must also relate strongly to the sphere of praxis.

The social sciences, geography, and their application in the development, or any, planning process must necessarily be firmly fixed in the practical world. Unless material results that can be meaningfully applied in such an area of operation, attempts to solve outstanding problems are in vain.

It is therefore important, before detailing theories of knowledge and of reality, to look more closely at the practical requirements that require to be fulfilled by any proposed solutions to problems in the development planning process. At this pretheoretical stage a general overview may be adopted in the knowledge that more detailed requirements will be fulfilled in the theoretical discussion below.

**What is required of our philosophy in praxis?**

In this first instance, it may be stated that what is required in relation to any given problem is its solution.

The development planning process may be taken as being a process imposed upon a functioning system covering a defined geographical area with a view to achieving certain, normally stated aims.[13]

The prime objective of this process must be to enable the provision of a solution or set of solutions that will result in the fulfillment of the required aims, without side effects. It must, in other words, enable the implementation of a unique directed set of events and activities to produce a unique predicted set of results.

In short, it must work.

This requirement poses all sorts of problems for the philosophy to be adopted, and will perforce demand further attention.

## Epistemological propositions

A useful point at which to commence a discussion of the requirements that are to be demanded from the theory of knowledge is to step back a little from the problem and look more carefully at how it may most beneficially be approached. The main approaches to work in the field of the philosophy of science have been characterised as follows; a priorism, preface analysis, textbook analysis, historico-philosophical analysis, isolated item analysis and systematic analysis.

A priorism is viewed as an:

> "...attempt to force science into a prefabricated philosophical framework. The most fashionable of all a priori philosophies is, of course, uncritical empiricism, according to which scientific knowledge is just an extention of ordinary knowledge, so that the findings of the general (and empiricist) philosophy of knowledge apply to the former."

Preface analysis, although perhaps surprisingly prevalent in many areas of inquiry, is considered trivial and thus does not merit further comment.

Text book analysis, being based on secondary sources, is likewise insignificant in being far-removed from original work.

Historico-philosophical analysis acts like a camera in single cases of real science, taking a single shot of the position in time; it leaves out the dynamic aspects of hypothesis development and new conjecture.

Single item analysis includes such material but looks at items in isolation from their context:

> "Granted, the analysis of single items of real science is superior to textbook commentaries, in that it does come to grips with the beast. But one does not overpower the lion by fighting its left upper canine alone."

Systematic analysis:

> "...bears on whole units of scientific research, such as theories and complete cycles of experimental investigation. In this approach, a particular item is a part of the whole, so that its status and significance are clear, and the danger of misinterpretation is decreased."

This is an interesting characterisation and of considerable value in reviewing work not only in the philosophy of science but also in such other fields of scientific endeavour as may be required. The last mentioned approach is considered to be potentially the most effective, however, there is no doubt that a great deal of research is carried out under the other approaches. A closer consideration is therefore required of the way in which these approaches may knit together.[14]

It is taken almost as axiomatic that those approaches other than systematic analysis, used in isolation will produce sub-optimal solutions to a given problem. It is important to note, however, that in practice the systematic analysis approach must imply the employment of a priorism, preface analysis, and textbook analysis. It will require thorough grounding in philosophical approach problems, and as has been argued earlier, there will be an implied a priori approach, since a problem cannot even begin to be approached without one. Likewise, it is a practical impossibility to read all relevant texts which may be desirable for a truly systematic analysis to be undertaken. A degree of preselection is thus enforced, even if only by virtue of arbitrary language barriers, and the mode of preface analysis forms a useful initial point of selection. Similarly with textbook analysis.

The distinction between systematic analysis and the remaining approaches is however valid in a thoroughgoing manner.

In short it may be said that, whilst in itself probably an idealisation, incorporating out of practical necessity certain other approaches, systematic analysis offers the most rational and sensitive approach to any given problem.

But what of our problem; what do we require of our theory?

> "...the distinctive aim of the scientific enterprise" a well-known (Nagel) philosopher of science writes, " is to provide systematically and responsibly supported explanations". Few would disagree. The rub is in trying to make clear a) what counts as "responsible support" and b) how the concept of explanation is to be analysed." [15]

In terms of the development planning process, and of the present consideration within that, this requirement may be translated as follows:

Given a perceived problem, the role of land and of its management in the development and development planning process in a defined geographical area,

what systematic and responsibly supported solutions can be proposed to eradicate the problematic aspects which do not, at the same time, produce undesirable or unforeseen side effects?

There can be no simple answer to these questions as, in order to be able to achieve definitive solutions, certain knowledge is required on the part of the researcher. Unique objective knowledge, or truth, as has already been seen, is the subject of considerable debate in all of the sciences.

It is, nonetheless, of great importance to settle upon at least a provisional aim and approach and it is of no matter for the present that both are idealistic.

**Epistemology I**

An examination of widespread current practices in planning gives interesting results.

Viewed diagrammatically, the options adopted range from the simplistic "black box" approach, through to the systematic or "white box" approach referred to above.

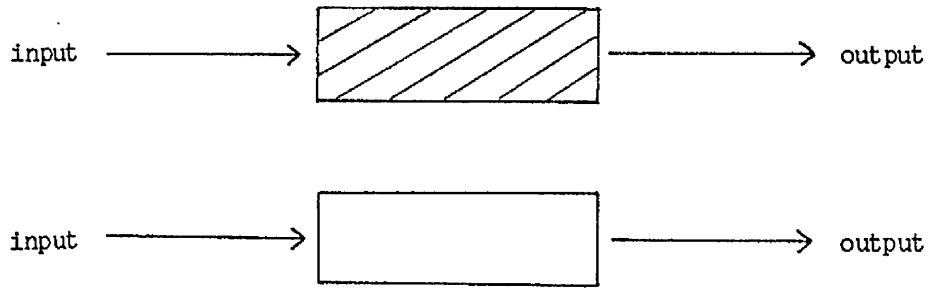



**Figure 2.1: Approaches to planning: black box and white box**

These options and the implications arising from them will be returned to when examining ontological propositions.

Epistemologically the black box approach implies a disregard for the functional variables contained within a given system. It looks for, or supplies a given input, and simplistically relates this to an observed, or anticipated output.

In terms of the present particular problem it therefore states, or assumes the

ability to make such a statement; "given that we are dissatisfied with characteristic X in our given system, if we undertake action Y this will have the effect of altering X to X1 which is a more desirable state of affairs". It is thus deterministic and cause-effect oriented.

A thorough-going white box approach implies a similar degree of determinism insofar as it does anticipate an ability to produce an output. It does not, however, attempt to do this in a simplistic manner insofar as it attempts to make explicit all those variables that are significantly related to any given input. Whilst it is, therefore, cause-effect oriented, it is not simplistically so.

Reviewing the current approaches to planning, Gillingwater, in his book "Regional Planning and Social Change", identified the "good currency" theory of method prevalent in planning practice as:

> "...that of rationality, or rather the rational method of decision making. The implication is that decisions and policies are and should be made according to the axioms of one particular methodology. This methodology assumes that a sequence of clearly identifiable stages are systematically worked through, stages which accord with the manner in which rational (and hence 'good') decisions are made."

To quote Gillingwater again:

> "How then does the 'good currency' rational model stand in the realm of the methodological debate?.....it is reasonable to venture to suggest that it ties in quite neatly with the inductive approach to the philosophy of scientific method. It is cause-effect related, albeit in a naive manner, and clearly empirically based; the stress on observations, facts and evidence are some of its critical, indeed distinguishing features. It therefore has significant and distinctive positivistic leanings and, according to Popper, is a wholly deterministic methodology."

It is difficult to see at this stage how it could reasonably be expected to be otherwise given the views expressed earlier.

Turning to look at geographical theory, and at current approaches to explanation, it may be seen that broadly similar comments apply. This is perhaps unsurprising as it is reasonable to view planning's essential nature as being that of applied geography. The "rough explanation sketches" that have been characterised as the typical content of geographical work seem to be in remarkable accord with the current position of planning.

These approaches are of considerable interest when contrasted with the

scientific approach to problems. Their continued pervasiveness is in some ways surprising since there is reasonably widespread advocacy of one form or another of scientific method. Harvey concluded:

> "It will probably never be proved conclusively that history and social science **should** or **should not** adopt the norms of explanation set up in the basic model of scientific explanation. If we wish to employ the scientific model we may undoubtedly do so. The objections to its employment on the grounds of objectivity refer as much to natural science as to social science and history."[16]

**Epistemology II**

The philosophy of Karl Popper has been touched upon above, and an analysis of his epistemological stance provides a valuable point on which to gather thoughts in this area of study.

One preliminary which needs to be raised, however, concerns the extraction of his purely epistemological statements, for there is no doubt that there is a considerable intermingling of philosophies in his work. It is important to note at the same time that reservations have been raised as regards the rationale for some of his statements. These have had the most desirable effect of 'deidolising' the Popperian approach, but they do not diminish the power of his central thesis.[17]

This was effectively put by Xenophanes, The Greek, in Classic times:

> "The gods did not reveal, from the beginning,
> All things to us; but in the course of time,
> Through seeking we may learn, and know things better.
>
> But as for certain truth, no man has known it,
> Nor will he know it; neither of the gods,
> Nor yet of all the things of which I speak.
> And even if by chance he were to utter
> The final truth, he would himself not know it;
> For all is but a woven web of guesses."[18]

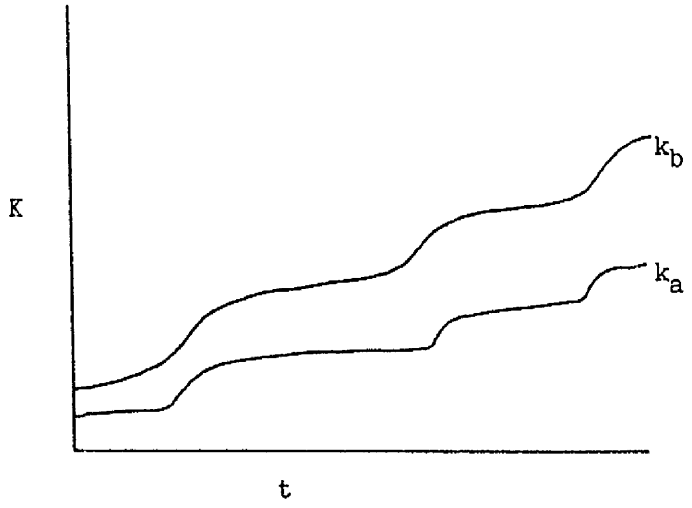
The basic tenet is that, in an absolute sense, it is impossible for man to derive, or even to prove that any of his so-called knowledge is the truth. According to this view there is, therefore, a logical inconsistency in the individual who attempts to derive an objectively true solution to any problem. As a result the criterion of truth-like-ness or verisimilitude is proposed. This provides the necessary implication that all of our solutions to problems are **at best** approximations.

Leading on from this, judgement as to the degree of verisimilitude provided by conflicting theories is formulated by the criterion of testability, and in particular the criterion of refutability.

The corresponding tenet is therefore that objective human knowledge progresses out of attempts to test, or more precisely to refute, the proposed solutions to problems.

This concept may be illustrated graphically in Figure 2.2.

The illustration is indicative of how knowledge develops; $k_b$ is being constantly pushed out along the k-axis, since paradoxically the more that is known, the more there is that is not known. Perhaps less significantly, it depicts how knowledge has tended to be created in quantum leaps, which has interesting implications from an evolutionary point of view.[19]




t = time (years)
k = knowledge
$k_a$ = perceived knowledge
$k_b$ = identified areas of knowledge

**Figure 2.2: Conceptual growth of human knowledge**

The process of analysis is characterised by the sequence:

$$P_1 \rightarrow TT \rightarrow EE \rightarrow P_2,$$

where $P_1$ is the definition of a particular problem arising; in the present

context, out of the circumstances of the geographical area under discussion. TT is the tentative theory proposed as the solution to that problem, being characterised by the conjecture and deduction of a number of testable propositions (hypotheses). EE is the criticism of such hypotheses by both empirical and theoretical means in an attempt at error elimination.

This process of conjecture and refutation gives rise to new reformulated problems, $P_2$. $P_1$ does not equal $P_2$. The process is therefore not cyclical, and some advance in understanding results; moreover, being fundamentally dynamic by nature, the element of time may be incorporated.

The significance of this for planning, which must also by nature be dynamic, is that it becomes possible to embody in a theoretical context the iterative and interactive nature of the relationships between problems, policy intent, and policy impact, which have been characterised by Gillingwater as a triple helix over time.

The approach is essentially deductive, which is of importance in view of the point that existing arguments in logic favouring deduction are considered far stronger than those favouring induction.[20]

Popper has listed the following characteristics which should be considered when looking at any scientific theory:

> "1) It is easy to obtain confirmations, or verifications, for nearly every theory - if we look for confirmations.
>
> 2) Confirmations should count only if they are the result of **risky predictions**; that is to say, if, unenlightened by the theory in question, we should have expected an event which was incompatible with the theory - an event which would have refuted the theory.
>
> 3) Every 'good' scientific theory is a prohibition: it forbids certain things to happen. The more a theory forbids, the better it is.
>
> 4) A theory which is not refutable by any conceivable event is non-scientific. Irrefutability is not a virtue of a theory (as people often think) but a vice.
>
> 5) Every genuine test of a theory is an attempt to falsify it, or to refute it. Testability is falsifiability; but there are degrees of testability: some theories are more testable, more exposed to refutation, than others; they take, as it were, greater risks.
>
> 6) Confirming evidence should not count **except when it is the result of a genuine test of the theory**; and this means that it can be presented as a serious but unsuccessful attempt to falsify the

theory. (I now speak in such cases of 'corroborating evidence').

7) Some genuinely testable theories, when found to be false, are still upheld by their admirers - for example, by introducing ad hoc some auxilliary assumption, or by reintepreting the theory ad hoc in such a way that it escapes refutation. Such a procedure is always possible but it rescues the theory only at the price of destroying, or at least lowering, its scientific status."[21]

The implications of this approach for planning are clear. In a situation where:

"...if growth of theories means that we operate with theories of increasing content, it must also mean that we operate with theories of decreasing probability (in the sense of the calculus of probability)."[22]

Indeed, it brings Popper full circle to identify his view of the legitimate areas of involvement in the social sciences.

There are, however, a number of difficulties to be found in this approach from the planning point of view. The main ones are in the complete exclusion of any process of induction, in the applicability of the criterion of refutation, and in the fact that it is abstracted from the pragmatic sphere in which planning processes have their being. These notwithstanding, and they will be examined in the integrating section, the essential strength and logic of the position remain.

Bunge takes Popper to task in a number of areas as regards these basic tenets. He is a thoroughgoing philosopher of scientific method and adopts a similarly uncompromising, epistemological approach.

He is concerned in particular with Popper's insistence upon the criterion of refutation on the grounds that it is logically as difficult, and as arbitrary and subjective, to determine when a theory is refuted, as it is to assess when it is confirmed. Bunge relegates refutation to a subsidiary role. He accepts that a non-refutable conjecture may be 'a perfectly scientific hypothesis' that can be:

"investigated by scientific means i.e. by expanding it into a theory proper and by checking some of its predictions against empirical data. In other words, a specific hypothesis, to rank as scientific, need not be refutable in any obvious way. But it must be confirmable (in principle), and it must cohere with the bulk of science instead of being thoroughly stray; hence irrelevant to scientific knowledge."[23]

**Type I Specific theories**

| | |
|---|---|
| Semantic characteristics: | a) all of the basic symbols have a factual content. |
| | b) the reference class is a clear cut and rather narrow species whose members (concrete entities) are supposed to be modelled by the theory in at least some respects. |
| Methodological characteristics: | a) conceptually testable (i.e. testable as to consistency) with the bulk of our antecedent knowledge. |
| | b) empirically testable (confirmable and refutable) provided it is enriched with a set of data. |

**Type II Generic interpreted theories**

| | |
|---|---|
| Semantic characteristics: | a) all basic symbols assigned a factual interpretation. |
| | b) the reference class is a genus with an arbitary (indeterminate) number of species, every one of which is representable by a Type I. |
| Methodological characteristics: | a) conceptually testable. |
| | b) empirically untestable by itself: may become testable by adjoining to a model object (a hypothetical sketch of a concrete entity), thus becoming a Type I. |

**Type III Generic semi-interpreted theories**

| | |
|---|---|
| Semantic characteristics: | a) most symbols assigned no factual interpretation (often only time identified). |
| | b) reference class is a whole family of genera, each representable by a Type II theory. |
| Methodological characteristics: | a) conceptually testable. |
| | b) empirically untestable by itself but may become viacariously testable upon specification (as Type II). |

**Table 2.1: Three kinds of scientific theory. (After Bunge)**

i) **hypothesis** =
empirically confirmable, in however an indirect fashion. If also refutable so much the better.

ii) **specific (type I) theory** =
components empirically confirmable and refutable when enriched with empirical data. A specific theory that is irrefutable as a whole (because its various components protect each other) is non-specific

iii) **generic interpreted (type II) theory** =
developable into a type I theory upon adjunction of subsidiary assumptions and empirical data constituting a model object.

iv) **generic semi-interpreted (type III) theory** =
developable into a type II theory upon addition of interpretation assumptions and rules.

v) **metaphysical theory** =
susceptible of becoming a presupposition of theoretical science.

Conditions attaching to Table 2.1 (After Bunge)

Refutability is not, however, dismissed, as there is acknowledgement that an hypothesis that is both confirmable and refutable is stronger than one that is not. Instead these criteria are used to develop a methodological pyramid of theoretical kinds or levels which provides a very useful pegboard on which to hang a theoretical approach to understanding the complex problems presented by the planning process.

It may be seen from Table 2.1 that Bunge adopts conceptual testability as being an essential criterion for any statement to qualify as scientific. In addition he requires subsidiary conditions to be fulfilled, per the conditions to the Table.

> "I submit that conceptual testability jointly with any one of the conditions i) through v) above constitute necessary and sufficient conditions for a hypothesis or a theory to be called testable or scientific. Testability lato sensu is thus equivalent to scientific status; anything testable in the broad sense is scientific and conversely. To settle for less would be to condone pseudoscience and encourage wild speculation. To ask for more would be unrealistic or crippling. In any case I propose the above liberal criterion of testability (or scientificity) for consideration."

Bunge also puts forward proposals for what he sees as "the right method". He views three steps in original research as being outside methodical direction: "the choice of problems, the invention of conjectures, and the evaluation of solutions." For the rest, he describes it within the context of his systematic analysis approach, as follows:

i) getting hold of an interesting and promising problem.

ii) gathering and assessment of all available data:

> "...it will start by classing the concepts of the theory into defining and defined, and by ordering the statements of the theory by means of the relation of ded ucibility. By so doing the philosopher not only subjects his philosophical hypotheses to the supreme test, but becomes a foundations research worker. This puts him in the best possible position for passing judgement on the technical (both substantive and formal) merits and shortcomings of the theory, as well as for disclosing its philosophical presuppositions and pointing to its possible philosophical significance."

iii) turning the stock of material around in the hope of finding a general conjecture that fits; significantly, this must be an inductive step, particularly insofar as "only those conjectures which intuitively look

promising" will be formalised.

iv) selection of a subset of defined hypotheses that are clear, and consistent with our existing knowledge. Again an essentially inductive step:

> "Our inductive policies should be as objective (or rather as little biased) as in science: we should not let our prejudices decide the issue, even though we cannot help our pet prejudices from suggesting possible solutions."

v) closely define and clarify the hypotheses, embedding them into a full-fledged axiomatised theory.

vi) test the theory and hypotheses; (against other theories for adequacy and compatibility) and empirically (against the real world).

It is worth noting that by axiomatising the theory, it should be possible to make amendments to troublemaking components (i.e. refuted components) since those that are unrefuted will remain to be salvaged.[24]

Of particular interest from the planning point of view in this approach are the overt introduction of the process of induction, and the "enlarged testability criterion". As will be seen in the integrating section, it is considered that these amount to a difference of opinion, albeit significant, between Popper and Bunge, rather than a radical difference in approach.

As such it is reasonable to conclude that Bunge's approach is similarly abstracted from the pragmatic sphere.

At first sight it is difficult to see how such abstractions of philosophical statement can be brought into the practical area within which planning operates. It is, however, important to see whether, and how it might be possible. In contrast, then, to the two approaches examined above there is value in turning to look at the consciously and overtly pragmatic approach offered by Rescher.

Rescher's solution to the question has been to take his philosophy bodily into the real world:

> "The proper test for the correctness or appropriateness of anything methodological in nature is plainly and obviously posed by the

> paradigmatically pragmatic questions: Does it work? Does it attain its intended purposes? Does it - to put it crassly - deliver the goods?... Accordingly, anything methodological, be it a tool, procedure, instrumentality program or policy of action, etc. is properly validated in terms of its ability to achieve the purposes at issue - its success at accomplishing its appropriate task".[25]

It is fundamental to his argument that there exists a distinction between "thesis pragmatism" whereby a proposition is adopted as true if it is maximally success/benefit producing, and "methodological pragmatism" where the emphasis is on the method of inquiry which produces the proposition. Rescher dismisses the former principally on the grounds that the pragmatic utility of a thesis is not a definite enough tool for the determination of its truth or acceptability.

He contends, however, as a result of the inherent generality of method and its rationality, that there is provided in the latter an enquiry procedure of:

> "uniquely vast range and comprehensiveness: it represents an effectively boundless methodology for the verification of theses."

In outline the characteristics of the problem are as follows. If we accept that factual knowledge requires legitimation of some kind or other in order to enable us to accept it as such; how do we go about legitimating it? If we surmise that factual knowledge arises in the first instance as conjecture, hypothesis, putative truth or whatever and that some means of identification of these is required; what options do we have?

The approaches that have been examined so far have incorporated defined criteria for acceptance as truth or objective knowledge, in terms of testing the hypothesis. Rescher proposes the radically different approach that the definition of factual knowledge and its legitimation result from the character of the method itself used to generate the putative knowledge. Methods are seen in teleological terms as a "method-for-the-realisation-of-some-end". It thus neatly side-steps the question of testability as it provides a methodology that is constantly open to improvement by a dynamic feedback process.

This results in stage by stage improvements in the method itself as methodology improves over time.

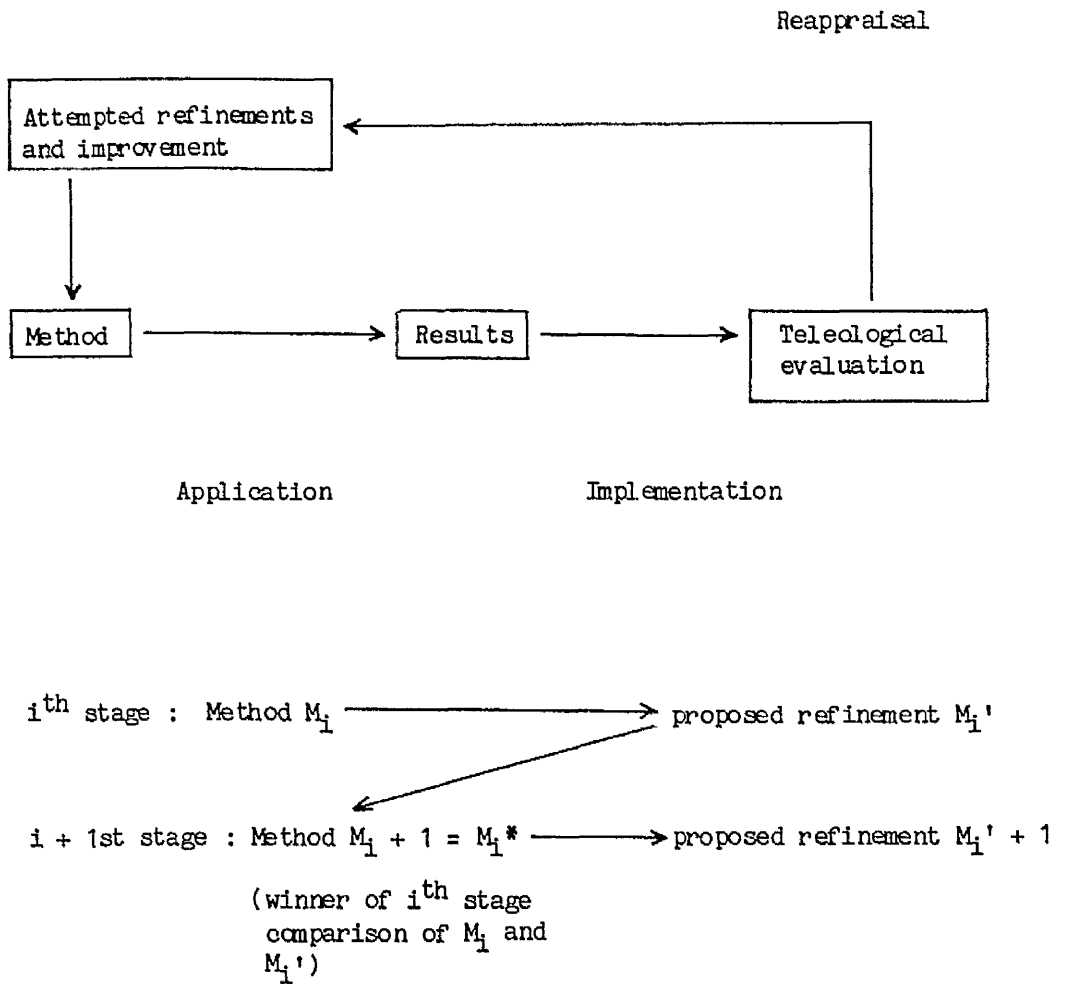



**Figure 2.3: The process of method refinement (After Rescher)**

The initial products of any given method are viewed not in terms of "truth" but in terms of "warranted postulate" although there is no reason why the former status should not subsequently be achieved. It is interesting to note that this definitional stance breaks the circularity of the position adopted:

> "The critical point is that in the context of our justificatory reasoning we are not dealing with the establishment of a factual thesis at all - be it demonstrative or presumptive - but merely with the rational validation of a practical course of action. And the practical warrant that rationalises the use of a method need not call for any assurance of success which it is, in the circumstances in view altogether impossible to give."

The approach as a result adopts an inductive process of reasoning. M has provided satisfactory results therefore M will provide satisfactory results:

> "...the pragmatic legitimation of induction does not claim to demonstrate that this method is 'correct' but that it is a rational practice to adopt on the ground that if **anything** can count as a sound reason for adopting a practice of inquiry, then the pragmatic success of its past applications must do so."

Having demonstrated the validity of his methodological conclusions the next step is to relate success and truthfulness and to attempt to establish the pragmatic success of a method as a rational criterion of legitimate truth. This is accomplished by adopting a defined general stance at the metaphysical level. There are three constituent principles involved; activism, reasonableness, and interactionism, together with additional subsidiary principles regarding the nature of the universe.[26] From these is drawn the metaphysical deduction that, whilst action on false beliefs can on occasion succeed, it cannot do so systematically. Since methods operate at the systematic level Rescher concludes:

> "It is **not** our view that pragmatic efficacy constitutes another mode of justification independent of truth. The whole point is that the pragmatic efficacy of an **inquiry-procedure** is inherently truth correlative - not because of what **truth** means, but because of the metaphysical ramifications of success in this sphere."

The metaphysical and factual elements in the inquiry procedure may thus be joined diagramatically revealing the development of a succession of stages in the approach, as in Figure 2.4 overleaf.

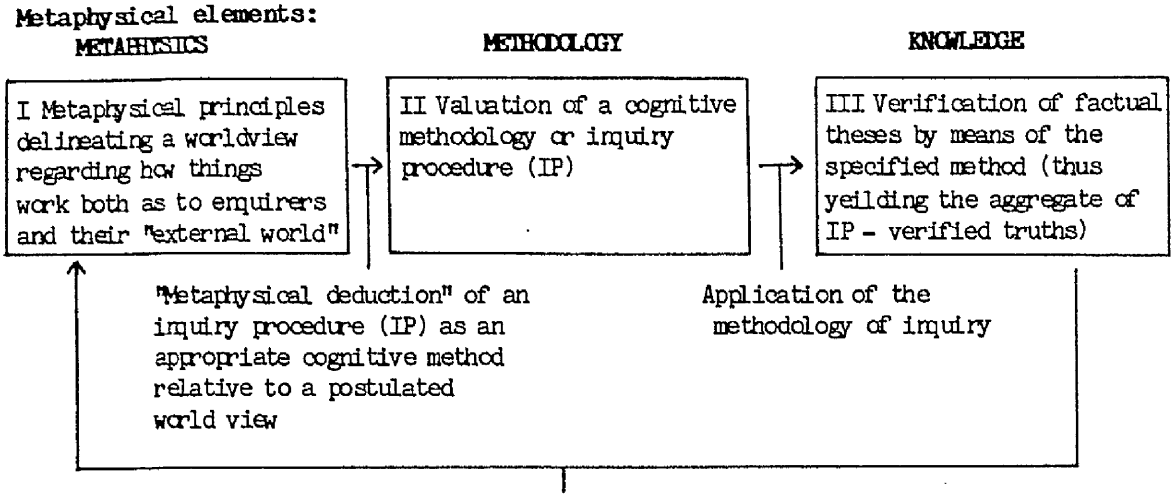
This linkage of knowledge and practice is in accord with the processes that operate in reality. In beliefs, as in many other areas, ultimate validation:

> "lies in the combination of theoretical and practical **success**, with 'practice' construed in its pragmatic and affective sense."

It is therefore deemed to be fundamental that method, truth and praxis are interdependently defined yet defined independently. It may be deduced as a result that explanation, prediction and practice are likewise. Since these functions are linked in any dynamic structures in the application of theory to practice this has important implications for the potential applicability of this stance to the planning process.

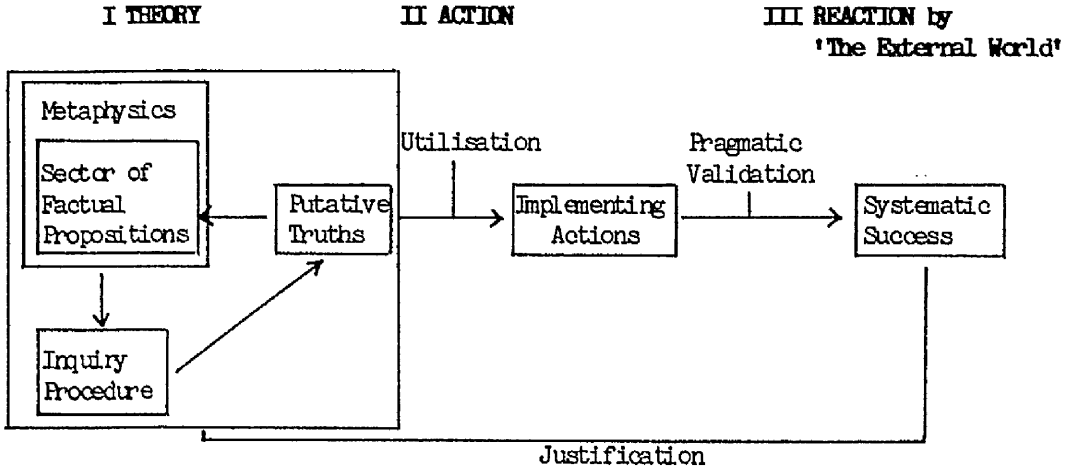
There are, however, problem areas with this approach which may be beneficially introduced at this stage.

**Metaphysical elements:**




Assessment of the metaphysical world-view in terms of the IP validated world picture which (hopefully) provides it with empirical and **a posteriori** support. (This amounts to a retrospective **ex post facto** revalidation of the basic metaphysics).

**Factual elements:**




**Inquiry procedure:**

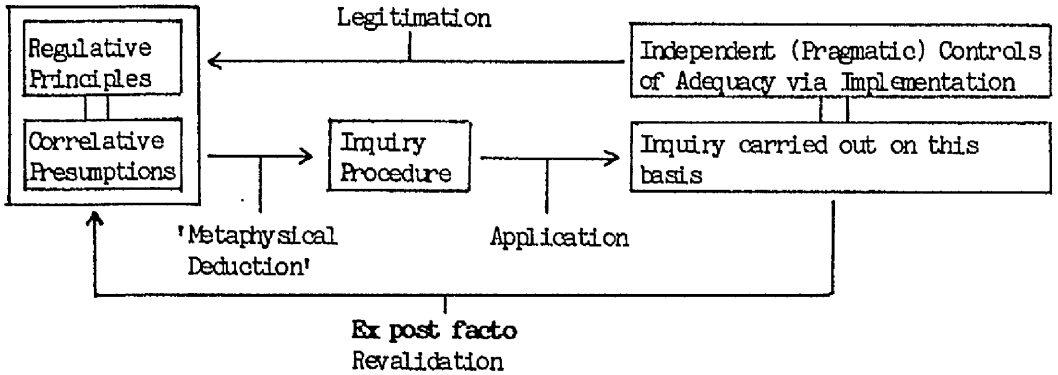



**Figure 2.4: The metaphysical and factual elements and their linking together in stages in an inquiry procedure (After Rescher)**

One such potentially critical area is that of the application of the methodology. In view of the necessary limitation of the validatory procedure to the strictly practical domain, the methodology cannot be extended beyond such strictly practical questions. In other words, whilst it is potentially a powerful tool for welfare oriented goals (food, shelter, clothing, etc.), it is not applicable in supra-welfare areas (the 'good life', education, culture, etc.). This is principally because the metaphysical rationale of human purposiveness outside the characteristically practical sphere of welfare is extremely wide ranging and varies individually according to moral philosophical stance.

Other problem areas are those of the presumed universal applicability of the metaphysical assumptions, whether method is merely applied thesis, and the acceptability of the limited inductive approach proposed.

These will be considered further in trying to piece together the philosophical approach to knowledge to be adopted.

## Ontological propositions

In what realm will the knowledge-seeking activity have its being? It is clearly of major significance when any problem is confronted and when a serious attempt is to be made at its resolution, that some attempt is made at defining the appropriate area of search. The point has been made before that the more overtly such an attitude is taken, the more open it is to critical improvement, both logically from within the system devised, and by those outside. It does no harm to repeat the position.

The nature of the theory of reality adopted will be a significant factor in determining how any particular problem is examined. In practice therefore the quality of solutions proposed in an area of potential knowledge will be dependent upon the accuracy of this theory.

This may be illustrated by a difficult, albeit trivial problem; the loss of the needle in the haystack. The haystack may be taken as being the universe in which the problem exists. The view of the problem, and certainly the ability to solve it, will be dependent upon how the reality in which the problem exists is defined. Reality may, for instance, be taken quite simply as the physical universe defined by human senses and nothing else. In this case the method for solution of the problem would have to be to dismantle the universe and sift through it laboriously from one end to the other. Even so, human senses are notoriously fallible, and the needle may well be missed in a moment of lapse of concentration.

What happens if the bounds of reality are defined differently? Suppose that there is sufficient knowledge of reality to include certain sensitivities which transcend basic human senses. Assume, for instance, that knowledge is extended to include the other wavelengths making up the electro magnetic spectrum and their properties. This extension may allow the use of the X ray opaque qualities of the steel to assist in finding the needle.

The extension of the knowledge of reality thus enables a far more effective search to be undertaken for the solution to the problem.

It is interesting to note that the effect of this is to define different levels of investigation according to the ontological scheme adopted. This is a further sound reason for an explicit statement of ontology. Moreover, and perhaps more significantly, the different levels of investigation are related

not only to the methods and the approach to resolving problems that are adopted (epistemology) but also to the likelihood of success in solving the problem itself. Bunge's systematic analysis and Rescher's methodological pragmatism, for instance, both have parallel ontological theses. There is a correspondence here with the attitude towards the white box and black box approaches to methods.

The initial view of planning was of the requirement to generate solutions that result in the fulfillment of specific results without side effects; an unique predicted set of results. It is reasonable to propose therefore that the view of reality must be as all-inclusive as possible, albeit located within a defined geographical area. This will avoid the view of reality adopted standing in the way of the design of the appropriate solution. Clearly the definition of an all-inclusive ontology must be a contentious issue. The practicality of such an approach both at a theoretical level and in practice will be considered below.

The requirements of the theory are thus extended as follows: Given a perceived problem, the role of land and of its management in the development and development planning process in a defined geographical area, what systematic and responsibly supported solutions, with a view to all potential inputs and impacts in all of these sectors of reality which may be effected or affected, can be proposed to eradicate the problematic aspects, which do not at the same time produce undesirable or unforeseen side effects.

It is interesting to note that as the requirements extend so does the idealism. As was noted earlier with respect to epistemology this is not necessarily a disadvantage for the present since the proposition will be reviewed below in a more rigorous and practical manner.

**Ontology I**

The characteristic study and application of study in both geography and planning as applied geography, is that of a limited concept of reality. Confirmation of this is relatively simple if the classifications and areas of practice are listed; economic, historical, social, cultural, ecological, environmental, regional, and so on, geography; urban, national, regional, local, rural, transport and so on, planning. Although undoubtedly unfair on the individuals who find themselves thus classified, there can be no doubt that such groupings do exist in an overriding and widespread approach to the

characteristic problems that are being looked at.

This, as with any classification, represents an arbitrary compartmentalisation of characteristics. When viewed against black box and white box standards, both geography and planning appear as a fuzzy and somewhat dark grey, or perhaps more aptly black shot through with white. This is not surprising as a particular approach, for example, economic geography, implies and results in the neglect of other areas of reality that are not independent of economic pressures. In terms of the ideal definition it may therefore be beneficial to be less concerned about:

> "...forgive us our tresspasses. As we forgive them that trespass against us",

And rather more with:

> " We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; And we have done those things which we ought not to have done. "

This is not to decry the academic value and perhaps even the necessity, of such disaggregated approaches. It is, rather, to point out the potential consequences when a limited ontological view is taken from the classroom and posited in the outside world.

The potential consequences of introducing a practitioner who has a profound and thorough knowledge of location economics into a planning process may be viewed by way of illustration. He is presented with the problems of spatial expansion of existing urban and metropolitan areas in a given country to an unacceptable degree, and given the resources and powers to devise a solution to resolve the problem. The solution in this case was proposed as the setting up of new population centres located outside the catchment areas of the metropoli, thus encouraging an independent economic existence. The impact of this, given the attraction of the new centres through the incentives offered to incoming industry and to people and the restrictions in the metropoli on further development of industry and offices, was considerable but not entirely that foreseen by the ambitious planner.

The new centres developed, almost without exception very swiftly, into substantial centres of industry, and decentralised office accommodation. Employment and population grew rapidly. The towns were more attractive both to lower income groups, with new council housing available which was

relatively well built and spaciously laid out, and to higher income groups, as it decreased commuting times from acceptable domicile areas. Migration is, however, a selective process. As a result, the bulk of the people to migrate were in the more mobile age and ability groups: young and skilled individuals, and families with initiative. This denuded the metropoli, and particularly their manufacturing and industrial cores, not only of their populations but also of their manufacturing and industrial base. This in turn had widespread and compounding effects throughout the system.

The decline in demand for property of all kinds in metropolitan centres, for example, led to a stabilisation and in some areas a stagnation of property values in a time of national inflation and increase in property values. Property values in the green field sites of the New Towns which were compulsorily acquired rose dramatically. There resulted a massive transfer of value from the private to the public sector, entirely without compensation. This had an obvious and considerable impact on a wide range of people, from individual owners of property to those ultimately hoping to benefit from a pension fund which derived its income from investment property. There were similar wide ranging effects which resulted from the inflow of low income unskilled workers to the metropolitan centres to take advantage of the low price housing and perceived metropolitan employment opportunities. The lack of mobility that arose because such perceptions were often ill-founded in a time of very rapid industrial and technological change, and the creation and reinforcement of culturally distinct enclaves are factors which continue to produce unforeseen side effects throughout the system.

Similar examples can be drawn from all fields of planned activity. Consideration of the instances raised briefly in the introductory passage to this thesis will reveal that the characterisation of the situation applies there also. Important factors were unfortunately not foreseen with even more unfortunate results.

Whilst such an example may indicate enormous success in terms of fulfilment of formal aims, it may present a very different view in terms of its overall impact on the system, if indeed such an impact is measurable in retrospect.

This is of significance as far as both geography and planning are concerned because they are uniquely linked by their wide-ranging concern for the system as a whole. They are the only profession, discipline or whatever, to have a formally defined approach to view the problems of the world in the round. It

is perhaps thus of some irony that the compartmentalised approach currently adopted in both appears to gainsay their especial value as integrative sciences.[27]

**Ontology II**

These observations suggest that the theory of reality, of how the universe is structured, is of fundamental importance to the approach to problems.

It is interesting to note that a relaxation or alteration of the assumed aims of research will have an effect upon the necessity to define reality rigorously; restrictions in the ability to define methods of achieving aims may thus render all or part of the ontological conceptions redundant.

Popper's view, for instance, in the area of planned change is characteristically that of the social engineer.

> "The characteristic approach of the piecemeal engineer is this. Even though he may perhaps cherish some ideals which concern society 'as a whole' - its general welfare, perhaps - he does not believe in the method of redesigning it as a whole. Whatever his ends, he tries to achieve them by small adjustments and readjustments which can be continually improved upon... The piecemeal engineer knows, like Socrates, how little he knows. He knows that we can learn only from our mistakes. Accordingly, he will make his way, step by step, carefully comparing the results expected with the results achieved, and always on the lookout for the unavoidable unwanted consequences of any reform; and he will avoid undertaking reforms of a complexity and scope which make it impossible for him to disentangle causes and effects, and to know what he is really doing."

Popper distinguishes this approach from Utopianism and is tied to the approach by the logic of his deduction that the more bold the hypothesis or solution to a problem, the less probable (in the sense of the calculus of probability) it is; and indeed by his assessment of the current epistemological status of theory in the social sciences as a whole.[28]

There may, therefore, be crucial impacts as between epistemology and ontology that should, for preference, be avoided. The ontology to be adopted must be largely determined by the theoretical constructs which require to be firmly bedded in reality.

The subject matter of development planning is extensive. An ontology to parallel this should therefore be similarly extensive. Indeed, it has been

argued earlier that it must be, insofar as it is possible, all-encompassing. To that extent it is therefore intended to define the bounds of the required universe in white box terms.

Of particular interest in this respect are Bunge's proposals for scientific materialism:

> "From physics to history science seems to study matter of various kinds and only matter, inanimate or alive, in particular thinking and social matter. This is surely a far cry from the view of matter offered by non-materialist philosophers, in particular the immaterialist (or idealist) ones. The kind of materialism suggested by contemporary science is dynamicist rather than staticist. It is also pluralistic in the sense that it acknowledges that a material thing can have many more properties than just those mechanics assigned to it."[29]

Bunge is fundamentally concerned with the definition of the universe in which the inputs to the particular problem environment are to be found. His is an argument in favour of a thoroughgoing white box materialist view of mind, body, life, and culture.

Material is viewed in terms of:

> "everything that exists really is material - or, stated negatively, that immaterial objects such as ideas have no existence independent of material things such as brains".

Bunge characterises scientific materialism as follows:

> "a) **exact**: every concept worth using is exact or quantifiable;
>
> b) **systematic**: every hypothesis or definition belongs to a hypothetico-deductive system;
>
> c) **scientific**: every hypothesis worth adopting is consistent with contemporary science - and therefore must stand or fall with the latter;
>
> d) **materialist**: every entity is material (concrete), and every ideal brain object is ultimately a process in some brain or a class of brain processes;
>
> e) **dynamicist**: every entity is changeable - to be is to become;
>
> f) **systemist**: every entity is a system or a component of some system;
>
> g) **emergentist**: every system possesses properties absent from its components;
>
> h) **evolutionist**: every emergence is a stage in some evolutionary

process."

These characteristics suffice to define the basis of the ontology, and to differentiate it effectively from alternative approaches. For the purposes of a thorough understanding, however, further discussion and clarification of each will be beneficial.

In terms of **exact**-ness the critically exact mode of reporting enforced by the employment of logic, rather than the "incurably fuzzy" precision of ordinary language, is seen as essential to reduce ambiguity and vagueness and to promote objectivity. Theses and axioms, being more exactly defined and with their subject matter and contended relations more specific, may as a result be more accurately constructed into an hypothetico-deductive system.

The **systematic** condition has already been discussed in epistemological terms; its ontological counterpart follows sensibly therefrom.

The **scientific** nature of the ontology is important for obvious reasons. It has a number of significant implications for the overall approach. Firstly, it demands a critical review of what passes as contemporary science against the yardstick of the adopted general philosophical stance. This provides as objective as possible an assessment of the "contemporary science" into which the proposed hypothesis will have to fit. Secondly, it demands of the hypothesis that it be logically integrated into relevant acceptable contemporary science. Obviously, this has different implications for the well-formalised and comparatively exact physical sciences, as compared with the often notionalistic and inexact social sciences, precisely because the bedrock on which the latter is built is apt to be a more shifting sand. Thirdly, and stemming from this, there is no implication that contemporary science as such is unchanging or unchangeable. There have undoubtedly been major advances in science which have fundamentally altered the then contemporary science.

The **materialist** requirement is central to Bunge's ontology and contains two of the key, and certainly more contentious, issues proposed; on the mind-body problem and on materialism as a concept of culture.

The mind-body problem tends to be the distinguishing hallmark dividing materialist from all manner of idealist views. The scientific materialist in common with other materialists views mind as a set of brain functions. The

present approach itself requires some precision and detail in the formal statement of the theory, and it takes on the emergentist materialist characteristics required of it in that formalisation. It comprises a psychoneural identity theory;

> "the view that mental states and processes, though brain activities, are not just physical or chemical, or even cellular, but are specific activities of complex neuron assemblies."

The detailed concept, its composition, environment and structure may be presented in essence as follows.

The central nervous system, and its subsystems comprise committed systems which are preprogrammed. There are, in addition, in some animals uncommitted or plastic systems. These latter enable new biofunctions to be acquired in life. Events are perceived by their origination or by action on some neurosensor. They are thus events in the plastic part of the sensory cortex. They are not fully autonomous, but represent events occurring in parts of the body or in the event space of the subject. Such representations are thus anything but simple and faithful, but are potentially mappable mathematical functions.

Behaviour divides into instinctive and learned, controlled respectively by the committed and uncommitted parts of the sensory cortex. Moreover since no two material objects are exactly identical, no two animals behave in exactly the same manner.

Motivation results from the detection of an imbalance in components of the state function of the animal. It will attempt to decrease this imbalance using its behavioural options according to its value system. Those animals capable of learning can modify their value system.

All animals have some memory capability, which is utilised largely as the result of experience. Some animals are able to anticipate, and thus expect certain events to occur given certain conditions. Such anticipation may be translated into purposive behaviour in order to realise goals that are valued.

If the plastic part of the sensory cortex responds uniformly in a specific animal to a given class of events, then that animal may form a concept of that class of events if the psychon response is standard for that class.

An animal may build up a proposition from these concepts expressed sequentially. This sequential expression of concepts as propositions corresponds with knowledge in an animal when linked with specific events, specific learned behaviour patterns of the given animal, or specific constructs.

The ability to make decisions is restricted to those animals that are capable of possessing or creating knowledge. The making of rational decisions is further limited to those animals in possession of adequate knowledge and with correct valuations (value systems), and with "foresight of the possible outcomes of the corresponding actions".

> "Creativity is the activity or behaviour resulting from the activity of newly connected psychons."

Turning to culture; the materialist concept views culture as a subsystem of the concrete system comprising society.

> "...every society **A**, at any given moment of its existence, can be represented schematically by listing the following items:
>
> i) the **composition** or **membership M** of **A** ;
>
> ii) the **immediate environment** (natural or social) of **A** , i.e. the set **E** of items that, not being in **M**, act on members of **A** or are acted upon by them;
>
> iii) the **structure** of **A**, i.e. the set **S** of social (interpersonal and intergroup) relations or activities of members of **A**, plus the set **T** of relations and activities of transformation of environmental items, involving members of **M**."

The three main subsystems of society comprise the economy, the culture, and the polity. Each of these have a notional labour force which engages in aspects of economic, cultural and political production or organisation, together with the consumers thereof, and defining subsets of social relations, and worker classifications, all operating in the immediate environment concerned.

The concept and definition of these subsystems as concrete systems is important as:

> "...one obtains the possibility of modelling the entire economy, the entire culture and the entire polity of a society as systems with definite compositions and structure. Furthermore one can recognise input variables and output variables as well as inner mechanisms."

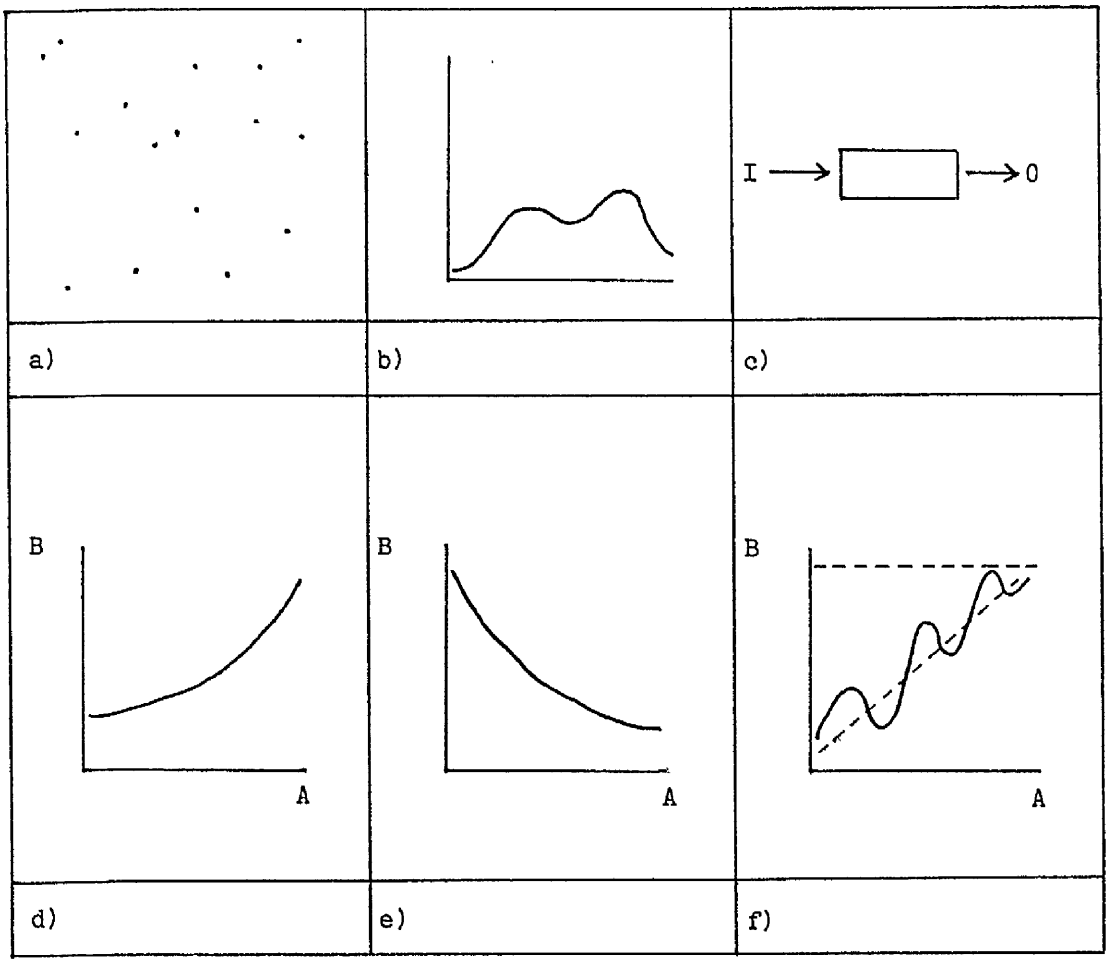
These components may each be effectively structured in a matrix, and since they are strongly interactive, jointly define the societal structure overall.

In achieving this, a position whereby identification of the impact of changes in one subsystem throughout the system should be possible. It is thus a thoroughgoing dynamic view of society and of its interrelating parts, although it should be noted that these latter also have independent dynamic characteristics.

By virtue of the materialist approach to the mind-body problem then, the culture, as with the economy and the polity of a society is definable and does not have an existence independent of the material. This is precisely because, for instance, poetry, even if written down, has no existence, other than that of the material existence of the paper and ink, apart from that stimulated in the creator or user.

Turning to the **dynamicist** requirement for scientific materialism. The above observations, throughout the present chapter, have been shot through with the requirement for dynamism in approach. Bunge classes dynamism into modes of becoming and isolates five as being recognised by contemporary science which may be helpfully represented graphically as in Figure 2.5.

**Modes of becoming:**




a) chaotic distribution: no law
b) a probability distribution (stochastic law)
c) a causal black box: transforms inputs into outputs (causal law)
d) cooperative: A helps B grow and conversely
e) competition: A inhibits the growth of B and conversely
f) purposefulness: process approaches goal despite local setbacks

**Related ontologies:**

| **Mode of becoming** | **Ontology** | |
|---|---|---|
| Chaos | Indeterminism | |
| Randomness | Probabilism ) | |
| Causation | Causalism ) | |
| Synergy (cooperation) | Synergism ) | determinism |
| Conflict (competition) | Dialectics ) | |
| Purpose | Teleology ) | |

**Figure 2.5: Modes of becoming and related ontologies (After Bunge)**

Indeterminism is discounted as being non-scientific, on the grounds that any acceptance of non-lawful behaviour stultifies scientific enquiry.

Of the remaining five, the first four operate at all levels. Purposive behaviour is, however, the prerogative of the higher vertebrates, which are endowed with psychons. The crucial significance of this for the present approach is that these approaches are thus intermingled:

> "...such an ontology inspired by contemporary science will tend to view man as a biopsychosocial system engaged in processes where randomness and causation intertwine with cooperation, competition and purpose. A concentration on either of these modes of becoming with ignorance of the other four results in a distorted picture of reality and therefore in a poor guide to intelligent and effective action."

The final three requirements of the approach are self-explanatory; **systematist, emergentist** and **evolutionist.** It is interesting and of significance to note that these three are closely related and are contained in the systematic approach mooted above in epistemological circumstances.

Turning now to Rescher's methodological pragmatism, it is clear that in taking his approach bodily into the practical world, he has not only side-stepped the question of testability, but has also effectively circumvented by incorporation the necessity to identify an ontology explicitly.

**Philosophical Propositions**

The requirement for the ontological propositions is for them to provide the definition of the environment in which the proposed solutions to any given problem have their being. They have a dual role; the definition of the world internal to the problem within which the problem is to be viewed and its solution conjectured; together with the definition of the world external with which the proposed solution must be able to be judged to be in accord.

It has already been observed that one of the aims of research must be to provide solutions to problems. This has a necessary implication for the theory of reality. If the attempt is to be made to fulfill the aim, and if the resulting solutions are to work, then there must necessarily be some objectively standard basis for the reality in which the solutions are required to work.

The ultimate requirement for the ontological propositions is thus to provide an environment that is not in philosophical terms, and in practical terms cannot be, subject to selective interpretation by the individual. It must be the objectively defined environment that, given the defining limits, will enable each individual to perceive the same environment that accords, exclusively and inclusively, with objective reality.

The world external must therefore ultimately be identical with the defined world internal.

Turning to the epistemological requirements in similar vein. The ultimate requirement must be the truth although it is at once accepted that this may not at present be definable in absolute terms, or alternatively that it may be impossible to achieve. The mode of approaching this thorny problem must, however, provide that, given the above ontological scheme, the method is not only that most conducive to the identification of the truth, but also that least likely to condone approaches that are truth evasive.

The epistemological stance to be adopted therefore demands two characteristics; firstly, that due recognition of the theory of reality be given by incorporating the requirements of systematicity into its approach, and, secondly, that the approach to the truth follow a logically sound route.

It is important to note that ontology is thus firmly embedded in any given

epistemology. Bunge posed the question of a social scientist:

> Is not science characterised by a method rather than by an ontology? My reply is that a method is only one component of an approach, the others being a general framework, a set of problems and a set of goals. The general framework is a body of philosophical (logical, ontological, epistemological and ethical) principles. These principles are not decorative: they guide, misguide or block the cognitive enterprise from the formulation of problems to the evaluation of solutions."[30]

. . .

The ultimate position will be examined in more detail below, however, at this juncture the practical aspects of the present problem require more specific consideration. There is, after all, little point and even less merit in proposing a solution to a problem that does not bear heavily upon praxis.

Popper observes that:

> "it is different with him **qua** man of practical action. For a man of practical action has always to **choose** between some more or less definite alternatives, since even **inaction is a kind of action**."

There results the rational approach that preference for the best-tested theory be adopted by the operative.

In the process of planning there are two levels of operative dependence for any given plan. There is the level of the **planner** and the level of the **executor.** It is not particularly common for these two levels to be merged in practice since by their very nature they make different demands upon the individual in terms of skills, expertise, background knowledge, experience and so on.

It is also of critical importance to realise that operative dependence for any given plan is not exclusively related to the resources with which the individual is endowed. Employment of resources demands time; there is also, therefore, a time dependence at both levels of the planning process.

It is one matter to evaluate an approach to the development planning process over a three year period, and quite another to be detailed a specific aim to achieve by a Minister in six weeks.

Bunge, referring to his total activity matrix, commented as follows:

> "As a matter of fact this is what cultural, economic, and political planning are all about. Only, such planning is usually partial, hence lopsided, rather than integral, insofar as it concerns just selected aspects of the total activity matrix. No wonder they fail more often than not."

To this it should merely be added that partial planning, and the degree of partiality, result not only from ontological and epistemological deficiences, but also from operative and time deficiences, other things being equal.

. . .

The epistemological approaches examined incorporate two significantly different, and yet related, views as to the approach to problems in the real world.

On the one hand, in general terms, there are the thoroughgoing, rigorous and detailed approaches advocated by both Popper and Bunge: thoroughgoing here in the sense that the definition of their objective as verisimilitude, or whatever, provides for at least a surrogate truth seeking mission.

Rescher, on the other hand, places the responsibility for thoroughgoingness firmly in the hands of practical man. His problems are autodefining and thus critical awareness of problems depends upon the practical man in question. His approaches to problems are self-steering and dialectically evolutionary. His solutions to problems do not attempt to provide for the fulfilment of the aim of objective knowledge, since although reciprocal with reality, this is also self-defining. In short, the approach does not seem to have an inbuilt lust for truth; rather this, or its equivalent, is provided by the operation of the metaphysical assumptions.

A number of problem areas were identified in these proposed approaches which require comment prior to turning to ontology.

It has been observed all through that Popper and Bunge share a certain community of approach. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Bunge's propositions add counterpoint to the main problems viewed in the former's work. Thus it was noted that significant problems in Popper's views revolve around; the requirement to exclude processes of induction, the difficulty of applying the

criterion of refutability to an hypothesis, and the abstraction from practical considerations.

The first of these leaves unexplained the process by which conjecture is formulated. This makes matters difficult, even when given a situation of detailed background knowledge because, having discounted the inductive approach to problems, there seems to be no alternative approach to adopt. Conjectures do not fall, as manna, from heaven. Bunge makes explicit the acceptance of the inductive step in conjecture which is considered to be unavoidable.

The criterion of refutation has been identified by critics as being indistinguishable from that of confirmation. After all, the questions as to at what point an hypothesis is confirmed, or refuted are essentially very similar. Criticisms of this nature of Popper's views may be countered in that attempted refutation is seen as a mode of progress, as a dynamic force in science, not as an abstract yardstick. Bunge's "enlarged testability criterion" adds substance to this concept.

Both approaches share the abstraction from the practical sphere of operations, which is possibly an inevitable by-product of the shared view that truth is unattainable. It is perhaps this insistence, emphasising that even proximate truth is hard won, which is of the greatest value in this approach as it fosters constant pressure at those margins to knowledge where the greatest demand for problem solving lies. Ironically, this emphasis simultaneously presents a difficult problem, particularly in the present context, in the form of very heavy demands for information.

Bunge and Popper are viewed henceforth as a unified approach.

Rescher's approach, however is firmly in the practical sphere of operations and indeed provides a view of the actual structure and modus operandi of that sphere.

It lacks a priori testability since the only test is that resulting from the application of the proposed method in praxis. It could not be otherwise since there are no hypotheses in a consciously method oriented approach. This is a serious problem to be overcome, given that in much of development planning there is little detailed knowledge of circumstances in the defined geographical area of concern, and limited pragmatic expertise. It is as a

result an error conducive approach since it defines the only way to proceed as being through a series of a posteriori corrections.

The potential impact of this is devastating in the short term in view of the long time spans under consideration. Development programmes in most Third World countries are a relatively recent phenomenon. It may take three years to plan, fund and detail a given project, three years to implement and three years' running to give an equilibrium situation; a total of, say, nine years at an optimistic estimate before anything can be stated about the merits or demerits of the method itself. The situation is compounded in that resources and pressures for development have not in the past been oriented significantly towards monitoring and reviewing projects. This is because this has not been a high priority function either for aid donors or for existing political powers. There is therefore no necessary guarantee that other than the most crass and appalling errors would ever be eradicated using this method of approach.

The inductive nature of the proceedings also provides some cause for concern. It is justified on the basis of non-circularity, in that the confirmation of a given method is from the real world application of that method which is outside the methodological circle of reasoning. This is only acceptable, as noted earlier, in view of the limited definition of praxis which results from the justification for the method being based upon certain metaphysical assumptions.

Demarcation of the proper sphere of application thus defined is viewed as problematic and subjective and in any case severely limiting to the approach. The stating of certain metaphysical assumptions of universal applicability through all peoples ignoring race, colour and creed, is considered to be highly questionable.

There is none-the-less an attraction in the approach insofar as it does present a useful critically time based view, albeit almost an a posteriori commentary, on the functioning of the real world.

Considering Popper's and Bunge's approach together with the methodological pragmatism of Rescher, it is fair to note that they do not necessarily present competing views; nor are they automatically mutually exclusive. Both have

the undoubted merit observed earlier of being fundamentally dynamic. They are characterised, however, by differences; in approach, in limitations and in defining criteria.

The two approaches may, in fact, be viewed conceptually as operational at different levels; the one at the academic level, the other at the practical.

At the level of philosophical consideration and at this stage, no concessions to the peculiarities of praxis will be made in the ontological position since, for those reasons earlier canvassed, to do so would be to condone a limited viewpoint of matters.

. . .

It is clear that the variables that can be abstracted from the above have a bearing upon how effectively the problem-solver may treat with his problem. Graphical representation of various possible relationships possible may be suggested, given that such relationships are indefinite and may prove to be undefinable. Their role is intended to be non-specific and strictly conceptual in the present study. They are emphatically not empirical; although they may point to possible areas of future interest.

There are, firstly, variables of **method** in attempting to resolve a problem. The approaches that have been considered may be characterised as the academic and the practical, for want of better terminology. The philosophical bases of both approaches have much to commend them. Whilst the practical has more room for academic criticism and perhaps greater implicit potential for error, it is intuitively less far removed from the practicalities of life. The approaches are not seen to be mutually exclusive, and it is thus reasonable to view the two potentially as operating simultaneously. Making the assumption for the present purposes that the two approaches comprise the sole possible philosophies of method, the question arises as to whether reality suggests that there may be a significant variation in efficacy of development planning according to the approach adopted. A possible relationship may be viewed at a given time, for a number of development planning operations as in Figure 2.6 overleaf.

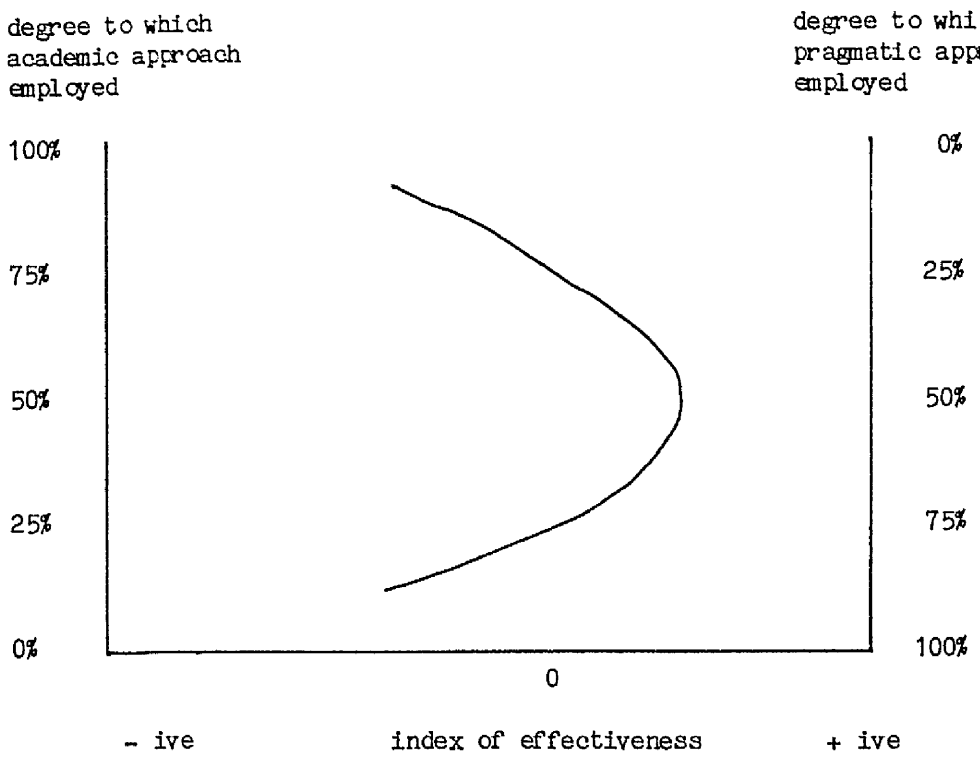



**Figure 2.6: Efficacy of a number of development plans at a given time according to the method of planning**

There are, secondly, variations within the identified views of **reality** held by individual participants according to their perceptions.

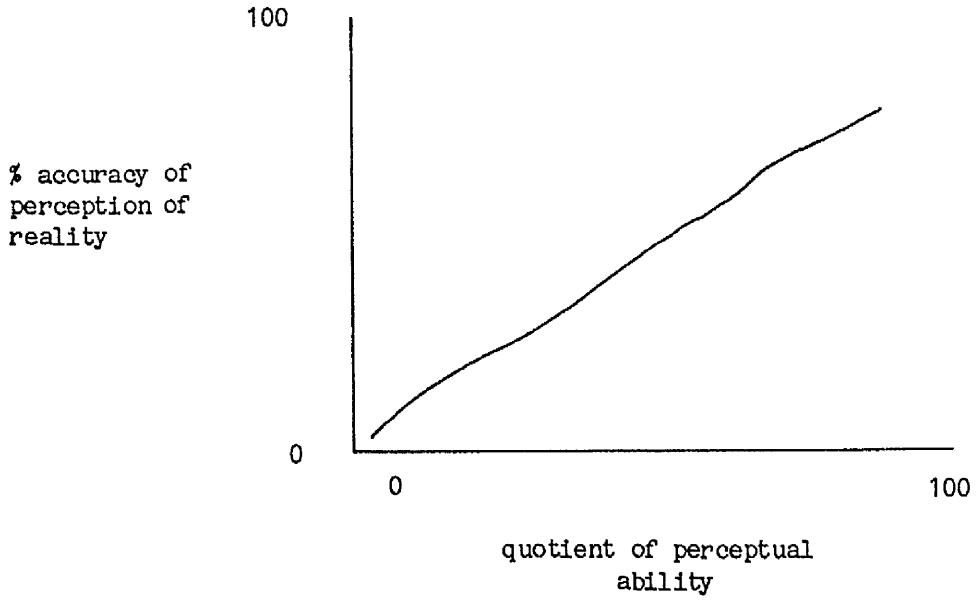



**Figure 2.7: Perceptions of reality of a number of individuals at a given time according to their perceptual ability**

Thirdly, there are likely to be differences in both of these variables resulting from the impact of **time**. The development planning process is itself carried out over time, and charting the relationship between the effectiveness of the process against time may be of interest.

Similarly, the perception of what constitutes the relevant reality will change over time and is of interest as it may also affect the development planning process. These perceptions will tend to be reinforced and further developed by, for instance, the training of individual brains for specific purposes which may adjust behaviour and culture patterns.

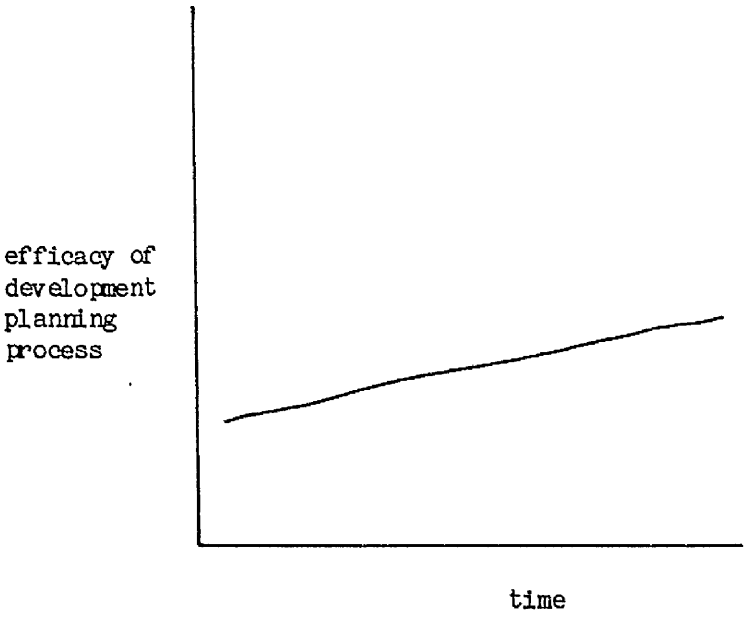



**Figure 2.8: Efficacy of a number of development planning processes over time**

These three variables may be drawn into a three dimensional conceptual framework suggesting a number of possible relationships that merit exploring under the proposed philosophical position. It should be emphasised that at this stage it is considered that such a position can only be presented at this broad level of statement.

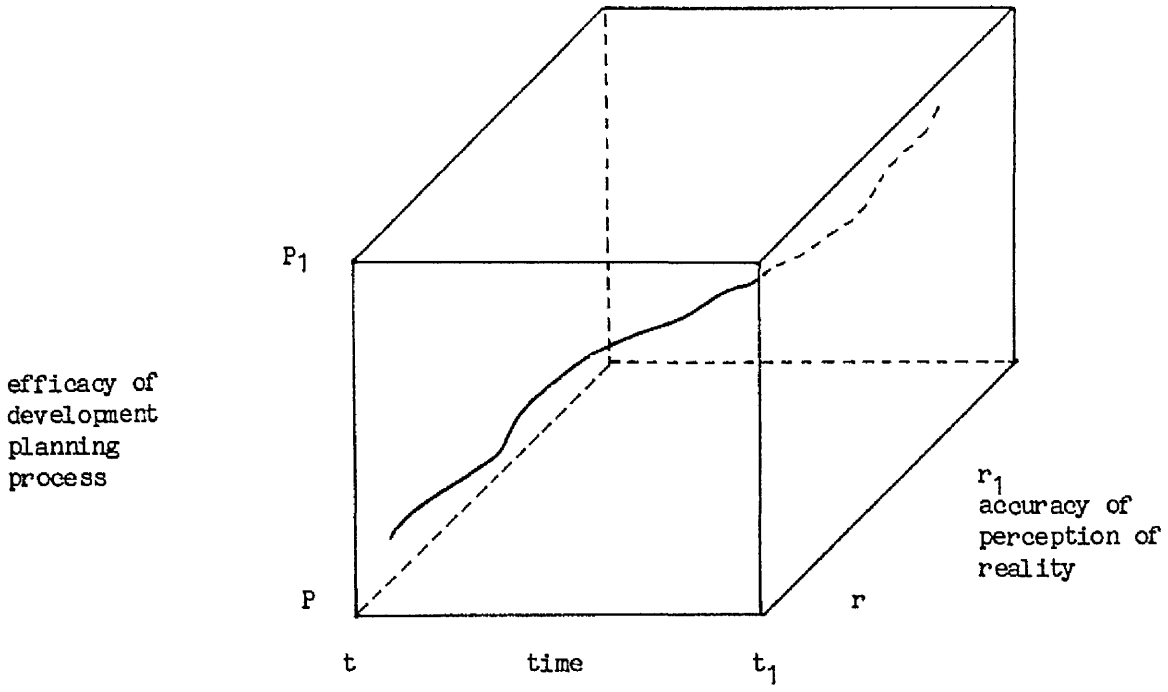



**Figure 2.9: Efficacy of development planning process against accuracy of perception of reality over time**

**Philosophical Position**

The approach to be adopted in the following pages relates strongly to the views expressed above.

More specifically, it attempts to illuminate segments of this tentative philosophy by examining a particular set of relationships that have found expression in one instance of development planning. In so doing, it also casts light elsewhere upon the subject matter.

The particular instance of development and development planning is that of the Fiji Islands, and the particular set of relationships is the identification of considerations relating to the management of the land resource in the development planning process of that country from 1940 to 1985. Attention has been focussed within this set of relationships upon the changes that have taken place in the Native Land Trust Board, a body that is effectively responsible for the management of four-fifths of the nation's land resource.

The field of investigation is necessarily wide; socio-cultural, economic, political and behavioural considerations and their various interfaces are examined in context and accounted for.

Wettersten's reading of Bunge establishes useful ground rules in this context:

> "Thesis one is that exactness is context-dependent. We may translate this to a rule; be as exact as the context allows. This rule fits Bunge's appraisal of say physics and social science. Social science is now so confused that we cannot immediately achieve the same degrees of exactness in any part of the social sciences. The second thesis is that proper analysis reveals context. This may be translated into the rule: start an analysis by formalising the context....
>
> Thesis three says there are degrees of propriety of analysis. We may translate this to the rule: do not worry too much about the correctness of your formalisation of the context until the end of the process, after which you can criticize yourself. Thesis four is that techniques of analysis are improvable. This can read: look for latest developments in mathematics in order to see if they can be used in analysis of scientific theories.... The fifth thesis is that Bunge's techniques are the best. This reads, compare his techniques with others and try to improve upon all of them."[31]

It is an opportune moment to return to Father Brown's observations:

> "Ten false philosophies will fit the universe.... But we want the real explanation of the universe."

The observations above constitute the most critical step in the approach to the universe, and whilst no claim can be, or is, made as to their constituting the real explanation, it is considered that they are at least a move in the right direction, even if only because they have been overtly stated.

## CHAPTER 3

### Theoretical Framework

"There can be no science of society till the facts about society are available. Till 130 years ago we had no census, no knowledge even of the numbers and growth of the people; till fifteen years ago we had no comprehensive records about unemployment even in this country, and other countries are still where we were, a generation or more ago; social statistics of every kind - about trade, wages, consumption - are everywhere in their infancy.

..."From Copernicus to Newton is 150 years. Today, 150 years from the **Wealth of Nations**, we have not found, and should not expect to find, the Newton of economics. If we have travelled as far as Tycho Brahe we may be content. Tycho was both a theorist and an observer. As a theorist, he believed to his last day in the year 1601 that the planets went round the sun and that the sun and the stars went round the earth as the fixed centre of the universe. As an observer, he made with infinite patience and integrity thousands of records of the stars and planets; upon these records, Kepler, in due course, based his laws and brought the truth to lights. If we will take Tycho Brahe for our example, we may find encouragement also. It matters little how wrong we are with our existing theories, if we are honest and careful with our observations".

Extracts from Lord Beveridge's farewell address as Director of the London School of Economics, 24th June 1937; from "An Introduction to Positive Economics" (1966, 2nd Edition, R.G. Lipsey, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London)

# CHAPTER 3

## Theoretical Framework

### Socio-Cultural Theory and Context

**Socio-cultural theory**

The dynamics of society and of the cultural elements in any given society are a fundamental consideration in the understanding and rationalisation of its development. The degree of differentiation of these cultural elements and the rapidity and direction of their change is likely to be a significant factor in explanation not only of the functioning of that society at any given point in time, but also of the ability and speed with which the society as a whole can develop and adapt to changing circumstances. Examined in a developmental way, as a sequence over time, such matters provide an understanding of past changes in a wide variety of relationships; between people, within hierarchies, and in relation to land, for instance. As such there is some possibility that, given an adequate understanding of these developments and the causative factors, some comments may be made leading to accurate prediction of future change, and to some measure of control of direction of change.

Culture and cultural background incorporate a wide range of attitudes, preconceptions and relationships which operate at many different levels. The importance of culture from a development point of view was well-stated by Firth:

> "If we understand culture as a symbolic system - a frame of ideas and emotional attitudes for representing and coping with the world - then different cultures, i.e. different symbolic systems, mean different frames for seeing the world, planning action, arranging events."[1]

The comprehension of culture comprises a multi-faceted gem which requires more detailed appreciation and analysis the closer one gets to it; the secret of success being in the cutting. It is important that adequate appropriate cuts are made to extract the maximum potential brilliance from the raw stone. The ability to do this successfully is dependent upon an understanding of the structure of the stone and upon the laws of physics. It is similarly important when looking at the dynamics of society that an appropriate level of examination is chosen. Social anthropology has identified many different levels as appropriate for study. These range in any given context from

national, regional, local, race, clan, and family, through to individual levels. Within these groupings and sub-groupings the perceptive filters of the researcher and those of the researched are complicating factors, and the resulting statements inevitably tend to reflect this.[2] This is not to decry such work, however, as it forms an important element of background knowledge in the subject matter, even if unlikely in itself to give definitive predictions and indications for future action.

The factors causing changes in culture, and the results of such change for the system within which the cultural groupings and subgroupings have their being are key indicators in the dynamics of society.

Returning to Firth, one of the most eminent of social anthropologists who has worked in the South Pacific;

> "Another way to look at social action is in terms of its organisation. The structure provides a framework for action. But circumstances provide always new combinations of factors. Fresh choices open, fresh decisions have to be made, and the results affect the social action of other people in a ripple movement which may go far before it is spent. Usually this takes place within the structural framework, but it may carry action right outside it. If such departure from the structure tends to be permanent, we have one form of social change."[3]

At any given time it should be possible, therefore, to take a society and to identify the existing social structure. This may comprise one or more cultural groupings, each with their own identified framework for action, which has evolved out of the internal and external pressures that respectively have been generated within and imposed upon that cultural grouping. These internal and external pressures develop and change over time. Where they impinge upon, or alter the conditions of the identified framework for action it is likely that there will be change. Such change will be conditioned by the pre-existing framework, but there will, none-the-less, be a range of possible outcomes. Changes in needs and requirements, or at least perceived changes; redundancy of certain cultural traits; exposure to alternative value systems; interaction and competition with other cultural groupings, may all be dynamic instigators of social change.

It is inappropriate to refer to definitive sets of dynamic instigators when any reasonable view of any society will be impressed by the almost constant state of flux or dynamic imbalance presented when the appropriate level and depth of analysis is employed. It is, however, useful to conceptualise not only how a given society and its cultural groupings are seen, but also how they are seen to be changing as in Figure 3.1.

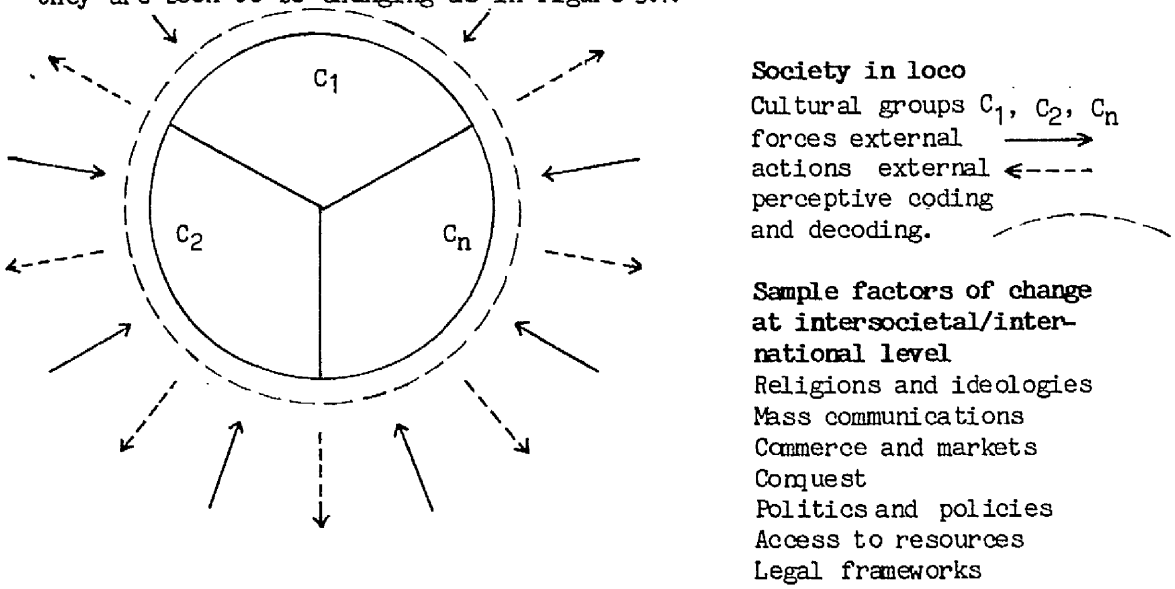
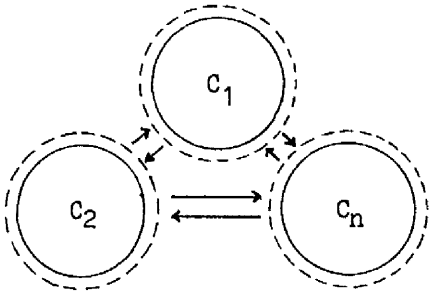



**Figure 3.1: Society in loco**

The concept of society is thus of a set comprising one or more cultural groupings, subject, in the modern world to the operation of external forces which affect the way in which it acts. These forces may act at any level, from the society through to the individual, and may to an extent be subject dependent where the subject in question has adequate resources to dictate adjustments or to exert control over such external forces. The impacts of such forces are determined by the processes of perceptive coding and decoding of the society in question which may be materially affected according to internal cultural groupings.

Given limited resources available to any given society, the cultural groups which comprise that society will find themselves in a situation where they have access or title to certain resources. Different cultural groups will

quite possibly have different degrees of access to different resources, at least in all but the most thorough of communistic regimes, and indeed this may be incorporated in statutory or other legally determined relationships.[4] If the requirements or needs of the cultural groups in relation to the resources, or their frame of ideas and emotional attitudes, or any other key factor changes, then there will be disequilibrium which will require resolution, resulting in adjustment throughout the system. These balances and forces within a society and between the cultural groups are also subject to the perceptive coding and decoding of the cultural group in question as in Figure 3.2.

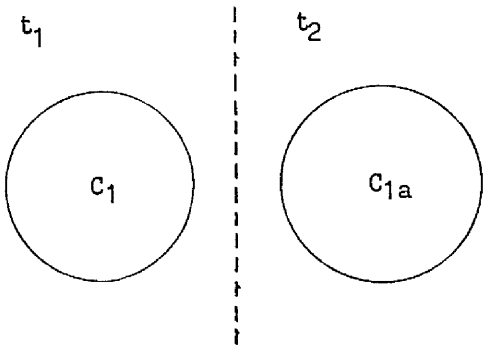



**Cultural groups in loco**
Cultural groups $C_1$, $C_2$, $C_n$
intercultural forces and actions ⟶
perceptive coding and decoding

**Sample factors of change at intercultural level**
Religions and ideologies
Mass communications
Commerce and markets
Conquest
Politics and policies
Access to resources
Legal frameworks
Population

**Figure 3.2: Cultural groups in loco**

Depending upon the level at which the cultural groupings have been defined there will be scope for dynamic change within the group as in Figure 3.3. Impetus for change will result from similar factors to those suggested above, and just as there may be some framework for change within a society, so there will be at least an implied framework from the past which will tend to identify the likely bounds of action for the cultural group.




**Intracultural development**

Cultural group $C_1$
Time period $t_1, t_2$
perceived change ------
in circumstances

**Sample factors of change at intracultural level**
Religions and ideologies
Mass communications
Commerce and markets
Politics and policies
Legal frameworks
Population

**Figure 3.3: Changes within a cultural group**

There is, therefore, in any society a system and hierarchy which is in a constant state of flux resulting from changes in circumstances and changes in perceptions operative at any or all of a variety of levels. The impact and results of any such changes may, and indeed probably will, vary enormously within the system.

**Socio-cultural context**

It is important in the first place to identify the cultural groupings and subgroupings that are of relevance in the present context. In so doing it is, however, acknowledged that any such identification will necessarily be arbitrary and subjective.

The fact that, by almost any yardstick, the people of Fiji do not form a single homogeneous cultural group is adequately illustrated by the fact that even now, fifteen years after Independence, the citizens of Fiji have not found an acceptable term for themselves as members of a single nation state. Only an "indigenous" Fijian islander is properly termed "Fijian". It is interesting to note that this perception appears to extend to the international level within the Pacific. R.G. Crocombe wrote in 1975 on "the Pacific Way":

"A real dilemma occurs in respect of those Asians and Europeans who were born and brought up in the islands. By geography and citizenship they are islanders, and in Fiji, where such people slightly outnumber the indigenous Fijians, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara has spoken of the Pacific Way as accommodating and accepting all these people within a harmonious, multi-racial context. But so far this notion has not gained wide acceptance, either in Fiji or elsewhere in the Pacific. Whether it will be achieved in future remains to be seen".[5]

There is therefore a fundamental compartmentalisation of Fiji society which is recognised in Fiji, in the Pacific, and indeed elsewhere. The demarcation by which these cultural groups are perceived is most commonly on racial lines; "Fijian", "Indian", "European", etc.. There are strong reasons for taking this broad cultural view particularly in connection with the land issue, as land tenure distribution divides neatly on the same lines. It is, however, also important to acknowledge that members of these groups often identify with cultural subgroups on certain other issues; for example, "Indians", relating to their dialectal and cultural differences as Tamils or Gujeratis, or to their religious differences as Hindu or Moslem.

Looking through the history of Fiji's development it is possible to identify how the different cultural groups have developed, and how, contemporaneously, their relationship with the land has altered in very broad terms in the context of the post Cession distribution of freehold or equivalent tenure.

**Distribution of Land Tenure**

| Native Land | Crown Land | Freehold Land |
|---|---|---|
| 3,715,550 acres | 426,510 acres | 368,390 acres |
| 82.5% | 9.5% | 8% |

**Table 3.1: Distribution of freehold or equivalent tenure**
(Source: Native Land Trust Board Annual Report 1976)

| Date | Cultural Group | Relationship with land/Tenure |
|---|---|---|
| pre-European contact | indigenousFijian | Traditional/customary widely varying |
| Early contact | indigenous Fijian | Traditional/customary widely varying |
| | European | Acquisition/purchase of "freehold" |
| post Cession 19th Century | indigenous Fijian | Adjudicated and standardised traditional/customary |
| | European | Adjudicated freehold, native and crown leasehold |
| Late 19th/ Early 20th Century | indigenous Fijian | Adjudicated and standardised traditional/customary |
| | European | Adjudicated and acquired freehold, native and crown leasehold |
| | indentured Indian | Labourers, lessees/sublessees but predominantly licensees of Colonial Sugar Refiners Co.Ltd. Increasingly acquired freehold, native and Crown leasehold |
| 20th Century | indigenous Fijian | Adjudicated and standardised traditional/customary Acquired freehold, native and crown leasehold |
| | European | Adjudicated and acquired freehold, native and crown leasehold |
| | Indian | Acquired freehold, native and crown leasehold |

**Table 3.2: Cultural relationships with land**

Prior to the arrival of European traders the people of Fiji lived in a village based society. There was typically a fairly strong but flexible hierarchy based upon the traditional relationships between different groups. These relationships, the positions of individuals within both hierarchy and group, the extent of land controlled under a particular hierarchy, and the cultural relationship with the land, whilst controlled by custom were also subject to change. It has been observed that the Eastern half of the group was subject to greater Polynesian influence, predominantly through Tongan incursions, which resulted in more extended and more rigid hierarchies than were to be found in the more Melanesian West.[6]

There were, therefore, varying degrees of inherent change catered for in the system at that time, together with a limited element of external influence on certain parts.

The 19th Century saw the first major arrivals of Europeans who started to

introduce a number of their cultural characteristics; some forcibly, some by persuasion and bribery, and some by example. The most significant cultural changes introduced involved religion and education, commerce, and rather different settlement forms and concepts of man-land relationships.

The group of islands was ceded to Great Britain in 1874 when the offer by a confederation of chiefs under the Cakobau Government was finally accepted. A British Governor was installed and a number of changes were imposed which dramatically affected the socio-cultural context. These changes arose out of the terms of the Deed of Cession, and out of the requirement for the Colony to be self-supporting and therefore not a burden on the British tax-payer.

The Native Lands Commission was established and proceeded to stabilise by fixed written register not only the land ownership position, but also the hereditary hierarchies in the traditional system and their memberships. The pattern of registration adopted was a standard one for the whole group which in many cases was very different from that actually to be found on the ground. It is of interest to note that it is generally considered that the choice of the mataqali as the unit of registration was perhaps the least appropriate of the traditional levels in which to vest landownership. Further alienation of native land was prohibited with one short break under Governor im Thurn.[7]

A policy of indenturing labour from India was fostered to develop the sugar cane industry. The labour was drawn from different cultural groups and backgrounds in different areas of India. The gruelling and humiliating experience of the passage and of life in "the Lines" had a profound impact upon the cultural characteristics of these people and probably did more than anything to draw them into a common cultural identify.[8]

The socio-cultural context formed in the early decades of the 20th Century was therefore along tripartite lines: European administration and commerce, Fijian traditional culture under a separate traditionally oriented administration, and Indian labour.[9]

As the 20th Century has progressed, changes in circumstances and policy choices have resulted in new relationships and frameworks being developed within the existing structures, and as between the different cultural groups.

The most significant factor involved in cultural change in the European group has probably been the introduction of new codes of behaviour both nationally

and internationally largely through changes in the economic order and in ethics. The impact of this has been felt in the administration where the dismantling of the administrative element of the colonial system has been accomplished. This process has carried through to the more blatant examples of economic colonialism. The prime example in Fiji was evidenced by the changing of the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co. Ltd. to the South Pacific Sugar Mills Ltd. in the early 1960's, although this specific change was cosmetic by nature. It was followed by the withdrawal of the company in 1973 and its replacement by the Fiji Sugar Corporation following the Denning Report's recommendations for a more equitable sharing of the proceeds between grower and miller.[10]

The dependence of the Fiji economy on that of the West has remained. The character of European economic activity has, however, changed, with movement out of relatively small trading, which has been taken over by Indians.[11]

The administrative function of the European cultural group has become obscured. In executive positions the tendancy has been to localise positions and, if considered necessary, to appoint expatriate advisors. The experience of the Native Land Trust Board of this will be examined in some detail below. As to how long this obscured administrative function will be maintained is a matter for conjecture and depends upon the policies of the Government, and of bilateral and multilateral aid organisations.

The Indian cultural group has prospered and proven itself a remarkably assertive and successful implant. The characteristics of the group have been resilient, fostered as they were by great hardship and exploitation. The cultural group was always committed to establishing itself in Fiji and the perceived means of doing this successfully was by joining "the free", by saving hard, by establishing a family with the security of an agricultural holding or commercial enterprise, and perhaps last but certainly not least, by education. It is probably fair to say that these priorities remain little altered and continue to govern cultural change. It is accurate to say that there has been increased availability of the facilities aspired to, particularly in the form of increased provision and availability of education to higher levels. Such education has been largely urban oriented, however, as any other orientation does not conform to socio-cultural requirements. This, combined with the implementation of the desire to establish a commercial enterprise or to earn a wage, has resulted in increasing movement from rural areas to towns where perceptions of opportunities are more favourable in spite

of increasing unemployment.[12]

The Fijian cultural group has experienced fundamental change, resulting from a number of factors. Nayacakalou writing in 1954 drew attention to some of these.

> "Alternatively, cultural change may be studied in terms of the factors of change, whatever the agents may be. From this point of view the processes of change in Pacific Island communities today can be put down to two major factors: money and formal education. There are various other factors such as the introduction of new codes of behaviour through Christianity."[13]

Fijian society, which had been carefully protected almost to the point of isolation, was already responding to changes. By the time Spate, Ward and Burns came to examine the position at the turn of the 1950's it was clear that change was actively in the air.[14]

> "But the Fijian of 1959 was already seeing the need to be more than a subsistence villager; he wanted to improve his living conditions in the village in the shortest possible time and with the minimum of delay.... The ferment that was evidently beginning in 1959 developed further during the next two decades and had a fundamental impact on the nature of Fijian society. Perhaps one of the most potent influences was the need for items which only a cash income can buy, an income obtained either through wage employment or through cash cropping. This meant that the cohesive social unit was no longer universally binding and the Fijian was seeing the use of his time and effort in terms of his own betterment."[15]

This change was compounded by the already noted urban oriented nature of teching in the village and secondary schools which contributed towards the pressures on the individual to migrate from the villages. A number of these emigrants established themselves as galala, but the majority became part of the increasing rural-urban population flow.[16]

The factors of change that have been significant in altering the cultural structures within Fiji in the recent past are, therefore, most importantly the development and nature of the education offered to the two major groups; and through the media, the increasingly perceived significance of money and commerce. The impact of these has been to combine to attract migrants to the rapidly growing urban areas, albeit as a result of different perceived pressures, whether or not there is a reasonable possibility of employment. The interrelated changes that resulted in the demise of the strict locational controls of the colonial era, and indeed in the colonial ethos itself, were

also critical in creating an environment where such change was possible.

This rapid rural-urban drift poses all sorts of problems from the land point of view. Selective migration from rural areas affects the ability to utilise rural lands, particuarly for the Fijian cultural group. Problems of overcrowding, squatting, and quasi vakavanua occupation of native land on the urban margins result from unplanned expansion. Requirements and demands for planned urban development in residential, commercial and industrial property are also rapidly increasing and are complicated as the result of preceding unplanned expansion.

## Political Theory and Context

### Political theory

The operational framework within which any nation state and itsconstituents develop is also in part a function of political processes and pressures that have evolved over time. The set of characteristics and institutions produced is by definition dynamic and liable to change according to the impact of changes in the nature and balance of political processes and pressures. The stimulus for the creation of disequilibrium may be generated either endogenously or exogenously and is translated into political pressure through the medium of political power groups. It follows from this that the operational framework of any given nation state is in part a function of political power groups that may have their existence, or be generated, either within the national community, or externally, in the international community.

The identification of the existing framework of the polity, of the power bases and of their mode of generation is thus of importance in any analysis of the development of a nation state. The dynamics of change and the causative factors of change require understanding before any attempt at prediction of future events may be offered.

In the broadest sense, political decision making may take place at all levels, from the individual level as in Brewster-Smith's Map for the Analysis of Personality and Politics overleaf, where personal perception of the relative

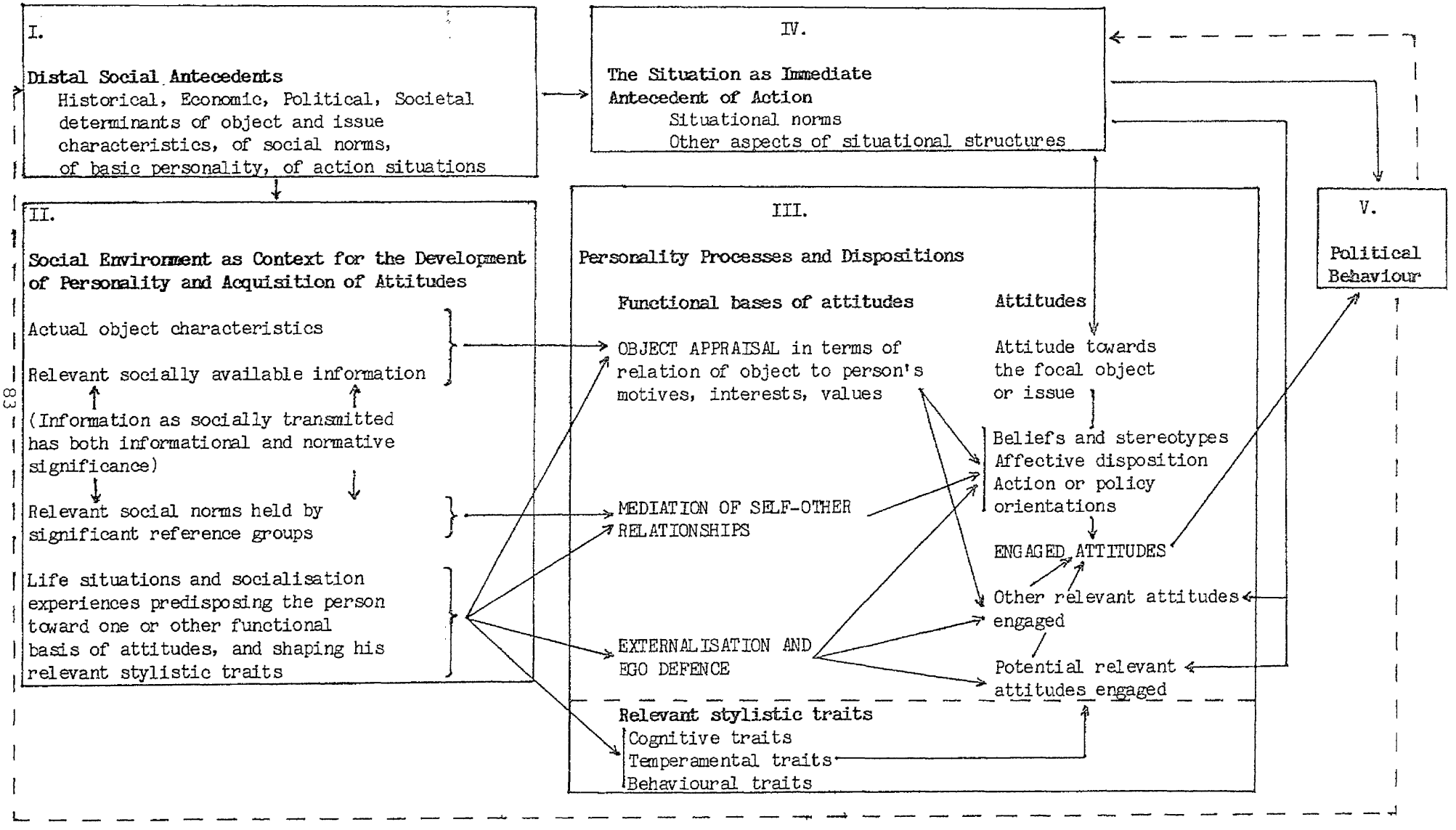



Figure 3.4: Map for the analysis of personality and politics (After Brewster-Smith)

strength of arguments on a case will lead to decision; through the family level; to the national and international levels.[17]

Formalisation of the decision-making process has tended to occur where there are significant distributional questions involved which have a bearing upon individuals and groups within societies. Within traditional societies this formalisation has tended to be unwritten or customary, whereas in Western societies formalisation has nearly always taken the form of legislation and regulation.[18]

The importance of the significant resource sharing functions varies from level to level. The political groups operating at any given level tend to be those which feel that they have, or can develop, a reasonable call upon the resources to be shared at that level. It is, therefore, in their interests to exert some control over the sharing mechanism. The political framework within which these groups and processes operate is a function of, and is determined by, the particular group or groups in which are vested political power. The degree to which there is freedom to alter the framework depends upon the ability of other groups to express their views and upon the political pressure which the existing framework permits them to exert.

As a society develops, so too does the polity. In the words of Greer:

> "It is political in the sense that there are differentiated and bounded social groups with varying interests contending for power - in any society. As societies become more complex, it becomes necessary to have another differentiated and bounded social group with another set of interests whose job is, specifically, accommodating the other groups within a framework which allows some degree of direction for the society as a whole. This latter group is government. It exists only as an outrider for the general society of groups, but it is necessary as an outrigger, cobbled up when the existing symbiotic system fails to work."[19]

Ideas as to the stages through which political systems develop have tended towards explanatory determinism. Marxist views, concentrating upon conflict, instability and potential for change within the succession; feudalism, bourgeois capitalism, socialism, and communism, are of interest in providing a particular explanatory viewpoint and insights into the significance of conflict within society as an important agent of change. These views are opposed to those of Weber, the "bourgeois Marx";

> "The Marxist theory of history which saw the essence of the process of social change in a sequence of distinct social formations which

were defined by different forms of economic reproduction and were propelled by class conflicts was, in his opinion, bare of all scientific foundation. There did not exist according to Weber, any 'laws' in social reality ...."[20]

In their place Weber conceptualised the controls of society in terms of "ideal types": legal domination, traditional domination and charismatic domination. They formed an interpretative classificatory system which was emphatically non-sequential. He viewed the former two types of domination, characteristically an overriding function in socialistic and communistic societies, as anti-dynamic elements. From this arose the emphasis on the importance of charismatic domination, fostered in the polity by parliamentary democracy and in the economy by private enterprise. In his view, therefore,

"... there ought to be as powerful a rule as possible by responsible charismatic leaders, and at the same time effective control of their doings by rival leaders, in order to guarantee a maximum of mobility in politics and society, and hence a maximum opportunity for individual creativity on the political level."

A further view has interpreted political change in terms of actions and activities of "political man", analogous to "economic man".[21]

Such approaches hint at possible processes and stimuli for the generation of conceptual political frameworks but contribute little in terms of a valid scientific framework for specific analysis and prediction. In order to translate these into a dynamic conceptual approach the mechanisms of change must be analysed; at the most simple level this may be characterised in terms of a black box.

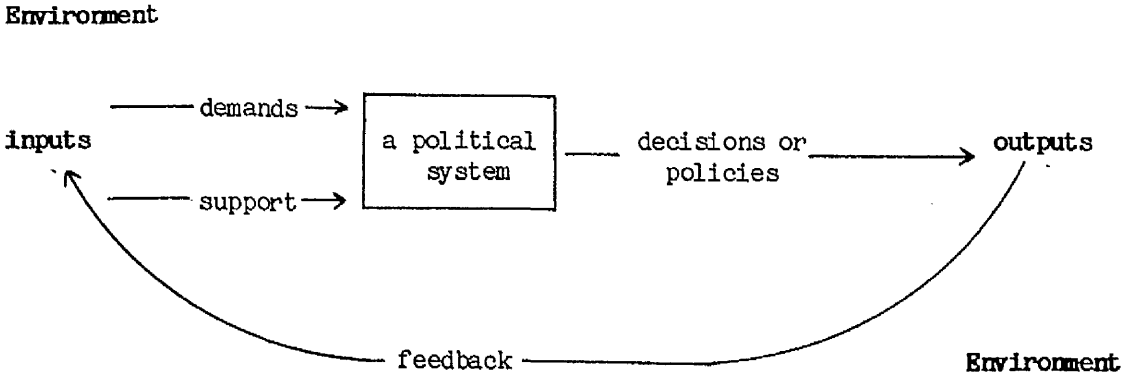



**Figure 3.5: Feedback in a political system**

The model clearly looks at external influences on a political system and may be envisaged as operating at a number of different levels. Thus "political

system" may be interpreted at the level of an international grouping, at the national level, and at a number of sub-national levels.[22] The internal structure and the controls which influence demands and support, as well as the administrative framework which may also effectively determine policy options, are keys to understanding the development of a functioning political system.

Demands, as already seen, are the raison d'etre of the political system. The ability to express demands and to generate sufficient support for them to convert a demand into a policy output requires a certain support threshold to be crossed. The identification of the nature of the demands, of the demander, of the support, and of the threshold requiring to be crossed is therefore important.

Earlier work has indicated that:

> "It is reasonable to suggest that different individuals offer different amounts of support to any given demand. A small number of influential supporters may well outweigh a larger number of less potent actors operating in the same system. The alternatives open to the latter in such an event are: to acquiesce, to change the balance of influence (i.e. the government), to change the rules of the game (i.e. the regime), or to alter the political structure of the community. Support itself will be encouraged for the particular political system (government, regime and community) by its producing the right outputs. These outputs in the long term must at least serve to satisfy the demands of the majority of the most influential. Failure to do so will result in the changing of the government, consistent failure may change the regime, or topple the community."[23]

Under a democratic system the franchise, as determined by the constitution, or other national framework, and its subordinate legislation are clearly important determinants of political activity. Political development itself is, however, perhaps most fundamentally a function of population and demographic considerations operating through the above media.

**Political context**

The development of Fiji in political terms has been profoundly affected by the impact of colonialism and the attitudes adopted during the ninety-six years of British administration.

The generation of demands within the political system as it was developing, and the conversion of those demands into policy have been largely the result of demographic changes on the one hand and the initial character of the

political structure on the other.

The Deed of Cession protected the interests of Fijians primarily by ensuring their perpetual control of their land. The continued Fijian control of four-fifths of the country's land area remains one of the most significant factors in the political equation to the present day. In order to preserve the social structure of the Fijians and yet develop the colony, the administration settled upon the policy of indenturing labour from India to work on plantations. The political structure at this time was one of administration by officials; although a separate Fijian administration was established to enable the economies of indirect rule to be taken advantage of.[24]

Some key changes in elected representation to both Legislative and Executive Councils are charted in Table 3.3 as affecting and as effected by the different racial groups. These highlight the most significant developments against the general background of electoral change detailed below.

| Date | Legislative Council | | | Executive Council | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | European | Fijian | Indian | European | Fijian | Indian |
| 1904 | 6 | 2* | | | | |
| 1912 | | | | 1 | | |
| 1914 | 7 | 2* | | | | |
| 1916 | 7 | 2* | 1* | | | |
| 1929 | 6 | 3* | 3 | 2 | | |
| 1937 | 5(3 (2* | 5* | 5(3 (2* | | | |
| 1944 | | | | 2 | 1 | |
| 1948 | | | | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 1963 | 6(4 (2* | 6(4 (2* | 6(4 (2* | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| | General Electors | | | | | |
| 1965 | 10 | 14(12 (2* | 12 | | | |
| | | | | | Senate | |
| 1970 | 8 | 22 | 22 | | 22* | |

*nominated representation in one form or another.
N.B. Official representation continued to maintain a majority in the Legislative Council until 1966 and in the Executive Council until 1967.

**Table 3.3 Changes in elected representation at the national level in Fiji.**

A Legislative Council, subordinate to the Executive Council, was directly appointed by the Governor until 1904. Thereafter, as specific groups came to exert political demands backed by appropriate support, the make up of the

Legislative Council started to change. Six Europeans were elected to this Council after 1904 by enfranchised Europeans who fulfilled the required property and income qualification. In the same year, the Governor commenced the practice of the appointment of two Fijian members from a panel of six nominees provided by the Council of Chiefs. In 1915, the effective demands of the Europeans in the municipalities of Suva and Levuka resulted in the imposition of strict literacy tests in order to protect their interests which removed "nearly all of the handful of Indians and other coloureds who were on the municipal rolls". These two snubs to the very rapidly growing Indian population induced a petition in 1915 which resulted in the appointment of a nominated member in the following year to the Legislative Council to represent Indian interests.[25]

This was to be the continuing pattern. In 1929, the ex officio majority for officials in the Legislative Council remained, with Indian representation increased to three members elected on an income and property based franchise and three Fijian nominated representatives. In the 1937 Constitution the concept of equal representation was first implemented with five representatives from each of the three major ethnic groups. The representation was part elected and part nominated with two members for the European and the Indian groups being nominated by the Governor. The policy for the Fijian members remained one of nomination from a panel of names provided by the Council of Chiefs.

The Executive Council, which was the prime policy making body at the time, had had one of the European elected members nominated to it from 1912. This representation was increased to two in 1929. A Fijian was appointed to it from 1944, and from 1948 an Indian was also appointed.

The 1963 Constitution saw the continuation of the equal representation policy with an increase in the numbers elected to the Legislative Council divided between the three races. The Governor continued to nominate two members from each race. Two out of the six Legislative Council members thus selected from each race were put forward by their fellows for membership of the Executive Council. This new constitution saw the introduction of the vote to the Fijians.

In 1964 a Cabinet was formed and Ministerial responsibilities were given to the Executive Council members. World and British political opinion as to the desirability of decolonisation was given effect to in 1965 with the granting

of internal self-government.

The Legislative Council subsequently conferred in London and, amidst some acrimony, produced a constitutional settlement divided between the Fijians; with fourteen seats including two nominees of the Council of Chiefs; the Indians, with twelve seats; and the Europeans and other racial groups identified as General Electors, with ten seats. This settlement was based upon a complex arrangement of cross and communal voting which was not popular with the predominantly Indian Federation Party as it strongly favoured European and Fijian interests.

In 1970 after considerable tension on both racial sides a new constitution was formulated in London by the Legislative Council which met in a spirit of greater amicability and conciliation:

> "The final outcome must be noted: Fiji was to have a bicameral system. In the lower and elected House of Representatives Fijians and Indians were to have parity, 22 seats each (12 communal and 10 cross voting) and the General Electors 8 (3 communal and 5 cross voting). The Upper House or Senate was to be nominated: 8 members to be chosen by the Council of Chiefs, 7 by the Prime Minister, 6 by the Leader of the Opposition and 1 by the Council of Rotuma. Matters affecting Fijian customs and land could not be passed by either House unless supported by 6 out of 8 of the Council of Chief's nominees in the Senate".[26]

The Fijian position was positively entrenched into the political system, and into the constitution as a result.

The Alliance Party, which is seen broadly to represent Fijian interests, comprised at the inaugural meeting in 1966, the Fijian Association, the Suva Rotuman Association, the All-Fiji Muslim Political Front, the Chinese Association, the Indian National Congress of Fiji, the General Elector's Association (predominantly European), the Fiji Minority Party, the Rotuman Convention and the Tongan Organisation. The Alliance Party has governed Fiji since 1966 on a theme of cross-cultural cooperation within a continuing Western capitalist oriented socio-economy. There has been only one major hiccough during that time and the constitution has remained unchanged with elections on a communal basis in spite of the recommendations of the 1976 Royal Commission.[27]

At subnational levels the communal approach which gives expression to racial divisions is continued. Local government and politics find expression in

Municipal government and Provincial government. Municipal government is elected under a common roll system and has been fought on party lines in six of the ten municipalities. "These are Suva, Lautoka, Nadi, Ba, Nausori, and Labasa. Lami began to show similar trends in the 1983 elections". As a result, owing to demographic considerations, the predominantly Indian National Federation Party controls the municipalities fought on party lines. There is provision for the election of District Councils under the Local Government Act 1972 which has yet to be used in Fiji.

Provincial government forms a separate government under the Fijian Administration which is purely for Fijian interests and for the Fijian electorate, based upon the fourteen provinces in the country. Provincial councils are mainly involved in rural development and comprise a proportion of elected members and a proportion of appointed members. They are an integral part of the development process. Together with the Rural Advisory Councils, which reflect the views of General Electors and Indo-Fijians, they are seen as the planning and consultative organs for the regional policy matters that are of especial importance under Development Plan 8. The integrating agency in these matters is the District Development Committee. Heavy criticism has been focused upon almost all aspects of this provincial government structure from the reports and recommendations of Spate and Burns, both of which were disregarded in this respect, onwards.[28]

The controlling factors in the development of the political system that have been briefly commented on above have operated at a number of different levels. It has already been observed that any given political system has a propensity to change both in direction and in structure given sufficiently well supported demands.

Early changes in the structure and constitution of the political and executive levels of the Government were primarily the result of demographic developments; the rapidly expanding Indian population and its increasing power within the national community evidenced demand backed by substantial support. This resulted in the Colonial government, which was experiencing pressure for self-determination through a number of agencies, giving considerable support to such moves.[29]

It is interesting to note that the pressure requiring to be applied by the Indian population to achieve political recognition was much more weighty and over a longer period of time than that requiring to be exerted by the very

small but influential European community. The latter community has succeeded in maintaining a political voice totally out of proportion to its demographic position throughout the period covered, indicating either a lower threshold for change or a more effective exertion of influence in support.

It is notable that the Fijian community has nearly always operated in the political arena according to its conservative hierarchical communal structure. This has been given expression to in the constitutional deference to the advice of the Council of Chiefs in certain matters, and in the past to the preference accorded to the process of nomination rather than to electoral principles. It is arguable that this solidarity stems from fears of any extension of Indian domination, particularly in relation to the land question. The ability to lobby the Colonial government effectively, coupled with the vigorous support of the Europeans has resulted in the constitutional safeguards which have so far allowed the Alliance party to govern Fiji, and which ensure that Fijian priorities are maintained on fundamental issues affecting the indigenous community.[30]

Norton has interpreted the changes that have occurred as the politics of accommodation. He attributes the lack of substantial racial **conflict**, as opposed to racial **tension**, on key issues such as land and Fijian preference in certain areas to this process. Whether this will continue to be the case in the future is another question.

It seems likely, notwithstanding Marx and the recent launching of the cross-cultural Fiji Labour Party, that national and local politics and administration will continue to operate on lines of racial unity, substantially confirming existing alliances, for the time being at least.

In summarising political factors of change it has to be borne in mind that under normal circumstances there is a prescribed framework within which political processes operate. Prior to 1970 in Fiji this was a colonial framework, a factor which has had a profound effect upon the political attitudes and accommodations that have been reached.

Politics, and the framework itself, have developed as the result of the rapid population expansion in the country, and of the changing balance of that population which has tended towards numerical Indian dominance. This has resulted in inflexible Fijian attitudes towards land and politico-cultural issues which have proven to be immutable even in the face of considered

advice.

These attitudes and their expression in the areas of entrenched legislation under the constitution, including the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act and the Native Land Trust Act in particular, have had a fundamentally significant impact upon the management of land in Fiji. The political complexion of the country, and the process of accommodation by the opposition has meant that these key enactments, and, indeed, most land matters, have been very difficult to discuss rationally in a parliamentary context.

## Economic theory

Economics and the study of economic change over time has often been seen to be the lynch pin about which all other factors in a Western society revolve. The key considerations in the functioning of an economy and of its development are related to the structure of that economy and to the inherent stability or instability that such a structure implies. In examining these it is important to identify internal and external elements which have an impact upon the economy, and ultimately on the socio-polity. One element that may be of particular significance in the internal functioning of the economy is the pattern and distribution of the ownership of the factors of production. The cataloguing of particular distributional patterns may be vital to the understanding of the development of an economy, and of any perceived stability or instability over time.

Economic theories having a bearing upon development may be broadly divided into macro-economic and micro-economic; the behaviour of the national economy, and the behaviour of those parts making up the national economy, be they firms or individuals.

Some economic writers have viewed national development as a progression through time; often interpreting the dynamics of such development as resulting from observed and projected changes in a particular factor of production. Thus Adam Smith in "The Wealth of Nations" examined the economic progression that might arise out of the growing significance of labour; Marx viewed the accumulation of capital and the development of political power over that capital; and W.W. Rostow emphasised the role of technological innovation and its dispersal and utilisation over time. Such views are of interest, but are somewhat deterministic. From an analytical and predictive view according to the philosophical views expressed earlier, they represent a valuable resource of background information and ideas.

In any given economy there is a specifiable inventory of the four factors of production; land, labour, capital and enterprise, although these may not be accurately measurable for a number of reasons. This inventory has a number of characteristic attributes which are substantially determined by activities in preceding time periods. These attributes may include, for instance, patterns of growth and of ownership and distribution, mobility and indigenous

technology, many of which are culturally and politically related. They are fundamental determinants of what reorganisation, if any, occurs during a given time period.

Within this context of internal organisation there may be important influences upon development from two further sources; from policies generated by government sources internally, and from external inputs into the system. Government policies may range from a relatively laissez-faire approach, through to a planned development approach. The latter may be indicative by nature, or prescriptive, as is normally the case in state controlled centralised economies. Plans may be differentiated at different subnational levels from regional down to local. External factors affecting an economy may include, for instance, changing technology, performance of world markets, international cartels and so on.

Economic theory of the firm and of individuals operating within an economy concerns the analysis of behaviour under certain stated assumptions both for the individual and for his environment. Traditional theory looks at the behaviour of "homo economicus" and at the effect of different output and pricing policies under particular market conditions, ranging from perfect competition through to monopolistic competition. This deterministic behaviour identifies consequences not only for the character and extent of economic activity in any given economy, but also for its location.

The implications of the stated assumptions have been critically examined more recently, particularly regarding the behaviour of "homo economicus", and a rather closer replication of the real world attempted. The character of the operations and markets thus analysed, whilst indistinct in terms of Bunge, give some background knowledge and insight into possible behaviour of people and entrepreneurs when there exist varying market conditions.[31]

These views may be accommodated in a conceptual model to illustrate how factors of change in any given time period may lead to a redistributed inventory of factors of production in the subsequent time periods.

Thus viewing the circular flow of income in a simplistic economy:

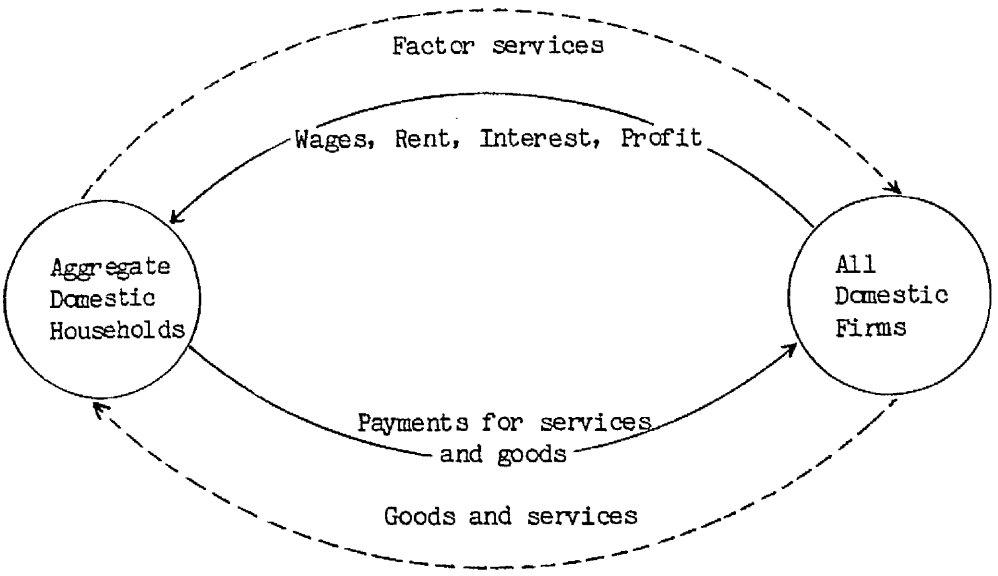



**Figure 3.6 Circular flow of income in a simplistic economy**

And the relevant leakages:

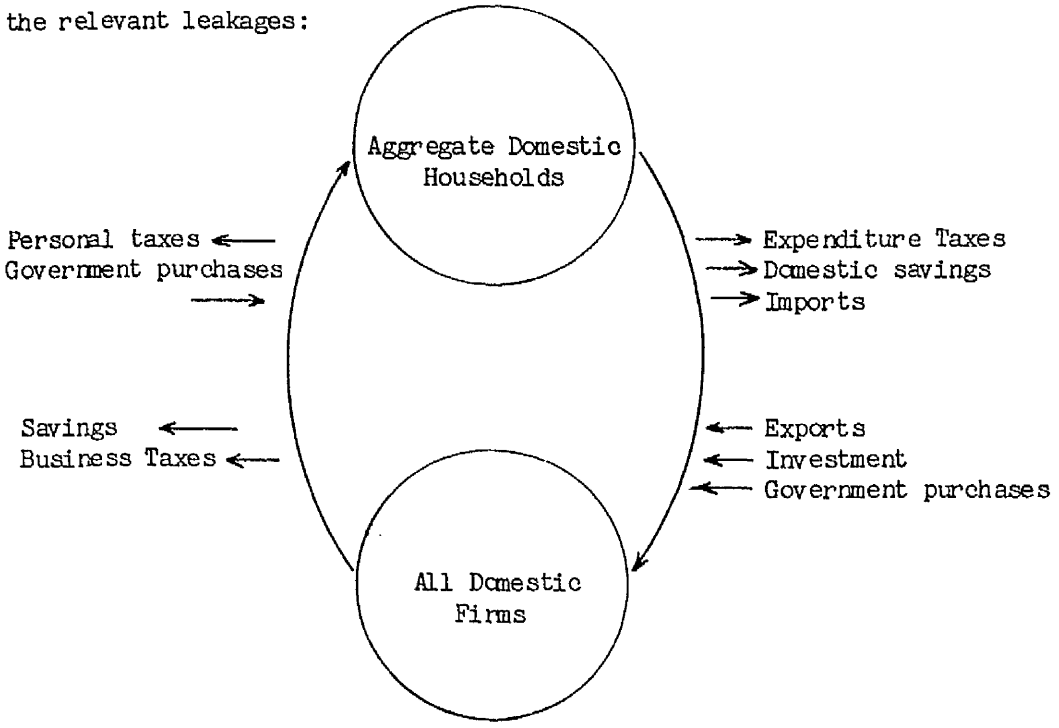
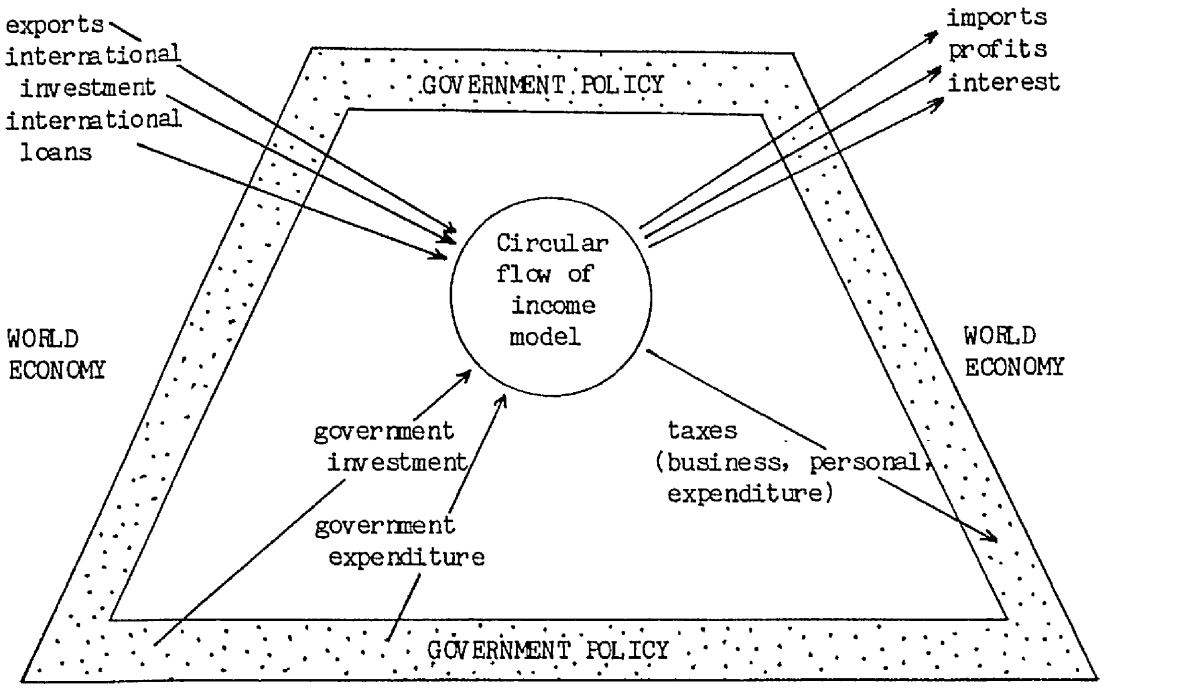



**Figure 3.7 Leakages in the circular flow of income**

This may be put into context to indicate the nature of the impact of changes in the world economy and in national government policies. For the time being it will be adequate to pursue a black box approach; thus:




**Sample sources of change**
World markets
Interest rates
Political factors

**Figure 3.8 Context and sources of change in an economy**

These conceptual approaches may be formulated into dynamic mathematical models entailing estimates of the impacts of predicted events upon the national economy. Government investment and expenditure both in absolute terms and in terms of its sectoral and geographical distribution are relatively independent variables as is taxation. The production function used to project information may include a mixture of variables; some well documented in the past, some not so well documented. The modelling process itself involves assumptions as to future developments in world and national economies, and as to the nature of the relationships between related factors. Best estimates and sensitivity analysis are therefore important elements in securing projections.

Economic production involves the utilisation of the factors of production within an economy; the appropriate proportions of enterprise, land, capital and labour are combined in an individual entrepreneurial unit to produce for particular markets. The aims of any particular government for the direction of an economy are often defined in terms of social and economic objectives relating to full employment, to equitable distribution of resources, and to balance of payments considerations. The government's aims and plans are frequently directed to fulfilling its identified objectives by using its role as supplier or determinant of the relatively independent variables referred to earlier. In a capitalist approach this may lead to the combination of a laissez-faire economy, with provision of infrastructure, tax inducements, training schemes, credit facilities and so on operating through a mixture of private enterprise and governmental or quasi-governmental institutions. In state controlled systems a more direct reshuffling of resources is the result since there is no market operation to resort to. Any such aims and plans imply and necessarily result in a redistribution of resources between members of the economy.

Many writers have pointed to the difficulties of effective economic prediction and planning particularly in small countries.

> "But the difficulties of planning in small countries are compounded by the greater importance of structural and institutional factors over which the government may have virtually no control. Predictions of capital formation, consumption and imports cannot be accurately based even in the short run; moreover these variables are so closely interconnected by a series of unknown and essentially unquantifiable dynamic relationships that original assumptions and estimates are sometimes subject to dramatic revision. Within the general context of development planning and the limitations to the effective coverage of the plan, as well as the specific economic problems and constraints forced by small developing countries, the best that most governments can hope to achieve is the maintenance of stable policy favourable to continued expansion."[32]

**Economic Context**

It is well documented that the traditional economies of the indigenous Fijians operated on a predominantly local scale of a reciprocal and non-monetary character that was fundamentally different from the world economies that were attracted to the islands for trade purposes. Sandalwood, beche-de-mer and trade goods were the first attraction, but with changing world cotton markets resulting from the devastation of the Confederate States of America, world prices led by demand from English mills pushed the margins of production

outwards. Fiji was suited to production of cotton and so planters acquired land from the indigenes for this purpose. Land was also acquired for copra plantations.

By 1874, concern for the effective administration of the islands, and for the regulation of dealings with the native Fijians was partly responsible for the offer and acceptance of Cession. The recovery of American cotton production resulted in Fiji becoming sub-marginal in cotton again. An alternative crop was sought and encouragement given to Australian sugar firms to enter into cane production by the colonial government. By 1924 the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co. Ltd. was the only surviving firm. It operated all of the sugar mills, and initially ran its own sugar estates directly to supply these. The Company subsequently increased its estates by leasing land and licensing or subletting it to "the free"; former indentured labourers. Supervision and control of production was ensured by strict conformance to requirements in cultivation and harvesting practices through the medium of the cane contract. The lamb was fleeced from both ends as the result. Enjoying a monopsony, the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co. Ltd., could enforce its own sharing of profits between grower and miller. It was also in a position to fix, and deduct from cane proceeds, its own assessed rental levels.[33]

Sugar was established as the staple of the Fiji economy, and has remained so. There have, however, been changes.

Firstly, the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co. Ltd., found its position being eroded as regards land ownership with the discussions in the political arena of Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Legislation. Seeing the direction in which the wind was blowing, the 1960's saw large surrenders of leasehold land by the Company on the expiry of leases. These surrenders had a substantial impact upon the workload of the bodies responsible for administering such leases, by far the most significant of which was the Native Land Trust Board.

Secondly, an independent Commission under Lord Denning examined the organisation of the sugar industry and recommended a new form of cane contract in 1972. The Colonial Sugar Refiners Co. Ltd., or South Pacific Sugar Mills Ltd., as it had become in the early 1960's as the result of recommendations for greater autonomy for the Fiji industry arising out of the cane field strikes in 1959 and 1960, withdrew. It surrendered what remained of the bulk of its leases, and sold its freehold land and Crown leases together with its other assets to the Fiji government. These were subsequently vested in the

Fiji Sugar Corporation, and non-operational land became Crown land.

Thirdly, the world sugar market. It has always been subject to substantial fluctuation in prices, however, recent developments internationally have resulted in expansion of sugar beet production capacity, particularly in the United States of America and in the European Economic Community, with consequent depression of world prices. Such matters are outside Fiji's control although effects may be ameliorated through diversification and international trade agreements such as the Lome Convention with the European Economic Community, for quotas and fixed prices.[34]

Copra has been another major contributor to the Fiji balance of payments which has had to contend with fluctuating world prices. The industry has been subject to competition from synthetic substitutes and from better quality oils. Fiji's copra has always suffered from a poor quality label. The crop suffers from a long lead in period, and in spite of concerted Government attempts to increase production through planting subsidy and price stabilisation schemes, there has been little change in levels of production.[35]

Developing technology, combined with Fiji's location on major routes crossing the Pacific, has favoured the economy in its most recent growth industry. The enormous increase in tourist travel, coupled with the perceived attractions of Fiji as a tourist destination, have resulted in extremely rapid expansion of tourist arrivals and facilities. However, as the world economic crises since 1974 have shown, tourism is every bit as susceptible to external pressures as any other industry.

Gold has been a marginal product in Fiji except in times of world crisis and high gold prices, continuing only with a Government subsidy in order to prevent unemployment in the Emperor Gold Mines' company town in Vatukoula, and in neighbouring Tavua.

The structure of flows in the Fiji economic subsystem was identified in Development Plan 7 and is reproduced in Figure 3.9. The increased complexity of the economy has fostered rapid growth in the economic functions of urban areas. The structure of the economy presents a striking dualism as a result between rural and urban areas. Dualism is also evident in the rural areas which present the contrast between the cash producing sugar cane and plantation sectors, and the very large subsistence areas of cultivation.

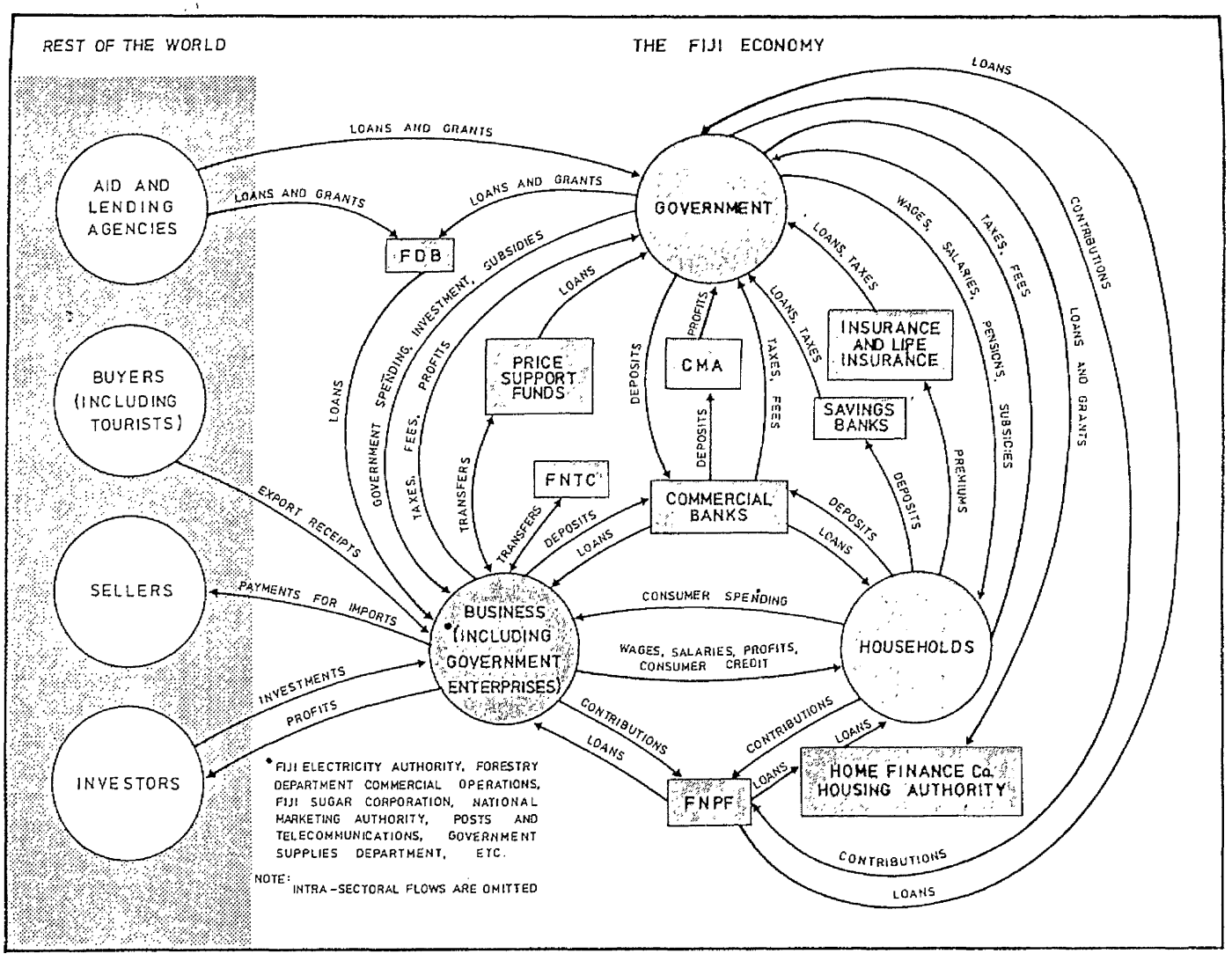



**Figure 3.9: Principal net financial flows in Fiji (After Development Plan 7)**

The main components in the economy have been the subject of considerable and increasing intervention by Government. This has taken place in the context of a significant attempt to increase the amount of integrated development planning. The way in which this development planning process has changed over the years requires some explanation and comment.

The Report of the Post War Planning and Development Committee which was submitted to the Governor in August 1945 contained the first proposals for the active development of the Fiji economy. The best way in which to illustrate the change in the philosophy and role of development planning is to look at the requirements placed upon the planning process.

The terms of reference for the 1945 Committee were:

> "Having regard to the paramount importance of maintaining and developing agricultural and mineral production and to the maintenance of an adequate standard of living for all sections of the community:-
>
> a) to examine proposals which will be placed before the Committee, or which the Committee may suggest, for the development of agriculture and industry and for the improvement of social services and public utilities;
>
> b) to inquire into the technical and manpower resources of the Colony which can be made available for public works without detriment to primary production;
>
> c) in the light of this inquiry to draw up a list of projects which the Committee considers to be practicable and in the best interests of the Colony and to arrange them, so far as may be possible, in their order of urgency and desirability;
>
> d) to prepare from this list, for consideration by the Legislative Council, a five years' programme of works with costs, estimated as accurately as circumstances permit, and recommendations for the carrying out of such works; but without, at this stage, including the manner in which they are to be financed."[36]

The Committee, which comprised a part official and part elected membership, reported in three parts. Part 1 comprised a plan for the first five years following the war. Part 2 outlined proposals for the plan for the subsequent five years. Part 3 contained proposals on a number of matters such as transport which required resolution but about which insufficient information or knowledge of Empire policy was available. The proposals were largely confined to capital expenditure although some recommended projects recommended incurred additional recurrent expenditure and some were even directly productive of revenue.

The first four plans after the war followed this format, being

> "essentially proposals for government expenditure and capital investment in the social services and the countries' infrastructure of roads, shipping, power and public services."[37]

As such they constituted plans for a particular sector of Government involvement, and their raison d'etre was in part to coordinate and rationalise Government proposals, but in part also to enable claims to be made and substantiated on the Colonial Development and Welfare Act through which British aid to her colonies was dispersed. Planning at this time did not and was not represented to cover the whole development process. This latter process, although subject to the unwritten law of "laissez-faire", was, however, often facilitated in an ad hoc manner by the Legislative and Executive Councils reacting to proposals for particular schemes and to requirements arising out of reports commissioned by the formal planning process.[38]

This was to change as the result of changes in the world economy and of the imposition of different requirements. The view that Fiji should take on board these new approaches and outlaw the previous "ad hocery" was expressed most strongly in the Burns Commission's Report:

> "We have stressed that our proposals are designed to serve the end of maintaining the existing standard of living in Fiji and, if possible, of improving it. This requires us to translate them into economic magnitudes so that we can see how they affect the way in which Fiji's economic resources are to be used. More particularly, we are interested in the effect of our proposals on the public finance of Fiji and the amount of outside aid which may be necessary over the years to come. In short, our proposals must be embodied in an economic plan for Fiji.
>
> It may be useful, therefore, to explain how an economic plan might be drawn up. We feel that this is a necessary operation because it has become increasingly clear that economic policy in the past has suffered from a lack of appreciation of the elements of proper economic planning. There does not appear to have been any conscious attempt to consider the relationship between the resources available in any one year and their possible alternative uses. It seems that economic planning has been thought of almost exclusively in terms of the Government's activities without consideration of the connection between these activities and those of other parts of the economy and of the outside world. It has, therefore, not come as a surprise to us that economic planning has been conducted with an almost total absence of qualified staff and that the economic statistics for Fiji were found to be in a rather primitive state.

> We are convinced that, if previous administrations and the legislature had paid more attention to the elements of economic planning, some of Fiji's present financial difficulties would have been avoided. Moreover, the general public would have obtained a better appreciation of economic problems if they had been given a lead by the administration of the politicians, and had not been given the impression that the future expansion of the deservedly popular social services in Fiji could easily be financed out of revenue or from Colonial Development and Welfare funds. As a result of these past mistakes, the present administration has been left with an unenviable task, and it will take a great deal of courage and patience on its part to educate the general public to face the realities of the present and future economic position of Fiji."[39]

The implications of the Burns' Report and of the slightly earlier Spate Report for Fiji took some digesting in all of those areas where recommendations were made. As will be seen, this was certainly the case with the Native Land Trust Board.

A new era of development planning was ushered in, after some shilly-shallying, with Development Plan 5 (1966-70). The Burns Commission's views were taken heed of, a Central Planning Office established, and plans laid for "a sustained effort to coordinate and relate to each other all development activities".[40] This effort was based upon the five year period which was to cover dramatic changes, particularly in the political sphere, commencing with internal self-government and culminating in Independence in 1970.

Independent Fiji has seen the writing of Development Plan 6 (1971-75) Development Plan 7 (1976-80) and Development Plan 8 (1981-85). Development Plan 9 (1986-90) is currently in preparation. The raison d'etre of the plans remains substantially unchanged as an 'indicative' guide for national development and government policy within the presented framework of assumptions, and as a statement of intent for perusal by lending agencies, by operators within the Fiji economy, and indeed by the general public. The techniques of planning have followed the input-output model indicated earlier but have worked from a situation of poor basic data, unrefined information, and thus objectively undefinable relationships between the main functions and sectors. Modelling has therefore been a fairly crude process based upon fundamental assumptions which have been only loosely supportable. This has meant that the planning projections, particularly in view of Fiji's susceptibility to the vagiaries of the world economy, have been prone to being rapidly outdated.

The presentation of the plans has become increasingly complex with very

considerable detail covering all sectors of the economy and their administration.

The economic projections derived from the input-output modelling are a fundamental determinant of requirements and provision in all sectors. The other fundamental determinant is the projection of populations, and this has been an area of increasing, although still very basic sophistication, as projections of regional distribution have been incorporated into Development Plan 8. As with the economy, so with population.

> "This is a very simplistic model, and basically assumes that the same demographic trends will continue to take place between provinces as took place during the period 1966 to 1976. That is, differential fertility rates, mortality rates, and interprovincial migration rates will continue in the same pattern. These assumptions, while simple, are the best that can be done given the availability of data on the above demographic factors."[41]

The changing structure of the world economy and of the Fiji economy have had a considerable impact upon the demand for land, and upon the requirements for its effective management. Land is a key factor of production, particularly in a developing country which has a primary industry based economy. The predictability, amongst other factors, of changing entrepreneurial perceptions and activity, and the ability or otherwise of the Government to plan effectively for change in the economy are as a result of fundamental interest in the management of land.

Prior to 1960, support for the development of the sectors of the economy looked at above was relatively ad hoc, although there were a number of important initiatives, such as the Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board[65]. The overriding attitude was, however, laissez-faire in a period of slow economic growth, and hence of relatively slow growth in the demand for land.

Subsequently, and particularly after 1964 and 1965, large scale encouragement to schemes by the Government through various facets of planned development, and arising from the general expansion of the economy, have caused a rapid increase in the demand for land to be made available for a wide variety of purposes.

## Behavioural theory

The previous discussions have looked at the theory and context of a number of interrelated fields of concern. It is important to be aware of the fact that they are interrelated; and to be aware of why and how they are part of the same system.

It is not too simplistic at this stage to make the straightforward observation that one essential feature in common is the individual actors involved. In order to see how socio-cultural, economic, and political considerations are related the perceptions of these individual actors within the system provide a useful starting point. Questions of perception and of how perceptions may or may not be translated into action in each of these areas are therefore important. Intuitively, it is also important to be aware of group dynamics operating in this context. Changes in a system or subsystem may often result from perceptions and actions not merely of single and aggregated individuals, but of key individuals and groups positioned as a result of present or past, political, cultural or other processes who may hold sway over other individuals or groups and their perceptions and actions.

Turning first to the individual, there has been considerable interest and effort expended upon neurophysiology and neuropyschology in order to try to establish the capacities and functions of the central nervous system. The mechanisms of learning, motivation and memory are all of critical importance in attempting to develop an understanding of behaviour. Experimental research has tended to be animal based and so conclusions drawn may be species or order specific. Some advances have, however, been made, although from the scientific materialist point of view these tend to be at the conceptual rather than the scientific end of the range of knowledge. This in itself has implications for the status of the theory discussed earlier.

There is little doubt that instinctive actions are built into the make-up of certain animals. These are well-recognised and, indeed, in the human being form a part of post-natal tests on the new-born in order to assess normality. The less complex instinctive actions, such as the withdrawing of an affected part from a source of pain, appear to be a function of short-circuiting across

motor neurons. These reflex reactions may be overridden if the uncommitted or plastic systems override. There is evidence to suggest that certain cultural groupings may have a greater ability in this respect. In the present context it is notable that both Indian (Hindu) and Fijian (Beqa) have culturally distinct firewalking customs. More complex instinctive actions, for example, the migratory patterns of birds and fish, are less well understood, although many appear to be a function of, in Bunge's phraseology, committed or preprogrammed systems. In the past, certain geographical schools of climatic and cultural determinism have included the human being as possessing certain committed sensory systems somewhat akin to these, resulting from long-established usage extending widely beyond physical reflex actions.

Experiment upon animals, and experience in everyday life, confirms in addition that there is capacity for learning, and memory across a wide range of species. Pavlov's dogs provide one of the most commonly recognised sets of results, suggesting that dogs have a capacity to learn, and indeed to react to learned stimuli. Experimentation into the capacity of rodents for learning, and for the inheritance of learned responses thus implying the conversion of uncommitted to committed systems in genetically transmitted material, has demonstrated an ability to adopt a learned behaviour pattern, but has proven inconclusive in the latter respect.[42]

The brain of the human is a very much more substantial organ than that of a rodent, or of a dog. It has developed with different functions and capacities and operates within a vastly more complex framework than that of the experimental laboratory.

It is important, however, to attempt to isolate the factors significant in determining the behaviour of the individual human actor, as on this hangs the ability to make statements relating to socio-cultural, economic and political change within any given system.

It is reasonably clearly established that one of the major factors involved in determining the behaviour patterns of individuals is concerned with the educational process. In early formative years the child will assimilate volumes of culturally patterned or determined material. This cultural and parental patterning is supplemented in later years by more formal tuition. The success or otherwise of the formal tuition may depend to an extent upon the ability of the cultural and parental patterning to create a suitable framework to be receptive to such knowledge, and upon appropriate motivation.

The formal tuition process may extend through several years and broaden and specialise, often according to the particular characteristics of the operative formal tuition systems and according to the requirements and ability of the actor involved. Behavioural patterns as such, are dynamic and develop according to the cultural educational system in operation and to the modus vivendi of the individual.

An additional very important set of factors in determining behaviour through all the periods of an individual's life is that of the mass media; the written, spoken, broadcast and televised word.

The perception of the perceptual system of the individual in Figure 3.10 proposed by Lloyd and Dicken provides an approach to attempting to unravel these important factors in the individual. It caters for a range of antecedent conditioning factors which must in part, at least, be notional, but which none-the-less provide an indication of possible sources of conditioning.[43]

These factors may be related directly to the subsystems indentified earlier; and, indeed, since individuals are the prime movers of change within such subsystems, it is dynamic change brought about in the perceptions of these individuals and their motivation and ability to translate this into action that results in changes in any given system. The dynamic question of translation of perceptions into actions is not however considered in this static descriptive model.

The group context has been conceptualised by Pred as in Figure 3.11 in terms of a behavioural matrix which amalgamates a group of individuals into a two vector matrix on the basis of ability to use information, and quantity and quality of information with the vectors tending towards maximum ability and perfect knowledge respectively.[44]

It is interesting to note on such a matrix that the location $B_{nn}$, and hence the individuals therein, are the most closely approaching the ideal type behaviour of homo economicus and homo politicus in their respective subsystems. It is clear that the further towards the bottom of the matrix, the more accurate is the representation of the objective environment perceived by the individual in terms of Lloyd and Dicken's behavioural environment, and conversely.

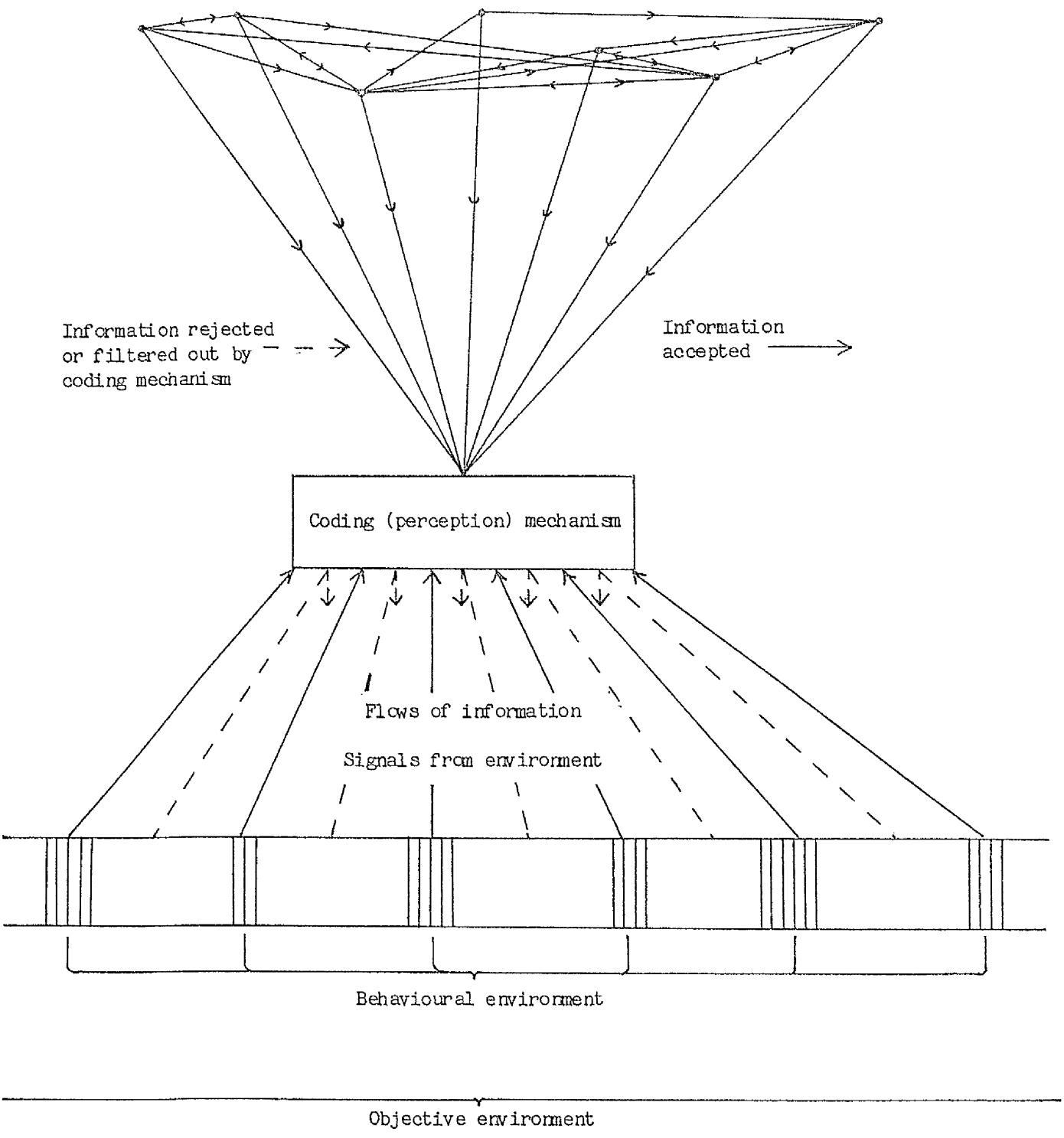



**Figure 3.10 Perception of the perceptual mechanism of the individual (after Lloyd and Dicken)**

Ability to use Information

| | | | | | | | | towards maximum ability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $B_{11}$ | $B_{12}$ | $B_{13}$ | - | - | - | $B_{1n}$ | |
| Quantity and Quality of Information | $B_{21}$ | $B_{22}$ | $B_{23}$ | - | - | - | $B_{2n}$ | |
| | $B_{31}$ | $B_{32}$ | $B_{33}$ | - | - | - | $B_{3n}$ | |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| towards perfect knowledge | $B_{n1}$ | $B_{n2}$ | $B_{n3}$ | - | - | - | $B_{nn}$ | optimal solution |

**Figure 3.11: Behavioural matrix (after Pred)**

The factors determining availability of information, identified by Pred in relation to industrial location, may be translated into a general context. The sphere of operations or cognitive environment of the individual, his educational background and personality which may indicate group norms; the visual and temporal proximity of information sources; the effectiveness and accuracy of their perception; the mode of arrival and presentation of the information and the ability to assimilate it; and finally the perceived status of the source in terms of alleged bias, inaccuracy or otherwise.

The ability to use the information may be similarly approached from a general viewpoint. Aspirations, past experiences, age, group norms, critical intelligence, self-confidence, cultural conditioning and so on can be seen as significant determinants of the measure of this ability.

Although Pred has suggested a time based sequence of matrices to illustrate the development of behaviour over time, there is no indication of a dynamic structure as such since no generative and feedback processes are directly envisaged. There are intuitive reasons for suggesting that the dynamic nature of behaviour change results from the motivation for change in the perceptive and informational matrix in conjunction with the other subsystems operative; and that this applies at both individual and group levels. The implications and basis for this will be pushed further in the following section.[45]

**Behavioural context**

The characterisation of any facet of a national identity in an international context involves a monumental feat of generalisation. This has already been observed in connection with the other contextual subsystems. It is none-the-less important to establish some behavioural characteristics, at least in outline in this way, as it will facilitate a rational integration of the operative subsystems within the overall system.

Whilst acknowledging that behavioural considerations should, according to the rigorous scientific materialist approach, be built up from the individual level, this is simply not possible for the present.

It is, however, possible to examine a number of instances where the behavioural characteristics and perceptive coding mechanisms of identifiable groups have changed. This gives a useful insight into the complexity of the changes and of the different factors involved.

The behavioural divisions within the Fiji population are based upon a number of criteria: different criteria tend to identify different groups, or the same groups differently.

It has been observed that cultural and group affiliations are one important factor in determining behaviour and the perceptive mechanism.

The land tenure system and the development of its perception in the eyes of the indigenous Fijians provides an interesting culture-based example of the complexity of change. The 'traditional' pre-contact land tenure system in the Fiji Islands is probably now lost for all time, reflecting that it was unwritten, and that sets of traditions of this kind are often characterised by greater flexibility than written sets of rules. Tribal groupings and their subdivisions were relatively small and there was a fundamental and intimate relationship with the land. It is likely that individual and group perception of rights to land within the group would have been relatively accurate; accuracy being identified with perceptions clustering about the norm. No doubt the more valuable the land to the group the more precise the identification.

The land tenure system has developed as the result of a variety of different

factors over the one hundred and fifty odd years since contact. Not least amongst these must have been the significantly different perceptions of land tenure that were brought in by people with fundamentally different perceptive coding mechanisms. A period of very rapid change followed the first impact of these different views on land, and the desire to control the extent of this was at least in part responsible for the offer of Cession and for its acceptance by Britain. The Native Lands Commissioners, together with the Council of Chiefs, were required after Cession to identify the unit of ownership for registration for Native Land.

This was optimistic to say the least since there was no suggestion that a uniform system had ever existed over the wide areas of relatively small communities. The enormous practical difficulties encountered by the Commissioners of the time support this as having been the case.[46]

The landowning system which was generated out of these different perceptions is, however, now accepted as the 'traditional' system by a large proportion of Fiji's total population. The system is defended vigorously and with considerable conservatism by the indigenous Fijians in spite of the fact that it has been unfavourably reviewed by a number of authorities in terms of the accuracy of representation of traditional relationships, and of its practical efficacy. The reinforcement of this perception has at least partially stemmed from the perceived change in the economic and numerical status of the Fijian vis-a-vis the Indian population. In the situation of Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna's "Three Legged Stool" of foreign capital, Indian labour and Fijian land, a clearly less stable stool would be created by the removal of one of the legs.

Tradition and change in the structure of village Fijian hierarchy reflects similar impacts of changing educational and experiential inputs into the individual perception mechanism producing questioning of traditional values and roles, and resultant change.

The complexity of changing perceptions is borne out on moving from cultural to economic examples.

The Indian population, arriving in the straightened circumstances of indenture, viewed its social and economic status in unequivocal terms. The autoselective migration process and the experiences of indenture, coupled with the perception that they would be what they made themselves, resulted in

strong motivation and high aspirations. A high priority attached to education as the means of securing a permanent position in Fiji. Thrift and hard work were, and are, a necessary route to fulfilling this aim. They are in addition essential prerequisites to the fulfilment of a further important aim, that of securing an interest in land. In terms of individual perception this is seen as a permanent stake in Fiji's resources and future.

This contrasts fundamentally with the Fijian position. A traditionally strong recognition of socio-economic status within the group, coupled with an hierarchical structure of authority which tended to dampen individual aspirations, has combined with a poor educational environment in the village and limited individual experience with the outer world, to produce a far more restrictive perceptive coding mechanism. Even so, awareness of the increasing strength of the Indian position to one of numerical and economic dominance, together with slowly increasing experience and education resulting in looser cultural ties, has resulted in some movement of perceptions. The subsistence affluence Fijian of Fisk is, it appears, moving towards galala as envisaged by Spate; and to greater independence in urban areas.

In politics, as well, there are instances of changing perceptions indicative of change on a wide front; some documented and apparent, some not so.

The interpretation of political development has usually dwelt upon the cultural split and upon the perceptions of the implications of the split for both group and individual. From time to time attempts have, however, been made by what Weber would term charismatic leaders, to define sub-cultural and cross-cultural political groups. Butadroka's Fiji Nationalist Party, and the most recent Labour Party provide good examples respectively of attempts to do this. In spite of Butadroka's success in splitting the Alliance's vote in 1977 and of the perceived dissatisfaction with what are claimed to be elitist parties, commentators do not see any fundamental change in the electorate's perceptions of most contentious issues. These, as has been seen, undoubtedly tend to run along cultural lines; a pattern which is unlikely to be swiftly broken at the polling booths.

These instances of developing perceptions, although selected at random from material examined earlier, point to some useful information regarding the significance of perceptions and behaviour in directing action and of the potential for harnessing such change in the development process.

Two of the most important factors involved in change that have been thus harnessed are education and the fostering of development enterprise.

Education has been supported at primary, secondary and tertiary levels and this has resulted in great improvements in the individual perceptive mechanism. The benefits have tended, however, to be more readily assimilated in the positively pressured Indian environment than in the Fijian environment for reasons that have been previously touched upon. It is very interesting to note that educational scholarships at the tertiary level operate on a quota basis in order to attempt to equalise this.

Enterprise and development have been fostered to encourage aspirations in the population, and to assist in their fulfilment. The provision of finance, and of specialist advice, coupled with a fiscal policy of tax incentives in certain areas are important attempts to adjust individual perceptions and behaviour in this respect as an aid to development within the development planning process. Interestingly, the significance of the cultural split and its impact upon perceptions and behaviour are specifically catered for here as well, with important additional encouragement to the Fijian cultural group.

Returning to Pred's matrices, these two factors exemplify the effort of trying to shift more individuals further out along the vectors in an attempt to fit them better for their various roles by supplying an informed behavioural environment as closely approximating to the objective environment as possible.

The importance of this for land and land management in Fiji is clear. In a situation where lack of knowledge and understanding of land related issues is compounded by emotive hearsay and political and cultural suspicion, the task of managing land is likely to be complex, time consuming, and fraught with politico-cultural tension as the media and charismatically expressed viewpoints dominate attitudes and behaviour in some sectors of the population, and lack of awareness clogs work output in others. With increasing education and greater entrepreneurial awareness at least in certain parts of the population, there are likely to be more frequent and more detailed demands for information and for justification of policies in relation to land.

## Theoretical position

The effective transfer of the conceptual theoretical background knowledge discussed above in the socio-cultural, economic, political and behavioural sub-systems into an integrated system involves the need to define a physical and spatial dimension within which the dynamic, time structured, subsystems can develop and interreact. Geographic thought has traditionally been responsible for contextualising change over time in these various subsystems in the physical and spatial dimension and it has normally looked to the past in this respect.

A system of this nature may be defined in global terms, or at any of a number of other relevant levels, for example, by economic system, by political system, by regional system or by cultural system. The input variables and their locus will vary according to the definition of the system discussed. Thus the defined global system for instance, may revolve around its internal dynamic characteristics and resources and around extra-terrestrial inputs of radiation, energy, and so on. At the national level there may be additional complications arising out of the interrelation of economic, political and socio-cultural subsystems and out of the external inputs into the system which may take a wide variety of forms.Locational considerations are therefore an initial determinant of the extent and nature of the impact of changes within functional subsystems. Such changes find expression in the spatial dimension not only through their own but also through interrelated subsystems.

In practice, one of the frequently used levels of investigation is the national level, in spite of its often rather arbitrary definition. One obvious reason for this is the political one of boundary considerations, together with the fact that relevant statistics where available are often compiled on a national basis. The schematic black box integration proposed in Figure 3.12 serves to identify a number of points in this connection.

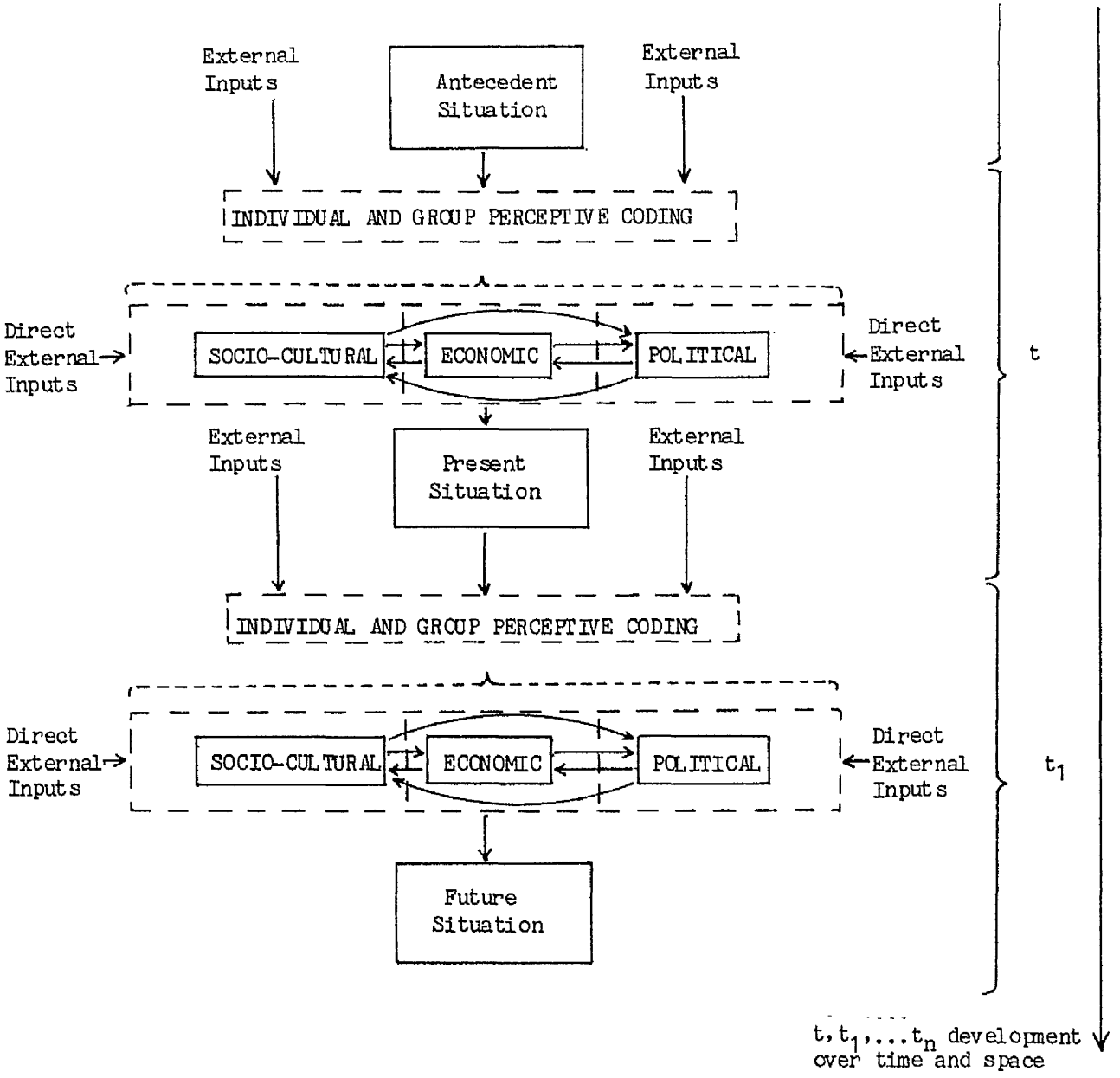



**Figure 3.12: Conceptual sequence of national development**

Given an antecedent situation at the national level, operating within an international context, individuals and groups of individuals operating within that system have their own perceptions of their environment (comprising antecedent situation and external inputs). This coding affects the way in which individuals operate individually, how they relate to one another, and how they operate as groups. In the present approach three subsystems have been identified as being of direct importance in determining the evolution of future characteristics within the national system.

Individual and group behaviour may be defined in the context of these subsystems, however there is considerable room for overlap, with particular individuals and groups quite possibly featuring in more than one of the

identified subsystems. It is important to note that nothing within the system prevents autonomous change within each of the three systems; indeed this is precisely the function of Weber's charismatic leader. Where sectors of national identity are open to outside influence and external pressures impinge more or less directly upon a sub-system of the nation, then a direct external input may result. In small nations this probably occurs most commonly and influentially in the economic and political spheres, although as has been seen cultural change may also be considerable.

What is conceptualised is, at the national level, therefore, a dynamic system incorporating a number of interrelated dynamic sub-systems. The dynamic nature of these is substantially and independently (from each other in some respects) determined by the behavioural characteristics and development of individuals and groups operating within and impinging upon the national system and its sub-systems.

The generic sequence of national development drawn from this is identified in Figure 3.13.

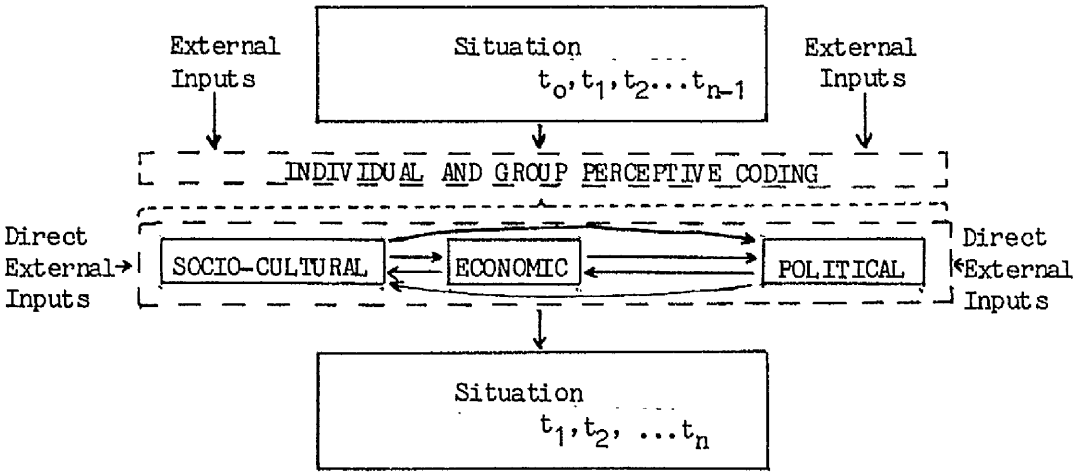



**Figure 3.13: Generic sequence of national development**

Particularly in view of the limited theoretical knowledge in these areas, which is confined largely to conceptualisations, and to the lack of data available in many contexts, this situation may be somewhat likened to a "fruit machine" game in terms of current ability to predict a correct outcome.

It is, however, possible to insert into this characterisation some of the main areas of concern which have been identified as bounding the position of land in the development planning process.

Table 3.4 indicates the various sectors of activity through which changes may be effected which have an impact upon the development of a nation. It is important to note two points. The source of change may be external to the country. If so, the government may attempt to control the entry or impact of the potential source of change by the implementation of incentives or barriers as necessary. Where the source of change is, on the other hand, internal, any subsystem may be pressure initiative and consequently any subsystem may be affected, which will produce extended and continual dynamic adjustment throughout.

| Subsystem reference | Sector of activity | Source of change relative to system | Pressure initiative subsystem if internal | Type of pressure | Affected subsystem | Area of possible response |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | **Physical/ Natural** | External | | Natural disasters; | 0,1,2,3,4 | "Insurances" against negative change i.e. indemnity, aid, etc. Alter initiative subsystems e.g. cultural pressures re. desertification. |
| | | Internal | 0,1,2,3,4 | disease; etc. | 0,1,2,3,4 | |
| 1 | **Political** | External | | Changing demographic patterns; | 0,1,2,3,4 | Alterations to constitution, |
| | | Internal | 0,1,2,3,4 | charismatic leaders, etc. | 0,1,2,3,4 | legislation and regulation, etc. |
| 2 | **Socio-Cultural** | External | | Changing social heirarchies; | 0,1,2,3,4 | Increase equitability of rights, |
| | | Internal | 0,1,2,3,4 | value systems; etc. | 0,1,2,3,4 | freedom of thought and of movement, etc. |
| 3 | **Economic** | External | | Distribution availability; | 0,1,2,3,4 | Planning optimal availability, |
| | | Internal | 0,1,2,3,4 | markets for factors of production; technology; etc. | 0,1,2,3,4 | use, and distribution of resources, etc. |
| 4 | **Behavioural** | External | | Media; education and training; | 0,1,2,3,4 | Censorship, public relations, research, |
| | | Internal | 0,1,2,3,4 | religion; etc. | 0,1,2,3,4 | etc. |

Table 3.4: Sectors of activity and impact on national development

This presents something of a problem for the theoretical development planning process which, as has been seen, looks at the sector of activity identified under economic as the prime mover of development.

**Contextual position**

It has already been observed that the Fiji situation is characteristically one of paucity of available information; the fact that this has been acknowledged specifically in the context of the economic and population modelling processes upon which development planning has depended to date is significant.

| Sector of activity | Possible land linkages |
|---|---|
| Physical/Natural | Land availability and suitability for given purposes; monitoring and enforcing approved land use practices; conservation; land clearance; etc., affect supply of and demand for land and impose responsibilities on land managers. |
| Political | Provisions determining nature of land tenure; landlord-tenant relationships; town and country planning; adjudication processes; etc., affect supply of and demand for land and impose responsibilities on land managers. |
| Socio-cultural | Rural-urban drift; selective migration from rural areas; the cultural split in land rights and use; problems with unplanned use of land on urban margins; etc., affect supply of and demand for land and impose responsibilities on land managers. |
| Economic | Changing world and local markets; planned intervention in the various sectors of the economy; changes in the structure of the economy; etc., affect supply of and demand for land and impose responsibilities on land managers. |
| Behavioural | Education, training, and changing perceptions of the population affect their demand for land, and enable them to better understand land related issues, imposing responsibilities on land managers. Where so much land is held and managed under a statutory trust, these developments also affect the ability to supply land as they affect the native owners' perceptions, and the human resources available for efficient management of the land . |

Table 3.5: The development planning process and linkages with land in Fiji

It is possible at this stage to identify potential linkages between land and the development planning process in Fiji as in Table 3.5. It is not claimed that the linkages identified are exhaustive, nor indeed that the conceptualisation of development and hence the appropriate personality of the development planning process is a unique solution. It is merely contended that it is a logical approach given the present state of background knowledge.

It is unnecessary to do more for the present purposes in any case as it is the main linkages that identify the information which is of interest.

This information is firstly, the pressures that have built up on the land resource as the result of the development process; secondly, the adjustments and their effectiveness that one particularly significant factor in the management of the land resource has made to its operation to meet and control these changing circumstances; and thirdly, the extent to which these operational land management considerations have been accounted for in the development planning process as it has evolved in Fiji.

The observation and analysis of these matters in the Fiji context and in particular the experience of the Native Land Trust Board, which is responsible for the management of 82% of the nation's physical land resource provides some insight into how and why change may or may not occur on the ground in the development and development planning process.

## CHAPTER 4

## The Native Land Trust Board 1940-1973

Fiji

No. 12 of 1940

I assent

[L.S.]

H.C. Luke

Governor

28th February 1940

An Ordinance

RELATING TO THE CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATION

OF NATIVE LAND

[7th June, 1940.]

BE it enacted by the Governor of Fiji with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof:-

1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Native Land Trust Ordinance 1940, and shall come into operation on a date to be fixed by the Governor by Proclamation.

2. This Ordinance is divided into parts as follows:

Part I - Preliminary
Part II - Control of Native Land
Part III - Native Reserves
Part IV - Miscellaneous

## CHAPTER 4

## The Native Land Trust Board 1940-1973

### Background

A useful starting point in looking at the history of the establishment of a separate body with responsibilities to look after native land in Fiji is the Deed of Cession, 1874, and its subsequent interpretation and implementation.

Article 4 of the Deed reads:

> "That the absolute proprietorship of all lands not shown to be now alienated so as to have become bona fide the property of Europeans or other foreigners or not now in the actual use or occupation of some Chief or tribe or not actually required for the probable future support and maintenance of some Chief or tribe shall be and is hereby declared to be vested in her said Majesty, her Heirs and Successors."

In his accompanying despatch No. 1 of 3rd October 1874, Sir Hercules Robinson explained as follows:

> "The clause simply vests in Her Majesty the absolute ownership of all lands not shown by those laying claim to them to be bona fide the property of Europeans or other foreigners or not required for the maintenance and support of chiefs and tribes; leaving her Majesty's Government to be the ultimate judge of what lands have been fairly acquired by Europeans, and what extent is required for the support of the natives."

The important questions were, of course, the definition of "fairly" acquired and what was required for the "maintenance and support" of the native population.

The resolution of these were a high priority for the first substantive Governor of the Colony, Sir Arthur Gordon, who was an acknowledged champion of native rights and interests. He interpreted the clause to mean that all land other than that then alienated, or then Crown, which previously had been held by the Cakobau Government, was Fijian or native land. He established the Land Claims Commission to resolve the question of European claims and then set about the question of native ownership.[1]

The Council of Chiefs was asked to codify the "native customary tenure" as the pattern for the identification of beneficial ownership of this "residual"

category, but failed to establish any concensus. Subsequent research has indicated that this reflected the plethora of different situations and the antipathy of the indigenes towards the finality and formality of an Ordinance.[2] In 1879, however, after considerable pressure the Council of Chiefs finally and somewhat arbitrarily settled upon the mataqali as the appropriate unit for the definition and registration of inalienable native interests.[3] The inalienability of native land was confirmed by the Native Lands Ordinance, 1880, and the Native Lands Commission was established to identify and record native interest in land.[4]

The experience of this Commission confirmed that the earlier confusion of the Council of Chiefs was an accurate reflection of the complex situation on the ground. Progress was very limited in the definition of native land claims. Subsequent policy in respect of native land varied over the years according to the view of the administration responsible, and to the political pressures brought to bear. In 1912 Maxwell, as Native Lands Commissioner was instructed to proceed with registration at the mataqali level in spite of his own reservations, and the definition of some 14,000 parcels of mataqali land was undertaken in the succeeding decades.[5]

By the late 1930's the political and economic situation was changing dramatically and ad hoc pressures were leading toward the necessity for a more positive formalisation of policy. The somewhat arbitrary approach then existing towards leasing of native land under the Commissioner of Lands through a Native Leases Board was considered inadequate. Resolution 30 of the 1936 Council of Chiefs, for instance, requested that: "a Committee be appointed to inquire into and to determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners".

> "The first duty of the colonial government was still seen to be the safeguarding of Fijian rights in the lands which had been adjudged to be their property. Apart from honouring the obligations inherited in the Deed of Cession it was on this that the continued political support and cooperation of the Fijian community was seen to depend. At the same time additional land would have to be made available on suitable tenure to facilitate further economic development through the private sector, and in particular to sustain the dynamism of the sugar cane industry and enable the growth in the secondary and tertiary sectors to continue. In effect this meant making more native land available, for all freehold land was already in economic use and there was little suitable vacant Crown land available."[6]

The means chosen to give effect to this need were identified in the farewell address of Sir Arthur Richards, then Governor, in 1938.

> "I consider that it would be best for Government to pass a Native Land Trust Ordinance giving Government power to deal with all the native lands in the Colony. This would mean that Government would be bound by law to carry out its trust in the best interests of the Fijians first and afterwards in the interests of others. A Commission headed by Ratu Sukuna would then be appointed and would arrange with each mataqali that certain lands be set aside for the exclusive use of Fijians. The lands not needed for the Fijians would be freed for leasing to the others."[7]

This was adopted by a resolution of the Council of Chiefs in the same year.

> "That this Council asks Government to control all native lands in Trust for the Fijians on the general lines set out in the farewell address by His Excellency Sir Arthur Richards to the Chiefs of Fiji on 21st day of July, 1938."[8]

On 7th June 1940 an Ordinance relating to the control and administration of native land was enacted.

## Native Land Trust Ordinance, 1940

The Ordinance, No.12 of 1940, provided for the establishment of a Board of Trustees as a body corporate with perpetual succession called the Native Land Trust Board to consist of the Governor, the Adviser on Native Affairs, the Director of Lands, and one member nominated by the Governor (s.4 (1)). The control of all native land was vested in the Board to be administered "for the benefit of the native owners" (s.5(1)). The inalienablity of native land except to the Crown was confirmed (s.6 (1)), and powers given to the Board to grant leases and licences of native land not included in a Native Reserve (s.9), subject to certain conditions being observed (s.10). The consent of the Board was required to any proposed dealing with his interest in land by the tenant (s.13). The expenses of the Board were to be funded by the deduction of ten percent of rents and premia in respect of leases and licences (s.15), the balance of the income was to be distributed according to a prescribed formula amongst the landowners. This was a continuation of the policy and level of deduction made by the Department of Lands prior to the establishment of the Board. The Board was to be responsible for the proclamation of Native Reserves which were not to be leased or licensed except to native Fijians with the consent of the Board and of the native owners. The demarcation of such reserves was to be the responsibility of the Native Lands Commission acting as Native Reserve Commissioners (s.17). The Governor in Council was empowered to make regulations prescribing and controlling the form and terms of all matters requiring to be determined under the Ordinance (s.32).

Speaking to the Bill, Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, traditionally seen as fathering the concept of the Board said:

> "The measure proposes to hand over ... all native lands to be administered for the benefit of the owners ... When passed the legislation will be a monument of trust in British rule, of confidence in its honesty, and of hopes for the future ...."[9]

The Board thus created was autonomous and self-financing with wide-ranging powers over 82% of the land in the Colony. Although a statutory body, it was not to be a Government agency. It was and, through the period presently under consideration, remained unfunded by Government. Whilst assisted in some relatively minor ways, the sole source of funding was to remain its poundage on lease rents and on royalties, and fees.

This autonomy became more complete as three factors developed.

Firstly, political changes by 1970 led to the curtailment of ex-officio membership of the Board which removed the uncertainties of the unpredictable ethnicity of officials in the context of an independent Fiji. By Ordinance No.19 of 1968 s.3 (i), formerly s.4 (1), which had been altered from time to time over the years to include a mixture of ex-officio and appointed membership, the Board of Trustees was redefined to comprise:

> "The Governor as President, the Minister (Fijian Affairs) as Chairman, five Fijian members appointed by the Great Council of Chiefs, three Fijian members appointed by the Fijian Affairs Board from a list of nominees submitted by provincial councils to the Fijian Affairs Board, and not more than two members of any race, appointed by the Governor."

During the period in question no one of Indian descent was appointed to the Board. This reflected both the bi-partisan cultural character of the country observed earlier, and the fact that the land question had rapidly developed as the focus of growing cultural antagonism.

The second factor concerned the administration of the Board. The Principal Ordinance was amended by Ordinance No.30 of 1945 to empower the Board to establish its own administrative machinery as an entity separate from the Department of Lands.

The same Ordinance provided for the third development, of financial independence, by increasing the "poundage" from ten to nineteen percent. The situation was further improved in 1951 when the percentage was increased to twenty-five.[10]

The Board's statutory persona developed during this period in accordance with other changes in land policy in the country. The nature of the Board's administration and of its policies will be examined below in detail.

The colonial government's policy towards land had much in common with its policy towards the economy as a whole. It relied essentially, as has been seen, on a laissez-faire approach. Even the indicative planning process resulting from the Burns Commission, and the development plans leading up to and in the early years of independence did not materially affect this, although there were some changes in the legislative framework which required to be coordinated to allow them to take effect on native land. Thus

provisions largely permitting deductions from rentals for levies authorised were enacted tying the Native Land Trust Ordinance into the Drainage Ordinance; the Land Development Ordinance; and the Fijian Affairs Ordinance.[11] Other legislative enactments which represented substantial developments in national land policy were restrictive in nature but did not require direct intervention on the part of the Board, affecting rather the environment in which it operated.[12]

In general though it would be fair to say that in spite of all of the changes taking place within the country resulting from socio-cultural, political and economic change; in spite of Spate and of the Burns Commission; the Board itself carried on largely untouched a powerful monument to culturally and economically entrenched political positions.

Lloyd, who was Director of Lands at the time, observes:

> "Nor did the (Burns) commission address itself to the significance of the board, as then constituted, in the long term perspective of national land policy formulation and national land development planning .... Nor did government accept the recommendation that the policy and general conduct of the business of the Native Land Trust Board should be within the cognizance of the legislature. These were considerations of the most fundamental importance in the context of national land administration. As a controller of 82% of the land in the territory the board occupied such a powerful monopolist position that it could dictate national land policy."[13]

## Development Pressures 1940-1973

The contextual position within which the Board was to operate was discussed in general terms in the previous chapter. It is now opportune to look in rather more detail at the extent to which these changes imposed a burden upon the work of the Board. This provides an essential framework for understanding the role of this body, which has already been described as occupying "...such a powerful monopolist position that it could dictate national land policy", in a situation where even by the late 1930's "...all freehold land was already in economic use and there was little suitable vacant Crown land available". It will give some insight into the functions that required to be fulfilled for the development process to proceed, and in the latter part of the period, for the development planning process to succeed, at least in so far as it required land inputs.

Following on from the discussions in Chapter 3 above, the developments determining the demand for land and for land management functions may be summarised in the following areas:

### a) Population growth

The details of total population growth during the period in question are as in Table 4.1.

| | FIJIANS | | | | INDIANS | | | | TOTAL | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | No | Ann. growth rate % | Dbl. time (yrs) | Year | No | Ann. growth rate % | Dbl. time (yrs) | Year | No | Ann. growth rate % | Dbl. time (yrs) |
| 1936 | 97,651 | +0.97 | 72 | 1936 | 85,002 | +2.25 | 31 | 1936 | 198,379 | +1.55 | 45 |
| 1946 | 117,448 | +1.77 | 39 | 1946 | 120,063 | +3.31 | 21 | 1946 | 259,638 | +2.58 | 27 |
| 1956 | 148,134 | +2.33 | 30 | 1956 | 169,403 | +3.45 | 20 | 1956 | 345,737 | +2.88 | 24 |
| 1966 | 202,176 | +3.12 | 22 | 1966 | 240,960 | +3.54 | 20 | 1966 | 476,727 | +3.23 | 21 |
| 1976 | 258,500 | +2.48 | 28 | 1976 | 292,600 | +1.96 | 36 | 1976 | 586,400 | +2.09 | 33 |

Table 4.1: **Population growth, 1936-1976; totals and growth rates based upon decennial censi** (extracted from M.L. Bakker "The Population Problem in the South Pacific", South Pacific Bulletin, Third Quarter, (1977) and updated using population figures for 1976 given in Development Plan 8 which were adjusted for enumeration errors.)

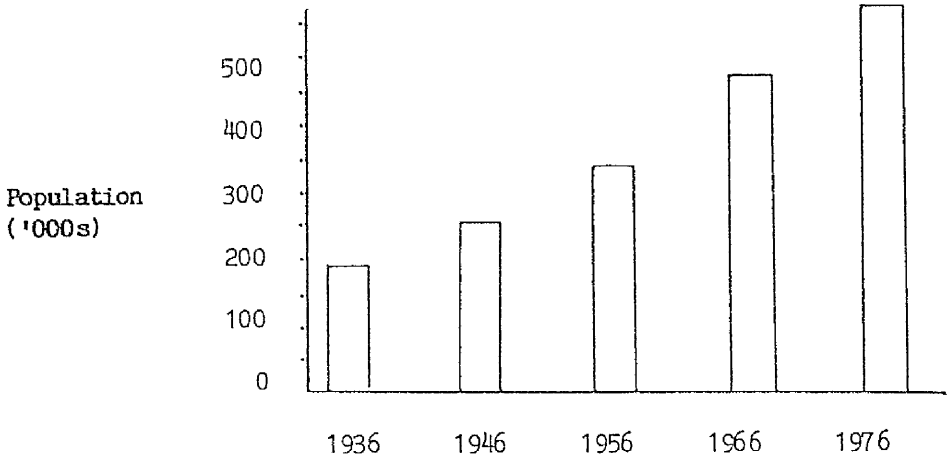



Figure 4.1 Population growth, 1936-1976

Leaving aside the cultural, economic and political divisions within the population which have been discussed above, the figures indicate a rate of growth which has been classed as explosive.[14] Explosive growth of population within a primary industry oriented economy must result in a wide ranging growth in the demand for land.

For the Fijian half of the population this would be traditionally absorbed within the subsistence sector with considerable implications for the Native Land Trust Board Reserve policies. With changing cultural perceptions and economic pressures , however, not all of this growth was channelled into subsistence; as has been seen, for example, pressures existed for the galala to move out of villages. Altogether there was an increasing move to individualisation of holding and of rewards (although this will be qualified below).

The Indian half of the population, with its different socio-cultural and economic background, absorbed its growth in other ways. In rural areas, settlement was based predominantly upon the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co.Ltd. holdings which were designed to support a single family only on about ten acres. Rapid population growth here meant the necessity for opening up new land, or provision of new opportunities. Part of this new opportunity was sought, if not always found, in the urban areas which were themselves already experiencing endogenous growth.

b) **Population drift**

The rationale for population drift has been mentioned earlier ;it may take place at a number of levels. Evidence for drift during this period at the regional level is constrained by lack of censal information. In 1956 Fijians had been asked to name their mataqali thus indicating the location of their land holding rights, but not their place of birth. In 1966 province of birth was requested, and in 1976, the place of residence at the time of Independence in 1970 was included as a question. There is, therefore, limited information that bears upon this during the period in question, with perhaps the best indication being derived from differential Divisional populations and population growth rates as shown in Table 4.2.

| Division | 1966 Population | Percentage | 1976 Population | Percentage | Divisional Rate of Annual Increase (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central | 109386 | 22.9 | 152368 | 25.9 | 3.4 |
| Western | 181643 | 38.1 | 224287 | 38.1 | 2.1 |
| Northern | 44433 | 9.3 | 57414 | 9.8 | 2.6 |
| Eastern | 59160 | 12.4 | 68767 | 11.7 | 1.5 |
| Southern | 39811 | 8.4 | 45708 | 7.8 | 1.4 |
| Islands | 41248 | 8.7 | 39524 | 6.7 | -0.4 |
| Fiji | 476727 | 99.8 | 588068 | 100.0 | 2.1 |

**Table 4.2: Population drift, 1966-76: by Division based upon decennial censi** (extracted from UNESCAP comparative study on migration, urbanisation and development in South Pacific countries, New York, 1982)

The net movements of population to the more developed Divisions implied by these figures, although perhaps less important in imposing a land requirement than rural-urban movements, none-the-less must have required the provision of land whether on a customary vakavanua, or on a more formal basis.

At the level of rural-urban drift, the very rapid growth of urban areas placed considerable demand for urban land to be released in all sectors of the land market. Table 4.3 below identifies the growth of the urban population and Table 4.4 the rates of growth of residential populations in the towns of Fiji during this period. The significance attached to this is indicated by the

fact that the single most important objective in Development Plan 6 was the reduction of the income disparity between rural and urban dwellers.[15]

| Census | Urban Pop. | Total Pop. | % Urban |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | 19,997 | 198,379 | 10.0 |
| 1946 | 39,527 | 259,638 | 15.2 |
| 1956 | 63,309 | 345,737 | 18.3 |
| 1966 | 159,259 | 476,727 | 33.4 |
| 1976 | 218,495 | 588,068 | 37.2 |

Up to 1946 only towns as defined in the Census
For 1956-1976 for all 'urban places'

**Table 4.3: Population drift 1936-1976: growth of urban population** (extracted and updated from Walsh A.C. and Bakker M.L. "Urban Fiji Boundaries used in the 1976 Census of Population". Government Printer, Suva, (1977))

| | Population | | Annual growth rate |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1966 | 1976 | |
| **Cities** | | | |
| Suva | 80,269 | 117,827 | 3.9 |
| Lautoka | 21,221 | 28,847 | 3.1 |
| **Incorporated towns** | | | |
| Ba | 8,309 | 9,173 | 1.0 |
| Labasa | 9,716 | 12,956 | 2.9 |
| Levuka | 3,000 | 2,764 | -0.8 |
| Nadi | 11,351 | 12,995 | 1.4 |
| Sigatoka* | 2,339 | 3,635 | 4.5 |
| Nausori | 9,619 | 12,821 | 2.9 |
| Savusavu* | 1,861 | 2,295 | 2.1 |
| **Unincorporated towns** | | | |
| Vatukoula | 4,993 | 6,425 | 2.6 |
| Rakiraki | 2,708 | 3,755 | 3.3 |
| Navua | 1,595 | 2,568 | 5.1 |
| Tavua | 1,949 | 2,144 | 1.0 |
| Korovou | 329 | 290 | -1.3 |
| **Total** | 159,259 | 218,495 | 3.2 |

Sources: 1966, 1976 censi.
Note: *Minor boundary changes occurred in several urban areas. The most significant changes occurred in those asterisked.

**Table 4.4: Population drift, 1966-1976: differential growth of urban populations** (extracted from UNESCAP comparative study on migration, urbanisationand development in South Pacific countries, New York, 1982)

c) **Economic growth**

Ad hoc economic growth in the period up to the commencement of the development planning process proper, and possibly rather more coordinated growth

thereafter, resulted in expansion within a number of sectors of the economy. Some sectors expanded as a result of exogenous change: a particularly significant example of this, the tourist industry, has been referred to above, and an index of the rate of expansion is taken to be the number of visitor arrivals. Table 4.5 and Figure 4.2 show the enormous growth experienced in this industry from 1960 to 1974.

| | Visitor arrivals | Percentage change | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1960 | 14,272 | - | |
| 1961 | 14,722 | +3.2 | |
| 1962 | 18,255 | +24.0 | |
| 1963 | 24,246 | +32.8 | |
| 1964 | 31,624 | +30.4 | |
| 1965 | 40,135 | +26.9 | |
| 1966 | 44,561 | +11.0 | |
| 1967 | 56,021 | +25.7 | *estimated (source(2)) |
| 1968 | 66,458 | +18.6 | **estimated annual |
| 1969 | 85,163 | +28.2 | equivalent growth |
| 1970 | 110,000 | +29.2 | |
| 1971 | 152,000* | +38.2** | |
| 1972 | 165,000* | +8.5** | |
| 1973 | 186,320 | +12.9** | |
| 1974 | 181,080 | -2.8 | |

**Table 4.5: Economic growth, 1960-1974: expansion of the tourism industry by visitor arrivals staying 24 hours or more** (compiled from (1) Kloke, C. "South Pacific Economies and Tourism" in Finney, B.R. and Watson, R.A. (eds.), "A New Kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific", 1974, East-West Centre, Honolulu; (2) Fiji Visitors' Bureau "A Statisitical Review of Tourism: 1981" ; (3) "A Statistical Report on Visitor Arrivals into Figji Calendar Year 1983"; (4) Ward, M. "The Role of Investment in the Development of Fiji", C.U.P., 1971.)

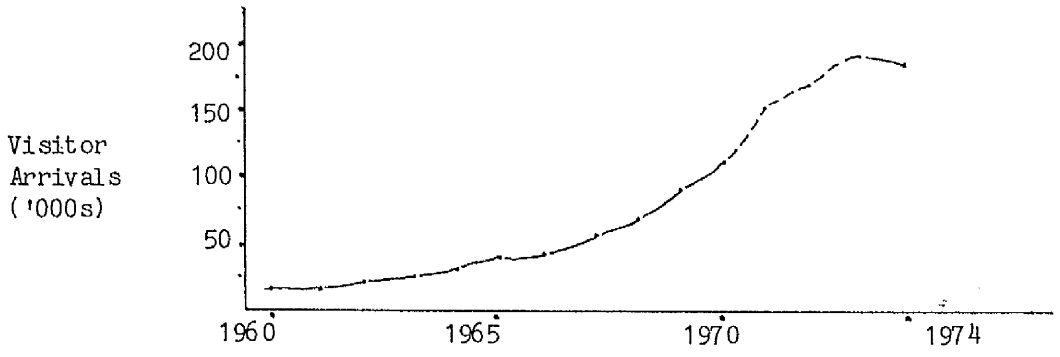



**Figure 4.2: Economic growth, 1960-1974, expansion of the tourism industry by visitor arrivals staying 24 hours or more** (as per Table 4.5)

Other sectors were able to expand as the result of endogenous change: the improvement of finance facilities through the Agricultural and Industrial

Loans Board, provision of credit through cooperatives, price stabilisation schemes, and the development of infrastructure generally improved the environment for growth. Specific policy instruments such as coconut grant schemes and major development projects started to evolve as Government moved towards independence. In some cases these produced very significant increases in the demand for land. The overall demand for land grew particularly where the increasing population was able to move to take advantage of the opportunities presented. Although the lack of statistics drawn attention to by the Burns Commission makes the position somewhat cloudy, some indication of the extent of development during this period is given by Table 4.6 which indicates sectoral growth.

| | 1950–70 (Current Price Series) | | | | 1968–73 (1972 Prices)* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1950 | 1957 | 1965 | 1970 | 1968 | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 |
| Agriculture, Fisheries, Forestry | 44.2 | 47.8 | 33.6 | 29.1 | 44.0 | 39.9 | 38.2 | 35.1 | 32.7 | 31.1 |
| Mining and Quarrying | 5.3 | 3.1 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 3.7 | 3.1 | 3.0 | 2.4 | 2.2 | 1.9 |
| Manufacturing and Processing | 10.8 | 10.3 | 12.3 | 12.3 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 4.0 | 4.4 | 4.5 |
| Construction, Electricity and Water | 5.6 | 7.0 | 6.6 | 8.9 | 10.2 | 10.5 | 9.7 | 10.3 | 10.5 | 12.3 |
| Transport and Communications | 2.8 | 3.4 | 5.6 | 7.6 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Other Private Services | 22.1 | 22.1 | 33.1 | 33.8 | 28.8 | 32.4 | 34.3 | 36.3 | 38.1 | 38.2 |
| Government Services | 9.2 | 5.7 | 7.0 | 7.1 | 10.0 | 11.0 | 11.5 | 11.9 | 12.2 | 12.0 |
| **Total G.D.P.** | 36.0 | 61.1 | 121.1 | 187.9 | 152.9 | 157.0 | 180.6 | 189.7 | 204.4 | 224.4 |
| **Av. Annual Growth Rate** | | 7.9 | 8.9 | 9.2 | | 2.7 | 15.0 | 5.0 | 7.7 | 9.8 |
| | | | | | | | | | (Average '68–73 = 8.0%) | |

*change in classification of sectors and in measurement of G.D.P.: 1968 was the first year of systematic annual compilation of national accounts statistics.

Table 4.6: **Economic growth, 1950–1974: structure of Gross Domestic Product by percentage share, total G.D.P. and average annual growth rates** (compiled and adjusted from Development Plan 8, Government Printers, Suva, 1980)

d) **Legislative growth**

Raw demand for land constitutes but one segment of the concerns of a body responsible for the management of the land resource. One of the most time-consuming and professionally demanding elements of managing land is in terms of complying with the legislative framework which embodies the statutory aspects of any nation's land use policy. This involvement may range from initiating legislation and commenting upon drafts through to interpreting and following the procedures laid down. The period in question saw a substantial growth in the amount of legislation. A consolidated list of newly conceived legislation affecting land, together with dates of enactment and impact, shows how significant this growth was. The list does not extend to consideration of amendments; of which the Native Land Trust Ordinance, for instance, had fourteen between 1940 and 1970.

| **Legislation enacted** | **Date of enactment** | **Impact on native land management** |
|---|---|---|
| Native Land Trust | 1940 | declaration of reserves; leasing licensing of native land |
| Crown Acquisition of Lands | 1940 | compulsory acquisition of land |
| Fijian Affairs | 1944 | native custom relating to land |
| Town Planning | 1946 | preparation of statutory town planning schemes |
| Local Government (Towns) | 1948 | land taxation, rating, building controls |
| Land Conservation and Improvement | 1953 | conservation and improvement of land and water resources |
| Drainage | 1961 | facilitate drainage schemes and raising of finance through rates |
| Native Forest Registration Fund | 1961 | provision for setting aside of 25% of all timber royalties into a forest regeneration fund |
| Land Development | 1962 | establishment of Authority for land settlement and development |
| Agricultural Landlord and Tenant | 1966 | relations between agricultural landlords and tenants |
| Property Law | 1971 | codifying property law |
| Land Transfer | 1971 | transfer and registration of interests in land |

**Table 4.7: Legislative growth, 1940-1974: major new legislation enacted, date of enactment, and impact on native land management.**

The overall framework of statutes affects the procedures to be adopted in fulfilling the demand for land generated by population growth and movement, and by economic growth. In some cases the statutes have a direct impact on the actual amount of land for any given use and on the terms on which it is

to be made available. Examples of these include the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance, the Land Conservation and Improvement Ordinance, the Town Planning Ordinance, and the Local Government (Towns) Ordinance.

Legislation may also have the result of effectively placing one category of demanders outside the "effective demand" category. This may lead to new sets of problems, for instance, the incidence of squatting in urban areas for economic reasons; and the surrender of Colonial Sugar Refiners Co.Ltd. agricultural leases for political and economic reasons following the enactment of the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance.

From the Native Land Trust Board's point of view, with its very substantial rural land management responsibility, a particularly significant example of the impact of such enactments on its work is to be found in the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance. This will be examined in greater detail below, but for the present Table 4.8 suffices to indicate the official view of the extent to which this created an increased workload for landlords. It indicates the number of cases heard and pending before the Agricultural Tribunal from 1st January 1968 to 19th July 1974.

**CENTRAL AND EASTERN DIVISIONS -**

| | Initiated | Disposed of | Pending |
|---|---|---|---|
| Objection to termination of Tenancy | 12 | 12 | - |
| Relief against eviction or forfeiture | 24 | 2 | 22 |
| Fix or reassess rent | 45 | 39 | 6 |
| Declare existence of tenancy | 72 | 19 | 53 |
| Relief when tenancy unlawful | 2 | 2 | - |
| All other remedies | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 157 | 75 | 82 |

**NORTHERN DIVISION -**

| | Initiated | Disposed of | Pending |
|---|---|---|---|
| Objection to termination of Tenancy | 61 | 39 | 22 |
| Fix or reassess rent | 110 | 43 | 67 |
| Declare existence of tenancy | 47 | 35 | 12 |
| Relief when tenancy unlawful | 33 | 31 | 2 |
| Fix boundaries | 5 | 3 | 2 |
| Relief against eviction or forfeiture | 1 | 1 | - |
| All other remedies | 32 | 5 | 27 |
| Total | 289 | 157 | 132 |

**WESTERN DIVISION -**

| | Initiated | Disposed of | Pending |
|---|---|---|---|
| Objection to termination of Tenancy | 413 | 294 | 119 |
| Relief against eviction or forfeiture | 22 | 17 | 5 |
| Fix or reassess rent | 173 | 165 | 8 |
| Declare existence of tenancy | 153 | 175 | 78 |
| Relief when tenancy unlawful | 30 | 15 | 15 |
| Determine compensation | 1 | 1 | - |
| Fix boundaries | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| All other remedies | 23 | 22 | 1 |
| Total | 817 | 590 | 227 |

**Total number of cases pending at 19/7/74** 441

Table 4.8: **Legislative growth; 1968-1974: impact of provisions of legislation; the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance, 1966, references to the Agricultural Tribunal initiated and disposed of 1/1/68 - 19/7/74** (extracted from Parliamentary Paper No.13 of 1975).

**Perceptions of responsibility**

The management of native land evolved from the situation before the Native Land Trust Ordinance was enacted, where native land could be leased only when the native owners surrendered control to Government of the particular portion to be leased to the applicant. They often required the payment of unlawful secret considerations to secure their agreement, which resulted in unplanned alienation of scattered holdings as the "eyes" were picked out of the land. "The maps upon which the leases so granted are charted resemble nothing so much as a picture of a disjointed jigsaw puzzle."[16] The Ordinance, therefore, whilst partly to satisfy changing cultural, political and economic circumstances was also viewed as an important step in improving the management of the native land resource, which it was hoped would encourage the development of the Colony.

The pressures and circumstances in which the Board was to develop have been touched upon above; the extent to which the Board's role was to be determined by these as they developed was very much a function of how the Board viewed its responsibilities, as laid down in the Ordinance, in the context of such change.

Documentation of the perception of responsibilities is facilitated by the fairly thorough annual reports of the Board's activities to the Governor as President, through internal memoranda and external correspondence, and through a number of major reports on the Board's operations that were compiled during this period. In particular the Charlton Report 1944, the 1962 Sub-Committee's recommendations, and the 1966 Regnault Report are of interest.[17]

The first major documentation after the passing of the Ordinance on the "Administration of Native Land" was invited in 1943 by the Colonial Secretary from the Director of Lands, then Mr. F.R. Charlton, as part of the Governor's requested papers on Post-war Reconstruction. A Memorandum was forwarded dealing with the matter in the following year. This contained detailed recommendations for the establishment of an executive independent of the Department of Lands to carry out the policies of the Board. The recommended responsibilities were clearly spelt out. In terms of the Ordinance these were: the administration of all native land in trust and for the benefit of the native owners; the reservation and dereservation of native land; the leasing or licensing of any native land outside reserve and subsequent control over any dealings; the distribution of native rents but not, as yet, their collection; and the granting of Native Agricultural Licences to natives of land in reserve. The Charlton Report recommended principles for the planning of native land for agricultural settlement which involved detailed scheme plans, the construction of main, feeder, and subdivisional roads, and so on. A planning procedure which it was advocated should also be implemented was to replan holdings when large areas of contiguous leases expired. Concern was expressed as to the importance of soil conservation and land use issues in the management of the native estate.

These responsibilities were reflected in the summary of the duties of the Inspectors who were to be recruited as the "field" arm of the Board.

"It will be the primary duty of the Inspectors to detect breaches of

> the conditions of leases and to supervise methods of cultivation and generally, to protect the land against misuse by faulty cultivation, neglect of drainage, over-stocking or otherwise. They will be required to assess the rental values of lands ... and, during the interim period, before native land has been planned in advance of settlement ... it will be necessary for them to inspect and report on individual portions of vacant land applied for under lease".[18]

Finally, in view of subsequent developments, it is interesting to note that on the question of staffing the following recommendation was made for appointments: one land agent (European), four inspectors (Europeans or persons of mixed descent), four clerks (Indians and/or Fijians).

The Committee of the Native Land Trust Board which considered the Report agreed with its recommendations subject to certain adjustments. It was felt that main and feeder roads should be formed by Government in the process of planning for settlement on native land. On the question of responsibility for soil conservation and other land management issues on the native estate, it was considered that the Board should only be responsible where native land had been alienated, and that the Secretary for Fijian Affairs should be responsible in respect of native reserves. A final significant insistence was on the matter of staffing where mention of the possibility of employment of Indians was specifically omitted.[19]

These perceptions of responsibility developed, and indeed expanded further during the period in question. Responsibility for collection and recording of rents was taken over from Government in 1951, as the result of strong representations from the Manager at that time, Mr J.D. Judd.[20] In a letter to the Chairman of the Board in March 1950, the Manager made it clear that the operations of the Board were severely constrained by lack of funds and he indicated some of the reasons for this.[21] Particularly significant expenditure had been incurred in the purchase of freehold properties.

> "You are aware that the Board has recently acquired two islands in Cakaudrove, a block of 602 acres in Macuata and a small property at Kadavu on behalf of certain Mataqali who have insufficient land for maintenance and support of their members."

Whilst he had no objection to the principle of the acquisition of land for such purposes the Manager maintained that:

> "... it is not the duty of the Board to effect the purchases ..."

He pointed out that:

> "Although there is no specific prohibition to the acquisition of land by the Board in the Ordinance, provisions of Section 19(1) of Cap.86 leave no doubt as to the procedure to be followed in the event of additional land being required for the use maintenance or support of any Mataqali."

He went on to point out that the financial position of the Board, the owners, and the colony, could be much improved by a more entrepreneurial approach to development and stated that:

> "The development of Native land properly falls under administration ..."

There was also a strong consciousness within the Land Agency side of the operations that a direct involvement in advising tenants on land use and management was a part of the role of the Assistant Land Agents. The concern expressed in the Charlton Report was strongly supported by the Land Agent in his circular memo of 7th May 1947 which indicated and drew attention to the requirements to be met by tenants in this respect under the then current agricultural lease.[22]

> "The Land Agency has, as yet, hardly touched upon the most important part of its duties, that is the care of the land".

It is interesting to note a report by an Assistant Land Agent in 1952 which gives some indication of how such concern was actually being viewed and put into effect on the ground.[23]

> "During my tours of inspection I was struck by the variety of methods of land utilisation adopted by different farmers. To my disappointment the majority of these peasant farmers are cultivating their land contrary to the conditions of their leases. It will take some time to convert them to modern methods. It will be a hard task but we will eventually teach them what we mean by good farm management."

The role of agricultural extension officer was apparently being added to that of land agent.

The enlarged role of the Board continued with further acquisitions of freehold and long leasehold land in 1954 for a number of reasons ranging from return to the original native owners, through to entrepreneurial development of an agricultural sub-division (Wainivoce) and a dairy settlement (Naiburu and

Waibasaga). The view that the Board should be responsible for the development of native land, and concern expressed that this was outside its prescribed sphere of statutory operation, led to extensive discussions.[24] Proposals for new legislation were drafted by the Colonial Secretary and widely circulated in 1957:[25]

> "to provide for the control, administration and development of Native Land, to establish a Native Land Trust Board for the purposes aforesaid, to vest certain Crown Land in the said Board and for matters relating to the foregoing".

In the event, the proposals came to nothing. The Board's perceptions, however, remained unchanged and through the 1950's, the 1960's, and into the 1970's, development work in particular was considered to be of high priority.

The Report of the Review Sub-Committee, 1962, made important observations as to the Board's then present responsibilities[26]:

> "9. As we see it the responsibilities of the Board and its staff under the present Native Land Trust Ordinance, Cap.104, are as follows below:
>
> (1) the setting aside of Native Reserves.
>
> (2) the administration, including subdivision, of all native land **without** consent of Native owners in the case of native land outside Native Reserves and **with** consent of the Native Owners in the case of land inside Reserve.
>
> (3) the issuing of leases and licences of all native land whether inside or outside Reserves.
>
> (4) the collection and distribution of rents."

In spite of the inclusion of subdivision above the Sub-Committee distinguished the Board's role from that of a Land Development Agency, and emphasised that responsibility should be confined to ensuring lessees commit no breaches of lease conditions. "After care" of lessees was to be properly regarded as a Government responsibility.

The land development and "after care" role was largely ascribed to the responsibility of the Land Development Authority established under the Land Development Ordinance, 1962. Lloyd writing in 1981 remarked that the Authority failed to make the impact expected of it:[27]

> "Within a few years it became moribund and has subsequently only been reactivated in recent years ....."

Regnault, whose terms of reference were primarily to comment on and ensure that the 1962 recommendations were implemented and to prepare a long term policy for the Board, did not significantly redefine its role and, indeed, assumed:[28]

> "that it is not the intention to run down the Board's organisation but to ensure that it functions as an efficient unit capable of meeting the challenge of the future."

Although there is a relative paucity of records available relating to such matters during Dr. Nayacakalou's tenure as Manager (1969-72) there is little doubt that development continued to be a high priority responsibility, particularly in the area of tourism.

By 1974, the Board's view of its responsibilities and of its role in the nation's and more particularly the Fijians' development was well established. In the 1969-74 Native Land Trust Board Review, the President, referring to the Board as "the embodiment of the Fijian people", introduced the Chairman's report which highlighted some of the major areas of administrative and field involvement which had developed in addition to the basic management functions. These included the direct development of land, the establishment of technical survey and engineering divisions, a strong orientation towards promotion of Fijian interests, and the proposing and investigation of possible programmes for investment of "surplus" funds.

**Administrative policies and implementation**

The ability of an organisation to function effectively in its particular field is determined by the administrative policies of that organisation, and by the resources allocated for their implementation. Unless an appropriate structure is devised for the scale and nature of the organisation itself and of its operations, then it is unlikely that its operational performance will be satisfactory. The Native Land Trust Board is no exception in this respect. It is important, therefore, to examine in some detail considerations relating to staffing, to management structures and decision-making; and to accounting practices.

a) **Staffing policy and training**

The question of staffing arose when the first moves towards making the Board

operationally independent of the Lands Department were published in 1945 in the Charlton Report. One significant aspect of the Board's view on selection of staff has been mentioned earlier. The insistence by the Committee of the Board reviewing the recommendations that recruitment be restricted to individuals not of Indian extraction resulted from the strongly perceived political, economic and cultural pressures on the Fijian. This position remained unchanged through the period being examined; indeed, the Board, as "the embodiment of the Fijian people", came to be regarded as a training ground for promising Fijians. It is interesting to note the fact that a number of the Board's more senior staff moved on Independence to the greener pastures of the political field and that this became a regular occurrence to the extent that special provisions were approved by the Board for staff wishing to enter Parliament.[29] The attractions of political life were all the greater in the context of a severely ailing Board.

The initial recommendation by Charlton was for a 'skeleton' staff of supervised and serviced lease inspectors to be increased as became necessary. The Board's committee recommended that this be augmented by staff of various administrative and clerical grades as "Headquarters staff". At this stage the total recommended employment of the Board was : **Land Agency (9)**; Land Agent (1), Inspectors (4), Clerks (4): **Headquarters (6)**; Secretary (1), Clerks (2), Draughtsmen (2), Typist (1); a total of 15 staff.

The staff of the Board grew rapidly over the formative years as its work expanded. By 1951 the rental accounting and distribution function had been taken over from Government and the scale of the Board's operations in the field had been expanded. As will be seen, the number of leases and licences had already increased from around 2500 in 1945, to 10485 by 1956 when the Board's operations moved from rented offices to a newly developed property near to the Goverment buildings.[30]

The staff by 1956 comprised the following:

| Appointment | Establishment | Provision |
|---|---|---|
| Manager | 1 | 1 |
| Secretary | 1 | 1 |
| Accountant | 1 | 1 |
| Land Agents | 1 | 2 |
| Assistant Secretary | 1 | 1 |
| Conveyancing Clerk | 1 | 1 |
| Clerks | 7 | 7 |
| Assistant Accountant | 1 | 1 |
| Accounting Clerks | 6 | 6 |
| Senior Assistant Land Agent | - | 1 |
| Assistant Land Agents | 9 | 13 |
| Student Assistant Land Agents | 4 | - |
| Junior and Cadet Draughtsmen | 4 | 5 |
| Stenographers and Typists | 4 | 4 |
| Re-employed Pensioner | - | 1 |
| Messenger | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 44 | 46 |

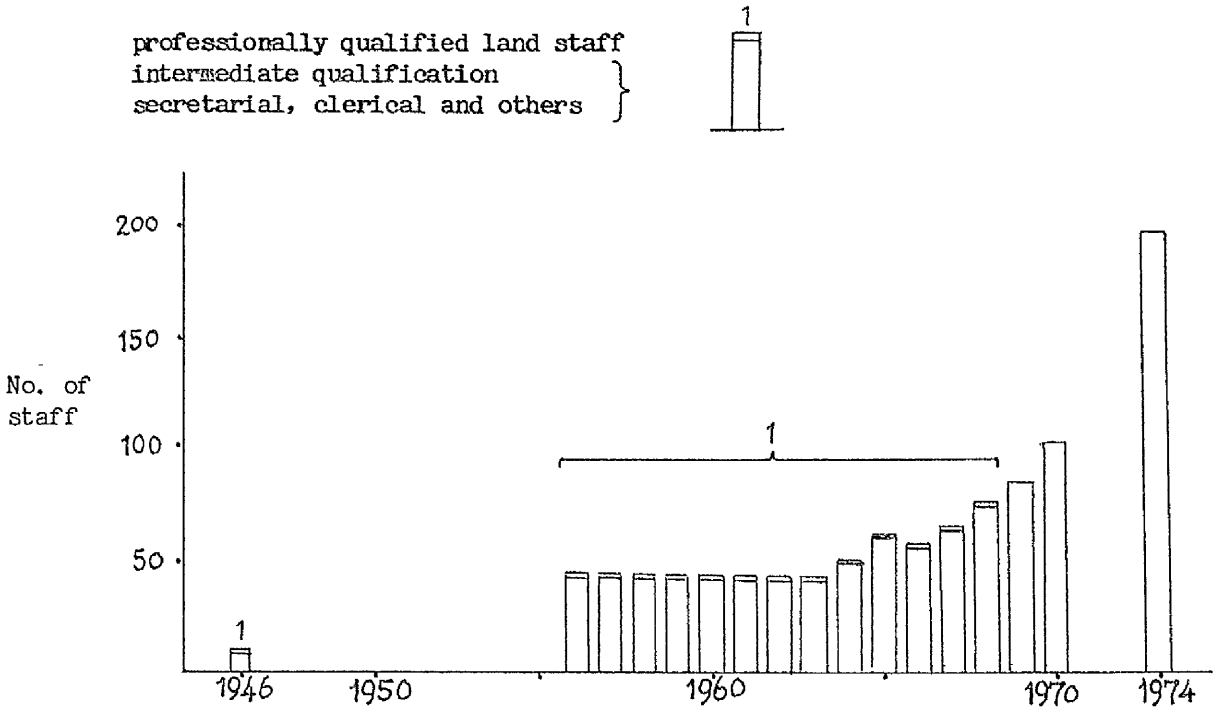



**Figure 4.3 Growth of staff and composition; 1946-1973:** (extracted from Annual Reports to the Board 1951-1968; from the booklet commemorating the opening of the new NLTB building dated 8th February 1957; and from the Fiji Sun article, p.1, 23rd November 1974)

As may be seen from the graph, this establishment was not to change significantly until 1964 when the numbers had risen to 50. From 1964 onwards

the picture was one of continued expansion until 1973. It is interesting to note the breakdown of these figures so far as records allow into three groups; professionally qualified land staff, and intermediate qualification, secretarial /clerical and others.

The evolution of the staffing of the Board from a small operation comprising some ten staff to a complex organisation employing of the order of two hundred staff may be reviewed in three stages.[31]

During the first stage, from inception to around 1964, the Board's chief executive officer, a European, was the Manager.[32] As the graph shows, for the whole of this period, he was the only professionally qualified officer. The field operations of the Board by the 1950's were conducted through the "Land Agency" staff which was structured with a Land Agent (who was European throughout this period) responsible for supervision of the Western Division; the Manager being responsible for supervision of the remainder. For the Western Division this involved the supervision of the work of Assistant Land Agents at Nadi/Lautoka, Ba/Tavua, and Ra. The Manager, acting as Land Agent, Southern, was responsible for the supervision of Nadroga/Navosa, Naitasiri, Nausori and Labasa. The Manager was also responsible for the supervision of the Senior Assistant Land Agent Headquarters, who in effect acted as the Manager's assistant. The structure that evolved is shown below.

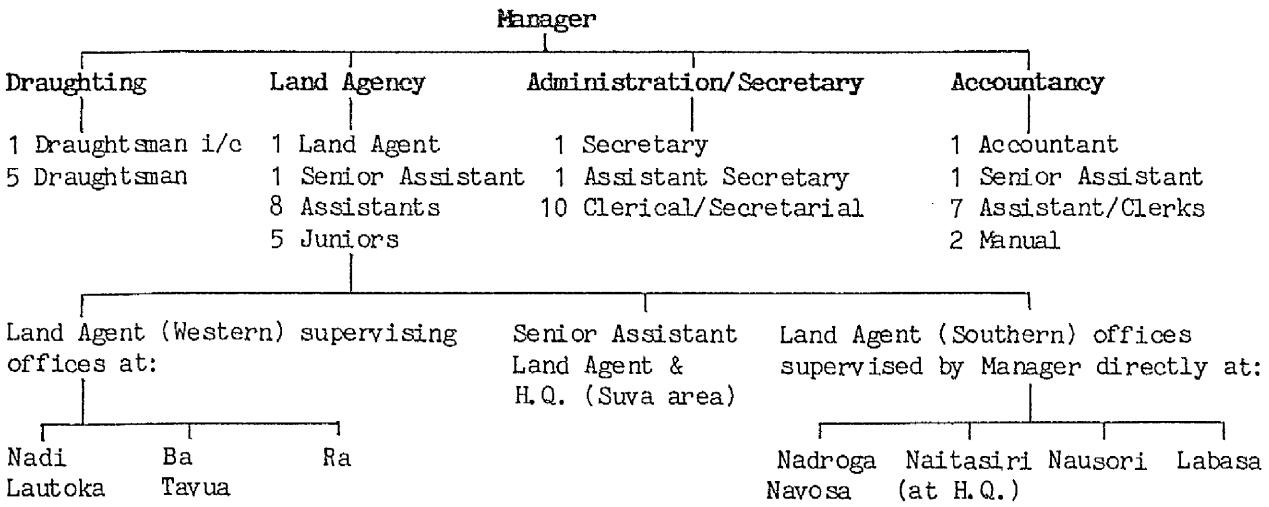



**Figure 4.4 Organisation chart, 1962:** (extracted from the 1962 Subcommittee's Report to the Board)

The administrative (and legal) functions were headed by the Secretary, a European who was responsible to the Manager.[33] It is important to note that throughout this period the Secretary (rather than the Land Agent) acted as

Manager in the latter's absence. The accountancy functions were led by the Accountant, another senior position within the Board held for most of its existence by one (European) person.[34]

There was a certain amount of training sponsored; and, indeed, promotion from Student Assistant Land Agent to Assistant Land Agent was "immediately on completion of their probationary period and/or on acquiring necessary qualifications, which are diplomas in agriculture from the Koronivia Farm Institute or from Gatton (Queensland) or Massey (New Zealand) Agricultural Colleges".

By 1958 all of the Student Assistant Land Agents had been thus qualified and from that time no more Student Assistant Land Agents were engaged.[35]

In 1945, the Land Agent, Lt.Col Ackland, had taken two Fijians on a short "whistlestop" training tour in the United Kingdom. The next United Kingdom based training was in 1961 when one Assistant Land Agent went on scholarship to the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester. "He returned in mid-1962 having done so well on the course that he was awarded the College's diploma in estate management". In the following two years two more Assistant Land Agents went to the College to undertake the estate management course.[36]

The approach to training was very much an ad hoc one. There was little pressure for training from above, at least in the form of formal training programmes for which known rewards would act as incentives. It is significant to note the Report of the 1962 Sub-Committee:

> "We received comments about lack of satisfactory instructions to staff and absence of any form of staff committee. We also received statements such as 'the members of the staff do not know where they stand'; 'There are no written standing instructions'; 'There is no known promotion ladder'; 'There is no job evaluation'; 'There are no prescribed conditions of service' ."

The Sub-Committee observed as follows:

> "We would stress that few of these comments were made by members of the staff. In fact as we have already mentioned we found members of the staff to be exceptionally loyal. Nevertheless, we feel that much of the criticism is justified. An organisation such as that of the Board which employs some 50 persons cannot operate effectively without rules concerning staff appointments, job evaluation, training, promotion and general conditions of service".

The second stage in the evolution of the Board's staffing concerns the closing

years of colonial rule, from around 1964 to 1969. It coincides with a number of significant developments from the Board's point of view.

The 1962 Sub-Committee's Review had advised that a suitably qualified officer be assigned to carry out its recommendations. In 1965, the Deputy Director of Lands, Mr R.H. Regnault, spent six months attached to the Board during which he compiled a Report regarding implementation of the Sub-Committee's recommendations. A substantial proportion of the Report was devoted to staffing considerations.

The Regnault Report confirmed and emphasised the need for a sound staffing structure and made recommendations as to eligibility for certain positions and as to implementation of certain examination bars in salary structures. It identified fields of responsibility for the various grades of officer, but did not, looking to the future, recommend any drastic changes in the Board's structure.

Quoting the Scott Report on Salaries and Terms and Conditions of Service which had been invited by the Board in 1965; "Perhaps this is the moment to mention my impression that the organisation of the Board, although basically sound, could bear some re-examination", the Regnault Report took this to mean that; "the structure of the organisation is sound enough", and concluded that "with some domestic re-organisation the changes necessary can be effected efficiently and without undue inconvenience".[37]

Training was proposed to become a matter of high priority with the appointment of three expatriate executive training officers on three year contracts to the three divisional offices at Lautoka (Western), Labasa (Northern), and Suva (Southern and Eastern). The total establishment proposed for 1968 and its organisation are indicated overleaf.

The Executive Training Officer positions were to be phased out in 1970 when, it was hoped, scholarship holders would return to the Board's employ and a localised Board would run smoothly thereafter. There were proposals for phasing devolution of responsibility for approval of dealings to the Divisional levels.

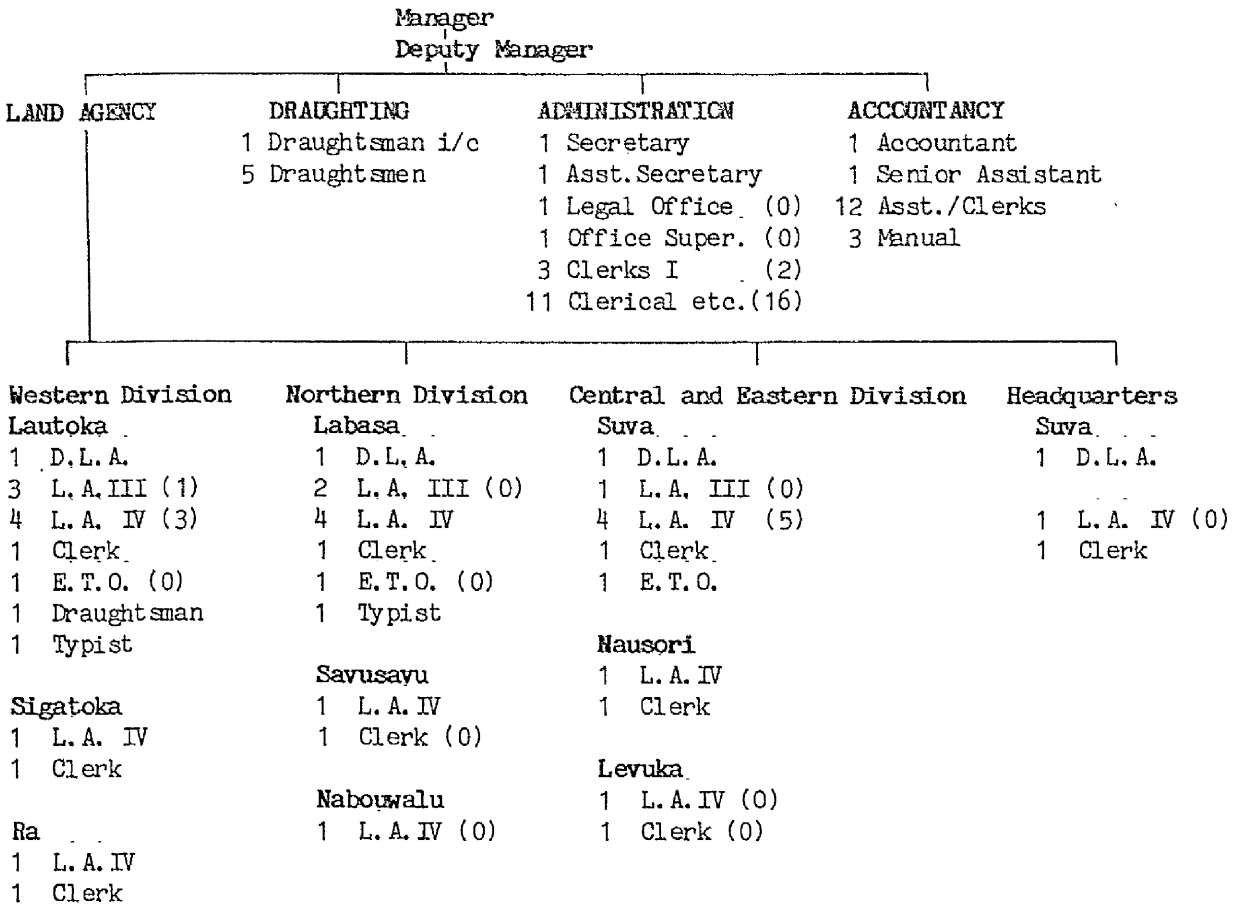
| | | Koronivia | Gatton | Massey | R.A.C./UK (Short tour) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1945 | | | | 2 |
| | 1954 | | 1 (1957) | | |
| Year | 1955 | 1 (1956) | 1 (1958) | | |
| Course | 1956 | 1 (1958) | | | |
| Started | 1957 | 1 (1958) | | | |
| | 1961 | | | | 1 (1962) |
| | 1962 | | | | 1 (1963) |
| | 1964 | | | | 1 |
| | 1967 | | | | 1 (1968) |
| | 1968 | | | | 1 |
| | 1969 | | | | 3 |

**Table 4.9: Staff, 1945-1974: summary of external staff training** (Sources: Annual Reports, staffing files, Personnel section showing dates students sent to commence training and date of return to the Board's employ in brackets.)

In practice, little of the Report was given affect to. The designations of Junior Assistant, Assistant, and Senior Assistant Land Agents were altered to Land Agent IV, III, and II; four scholarships were given by the United Kingdom Government to the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester and for subsequent professional training; and the small day-to-day type problems were resolved in part. The ad hoc approach to training continued. External training is summarised in Table 4.9 for the whole period, and the record of internal examinations passed in 1968 is given in Table 4.10.

The problems which it was hoped would be resolved were in fact made worse as a string of misfortunes, some predictable, others not, made themselves felt. It proved impossible to recruit more than one Executive Training Officer, and at the end of 1967 the Board decided not to make the two other appointments. It was impracticable to recruit local land agency staff, even had there been any available with suitable qualifications and inclinations who were not more attracted to the rapidly expanding and more secure employment in the Civil Service in immediately pre-Independence Fiji, because there were no professional supervisory staff in the field. It also proved impossible to recruit the Legal Officer who had been intended to cope with the additional workload created by the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act.

In September 1967, the Secretary, Mr. Hansen, died unexpectedly after serving continuously in that capacity with the Board since 1946. In March 1969, Mr Foster left the Board on retirement leave having been with the Board since 1949 and having served as Manager since 1954.




D.L.A.= Divisional Land Agent; L.A.= Land Agent; E.T.O.= Executive Training Officer

**Figure 4.5: Proposed organisation chart and staffing of the Board from 1968, showing actual 1968 staff levels bracketted where not at establishment** (Sources: Regnault Report Appendix III of Appendix D, 7th September 1966; Manager's 6th Progress Report on the implementation of the Regnault recommendations, 20th November 1968)

| Examinations | Student passes |
|---|---|
| New Zealand Institute of Valuers | |
| Valuation 1 | 2 |
| Education Department Estate Management | |
| Valuation 1 | 10 |
| Valuation Law | 14 |
| Building Construction 1 | 1 |
| N.L.T.B. In-Service Examinations | |
| Valuation 1 ) | |
| Valuation Law ) | 14 |
| Field Practice ) | |
| Total Unit Passes | 41 |

**Table 4.10: Staff, 1968: Summary of examination passes** (Source: Executive Training Officer's Annual Report (1968))

The Great Council of Chiefs invited a distinguished Fijian scholar, Dr. Rusiate Nayacakalou, to fill the vacant post of Manager in 1969. This brought the second stage to a close and ushered in the third which was to last until 1974.

Dr. Nayacakalou was Manager of the Board until his untimely death in 1972. He inherited a Board which, as will be seen, was used to channelling every decision to the Manager. It is small wonder that without previous management experience there was no detectable improvement in the staffing position of the Board. There are, in fact, few records extant relating to this period regarding either staffing levels or the allocation of staff, as annual reports and accounts ceased to be presented in 1969 and internal files and correspondence that remain covering this period are either no longer in the Board's filing system or are not explicit. Perhaps all that can be said with any certainty is that by 1974 the staff had increased from seventy-nine to probably around two hundred and that there was considerable division of function, with specific importance being attached to development work as shown in the organisation chart below.[38]

b) **Management structure and decision-making**

The structure of the Board's executive staff, as has been seen, shows an almost direct line of development from the small operation of 1946 through to 1969 and, and, as far as can be ascertained, to 1974. The structure was one of centralised decision-making, and constant reference of problems by lease inspectors to the decision making executive with all of the delays that this inevitably involved. There was, in effect, the same decision-making structure for 26,000 leases as there had been for 2,500 when the Board first became operational. In spite of the recommendation for phased devolution, albeit of only restricted responsibility (for dealings), in the 1960's, this never occurred. A part of the reason for the necessity for this must have been the lack of any integrated training policy and of a sound staff structure. The organisation was geared to central decision making and it is probable that any review approach which left this basic structure intact was bound to fail.

It is interesting to reflect in the light of this how the staff groups dissected out earlier highlight the failure to provide for, or even anticipate the future.

# 1973 NATIVE LAND TRUST BOARD ORGANISATION CHART 1973

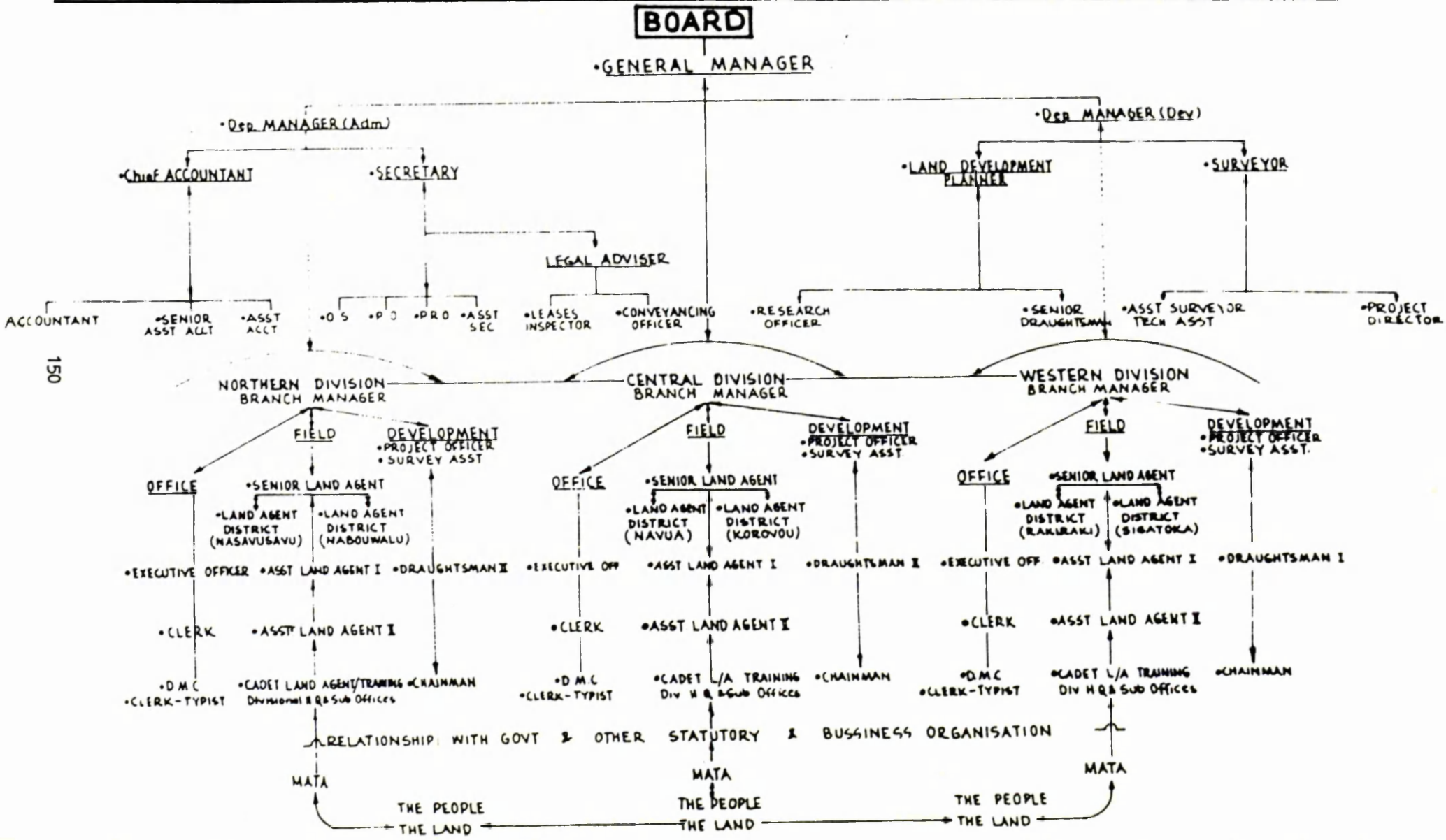



Figure 4.6 Organisation chart, 1973

Lloyd writing retrospectively in 1981 commented:

> "Throughout the colonial era little effort was made to devise a sound staff structure or to train staff or to introduce a permanent staff career-structure in spite of recommendations stressing the importance of these. It was as if board members and board senior staff were uncertain about the future of the organisation."

c) **Accounting practices**

The accounting practices have been mentioned in earlier discussion. The brief chronological history was of the Board taking some of the responsibility for collection and distribution of rents by 1952 which had previously been the responsibility of the Accountant-General's office. At the beginning of 1964, the Board took over full responsibility for rent collection by coming to an agreement with the Postmaster General for the provision of the service through its post offices on a fee basis. This afforded complete independence from the Treasury and its sub-accountants which had been providing the service free over the previous years. The change in practice had been intended as a "carrot" for the Government to encourage it to consider provision of the subvention for staff invited by the 1962 Sub-Committee. It was, however, unsuccessful in this respect.

During the period a number of questions arose regarding the Board's accounting policies. Up until 1969 these concerned serious and uncorrected qualifications to the accounts by the Board's auditors which related to proper security for employee loans, to problems with repayments on such loans, and to the accounting practices involved in writing off the cost of developing the Headquarters building. Questions about the financial establishment of the Board, as living from its own Trust funds which were not accounted for separately, do not appear to have been explored.[39]

From 1969 to 1974 no accounts were published. As will be seen, this caused some serious problems for the Board and its image.

**Field policies and implementation**

a) **Work load**

It is difficult to identify with any exactness the extent of the workload with which the staff of the Board had to deal in this period. The Annual Reports of the Board contained summaries of the work undertaken during the year. These

divided the work into three separate sections: leases, which included tenancies at will, extensions and variations of leases, re-entries, etc.; licences, which included all of the forms of licence operated by the Board (Fijian Agricultural, grazing, rice, gravel, forestry, and so on licences); and dealings, which included all dealings under native leases including transfers, mortgages, subleases, tenancies, assignments, crop liens, etc. These classes of work imply different levels of involvement from the Board; for instance granting a full lease would be a more time consuming operation than granting a tenancy at will or a licence since it would require a full survey to comply with the Land Transfer and Registration Ordinance. Equally most dealings are paper operations, for example approval of crop liens, which probably did not require inspection of the subject property.

These points notwithstanding, the work recorded has been included in Table 4.11 in summed format as "Leasework", "Licencework" and "Dealingswork", for the period from 1951 to 1968. There are no records available prior to 1951 or between 1969 and 1974 to indicate how these work classes altered during that period.

It should be noted that these statistics merely indicate work recorded as completed. They give no analysis of changes in outstanding casework in relation to work completed and are thus of no value as a management tool. Leading on from this it may be suggested that the downturn in work completed in 1967 and 1968 may well be more a reflection of the sudden death of the Secretary in the earlier year, and the effective retirement of the Manager at the end of the latter year. It may in other words reflect the decreasing capability of the Board to complete work resulting from its staffing and management structure characteristics, rather than any decline in the work demanded of it. It is in fact considered likely that the work demanded of the Board would have shown a continued increase throughout this period as there were very signficant work generative schemes and legislation put forward in the mid to late 1960's.

| | Leases | Licences | Dealings | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1951 | 801 | 107 | 408 | 1316 |
| 1952 | 813 | 88 | 404 | 1305 |
| 1953 | 828 | 34 | 450 | 1312 |
| 1954 | 935 | 37 | 543 | 1515 |
| 1955 | 790 | 38 | 650 | 1478 |
| 1956 | 558 | 134 | 682 | 1374 |
| 1957 | 553 | 244 | 626 | 1423 |
| 1958 | 493 | 232 | 589 | 1314 |
| 1959 | 776 | 163 | 576 | 1515 |
| 1960 | 593 | 182 | 351 | 1126 |
| 1961 | 712 | 437 | 657 | 1806 |
| 1962 | 1527 | 502 | 680 | 2709 |
| 1963 | 2315 | 376 | 552 | 3243 |
| 1964 | 2760 | 615 | 1137 | 4512 |
| 1965 | 2019 | 594 | 738 | 3351 |
| 1966 | 2452 | 822 | 826 | 4100 |
| 1967 | 928 | 317 | 475 | 1720 |
| 1968 | 742 | 48 | 256 | 1046 |

**Table 4.11: Workload, 1951-1968: summary of casework dealt with by the Board;** (Source: Annual Reports of the Board 1951-1968)

The information in these records has been analysed to compile Table 4.12 and Figure 4.7 below which illustrate the growth in the numbers of leases and tenancies entered into by the Board during the period in question. This has been undertaken by using certain known benchmark figures and estimating change using the analysed workloads.

| | Leases | Tenancies | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1945 | | | 2500 (estd Lloyd) |
| 1946 | | | |
| 1947 | | | |
| 1948 | | | |
| 1949 | | | |
| 1950 | 5679* | 468* | 6147* |
| 1951 | 6192* | 571* | 6763* |
| 1952 | 6705* | 681* | 7386* |
| 1953 | 7177* | 871* | 8048* |
| 1954 | 7656* | 1182* | 8838 |
| 1955 | 8017 | 1463 | 9480 |
| 1956 | 8294 | 1606 | 9900 |
| 1957 | 8701 | 1704 | 10405 |
| 1958 | 9169 | 1819 | 10988 |
| 1959 | 9485 | 2002 | 11487 |
| 1960 | 9737* | 2150* | 11887* |
| 1961 | 10119* | 2246* | 12365* |
| 1962 | 10399* | 3250* | 13649* |
| 1963 | 11118* | 4697* | 15815* |
| 1964 | 11582* | 6869* | 18451* |
| 1965 | 12096* | 8179* | 20275* |
| 1966 | 13011* | 9462* | 22473* |
| 1967 | 13185* | 9980* | 23165* |
| 1968 | 13529* | 10237* | 23766* |
| 1969 | | | |
| 1970 | | | |
| 1971 | | | |
| 1972 | | | |
| 1973 | | | |
| 1974 | | | 25953 |

* = estimated

Table 4.12: **Workload, 1945-1974 growth in numbers of leases and tenancies granted by the Board;** (Sources: Lloyd 'Land Policy in Fiji; Annual Reports of the Board 1951-1968; Native Land Trust Board Review 1969-1974)

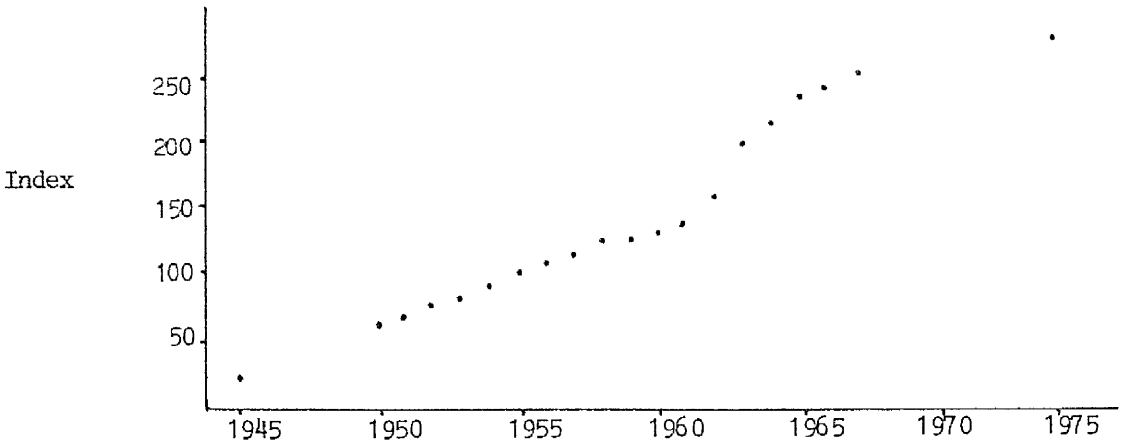



**Figure 4.7: Workload, 1945–1974: index of growth in total numbers of leases and tenancies managed by the Board (1955=100)**

It is clear from this information, reservations as to its accuracy notwithstanding, that the volume of work required to be undertaken by the Board increased very substantially throughout the period in question. As will be seen from the detailed analysis below for the most significant work sectors, this raw data does not allow for other considerable volumes of work which were to assume increasing significance for the Board as the years went by.

b) **Finances**

The situation as regards financial matters in the Board may be relatively clearly depicted during this period, although for reasons already stated, informationfrom 1969 to 1973 is not available from audited sources.

The income of the Board has always been derived in the main from its poundage, but there are other sources; drawing fees, interest, property rentals and so on. The expenditure of the Board increased during this period as its operations expanded and as the perception of its role developed. This latter aspect has been looked at earlier, and the extent of the commitment and of the costs will become apparent in reviewing field policies. Table 4.13 gives the income and expenditure of the Board from 1940 to 1974.

| | Income | Expenditure |
|---|---|---|
| 1940 | | |
| 1941 | | |
| 1942 | 4934 | ** |
| 1943 | 5088 | ** |
| 1944 | | |
| 1945 | | |
| 1946 | 7401 | 5306** |
| 1947 | 9006 | 6978** |
| 1948 | 10907 | 8942** |
| 1949* | 11029 | 11586** |
| 1950 | | |
| 1951 | 13979 | 13075 |
| 1952 | 15974 | 15043 |
| 1953 | 17868 | 17135 |
| 1954 | 23368 | 23081 |
| 1955 | 27444 | 24926 |
| 1956 | 29556 | 26566 |
| 1957* | 30411 | 33241 |
| 1958 | 35208 | 33414 |
| 1959 | 40789 | 37488 |
| 1960 | 44600 | 39965 |
| 1961 | 47872 | 45164 |
| 1962 | 51894 | 50734 |
| 1963 | 57991 | 53635 |
| 1964 | 61393 | 52886 |
| 1965* | 60531 | 66725 |
| 1966* | 65177 | 66968 |
| 1967* | 63041 | 72933 |
| 1968* | 75339 | 85747 |
| 1969* | 89438 | 95500** |
| 1970* | | 237000** |
| 1971 | 290400 | 264000** |
| 1972* | | 304000** |
| 1973* | | 552000** |
| 1974* | 583116 | 805982 |

**Notes** * indicate deficit of income over expenditure
** indicates unaudited information
On Independence in 1970 the currency changed: £1 =$2

**Table 4.13: Income and Expenditure, 1940-1974**
(Sources: Native Land Trust Board Annual Reports 1951-1968, 1975; Native Land Trust Board Review 1969-1974; Memo circulated to the Finance Committee dated 19/2/1945 ex N.L.T.B. File 17/1; Memo from J D Judd (Manager) to members of the Board dated 30/8/1951 ex N.L.T.B. File 8/1/2 document 12A; Hansard House of Representatives, Hon Ratu J.B. Toganivalu 16/12/70)

It can be seen that, apart from one or two occasions relating to years of exceptional expenditure, the Board maintained a positive balance at the end of the year up until the mid 1960's. The situation then changed to one of continuous deficit as the policies and pressures on the Board's operations conspired to ensure that expenditure expanded more rapidly than income. The financial effect of these policies was compounded by the fact that the Board's income is primarily determined by the level of rental income from property. the impact of increasingly high levels of inflation particularly in the early 1970's clearly had a direct effect on salaries and other costs compared to the lagged effect of periodic rent reviews. The prices and incomes freeze and subsequent controls in 1973-74 could do little to address this problem.

The identification of possible additional sources of funds for the Board's operations had been discussed both within the Board and Government. As has

been seen a direct contribution had been consistently refused by the latter. Another possibility lay in the use of rentals for Schedule "A" Lands under the Native Land Act which were managed by the Department of Lands.[40]

There are two further trends that bear comment and illumination.

The first of these concerns the total income generated by the native estate. The Board collected rents and royalties due from which was deducted its poundage, leaving the balance to be distributed to the landowners. The second concerns the level of rental arrears attaching to the total native estate. These are detailed in the table below, where information is available. It is worth noting that none of the series of information is now complete and that the two more significant sets of figures from the management point of view are the least complete. It is clear however that what was considered a tolerable rental arrears situation during the 1950's and early 1960's had grown out of control by the late 1960's and early 1970's.

| | Annual rent/ collected | Annual rent/ distributed | Annual rental value | Arrears |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1946 | 50000 | 45000 | | |
| 1947 | ..... | ..... | | |
| 1948 | | | | |
| 1949 | | | | |
| 1950 | | | | |
| 1951 | | | | |
| 1952 | | | | |
| 1953 | 72838 | 50333 | | |
| 1954 | 87258 | 64753 | | |
| 1955 | 108890 | 82718 | | |
| 1956 | 110460 | 82124 | | |
| 1957 | 112076 | 82739 | | |
| 1958 | 128927 | 95312 | | 48500 |
| 1959 | 146341 | 108063 | | |
| 1960 | 146503 | 106452 | | |
| 1961 | 165938 | 123437 | | |
| 1962 | 162892 | 117010 | | |
| 1963 | 190640 | 138377 | | |
| 1964 | 214966 | 161547 | | |
| 1965 | 200412 | 148394 | | 60000 |
| 1966 | 198052 | 140220 | | |
| 1967 | 223044 | 165746 | | |
| 1968 | 254515 | 185802 | | |
| 1969 | 300155 | 225116 | | |
| 1970 | | 578239 | | |
| 1971 | | 706181 | | 3200000 |
| 1972 | | 680974 | | |
| 1973 | | 996996 | | 3500000 |
| 1974 | 1239867 | 929900 | 1564295 | 3024471 |

Note: On Independence in 1970 the currency changed: £1= $2.

**Table 4.14: Annual rentals, 1946-1974: amounts collected and distributed, rental value of the native estate, and arrears** (Sources: Native Land Trust Board Annual Reports, 1953-1968, and 1975; Native Land Trust Board Review 1969-1974; Special arrears survey reports by Province, 1958, ex N.L.T.B.File 13/1/1)

c) **Agricultural Land: Generally**

The Board's policy towards agricultural land dates from 1940 and is identified in the Native Land Trust (Leases and Licences) Regulations, wherein letting terms are defined.[41] The Board inherited a policy from Government of granting 21 year leases without rental review, with options for extensions of 9 years. In some cases, particularly with the more extensive older leases to large organisations like the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co.Ltd., rather than those to individual farmers, the lease term was substantially longer.

The policy changed after the establishment of the Board because one of the responsibilities under the Ordinance was the demarcation of Native Reserves to

which different legislative conditions attached. From 1940 onwards, therefore, where any lease expired, or was applied for in an area where Reserves had not been demarcated and proclaimed, the only tenancy offered was a tenancy at will, subject to the findings of the Native Reserves Commissioner in the area. This was inevitably an unpopular move. Where the land was clearly identified as being outside reserve, leases when offered were generally taken up and registered under the Land Transfer and Registration Ordinance.

After 1962, with the demarcation of Reserves virtually complete, it became apparent that lands reserved in the 1940's and 1950's were inadequate to support the growing Fijian population. The Board's policy was not the redelineation of Reserve boundaries but rather, the consideration of landowners' requirements when assessing whether to renew leases on expiry, or to give the landowners the opportunity to take advantage of the reversion. Divisional Investigation Teams were established to make recommendations as to the reallocation of land on the expiry of leases.[42]

In 1967 the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance came into effect. This rendered the Divisional Investigation Teams redundant and gave security of tenure to the tenant which made the expense of the survey required under the Land Transfer and Registration Ordinance unnecessary. Henceforth agricultural leases under the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance were generally only evidenced by an Agreement for a Lease.

The policy as regards duration of tenancies remained substantially unchanged. Before the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance leases for annual crops were granted for 30 years, and for tree crops, for instance, they were for 50 years. Since the Ordinance provided for two ten year extensions to tenancies, the Board simply decreased the initial terms of agricultural leases to ten years and of tree crop leases to thirty years, which resulted in a similar end product for both tenant and landlord.[43]

There was considerable emphasis, particularly during the 1940's and 1950's upon soil conservation and ecological considerations following the position elsewhere in the Colonies. Much of the responsibility for this resulted from the efforts of the Soil Conservation Officer, Mr C.E. Whitehead . In spite of the importance attached to this in reports and memoranda of the Board, it is probable that most of the actual policing of that aspect of the tenancy agreement was undertaken by the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co.Ltd. officers who had very thorough control over agricultural production in the cane producing

areas through their contract system.[44]

The Board's policy not to allow subleases of agricultural leases, coupled with the gradual withdrawal of the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co.Ltd. through the 1960's, and completely by 1973, led to a greatly increased workload.

It is not possible to provide a categorical statement of the impact of surrenders and reversions during this period; however, by piecing together various sources of information a general picture may be obtained. The Land Agent, Northern, in Labasa dealt with two major surrenders of Colonial Sugar Refiners Co. Ltd. leases in 1960 comprising the Wainikoro Consolidated Leases (5860 acres) and five other leases (668 acres). The Wainikoro leases were leased under 11 head leases until 1960, which comprised some 461 tenant occupiers in possession. Reparcelling of all of these surrenders was still incomplete by 1971 and had in effect been overtaken by legislative events.

Attempts to deal with the early surrenders were an idealistic solution involving the resettlement and planned reallocation of land according to the needs of the landowners giving appropriate compensation for crops up to the first ratoon for any displaced tenants.

The Koronubu/Veisaru scheme in 1965, for instance, involved enormous amounts of organisational and management time, the extensive use of rentals from Schedule "A" lands for a rolling survey fund and the establishment of a Committee of the Board to assess this and future schemes of this nature in respect of landowners' needs. Virtually none of these survey fees were repaid, the surveys having been required to secure Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board loans, and very little rent was forthcoming from the incoming tenants. Given the enormous time and expense involved, it is perhaps fortunate that the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance prevented any repetition by giving security of tenure to tenants.[45] It is probably fair to say that the policing of other terms of the lease agreement relating to good husbandry virtually ceased in this period with the final withdrawal of the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co.Ltd.

The scale of the withdrawal and of its implications is indicated by the surrender of forty-two leases in 1970, comprising some 19205 acres in the provinces of Ba, Ra, and Nadroga and in Vanua and Leru. The complexity of the

situation to be unravelled against the new legislative background is indicated by the fact that the Company indicated that there were 2998 tenants, whereas the Board could only distinguish 2240, some of which were non-agricultural, some agricultural within the terms of the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance, and some agricultural without. Since the subtenancies were unsurveyed and the Company's estate maps "...are generally so distorted that it is impossible to use a scale on them or superimpose lease boundaries", matters were additionally complicated. The final surrenders, of some 8112 acres were effected on the withdrawal of the Company on 1st April 1973.

The Board was in any case by this time already heavily committed to development of new agricultural lands, much of it in Reserve and particularly of coconut plantations under the Coconut Planting Subsidy Schemes resulting from Lord Siloe's Report on the Coconut Industry.[46]

Although lack of information means that little can be said regarding agricultural land generally during the last five years of the period, it is clear that by 1974 the impact of the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act on the Board's operation was enormous. The official figures quoted earlier for the Agricultural Tribunal's work from 1968 to 1975 justify this conclusion; according to figures circulated in the Board's offices their perception of the position was far more serious as Table 4:15 below shows. The difficulty of the position was compounded by procedural problems and indeed by the lack of an appointed Tribunal for at least part of the time.[47]

**Summary of Cases dealt with and those yet to be dealt with under A.L.T.O. as at 25.2.71**

| | Division | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Western | Northern | Central & Eastern | |
| 1. Outstanding cases yet to be submitted to Tribunal for Maximum Rent Certificates | 1740 | 716 | 321 | 2777 |
| 2. Number of rent cases settled by negotiation | 151 | 72 | 63 | 286 |
| 3. Cases for Maximum Rent Certificates awaiting hearing by Tribunal | 75 | 9 | 19 | 103 |
| 4. Appeals against Maximum Rent Certificates to be heard | 1 | 1 | nil | 2 |
| 5. Appeals under Hardship Clause (all from Indian tenants and none from native owners) | 19 | 1 | nil | 20 |
| 6. Cases under Hardship Clause pending a) partly heard | 36 | 7 | nil | 43 |
| b) awaiting hearing | 12 | nil | 20 | 32 |
| c) cases finalised | | | | |
| i) in favour of native owners | 65 | 7 | 1 | 73 |
| ii) in favour of sitting tenants | 181 | 18 | 2 | 201 |
| iii) finalised awaiting reparcelling by N.L.T.B. | 18 | nil | nil | 18 |
| 7. Declaration of Tenancy | nil | 1 | nil | 1 |
| 8. Ownership dispute, N.L.T.B. as 2nd respondent. | 17 | 4 | nil | 21 |
| Totals | 2315 | 836 | 426 | 3577 |

**Table 4:15: Workload 1968-1971 the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance up to 25th February 1971** (Source: N.L.T.B. File 13/1/6)

**Agricultural Land: Reserves**

The Board's agricultural policy in Reserves was always relatively laissez-faire. There was some encouragement to obtain title over cultivated land for the purposes of gaining Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board loans against title as security. It was, however, generally very difficult to persuade tenants to pay rent thereafter, particularly as they could often have used the land in any case on a vakavanua basis.[48] The Board's policy initially restricted leasing of reserve land to members of the owning mataqali; then to members of the yavusa but, after 1957 no restrictions other than to Fijians with the land owning unit's consent were were made in this way. The Government legislated to give "Fijian" status to lending institutions in order to give the title some utility as security.[49]

The policy until the mid 1960's was for the granting of 10 year Fijian Agricultural Licences; thereafter title known as a "Class J" lease was given for thirty years. By Circular 94 of 12th July 1971 the period for "Class J" leases for non-tree crops was decreased, again to 10 years. Although these tenancies were not subject to the control of the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance the growth in their number is indicative of the increasing workload involved. Moreover, although detailed statistics from this period are not available, the fact that much of the reserve land that was newly opened up, through development schemes, was marginal and often inaccessible, meant that rentals owing, even when paid, were usually submarginal in terms of cost-effectiveness for the Board.[50] A measure of the volume of work involved in fulfilling this part of the Board's responsibilities is given in Table 4.11 earlier where virtually all of the licences entered into are in respect of agricultural land in reserve. By 1968 there were 9324 Fijian agricultural titles of various sorts, the great majority of which were in reserve land.

d) **Urban Land**

For reasons indicated earlier, it had already been identified by 1940 that much of any future urban growth would involve native land. Whilst most of the long established urban centres were sited on land owned either by the Crown, or by freeholders, by 1940 undeveloped areas in such tenure were becoming less readily available in these centres. As the population and economy of Fiji grew, and as the urban population expanded, so then did the demand for urban land for residential, commercial and industrial purposes. The Native Land Trust Board was very much aware of this demand, particularly for residential

and industrial purposes, as the towns expanded in the commonly expansive manner of colonies. It is worth noting that since the commercial centres were geographically fixed the demand for native land for commercial purposes was less strongly evident.

The demand for land in Fiji may be classified as being "effective" in terms of demand for legal title complying with the legislative framework of the country. There also developed, particularly after internal self-government in 1965, and with the rapidly expanding urban areas, a class of "ineffective" demand by squatters whose interest in land did not conform with the legislative framework of the country. This problem was extended by the relaxation of regulations governing Fijian Settlements by the Fijian Affairs Board which was instrumental in allowing the increase in squatter type settlement on native land on a "vakavanua" basis.

The Board worked to fulfill the demand in the former case by initiating subdivisional schemes for virtually all of the urban areas throughout the period from its inception. Leases were subject to the Land Transfer and Registration Ordinance and hence required to be registered, and they conformed to the Native Land Trust (Leases and Licences) Regulations. Leases of the subdivisional lots were granted for terms of 99 years with 25 year rent reviews. In the late 1960's the rent review period was decreased under new leases to 10 years. During this period no particular problems were established with the leasing terms although they were subsequently considered to be seriously deficient in a number of ways. The priority that was attached to this work was high, as it was seen to be a way of increasing the native owners' revenues and hence of financing the Board's operations. This was increasingly the case from 1969 to 1974 when a separate division under a Deputy Manager (Development) was established.

The case of squatters was one which was relatively insignificant at this time, although there was discussion on the matter as to appropriate action where land had to be cleared to enable subdivision to go ahead. It was considered by Government that responsibility should lie with the native owners who after all had permitted squatting to take place, and were very often taking rentals illegally. Most agencies, including the Board, considered the problem to be Government's.[51]

e) **Tourism**

The development of interest in tourism was very rapid in the Board, as it was in Fiji as a whole in view of its economic potential. It was not, however, until demand began to be felt for native land that much consideration was given as to policy for the leasing of land suitable for tourism.

Prior to 1969 such hotel leases as there were, were entered into on the normal terms and conditions for commercial leases.[52] This reflected the fact that they tended to be hotels catering for local needs, or for overnight transit accommodation on the trans-Pacific flight.

The rapid expansion of tourist arrivals during this period, coupled with a report on land tenure in relation to economic development given at a symposium on development incentives at the University of the South Pacific prompted new proposals.[53] The latter identified what has come to be called "the Truk formula", after the United States Trust Territory, as the appropriate structure for leasing agreements of land suitable for tourism development.

The Board developed its own policy which was adopted in October 1969. This incorporated in principle some of the aspects present in the Truk agreement; 99 year leases, partially free share participation, a seat on the Board of Directors, and rentals based upon a percentage of gross receipts with minima and maxima based on the capital value of the land subject to 10 yearly review. There was also a policy of offering options over the land, although this was non-specific. The Manager was authorised to accept lower terms where the prospective lessee was unable to meet the Board's terms. The policy developed in some respects, but its terms were somewhat unevenly applied and agreements entered into during this period were unsatisfactory in many ways.[54]

In 1973 the Board reviewed its then existing policy in the light of the United Nations Development Programme's Fiji Tourism Development programme. The proposals put forward in the review were for 50 year leases on similar terms to those existing and a gradual increase in share participation over that period leading to ultimate control of the project. It was also suggested that the Board's development division should be involved with joint projects with the native owners and local enterprise. The question of compulsory equity participation by the landowners was, however, seriously questioned in the Board's deliberations as it was felt that other fields of investment could prove more attractive in the future.[55] In the event the Board's policy

remained substantially unchanged for the remainder of the period as pressure for land eased with the dramatic change in travel costs and in the world economy brought about by escalating oil prices in 1974.

The recommendations of the United Nations Development Programme team which suggested limiting the location of development within specific areas were called into question in a 1972 discussion paper of the Board although there is no record of any action taken.

> "These areas of conflict in approach and planning between national and indigenous interests should be considered in a separate paper as soon as possible looking specifically at areas recommended by the report for further tourist development."[56]

The number of tourism leases entered into in this period is indicated below.

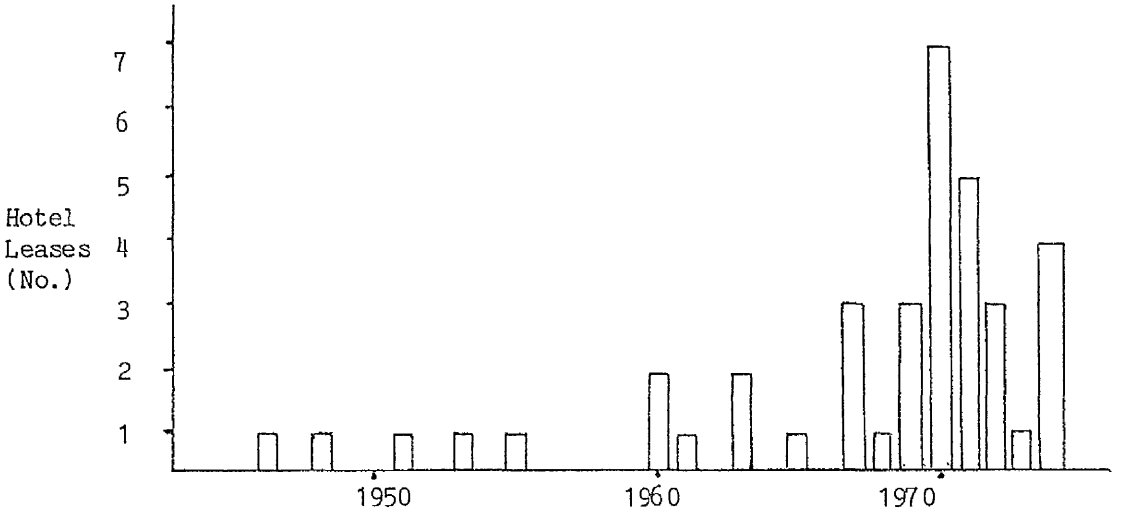



**Figure 4.8: Tourism, 1946-1974: hotel leases granted by year (Source: NLTB EDP Section)**

f) **Forestry**

The exploitation of the forest resource was undertaken by private companies on a large scale under long term concession agreements, or on a small scale under annual licences. In both cases the Board's involvement was to collect the royalty for timber extracted; the Forestry Department was responsible for policing and management of the resource and of the coups. The Board deducted 10 per cent of the royalty paid as poundage. Concession agreements were entered into mainly in the early 1960's but otherwise sporadically throughout the period. These required the native owner's consents and often provided for a free shareholding for the land owning unit and the right to purchase a proportion of the production of the mill at wholesale prices. Generally

speaking the Board's policy operated on the sole basis that if there was agreement forthcoming from the landowners, then a licence would be granted. There was no overall firm policy direction resulting in a fragmented, uncapitalised and inefficient industry.

The Board employed an Assistant Land Agent during the 1950's and early 1960's who had undertaken a forestry course in New Zealand and who had worked as a Forest Ranger. He was on call as a forestry specialist for undertaking and reporting on reconnaisance surveys of potential timber resources.

Examination of files and negotiations during the early 1960's show a considerable awareness on the part of the Manager and the Conservator of Forests of the importance of the forest resource and of the necessity for its sensible exploitation. By 1964 at least, companies had to have adequate resources and to be of some standing to be successful in applying for a concession. It is interesting that in a letter to the Land Agent Northern, Labasa, of 18th June 1964, the Manager advised:

> "... if these people hope to go into business by cutting and shipping out of the Colony large quantities of logs for sale to Japan, Korea or even Australia rather than convert them into the finished product in Fiji, then I am afraid their applicaiton will not be viewed very favourably in present circumstances .... now overseas interests are sufficiently interested to develop the full industry in Fiji .... no more areas should be granted simply for exploitation for sale overseas".

There were two other developments as far as forestry is concerned that are worthy of note. The first of these concerned the ill-fated Forest Regeneration Fund Ordinance, 1961, which was intended to provide a fund for the replanting of forest out of royalties. This measure proved to be ineffective as, although it succeeded in raising funds by taking out 21% of the royalty payments after the deduction of the Board's 10%, the funds were never used. The Fund was wound up in 1972. The second concerned plans to establish an extensive exotic softwood plantation forest resource, trial planting for which began in the early 1960's. This latter was to be of considerable significance for the Board in more recent years.

g) **Minerals and Extractive Industries**

Although there was extensive prospecting activity under the Mining Ordinance for various minerals, no commercially exploitable deposits were found and

there is no evidence that any mining agreements were entered into in this period.

There was, however, increasing demand for road metal and building materials (sands, gravels, quarry stone, etc.) and the Board's policy in this respect was generally one of ad hoc granting of licences with payment of royalties on volume of materials won.

**Perceptions of effectiveness**

In assessing perceptions of the effectiveness of the Board's operations during the period in question it is important to understand that what is of concern is the contemporary feedback which might reasonably be considered a part of the inputs as a force for changing the system. It is for this reason that the analysis presented in this chapter has avoided as far as possible the easy pleasure of judging policies with hindsight, preferring rather to identify the then current perception. The most significant informer of perceptions tends to be mass media of one kind or another. Fiji has had a number of different papers, daily and periodic, published in various languages through this period. A gauge of the range of informed perceptions may be derived from following relevant discussion in both Houses of Parliament, and with reference to reports presented or commissioned during the period. In some cases specific criticism has been retained on the files which provides insight into direct feedback experienced by the Board. As is noted elsewhere, however, the Board's remaining files unfortunately do not provide a complete set of information in this respect.

Up until the early 1960's criticisms of the Board amounted to the inevitable friction which would have been felt by any body fulfilling such a politically sensitive task at the time. Concern was expressed over certain aspects of land policy, particularly with regard to Reserves and the injustice to displaced Indian farmers. Although the failure to provide adequately for these people caused strong criticism, the operations of the Board were seen by and large to be relatively satisfactory. As Professor Spate said:

> "As for the Native Land Trust Board, it appears to me to be doing good work so far as its resources permit, and some such organisation is clearly essential in the interests both of Fijian lessors and non-Fijian lessees: a 'free market' would be chaos."[57]

Whether this relatively favourable perception was the result of comparison with a national administration of which the Burns Commission was very critical is a moot point. The Burns Commission's Report was itself silent as to the general efficiency of the Board's management of the land resource, although it did make strong recommendations to complete delineation of reserves, and criticised the Board's failure to proclaim reserves when demarcated by the Reserve Commissioners, leaving dissemination of the information to the "bush telegraph".

As the 1960's progressed, so did the pressures upon the Board's operations increase. Although the 1962 Sub-Committee looked at a number of significant criticisms, they felt able to note that:

> "Generally speaking the observations made to us regarding the Board's operations were on the whole favourable".

Administration and organisation of staffing were criticised in their Report as were delays in handling correspondence at Headquarters. On the question of reserves, complaints of slowness in dealing with reserves were particularly common, and there was some dissatisfaction over the inability of field staff to explain the implications of "reserve" to the native owners and their position regarding reversions. As regards leasing and licensing, again delays were widespread.

> "Instances were brought to our own notice, or which we discovered for ourselves, of applications which have been incomplete for up to eighteen months."

Complaints were also made in respect of some aspects of rental collection and distribution, and about the quality of technical staff. The importance attached to training, which carried through to the Regnault Report, has been reviewed above. It is useful, however, to indicate the Sub-Committee's perception of the situation:

> "... the Assistant Land Agents are being asked and expected to perform duties for which they have little or no qualification or experience e.g. few of the existing A.L.A.s are properly qualified or experienced to assess fully the economic viability of subdivisional holdings and few have more than superficial acquaintance with the land laws of the Colony and with the general legal principles of land administration and valuation. None seem to have experience of organisation of Lands office routine. The result is that the Manager is being called upon to perform these tasks to the detriment of his other more important managerial duties."

The Board failed to adjust adequately to the developing situation, and as pressures continued to grow apace, so perceptions of the operational effectiveness of the Board declined. By the late 1960's and early 1970's criticism was voluble and widespread from all sides. On 3rd July 1970 the Fiji Times reported the Deputy Speaker at the National Federation Party:

> "He said that all were aware of the complaints by Fijian landowners against the Native Land Trust Board and their inability to obtain title to their land, and everyone was aware also of complaints by tenants against the Board."

At the Alliance Convention in Suva on 1st August 1970, under the headline "Criticism of N.L.T.B. seen as 'most popular pastime,' the Minister for Fijian Affairs and Local Government, Ratu George Cakobau was recorded as saying:

> "The most popular pastime of today was slinging mud at the Native Land Trust Board".

In July 1970 the Fijian Association in a Special Convention called on the Chairman and members of the Native Land Trust Board, in the words of the motion; "to express dissatisfaction at certain aspects of the Board's administration...". In Parliament as well fears for the Board's health crossed party lines. On 15th December 1970 the Minister for Labour, Ratu Sir Edward Cakobau, who was tragically to die at an early age, in a strongly critical debate spoke significantly as follows:

> "We have heard many criticisms of the Native Land Trust Board in this debate. I should like to alert the Native Land Trust Board that this plan, Development Plan VI, offers the greatest challenge and also offers the best opportunity for such a body to declare its policy in the initial stages in the development of this plan. In fact, the progress of economic development in every division in Fiji will be hindered and disrupted if the Board is slow in its incorporation .... Unless something is done on the lines I am advocating, we shall find that when the plan is geared to move, it will be hindered by the unavailability of land from the largest landowner".

Ratu George Cakabau, the Minister responsible, maintained that the Board and its agencies should have been consulted in the drawing up of the plan. Extreme doubts must, however, have existed regarding the Board's ability to contribute in any way at this stage of its existence. The indications are that Ratu Sir Edward's fears were well founded.

It is interesting to note in this context that in a Quarterly Progress Report for the Development Sub-Committee in 1971, out of 97 projects in 17 Departments, 49 were on target, 11 were ahead of target and 37 were behind target. The reasons were listed for the delays and the single most cited difficulty, involving 12 cases or almost half of the projects by value, was relating to land acquisition and boundary problems.[58]

On 31st July 1972, Mr Regnault, now Secretary for Lands and Mineral Resources, wrote to the Manager of the Board regarding delays to Development Plan 6 resulting from holdups in the acquisition of Native Land for development requirements. These were preventing works being completed in the year for

which they were programmed.

> "Experience since the meeting referred to has been that in the majority of cases the time taken for endorsement of documents by the Board is several months and on occasions as long as 9 months".

By 1973, the situation had so deteriorated, with impossible delays in securing any form of title, strong hints of corruption, and failure to publish an annual report since 1969 and any audited accounts since 1968, that something had to be done.

On 2nd February 1973 the following Press release was issued:

> "In a determined effort to reorganise and thus provide an effective, efficient and beneficial service the Native Land Trust Board at its recent meeting decided to restructure the organisation into two main divisions i.e. Administration and Development. These two main divisions will be under the direct charge of two Deputy Managers who in turn will of course be responsible to the Chief Executive Officer of the Board now to be designated General Manager.
>
> "The restructuring of the Board is intended to apply right throughout to divisional level where it has been decided that officers at present in charge of divisions shall be known as Branch Managers instead of Divisional Land Agents. Further demarcation or delegation of responsibilities within the general framework will be studied with the help of Government's Organisation and Method Unit. The Board will shortly be embarking on ways and means of decentralising its functions and it is hoped eventually to shift the bulk of the routine work at present handled at top levels down to lower levels and thus speed up the work of decision-making at top levels.
>
> "As part of this fresh look at the Board's functions and its machinery, the Board's accounting system will be analysed and organised so that now it will be geared to cope expeditiously with the volume of work now handled".

## CHAPTER 5

### The Native Land Trust Board 1974–1985

### "A.P.R. Proposition For The N.L.T.B."

"The land question is one of the most divisive and
potent political issues in Fiji today.
To the Fijian community their land is an extension of
themselves. It is part of the Fijian soul.
It represents life and sustenance, race and culture,
The Fijians cling fiercely to their ownership of
82 per cent of the total land area of the country.
They view this as their one tangible asset in an insecure,
changing world in which material progress often passes
them by.
Fiji's Indian community - forming more than half of the
population - has a land fixation too.
To many thousands of them, farming is their only pro-
fession. They are sons of the soil, by virtue of
history and circumstances.
In a situation in which freehold land is limited, they
must lease land from the Fijians.
The leasing arrangements are the most contentious aspect of
the controversy.
Indian leaders have said many times that their community
does not challenge Fijian ownership.
But they claim that agricultural lease periods - 10 years
with two 10 year extensions - are too short.
There is no security of tenure they say. It is alleged
that much Fijian land is idle and covered with bush.
The Fijians point out that most of their best land is
leased out to non-Fijians and that they have con-
stantly been making more available.
They say too that large areas are unsuitable for
agricultural development and reject criticism of
the tenure period.
Longer leases, according to the Fijians, might reason-
ably restrict the access of the owners to their
only worthwhile asset.
That is the scenario in which the Native Land Trust
Board occupies centre stage."

Matt Wilson Ltd., 1976,
Public Relations Consultants.

# CHAPTER 5

## The Native Land Trust Board 1974-1985

### Development pressures 1974-1985

The development of the contextual position within which the Board has functioned during the more recent years of its existence identifies the requirements demanding to be fulfilled. Such requirements result from the continued development of much the same pressures as have been examined previously. The advent of a more detailed development planning process, however, implied the necessity of meeting indicative planned development targets during the plan periods. It has already been seen that the Board's operational inability was giving rise to serious concern as to the ability of Development Plan 6 to succeed in its targets.

#### a) Population growth

The figures for population growth during the period in question are as in Table 5.1. The figures are based upon the 1976 Decennial Census incorporating estimated growth rates and are assessed as indicated previously. The growth rate estimated for this period at the time of Development Plan 7 was a 2.1% average annual increase. This growth rate was expected to be substantially unaltered through the Development Plan 8 period, 1981-85. It is notable that during the period under consideration there was substantial net emigration, rising to almost 0.9% p.a. in 1973 and 1974, averaging 4,874 persons annually. This consisted in the main of skilled and trained personnel that the country could ill afford to lose.[1] This peak level of emigration was linked to the relatively poor economic state of the country at that time with particularly high inflation, and to political insecurity felt in the Indian part of the population with Butadroka's Fiji National Party and the House of Representatives' debate on the motion that the Indians be deported to India.

| | Population 1000s | Average Annual Growth Rate |
|---|---|---|
| 1974 | 565 | |
| 1975 | 576 | |
| 1976* | 588* | 2.1* |
| 1977 | 596 | |
| 1980 | 638 | 2.1 |
| 1985 | 707 | 2.1 |

* Census 13.9.76 = actual figures : remainder are estimates

**Table 5.1: Population growth, 1974-1985: totals and growth rates based upon decennial censi** (Source: Fiji; Eighth Development Plan 1981-1985 Vol 1; Social Indicators for Fiji; April 1979; Government Printer, Suva)

Development Plans 7 and 8 both placed considerable emphasis upon bringing the population growth rate down, and particularly in the former, to curtailing the "brain drain". As was indicated above, however, the rate of increase at 2.1% overall was not expected to change during the period under examination.[2] The comments as regards land requirements implied by this, still "explosive", level of population growth raised during the earlier period, therefore, still apply.

b) **Population drift**

The significance of population drift within the Fiji Islands had been recognised and was a matter for concern as early as the Development Plan 5 era. It was not, however, until post-Independence plans that particular attention was paid to trying to stem this flow by bridging rural/urban disparities in distribution of incomes. The extent of these disparities is shown in Table 5.2 below.

| | | Western | Central | Northern | Isles/other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Urban** | Cash | 94.65 | 87.54 | 89.84 | 76.34 |
| | Subsistence | 0.83 | 0.52 | 1.64 | 2.92 |
| | Total | 95.48 | 86.28 | 91.48 | 79.26 |
| **Rural** | Cash | 94.11 | 66.66 | 78.21 | |
| | Subsistence | 7.47 | 7.23 | 12.05 | |
| | Total | 101.58 | 73.89 | 90.26 | |
| **Village** | Cash | 22.70 | 26.55 | 27.26 | 15.86 |
| | Subsistence | 13.95 | 16.81 | 32.07 | 25.04 |
| | Total | 36.65 | 43.36 | 59.33 | 40.90 |

**Table 5.2: Population drift, 1977 : Average household weekly real income by region (1977$)** (Source: Fiji Eighth Development Plan, 1981-1985, Vol.1, p.12).

In reviewing earlier Development Plan approaches to the problem of rural-urban drift, Development Plan 7 indicated the objective and results as follows:

> "This has been seen principally in terms of reducing the gap between rural incomes and urban incomes. Since a large proportion of rural income is accounted for by the subsistence sector, it is difficult to know to what extent this objective has been realised, but it is believed that relatively little progress has been made."[3]

Development Plan 7 continued to approach the problem on a "rural-urban" basis, identifying its objectives in this field in terms of slowing down the rate of "rural-urban" drift and providing "fuller employment for the underemployed, particularly in the rural areas most affected by this problem".

By 1981, and the publication of Development Plan 8, reviews of the preceding Plans had indicated "room for improvement" in this area:

> "...the reviews of both DP6 and DP7 showed that the benefits of development have not been shared equally by region, between urban and rural households and within urban and rural communities. Urban cash incomes on average are more than four times those of rural villages which in turn are less than a third of non-village rural cash incomes. These differences are reduced somewhat when the subsistence element is included but the inequalities are still striking."[4]

The impact of these economic pressures, and of continued changing cultural perceptions brought about by increasing levels of "urban, white collar oriented" curricula in formal education, and by the media, was to produce continued transfer of population between regions, as in Table 5.3; and between rural and urban locations. Separate projections for population expansion in the urban areas were not made in Development Plan 8 indicating the change in emphasis from "rural-urban" to regional. Clearly, however, the concern was still very strongly there as the most rapid projected population growth was for those regions and provinces that were most heavily urbanised. This concern was reflected in the text of the Plan:

> "The exceptionally high growth rate in Naitasiri can be explained by the fact that all the growth in the province has taken place in the Suva-Nausori urban corridor. Even that population growth located beyond the urban boundaries is fundamentally urban, as the in-migrants come to perform urban functions, which are mainly characterised by obtaining monetary employment."[5]

| | | | | Average Annual Growth Rate (%) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 | 1976-1981 | 1981-86 | 1976-86 |
| Serua | 11.2 | 13.4 | 15.9 | 3.65 | 3.48 | 3.57 |
| Namosi | 3.3 | 3.6 | 4.0 | 1.76 | 2.13 | 1.94 |
| Tailevu | 39.9 | 42.4 | 45.0 | 1.22 | 1.20 | 1.21 |
| Naitasiri | 64.9 | 82.5 | 104.3 | 4.92 | 4.80 | 4.86 |
| Rewa | 86.9 | 98.4 | 111.1 | 2.52 | 2.46 | 2.49 |
| CENTRAL | 206.2 | 240.3 | 280.3 | 3.11 | 3.13 | 3.12 |
| Ra | 25.4 | 26.7 | 28.1 | 1.00 | 1.03 | 1.02 |
| Ba | 166.8 | 182.7 | 199.0 | 1.84 | 1.72 | 1.78 |
| Nadroga/Navosa | 45.8 | 49.9 | 54.0 | 1.73 | 1.59 | 1.66 |
| WESTERN | 238.0 | 259.3 | 281.1 | 1.73 | 1.63 | 1.68 |
| Bua | 11.4 | 12.3 | 13.4 | 1.53 | 1.73 | 1.63 |
| Macuata | 57.4 | 64.1 | 71.5 | 2.23 | 2.21 | 2.22 |
| Cakaudrove | 34.1 | 36.0 | 37.7 | 1.09 | 0.93 | 1.01 |
| NORTHERN | 102.9 | 112.4 | 122.6 | 1.78 | 1.75 | 1.77 |
| Lau | 14.4 | 13.5 | 12.6 | -1.28 | -1.37 | -1.33 |
| Lomaiviti | 13.5 | 13.5 | 13.5 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Kadavu | 8.7 | 8.5 | 8.3 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
| Rotuma | 2.8 | 2.6 | 2.5 | -1.47 | -0.78 | -1.13 |
| EASTERN | 39.4 | 38.1 | 36.9 | -0.07 | -0.06 | -0.07 |
| TOTAL | 586.4 | 650.1 | 721.1 | 2.08 | 2.09 | 2.09 |

Notes: (1) Totals may not sum due to rounding errors.
(2) Figures rounded to nearest 100.
(3) Growth rates rounded to two decimal places.

**Table 5.3: Population drift, 1976-1986: projected populations, by Province ('000s) 1976-1986** (Source: Fiji Eighth Development Plan 1981-1986 Vol.1 p.322)

The Development Plan 8 approach to resolve the problem was in the form of regional development which identified a comprehensive set of regional development programmes; an exercise which for a number of reasons remained in large part a series of paper proposals.[6]

Paper proposals or not, the requirements contained in the plans put considerable demands upon opening up lands in rural areas; and events in practice, as the figures above imply, put rapidly increasing demand into the urban sector. In view of the continued "explosive" growth in the population, demand for available land was felt at all levels, resulting in substantial requirements for making available urban lands for residential as well as commercial and industrial uses. As regards residential land, this demand was again satisfied by "formal" subdivision for those with the means to offer

effective demand, and "informal" or squatting subdivision for those unable to do so. As pressure increased on land in fixed supply to fulfill both of these sources of demand, so increasingly was conflict perceived.

c) **Economic Growth**

As was the experience elsewhere in the world, 1974 ushered in a period of considerable economic and financial crisis. The effects of the oil crisis were felt directly in terms of increased energy costs and hence general inflation, and indirectly in the slump in the tourism industry resulting from increased air fares. Table 5 indicates the impact that this was to have on visitor arrivals; these did not regain their 1973 level until 1979.

| | No. of visitor arrivals | Rate of growth (%) |
|---|---|---|
| 1974 | 181,080 | -2.8 |
| 1975 | 161,710 | -10.7 |
| 1976 | 168,660 | +4.3 |
| 1977 | 173,020 | +2.6 |
| 1978 | 184,060 | +6.4 |
| 1979 | 188,740 | +2.5 |
| 1980 | 189,990 | +0.7 |
| 1981 | 189,940 | -0.03 |
| 1982 | 203,640 | +7.2 |
| 1983 | 191,616 | -5.9 |
| 1984 | 236,000 | +22.6 |

**Table 5.4: Economic growth, 1974-1984; expansion of the tourist industry by visitor arrivals.** (Sources: Fiji Visitors Bureau; "A Statistical Report on visitor arrivals into Fiji Calendar Year 1983"; published 1984: W Emmott "Fiji Islands in the Wind"; The Economist July 27th 1985).

The economy was further tested by a number of hurricanes and by the dislocation of the sugar industry subsequent to the withdrawal of the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co. Ltd in 1973 and the purchase and vesting of its assets by the Government in the Fiji Sugar Corporation. There were, however, some advantageous exogenous developments during the period to offset these; world copra prices were high for a short spell, and world sugar prices were high during 1974 and 1975, and again in the late 1970's.

Throughout the period Government policy was generally to encourage economic growth, and in the context of an essentially primary production oriented economy with aims to slow down rural-urban population movements, much of this growth was proposed to be encouraged in predominantly rural sectors. This envisaged provision of infrastructure of all kinds and assistance in various schemes, amongst the largest being Seaqaqa, Uluisaivou, and Yalavou.[6] This

required the release of large areas of rural land for development.[7]

In urban areas, and in areas proposed for tourism development, overall growth in demand for commercial, industrial, and tourism sites was considerable, resulting from the general growth in the economy particularly in the early part of this period. The exception to this was tourism from 1974 to 1978 for reasons already given. The world recession in the early 1980's, with rapidly declining primary product prices, had considerable impact on those sectors of the Fiji economy that were vulnerable. World sugar prices, for instance, fell from 20 cents a pound in 1980 to below 3 cents a pound in 1985. Long term preferential deals did much to lessen the impact, but real incomes earned from sugar in 1984 were half their levels in 1977 as a result.

The increase in urban populations and in the service sector, however, ensured continued endogenous demand for land to be made available. Table 5. 6 below shows how different sectors of the economy performed from 1974 to 1985.

| | 1974–1979 (1972 Prices) | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980–1985 (Projected; 1980 Prices) | |
| Primary Industries and processing | 30.8 | 32.0 | 31.5 | 32.5 | 32.0 | 34.9 | 25.8 | 26.9 |
| Mining and Quarrying | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 |
| Non-resource Manufacturing | 4.5 | 4.9 | 5.0 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 6.4 | 6.3 |
| Construction, Electricity and Water | 10.7 | 10.6 | 6.9 | 6.3 | 6.6 | 6.2 | 6.7 | 7.6 |
| Private services | 40.1 | 41.0 | 41.8 | 42.5 | 43.0 | 41.3 | 40.9 | 39.5 |
| Government services | 12.4 | 13.0 | 13.4 | 12.8 | 12.9 | 12.1 | 18.7 | 18.1 |
| **Total G.D.P.** | 226.0 | 225.4 | 234.3 | 254.1 | 266.3 | 289.1 | 843.3 | 1059.4 |
| **Av. Annual Growth Rate** | 0.7 | -0.3 | 3.9 | 8.5 | 4.8 | 8.6 | 4.7 | |

Average '76-'79 = 7.3%

**Table 5.6: Economic growth, 1974–1985: structure of Gross Domestic Product by percentage share, total G.D.P. and average annual growth rates** (compiled and adjusted from Development Plan 8, Government Printers, Suva)

d) Legislative growth

There were several developments in the legislative situation during the period which had an impact upon land and its availability for productive purposes.

The most important changes from the Board's point of view concerned the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act and the Native Land (Leases and Licences) Regulations.

After lengthy discussion in committee the original Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance was amended by an amending Act in 1976. The effect was to provide extended security of tenure for tenants. All new agricultural leases were to be for a minimum of thirty years. Under s.13(1), an agricultural tenancy having not more than thirty years to run at 1st September 1977, was entitled to an extension of twenty years from its expiry date. In return for this landlords were given premia equivalent to one year's rental in the first and in the eleventh years of the extension of the lease. The amendment took out the hardship clause as a reason for non-extension of leases which had the effect of removing a time consuming and operationally very difficult piece of the legislation from the books. It also amended the original wording regarding level of rent reviews and substituted in the requirement for reassessments to be fixed in accordance with standard unimproved capital values set every five years for different classes of land and land uses by an appointed Committee of Valuers. It did not, however, modify the requirement that time in rental reviews should be treated in the terms of the Act as being of the essence of the contract, neither was there any indication as to what would happen on expiry of the terms leaving the decision whether or not to renew leases at that time up to the landlord. References under the Act to the Agricultural Tribunal continued as per Table 5.7 below.[8]

| | 1978 | | 1979 | | 1980 | | 1981 | | 1982 | | 1983 | | 1984 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | P | D | P | D | P | D | P | D | P | D | P | D | P |
| **Division** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Western | 71 | 92 | 35 | 102 | 99 | 132 | 98 | 93 | 173 | 113 | 216 | 127 | 211 |
| Northern | 10 | 64 | 21 | 54 | 32 | 43 | 30 | 36 | 28 | 21 | 67 | 38 | 64 |
| Central and Eastern | 2 | 5 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 11 | 7 | 4 | 39 | 31 | 19 |
| **Appeals to Central Agric Tribunal** | 3 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 14 | 2 | 10 | 2 |

P = pending D = disposed of

**Table 5.7: Legislative growth, 1978-1984: impact of provisions of legislation; the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act, 1966, references to the Agricultural Tribunal pending and disposed of** (compiled from Agriculture Department's Annual Reports)

The Native Land Trust (Leases and Licences) Regulations, 1984, removed the existing regulations and substituted workable provisions in their place.[9]

**Perceptions of responsibility**

The changes which started within the Board in 1973 with the appointment of a new General Manager, Mr. J.N. Kamikamica, and which were referred to at the end of the last chapter, were first evidenced in press reports and in views expressed in Parliament. The nature of the changes will be detailed in subsequent sections, for the time being, however, it is adequate to note that they heralded a new direction in the perception of the Board's responsibilities.

No clear statement of the nature of developments in perception exists until 1977. The Native Land Trust Board Review 1969-1974 referred to earlier, and the Annual Reports of the Board for 1975 and 1976 coupled with various internal memoranda and correspondences do, however, provide some insights into this earlier period.[10]

These changes in the Board's attitude may be seen as a response to external pressures which have been seen to be mounting by 1973 and which were rapidly coming to a head in the 1974 to 1977 period. The resumption of the publication of Annual Reports and particularly the publication of the Review may be seen as an acknowledgement, albeit initially without appended statements of accounts, of at least some form of responsibility to its trustors if not to the nation as a whole. This, coming after a period of five years without any such statement, was a considerable step forward. Memoranda of the period reflect this feeling of responsibility in all areas together with an awareness that the training and experience to fulfill the responsibility effectively was lacking within the Board.[11] There were, however, some initiatives to try to bring the Board closer to fulfilling its role as perceived.

There was an increasingly heavy commitment towards involvement of the Board in what it viewed as a positive approach to its duty to administer native land "for the benefit of the Fijian owners". The Board moved on from the creation of a development department under a Deputy Manager Development, and the establishment of surveying, land development planning divisions, in 1973. It envisaged that technical and specialist services would in time include local qualified civil engineers, architects, economists and project planners; the first engineering/technical officers being recruited in 1974. It opened out its development initiatives in the following year with the establishment of a wholly owned subsidiary, the Native Land Development Corporation Ltd. with

Development Corporation Ltd. with Government support. In the 1975 Annual Report specific attention was drawn to this:

> "The Board is committed to the policy of making more native land available for development to provide more benefit to the landowner and to support the development of the country as a whole.
>
> "During the year the Seaqaqa Cane Extension Project of about 64,000 acres native land, was well under way. The Uluisaivou Development Corporation in Ra Province for about 100,000 acres, was in the final stages of negotiation with the Government of New Zealand and a feasibility study was sponsored by the Government of Australia on the Yalavou proposed cattle project in Nadroga/Navosa Province. Furthermore, studies on the Hydro-electric Project in Nadroga/Navosa, Ba and Natasiri provinces cover substantial areas of native land. Over 20,000 acres will be involved in the Hdyro-electric Project scheduled for implementation in 1976.
>
> With these major projects the Board's management resources will be fully stretched even without taking into consideration numerous individual applications for native leases submitted to the Board on an ad hoc basis and the normal day to day administration of native land."[12]

The implications of this final paragraph had earlier been questioned in the House of Representatives with regard to the fact that at that time the Branch Manager, Northern, was expected to be largely responsible for running Seaqaqa on top of his other duties. The Honourable Member called for the appointment of someone to take over responsibility for managing this particular project.

> ..."Otherwise the Board is going to kill the Manager in the Northern Division...."

1976 brought Development Plan 7 into effect with its requirement for bringing additional land into production. The Board was aware of its essential role in this respect, however, with increasing financial difficulties in spite of improvements in the accounting field, the inability to effectively manage the land was apparent and admitted.

> "It is evident that the N.L.T.B.'s own financial and skilled manpower resources cannot adequately servicethe needs of the country and the provision of additional resources for the Board is vital to the success of DPVII and to the development of the country as a whole."[13]

By September 1976, the Consultant requested by the Board and approved by Government was in post with a brief:

> "to report on the reorganisation, land administration systems, resources, staff and training required to make an efficient N.L.T.B."[14]

The Consultant, Mr T.L. Davey, reported in the following May. The implications of the Report will be examined elsewhere; for the present it is important to note that one of the most pressing problems facing the Board was seen in terms of inadequate or misdirected efforts arising from poor role definition. The Report urged the adoption of a "requisite" role.

> "2.26 There is no doubt that the 'assumed' and 'extant' roles are both manifestly over-extended when compared with the 'manifest' role.[15] This is not to imply in any way that the extended assumed role does not comprise matters which are in all sorts of ways desirable in themselves, for Fiji: but the question is - are they matters with which, or in which, N.L.T.B. should involve itself?
>
> "2.27 It is not for this Report to suggest who should be made responsible for these matters; that is a matter of public policy for decision by Government, whose responsibility it properly is.
>
> "2.28 It is, however, recommended, that the N.L.T.B. restricts itself in the future to the requisite role, and that this is in fact:
>
> (1) To stand ready, willing and able to make available for development undeveloped native land, having due regard for the interests of the native owners as required by the Act, and also having regard for the development needs of the state of Fiji as a whole.
>
> (2) Efficiently to administer such land as has so been made available, and in particular to ensure that all due rents or fees are paid, that all rents when due for reassessment are so re-assessed, and that all tenants fulfill the covenants of their leases.
>
> (3) To pay out to the native owners of land which has so been made available such monies as may be due to them promptly, accurately and efficiently.
>
> (4) To fulfill its duties as stated in the Act with regard to the reservation and de-reservation of native land.
>
> "2.29 This required role, it will be seen, is absolutely vital to the economic development of Fiji as a whole, bearing in mind that N.L.T.B. is responsible for 82.5% of the nation's land. If the N.L.T.B. does not perform this role efficiently, as regrettably is so at present, then rather than being an asset in the nation's development it will be a hindrance, or even an undoubted obstacle; it will also be failing in its duty to the native owners.
>
> "2.30 N.L.T.B. is not itself an agency of development; it has neither the legal nor the financial foundations so to act. If these facts are ignored, and it continues to act as if it were, it will continue to fail to fulfill any role at all with any degree of success."[16]

The definition and the proposal were both accepted and adopted by the Board,

and approved by Government and the Council of Chiefs.

It is of significance that, at last, a public document had been promulgated identifying clearly the Board's responsibility. This definition was made clear to the public and to staff and remained an unchanged point of reference for the duration of the period under consideration. As will be seen on examination of administration and field policies, this definition has provided a framework within which the Board has been able to operate with a greater degree of effectiveness than previously.

## Administration policies and implementation

### a) Staffing policy and training

1973 saw the initial gusts of a fresh breeze blowing through the Board and its management. One of the first areas to feel this change was the staffing, and a management paper of that year:

> "recapitulated the essential elements of the Regnault blueprint, then went further to outline a systematic programme aimed at calibrating immediate needs."[17]

It is difficult to infer with any certainty quite what this statement intended to convey. In practice, as has been seen, a new organisational structure was instituted which bore little overt resemblance to that proposed by Regnault was instituted. From the staffing point of view this involved the formal creation of an administrative staff cadre under a Deputy Manager (Administration) which included an accountancy section under a Chief Accountant and legal, personnel and public relations functions in a section under the Secretary. The Divisional, or as they became known, Branch offices under Branch Managers were designed to have some responsibility devolved to them and had office coordination, district land agencies (Nasavusavu, Nabouwalu in the North; Navua, Korovou in Central; Rakiraki, Sigatoka in the West) and development functions to look after. Input and responsibility for these field offices was shared between the General Manager and both of his Deputies.

In 1973 the new General Manager brought in an Australian as Chief Accountant under the Australian South Pacific Aid Programme. It was apparent that the Board's management problems were being rapidly compounded by the effects of high inflation during this period. Inflation is a particularly serious problem for an organisation based upon a relatively fixed income and it resulted in the Board telling the management "to cut their cloth according to what they were earning". There resulted headlines; "N.L.T.B. Staff Shock" in the Fiji Sun, and a quotation from a Native Land Trust Board spokesman:

> "There would be no room in the organisation for those who sit and wait or stand and stare expecting others to do the work... We then carried out a retrenchment exercise and found unproductive staff members, who will have to go. What will remain will be a hard-core of active hard-working staff."[18]

Some thirty of the reported two hundred staff at that time went.

During the period from 1974 to 1977 there was little change in the position as regards staffing policy and development: it remained more-or-less as it had been, at worst non-existant and at best perfunctory and ad hoc. The personnel function referred to earlier was performed by a personnel officer who joined the Board in 1974 from Government. His role extended to that of file sorting; there was no management as such of recruitment, advancement or future planning.[19] Perhaps not surprisingly, such training as there was overseas continued to be ineffectively administered, responsibility for which lay with both the Board and the Public Service Commission. Students sent to the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, were not "bonded" to return to the Board, or even to Fiji. The result was that, after arranging for two year attachments for the students to the Ministry of Agriculture in Britain, two out of the three students departing in 1969 failed to return.[20]

There was other training available at various levels nearer to and in Fiji. At the technician level of training it was possible for individuals to undertake various courses in surveying, draughtsmanship, and agriculture at the Fiji Institute of Technology (Derrick Institute) and at the Fiji College of Agriculture, Koronivia. In 1976 the Board sent three of its officers on a two year course for survey technicians and draughtsmen at the Honiara Technical Institute, British Solomon Islands which had been established under the auspices of the Commonwealth Association of Surveying and Land Economy and the New Zealand government.

In the same year an officer arrived to join the Government of Fiji Lands Department under Australian Aid as the result of a joint request from the Department of Lands and the Native Land Trust Board. The assignment was to reorganise the Lands' Department's training course for valuers. The course led to professional qualification as a valuer in Fiji and membership of the local valuation institute after appropriate supervised experience. It had been started as a part-time course in 1967 but was almost moribund having produced only five or six diplomates by 1976. The impetus provided by this appointment was followed up by six Native Land Trust Board officers from amongst the more senior of the Land Agents registering to join the course. It is indicative of the malaise besetting the Board that such registrations were largely the result of personal pressure applied by the General Manager. The malaise is illustrated here by the General Manager being forced by the existing management structure and the non-existance of suitably trained and

qualified officers, to undertake virtually all personnel management and decision-making functions. It also shows how the lack of any defined career path or structure provided virtually no incentive for employees of the Board to improve their qualifications, nor indeed any knowledgeable advice as to appropriate courses to follow.[21]

This lack of any policy towards staffing and the training of staff was identified in the 1977 Davey Report as being a critical area of concern which required rectification if the Board was ever to be in a position to fulfill its proper role in Fiji.

> "...there is at the present time on the land administration side a complete lack of any professional grade officers...and...no formal training plan **regularly and actively pursued** to produce them on a continuing basis." "...with the exception of the draughtsmen there is no formal technician's training course, either within or without the Board..." "...training and personnel management have, apparently, never been viewed as having an importance equal to the main function of the rest of the organisation..." "...it must be said that N.L.T.B. failed to make the most of the opportunity which this course presented. Although six N.L.T.B. officers are presently following the course, it seems to have been presented to staff very much on a "take it or leave it" basis, with no visible or tangible inducement offered to successful students." "...there is the lack of any suitably qualified senior officer charged with the responsibility for training and personnel matters..." "there is in fact no 'establishment' for any part of N.L.T.B. except for the Accounts section." "...there is no career structure..." "...the personnel management of the staff is almost non-existent..."[22]

A large portion of the Report was devoted to recommendations designed to try to correct this situation.

The graph below shows how the situation changed as the result of the Report and its implementation. As in the previous chapter the figures for staff numbers are broken down as far as available records allow into professional land staff, and, intermediate and secretarial/clerical and other groups.

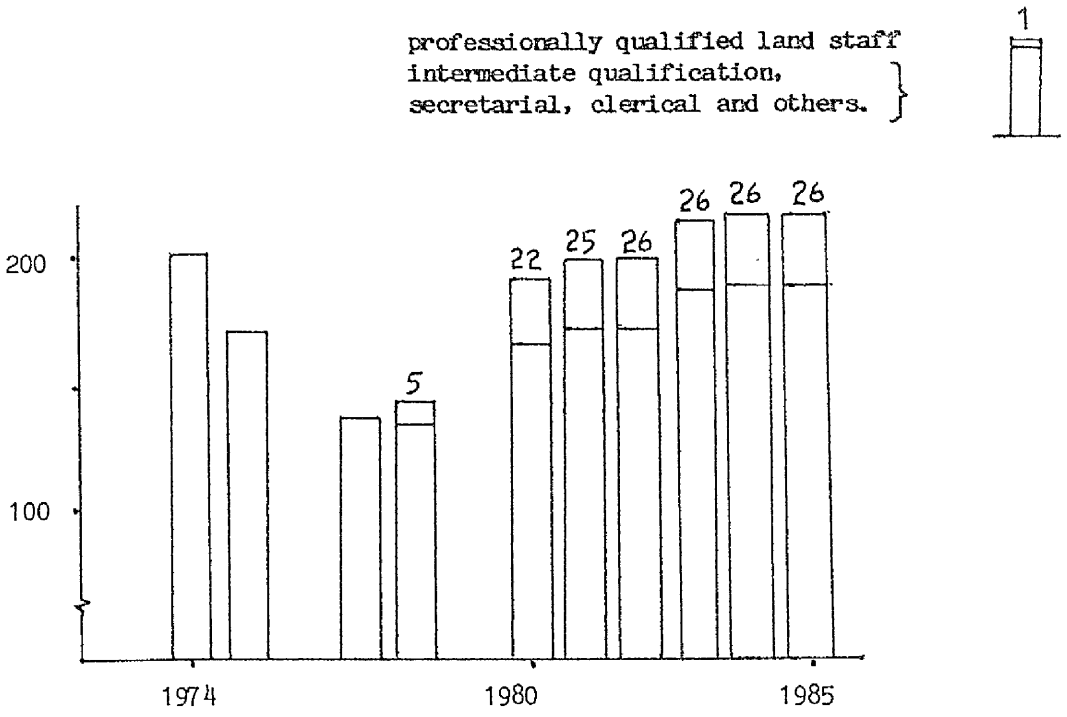



**Figure 5.1: Growth of staff and composition, 1974-1985** (Sources: Parliamentary Paper No.27 of 1977; 'Introduction to the Native Land Trust Board' (booklet for new employees of the Board); interview Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel), Mr A.L.Frith, 21/11/1984; Annual Reports of the Board)

The 1977 Report and its implementation as the 1978 Review of the Native Land Trust Board produced significant and far reaching changes in the staffing, personnel and training aspects of the Board's operations.

The Report recommended devolution of significant responsibilities to Divisional levels and the closing of district offices, which were considered to be manifestly uneconomic in any case. It created a clearly identified management structure and 'establishment' with defined qualifications and experience for each grade and resulted in a considerable relocation of manpower from Head Office to the new Divisional Offices. The rationale of devolution of responsibility depended upon the recruitment of qualified expatriate officers on a large scale to fill the professional level posts.

The existing manpower of the Board was carefully catalogued and sorted by the newly appointed Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel). Personnel management as such within the Board dates from this time. Sorting of manpower was conducted in close liaison with the Native Land Trust Board Staff Association. A process of interviewing and cataloguing of existing local staff enabled the newly defined establishment to be filled by matching

existing qualifications with the qualifications specified as required for the various levels of positions. Whilst this often involved considerable downward changes in seniority and in some cases relocation to the new Divisional Offices, no major personnel problems not envisaged in fact arose. The main reasons for this were that new salary scales were brought into effect which resulted in individual salaries not falling as the result of the changes, and that considerable care was taken to maintain the close liaison with the Staff Association and to try to minimise inconvenience particularly for those officers of the Board being relocated.

Four professional posts were catered for locally and the remaining positions were filled from overseas with the assistance of the Australian, New Zealand and United Kingdom governments, together with the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation, the United Kingdom Voluntary Service Overseas and United States Peace Corps organisations. As will be seen later, the Government of Fiji also shouldered a major financial responsibility under the 1978 reorganisation. The recruitment of staff and their allocation were phased to coincide with the implementation of the reorganisation which was spread over eighteen months with the opening of the Western Division offices in Lautoka in June 1979, the Central and Eastern Division offices in Nausori in February 1980, and the Northern Division offices in Labasa in October 1980.

The strong emphasis to be given to training at all levels became apparent on reorganisation. It is interesting to note in fact, that this training extended to the expatriate officers who undertook:

> "a familiarisation course which includes Fijian customs and traditions and the social mores in the rural and urban setting of Fiji's multi-cultural society."[23]

The significance of the importance attached to training was emphasised by the transfer of the Lands' Department course in valuation to the Native Land Trust Board which was brought over by the new Assistant General Manager (Training nd Personnel), Mr Frith. He was assisted by an expatriate Training Officer and an expatriate volunteer. The Committee responsible for the administration and monitoring of this course was thereafter a joint Lands Department/Native Land Trust Board responsibility under the Chairmanship of the Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel). By 1978 there were twenty-one officers of the Board undertaking the course. In the same year professional training was being utilised externally in the United Kingdom and in Australia.[24] In 1979 one of the earlier students was the Board's first candidate to complete the

"in house" course successfully.

Training, henceforth, and in accordance with the division of the management structure into professional, technician and clerical/secretarial grades, operated at several levels. The professional level sought qualification either through the in-house course in Valuation and Estate Management which was designed as a five year part-time in service programme of study, or initially through overseas courses as referred to above.

In 1979 the University of the South Pacific, largely as the result of Native Land Trust Board promptings, invited the Professor of Land Economy, University of Cambridge, to advise on relevant manpower requirements for the region and on the feasibility of establishing a Land Management Programme.[25] By 1981 the first year of intake had been enrolled. As the result of this the "in house" course ceased new enrolments in 1984 and started to wind down. By mid 1985 this latter course had had thirty five Native Land Trust Board students registered, of which three were currently entrolled, thirteen had successfully completed the course, and nineteen had had their registration terminated for various reasons.[26]

The Board commenced running three technician level courses during this period, details of participation in which are to be found in the table below. The Land Technicians' Course instituted in 1979 is designed to furnish trainee estate assistants and trainee estate clerks with the technical knowledge required to carry out their day to day work. The Estate Assistants' Course instituted in 1984 is designed to provide estate assistants with more advanced technical knowledge for the carrying out of their duties. The Legal Clerks' Course instituted in 1982 is designed to provide legal clerks with the knowledge pertinent to their duties.[27]

| | Course | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Land Technicians | Estate Assistants | Legal Clerks |
| Instigated | 1979 | 1984 | 1982 |
| No. of students | 72 | 32 | 12 |
| No. successfully completed | 49 | - | 2 |
| No. currently enrolled | 12 | 32 | 5 |
| No. registration terminated | 11 | - | 5 |
| No. of semester study books | 6 | 5 | 6 |
| No./duration of semesters per annum | 4 x 8 wks | 3 x 12 wks | 3 x 12 wks |

Table 5.8: Staff, 1978-1985: summary of technician level training
(Source: Training Officer, Mr C.J.Fagan)

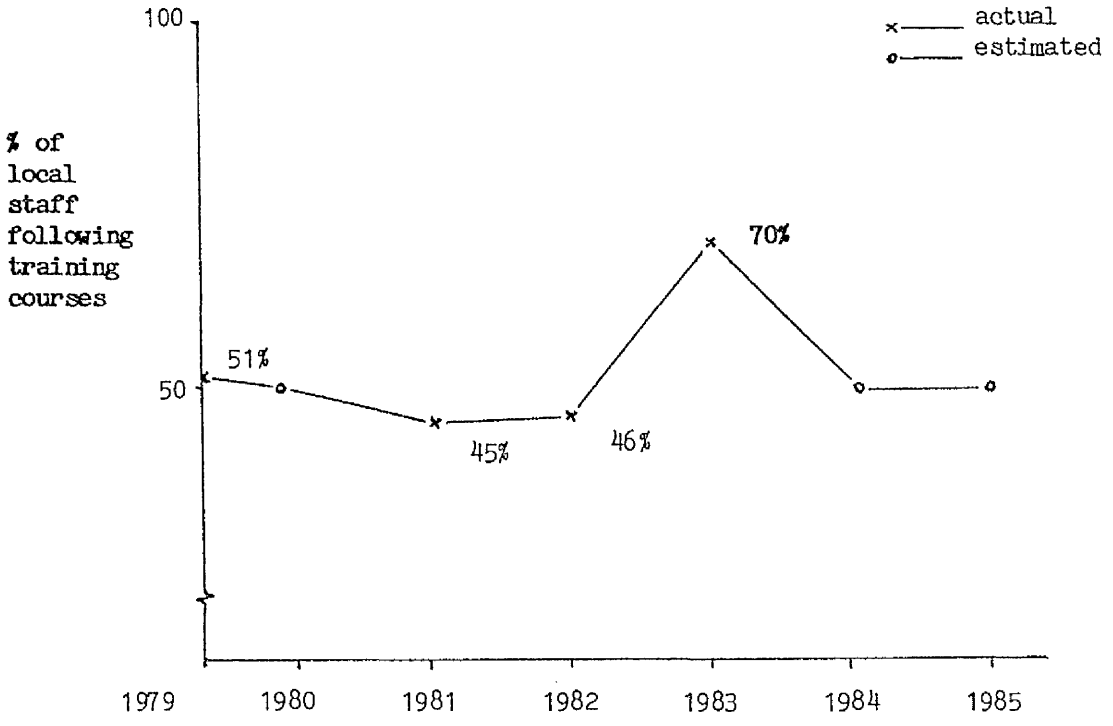
The Board's Training Section has in addition developed and run one week block courses on computing to provide training in basic computer literacy, draughtsmanship, and financial transactions as well as specialist one day courses in each Division on a one off basis on the work of the Agricultural Tribunal, and on Lease Administration following the death of the Lessee.

| | Course | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Computer | Draftsman | Financial transactions | Agricultural Tribunal | Lease Admin. |
| No. of students per course | 12 | - | Divisional data controllers | Estate personnel as relevant | |
| No. of courses held | 10 | ad hoc | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Duration | 1 wk | 1 wk | 1 wk | 1 day/Division | 1 day/Division |
| Frequency | ad hoc | ad hoc | ad hoc | ad hoc | ad hoc |

Table 5.9: Staff, 1978-1985: summary of additional in-house training
(Source: Training Officer, Mr C.J.Fagan)

External courses which have been followed by the Board's staff are closely monitored to ensure their relevance and have ranged from the Royal Society of Arts Bookkeeping Course through to middle and senior management courses at the University of the South Pacific. Continuing professional development has been sponsored for local staff in Australia through limited periods of attachment to related bodies there.[28]

In general it is clear from the graph below indicating the proportion of staff in any given year following a training course, that a very significantly different situation has now arisen. Emphasis is clearly place upon training and incentives are given on successful completion of relevant courses.




N.B. Insufficient data exists for years prior to 1979 to make any reasonable estimates.

**Figure 5.2: Staff, 1973–1985: proportion following training courses** (Sources, Annual Reports of the Board; interview with Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel)

It is also important to note that the Board's impact in this area has taken on an international relevance with connections throughout the South Pacific

Region. These range from advisory visits and intermittent training requests, through the establishment of the University of the South Pacific's Land Management and Development Programme, to vacation attachment for some of the University's Regional students.[29]

The Board's training programme has enabled the rapid localisation of the professional level positions in the establishment. The table below shows how localisation has progressed since the reorganisation.

| | Estate Officer | Senior Estate Officer | Divisional Estate Manager | Deputy General Manager |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1979 | 3(5) | 0(2) | 0(3) | 0(1) |
| 1980 | 5(11) | 2(5) | 0(3) | 0(1) |
| 1981 | 5(14) | 2(5) | 0(3) | 0(1) |
| 1982 | 6(15) | 2(5) | 1(3) | 0(1) |
| 1983 | 5(15) | 2(5) | 1(3) | 1(1) |
| 1984 | 8(15) | 2(5) | 1(3) | 1(1) |

N.B. Figures in parentheses indicate Establishment; other represent local staff in position

**Table 5.10: Staff, 1978-1985: localisation of professional level positions** (Source: interview Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel) Mr A.C. Frith).

These figures represent a rate of localisation over the period under consideration which is, all things considered, reasonably consonant with that originally projected. This is in spite of the fact that the South

Australia Institute of Technology students took a year extra over their courses, and that the number of Fijian undergraduates at the University of the South Pacific following the Land Management and Development Programme is less than had been anticipated . This latter fact possibly results from socio-cultural reasons already mentioned and is important as the Board has retained its policy of only employing indigenous Fijians.

b) **Management structure and decision-making**

The Boards' management structure continued to be that of a centralised monolith in spite of the attempts of the new General Manager to devolve responsibility to the Branch Managers under the 1973 structure.[30] The difficulty in effecting this stemmed from the profound lack of any suitably qualified or experienced staff to which such responsibility could be passed, together with the natural conservatism of an organisation that had changed little in structure since 1946. These difficulties were compounded as the result of the attempt to facilitate devolution by instituting a system of duplicate files in Head Office, Branch Office and District Office; a system doomed to failure in any such organisation.

> "Kamikamica's early experiences with what were then typical N.L.T.B. routines were painful and laborious.
> 'I had to look at every little lease. In my first three years I had to approve every transaction. Everything came to my desk.'"[31]

The 1977 Report proposed radical changes, observing in passing that there was not one qualified member on the staff at that time. The staffing implications have been examined; in terms of management structures the responsibility for decisions was effectively devolved with the implementation of the Report at the time of the three Divisional Offices between June 1979 and October 1980.

The management and decision-making structure was henceforth built up of "estate units" comprising an estate officer with his estate assistant support staff. The divisions comprised a number of such estate units each allocated a geographical area of responsibility. The Divisional Offices were provided with support staff comprising an administrative and secretarial staff under an administrative officer, and a technical support staff consisting of draughtsmen and estate clerks under a senior estate assistant. As Figure 5.3 below shows, the Senior Estate Officer acted as deputy to the Divisional Estate Manager who had the responsibility for ensuring the efficient running of the office in addition to the following specific requirements:-

"(a) Approving or disapproving on behalf of the Board all dealings on native land in their area.

(b) Recommending to the Board approvals of new lease applications.

(c) Signing approvals or refusals of lease applications on behalf of the Board.

(d) Signing the simplified A.L.T.O. tenancy agreements on behalf of the Board....

(e) Ensuring that all the Board's policy decisions are implemented by his staff.

(f) Allocating geographical areas to the responsibility of different Estate Officers.

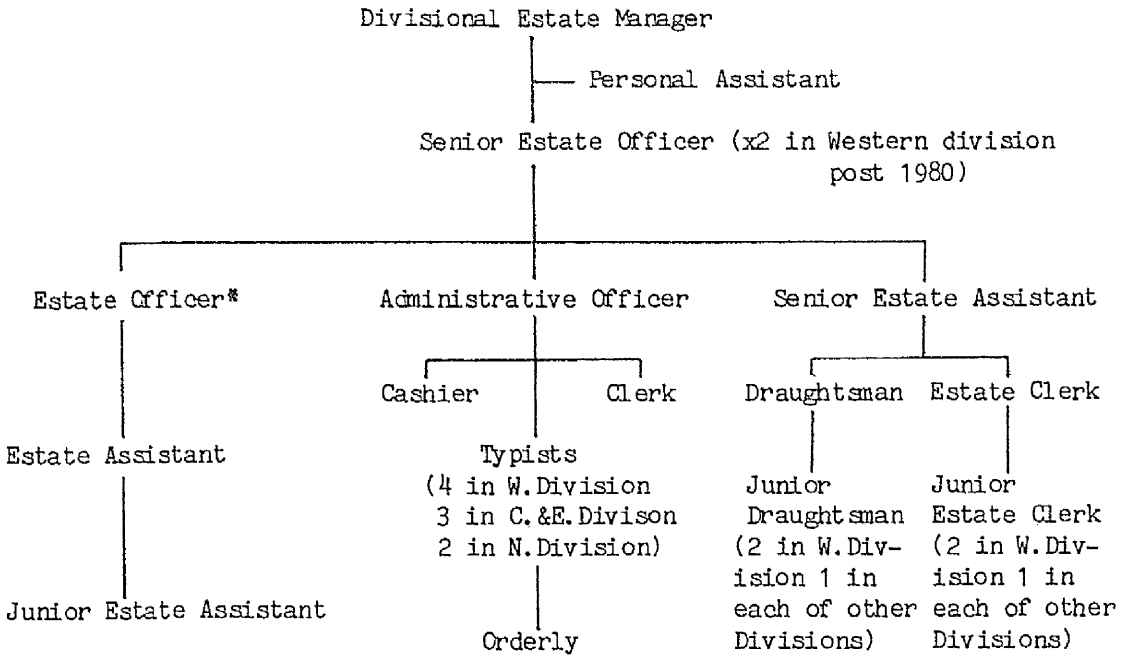
(g) Allocating staff to different particular jobs within their generic group.

(h) Disciplinary matters, up to a clearly defined level, when he would refer a case to the A.G. M. (T. & P.)

(i) Completing confidential annual reports for all staff in his office."

The Divisional Offices dealt initially with all standard leases under the Native Land Trust Act and all agricultural tenancies under the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act which thus covered all applications, dealings consents, variations, reparcelling, change of use, scheme plans, land classification, valuations for rent and premium, inspections, tenders, notices, terminations and so on. The range of responsibilities has since been increased as will be seen by the devolution of responsibility in respect of certain special leases which were initially an Head Office responsibility.

The Head Office organisation as shown in Figure 5.4 was divided into four main sectors responsible to the General Manager for legal, personnel and training, estates, and finance functions. The Deputy General Manager, as Chief Estates Officer, was to be responsible for the estates matters, and three Assistant General Managers were responsible, each for one of the remaining areas.

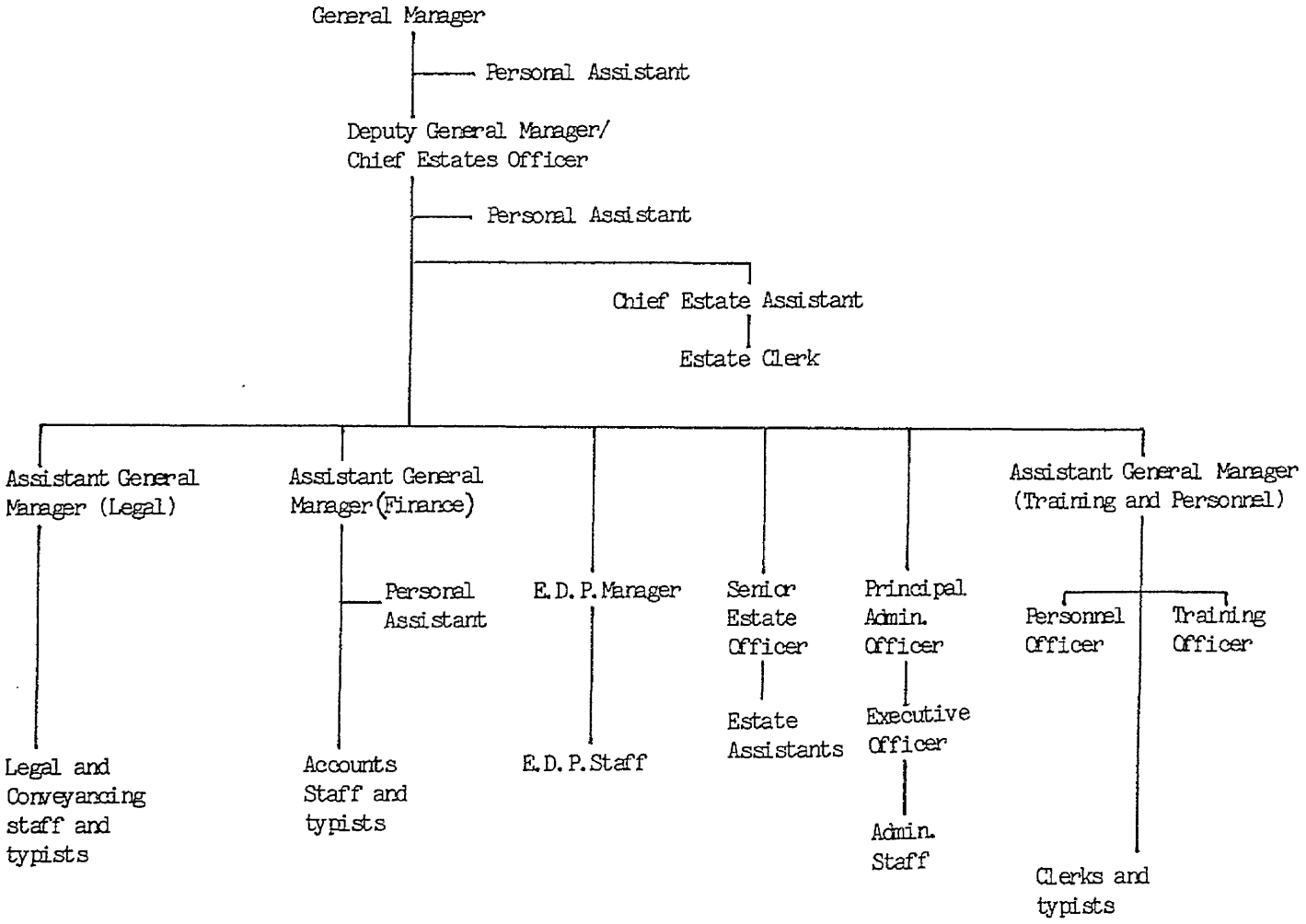



* Estate Units: x5 in W. Division (x8 post 1980); x3 in C. & E. Division; x3 in N. Division (x4 post 1981)

**Figure 5.3: Organisation chart, 1979-1985: Divisional Estate Office organisation** (Sources: Annual Report of the Native Land Trust Board, 1977; interview Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel) Mr A.L. Frith).

The areas of responsibility of these three functions are self-explanatory. The departments could be referred to for advice by the Divisional and by the Head Office Estates teams when necessary.

For the first time in its history, the Board had effectively devolved responsibility for estate matters to the Divisions with the exception of certain specialised Head Office Estates cases; and for specific functions to the Assistant General Managers and Chief Estates Officer.




N.B. The post of Secretary to the Board remained a separate one; in 1981 a separate Trust Department was created under Assistant General Manager (Finance)

**Figure 5.4: Organisation chart, 1979-1985: Head Office Organisation** (sources: Annual Report of the Native Land Trust Board, 1977; and subsequent Reports)

c) **Accounting practices**

The Board was not to present audited accounts for public scrutiny until these featured in the 1975 Annual Report. This presented an accounting gap since 1969 which continued to prompt powerful and legitimate questioning.

It was observed in the Davey Report that the Board:

> "...was never, at any stage, established on a sound financial basis with its own working capital - it has always been living off its 'clients' trust money' on a hand-to-mouth basis (an exercise which would be manifestly illegal in many parts of the world)."

This situation was resolved in 1981 when the Trust function was entirely restructured as a separate accounting unit under a Manager (Trust) responsible to the Assistant General Manager (Finance).

One further consideration relating to accounting arose during this period. As has been noted, Australian assitance was invited and given commencing in 1973. One significant aspect of this was the introduction of a computerised approach to accounting. Whilst this was an important and significant improvement it should be noted that the format of the data printout was designed with accountancy practice in mind and failed to provide land management information which could have been beneficially included at this early stage. It was not until after the 1979 reorganisation that the ongoing process of designing software appropriate to the land management function was instigated.[32]

**Field policies and implementation**

a) **Work load**

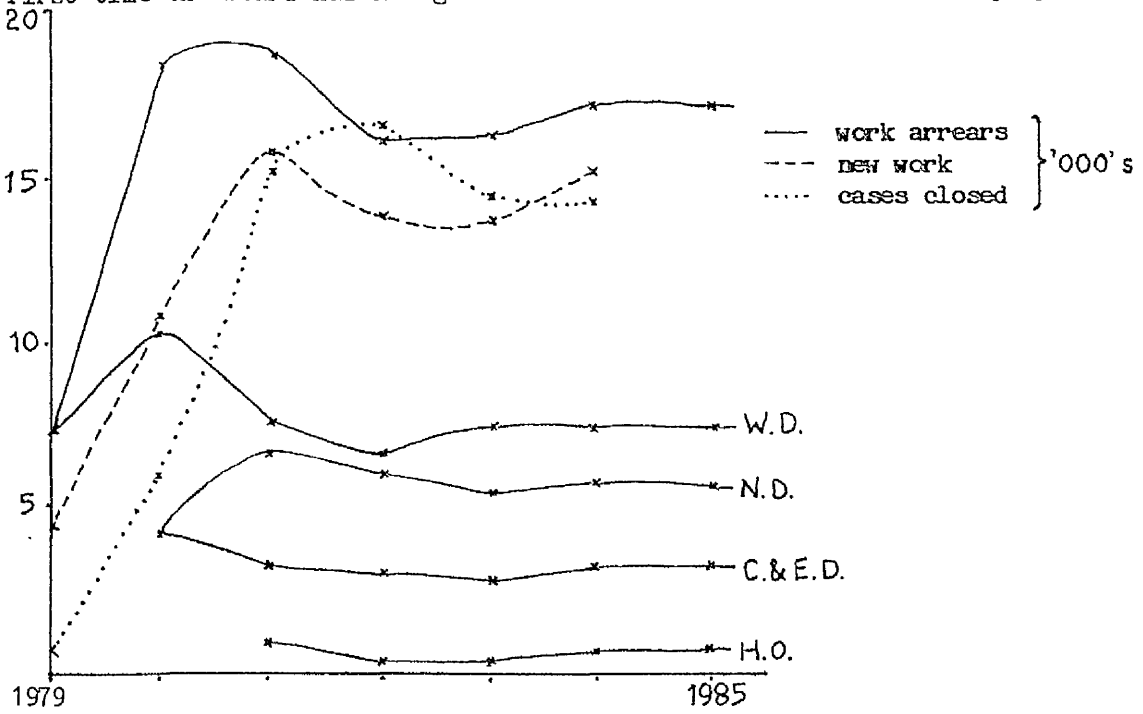
An earlier quotation drew attention to the lack of formal office procedures. As with earlier years, figures regarding workload given for 1974 and 1975 should be treated with caution particularly in view of the observations on the workload accounting system then prevailing:

> "There are, indeed, countless "in" and "out" file registers throughout the organisation. These are usually kept separately and neither reconciled nor cross-referenced and merely register "paper movements", and are thus of no great value.... although enquiry will produce an answer to the question "How many lease applications were received in 1976?", no answer is available to the query as to how many lease applications are presently outstanding, or from which years do they date, etc."[33]

It is important to note in any case that such information only relates to externally generated work. No figures have so far been looked at regarding internally generated work quite simply because there appears to have been no automatic internal generation of work.[34] The situation prevailing until 1979, was that unless some externally generated piece of work prompted a particular lease to be examined then what should have been internally generated work went unattended to. The impact of this with five yearly rent reassessments under the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act, and long leases with twenty-five yearly and ten yearly rent reassessments under the Native Land Trust Act is readily apparent. In practice any externally generated work was likely only to be completed if agreement to reviewed rental was secured in advance. This was in many cases illegal and most certainly unreasonable, as were a number of other practices relating to this period.[35]

The 1978 reorganisation was based upon a rectification of these practices and the establishment of a correct computer stored master data base. The process was known as the "file cleaning exercise" whereby all information relating to individual interests in land was sorted through and collated on to a single file to ascertain as best as possible the current position in each of the Divisions. Where any question arose a case file was created.[36] The information thus produced, together with an internal work generation procedure, henceforth enabled the production of the fundamental management statistics relating to cases outstanding by computer listings according to division, lease area, type, duration and so on.[37]

Figure 5.5 below show how the work load was brought under control during this period. This was the direct impact of these measures, partly because for the first time the Board had management statistics which enabled it to pinpoint




N.B. No returns are available re. casework prior to 1979, when they became available as each Divisional office opened, commencing with the casework arrears identified in file cleaning.

**Figure 5.5: Workload, 1974-1985: control of work overall and by Division** (sources: Annual Reports of the Board; manual returns, Chief Estate Assistant's section)

the locus and nature of problems, and partly because of the improved staffing situation. The Divisional breakdown illustrates this as it can be seen that initially in the Western and Northern Divisions the outstanding case work was underestimated. It was for this reason that the estate units were increased in these Divisions to enable them to cope.[38]

In view of the pressure of work a prioritisation of casework was instituted from the outset. This prioritisation was made more selective from 1981 resulting from the Board's response to Development Plan 8 where it recognised the enormous requirements for making land available that were being placed upon it. From this date the Board started to develop its own five yearly development planning system to coincide with the national approach.[39] Table 5.6 below indicates the numbers of leases/licences/tenancy agreements considered to be in existence. It is interesting to see a decline following file cleaning resulting from the termination of many agreements which were

found on inspection to have been long abandoned. The "coconut" leases were put "on ice" and taken out of the Board's statistics as it was evident that these were effectively non-existent.[40]

| | Total (Leases and Tenancies) |
|---|---|
| 1974 | 25,953 |
| 1975 | 27,018 |
| 1976 | 27,501 |
| 1977 | 28,113 |
| 1978 | 27,368 |
| 1979 | 27,765 |
| 1980 | 26,029 |
| 1981 | 25,801 |
| 1982 | 33,646 |
| 1983 | 22,906 |
| 1984 | 23,129 |
| 1985 | 23,892 |

**Table 5.11: Workload, 1974-1985; growth in numbers of leases and tenancies granted by the Board.** (sources: Annual Reports of the Board; EDP printouts Chief Estate Assidtant's section)

b) **Finances**

It has already been seen that the Board had moved into a period of what it termed "deficit financing". Table 5.12 below showing income and expenditure confirms that this continued to be the case for the remainder of the period. An important thrust of the 1977 Report was that Government should accept responsibility, at least in part, for the Board's administration costs.

> "...as NLTB cannot, in fact, be expected to pay its way as envisaged by the Act, and as it is essential to Fiji that it is capable of fulfilling its role efficiently, which is one which would fall on Government if NLTB did not exist, then the inescapable conclusion must be that Government should be requested to commit itself to an annual grant to NLTB, to make up the shortfall between income and expenditure."[41]

This was accepted and Government agreed to make an annual grant to pay these elements of the Board's costs relating to salaries. This enabled the Board to liquidate its accumulated deficit by 1981.

| | Income | Expenditure | Government Salary subvention |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1974* | 583116 | 805982 | |
| 1875* | 875809 | 952813 | |
| 1976* | 898373 | 1218443 | |
| 1977* | 730663 | 1156693 | |
| 1978 | 920965 | 1189853 | 626736 |
| 1979 | 915371 | 1453573 | 798236 |
| 1980 | 1045421 | 1902368 | 900000 |
| 1981 | 1353385 | 2190444 | 1300283 |
| 1982 | 1528757 | 2446880 | 1451579 |
| 1983 | 1832179 | 2819284 | 1352831 |
| 1984 | | | |
| 1985 | | | |

Notes: * indicates deficit of income over expenditure.
Figures for 1984 and 1985 not available at time of completion of gathering field information.

**Table 5.12: Income and Expenditure, 1974–1985** (Sources: Annual Reports of the Board)

An alternative proposal was put to that of Government subvention suggesting that a similar effect would be achieved by making all of the staff of the Board civil servants with the exception of the post of the General Manager and his Deputy[42]. It was not accepted. The Board's wish to retain its long term independence and incidentally the racial exclusiveness of its employment policy will be examined in the next chapter. For the present it is of interest to note the emergence of an area of potential conflict as regards financial priorities. Long term independence and financial self-sufficiency in an uncertain long term political environment contrasts strongly with financial dependence upon government subvention based upon an agreed fixed grant formula. These alternative financial strategies have different and important implications for the future.

The balance of the Board's income remained dependent upon the level of rentroll. This is shown in Table 5.13 below together with the amount of arrears outstanding. It is significant that growth occurred in rents distributed in 1973 and in 1975 particularly resulting from a very strong drive to reduce the arrears problem.[43] The recent major increases in income reflect continued attention to arrears but more particularly the significance of a systematic approach to rent reassessments in accordance with the terms of leases, and new leases entered into. The ratio of arrears to annual rentroll has improved considerably during the period.

| | Annual rent/ royalties collected | Annual rent/ royalties distributed | Annual rental value | Arrears |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1974 | 1239867 | 1386000 | 1564295 | 3024471 |
| 1975 | 2060000 | 1672000 | 1713752 | 3500000 |
| 1976 | 2096162 | 1626000 | | |
| 1977 | 2211774 | 1748000 | 1837664 | 4434570 |
| 1978 | 2595000 | 2065000 | 2041358 | 4831510 |
| 1979 | 2904000 | 2317000 | 2157251 | 3952000 |
| 1980 | | | 2294990 | 4035010 |
| 1981 | | | 2733247 | 3476000 |
| 1982 | 4297000 | | 3343000 | 2994000 |
| 1983 | 5186000 | | 3854000 | 2601000 |
| 1984 | | | 4526652 | 2570244 |
| 1985 | | | | |

**Notes:** * indicates figures for rental only
Figures for 1985 not available at time of completion of gathering field information.

**Table 5.13: Annual rentals and royalties, 1974-1985: amounts collected and distributed, rental value of the native estate, and arrears** (Sources: Native Land Trust Board Annual Reports: Native Land Trust Board Review 1969-1974; EDP printouts, Chief Estate Assistant's section)

It would seem that whilst still dependent upon Government support the Board has made very significant strides towards bringing its financial position under control.

c) **Agricultural land: generally**

The Board's commitment to the opening up of new agricultural lands continued; Seaqaqa, Uluisaivou and Yalavou have been identified as being the most significant large scale projects on native land at the time immediately prior to the 1977 Reorganisation Report. It had been indicated in the 1976 Annual Report that the Board could not meet the requirements of Development Plan 7 without the provision of additional resources. These resources were not allocated and productive until 1979 and 1980, so it is reasonable to conclude that the Board had little ability to meet the requirements laid down in that plan.

| | No. of leases | Area leased (ha.) |
|---|---|---|
| 1974 | 22151 | 329344 |
| 1975 | 23058 | 342775 |
| 1976 | 23454 | 353059 |
| 1977 | 23905 | |
| 1978 | 21725 | |
| 1979 | 17992 | |
| 1980 | 16353 | |
| 1981 | 14367 | 244162 |
| 1982 | 13803 | 225279 |
| 1983 | 13670 | 198284 |
| 1984 | 13592 | 192706 |
| 1985 | | |

**Table 5.14: Agricultural land, 1974-1985: numbers of leases, and area leased by the Board** (Sources: Annual Reports of the Board; E.D.P.printouts, Chief Estate Assistant's section)

The picture during the 1974 to 1985 period as regards number of leases and total areas leased given in Table 5.14 is not indicative of the rate of release of agricultural land. Rather, it shows the extent to which the Board's lease management pre-1978 had been woefully inadequate. The bulk of the decline in the number of leases and in the area under lease was taken up by the sorting out of "inactive" leases and their termination. The overwhelming majority of these, as may be seen below in Table 5.16 were leases in reserve; Class J leases, and "coconut" leases.

That there was any contribution at all to the release of agricultural land during Development Plan 8 was the result of the reallocation of the Board's work priorities as indicated above and the decision to adopt the recommendations of the management paper of January 1981 "Native Land Trust Board - Meeting the challenge of DP8 1981-85". This introduced a number of aims and recommendations identified in accordance with its own terms of reference and with the aims expressed by Government in the Development Plan. It was noted, inter alia, that:

> "The N.L.T.B.'s immediate priority aim is to assist with the development of the nation in accordance with the requirements of DP8"
>
> And with regard to the pre-existing work priority regime that"
>
> ...not nearly as many new leases have been processed as management would wish..." [44]

| | Division | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Central | Northern | Western | Eastern | Total |
| **Agricultural land Sectoral requirements (ha)** | 8217 | 11047 | 16201 | 2494 | 37959 |

**Table 5.15: Agricultural land, 1981-1985: Development Plan 8, projected release of land for agriculture** (Source: Development Plan 8)

The projected needs under Development Plan 8 are tabulated in Table 5.15. It is interesting to compare this with actual release of land achieved and to note that government was calling for an unprecedented effort on the part of the newly-reorganised Board. The recognition of this as a responsibility that had to be met and the expression of the response was indicative of the new professionalism with the Board's management.

> "...it therefore follows that it is likely that NLTB will have to be prepared to make available a land area roughly equal to 20% of the total area of native land presently leased out. This can only be seen as probably the greatest challenge ever presented to the Board..."[45]
>
> "It is perhaps fortunate in this sense that the economic growth forecast did not occur and the extent of land demand anticipated in the Plan did not materialise".

For the present at least, and as far as can be gathered it is also true for the 1986-1990 planning period coinciding with Development Plan 9; the Board has viewed its role as the supplier of agricultural land, insofar as is possible. It has had little if any direct involvement in the drawing up of plan requirements in this area. The pressure of work in the Divisions indicated above militates against such involvement as there is no surplus manpower to identify actual availability of agricultural land. It is also significant, by implication of this and of the prioritisation indicated earlier, that the character of the Board's current agricultural land management is of the nature of a hard pressed, albeit successful at present, holding operation. Little attention can yet be given to planning the identification and orderly release of available land, or even for instance to the policing of lease covenants. A compounding factor in this has been the effect of the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act which was referred to above. The increasing litigation and backlog of references, combined with a more time-consuming formal adversarial approach in the Tribunal, has made for a very significant increase in demands on the time of Estate Officers in the

later years of the period.[46]

**Agricultural land: Reserves**

The problems that the Board faced in respect of reserve land continued as before. The 1981 document, "The Native Land Trust Board - meeting the challenge of DP8", drew attention to the Board's practice of granting "Approval Notices", with no intention to prepare a lease as required under the Native Land Trust Act. This resulted in disadvantage to such tenants, who properly should have had a full lease with survey registered, in comparison with tenants outside Reserve who under the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act only required the inexpensive "Instrument of Tenancy". No action was taken on this issue during the period in question and the problem of Reserve lands remains significantly difficult.

The figures below in Table 5.16 indicate the numbers of leases in Reserve by year and the relevant acreages. It is important to bear in mind that problems of inability to collect rent continued to be severe, as often the only reason for a tenant making such an agreement was in order to secure a loan. The Board's practice by 1985 developed to minimise their losses by insistence upon payment of fees plus a year's rent in advance; failure to keep up-to-date with rent thereafter resulted in the "writing off " of the liability.[48]

| | No. of leases | Area leased (ha.) |
|---|---|---|
| 1974 | | |
| 1975 | | |
| 1976 | | |
| 1977 | 9641 | |
| 1978 | 9403 | |
| 1979 | 5904 | |
| 1980 | 4680 | |
| 1981 | 3039 | 108,278 |
| 1982 | 2655 | 91,042 |
| 1983 | 2591 | 70,872 |
| 1984 | 2506 | 66,180 |
| 1985 | | |

**Notes:** Figures for 1985 not available at time of completion of gathering field information.

: 550847 hectares of Native Land is in Reserve, out of 1503662 hectares of Native Land in total.

**Table 5.16: Agricultural land, 1974-1985: numbers of leases, and area leased (Reserve land) by the Board** (Sources: Annual Reports of the Board; E.D.P. printouts, Chief Estate Assistant's section)

d) Urban Land

The Board's direct involvement in development work in the first half of this period was predominantly concerned with urban areas and the provision of residential, commercial and industrial sites in the expanding towns. The formation of the Native Land Development Corporation in 1973 resulted in the gradual rundown of this function of the Board's operations. Until the reorganisation became effective, new developments arose out of applications by development agencies on an ad hoc basis. From 27th September, 1978, the Board adopted a policy on land for development recognising the Native Land Development Corporation as the major developer of native lands and thenceforth as the sole developer.[49] This policy was unchanged for the remainder of the period.

The 1978 reorganisation brought substantial changes into effect in 1979. Urban development, other than of individual lots, became a Head Office responsibility, and from 1979 monthly liaison meetings were instituted. These attempted to correct the previous lack of coordination on land development and to ensure the effective prior management of the land thus facilitating its availability when ripe for development. The intention was to create a two year land bank for the Corporation in order to allow it to plan its future effectively. An essential element of this was in the survey and planning of potential future development for all of the urban areas of Fiji in cooperation with the Department of Town and Country Planning, the Housing Authority, Local Authorities and the Public Works Department.[50] This was in fact a systematisation of earlier ad hoc surveys which had been undertaken in the mid 1970's.[51] The surveys were completed in 1980 and the recommendations followed with the lands identified being developed in an orderly way. There has been no provision made for updating these plans during this period, although there were proposals for the provision of a Land Use Planner for attachment to Head Office for this purpose.[52]

The rate of increase in the number of such leases is indicated in Table 5.17 by growth in the numbers of non-agricultural leases. All such leases entered into prior to the adoption of the revised Native Land (Leases & Licences) Regulations, 1984 contain the problematic clauses referred to earlier. These will continue to bedevil the management of urban native land until their expiry.[53]

| | No. of leases in existence |
|---|---|
| 1974 | 3802 |
| 1975 | 3960 |
| 1976 | 4047 |
| 1977 | 5408 |
| 1978 | 6040 |
| 1979 | 8037 |
| 1980 | 9448 |
| 1981 | 9279 |
| 1982 | 9103 |
| 1983 | 9459 |
| 1984 | 10300 |
| 1985 | |

**Table 5.17: Urban land, 1974-1985: numbers of non-agricultural leases granted by the Board** (Sources: Annual Reports of the Board; E.D.P. printouts Chief Estate Assistant's section)

The other major problem facing the Board's management of urban land during the period was that of squatters. By 1981 a Native Land Trust Board survey of urban native land indicated a total of some 7,900 squatters; one-third of the national problem. The problem had grown through continued failure of Government or any other agency to take preventive or ameliorative action, or indeed to accept responsibility.[54] The Board did not adopt the recommendations of the survey report and thus its policy of 1971 remained unchanged. The reason for this was probably at least in part due to ambivalence over the estimated 47% who were in occupation under a vakavanua title; such title being virtually uncontrollable with the relaxation of regulations administered by the Fijian Affairs Board. The problem therefore continued to present itself resulting in additional time and expense in bringing land into development, coupled often with adverse publicity.

**Tourism**

Interest in tourism lay dormant for some years after 1974 as existing accommodation was adequate to cope with the relatively static level of visitor arrivals. Towards the end of the decade, however, the world economy began to look more encouraging.

In view of the specialised nature of the land management problems the responsibility for this aspect of the Board's business was allotted to the Head Office estates section. Particularly high priority was given to the

identification of appropriate policies in what was seen to be the area with the greatest potential for growth. The 1980 policy was designed in discussion with the Department of Town and Country Planning, Fiji Visitors Bureau, National Trust for Fiji, Ministry of Tourism, Transport and Civil Aviation, the United Nations Centre for Transnational Corporations, resort owners and operators, and
the landowners.

The need for the policy was seen to have arisen:

> "because the Native Land Trust Board had no policy concerning the location of tourist oriented development or for the controlled release of sites for tourism. In the past this has been left for agreement between the developer and the landowners which has resulted in haphazard development, under utilised infrastructure and a greater than necessary spread of social problems. It has also resulted in leases being granted on very unsatisfactory terms and occasionally to unsatisfactory tenants."[55]

The policy was based upon the 1973 United Nations Development Programme report mentioned earlier with the aim:

> "to identify potential tourism sites which are ripe for development. The release of these sites may then be controlled to obtain the best terms available ...."

This was adopted by the Board and in simplified form it became the national policy put forward by the Government in Development Plan 8. It identified sites in restricted areas on the "honeypot" principle in order to miminise harmful socio-cultural impacts which might be detrimental to both visitor and visited in the long term. Terms and conditions for leases were suggested and emphasis was placed upon the inclusion of minima and the exclusion of maxima in turnover rents ranging between 2.5% and 4% gross receipts. "Honeymoon rents" on an acreage basis were to be negotiable at the start of a lease for up to four years. The issuing of shares was considered to have shown "little tangible benefits in the short to medium term" and was therefore not to be negotiated for.

The policy was intended to provide a thorough study on which to build for the long term and in order to provide landowners and the Board's officers with mutual confidence in tourism dealings. Although the policy has not been universally endorsed by the landowners, it has achieved fairly widespread acceptance.[56]

The growth in tourism rentals from $68,815 in 1974, to $330,000 in 1981, and $630,000 in 1985 resulting from some new leases and, latterly, the renegotiation of others where a suitable lever could be found has justified the priority treatment given to tourism at this time.[57] It is the most cost effective sector of involvement that the Board is involved in, which is clearly an attractive aspect; average rent per hotel lase at the end of 1984 was $11350; compared with that for agricultural leases of $172.

The Native Land Trust Board has had close involvement in the drafting of Development Plan 9 policy towards tourism, having been particularly concerned with locational issues.[58] As part of its internal planning system, the Board has produced a second "Policy towards tourist oriented development on native land" for 1985-89 which has updated the 1980 policy. It is on similar lines but, by more specifically defining requirements, provides a firmer basis for future work and negotiation.[59]

f) **Forestry**

The Board's involvement in forestry from 1974 onwards follows two separate strands; the indigenous forest, and the monoculture plantations based upon the Caribbean pine which commenced in that year.

The indigenous forest policy continued upon the existing lines until the 1978 reorganisation.[60] The Head Office estate team considered tourism policy determination to be of higher initial priority reflecting its greater rent earning capacity and forestry therefore took second place.

The Board did commission a report in 1979 as a stopgap measure to give some insight into the situation.[61] The report identified certain shortcomings and difficulties in current practice but was kept confidential as the Forestry Department retains responsibility for management of the indigenous resource.

The Board had no inputs into Development Plan 8's forestry policy. In its response, "Native Land Trust Board-Meeting the challege of DP8 1981-85", and DP8", it recommended that no new concessions be entered into until a complete study had been undertaken and a policy adopted. A request for assistance was made and the United Kingdom Voluntary Service Overseas organisation secured on officer on secondment from the Forestry Commission who assisted the Head Office estates section in drawing up a major policy document "A policy for the logging of indigenous fores on native land 1985-89". Assistance was given by

the Ministry of Forests, the Fiji Pine Commission, the forest industry, Central Planning Office and the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations. The report was very critical of previous policies which had resulted in serious wastage as the forests had been treated as a "once only" resource.

> "NLTB has not fulfilled its function in the overall management of the resource as a forest estate. The resource is dwindling in size. High quality timber is being wasted by inefficient mills and put to low quality end uses. High quality and valuable logs are being exported overseas which entails the loss of jobs which could have been made available to Fiji citizens and also of foreign exchange. Timber is not being replanted in sufficient quantity to ensure that a hardwood producing industry will continue in perpetuity. Land is being logged and not put to subsequent gainful use. Land is being eroded in logging areas causing silting of rivers and streams, damage to water supplies and fish breeding grounds and flooding."[62]

As the four concessions entered into after 1980 show, modern terms were imposed in each case, although in the Merit case in 1980 a Board directive involving a deadline left only one month to negotiate acceptable terms. The new terms provide for a rental to be distributed pro rata to all landowners covered by a concession with a royalty for timber cut within each landowning unit's boundariesto the individual unit concerned; higher overall financial returns to the landowners; greater control over the logging process (involving management plans, regular reports, adequate capitalisation, machinery for producing export quality sawn timbers, and so on); tighter policing and penalties; and more concern for environmental considerations including replanting provision and policy.

Smaller scale exploitation of the indigenous forest resource under logging licences, and under clearfell licences on existing agricultural leases is also a matter that the Board hopes to control and has reconsidered and clarified its policies on. The latter in particular was the subject of a 1983 report by an officer of the Board "Survey of log extraction from agricultural land by way of clearfell licences." The survey report found a high proportion of leases inspected with clearfell licences in the Central Division had problems from the resource use point of view. The most significant were that leases were being "creamed" of valuable timber species and not clearfelled for subsequent agricultural production, and secondly, that leases were only required to secure loans from the Fiji Development Bank, rather than for husbandry purposes, and that many had been granted over land which was wholly unsuitable for agriculture in any case. It is the intention that

responsibility for dealing with smaller licences be devolved to Divisional offices and that a closer monitoring of clearfelling licences (and of agricultural leases) granted be observed.

It is significant to note that the Board is now represented on the Development Plan 9 Forestry Sector Steering Committee.

The situation as regards the setting up and securing of lands for the operations of the Fiji Pine Commission, as it became in 1976 was surrounded by very bad publicity for native land, for the Board, and for the landowners. It represented mismanagement on a very substantial scale.

The provision of native land started with the Government decision in 1972 to proceed with the scheme. By 1975 some 31198 ha. had been leased; by 1985 the holdings of native land had increased to 53084 ha., thus comprising some 81.7% of the total holding of 64985 ha. The whole of this native landholding was evidenced by the end of the period under consideration by formal instruments of tenancy, replacing the original approval notices under the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act. The return to the landowners is in the form of a low annual rental and a royalty on felling. A further major additional benefit is of local employment opportunities for the landowners. These leases are dealt with in the Divisional offices of the Board.[63]

g) **Minerals and Extractive Industries**

Policy on gravels and sands did not alter significantly until the 1978 reorganisation when they were put under the Head Office estate section. As soon as possible, guidelines and instructions were issued as part of the Head Office instructions and hence from 1980 these became a Divisional responsibility.

Extraction policy had previously been criticised for lack of checks on volume of extraction, the low level of royalty payments in comparison with market value, lack of control over environmental damage and the anomoly that under the River and Streams Act all stream beds were vested in the Crown.[64] Royalties accordingly were justified on the basis of use of the adjacent land for access and moves were put in train to alter the Act in this respect, although they were to no effect in this period. Small scale extraction has continued to be dealt with by using extraction permits and licences, issued respectively for small quantities of material of less than five hundred cubic

yards, and for periods of less than twelve months.

Although there was some discussion on the possibility of extraction of copper at Namosi, world market conditions did not make this an attractive commercial proposition during this period.

**Perceptions of effectiveness**

The promise of better things to come offered by the press release of 2nd February 1973 did not, therefore, produce immediate results. Indeed, and on the contrary, for a number of reasons the Board's image went from bad to worse.

The long and tough approach to rent arrears which was given heavy publicity particularly between 1973 and 1975; long misunderstandings, and the high profile of bad management in the pine scheme leasings were very bad for the Board's image as the extract from Fiji Sun overleaf shows.

The failure to publish any annual report until 1975 when the review for 1969 to 1974 was presented; and the lack of audited accounts until the following year produced vitriolic statements from all sides. The Hon. Apisai Tora speaking in the House of Representatives towards the end of 1975:

> "Sir, I am certain that most Fijians would be with me when I say that I do not mind having to pay certain sums of money to any person or organisation to look after my interests, the provision being, of course, that my interests are well looked after and provided further, Mr. Speaker, that from time to time I get a report on how and why my money is being spent. I do not mind at all, nor do I think any other right thinking Fijian or people of this country would ...."
>
> "It may or may not surprise Honourable Members of the House to know, Mr. Speaker, that the last annual report that is known to have been forthcoming from the Native Land Trust Board was for the year 1967."

Then following on criticism of the lack of any financial details disclosed by the 1969-74 Review he continued:

> "The Board's forgetfulness and reluctance to have their financial materials scrutinised by duly qualified auditors seems to me, Sir, to have been the result of the scathing and outspoken remarks made by the firm of accountants of R.S. Kay and Company, who were then auditors for the Native Land Trust Board, when it said in its report for the 1967 financial year, that the Native Land Trust Board had committed a breach of trust by approving the grant of loan from N.L.T.B. funds to some of its employees for buying cars and building houses without adequate security cover.[65]

# ATTENTION

# NLTB AND ALL FIJIAN LANDOWNERS!

This a copy of a letter or petition which the pine landowners of Western Viti Levu are sending to the General Manager of the Native Land Trust Board:

The General Manager,
Native Land Trust Board,
Victoria Parade,
SUVA.

Dear Sir,

Because of a recent misunderstanding concerning monies due to the pine areas of Western Viti Levu, we submit the following statement of arrears:

| Area | Acreage | Rate per Acre | Amounts due in respect of year ended | | Total rent in arrears |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yakete | 9632 | Rent — 10c per acre per annum | 30/8/73 to 31/12/73 | 30/8/74 to 31/12/74 $963.20 | $963.20 |
| Vakabuli Rent | 3856 | Rent — 10c per acre per annum | | $385.60 | |
| Stumpage | 50 | Rent per acre per annum $10 | | $500 | $885.60 |
| Naocoto Rent | 426 | Rent — 10c per acre per annum | | $42.60 | |
| Goodwill | 426 | $1.25 per acre per annum | | $532.50 | $575.10 |
| Ba Closed Area: | | | | | |
| Nasolo/Ba/Nailaga Rent | 4998 | Rent — 10c per acre per annum | | $499.80 | $499.40 |
| Drasa/Lololo 1973 | 12,757 | Rent — 40c per acre per annum | $5102.80 | | |
| 1974 | 14,263 | | | $5705.20 | $10,808 |
| Nabou Rent | 2000 | Rent — 40c per acre per annum | | $800 | |
| Goodwill | 5562 | $1.25 per acre | | $6952.50 | $7752.50 |

Deduct 25 per cent, excluding key money (goodwill) and stumpage

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total amount collected in 1973 — | $5102.80 | | |
| Total amount collected in 1974 — | $16,381.40 | Total : | $21,484.20 |
| Less 25 per cent deduction for NLTB | | | $, 3,374.80 |
| | Final | Total: | $18,109.40 |

Please note the areas included 1973 as well as 1974 and also that although some of the areas listed above are not formally under signed lease, it was mutually agreed by the Government and the landowners that the land be used and payment be made accordingly.

Those actually leased are the responsibility of the NLTB and should have been prepared and executed early in 1974.

Since your organisation receives 25 per cent for collecting such rents it is hardly understandable how Government rents were uncollectable.

When our demands were initiated it was publicly stated that all rents were up to date.

What then was the substantial payment received by the NLTB from the Department of Land this past Friday 14th of February?

Our contention is that the NLTB, as our representatives, has not been protecting our interests in the collection of our monies and therefore have an obligation to distribute the above arrears IMMEDIATELY.

We have been forced to take such drastic actions as the current work stoppage to expedite the proper collecting and dispensing of our funds to enable us to fulfil our budgetted business expenditures.

We do sincerely hope you will give these matters prompt attention!

Yours faithfully,

Ratu Isei Vosailagi, and Jolame Narutu, representing the Yavusa Leweinalolo Land Unit.

Ratu Apenisa Lomawai and Ilaitia Kebubu, representing Yavusa Leweivaqadra Land Unit.

Esira Senibua and Mataiasi Kuridua, representing Yavusa Ketenavunivalu Land Unit.

Mesake Nadrogo, representing Yavusa Karia Land Unit.

Ilaisa Natuvuni representing Yavusa Mataviavia Land Unit.

Suliasi Bogisa and Kitione Laqa, representing Yavusa Saqele Land Unit.

Ratu Jone Lotawa Nadakaibitu, representing Yavusa Viyagoniwalu Land Unit.

Tevita Wanono representing Yavusa Qalinabulu Land Unit.

This quotation and the copy press extract are indicative of the depth of feelings aroused on all sides. They are interesting in addition for, whilst there can be little defence of the situation at that time, there was scant coverage given to such small positive steps as had been made to try to bring the Board into a functioning condition. As can be seen, some of the information as reported was also incorrect.[66]

At least in part as a response to this the Board became more aware of its public relations problem. It appointed a consultant, a part of whose initial report forms the introduction to this chapter, and recruited a public relations office.

There was, however, no significant improvement until the Davey Report of 1977 which in its introduction summarised the then existing position:

> "1.01 The Native Land Trust Board has been the target of a considerable amount of strong public criticism for a number of years; some such criticism has undoubtedly been misguided, some has been politically motivated from various quarters, but the great majority has, unfortunately, been well-founded.
>
> 1.02 The most common criticisms found are of inordinately long delays in processing leases or dealing with applications, failure to reassess or collect rents, failure to answer correspondence and also failure to run itself efficiently on the apparently large sums available to it from its 'poundage' on rents and licence fees, etc., with the resultant present need for financial assistance from Government to stave off bankruptcy.
>
> 1.03 Whilst this last criticism is not considered justified..., the other criticisms are, undoubtedly, justified: the present state of disarray within the workings of the Board can only give rise to the gravest concern."

There is no doubt that from 1973 an awareness had arrived in the Board that it had to change to meet modern circumstances. Increasing external pressures from all sides resulting from the poor performance of the Board combined with this internal resolve resulted in the changes that have been documented.

The Board, its past, present and future, were debated at length in Parliament with the support of the Board, of the Great Council of Chiefs and of the Cabinet on the 27th and 28th of February, and on the 1st and 2nd of March 1978. The occasion for the debate was the laying on the table of the Davey Report. More specifically, the motion put forward by the Minister for Fijian Affairs called for an immediate $600,000 grant as working capital, and annual provision:

"... for the payment to the Board of such sum as may be necessary to meet the estimated costs of staff emoluments and contributions to the Fiji National Provident Fund for the ensuing financial year...."[67]

The motion was agreed to with a substantial majority, and in the course of the debate a great deal of comment upon the Board's position, proper role and performance was passed.

From 1978 onwards, both in Parliament and in the media, the Board started to present a more positive image for public consumption. This, at least in part, reflects an increasing concern with publicrelations and an awareness of their importance, particularly on the side of the General Manager.

By late 1979, the position had so improved that the Hon. Senator Ratu Volavola proposed a motion in the Senate:

"That this House appreciates and endorses the progressive work being done by the Native Land Trust Board in developing native land for the benefit of all people in Fiji: and congratulates the Fijian owners for their faith and trust in the Native Land Trust Board which has been vested with the responsibility of controlling all native land, and the administration thereof for the benefit of the Fijian owners"

The motion was passed with little adverse comment in the debate although by this time few, if any tangible benefits from the reorganisation of 1978 could have been felt.[68]

As Fiji moved into the 1980's perceptions of the effectiveness of the Board's operations continued to be generally more positive although there has been criticism of certain aspects of policy. For the most part such criticism has tended to centre around specific issues, about which rational individuals are able to have more or less reasonable and different views according to their viewpoints.

The following represent a sample of such issues.

Long confrontations with landowners involved in the pine scheme lands in the west of Viti Levu concerning the direction and management of the industry necessarily involved the Board as land, access to land, and roadblocks were used as rallying cries.[69]

The formation of the Western United Front in mid 1981 with Ratu Osea Gavidi as its spokesman proclaiming that: "The N.L.T.B. must be reorganised in such a way that the Fijians and the tenants benefit" ... and that policy changes should be made to include the interests of landowners from the Western

Division.[70]

Continuing problems with illegal settlements of squatters. Illegal dealings by landowners negotiating directly with tenants without Native Land Board Trust involvement often arose out of the wish to avoid the 25% deduction for the Board's poundage and sometimes out of ignorance of the implications of the Native Land Trust Act.[71]

Confrontation and criticism debated in the press over major tourism feasibility studies and proposals for Malolo Island in the Western Division.[72]

Questions raised regarding the perceived erosion of the landowners' rights arising out of the Delainavesi land row and what came to be known as the Matahau papers.[73]

And so on.

The list of criticisms comprises a collection of issues which will perhaps inevitably arise where a single body has such significant control over the utilisation of a major resource with all of its attendant distributional implications. In the late 1970's and early 1980's these criticisms came to be presented against a more solid and objective promotion of the positive achievements of the reorganised Board; its increasing efficiency and attempts to make available land resources as envisaged in Development Plan 8; its rapid and controlled localisation arising out of its strong training policies; the carrying out of practical research into and the identification of major land resources; the involvement of the Board in the international and Regional community by the provision of advice and by the running of training courses; the succesful adjustment of its working environment following the introduction of the new Native Land (Leases and Licenses) Regulations in 1984; and the continued attempts to secure an Arbitrator for non-agricultural land disputes: these together contributed to a remarkable turnaround in perceptions of performance.

Outright criticism of the indefensible and unequivocal inefficiencies of the Board for the most part gave way to a more balanced picture. Whilst admitting the human weakness of error and welcoming criticism of a positive nature, the Board attempted to make sure that its views on matters were expressed rationally and heard, and that the definite positive achievements were drawn attention to.

Matt Wilson Ltd. presented their report "The Native Land Trust Board: P.R. for the next five years" to the Board for inclusion in the 1985-89 "five year plan". They advised continued attention and greater efforts in the public relations area and viewed the new situation as follows:

> "From our assessment of the N.L.T.B.'s p.r. profile in 1984 emerges a much improved picture.
>
> The political opposition has quietened to a mere whisper. There was hardly a mention of the N.L.T.B., for instance, in the hard-fought 1982 election.
>
> In Parliament words of praise about the Board have been uttered by those who could previously be categorised as antagonists.
>
> Criticism from other sectors of the community is more muted. It still erupts on occasion, but the tone is less strident and confrontational.
>
> Lawyers handling land matters say the N.L.T.B. is functioning much more efficiently.
>
> An organisation which previously served as a controversial focus for stormy debates about land seems to have sailed into calmer waters".[74]

## CHAPTER 6

### Future Considerations

"Firstly, I wish to congratulate the Board for the excellent job it has done with its reorganisation for the last two years up to September of last year. We all know that the reorganisation was completed by September last year and all that has been put in will be implemented from now on. It is therefore my honoured privilege to thank the Manager of the N.L.T.B., Mr Josefata Kamikamica. He is a dedicated person and has personally put in a lot to the reorganisation of the Board. May God Bless him, Sir."

Hon. Senator Inoke Tabua
17th June, 1981
Senate Debates,
Hansard.

## CHAPTER 6

### Future Considerations

The situation that has been presented in previous chapters is a series of observations upon a succession of interrelated events within a given system. These events will precondition and determine, to an extent, future developments of the system.

Although in accordance with the views expessed in the philosophical approach, it would be inappropriate to make definitive predictions, it is none-the-less possible to identify areas where, from a pragmatic point of view, it is likely that future interest will be focussed. The critical assessment of the current theoretical position, which has been equated to a "background knowledge" level of scientific understanding, supports the first statement. The emphasis given to the dynamic elements in the theoretical explanation suggests the significance of identifying the latter inherent factors of change.

This is seen to be of particular importance as it is in this tentative identification of what are presumptively the dynamic inputs into subsequent time periods that the clearest statement of key variables will be found. Such an identification will provide useful indicators for the drawing of necessarily tentative conclusions and, importantly, for the direction of future research.

#### Native Land Trust Board

There can be little doubt that even the most grudging of critics would accept that the Native Land Trust Board has made striking progress in recent years and has achieved a remarkable turn around in its fortunes, both as regards its ability to perform its perceived role, and as regards perceptions of its effectiveness in so doing. It seems likely that for the foreseeable future the Board will maintain the role defined in the Davey Report, 1977, as accepted by the Board, the Great Council of Chiefs, and Parliament. Further, there is little doubt that the unofficial policy of the Board will be to assist in the development of the Fijians and thus operate as a major force in their continuing cultural identification.

Given such a clearly identified and generally understood role, the key element that the Board must be concerned about lies in the ability of management to

put that role into effect. A number of areas of change are of importance in this respect, and here it will be the general considerations rather than the minutiae of change that will be looked at.

The staffing policy of the Board adopted with the Davey proposals has been one of a substantial influx of expatriate professional expertise into line management positions, coupled with the establishment of a training programme and professional "understudying" prior to qualification of local counterpart staff. The establishment has been localised as soon as local equivalents became available. At the Estate Officer level appointments have normally been made as soon as qualifications have been gained, and at senior levels appointments or promotions have been made providing an appropriate position has been available. The rate of localisation foreseen and adopted in the Davey Report, of completion within ten years, has meant that effectively there has been no choice as to recruitment of local staff to professional and cadet professional levels of appointment. This will continue to be the case at least until 1987 as so few diplomates or graduates with the necessary qualifications emerge. Where promotions to senior positions are concerned this has meant that there has been no competition so far, simply because there are no alternative choices with the prerequisite qualifications and years' experience.

It is worth noting that localisation is already well advanced and that the role of the Board continues to be reasonably satisfactorily fulfilled in terms of the control over work load and the maintenance of a positive approach to management. The most significant period from this point of view will be when localisation is completed. Close monitoring of work control and other management indicators after that time will provide interesting and useful material regarding the efficacy of the rate of localisation adopted and the effectiveness of the training programmes, given the operative time constraints, in producing an effective professional approach to the management of native land, together with adequate technical backup services.

These manpower considerations are of significance to the Board in both the short and long terms.

In the short term it is apparent that the Board's professional manpower and management profile is relatively young and is drawn from a limited age cohort. There is, and will be, increasing competition amongst potential employers for those skills in which the Board is interested. This probability was drawn

attention to in prospect by Denman's 1979 Survey and has been reflected in the employment of graduates of the University of the South Pacific Land Management and Development Programme. Employers, which in addition to the Board have included the Department of Lands, commercial banks, development banks, the National Marketing Authority and private practice, are increasingly aware of the need for a land management profession in a country largely dependent upon its land resource. The Board is at present attractive to employees due to the good prospects for promotion that rapid localisation offers. Indeed, it succeeded in attracting an officer from the Lands' Department in 1984 to a less senior position and at a lower salary on the strength of such prospects. The Board will, however, probably find itself a less attractive employer in the future in terms of both immediate rewards and prospects. This is already apparent in some fields, for example, in the legal department, and may result in the Board experiencing difficulty in securing adequate professional trainee manpower from the limited output of suitable and eligible graduates from the University of the South Pacific programme.[1] An alternative scenario might be for the Board to find itself increasingly used as a training ground for young land managers, the more promising of which move on to pastures newer and greener after qualification as their limited prospects of promotion become apparent. Although beneficial for Fiji as a whole such a situation would represent a considerable loss of resources for the Board.

In the long term, the impact of a limited age group in management is to provide potential discontinuity during the period of retirement, coupled with possible ossification of management processes and policies due to a lack of new blood. This will need to be guarded against as presenting significant parallels with the same aspects of the pre-1969 Board.

Turning to a consideration of the Board's financial position it is clear that, as with staffing, training and management policies, a far more positive approach has led to greater control over finances. There are, however, opposing outlooks regarding the Board's financial future stemming from two different views as to its functions and role.

On the one hand there is the view that the Board should aim to become strongly independent in the long term and thus, for instance, able to fulfill its role of continuing to foster Fijian development, should it so wish. This is necessarily seen to imply financial independence from Government in the long run; the implication of financial dependence being that in the event of a less favourable political scenario arising than that currently prevailing,

financial grants could be made conditional. This was, in fact, raised as a possibility by National Federation Party members in speeches during the 1978 debate in the House of Representatives.[2] It is interesting to note that it is considered unlikely that any more fundamental changes could be imposed upon the Board without its consent in view of the constitutional safeguards extended to its enabling statute, at least for the foreseeable future.

The alternative outlook, which was a feature, and indeed a rationale of the Davey proposals, was that the Board could never function without a subvention; that it provided a service for the country as a whole which would have to be provided in any case, and for which financial assistance was appropriate and due.[3] The linking of this to a specific formula related to salaries and costs of employment of staff has functioned in the past and may continue to so so in the future. The improbability of such a formula being adopted in anything other than an informal and thus relatively easily reversible manner, suggests that pressures within the Board will tend to be increasingly towards the self-sufficient commercial outlook rather than that of continuing Government dependence.

A number of problems related to this, and subsumed under the general question of allocation of costs and benefit, are to be found in looking at how policies have developed, and are continuing to be developed, within the Board. Of considerable significance in this respect are the implications discussed under the heading of "workload" in the previous chapter. It was noted that although the Board is apparently in control of its work load, this has only been achieved by a careful but strict prioritisation of work types. That prioritisation does not include a number of important areas of land management, for instance, fundamental policing of many of the important covenants in native leases; nor does it include policy developments. It is arguable that this is essentially a management responsibility aand that the periodic management meetings are adequate for this purpose; misgivings have, however, been expressed regarding the amount of time available, at Divisional level at least, for this function.[4] There must therefore be concern to try to foster a rational and positive approach to contribute to constructive policy development and hence avoid stagnation of thought in this area. The importance of outside training and experience is already recognised and fostered where opportunities exist, particularly as the Board is increasingly staffed by professionals trained "in house" or locally without the broadening effect of responsibility and experience elsewhere.

Having said this, the development of positive and imaginative policies for the management of native land places further difficulties in the way of the way of the Board.

The first of these is relatively simple to resolve. Where any new policy is developed it will require effective interfacing at two junctures. The first juncture is that of integration into the professional work environment of the Board, which may be accomplished through issuing of Head Office Instructions, or some such equivalent and through some form of continuing professional training and development. Both of these alternatives are in use, and the latter particularly presents promising future possibilities. The other interface is with the native owners, and with the general public. It has been observed that there is a lack of knowledge about this set of relationships and a lack of provision for fostering it, which in view of its importance should be rectified by provision for research and public relations.[5]

The more significant problem relating to the Board's formulation of policy in the long term is the fact that the effective management of the native estate "writ large" involves indentification of policy for the future. Such policy increasingly involves planning the location and rate of release of resources; plans which disregard the fact that the native estates "writ large" comprises around 11,724 clan or family estates and related interests which are locationally fixed.[6] Planning therefore involves a strong allocational element which may well result in a conflict of interest between individual landowners and the Board's perception of its fulfillment of its role and responsibilities. Potential conflicts can already be seen arising from, for instance, the allocational effects of the tourism policy, and the impacts of prioritisation of the workload.

In sum, the Board has made very considerable progress in the identification and fulfilment of its responsibilities. It has brought itself to a position where it is managing to cope with the workload imposed by the native estate, albeit with a very narrow margin for safety. Whilst it may, and quite properly should, congratulate itself and be congratulated on its achievements, there can be little doubt that the future in both the short and the long term will provide enormous challenges. If the Board is to continue to fulfil its responsibilities effectively, it must rise positively and enthusiastically to these challenges, with a sense of realism as to its ability to accomplish work, as it adjusts to internal changes and external pressures.

**Fiji**

The increasing interest of the Board in various aspects of planning the management of the land resource for which it has responsibility has important implications for the country as a whole for a number of reasons.

In the first place it is important to note that the Board is in a position of strength, determined by its constitutionally entrenched enabling legislation, which verges on the monopolistic. The fact that the Board survived through an extended period of what appeared at times to be chronic inefficiency and ill repute argues in support of this. From the economic point of view a functioning Board presents enormous opportunities, allocational conflicts and considerations mentioned above, and the very effective lobby of direct action of the landowners notwithstanding. It presents what is probably a unique possibility in the democratic world for the positive planning of the use of the land resource since, from the point of view of Denman's proprietary land use analysis, almost all of the positive powers of land outside reserve lie with the Board, again, subject as above[7].

The potential for the exploitation of this link from the development planning point of view is considerable. This is particularly so in what is primarily an agricultural/land based socio-economy, where the planning process largely revolves around land utilisation and attempts of one kind or another to bring land into production. It is, therefore, all the more surprising to find that in Fiji the laissez-faire nature of the indicative development planning process has very rarely taken the initiative to use the opportunity thus presented. It is apparent from examination of the relationship between the Board's policies and the development plans to date that prior to Development Plan 8 no special cognizance of the Board's critical position in facilitating development was given. It is idle to speculate on the reason for this, particularly as the Board had neither the qualified manpower nor the basic information and policies with which to contribute to the construction of plans at that time.

The fact that the Board had some involvement in the drawing up of the tourism element of Development Plan 8 arose out of its own efforts to produce a coherent approach to the development of the native land resource suitable for tourist oriented development. This should not be taken as indicative of any change in the approach of the Central Planning Office since no other inputs into the Plan were evident. It is more likely that this resulted from the close liaison that had developed between the relevant Government departments

as the result of the Board's investigations and discussion as to the most appropriate policy to adopt and as to the identification of sites.

Development Plan 9 has seen the continuation of contributions into land aspects of the tourism policy, and new involvement with regard to indigenous forest policy. The reason for such involvement again appearing to stem rather from the Board's initiative in defining its own policy in the relevant areas, and the contacts thus established, rather than from the Central Planning Office.

It was noted above that it is idle to speculate on the reason for the lack of any special consultations in the pre Development Plan 8 period. It is probably equally idle to speculate in this manner regarding the Development Plan 8 and 9 formulations; it is none-the-less a matter of considerable concern for the whole development planning process, particularly as, all along, there had clearly been an awareness of the Board's critical role in respect of land. The concern, on pragmatic grounds, is that, if the initiative is not taken in such a recognised factor in an essentially land-oriented economy, it must raise substantial questions and doubts about the practicality of the whole process of development planning.

The Board itself can, and indeed since 1979 has, been involved in the methodical planning of the utilisation of its land resource, at least in those areas where it has been able to secure and co-ordinate supplementary assistance; urban development, forestry, and tourism. It is, therefore, in a position in some classes of land use to determine effectively what development takes place where, how much, by whom, and upon what terms. This means that the Board is therefore a development planning agency, even if not sufficiently endowed or statutorily authorised to be a development agency as such. The Board could therefore be argued to have a positive role to play in development planning depending upon the availability of manpower and expertise, and upon the priorities that they are assigned to. In recent years this positive role has extended widely in certain areas of land use within Fiji, and throughout the Region through, for instance, training manpower and using its political weight to secure facilities for professional training for the whole region at the University of the South Pacific. It is only fair to add the caveat, however, that this centralisation of positive powers has proven to be a double edged weapon for Fiji in the past. There is nothing intrinsically to prevent a recurrence of the negative effects that occurred prior to 1978, owing to the continued independent structure and the monopolistic position enjoyed by the

Board.

A significant area of difficulty arising out of this apparent ambivalence on the part of the official planning authority of the country is the fact that some problematic areas are effectively ignored as the result. This is simply because either they are assumed to be someone else's responsibility, or they are of relatively low priority to the agencies concerned. Three examples will indicate the importance of this; the squatter problem, effective utilisation of native reserve, and environmental management.

The development of the squatter situation has been followed in earlier chapters. It is significant that responsibility for control of this difficult problem remains ill-defined. The lack of positive allocation and acceptance of responsibility, and of appropriate allowance and provision for this, results in the neglect of the problem until such time as land is ripe for development; appropriate measures are then taken and adverse publicity and additional costs inevitably ensue.

The problems of utilisation of land in native reserve arise out of the different legal framework governing its use, and out of socio-cultural factors referred to earlier. Reserve land, with the exception of a small number of large high profile schemes, has not been the subject of specific planning projects, with the result that it creates land management problems for the Board and developmental problems for the country as a whole. These require considerable attention, or provision to enable such, in order to secure the effective inclusion of land in native reserve in national development. Finally, environmental considerations form a part of the development planning aims in these enlightened ecological years. In practice the responsibility for ensuring proper use of land is ill-defined. All leases for agricultural purposes provide an appropriate lever in the form of a good husbandry clause. Until such time as the Board is provided with adequate funds to enable it to police leases, and even to enter this into their system of prioritisation, this letter of the plan will remain inoperative at least as regards native land.

**International**

The changing role of the Native Land Trust Board and the development of its management capability has created considerable interest throughout the South Pacific Region. This results from a number of factors stemming from the

relative strength of the regional identity within the island groups and, perhaps, a tendancy to view to view Fiji as the centre of the Region. This is reflected in the location of South Pacific regional offices of multinationals, international agencies, and national missions and agencies in the capital, Suva.

As has been seen in earlier chapters, the Board has had both direct and indirect impacts internationally throughout the Region. Amongst the indirect impacts one of the most significant for the future will probably be the formation of the degree level Land Land Management and Development Programme at the University of the South Pacific. The planning, funding and establishment of this programme through the University with assistance from the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation, and the New Zealand Government, and latterly the British Government may be seen in part at least as the fruition of the recommendation in para.5.13 of the Davey Report in 1977:

> "It is possible that at some time in the future there might be development in this direction...(i.e. Land Management) at the University of the South Pacific, and it is recommended that the Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel) should always consult closely with USP to encourage any moves in this direction."

The first students of the Programme which was established in 1981, graduated at the end of 1983, since which time small numbers of students have graduated each year. The Programme has had an enrolment of between ten and fifteen in the first year with some "wastage" during the three years of the course. Students have been drawn widely from the region and, indeed, from further afield.

The Board has extended the value of this programme to students, including those from outside Fiji, by offering attachments in its offices during the long vacation in order to give them some practical experience. This practice has also been followed by the Department of Lands, although Government financial stringencies have limited this in 1985. Such practical experience is only possible where it is the wish of the student, where it has the approval of the government or sponsor concerned, and where the Board or the Department of Lands can make such a position available. The experience gives the students the opportunity, albeit limited, to assimilate their learning in a professional environment, which in most cases does not exist elsewhere in the Region, thus broadening their outlook considerably.

The Board has made a direct contribution in making its staff available, under the auspices of international agencies, for advice on matters of concern in which the Board has expertise. Members of the staff have as a result visited Vanuatu for training, and tourism leasing advice; Tuvalu for land administration and valuation advice; and Cook Islands for tourism advice in this manner. Direct contribution has also been made in the field of attachments, Solomon Islands; and abbreviated technician training courses, Vanuatu, at the Board's Head Office.

It is important to note that whilst the Board may be viewed as contributing its experience and expertise to the assistance of the Region, it continues to draw upon external experience in its own development. This is seen to be of some importance as a means of maintaining exposure to new approaches which will be, as noted, of particular importance after localisation is completed. Members of staff have as a result had attachments in Australia, and in the United Kingdom, in order to further develop their skills in certain areas. Likewise, staff members have attended relevant conferences where international expertise gathers to share experience.

One final matter to be raised at the international level of consideration is the nature and effectiveness of the contribution made by expatriate personnel. It is interesting and perhaps significant to note that of the central team of expatriate expertise there was a core of senior individuals who had worked together previously, or who were otherwise long-standing professional acquaintances.[8] This is of possible significance in the remarkable effectiveness of the 1978 reorganisation within such a limited time period; possible considerations arising from this will be touched upon in the concluding chapter.

**Developments within the existing framework**

Turning to view these considerations in the context of the broad framework introduced in the theoretical chapter, it is possible to envisage certain changes developing within the identifying set of relationships and corporate structures, and the resultant impacts upon the management of land. This is, or should be, of critical concern for both the Board and the planners of Fiji's development, dependent as the latter must be, inter alia, upon the former for the provision, release, and effective management of the bulk of the nation's land resource. Careful monitoring of change is, therefore, essential

for the Board in order to ensure effective fulfillment of its responsibilities.

Changes envisaged within the existing framework are identified as those that are a product, and indeed a continuation of the dynamic processes already identified as operative in the Fiji context, yet which leave the corporate structure and relationships relatively unchanged. They are therefore changes of degree rather than of kind; consideration of the latter being the subject of the succeeding section. These changes of degree must be viewed in the context of the likelihood of the continuation of the operational viability of the Board's management. The situation that has been outlined in this respect is one of very limited excess capacity within the Board for any additional work load or responsibility.

The contextual system is one with considerable propensity for change, arising from the dynamic nature of both exogenous and endogenous elements. It is instructive, in assessing the likely locus and extent of such change, to examine possible impacts of already observed developments in the various subsystems upon the work and role of the Board. Whilst such an examination is necessarily speculative, it does provide some indication of possible developments particularly in the light of the already observed lack of excess capacity with which the Board currently operates.

The dynamics of the socio-cultural subsystem suggest that there will be continued change as higher levels of education and expectations, and increasing commercialisation in the community make themselves felt. There are already indications of such change in the media with the commencement of broadcasting by commercial radio in 1985, with the importation of television video recorders and players and the rapid growth in the availability of wide selections of recordings from the developed countries, and with preliminary feasibility studies as to the possibility of commencing television broadcasting. Likewise, with education, changes in perceptions are ensured by the expansion of tertiary education and the increase in its availability, coupled with the continuing availability of education at low cost with consequent high attendance, and the maintenance of traditional urban-oriented syllabi.[9] Existing socio-cultural change per se, thus suggests continuing rural-urban drift with its attendant land management problems as identified earlier.

Such change is likely to be accelerated by the fact that some 70% of the

population is less than 30 years old. Such a youthful population tends to provide more fertile grounds for change, as perceptions and behavioural patterns are less strongly imbued and thus more flexible. It also, of course, provides fertile grounds in its own right with population growth implications which will place increasing demands upon land and its effective management.

It is possible that the population structure and its implied behavioural flexibility, in conjunction with socio-cultural change, will result in substantial developments in the political context. The formation of the Fiji Labour Party has already been mentioned, and there is a long term possibility that reaction against the traditional authorities of the Fijian establishment and the Indian establishment, whose interests have been identified in the past with the Alliance Party and the National Federation Party, respectively, might lead to a major shift in politics. This could result in the transgressing of significant thresholds with possible consequent major alterations in the land management situation.

For the present, however, concern is for change within the existing framework, and in the political sphere there is considerable potential for this. The 1976 amendment of the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act and the 1984 publication of new Native Lands (Leases and Licences) Regulations are examples of formal adjustments within the existing framework which have had and will have an impact on the operations of the Board in the future. There is also scope for informal alterations; one example might be if a future development plan were to impose a requirement in respect of land provision, necessitating readjustment of the Board's existing scheme of prioritisation; another example would be the possibility of future government financial assistance being made conditional upon certain criteria to be fulfilled by the Board.

Economic change and development, with Fiji continuing to present a very narrowly based open economy characterised by an overwhelming dependence upon agricultural products, tourism services, and other land demanding users, is likely to continue to affect land requirements and management. Planned economic development in the future, as in the past, will no doubt continue to place great challenges in the way of the Board.

Hypothesising development within the existing system thus presents a scenario of gradualist change in all areas involving perhaps minor alterations to legislation, to the cultures and to the economy. Even given minor alterations it is important to note that if national land management is to progress on a

sound basis then continual monitoring of management statistics and performance is required in order to identify any shortcomings. This is the most significant first step towards enabling them to be removed. One very good example of pressures already seen to be building up is in relation to the increasing backlog of work for the Agricultural Tribunal Land (and indeed the Law Courts), another is of the increasing expectations and demands of the landowners.

Providing that management retains its finger closely on the pulse of the Board's day-to-day work, and that it acts and continues to have the ability to act rationally in a professional manner when problem areas develop, then at least in the short term and for the foreseeable future, the Board should be able to cope with developments of this nature. If it fails to do this adequately, and there is no particular reason at present why it should fail to do so, then the Board, and Fiji, will rapidly find itself returned to a difficult situation for which there would be no obvious solution.

**Developments of the existing framework**

It has already been observed that certain characteristics within the Fiji system and its relationships with the outside world give it a built in propensity for change. In the same way as it has been possible to identify gradual developments in some aspects of the framework, so, as has been seen, have there been major changes to the framework. Indeed, it has been suggested that these major changes in the framework are key elements in the understanding of the development of the country, and particularly of aspects relating to the management of land. Of particular interest as major changes during the period in question have been, for instance, the Native Land Trust Ordinance, 1940; internal self-government and the introduction of positive development plans in the 1960's; the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance, 1966; independence in 1970 with consequential increased concern over development planning processes; and the withdrawal of the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co.Ltd.

The gradual pressures in the areas indicated in the previous section provide just such a potential background for the development of major changes.

There is nothing to preclude similarly major developments of the framework in the future provided adequate support can be generated to enable the necessary thresholds to be crossed. It is interesting to observe that, whilst as has

been seen, the alterations cited may stem from a range of socio-cultural, political, economic and general behavioural developments their final expression has tended to be in the political realm.

It is clear that major initiatives could be instituted in a number of areas in which there are significant problems or divergences of political impingeing upon land. One such area, to give an example, which might logically be suggested in continuation of existing government policy to try to stem rural-urban drift, could take the form of a two pronged approach. This might involve initiatives to make land available on attractive terms in rural areas, especially in reserve land, coupled with a more vigorous concern with the permanent settlement of existing squatters and the prevention of new in an attempt to ease the urban attraction. Should such a major approach be tackled through the legislative forum, then it could involve a significant adjustment in the land rights and interests of occupiers and landowners in the use of the land and in the terms and conditions governing that use. This could have an impact upon the responsibilities of the Board similar to the enactment of the Agricultural Land and Tenant Ordinance. Under present circumstances such a change seems improbable as it would necessitate the concurrence of the Senate and hence of the Great Council of Chiefs if its application were to be extended to Native Land. Such concurrence would be unlikely unless political and economic imperatives held sway.

A more likely possibility in the long term which has been suggested in considered advice in the past and in moments of emotion and anger in the House, is that of alteration to the Native Land Trust Act. Proposals have ranged from total disbandment of the Board through to reorganisation with divisional autonomy under an advisory central Board which in fact would probably not be very dissimilar in practice from the present devolved powers. It is difficult to imagine any such changes being formally proposed, let alone accepted, given the present constitutional framework, the protection accorded to the relevant legislation, and the strength of the traditional socio-cultural identity of the Fijian.

Although there is, therefore, little likelihood of any development of the legislative framework in the sense discussed, those who have an interest in the matter are aware that there is more than one way to skin a cat. Here, the obvious possibility that has been raised earlier is in connection with Government support for the funding of the Board's operations. The Board's fundamental susceptibility in this respect is likely to be continuing, and

although efforts are being taken to minimise this the nature of the Board's administrative responsibilities render complete financial independence highly improbable in the foreseeable future.

The Board's role in the balanced well-being of Fiji should not however be lightly dismissed, nor should its positive contributions be discounted. The 1978 Debate on the financial support for the Board has already been drawn upon as the source of a number of interesting viewpoints. The insights then expressed in the present connection bear some consideration.

> "The NLTB, to me, is an embodiment of the taukei's (indigenous race) emotional acceptance of other ethnic groups. It has become the successful media of vital economic relationships between the taukei landlords, the ancestral land, and the tenants that occupy them. It is in the interest of this plural society of ours that such a noble service be allowed to nurture and develop for the improved economic well-being of the nation as a whole. That the important element of sharing one's mataqali land, undoubtedly, the true symbol of the taukei's identity, with others who may not necessarily share the same cultural background is reflective of the truly magnanimous gesture."[10]

> "...the reason why I believe that financial assistance is necessary for an efficient administration of the native land is because I have a belief that whereas land in years past has been taken to be a divisive issue, an issue which has divided, particularly the Fijians versus the Indians, because the Fijians had the land and the Indians sought it, I believe that we can use this very asset to become the unifying factor between the major races. Because if more land is given out on leases and Indians are no longer the predominant group of tenants, then the frustrations that may have in past been suffered by Indians alone will be suffered by Fijians as well. And if both, hopefully, can see those problems and face them together, of what it means to work and occupy land, and share their progress as well as their frustrations and setbacks, then I believe that that land which has hitherto been a divisive factor can be a very powerful force for unifying the two major races."[11]

Although, arguably, a somewhat optimistic viewpoint there can be little doubt that any attempts to alter the structure of the administration of native land would have very serious impacts. Likewise, any major developments of the existing framework which altered the Board's position or otherwise prejudiced its functioning would be potentially very serious in consequences. Any such alterations must, therefore, demand very close prior examination as to the nature and extent of resulting changes in order to enable the less desirable impacts to be avoided, or at least ameliorated.

**Possibilities for directing change**

From the point of view of national planning, which in Fiji's case is currently the five yearly indicative development planning process, it seem reasonable to suggest that greater understanding of the operative forces and of the interrelationships between key factors and variables would provide a more effective approach. If planning is to be undertaken on the broad scale that it has been in the past, and appears to be for the present, it would seem more appropriate to look constructively at the dynamic nature of the whole system operating in its environment in an attempt to identify those factors that act as constraints, rather than principally at economic and population predictions.

One common factor of change is clearly that of individual and group behaviour patterns, an area of concern which is relatively ill-researched and understood in terms of its broad implications for the effective management of a nation. This is perhaps surprising since it is such patterns, or rather assumptions therein, which determine the nature and theoretical outcome of the application of theory to the real world implicit in all hypothetical indicative development planning scenarios.

It is, however, reasonable to suggest that amongst the controls of behaviour, the educational processes and the media are both of importance and accessible. In order to achieve some development aims there must therefore be a rational argument to support these inputs being utilised to promote given ends. In the present context, for instance, a positive approach might be to make more thorough efforts to encourage the media to promote rural values and practices, and the disadvantages of urban dwelling, coupled with making rural schooling more relevant to the rural dwellers needs and encouraging employment opportunities. It is, of course, self-evidently true that such a suggestion is simplistic, particularly in the short term; and in the face of reality as at present construed. In the longer term, however, the encouragement of appropriate training and the generation of a positive psychological environment must be central to the success of any promotion of rural dwelling.

Any such approaches would require to be carefully assessed and embedded into a range of incentives identified in the socio-cultural, economic, and political subsystems suggested by a careful analysis of the whole system in order to provide an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of the aims required. The greatest care would require to be taken in the assessment of results generated

by such incentives and combinations of incentives in order to ensure that unforeseen consequences do not operate counter-productively and produce disharmony in the system.

The national planning process in Fiji has concentrated in the past largely upon the economic side of development using economic and population models which incorporate certain behavioural "norms" to produce a developing scenario. Whilst these economic considerations determine what can be afforded in terms of, for instance, policy initiatives, it should not be sufficient to read cultural and other developments into such narrowly predicted results. This is particularly significant as such subsystems have their own dynamic potential for utilisation in the development of the nation.

It is difficult to identify the extent to which indicative plans successfully fulfill their aims, or to what extent fulfillment is the result of the plans or in spite of them. It is fair to say, however, that as far as land and the importance of effective management is concerned in Fiji, its significance has so far been largely ignored by the development planning process. This tends to confirm the validity of raising what are seen to be important questions as to the direction and effectiveness of the current development planning process, particularly in view of the critical significance of this factor "across the board" in the Fiji context.

It will be interesting to see what the future brings.

The Native Land Trust Board may be seen to be entering into one of the most critical decades in its existence. Whether or not it survives will depend, inter alia, upon whether it can continue to fulfil its identified role. This will depend upon a number of considerations: the effectiveness and innovativeness of its training policies and of the training available to it; the availability of suitable numbers of appropriately qualified personnel; the developing political situation with regard to continuing financial dependence upon government; the perceived continuation of its necessity by key power groups amongst which political, economic, and socio-cultural groups and sub-groups are particularly important; and finally, the effectiveness of the Board in informing such perceptions through research and public relations and hence influencing behaviour in the future.

In the event of the continued survival of the Board in its present format and structure coming into serious question, the most thorough of consideration

would require to be given to the impact of this upon Fiji as a whole; likewise for any measures likely to prejudice its position or operations significantly such as to render it effectively defunct.

At a time, over a century later, when Sir Arthur Gordon's land policy is being praised:

> "It is not often that British colonial administrators of the nineteenth century can be praised for pro-native vision, but Sir Arthur Gordon, the governor after 1875, should be."

It is interesting to ponder whether, after a further century, the constitutional document safeguarding the Fijians and their land position will be viewed in a similarly positive light.

## CHAPTER 7

### Conclusions

"So my answer to the questions 'How do you know? What is the source or basis of your assertion? What observations have led you to it?' would be 'I do **not** know: my assertion was merely a guess. Never mind the source, or the sources, from which it may spring - there are many possible sources, and I may not be aware of half of them; and origins or pedigrees have in any case little bearing upon truth. But if you are interested in the problem which I have tried to solve by my tentative assertion, you may help me by criticising it as severely as you can; and if you can devise some experimental test which you think might refute my assertion, I shall gladly, and to the best of my powers, help you to refute it.

Popper K. R.
Conjectures and Refutations
4th Edition 1976

## CHAPTER 7

## Conclusions

Within the context of the development process envisaged it is clear that there exists a wide range of levels at which development planning may have an incidence. These range from the individual through to all kinds of social, economic and political institutions. The characteristics, the pervasiveness, and the spheres of influence of each within the national structure are critical factors in determining the interest to be placed upon it within the development process at the national level.

The developing countries, within the larger global system, look to their land and to their populations as their major resources. Planned development has, as a result, been concerned with the importance of improving the utility of these resources. On the population front this has often taken the form of educational and medical programmes; whereas with land it has tended to be through policies of, for instance, land adjudication, consolidation of holdings, registration, and the provision of an adequate legal framework balancing the rights of owners and users of the resource.

Policies relating to land tend to be more emotive than those relating to population. This is, in part, because of the way in which policies in these two areas take effect. The one will often affect individual or group rights through some mandatory incursion which, by its nature, can at best reshuffle existing entitlements in a pre existing resource. This normally leaves at least one, if not both, parties feeling worse off. The other tends, by contrast, to offer the potential for greater access to resources to all partaking parties; even though this may be at a cost, the cost is normally measured in money terms which has a relatively low personality profile.

Land in these countries is particularly noted for the strongly attached emotional and, in many cases, spiritual ties which exist. Nowhere is this probably more true than of the South Pacific; and in Fiji, where these ties are compounded by cultural, economic and political divisions, the emotive nature of any significant changes in land policy, particularly relating to native land, is guaranteed.

It is for this reason that the development of the institution responsible for

managing native land has been examined as a consideration in the development planning process of the country as a whole; for it is considered to have a central role in the present scheme of things.

The nature of the examination, and of the subject material, offer some instructive, albeit tentative, conclusions both as to the nature of change in such contexts, and as to the underlying processes of change. These relate to the philosophical and the theoretical areas of concern examined above respectively.

**On change**

The developments that have been catalogued in Fiji and in the Native Land Trust Board constitute two interesting, and yet fundamentally dissimilar orientations towards sets of processes. They are made the more interesting because of their juxtaposition.

The Board's approach to fulfilling its role has altered substantially during the forty five years of its existence. For practical purposes that approach has earlier been divided about the year 1974. It is arguable, however, that the character of the approach differed in three phases. If the formative years up until say 1950 are disregarded as being largely government determined, these phases fall about the years 1969 and 1979.

In accordance with Rescher's views and with the analysis of the development of the Board's operations presented above, it is contended, and indeed conceptually concluded that the Board's approach to change can be viewed in pragmatic terms.

In the years prior to 1969, the Board's management structure was highly centralised, with decision-making centred upon the Manager of the Board. Up until that year this position was held by Mr. Foster, who was trained in a land related profession. The training for that profession provided a methodology for understanding and examining land, its use, and the rights under which it is held. His experience prior to taking this position and whilst in post provided the practical testing ground for such a training, and the environment for promoting and developing methodological improvements for the resolution of problems arising. It is considered, with the advantage of hindsight, that whilst there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the methods applied to the management of land were by and large acceptable, the

administrative framework of the implementation of these was not. The reasons for this must remain a moot point although possible explanations have been tendered earlier, for the information available is too limited to enable an unequivocal judgement to be made. Suffice it to say that, in a time of rapidly increasing workload, the Board's modus operandi did not make any concession to such changes, nor indeed did it implement any serious attempt to forestall other problems that were foreseen in the staffing and training areas of administrative responsibility.

In the decade from 1969 to 1979 the Board laboured under a substantially unchanged management structure with continuing domination of all decision making by the General Manager. Dr. Nayacakalou filled this position until his untimely death in 1972, when there was an interregnum, followed by Mr. Kamikamica who took up office in 1973. During this period the Board was further hampered in its operations by the lack of any strategic approach to the training of the decision-makers in land related subjects. Before 1973 this does not, from the records available, appear to have been considered a matter of overriding importance; or perhaps more accurately, it simply does not appear to have been effectively considered. From 1974, the significance of this first began to be realised, along with the continued shortcomings of the management and decision-making structure, and moves were taken to adjust the situation as necessary. The size of the problem demanded a phased approach, however, as has been seen. The appointment of Mr. Davey as consultant in 1976 proved the most significant attitudinal turning point from the point of view of land related problems.

From 1979 onwards the Board has been operating under a closely monitored decentralised decision-making and management structure. Heavy emphasis has been placed upon the role of people who are equipped to take effective decisions in the land context. This resulted in the initial requirement to recruit large numbers of professionally trained land specialists and to establish ongoing training courses at various levels sufficient to fill the foreseen requirements within the Board.

The standardisation of method, which may possibly have been enforced in earlier years by the requirement to refer every decision to one individual, was superceded by a standardisation of method enforced by comprehensive Head Office Instruction manuals and detailed policy research documents. The review of existing methods, and the necessity for developing new methods have become a feature that is built into the monitoring process and into managerial

responsibilities.

The Board's operations can be seen therefore to have had a chequered history, in spite of the view expressed that the attitude and approach to problems has always been pragamatic.

The extent to which the approach has been methodological has depended largely upon the relevance of the training and the aptitudes of the individuals responsible. It could be suggested, for instance, that in the earlier years, the smaller size of the Board's operations allowed methodological pragmatism in strictly land related issues to be an adequate determinant of the Board's performance. As the Board's operations grew, this pragmatism in all areas other than land seemed to adjust to a thesis pragmatism that adopted the laissez-faire thesis of "things will sort themselves out". Previously this had not perhaps mattered so much, but with very rapid increasing workload and areas of responsibility, some valid, some not, the Board's operations became compromised.

The middle period may be interpreted in terms of a positivist thesis pragmatism. During the first half of the period theses were devised by people without the necessary training and with no awareness of even the most rudimentary ground rules concerning land. The second half of this period was characterised by a growing awareness of this disarming lack, and the determination to do something about it. Without the wherewithal it was, however, impossible to make immediate changes.

The present period has been one in which the Board has been increasingly successful from the point of view of its performance. It has adopted a pragmatic approach to all of its field and administrative areas of responsibility, which has been essentially method oriented. The interface with the practical world has also, for the first time in the Board's history been objectively monitored to ensure a quotient of the effectiveness of the methods adopted.

There have been cases where weaknesses in method or approach have been revealed and this interfacing has enabled them to be relatively quickly isolated and acted upon. It is clear that where such an approach is involved the importance of comprehensive monitoring across all areas of the workface cannot be overemphasised.

The process of development in the wider context of the nation similarly reveals the changing of attitudes over time. It is, however, contended and similarly conceptually concluded that Fiji's current approach to change is more appropriately viewed against the background of scientific materialism.

The approach that has been adopted in Fiji to the development planning process falls to be considered under two periods, dividing at around about the mid 1960's.

The earlier period revolved around the colonial management structure which was characterised by an official dominance in virtually all fields. Development plans of this time were simply capital account budgets for departmental expenditure which did not incorporate any dynamic elements. The character of these was pragmatic in the ad hoc manner that characterised the Board's approach to problems until 1969.

The early 1960's, as has been seen, brought enormous changes to Fiji and to the way in which the approach to development was conceived. The results of the criticisms of the Burns Commission coupled with rapid political change leading to internal self-government in 1965 and to full independence in 1970, transformed the approach. It became one of planning for development on a dynamic basis incorporating unsophisticated input-output models of the economic system, and simplistic demographic models. These models have developed in complexity to a limited extent in succeeding years, and, during Development Plan 8, have extended to include substantial consideration of regional economic planning.

The nature of these later plans, as indicative plans, and their effectiveness has not been encouraging from the practical point of view. It cannot even be said that the efficacy of the process is showing discernable improvement.

It is accepted that the essence of any planning process must reduce to a political process in view of its allocational nature. None-the-less it is considered that the process ought to have some social and economic rationale, as well as the rapidly outmoded political one.

When the existing process is viewed against the scientific materialist approach a more clear understanding of why it fails to "to put it crassly - deliver the goods" becomes clear. The economic and demographic models

represent crude simplifications of the international economic relationships and of the limited internal sectors of the socio-economy with which they are concerned. They are chronically restricted by lack of theoretical knowledge and understanding even on their own limited terms of reference, and can proceed only on the basis of highly simplistic behavioural assumptions.

As has been seen from the conceptual model of the "reality" of the development planning process conceived above, the complexity of reality can only be hinted at.

The prospects for the future of identifying the most basic of relationships within that conceptualised process are considered to be slight because modelling even the smallest part of an integrated system of this nature requires a complete modelling of the whole. In the whitest of white box approaches this would logically require the capacity to model change in all animate objects in the physical context on a systematic global basis. The level of resolution would have to be at least to the individual psychons and committed systems, as these determine perception and behaviour. This, as has been seen, is a key weakness in all social scientific theory and effectively transfers it to the conceptual level. Even then there are the different potential "modes of becoming" or change to confuse the issue.

In the context of a country of limited resources that currently plans on the basis of inadequate historic data and of a partial explanation sketch of the development process, it would clearly be unrealistic to advocate a move in this direction.

**On processes of change**

Such a positive view on the one hand and a negative view on the other might suggest that there is no room for firm conclusions apart from the tentative analysis already presented in this and the previous chapter.

The value of the present thesis would, however, be largely lost on such an assessment for there is some weight in the views that have been developed.

The previous chapter identified individual and group behaviour patterns as a common factor of change in the development process. The tentative conclusions above point to this as a fundamental consideration in both approaches to knowledge.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these are, in fact, the underlying and determining factors in all processes of change considered within the social sciences.

It is these behavioural uncertainties which transpose the neat framework of development theory, however broadly conceived, into a conceptual explanation sketch. A sketch which confers little if any predictive, and hence explanatory powers, on the theorist.

It is these same behavioural uncertainties which determine the appropriateness of methods devised by pragmatists, and through being monitored, will provide information as to their effectiveness.

Until such time as the social sciences are able to generate more objective knowledge with respect to this fundamental scientific weakness in any social science theory, it is contended that the conceptual explanation sketches so formed cannot and will not have useful predictive powers.

This points to two conclusions.

Firstly, the academic conclusion that if the social sciences do, in fact, view themselves as science rather than art, then this area must be the one where the strongest pressure for research should lie.

Secondly, that in the meantime and it is by no means certain whether any solutions will ever be forthcoming in this field, the indicative development planning process has little or no objective meaning or value outside the political system. It is an approach to solving problems which, by the standards of the scientific materialist philsophy is bound to fail given present knowledge, and which according to methodological pragmatism should be rapidly superceded.

Indications are, however, that up to the present in the Fiji context, the tendancy has been quite the opposite. In fact, the process, through regional planning, has become more complex. It is perhaps paradoxically this that points most effectively to the approach being appropriately classified as pseudo-scientific materialist.

**The future**

What hope is there in such circumstances for the resolution of the perceived problem?

It is concluded that the most rational approach is to follow the approach suggested by the success of the recent reorganisation of the Board, which bears a close relationship to the methodological pragmatism of Rescher. This suffers however, from limitations of applicability, and more importantly from the fact that it is so heavily dependent upon the behavioural characteristics of the individuals and groups involved in devising the methods and implementing and monitoring them. It is no coincidence that the Board's most important requirement has been to develop a training centre to produce an ongoing corpus of professional individuals who will be individually and jointly responsible for the future devising of methods, and for implementing and monitoring of them. It is considered to be of basic importance that the professional training must develop not only the breadth of technique, but also the breadth of knowledge necessary to understand the areas of responsibility that the future will place upon the senior management. A breadth of knowledge which must ultimately take in the most broadly identified framework of development theory, albeit at a broad conceptual rather than at a detailed level. Professional education must therefore be not simply an initiation into techniques but an ongoing continuing process which must be appropriately designed and catered for.

It is contended for this reason that where such areas of knowledge are being dealt with in the pragmatic sphere then the recruitment of personnel for resolving problems must ultimately strongly favour the local individual, preferably locally trained but with wide exposure and responsibility, who has successfully resolved problems in similar fields in the past. It is such people who are most likely to have the necessary understanding particularly of the socio-cultural background to develop ecosystematically sound methods of approaching problems. Such people are sadly not often available as has been seen.

The role of the imported expert will tend, therefore, to be confined to the identification of basic methods either from afresh, or catalytically to the injection of new expertise into existing methodology. Such inputs will also necessarily require supporting training programmes to develop and instill the methods. The longevity of such new methodologies will depend not only upon

the individual or individuals involved and their background history of pragmatic success both individually and as a team, but also critically upon the effectiveness with which such training programmes can inculcate into the workforce a new set of perceptive filters.

It will be interesting to see, from the South Pacific perspective as well as from the Board's, how effective the new methodologies and training initiatives in this area prove to be in the long term.

In this context, the future effectiveness of the Native Land Trust Board will depend largely upon the extent to which professional behavioural values of thoroughness and effectiveness have been imparted to the new professional and technical cadres. There seems little doubt that some decrease in efficiency is to be anticipated following the complete localisation of the Board. This in itself should cause no surprise as there will inevitably be readjustment following the very rapid localisation that is taking place. The testing time for the professional values will be in the period following this, and useful indicators will be how far existing monitoring of current approaches is continued and acted upon, and more importantly whether it is extended as new problems are identified. New methods for the resolution of such problems will have to be devised and themselves monitored.

. . .

"Given a perceived problem: the role of land and of its management in the development and development planning process in a defined geographical area..."; it seems therefore that it may be more rational to approach development planning with a method or set of methods rather than a set of theses.

In the light of the above and of the criticism of Rescher that his approach is not directionally truth seeking, it is perhaps reasonable to conclude with the view that the most appropriate approach to the resolution of practical problems in such matters is a form of methodological approach which combines pragmatism with some directional qualities.

This would incorporate into the pragmatic proposals a set of values covering the academic and practical training; the breadth of approach to a problem; the development of methods in areas of expertise to resolve specific problems, with the vital corollary of recognition of those that are not areas of expertise; and the extent of monitoring required.

The non-directional epistemological view of methodological pragmatism would thus be supplemented by a systematic conceptual world view of an ontological breadth akin to scientific materialism, and by a directional professional ethos determined to orient the approach to problems around methods that work.

## A Note on Fieldwork

The fieldwork on which this research is based was undertaken in two periods.

From August 1979 until August 1980 I was seconded to work within the Native Land Trust Board by the Overseas Development Administration, Eland House, Stag Place, London SW1. The intentions were to gain direct field experience of working within such a body and to observe the implementation of the 1978 Review. My time was organised in consultation with the Senior Management of the Board, subject to other demands, to maximise the effect of the latter intent.

The month of September 1979 was spent on familiarisation working in the "file cleaning" office on files from the Northern Divisional office which was scheduled for reopening in the following year.

The five months from October 1979 until March 1980 were spent in the Western Division in the newly opened Divisional office at Lautoka. The work responsibilities whilst in this office covered a number of special projects in addition to assisting the professional field officers of the Board. These included conducting a pilot survey and reporting on methods of recovering arrears, coordinating the work before the Agricultural Tribunal, undertaking a pilot project assessing current industrial and commercial land values in Lautoka in relation to existing native land rentals and leasing policies, and preliminary research into the squatter problem.

The six months from March until August 1980 were spent in the Head Office attached to the Head Office Estates Team. Again the work responsibilities covered a number of special projects in addition to assisting the professional field officers of the Board. The most significant project undertaken during this period was research into the development of the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act, but work was also undertaken looking at the role and effectiveness of the Native Land Development Corporation, at compulsory purchase compensation claims on the Queen's Road Improvement (Suva to Nadi) Project, and at squatters. The extensive fieldwork undertaken, and the detailed everyday professional work provided a very valuable grounding in the specific areas of the Board's operation and a more general grounding in the changes through which the Native Land Trust Board had been, and was passing; a good understanding of the contextual framework of operation was gained.

From 1983 until 1985, whilst closely involved in the establishment of the University of the South Pacific's new Land Management and Development Programme under the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation's Technical Assistance Scheme, I was fortunate in once again having access to the necessary field sources. I was able to spend time in researching secondary and documentary source materials in the Library of the Government Archives, in the Library of the Central Planning Office and in the Library of the University of the South Pacific.

The detailed field work during this period was undertaken at the Divisional Offices and at the Head Office of the Native Land Trust Board through examination of original archive materials, and through interviews and discussions with former colleagues and officers of the Board. I was involved on a day to day basis in the execution and continued planning of important parts of the professional training process through my work at the University and through the necessarily close liaison that was developed between employers such as the Board, the relevant professional bodies, and the Programme.

The main original sources of material originated from within the Board and may be broadly divided according to their being "past" or "current". These sources of material were most generously made available by the Board's management. It is believed that this is the first time in the history of the Board that such access has been given to an outsider.

The main sources of original "past" material may be classified as documentary, and interview. The documentary material to which access was given included all of the pre-1978 non-land file series. Detailed references may be found in the notes to the chapters and are listed under "Documentary Sources" in the Bibliography. General access to land files (i.e. specific tenancy, etc. files) was not considered necessary to the research because the sole purpose would have been to familiarise myself with work methods and context; a familiarity that had already been achieved with such files both before the "file cleaning" exercise and after. Where land files were examined, either directly or through previous work experience with the Board, the nature of any current and confidential material has been respected. As regards the non-land files, these numbered into the thousands on the register. Fairly significant numbers were no longer available either due to disintegration during storage particularly resulting from a serious water leakage in the Board's storage at Walu Bay, or to the file being lost, an occurrence which seems to have been

prevalent in the period 1969 to 1973. Of those that were available, all of the key policy and administration files, and a fair proportion of the "theme" files were examined. Very useful information was also derived from interviews both with the officers of the Board, and with others involved with their operations at the time.

The original "current" material is based upon documentation made available regarding policy and administration in the various policy areas covered, and upon extensive interviews and discussion both with the officers and management of the Board, and with others involved with their operations.

Additional assistance was also derived from close contacts with the Institute of Valuation and Estate Management of Fiji (as an Honorary Life Member since 1981, and as a Councillor from 1983 to 1985), from continued work on the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act to bring my earlier work up to date, and from discussions, and correspondence with the Agricultural Tribunal.

## Chapter 1

1. The ecological problems exacerbated by the nature of the Aswan High Dam scheme extend beyond silt deprivation in Egypt, and include high rates of evaporation and seepage from Lake Nasser, downstream riverbed degradation, soil salinity and waterlogging, and bilharzia. Waterbury assesses the consequences, both foreseen and unforeseen, and reviews responsibility in chapter 5 of "Hydropolitics of the Nile".

2. Informal discussions with officials of the Rahad Corporation, and of the Agricultural Bank of Sudan, November 1978.

3. The Jonglei Canal Project, which was mooted as part of what came to be known as the Century Storage Scheme and for which approval was initially sought by the Egyptian Authorities in 1938, proposes the shortcutting of the White Nile to avoid the slow filtering effects of the Sudd. It has been estimated that the proposals would decrease the area of permanent swamp from 6,500 $km^2$ to 360$km^2$ with consequent immediate impact upon the 1976 estimated 4 million indigenous peoples whose lifestyles revolve around the seasonality of the ecosystem; upon the regional water cycle as a major proportion of the estimated 40 billion $m^3$ per annum currently estimated to evaporate from the swamp is lost to atmospheric circulation; and upon a wide range of other dependent subsystems within the ecosystem.

4. Under the Unregistered Land Act, 1970, tribes have formal rights only to the usufruct of the land they cultivate. To quote Waterbury: "In a country the size of the Sudan, with its strong tribal, regional, and ethnic identities, centrally planned social transformation can be a very risky proposition" (p.181). The extent to which southern tribes, in this case the Toposa, were cognizant of the processes and rights involved is unclear. Discussions with the sheep station manager at Kapoeta indicated that the difficulties arising made the scheme unworkable.

5. Informal discussions with the Director of Land Adjudication, Department of Land Adjudication, Nairobi, and with officers at the Land Adjudication Scheme, Meru, Kenya.

6. Bor, W., quoted from pp.4-5 "Planning and Development in Developing Countries" in PTRC Vol.P206 "Planning and Development in Developing Countries" (1981), PTRC Education and Research Services Ltd., London.

7. Hume, D., "Enquiry concerning Human Understanding" quoted in Popper, K.R. "Conjectures and Refutations. The Growth of Scientific Knowledge" (1976) 4th Ed., Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

## Chapter 2

1. See for instance the contrasting views expressed below at pages 9-10.

2. Logic is defined as: "The branch of philosophy that treats of the forms of thinking in general, and especially of inference and scientific method." Semantics"...is the branch of the science of linguistics that is concerned with the meaning of words...postulating that words 'mean' nothing by themselves and that the kind of simplification typified by the once universal theory of direct meaning relation between words and things is the cause of almost all of the difficulties which thought encounters...". "Metaphysics is the branch of philosophy that deals with the ultimate nature of things, or considers the questions, What is the world of things we know? (ontology) and, How do we know it? (epistemology)...". (Reference to Shorter Oxford English Dictionary and Fowler's Modern English Usage, 2nd Ed., O.U.P., Oxford, 1965).

3. It is interesting to note in this context the views of Weber. "Weber regarded all investigation of social phenomena as being dependent upon the value orientation of the investigator and the investigated. The meaning or significance of an action could not be determined independently of the cultural background." (Harvey "Explanation in Geography" p.55).

4. Harvey "Explanation in Geography".

5. Popper "Conjectures and Refutations", p.361.

6. Harvey "Explanation in Geography" p.482.

7. A similar range of "option scenarios" would be revealed by examining individual views as to how to resolve the problems that generated the responses drawn attention to in the introductory chapter.

8. That such a requirement is never likely to be fulfilled seems to be very widely accepted: for example per Russell "Human Knowledge: its scope and limits" identifies a set of postulates as the first steps towards science and concludes "...that all human knowledge is uncertain, inexact, and partial. To this doctrine we have not found any limitation whatsoever."

9. "Tao te Ching"; Lau Tsu (tr. Gia Fu Feng and Jane English).

10. "Indian thought: an introduction"; Bishop, D. H. (Ed.).

11. "Theses on Feuerbach"; Karl Marx.

12. "Conjectures and Refutations: the growth of scientific knowledge"; Popper, K.R.

13. There is not, on this view, taken to be a significant difference at the philosophical level between the requirements imposed by an indicative planning process, compared with a prescriptive planning process; such differences as there are being perhaps of degree, rather than of kind.

14. "Method, Model and Matter"; M. Bunge proposes these as being the main approaches.

15. Quoted in "An Introduction to the philosophy of science"; Lambert and Brittan.

16. "Explanation in Geography"; Harvey D.W. at p.59.

17. See, for instance, "The Philosophy of Karl Popper" Vols. 1 and 2; Schlipp, P. (Ed.) and below for some of Bunge's criticism.

18. Quoted in "Conjectures and Refutations: the growth of scientific knowledge"; Popper, K.R.

19. Examples of such "quantum leaps" may be given by the work of, for instance, Kepler, of Newton, of Darwin, and of Einstein.

20. This seems a generally accepted view; per for instance Popper, Harvey, Lambert and Brittan, et al.

21. "Conjectures and Refutations: the growth of scientific knowledge"; Popper, K.R. in chapter "Science: Conjectures and Refutations" section 1.

22. "Conjectures and Refutations: the growth of scientific knowledge"; Popper, K.R. at p.216.

23. "Method, Model and Matter"; Bunge, M, chapter 2 "Testability Today", section 2.

24. The quotations and ideas presented above are extracted from "Method, Model and Matter"; Bunge, M.

25. This and succeeding quotations in this ection are from "Methodological pragmatism"; Rescher, N.

26. **Activism** as a principle incorporates the view that human theorising is not simply an abstract quest for knowledge; its essentail foundations are practical thus making it a survival oriented activity.
**Reasonableness:** "Human convictions are practically efficiacious, and human actions belief determined. We cannot live without effective interaction with nature, and a **reasonable** man will generally coordinate his actions and expectations in the light of the best information he can secure regarding the course of events **in rerum naturae**. This factor of reasonableness has several key aspects:
1) Men are not and cannot in point of fact afford to be systematically **passive**; they must act and their acts are belief-determined: men **implement** their beliefs in action; 2) Men are not systematically **perverse**: they do not act counter to or in disregard of their beliefs; and 3) Men are not systematically **insane**: they do not act counter to, or without regard to their felt needs (those needs they believe themselves to have).
**Interactionism** implies control over nature and encapsulates the crucially important reaction of the individual to the consequences of his deeds".
**Additional subsidiary principles** include elements of purposive constancy, uniformity of nature, non-conspiratoriality of nature, and individual responsiveness.

27. It is accepted that this is a problem that is held in common with many other disciplines. To compare this with, for instance, economists, it is interesting to note the views of Ben Higgins in "Economic and Social Factors of Development": "What we end up with is that social aspects of economic development are those which economists have not yet studied carefully or thoroughly, but which other social scientists have." In "Approaches to the science of socio-economic development"; Lengyel, P. (Ed.)

28. "Conjectures and Refutations: the growth of scientific knowledge"; Popper, K.R.

29. This and subsequent quotations in this section are from "Scientific Materialism" by M. Bunge.

30. "Scientific Materialism"; Bunge, M., at p.134.

31. "Scientific Philosophy today: Essays in honor of Mario Bunge"; Agassi, J. and Cohen, R.S. (Eds.): reference "The Place of Mario Bunge"; Wettersten, J.

## Chapter 3

1. "Development and the Cultural Heritage"; Firth, R. at p.188.

2. This may be considered analogous in some respects to the work of Tycho Brahe in the very important task of gathering and collating data. In the context of Bunge's kinds of scientific theory discussed in Chapter 2, the theorising of social change tends to be at the broadest level of specification, of a type II or type III nature, being heavily loaded with the individual's perceptions of a metaphysical nature.

3. "Tradition and Change in the Fijian village", Nayacakalou, R.R. quoted at p.ix.

4. The present case of Fiji is one where access to resources, in particular the land resource, is largely determined by legal, statutory, and indeed constitutional provisions.

5. "The Pacific Way: An Emerging Identity"; Crocombe, R.G. in Pacific Perspective, Journal of the South Pacific Social Sciences Association.

6. "A History of Fiji"; Derrick, R.A. follows this traditional observation in common with most early studies. More recent work has cast doubt upon the rigidity of such an interpretation; see Frost, E.L.; "Fiji" in "The Prehistory of Polynesia"; Jennings, J.D. (Ed.)

7. See "The Charter of the Land; Custom and Colonisation in Fiji"; France, P. for detailed analysis of developments during this early period. It is interesting to note that the decision to register land at the mataqali level has continued to be a source of difficulty particularly with regards to reserve lands as per Chapter 4, note 5.

8. "In the 'Lines' and the 'Free' 1879-1919"; Ali, A. provides an interesting and detailed analysis of the early years of Indian experience in Fiji; in Ali, A.: "Plantation to Politics: studies on Fiji Indians.

9. The interdependence of these three elements has been characterised by Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna as "The Three Legged Stool".

10. The creation of the South Pacific Sugar Mills Ltd. as a subsidiary of the Colonial Sugar Refiners Co. Ltd. to deal with Fiji sugar milling operations took place after the 1959/60 cane field strikes and the report of the Trustram Eve Commission which resulted in the setting up of an Independent Sugar Board. The Denning Commission was appointed in 1969, and reported in 1972.

11. This dependence is a consequence of the openness of the Fiji economy together with its reliance upon a single primary product in a significantly volatile market, and upon tourism. Many would argue that there is an increasing dependence upon the capitalist economies in many areas, and that this is insidiously extended through the adoption of Western education modes, and materialist aspirations. See, for instance, the work of Thaman, R. as regards increasing food dependency.

12. "In the "Lines" and the "Free", 1879-1919"; Ali A., and particularly "The Fiji General Election of March-April 1977 and the role of the Indian Community"; Ali, A. at pp. 202-203: in Ali A. "Plantation to Politics; studies on Fiji Indians".

13. "Tradition and change in the Fijian village"; Nayacakalou, R.R. at p.122.

14. "The Fijian People: Economic Problems and Prospects"; Spate, O.H.K.: "Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Natural Resources and Population Trends of the Colony of Fiji, 1959"; Burns, A. et al.: "Land Use and Population in Fiji"; Ward, R.G.

15. "The Fijian People"; Lasaqa, I., particularly chapter 4 "The Drift to the Towns", and Chapter 5 "The Other Road: the Fijian and Education."

17. "Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference and Conceptualisation"; Greenstein, F.L; in Lipset S.M. (Ed.) "Politics and the Social Sciences".

18. See, for instance, "Models of Political Systems"; Davies, M.R., and Lewis, V.A. on this at pp.31-44.

19. "Sociology and Political Science"; Greer, S. in Lipset S.M. (Ed.) "Politics and the Social Sciences".

20. "The Age of Bureaucracy: Perspectives on the Political Sociology of Max Weber"; Mommsen, W.J.

21. "Political Man: toward a conceptual base"; Lane, R.

22. "The Analysis of Political Systems"; Easton, D., in Pizzorno (Ed.) "Political Sociology".

23. "Expanding Rural Industry: A Popperian Analysis and Review"; Munro-Faure, P.W. at p.46.

24. "Leadership in Fiji"; Nayacakalou, R.R. at p.3.

25. Information and Table 3.3 derived from "Political change: from Colony to Independence"; Ali, A. in "Plantation to Politics: studies on Fiji Indians"; Ali, A., and from "Race and Politics in Fiji"; Norton, R.

26. "Plantation to Politics: studies on Fiji Indians"; Ali, A. at p.162.

27. The hiccough referred to was after the 1977 General Election when the Fijian vote was split by Butadroka's Fijian Nationalist Party. A small National Federation Party majority resulted but there was delay in the formation of a government resulting in the Governor-General using his constitutional powers to call back the Alliance government under Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara for a further term. This, together with details regarding the 1976 Royal Commission's recommendations may be found in the references identified in note 25 above.

28. "Divided we stand. Local Government in Fiji", Qalo, R.R. discusses in some detail aspects of both municipal and provincial government systems. And see, for instance, the statement of Government Policy on the recommendations of the Burns Commission, Legislative Council paper No.31 of 1960.

29. The interplay between Fiji and other countries (especially India and its independence movement) with the British Empire as regards political development was substantial and is a theme given attention to in "Plantation to Politics: Studies on Fiji Indians"; Ali, A.

30. Apart from the pre-determined House of Representatives racial balance which safeguards Fijian numbers, the Senate has an inbuilt majority which is effective when reviewing bills concerning Fijian interests. No amendments or new bills of such a nature may be passed by the Senate unless six out of the eight Senators appointed on the advice of the Council of Chiefs support them. Certain key legislation is also safeguarded by s.68 of the Constitution which requires support by not less than three quarters of all members of the House of Representatives (viz. Fijian Affairs Act, Fijian Development Fund Act, Native Land Act, Native Land Trust Act, Rotuma Act, Rotuma Lands Act, Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act, Banaban Lands Act, Banaban Settlement Act; per Lloyd, D.T. "Land Policy in Fiji" at p.72).

31. The optimising rationale of "homo economicus" has been considered against more behavioural approaches where satisficing motives and other personally determined levels of motivation fall to be taken into account. These are looked at in the section on behavioural theory.

32. "Dependent development: problems of economic planning in small developing countries"; Ward, M. at p.130, in "Development Policy in small countries"; Selwyn, P.

33. "The evolution of a colonial space economy: the case of Fiji"; Britton, S.G. provides a useful insight into the development of the sugar industry in Fiji. Evidence of the "fleecing" is provided by the fact that the Company found the recommended split of returns from production which favoured the grower against the miller (per the Denning Commission report) unacceptable. the subleasing was also highly profitable as was drawn attention to in the Native land Trust Board's files concerning the surrenders (e.g. N.L.T.B. files ref. 8/11/5 "Surrender of leases (CSR Co.Ltd.) and 8/11/6 "Reversion of C.S.R. (S.P.S.M.) leases"). It was noted in a file note by the Manager, Mr. T.E.Foster (at Folio 100, file 8/11/5) on 25/7/69:

"A number of points arise...

(9) the Company is collecting, overall some three times the rent we are collecting
   (a) how long have they been doing this? and
   (b) why the discrepancies between leases?222

There are perfectly legitimate reasons why such a situation might arise, although their equitability might be questionable were more details to hand. None-the-less, the new landlord and tenant legislation would have had the effect of entirely removing this profit rental, thus further eroding the Company's profitability.

34. Diversification into ethanol and alcohol; and the use of spare land for rice are recent developments. Fiji Sugar Corporation's production target of 500,000 tonnes per annum "...is protected somewhat by its lucrative long term contracts with the EEC (175,000 tonnes), and the United States (16,500 tonnes), and less well padded deals with Malaysia (60,000), China (40,000), and, it is hoped, New Zealand (60,000). The rest is sold at world market prices". (Fiji: Islands in the wind"; Emmott, W.)

35. "Report on the Fiji Coconut Industry Survey"; Lord Silsoe in 1963 and the subsequent coconut planting subsidy scheme are mentioned in the succeeding chapters.

36. Terms of reference on appointment of the Committee on 18th May 1944.

37. "Economic Development in Fiji"; Simpson, E.S. at p.4.

38. A good example of such a case is the establishment of the Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board in 1952 ("Credit for development: the role of the Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board in Fiji, 1952-1967"; Carroll, P.)

39. "Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Natural Resources and Population Trends of the Colony of Fiji, 1959"; Burns, A. et al. at p.114.

40. "Development Planning in Fiji, 1964"; Legislative Council paper No.43 of 1964.

41. "Fiji's Eighth Development Plan 1981-1985"; Appendix H.

42. This section looking at behavioural theory draws upon the following works principally: "The Human Brain: its capacities and functions"; Asimov, A.: "Learning and memory"; Stein, D.G. and Rosen, J.J.: "Mechanisms of Learning and Motivation"; Dickinson, A. and Boakes, R.A.; "Animal Behaviour"; Dethier, V.G. and Stellar, E.: "Explanation in the Behavioural Sciences"; Borger, R. and Cioffi, F.

43. "Location in Space: A theoretical approach to economic geography"; Lloyd, P.E. and Dicken, P.

44. "Behaviour and Location: Foundations for a geographic and dynamic location theory"; Pred, A.

45. Clearly, however, it is reasonable to observe that there is likely to be a drift towards the bottom right hand corner whether an individual be an "optimiser" or a "satisficer". This will result from the Darwinian evolutionary pressures of competition and learning. This ties in with the philosophical material discussed in the last chapter.

46. "The Charter of the Land: Custom and Colonisation in Fiji"; France, P.

47. "Explanation in Geography"; Harvey, D.W.; "Geography: A Modern Synthesis"; Haggett, P.

1. Sir Arthur Gordon's views of himself and of his role as Governor are dealt with by P. France in "The Charter of the Land" from page 102. The Land ClaimsCommission was appointed under the Land Claims Ordinance No.XXV of 1879.

2. France, pp.110-113.

3. Preamble to Native Lands Ordinance No.XX1 of 1880.

4. The inalienability of native land is currently covered by s.3 of the Native Lands Act, 1905, as amended: "Native lands shall be held by native Fijians according to native custom as evidenced by usage and tradition. Subject to the provisions hereinafter contained such lands may be cultivated, allotted and dealt with by native Fijians as amongst themselves...". The Native Land Commission is currently appointed under s.4 of the same Act.

5. Maxwell's, and the previous Native Lands Commissioners' reservations are documented in France, pp.172-3. These have been echoed by concern in later years regarding the effectiveness of the maintenance of Native Land Registers of owners (Vola-ni-kawa), see Lloyd pp.218-219, and with respect to the choice of the mataqali as the appropriate unit of registration, particularly in the light of the subsequent policy of creation of Native Land Reserves, see N.L.T.B. file 10/1/1 pp.146, 147, 148 "Memorandum on Native Land Ownership and Reserves Policy" 28/1/1959 J.S.Thomson, Chairman, Native Lands and Fisheries Commission.

6. Lloyd pp.254-255.

7. Council Paper No.53 of 1938.

8. Leg. Co. Paper No.49 of 1938.

9. NativeLandTrust Bill Debate,Legislative Council, 22February1940 p.180.

10. The increase to nineteen percent was effected under s.9 Native Land Trust (Amendment) Ordinance, No.30 of 1945, and to twenty-five per cent under s.2 Native Land Trust (Amendment) Ordinance, No.13 of 1951.

11. The Drainage Ordinance, 1961; the Native Land Trust (Amendment) Ordinance, No.21 of 1961, empowered the Board to retain such proportion of the rents due to any unit as would satisfy any statutory obligation in relation to any unit's land where that unit had not itself discharged its liabilities. It even enabled the Board to lease land to discharge such liabilities when necessary. The Land Development Ordinance, 1962; the Native Land Trust (Amendment) Ordinance, No. 58 of 1962, provided for the Land Development Authority to have status as though it were a native Fijian to enable it to take out leases of reserved lands, with the safeguard that no portion of any such lease could be sublet or transferred except to a native Fijian. The Fijian Affairs Ordinance, 1966; the Native Land Trust (Amendment) Ordinance, No.11 of 1966, empowered the Board to deduct the amount of land rate due from members of a unit from rents due to that unit prior to distribution. It again enabled the Board to lease land to meet such liabilities where necessary and subject to certain conditions.

12. For example, the Town Planning Ordinance, 1946, the Land Conservation and

Improvement Ordinance, 1953, and the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act, 1966.

13. Lloyd pp.307-308.

14. Bakker, M.L., referring to Bogue's classification in Bogue, D.J. "Principles of Demography", New York, 1969 where growth rates in excess of 2% (with population doubling times shorter than 35 years) are considered an "explosive" situation.

15. Development Plan 7 p.52 para 8.1.

16. Memorandum 10th July 1944, p.3; F. R. Charlton to the Colonial Secretary "Reconstruction-Administration of Native Land".

17. Memorandum 10th July 1944; F. R. Charlton to the Colonial Secretary "Reconstruction Administration of Native Land" (N.L.T.B. File 8/1 Part 2 Item 20): "Report of Review Sub-Committee" 19th November, 1962; P.K. Ganilau, Deputy Secretary for Fijian Affairs, D.T. Lloyd, Director of Lands, J.S.Thomson, Native Lands Commissioner (N.L.T.B. File 1/2/8 from p.28): papers resulting from an investigation of the Board's organisation; R.H.Regnault to the Board (unfiled: General Manager's Cabinet).

18. Charlton Report p.28.

19. Memorandum 30th April 1945 as adopted by the Board 9th June 1945; Committee of the Board (Director of Lands, Secretary for Fijian Affairs, Director of Agriculture) to the President of the Board.

20. The Board invited the Secretary to prepare a memorandum on the subject on 17th March 1949. This was provided by the Manager, Mr J.D.Judd, on 30th January 1950 and a more lengthy justification by memorandum on 30th April 1951. The recommendation was accepted by the Board on 21st July 1951 and methods of collection, distribution and accounting were devised in conjunction with the Board's Auditors. This was to take the responsibility from the Government administration through the District Officers; the process of taking full responsibility for this was not completed until October 1963 when agency was given to the Post Office for a negotiated fee. (N.L.T.B. file 8/1/2).

21. Letter: J.D.Judd to the Chairman, Native Land Trust Board 9th March 1950 (N.L.T.B. file 17/1). The response, extracted from the minutes of a meeting of the Board on 9th June 1950 was to request the Council of Chiefs via the Secretary for Fijian Affairs for authority to seek a statutory increase in the Board's deductions from rents from 19% to 25%.

22. Memorandum: S.Ackland, Land Agent distribution to Assistant Land Agents; 7th May 1947 (N.L.T.B.file 8/1).

23. Report on the Native Land Trust Board for the year 1952 to H.E. the Governor. 21st August 1953, p.2.

24. "In 1959 ..... Members of both Boards ..... the Fijian Affairs Board and the Native Land Trust Board - decided that we should do something, to help the Fijian's resources or utilise their resources to the best way possible. We did not just talk and wish, but we put up a Bill which is now the famous Bill No.9 of 1959 which never saw the floor of this House. Because in the same year, Sir Alan Burns came and said that we should not have this Bill passed as the Native Land Trust Board is a trust body and

that it should not delve into development". N.L.T.B. - Financial Support by the Government Debate, House of Representatives, 2nd March 1978, p.227.

25. The proposals were amongst others, to vest Crown Schedule A and B lands in the Board; the proceeds of any permitted dealings on such lands to be devoted to works of development and improvement on native land. (N.L.T.B. file 3/1/1).

26. See 17 above for membership and file reference.

27. Lloyd p.311.

28. Letter: Regault to Ratu Penaia Ganilau, Chairman of the Board 7th September 1966. Appendix D Regnault Report 10th September 1966.

29. This had first been considered by Regnault in his letter to Ratu Penaia Ganilau at para. 2(e) dated 5th September 1966 in Appendix A Regnault Report 10th September 1966. The Board's policy by 1969 was that any officer wishing to stand for Parliament should resign from the employment of the Board. On 4th July 1972 this was rescinded and amended to allow leave without pay during the election period with resignation effective if elected on the day of the public announcement of the results of the election. File 8/1, Part 4, Item 61.

30. Report to the Native Land Trust Board for the year ending 31st December 1956, G.J.T.Hansen, Secretary, Suva, November 1958.

31. See commemorative booklet on the opening of the new Native Land Trust Board Building, dated 8th February 1957, and the "Fiji Sun" article headlined on p.1 "N.L.T.B. staff shock" dated 23rd November 1974.

32. The post was held by J.D.Judd from 1948 until 1954 after some thirty five years in the Department of Lands in Fiji. From 1954 until 1969 it was held by T.E.Foster, a Chartered Surveyor, who joined the Board from England as Land Agent in 1949.

33. The post was held by G.J.T.Hansen from 1946 until 1967.

34. The post was held by W.O.Garnett from 1951 until at least 1969 after which he held the post of Development Officer with the Board in the early 1970's.

35. Per Annual Reports to the Board: 1951, dated 9th June 1952 (J.Judd); 1957 undated (G.J.T.Hansen); 1958, dated June 1959 (G.J.T.Hansen).

36. Per Annual Reports to the Board: 1961-62, dated 13th December 1963 (G.J.T. Hansen); 1963, dated 4th June 1964 (G.J.T.Hansen); 1964, dated June 1965 (G.J.T.Hansen).

37. Per Appendix D of the Regnault Report, para. 5(b), dated 7th September, 1966.

38. See Fiji Sun p.1 article headlined "N.L.T.B. Staff shock" 23rd November 1974.

39. Per Auditors' Reports appended to the Accounts of the Native Land Trust Board in annual reports for successive years to 1968. Qualifications to the accounts first appeared in 1961 and concerned the rate of depreciation adopted for the new Suva headquarters building which was considered excessive, leading to understatements of the surplus of income over

expenditure, and of the value of the building. They indicated that rents are correctly only brought to account when received by the Board or its agents; thus implying the lack of an auditable rental collection system. The qualifications became more extensive as the decade progressed, and more strongly expressed; "We have grave doubts as to the legality of lending trust funds to employees secured only by the problematical right to recover by deducting from the amount due from the provident fund to employees on termination of service."

40. For further information on the use of Schedule "A" funds see under "Agricultural land: Generally" and note 45. It is worth noting that there was an exceptional direct grant of $87,000 to the Board from the Government in 1971 which resulted in a surplus of £26,417 for that year. Otherwise the Board operated on a deficit budget basis during the latter years.

41. The Native Lane Trust (Leases and Licences) Regulations were made by the Governor in Council at the time of the Ordinance under s.33 and identified in detail provisions and conditions to be contained within leases and licences for different types of use, together with certain standard forms for us in application and granting of such instruments. The Native Land (Forest) Regulations, and the Native Land (Native Reserves) Regulations made under the same sections dealt with agreements governing the taking of forest produce, and the appointment, duties and procedures for Native Reserves Commissioners. All of these sets of regulations were regularly amended through this period.

42. See NLTB File 8/1 Item 35: Note of a meeting of the Board held on 22nd April 1965 confirming the acceptance in principle of this policy, together with the Board paper setting out the background to the policy and recommendations prepared by Mr J S Thomson. The only amendments of significance were: firstly that the Committee should have as its Chairman a member of the Board (the first to be Ratu G.K.Cakebau) in addition to the membership proposed (viz. Divisional Development Officer Western; Land Agent Western; Roko of the Province concerned; Agricultural Officer concerned; Administrative Officer designated by the Commissioner Western Division); and secondly that the Investigating Committee was only to operate until the then proposed agricultural landlord and tenant legislation became law. This latter occurred in 1967 when the "Hardship" regulations under the Ordinance permitted landlords to regain possession if they could demonstrate greater hardship to the Agricultural Tribunal. See also N.L.T.B. File 10/1/1 pp.65-68 for procedure on delimitation of reserves and the Board's inputs; pp.94,95 on the Native Land Commissioner, J.S.Thomson's, views on changing requirements of Native Owners with increasing monetarisation of their economy (1961); pp.114 re. his views on Fijian desire for reversion of reserved lands as soon as declaration of reserve is made; pp.146-148 re. his views as Native Land Commissioner on the future of native land ownership and reserves policies, especially with regard to the Burns' Commission's views. Fiji Times 11th August 1962 published a summary of the policy to be adopted by the Board in this interim period. Sample report of the Western Division Investigating Team is to be found in N.L.T.B. File 8/1 (for Nadroga/Navosa) Item 78: it is interesting to note the recommendation that out of 371 leases due to expire in 1964-1968, it was recommended that 150 be offered to the native owners rather than be renewed.

43. Per Circular No.55 of 30th November 1966 N.L.T.B. File 8/1 Item 37.

44. The Charlton Report had drawn attention to the necessity for appropriate controls, and these were written into agricultural leases, for example,

the standard lease form in use in 1947 included the following classes:

"13. The lessee shall apply such methods to check soil erosion as may be required by the lessor in writing and shall maintain such measures to the satisfaction of the lessor or of an officer appointed by the lessor in writing.

"14. The lessee shall not fell trees or clear or burn off bush or cultivate any land within a distance of 24ft. from the bank of a river or stream.

"15. The lessee shall not cultivate any crops on a slope exceeding 35 degrees from the horizontal.

"16. The lessee shall not clear, burn off or cultivate or permit excessive grazing of the top 25 per centum of the hills (as measured veertically) which have a slope exceeding 25 degrees from the horizontal."

The Board did not, however, have the staff available to ensure that such clauses were adhered to, although there was a resolution of the Board in 1951 (ref.N.L.T.B. file 8/1/6) to increase their attention to this area. Large numbers of notices for bad husbandry were served for some time after this and the main causes of erosion put down to deforestation of ridges, poor education of farmers and the use of the "ghasita" (sledge) rather than wheeled carts. Government took the initiative in deteriorating circumstances with the Land Conservation Board to "close" areas to use to enable them to recuperate (for example, the Ba "closed area" of 40,000 acres was demarcated in early 1956). To judge from the lack of mention of these matters after 1960 in the relevant files the Board's corporate efforts petered out fairly soon after they had begun.

45. Schedule "A" funds comprised rentals accrued to lands administered by the Crown as "ultimus heares" on the extinction of the mataqali. Approval was given to use these as a rolling fund by lending these monies to Fijians only to meet the cost of subdivision and survey. The repayments to the Board were to be used to fund similar schemes. That the loans were interest free and repayable by instalments over 25 years was fairly academic as is brought out in the string of correspondence relating to this from 1966 onwards. By 31st May 1974 the Chief Accountant of the Board was able to inform the Permanent Secretary, Department of Lands nd Mineral Resources that $57779 had been received from Schedule "A" funds for survey purposes, that the Board had paid out $75133 to various surveyors to date, and that: "Our records show that, with the exception of the princely sum of $14 no survey fees have been recovered from the tenants on subdivisions financed by Schedule "A" funds. Furthermore, most of these tenants are substantially in arrears with their rents..." ($36834 total arrears on 347 tenancies; of which 14 had been cancelled; only 10 had no arrears; and 16 had no rent cards)*

46. Earlier figures have indicated the increase in numbers of leases and tenancies in general; more specifically this increase was due not ony to such developments as surrenders of head leases but also due to particular "spurs" to development. These included, for instance, the South Pacific Sugar Mills/Colonial Sugar Refiners Co.Ltd. decision in 1964 to consider applications for additional cane contracts resulting in a large number of applications for leases. The Board could not cope with the extra demand and was compelled to issue tenancy agreements instead thus accounting for the 1451 increase in tenancies in 1964 compared to 1963. The Coconut Planting Subsidy Scheme which was operative from 1961 to 1967 resulted in a great demand for titles to qualify for the payment of subsidies. The Annual Report for 1966 indicated that there were 3000 individual applications for blocks in Vanua Levu alone in one period of 12 months.

This was clearly a considerable additional burden on the manpower available.

47. For details re. Tribunal decisions see "The Agricultural Landlord nd Tenant Act: A Digest", P.W.Munro-Faure, 1981. The procedural problems under the Ordinance were enormously time-consuming: particularly in the light of the Board's extensive perceived role. The Secretary to the Board (see N.L.T.B. File 3/3/2 at p.27) was able to write with respect to a hearing dealing with freehold land and a claim by native Fijian families for a declaration of tenancy. "As they could not engage a Solicitor due to financial difficulties, I feel that it is my duty to render my assistance as should anyone who is quite familiar with the matter." N.L.T.B. File 3/3/2 contains several interesting confidential reports on Tribunal proceedings in the late 1960's and the problems of illiteracy and lack of knowledge on the part of the tenantry, and equally time-consuming problem of deferral of cases leading to the necessity for rehearings, particularly with regard to claims under the "Hardship" Regulations. There was no appointed Tribunal in 1970 and the Board, which was very severely affected by this, drew the Minister for Natural Resources' attention to the fact that ".....the Board wish it recorded that it is grossly dissatisfied with Government's inaction or treatment of this problem." (N.L.T.B. File 13/1/6 refers: letter dated 2nd December 1970 from the Acting Secretary to the Board).

48. Analysis of arrears records for 1958 confirm this (N.L.T.B. File 13/1/1): of all leases in existance some 25.65% were in arrears; whereas 80.03% of all Fijian Agricultural Licences were in arrears. This problem was a recurrent one, regularly mentioned in memoranda and Reports of the Board.

49. In 1947 it was resolved by the Board that licences should be granted within reserves only to Fijians who were members of the proprietary unit for whom the reserve was established. It was found, however, that in isolated cases this policy created hardship, and the question came before the Board again in 1949. This policy was then modified to allow the Board to exercise its discretion: in the case of newcomers to the land the existing policy was to stand; in the case of Fijians who were not members of the landowning unit who had been using the land on a vakavanua basis, their applications would receive consideration if supported by the Roko Tui (see N.L.T.B. File 8/2 Item 18 for policy statement; Foster (Manager, N.L.T.B.) to Secretary, Fijian Affairs dated 22nd July 1955). In 1957 the question of the restrictive leasing policy was again raised with the result that the restriction would thenceforth be simply "to any Fijian" (see N.L.T.B. File 8/1 Item 47). As regards utility as security, the Board's practice tended to be to grant "Approval Notices" and not proceed to the preparation of a full lease in spite of the requirements of s.19 of the Native Land Trust Act.

50. The position of the Board in this respect shows an interesting congruence with the experience of the Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board during the same period. The latter Board was similarly overwhelmed by vast increases in small scale agricultural loans generated by the development planning system post-Burns. W A Buettel, Queensland Manager of the Commonwealth Development Bank of Australia, made clear the impact of this on the Board's operations; referring to the 32 per cent of loans that fell in the £1-100 range during the 1963 to 1964 period his view was that the administrative costs were £3 more per small loan than the interest actually received each year from the client. (see Carroll, P.: "Credit for Development: the Role of the Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board in Fiji 1952-1967 p.41, and generally for other interesting similarities.)

51. The Government view was expressed in a memo from the Secretary, Social Services to the Secretary, Fijian Affairs, on 13th October 1971: "When I conveyed to you for information of the Native Land Trust Board, Government's views as detailed in my above quoted memorandum, I overlooked to advise you that the Government was also of the view that landowners who are instrumental in settling squatters must shoulder the responsibility of providing enough low cost sites to cater for the squatters they have settled." The matter was considered by the Board in the following month, and it was noted that nearly all squatting occurred with the connivance of the Native Owners. The following extract from the Minutes of the Board gives a useful summary of their position: "The Board resolved that it could not be held responsible for the resettlement of squatters. Under Section 27 of the Native Land Trust Act it is an offence to illegally occupy native land so that if the Board were to regularise the position of squatters, it would be tantamount to a condonement of an illegal act. However, the Board felt that provided Government is prepared to meet the cost of making sites available, it would, whenever possible, assist in making land available for the purpose." Illegal occupation and agreements continued, however, and it came to be regarded de facto as the first step in obtaining a legal lease in the land. (N.L.T.B. Files 8/3/1 Part 3; 8/3/11; 8/3/20; 8/3/21 refer).

52. Interview: J.E. Salmon Senior Estate Officer (Head Office) Native Land Trust Board.

53. Per N.L.T.B. File 8/19/43: "Policy with regard to the leasing of land for tourist development purposes", Precis for Native Land Trust Board Meeting to be held on 24th October 1969; included at Appendix A "Extract from the report of the meeting of symposium on land tenure in relation to economic development".

54. In practice the tourism leases granted during the "boom" years of 1969 to 1974 were indicative of the breakdown of effective land management, and particularly the deleterious effect that inexperience may result in. With 99 year leases, this represents a long-term disadvantage. Confidentiality prevents specific identification of instances; but typically, options to lease were granted without agreement or statement of terms; negotiations were by Board members, landowners and others neither qualified nor on the Board's staff; the General Manager dealt with all such matters personally without delegation; professional advice was ignored, and in some cases professional advice was supplied to both parties to the lease by the same individual. In spite of the Board's approved standard terms leases were entered into without minimum rentals being specified, and with maxima being specified on a turnover basis. The pre-1969 leases on standard commercial terms reflected a lack of professional commercial awareness. (see N.L.T.B.File 8/19/43, and relevant Land Files: information per interview with Senior Estate Officer (Head Office) Native Land Trust Board).

55. The Minutes of a meeting of the Board on 15th March 1973 show that Mosese Qionibaravi counselled a more long term flexible attitude with shareholding by the native owners being optional rather than compulsory, thus providing freedom to invest in other sectors of the economy should these be more attractive to them at some future date.

56. Per N.L.T.B. File 8/19/43: pp.94 et seq.

57. Council Paper No.13 of 1959 "The Fijian People: Economic Problems and Prospects" O.H.K. Spate, para. 129.

58. N.L.T.B. File 8/19/49 refers; Quarterly Progress Report dated 22/7/71.

## Chapter 5

1. Fiji Seventh Development Plan, 1976-1980, p.19 and pp.26-27 for details re. population and emigration; Social Indicators for Fiji, 1979 p.2 for confirmation of higher out migration amongst Indians. See also Lasaqa, "The Fijian People" pp.187-188, and Norton "Race and Politics in Fiji" pp.161-163 for details of racial aspects.

2. Fiji Eighth Development Plan, 1981-1985, Vol.1, p.44

3. Fiji Seventh Development Plan, 1976-1980, p.3

4. Fiji Eighth Development Plan, 1981-1985, Vol.1, p.21

5. Fiji Eighth Development Plan, 1981-1985, Vol.1, p.322

6. The development of regional planning policies has been examined by H.M. Gunasakera (in a paper entitled "Regional Planning Policies in Fiji", 1982) where in his evaluation of pre Eighth Development Plan regional development policies: "Basically, what has been attempted so far with regard to regional development is a piece-meal approach. The rural economy has tended to be regarded as a mere appendage of the urban economy. This is what it has actually been. The fact is that the dynamics of the present economic structure favour the urban economy which in turn is a satellite of the international capitalist system." In a joint paper with Ahmed Ali (entitled "Implementing Decentralisation Policies and Programmes: the Case of Fiji") they summarised the experience in Fiji of the ten years of development planning up until 1982: "During the past ten years, development plans have repeatedly pointed out the need for a more broad-based economy and for the diffusion of the benefits of development, particularly for the rural population. The most recent development plan has a separate volume on regional planning and development. Despite this rhetoric, however, development so far as been concentrated in the capital city and its vicinity." The main specific difficulty identified in respect of the 1981-1985 development plan were indicated by J. Prakash, Principal Officer in the Central Planning Office, in a paper given at a Land Use Workshop of the Fiji Institute of Agricultural Science in 1984, as being the premise that was based upon the assumption of ample unused land. This premise turned out to be incorrect. The Acting Director of the Central Planning Office, John Samy in a seminar paper given in Semester 1, 1985 at the School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific, identified the single most significant reason for the Plan's failure. Anticipated annual average economic growth was forecast at 4.7% and this assumption was built into the Plan; in fact, world recession affected primary producing countries particularly severely during these years and the actual annual growth rate turned out to be -1%.

7. The Seaqaqa Cane Scheme, commenced in 1974, by 1980 had cleared 832 blocks of around 50 acres each, with a total cleared area of 12500 acres in production. The Uluisaivou Project began in 1976 and planned to cover 100,000 acres of land for beef production; Yalavou began in 1977 and involved the establishment of one hundred 600 acre beef farms with a focal farm unit of 1000 acres. By the end of 1976 Fiji Pine Commission Forest Estate included over 86000 acres of native land. Fiji Development Plan 8 envisaged the release of 205,000 acres of land for agriculture and forestry alone, and so on.

8. A number of interesting points arise in connection with this piece of legislation and its role in the development of Fiji, as it governs the key relationship underlying the prime product of the country. The discontent that has surrounded the development of this legislation is a microcosm of the racial tensions and their application to the land question which will be a matter of increasing concern to all parties during the next decade. The review Committee's Majority Report recognised this by implication in their statement regarding the proposed 30 year lease terms, and rights to 20 year extensions: "This will stabilise occupation of agricultural holdings for at least the next twenty years." The Minority Report was more forthright: "The present Majority Report merely postpones the issue to a period 33 years hence, and at the end of this, the people of Fiji would once again have to work out a land solution." (See: The Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act, Cap.242; "Report of the Working Committee set up to Review the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance", Parliamentary Paper No.13 of 1975; " The Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act: A Digest" (1981), P.W.Munro-Faure).

9. Although the Board had been pressing for review of the regulations at least since 1977, these efforts took some seven years to reach fruition. The most important amendments (which only affect new leases) resolved the problem of unworkable rent review provisions, and of imprecise provisions concerning the situation at the end of a native lease. The rent review period was decreased to five yearly for new leases.
(See: Fiji Royal Gazette Supplement No.38, 16th November 1984 "Native Land Trust (Leases and Licences) Regulations 1984).

10. The 1975 Annual Report set the scene vividly: "In a climate of galloping inflation, unpredictable levels in the costs of labour, supplies and services, it had become critically essential for the Board to consolidate its financial base. The mandate to the Board's management called for:

- Fuller utilisation of available manpower resources
- In-depth examination of services with the view to elimination of wasteful cost centres
- Continued intensification of the drive on Rent Collection and Arrears
- Discouragement of 'ad hoc' leasing of native land

And despite the strain on N.L.T.B. resources, a concerted effort at involvement in national economic development." The concern to assist in the development of Fiji and to put the Board into a shape to do so is strongly evident in efforts to rectify the Board's inadequacies. For example as regards policies on Native Land Dealings, their administration and processing (non observance of established policies; "blatant disregard" of the rental covenant in leases subject to Dealings applications; and leases in native reserve being openly accepted for dealing were identified as problems. Such policies were revised and policies to "tax" the "speculative" element in dealings were approved by the Board on a sliding scale as a percentage of the unearned increment value of any lease transaction. Where Native leases were subject to 25 year rent reviews and thus the Board was "tied to unrealistic terms in leases" in the Board's perceptions of the day, it was policy that enhanced rental should be negotiated and obtained **before** consideration of "Application for Dealing". These manifestly illegal policies reflect a vigorous sense of responsibility in this context coupled with a basic lack of legal and professional knowledge. They inevitably led to strongly

adverse publicity. (See N.L.T.B. File: 7/2 pp.70-71; and generally).

11. For example, as regards rental reassessments, the notes of a meeting held at Branch Manager, Western's office on 29th July 1975 raised a highly pertinent point: "The other issue that arises in this case is that as it is, with the liquidation of our Valuation Section, who is to be responsible for drawing up rent reassessment notices?" (See N.L.T.B. File 1/2/3). The increasing state of demoralisation within the Board was also evident: Office Instruction Circular No.133 of 3rd August 1973 started "Due to general slackness in the Office Headquarters...."; a little further on in the same file the lack of any catalogue of formal procedures in the Board is drawn attention to: "Some organisations, notably Government Departments and in particular Ministry of Finance, have manuals or office orders which are quite comprehensive. Presuming that N.L.T.B. has never had a set of office orders before, it may be pertinent to obtain a few of these and extract contents which are relevant to this organisation." (See N.L.T.B.File 1/2/11).

12. Native Land Trust Board, Annual Report, 1975, p.4; quotation from Hansard below is from Hon. A.N.Maitoga's speech on 2nd December 1974 at p.1716.

13. Native Land Trust Board, Annual Report, 1976, p.8.

14. Native Land Trust Board, Annual Report, 1976, p.2.

15. Per para 2.05 of the Consultant's report:-

"When determining the actual situation in any organisation it is helpful to consider the question of role using four different criteria, as follows:

a) Manifest role: This is the role as it is formally declared to be, by statute, articles of association, etc.
b) Assumed role: This is the interpretation of their role as described by the members of the organisation at all levels.
c) Extant role: this may be defined as showing the degree of success, or otherwise, with which the assumed role is being fulfilled; thus, inspection and questioning will frequently reveal an **actual** role which is different again from either a) or b), to a greater or lesser degree.
d) Requisite role: This is the redefined role, arrived at after consideration of a), b) and c) above, **together with all the relevant circumstances** which impinge on the work of the organisation in the milieu in which it exists."

16. "Report on the Native Land Trust Board: Volume 1, Reorganisation" Parliamentary paper No.25 of 1977, at p.6.

17. Native Land Trust Board Review, 1969-1974, at p.13.

18. Fiji Sun, 23rd November 1974, p.1 headline; "Vanua" N.L.T.B. in house newsletter at the time explained the rationale for the redundancies; quotations in text from Hansard (Hon. Ratu W.B. Toganivalu and Hon. E. March) 25th November 1974 at p.1505.

19. Interview with Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel) (A.L.Frith) see also Parliamentary Paper No.25 of 1977 at pp.2,3.

20. As per 19 above.

21. Interview with General Manager (J.N. Kamikamica)

22. Per Parliamentary paper No.25 of 1977 at pp.2,3.

23. Native Land Trust Board Annual Report 1979 p.2; Documentation for Western Division Expatriate Familiarisation Course 30th - 31st May 1979, covering History (the Fijian and his land; Fijian customs); the N.L.T.B., the Land, and Fiji; Land Law of Fiji; the Native Land Trust Board; and the work of the Agricultural Tribunal.

24. Native Land Trust Board, Annual Report 1978, pp.2,6. The student studying in the United Kingdom successfully completed his M.Phil. (1 year) in Development Studies at the University of Cambridge although it should be noted that this course does not provide the professional field officer oriented training that the Board was most in need of at the time. Four students commenced studies in in 1979 and 1980 on the three year professional land economy degree at the South Australia Institute of Technology; two failed, and the remaining two completed the course in four years.

25. D.R.Denman's Report on manpower needs for the Pacific for land economy was sponsored and published by the Commonwealth Secretariat in London.

26. Statistics supplied by Training Officer, N.L.T.B. (personal communication).

27. Statistics and course details supplied by Training Officer, N.L.T.B., (interview and personal communication).

28. Interview; Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel), R. MacDonald; a 16 week attachment was first arranged with the New South Wales Department of Lands under Australian Development Assistance Bureau funding for an Estate Officer in 1983. This broadening experience is viewed as being "extremely important" for the Board's officers and it is hoped to continue such arrangements in the future.

29. Officers of the Board have, since the 1978 Reorganisation, advised the Governments of Vanuatu (leasing of land for tourism purposes) and of Tuvalu (on land tenure matters); services which were provided free of charge by the Board. A special three week training course was run in 1983 for six ni-Vanuatu civil servants to form the basis of their new Lands Department. In 1984 a Solomon Islander from the Lands Department was sponsored for three months' training with the Board, spending four weeks in Central Division and eight weeks in Head Office.

30. See Chapter 4, figure 4.6.

31. Islands Business News, March 1982; also reported in Fiji Times 22nd March 1982 and in Fiji Sun 23rd March 1982.

32. Interview; Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel), R.MacDonald.

33. Per Parliamentary Paper No.25 of 1977 at p.3.

34. Per Parliamentary Paper No.25 of 1977 at p.3 and p.17. "Externally generated" work for a land management body consists of work whose genesis is external, for instance, applications for new leases or licences. "Internally generated" work operating on some kind of a "bring up" system is automatically generated under existing agreements, for example, rent

reassessments (and appropriate procedures), lease extensions and premia due, etc.

35. See note 9, Chapter 5.

36. See "File Cleaning Process Instructions" (as amended 6th June 1978 and 3rd September 1979) N.L.T.B. Archives.

37. In practice, the operation did not work quite as smoothly as this. Computer liaison was not functioning immediately after the file cleaning exercise with the result that each Division had to go through the computer record side of the file cleaning to bring records up to date. (Interview: Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel), R. MacDonald). Casework was initially analysed into the following categories with monthly returns on a gross basis, and a quarterly division into the case types: as follows: Lease applications: Rent reassessments: Dealing applications: Lease renewals: lease variations: Lease surrender: Rent arrears; Owning unit case; Other. 19 December 1980 the following additional case types were added: Court/Tribunal: Sub-division application: Survey instruction: Improvements: Boundary disputes: Lease extensions: Lease engrossments. Increasing consciousness of financial matters is evidenced by the inclusion in the monthly reports of figures for new leases granted with increased rental values (from September 1981); and by the same information for the effect of rental reassessments on rental values (from December 1981) (Interview: Chief Estate Assistant; W.Savou).

38. The Western Division was allocated an additional three estate teams under Estate Officers, with one additional Senior Estate Officer. The Northern Division was allocated one additional estate team under an Estate Officer. (Interview: Assistant General Manger (Training and Personnel), A. Frith).

39. Prioritisation in 1979 was identified as follows:-

"The order of priority of the work before you at this time, and it is most important that you observe this, is:-
1) Rent re-assessment other than "open-season" ALTA reassessments
2) Outstanding new tenancy applications
3) a) Other back-log cases
   b) Open season rent re-assessments
4) New work ".

(Per Western Division Expatriate Familiarisation Court, May 30th-31st 1979). By January 1981 it was clear that the Board was not holding its own against the flood of casework to be completed, particularly in view of the requirements of Development Plan 8 as regards release of land for development were concerned. Rather than allow work to be foregone in an haphazard way, the prioritisation was made more selective: "...any new rent reassessment case unlikely to produce an increase in rent of at least $100 per annum should be foregone"; "...any existing old cases which are not 'active' (i.e. nothing has been heard for a year) and not obviously to the Board's interest to pursue, should be closed off". (Source: Native Land Trust Board: Meeting the challenge of DP8 1981-1985, January 1981).

40. The file cleaning exercise identified leases dating from the 1960's Coconut Planting Subsidy Scheme which had been entered into purely with a view to claiming the subsidy. The leases had been dormant since being taken up by and large, but had never been formally terminated or reentered. With effect from 11th November 1982 the decision was taken to

shelve the leases until such time as a tenant wished to revitalise the lease, in which case he could do so, providing he paid off the arrears up to the date of freezing. Some 2000 to 3000 leases were deleted from current statistics in this way. (Interview: Chief Estate Assistant; W. Savou).

41. Parliamentary Paper No.25 of 1977 at p.20.

42. Parliamentary Paper No.25 of 1977 at pp.13,14. It is interesting to note that this was also in principle a suggestion of the earlier Regnault Report; one of the few similarities that is to be observed. (c.f. Lloyd's view in "Land Policy in Fiji" at p.274).

43. As such the increases in rents collected were "one-off" payments and not indicative of likely levels of recurrent income. The Board's policy of saturation media coverage in 1973 and 1974, and computerised rent due notices after mid 1975 were evidently quite successful. (Source: Native Land Trust Board Annual Report 1975).

44. Native Land Trust Board: Meeting the challenge of DP8 1981-1985, January 1981 at pp.19,20.

45. Native Land Trust Board: Meeting the challenge of DP8 1981-1985, January 1981 at p.4.

46. Although the Agricultural Tribunal has, as has been seen, been managing to maintain a fairly constant level of completed casework according to the Department of Agriculture's statistics, the backlog of work has been building up. The increase in demands upon professional officers' time resulting from the more formal approach derives particularly from the requirement that the same officer cannot act as both advocate and expert witness. Two professional officers are therefore now required to attend hearings. This is of particular significance to the Western Division as the Tribunal is resident there, whereas in the Northern, and Central Eastern Divisions the Tribunal only makes periodic tours to conduct hearings. (Source: interviews Divisional Estate Manager (Western), P.R.Dow; Divisional Estate Manager (Central and Eastern), S. Matau; and discussions with Estate Officers).

47. Native Land Trust Board: Meeting the challenge of DP8, 1981-1985, January 1981 at p.17,18.

48. Interview: Divisional Estate manager (Western), P.R.Dow re. Western Division.

49. Minutes of the Board; Precis no.27/28 of 27th September 1978.

50. Interview: Senior Estate Officer (Head Office), J.E.Salmon; and reports on all urban areas/townships in the native land development survey series. The reports identified native landholdings within these areas, and on the basis of the foreseen development framework within existing Town and Country planning policies, categorised development opportunities on native land in the short, and the long terms. These surveys and their recommendations have been followed largely and the land developed in an orderly way with close liaison based upon monthly development meetings between the Head Office estates team and the Native Land Development Corporation.

51. Nadrau Plateau Plan, 1976; Bilo Peninsula Plan, 1978.

52. Interview: Senior Estate Officer (Head Office), J.E.Salmon.

53. See note 9 above.

54. Survey: "Native Land Trust Board: Squatters on Native Land in Fiji", May 1981. The 7,900 figure represents the total for "anyone residing in a dwelling which is illegal according to planning by-laws." Of these the estimated 47% occupying under Vakavanua" title are not technically squatting since they derive their tenure from a legitimate source, per the Native Lands Act, although they are viewed as such by Government Departments.

55. Native Land Trust Board: A Policy towards tourist oriented development on Native Land, 1980 at p.1.

56. Interview: Senior Estate Officer (Head Office), J.E.Salmon. An example of the endorsement of the policy during mid 1984 was given by islanders during the visit to the Yasawas Islands by the Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, and a team from the Board; and by the support of the village elders in a proposed major tourism development on Malolo Island. An example of disagreement was in the views of the younger generations over the proposed Malolo development.

57. An example of the use of such a lever is provided by a tourist hotel lease entered into in 1969 on standard terms (99 year lease with 10 yearly rent reviews in accordance with the terms of the Native Land Trust Act). The lease was renegotiated onto a percentage turnover basis using the fact that the land leased technically lacked access. (Interview: Senior Estate Officer (Head Office); J.E.Salmon).

58. The tourism working committee, co-ordinated by the Central Planning Office, identified a set of current issues in tourism as follows:
1) What should be the status of tourism in DP9?
2) Aspects of multinational involvement in tourism
3) The role of incentives in tourism development
4) Review of the hotel sector; An industry profile
5) Review of the transportation sector
6) Training needs for tourism development
7) Land availability and management policies
8) Marketing and promotion policies. Each issue was the subject of a working committee paper prepared by a sub-committee. The Board was represented on issues 2), 4), and 7). In the last mentioned issue the Board was responsible for coordinating the input.

59. Native Land Trust Board; A policy towards tourist oriented development on native land, 1985-1989."

60. Interview: Senior Estate Officer (Head Office), J.E.Salmon.

61. "Forest management in Fiji", A.C.Frith, 1979.

62. "Native Land Trust Board: A policy for the logging of indigenous forest on native land, 1985-1989", at p.2.

63. Interview: Divisional Estates Manager (Western Division), P.R.Dow.

64. See Head Office Instructions volume 1, Chapter III "Sand and Gravel Extraction"; Appendix TT "Guidlines for granting a quarry lease"; and policy paper entitled "Sand and Gravel Extraction from Native Land".

65. Hansard 2nd December 1975 at p.1766.

66. Although a matter of detail it is interesting to note that the most recent audited accounts to hand were those relating to 1968 when there was a very full annual report.

67. Hansard 27th February 1978 at p.141.

68. Hansard 24th October 1979 at p.439. It should perhaps be recalled that the Senate has an inbuilt Government majority and a strong sympathy towards Fijian Affairs by virtue of the Council of Chiefs' nominees.

69. See Fiji Sun and Fiji Times for almost daily commentary on the pine situation with headlines such as: "Landowners in the dark over pine scheme" (Fiji Sun: 21/1/81); "Pine deal still not settled" (Fiji Times: 24/3/81, plus editorial); "Landowners boycott pine talks" (Fiji Sun: 25/3/81); "Landowners' ultimatum: we'll close pine stations" (Fiji Sun: 2/4/81); etc.

70. See Fiji Sun 17/7/81; "N.L.T.B. hits out at Ratu Osea" (Fiji Times: 18/7/81); etc.

71. See "Illegal housing deals in Lautoka" (Fiji Times 15/1/83); "Illegal settlers on native land face eviction - N.L.T.B." (Fiji Sun 28/9/83); "Saweni evictions may be avoided" (Fiji Times 4/10/83); etc.

72. See Fiji Times July 1984 (especially 13/7/84) for correspondence relating to this. The material was noted in "Tourism: how Fiji people see, and what they think of it", Nii-k Plange, 1985 and referred to as: "the educated debate between U.S.P.lecturer, Mr Simione Durutalo and the Chief Executive (sic) of the Native Land Development Board (sic), Mr J. Kamikamica in the Fiji Times June 1984. In this debate the latter emphasises the 'economistic' aspects of Tourism - Resort development, while the former remained within a humanistic perspective. The debate was not resolved, an indication of the complex nature of the industry and its benefits or disbenefits." (at p.70) It is interesting to note that the Board followed the wishes of the majority of the landowners and the proposals did not proceed. the most revealing facets of "the educated debate" were the factual inaccuracies that were published (for example, Durutalo quoted the total annual rental income from tourism leases as $68,815: as has been seen it was, in fact, of the order of $590,000 in 1984), and the emotive terms of the contribution from outside the Board. Native land clearly remains an highly charged subject in which the population remain relatively ill-educated.

73. See "Land scare: expert digs into ownership and the role of the Board" (Fiji Sun: 20/3/84); "The Matahau papers: Board hits back at expert" (Fiji Sun: 21/3/84).

74. "The Native Land Trust Board: P.R. for the next five years", Matt Wilson Ltd., 31 October 1984, at pp. 3, 4.

1. In 1985 the Assistant General Manager (Legal) left the employ of the Board for private practice; with no suitable "local" available the Legal Officer, who had joined the staff of the Board as a volunteer under the auspices of Voluntary Service Overseas, filled the position. (Source: Assistant General Manager (Training and Personnel), and Legal Officer: as also for information re. recruitment of Lands' Department officer).

2. See for instance the speeches of Hon. Mrs. I. Jai Narayan (Hansard 2nd March 1978 at p.221), and Hon. S.N.Kanhai (Hansard 2nd March 1978 at p.225).

3. Parliamentary Paper No.25 at p.20.

4. Less than ten per cent of time is available to Divisional Estate Managers for policy development consideration after the completion of routine administration responsibilities. (Interview: Divisional Estate Manager (Western); P.R.Dow)

5. The possibilities for continuing professional development are put forward in the University of the South Pacific Land Management and Development Society Newsletter No.1 (1986) and would possibly be in conjunction with the Institute of Valuation and Estate Management of Fiji. The provision for research is advocated in the Matt Wilson Ltd. report "The Native Land Trust Board: P.R. for the next five years" (31st October 1984).

6. According to the Native Land Trust Board (Annual Report, 1963) there are 6611 landowning units with some 11,724 separate estates in land as follows:

| Owning unit | No. of units | No. of holdings |
|---|---|---|
| Yavusa | 126 | 202 |
| Mataqali | 4545 | 8529 |
| Tokatoka | 1231 | 2169 |
| Vakawa (family holdings) | 709 | 834 |
| | 6611 | 11724 |

7. D. R. Denman, "The Place of Property", Geographical Publications, Berkhamstead, 1978.

8. The Consultant who reported in 1977, Mr T.L.Davey, was subsequently appointed Deputy General Manager and Chief Estates Officer. The Divisional Estate Manager (Western), Mr P.R.Dow, had worked with Mr Davey in Zambia; as had the Senior Estate Officer (Head Office), Mr J.E.Salmon. The Divisional Estate Manager (Northern), Mr D. Kydd, was a member of the Overseas Development Administration's Corps of Specialists, as was Mr Davey.

9. See: Development Plan 8 Vol.1 at pp.254-257 regarding the education sector, attendance rates, etc.; and, for instance, Lasaqa; "The Fijian People", 1984, Chapter 5, "The Other Road: The Fijian and Education; and Ali; "Plantation to Politics: Studies on Fiji Indians", 1980, at pp.202-203.

10. Hon. H. Thaggard; Hansard 28th February 1978 at p.172.

11. Hon. Attorney-General; Hansard 1st March 1978 at p.203.

12. W. Emmott, "Fiji: Islands in the Wind", The Economist, 27th July 1985 at p.43.

# Bibliography

## Native Land Trust Board

**Published Papers**

Annual Reports of the Native Land Trust Board, 1951-1968(Printed internal reports to the Governor of Fiji in his capacity as President of the Board)

"Native Land Trust Board Review, 1969-1974" (1975) (Review of the unreported period 1969-1974)

Annual Reports of the Native Land Trust Board, 1975-1983

Native Land Trust Board Planning Unit:

Gunther, G.S., "Agricultural development on the Nadrau Plateau" (1976), Native Land Trust Board, Suva, Fiji.

Bernard, B.D., and O'Brien, K. "A land use study of the Bilo Peninsula" (1978), Native Land Trust Board, Suva, Fiji.

**Internal papers and documentation: major reports**

Charlton Report: "Memorandum on the Administration of Native Land", 1944.

1962 SubCommittee Report: "Report of the Review SubCommittee, November, 1962"

Regnault Report: "Consultant's report and comments on the recommendations made by the 1962 Review Committee", 1966.

**: post reorganisation**

"Native Land Trust Board - Meeting the challenge of DP8, 1981-1985 (1981)

"Your home on native land: Native Leases on NLDC Subdivisions" (Explanatory publicity leaflet issued by the Board after reorganisation)*

"NLTB Land Use Surveys" (Land use surveys of native land for all urban areas and townships identifying development framework and listing potential development sites; compiled 1980 and 1981)

"Native Land Trust Board: Squatters on native land in Fiji" (1981)

"Native Land Trust Board: a policy towards tourist oriented development on native land" (1980)

"Native Land Trust Board: A policy towards tourist oriented development on native land, 1985-1989" (1985)

"Logging Licences: Guidelines for loggers and landowners" (Explanatory publicity leaflet issued by the Board after reorganisation)*

"Summary of report and recommendations entitled "Forest management in Fiji" by A.C.Frith" (Report on forest resource management commissioned by the Board in 1979)

"Survey of log extraction from agricultural land by way of clearfell licences" (1983 Report Native Land Trust Board)

Electronic Data Processor printouts (computer printouts): financial and management statistics, 1974-1985

Native Land Trust Board, "Conditions of Service, 1977"

Head Office Instructions (1979 onwards, as amended)

Manual monthly work returns (Divisional casework): casework, financial and management statistics, 1979-1985

File cleaning process and instructions (as amended June 1978 and September 1979)

Western Division Expatriate Familiarisation Course (May 1979)

"Introduction to the NLTB" (Personnel Department, 1981; introduction to the history and role of the organisation).

Valuation and Estate Management Course (Course papers for part-time course for professional level personnel in Lands Dept. and Native Land Trust Board, 1967-1984, as amended and supplemented, 1984)*

Native Land Trust Board, Estate Assistant's Course (Course papers for in-house technician level training course, 1985)*

Native Land Trust Board, Land Technician's Course (Course papers for in-house technician level training cour, 1985)*

Native Land Trust Board, Legal Clerk's Course (Course papers for in-house legal clerks training course, 1985)*

"A policy for the logging of indigenous forest on Native Land, 1985-1989" (1985)

"Sand and gravel extraction from Native Land" (1980)

"A P.R. proposition for the NLTB" (1976) (Report on public relations commissioned from Matt Wilson Ltd. by the Board in 1976)

"The Native Land Trust Board: P.R. for the next five years" (1984) (Report and proposals commissioned as above in 1984)

**: pre-reorganisation**

Selected policy files were identified from the master file listing for inspection. Selection was based upon potential relevance to the study, and was made necessary by time limitations coupled with the fact that several thousand files were listed. Relevance to the study was judged on the file's stated subject matter, and on the advice of Chief Estate Assistant of the Board, Waisake Savou.

The pre-reorganisation filing system is based upon a numerical coding with a basic subdivision into twenty-three series; each of which series contains material grouped under a single broad heading.

Within each series are a number of sub-series which are divided into file numbers. Thus file 1/2/4 is file number 4, from subseries 2, in series 1. Series 1 deals with "Staff Administration", and the file in question with "Staff secondment". On reading this particular file, for instance, it was considered to be of no interest to this study.
Several of the series deal with land files. These were not looked at as earlier experience had provided adequate familiarity; moreover, as the "cleaned" current database for the Board, the material would not be able to be discussed in specific in any case.

A number of points may be noted in connection with the filing system as regards policy files:

The system is very extensive. Series 8, for instance, has 19 subseries, of which subseries 19 has 49 files. The individual files themselves comprise, in some cases, two or more volumes of material. Some of the subseries connected with the subdivisions of land in the 1960's list several hundred files. Clearly in such cases it is not necessary to review all of the files, all that is required is to look through the subseries theme file and perhaps one or two of the individual files.

The system is not ordered in a logical manner and there is a considerable overlap of content which makes tracking down specific information time consuming.

The system is incomplete. A substantial proportion of the files is missing as has been noted elsewhere. Of the 121 files selected and requested for examination, only 71 could be located and produced from the Board's archives. These provided very valuable information on the development of the Board's, and corresponding parties', thinking.

Arising out of the file cleaning exercise a substantial compilation of file extracts has been assembled covering a large number of items relating to the Board's policy. This has been bound into a composite Policy file (8/1) comprising five volumes, and dealing with 92 identified items of policy. these items range from lengthy and very valuable documents such as Item 20; the Charlton Report and accompanying material, through to relatively brief and insignificant matters from the present point of view such as Item 92; "Settlement of Malayan ex-service men."

All the information drawn from these internal papers is considered confidential, with the exception of those marked thus*.

## Offical Printed Papers and Reports

Items attributable to particular authors marked thus* also appear under the author's name in the section "Other Works".

**Legislative Council Papers and Parliamentary Papers:**


Report of the Post-war Planning and Development Committee, (including appendixed copy of the Shepherd report on agricultural policy for Fiji, and extract from the Charlton Report on the Administration of Native Land) (1944)

"Address by H.E. the Governor", Legislative Council Paper No.18 of 1949 (regarding declaration of Native Reserves)

"The Fijian people: economic problems and prospects", (the Spate Report), Legislative Council paper No.13 of 1959*

"Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Natural Resources and Population Trends of the Colony of Fiji", (the Burns Report), Legislative Council paper No.1 of 1960.*

"Statement of Government Policy on the recommendations of the Burns Commission", Legislative Council paper No.1 of 1960.

"Development Plan, 1961-1965", Legislative Council paper No.6 of 1961.

"Development Plan, 1964-1968, (Development Plan IV)", Legislative Council paper No.33 of 1963.

"Report on the Fiji Coconut Industry Survey (1963) (The Silsoe Report)*

"Development Planning in Fiji, 1964", Legislative Council paper No.43 of 1969.

"Fiji Development Plan, 1966-1970: Development Planning Review", Legislative Council paper No.11 of 1966 (1970)

"Fiji's Sixth Development Plan, 1971-1975", Central Planning Office, Suva.

"Fiji's Seventh Development Plan, 1976-1980", (1975), Central Planning Office, Suva

"Report of the Working Committee set up to review the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance", Parliamentary Paper No.13 of 1975

"Report on the Native Land Trust Board", (the Davey Report), Parliamentary paper No.25 of 1977*

"Social Indicators for Fiji", (1979), Bureau of Statistics

"Fiji's Eighth Development Plan, 1981-1985", (1980), Central Planning Office, Suva.

"Fiji today; 1983-84", Ministry of Information

**Hansard:** Legislative Council debates
House of Representatives debates
Senate debates

**Fiji Royal Gazette Supplements:** No. 37 of 1977; Agricultural Land (Declaration of Unimproved Capital Values) Order, 1977

: No.38 of 1984; Native Land Trust (Leases and Licences) Regulations, 1984

**The Laws of Fiji**

**Annual Reports:** Department of Agriculture

## Other Papers and Reports

Annual Reports: Fiji Pine Commission

Reports of the Fiji Visitors' Bureau

"A statistical report on visitor arrivals into Fiji, Calendar Year 1980"

"A statistical review of tourism, 1981"

"A statistical report on visitor arrivals into Fiji, Calendar Year 1983"

Report to the University of the South Pacific on the establishment of a degree in Land Management and Development, 1980, by E. A. Acquaye

Submission to the Commonwealth Board of Surveying Education for the assessment of the degree in Land Management and Development, 1984 (University of the South Pacific, P. W. Munro-Faure)

Legal decisions: Court decisions from the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal and the Privy Council affecting agricultural land

: Tribunal decisions from the Agricultural Tribunal and the Central Agricultural Tribunal

## Newspapers and Periodicals

The two main sources of media inputs surveyed are the **Fiji Times** and the **Fiji Sun.**

A number of other periodicals have also been referred to in the thesis including **Pacific Review** and **Islands Business News.**

Abler, R., Adams, J.S., and Gould, P. "Spatial Organisation: the Geographer's view of the world" (1972) Prentice-Hall International, London.

Acquaye, E., and Crocombe, R. (Eds.) "Land Tenure and Rural Productivity in the Pacific Islands" (1984) United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation/Institute of Pacific Studies/South Pacific Regional Environmental Programme, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

Agassi, J., and Cohen, R.S. (Eds.) "Scientific Philosophy today: Essays in Honour of Mario Bunge" (1982) D. Reidel, Dordrecht.

Ali, A. "Plantation to Politics: studies on Fiji Indians" (1980) University of the South Pacific/Fiji Times and Herald Ltd., Suva, Fiji.

Ali, A., and Gunasekera, H.M. "Implementing decentralisation policies and programmes: the case of Fiji" (1982) Paper presented to the Senior Level Seminar on Implementing Decentralisation Policies and Programmes 24th - 30th August 1982, UNCRD, Nagoya, Japan.

Asimov, I. "The Human Brain: its capacities and functions" (1963) Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, Ma.

Bakker, M.L. "The 'Population Problem' in the South Pacific" (1977) South Pacific Bulletin, Third and Fourth Quarters.

Bor, W. "Planning and Development in Developing Countries" in PTRC Vol.206. "Planning and Development in Developing Countries" (1981) PTRC Education and Research Services Ltd., London.

Borger, R. and Cioffi, F. (Eds.) "Explanation in the Behavioural Sciences" (1970), Cambridge University Press.

Bottomore, T. "Political Sociology" (1979), Hutchinson, London.

Britton, S.G. "The evolution of a colonial space-economy: the case of Fiji" (1980) Journal of Historical Geography Vol.6 No.3 pp.251-274.

Britton, S.G. "The spatial organisation of tourism in a neo-colonial economy: a Fiji case study" (1980) Pacific Viewpoint Vol.21 No.2 pp.144-165.

Britton, S.G. "The spatial distribution of the tourist industry in Fiji" (1983) Auckland Student Georgrapher No.10, University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Brobby, K. "Education and training for land economy in the island countries: needs and solutions" (1984) Proceedings of the Regional Seminar "Land and Marine Resources in the South Pacific - new solutions to problems old and new" Commonwealth Association of Surveying and Land Economy.

Brookfield, H.C. (Ed.) "The Pacific in Transition" (1973) Edward Arnold, London.

Brookfield, H.C. "Constraints to agrarian change" (1978) in Winslow, (Ed.) "The Melanesian Environment".

Brookfield, H.C. "Fijian farmers each on their own land: the triumph of

experience over hope" (1984) Seminar Paper (Working Paper) delivered 12th December 1984 in the series "Seminars in Rural Development 1984" Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

Bunge, M. "The Myth of Simplicity", (1963), Prentice Hall, N.J.

Bunge, M. "Method, Model and Matter" (1972), D. Reidel Publishing Co., Dordrecht, Holland.

Bunge, M. "Scientific Materialism", (1981), D. Reidel Publishing Co., Dordrecht, Holland.

Burns, A. "Fiji" (1963), Corona Library, H.M.S.O., London.

Burns, A., Watson, T.Y., and Peacock, A.T., "Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Natural Resources and Population Trends of the Colony of Fiji, 1959"; Council Paper No.1 of 1960, Legislative Council, The Crown Agents for Oversea Governments and Administrations on behalf of the Government of Fiji, London.

Carroll, P. "Credit for development: the role of the Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board in Fiji, 1952-1967" (1985) Working Paper No.1, School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

Caston, G. "Land and Marine resources in the South Pacific: the role of the Universities and the professions" (1984) Proceedings of the Regional Seminar "Land and Marine Resources in the South Pacific - new solutions to the problems old and new"; Commonwealth Association of Surveying and Land Economy.

Chandra, S. "Productive efficiency of Fijian and Indian farming systems in semi-subsistence agriculture" (1979) Vols. 39 and 40 Nos. 1, Fiji Agricultural Journal.

Chorley, R.J. and Haggett, P. (Eds.) "Models in Geography" (1967) Methuen, London.

Clarke, W.C. "The dilemma of development" (1973) in Brookfield, H.C. (Ed.) "The Pacific in transition".

Commonwealth Association of Surveying and Land Economy Proceedings of the Regional Seminars: 1977 (Fiji), 1980 (Papua New Guinea), 1984 (Fiji) 12, Great George St., London SW1.

Cowan, G. "Urbanisation and Planning Needs in Pacific Island Countries" (1975) Paper presented at Regional Conference on population problems; urbanisation, resettlement and rural development, Suva, Fiji, 1-5 December 1975.

Crocombe, R.G. "The Pacific Way: An Emerging Identity" (1975) Pacific Perspective, Journal of the South Pacific Social Sciences Association, Suva, Fiji, Volume 4, Nos. 1 and 2.

Crocombe, R.G. "Rural Development in the Pacific Islands: Past disasters and future hopes" (1978), Pacific Perspective, Journal of the South Pacific Social Sciences Association, Suva, Fiji, Volume 7, Nos. 1 and 2.

Crocombe, R.G. "The South Pacific: An Introduction" (1983) Longman Paul Ltd., New Zealand.

Dahl, R.A. "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model" (1971) in Pizzorno, A. (Ed.) Political Sociology.

Davey, T.L. "Report on the Native Land Trust Board", (1977), Parliamentary Paper No.25 of 1977, Parliament of Fiji.

Davey, T.L. "The Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act: A Digest" First Supplement (1983), Institute of Valuation and Estate Management of Fiji, Suva.

Davies, M.R., and Lewis, V.A. "Models of Political Systems", (1971) Pall Mall Press, London.

Denman, D.R. "The Place of Property" (1978) Geographical Publications, Berkhampstead.

Denman, D.R. "Land Economy and Surveying in the South Pacific (1979), Commonwealth Secretariat. London.

Derrick, R.A. " A History of Fiji" (1946) Revised 1950 and Reprinted 1974 Government Press, Suva.

Dethier, V.G., and Stellar, E. "Animal Behaviour" (1970, 3rd. Ed.) Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Dickinson, A., and Boakes, R.A. "Mechanisms of Learning and Motivation" (1979) Lawrence Erlbaum, N.J.

Easton, D. "The Analysis of Political Systems" (1971), in Pizzorno, A. (Ed.) "Political Sociology".

Eckholm, E. "Land reform and development" (1980) Dialogue, Volume 13, No.1 pp.54-64.

Edgell, M.C.R., and Farrell, B.H. (Eds.) "Themes on Pacific Lands" (1974) Western Geographical Series, Volume 10, Department of Geography, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia.

Edwards, P. (Ed.) "Encyclopaedia of Philosophy" (1967) Macmillan and Free Press, N.Y.

Emmott, W. "Fiji Islands in the Wind" (1985), "The Economist", July 27th 1985 pp.41-48.

Faludi, A. "A Reader in Planning Theory" (1973), Pergamon, Oxford.

Farrell, B.H. "Fijian Land: a basis for inter-cultural variance" (1974) in Edgell, M.C.R., and Farrell, B.H. (Eds.) "Themes on Pacific Lands".

Finney, B.R. and Watson, R.A. (Eds.) "A new kind of sugar: tourism in the Pacific" (1974) East-West Center, Honolulu.

Firth, R. "Development and the Cultural Heritage" in Tupouniua, S., Crocombe, R., and Slatter, C. (Eds.) "The Pacific Way".

Fisk, E.K. "The Political Economy of Independent Fiji" (1970) Australian National University Press, Canberra.

Fisk, E.K. "Motivation and modernisation" (1972) Pacific Perspective, Journal of the South Pacific Social Sciences Association, Suva, Fiji Vol.1, No.1. pp.21-33.

France, P. "The Charter of the Land: Custom and Colonisation in Fiji" (1969) Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Frazer, R. "The Fijian village and the independent farmer" (1973) in Brookfield, H.C., (Ed.) "The Pacific in Transition".

Frost, E.L. "Fiji" in Jennings J.D. "The Prehistory of Polynesia".

Gillingwater, D. "Regional Planning and Social Change" (1975), Saxon House, Farnborough.

Greenstein, F.I. "Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference and Conceptualisation" (1969) in Lipset, S.M. "Politics and the Social Sciences".

Greer, S. "Sociology and Political Science" (1969) in Lipset, S.M. "Politics and the Social Sciences".

Gunasekera, H.M. "Regional Planning Policies in Fiji" (1982) Paper presented to ASEAN Seminar on Regional Development Planning: State of the Art and Sharing Experience, 21st-28th September 1982, Sanur, Bali, Indonesia.

Haggett, P. "Geography: A Modern Sythesis" (1975) Harper and Row, New York.

Harre, J., and Knapman, C. (Eds.) "Living in Town: Problems and priorities in urban planning in the South Pacific" (1977) South Pacific Social Sciences Association, Suva, Fiji.

Harvey, D. W. "Explanation in Geography" (1969) Edward Arnold, London.

Higgins, B. " Economic and Social factors of development", in Lengyel, P. "Approaches to the science of socio-economic development" (1971).

Horowitz, I.L. "Foundations of Political Sociology" (1972) Harper and Row, New York.

Jennings, J.D. (Ed.) "The Prehistory of Polynesia" (1978) Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Jennings, J.N., and Linge, G.J.R. (Eds.) "Of Time and Place" (1980) Australian National University Press, Canberra.

Kamikamica, J.N. "Native Land in Fiji" (1984) Proceedings of the Regional Seminar "Land and Marine Resources in the South Pacific - new solutions to problems old and new" Commonwealth Association of Surveying and Land Economy.

Keith-Reid, R. "Making the most of Fijian land" (1982) Islands Business News, Suva, March 1982, pp.9-19.

Kloke, C. "South Pacific economies and tourism" (1974) in Finney, B.R. and Watson, R.A. (Eds.) "A new kind of sugar: tourism in the Pacific".

Lambert, K., and Brittan, G.G. "An Introduction to the Philosophy of Science" (1970) Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Larmour, P., Crocombe, R., and Taungenga, A. (Eds.) "Land People and Government: Public lands policy in the South Pacific" (1981) Institute of Pacific Studies/Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

Lasaqa, I. "Geography and geographers in the changing Pacific: an Islander's view" (1973) in Brookfield, H. "The Pacific in Transition".

Lasaqa, I. "The Fijian People: the Spate Report revisited" (1980) in Jennings, J.N., and Linge, G.J.R., (Eds.) "Of Time and Place".

Lasaqa, I. "The Fijian People before and after Independence, 1959-1977" (1984), Australian National University Press, Canberra.

Lefevre, A. "Who gets what from tourists" (1974) in Finney, B.R. and Watson, K.A. (Eds.) "A new kind of sugar: tourism in the Pacific".

Lengyel, P. (Ed.) "Approaches to the science of socio-economic development" (1971), UNESCO, Paris.

Lipset, S.M. (Ed.) "Politics and the Social Sciences" (1969) Oxford University Press, New York.

Lipsey, R.G. "An Introduction to Positive Economics" (1966), 2nd Ed., Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.

Lloyd, D.T. "Land Policy in Fiji" (1982) University of Cambridge, Department of Land Economy, Occasional Paper No.14.

Lloyd, P.E., and Dicken, P. "Location in Space: A theoretical approach to Economic Geography" (1972) Harper and Row, New York.

Low, M. "Education for Rural Development: the Tutu experiment and its relevance in the Pacific" (1984) Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

Luckett, D.G. "Recent financial development in Fiji" (1984), The Journal of Pacific Studies, Vol.10 pp.72-84.

Macdonald, R.W. "Professional Organisations in the small Pacific nations - their role and their needs" (1984) Proceedings of the Regional Seminar "Land and marine resources in the South Pacific - new solutions to problems old and new" Commonwealth Association of Surveying and Land Economy.

May, R.J., and Nelson, H. (Eds.) "Melanesia: Beyond Diversity" (1982) Australian National University Press.

Mitchell, W.C. "The Shape of Political Theory to Come: from Political Sociology to Political Economy" (1969), in Lipset, S.M. (Ed.) "Politics and the Social Sciences".

Mommsen, W.J. "The Age of Bureaucracy: Perspectives on the Political Sociology to Political Economy"

Munro-Faure, P.W. "The Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act: A Digest" (1981), Institute of Valuation and Estate Management of Fiji, Suva.

Munro-Faure, P.W. "Expanding Rural Industry: A Popperian Analysis and Review" (1981) Unpublished M.Sc. thesis, Reading University.

Munro-Faure, P.W. "The Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act: A Digest" 2nd Supplement (1985), Institute of Valuation and Estate Management of Fiji, Suva.

Nation, J. "Fiji: Post-Independence politics" (1982) in May, R.J., and Nelson, H. (Eds.) "Melanesia: Beyond Diversity".

Nayacakalou, R.R. "Leadership in Fiji" (1975) Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Nayacakalou, R.R. "Tradition and Change in the Fijian Village" (1978) South Pacific Social Sciences Association/Institute of Pacific Studies, Suva, Fiji Islands.

Norton, R. "Race and Politics in Fiji" (1977) University of Queensland Press, Queensland.

Parr, T. "Tourism in the Pacific" (1975) Pacific Perspective Vol.4, Nos. 1, 2.

Pizzorno, A. (Ed.) "Political Sociology" (1971) Penguin, England.
Plange, N.-K. "Tourism: How Fiji people see, nd what they think of, it" (1984) Report of a survey sponsored by the Fiji Visitors Industry Education Council.

Pollock, J.L. "Knowledge and Justification" (1974), Princeton University Pres, Princeton, N.J.

Popper, K.R. "The Poverty of Historicism" (1960), 2nd Edition paperback reprint 1969, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Popper, K.R. "Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach" (1972), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Popper, K.R. "The Logic of Scientific Discovery" (1972) Hutchinson, London.

Popper, K.R. "Conjectures and Refutations. The Growth of Scientific Knowledge" (1976), Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Pred, A. "Behaviour and Location: Foundations for a Geographic and Dynamic Location Theory" (1972) Vols. 1 and 2, Lund, Sweden.

PTRC Vol. 206 "Planning and Development in Developing Countries" (1981), PTRC Education and Research Services Ltd., London.

Qalo, R.R. "Divided we stand: Local Government in Fiji" (1984) Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

Rae, D.W., and Taylor, M. "The Analysis of Political Cleavages" (1970) Yale University, New Haven.

Rajotte, F., and Crocombe, R. (Eds.) "Pacific Tourism as islanders see it" (1980) Institute of Pacific Studies/South Pacific Social Sciences Association, Suva, Fiji.

Ratuvili, S. "The ethics of economic planning" (1974) Pacific Perspective, Journal of the South Pacific Social Sciences Association, Suva, Fiji, Vol.3, No.1.

Ravuvu, A. "Vaka i Taukei: the Fijian way of life" (1983) Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

Rescher, N. "Methodological Pragmatism" (1977), Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Rostow, W.W. "The Stages of Economic Growth" (1969) Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Russell, the Hon.B. "Human Knowledge: Its Scope and Limits" (1948) George Allen and Unwin, London.

Samy, J. "Crumbs from the Table? The workers' share in tourism" (1973) Pacific Perspective Vol.2, No.1; and in Tupouniua, S., et al (Eds.) "The Pacific Way".

Schlipp, P. (Ed.) "The Philosophy of Karl Popper"(1974) Vols. 1 and 2 Open Court, La Salle, Illinois.

Selwyn, P. (Ed.) "Development policy in small countries" (1975) Croom Helm/Institute of Development Studies.

Sevele, F. "Development planning: the prerogative of the elite" (1974) Pacific Perspective, Volume 3, No.1.

Silsoe, the Lord "Report on the Fiji Coconut Industry Survey" (1963) Crown Agents, London.

Simpson, E.S. "Economic Development in Fiji" (1972) Perspective No.9, Manawatu Branch, New Zealand Geographic Society.

Spate, O.H.K. "The Fijian People: Economic Problems and Prospects" Council Paper No.13 of 1959, Legislative Council, Government Press, Suva, Fiji.

Stein, D.G., and Rosen, J.J. "Learning and Memory" (1974) Macmillan, N.Y.

Thaman, R.R. "Urban agriculture and home gardening in Fiji: a direct road to development and independence" (1978) Address presented to the Fiji Society, Suva (27th June 1978).

Thaman, R.R. "Deterioration of traditional food systems, increasing malnutrition and food dependency in the Pacific Islands" (1982) Journal of Food and Nutrition Vol.39 No.3 pp.109-125.

Tsu, Lao "Tao te Ching" (tr. Gia Fu Feng and Jane English) (1973) Wildwood House, London.

Tupouniua, S., Crocombe, R., Slatter, C. (Eds.) "The Pacific Way", (1975) South Pacific Social Sciences Association, P.O. Box 5083, Suva, Fiji.

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) "Comparative study on migration, urbanisation, and development in the ESCAP region: Country Reports VI: Migration, urbanisation and development in South Pacific countries" (1982), Bangkok, Thailand.

Walsh, A.C. "Urbanisation in Fiji" (1977) Perspective No.14, Manawatu Branch, New Zealand Geographical Society.

Ward, M. "The Role of Investment in the Development of Fiji" (1971), Dept. of Applied Economics Occasional Paper No.26, University of Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Ward, M. "Dependent development - problems of economic planning in small development countries" (1975) in Selwyn, P. "Development policy in small countries".

Ward, R.G. "Cash cropping and the Fijian village" (1964) Geographical Journal Vol.130 No.4 pp.484-506.

Ward, R.G. "Land Use and Population in Fiji" (1965), Dept. of Technical Cooperation, H.M.S.O., London.

Ward, R.G. "Urbanisation in the Pacific - facts and policies" (1973) paper presented at the 6th Waigani Seminar.

Ward, R.G. "Urbanisation in the Pacific" (1975) Paper presented at the Regional Conference on population problems: urbanisation, resettlement, and rural development; South Pacific Commission 1st-5th December 1975, Suva, Fiji.

Ward, R.G. "Change in Fijian villages 1958-1983" (1984) Seminar Paper (Working Paper) delivered 11th July 1984 in the series "Seminars on rural development 1984" Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

Waterbury, J. "Hydropolitics of the Nile Valley" (1979) Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.

Wettersten, J. "The Place of Mario Bunge", in Agassi, J., and Cohen, R.S. "Scientific Philosophy Today: Essays in Honour of Mario Bunge" (1982).

Whitehead, C.E. "Soil erosion and soil conservation in Fiji" (1954) Fiji Agriculture Journal Vol.25 Nos.1-2.

Willer, J. "The Social Determination of Knowledge" (1971), Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Winslow, J.H (Ed.) "The Melanesian Environment" (1978) Australian National University Press.

Whitehead, C.E. "Soil erosion and soil conservation in Fiji" (1954) Fiji Agriculture Journal Vol.25 Nos.1-2.

Willer, J. "The Social Determination of Knowledge" (1971), Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Winslow, J.H (Ed.) "The Melanesian Environment" (1978) Australian National University Press.