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FIJIAN EDUCATION - AN EXAMINATION
OF GOVERNMENT POLICY : 1946-1986

by

Priscilla Qolisaya Puamau

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

Suva, Fiji.

November, 1991.

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this thesis is my own work except those sections which have been explicitly acknowledged. I also certify that this thesis has not been previously submitted for a degree at any other university or institution.

P. Puamau.
Priscilla Puamau

Approved by the Chief Supervisor

Tom Kaye
.....
Professor Tom Kaye

ABSTRACT

This study utilized the historical approach to examine government policy on the education of Fijians in the Colonial (1946-1969) and Post-Colonial (1970-1986) period. Both Governments had defined the 'Fijian educational problem' as how to get a more equitable number of Fijians at the upper secondary level and subsequently in top or key positions in the government and private sectors of the community. A comparative approach was taken of Fijian and Indian educational attainment standards as the main purpose of the study was to assess the effectiveness of the education policies of the government of the time in reducing the educational gap that was identified as existing between Fijians and Indians.

This study found that the education of non-Europeans was not a matter of priority for the Colonial Government. Apart from establishing the system of provincial schools, the Colonial Government did not take any special measures to improve or upgrade Fijian education. However, when the Alliance Government formed the new government at independence in 1970, the education of Fijians became a national concern. Since 1970, the Alliance Government has implemented at least six affirmative action policies in a deliberate attempt to close the 'educational gap' that existed between Fijians and other ethnic groups. One policy was aimed at increasing access to a secondary education for Fijians (junior secondary schools). The public relations campaign policy was supposed

to instil in Fijian parents a better appreciation of the educational needs of their children. Four other policies were aimed at improving Fijian education at the tertiary level, three to do with scholarships and the other was the establishment of a residential college predominantly for Fijian students enrolled in the Foundation Programmes at the University of the South Pacific (USP).

The study found that there were three serious shortcomings on the part of the Alliance Government in the formulation and implementation of Fijian education policies. Firstly, the Government did not have a clear perception of the problem. Secondly, the Government did not have any clear objectives and did not set any specific targets in its implementation of the policies. In addition, the Government seemed to have based all these policies on assumptions and impressions rather than on detailed in-depth research. The researcher reached the conclusion that the affirmative action policies of the Alliance Government had a negligible effect in closing the educational gap that existed between Fijians and Indians.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Fiji is located in the south-west Pacific Ocean between longitudes 178° 12' west and 176° 53' east and latitudes 15° 42' and 22° south, with the 180th meridian passing through the group. It consists of about 332 islands varying in size from 10,000 square kilometres to tiny islets a few metres in circumference. About a hundred of these islands are inhabited. Most of the uninhabited islands are used for planting or for temporary residence. The total land area of Fiji is 18,272 square kilometres with the two principal islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu accounting for 87 per cent of the total area.

The 1986 Census numerated Fiji's population at 715,375. Of this, the two major ethnic groups are Fijians, who constitute 46 per cent of the total population, and Indians who form the largest proportion of the population (48.7 per cent). The remaining small proportion of the population (4.7 per cent) is made up of Europeans, Part-Europeans, Chinese, Rotumans and other Pacific Islanders.

The Fijian people are identified as the 'indigenous Melanesian population' who are the 'original inhabitants' of the islands (Bureau of Statistics, 1989, p.3). The Indian people, on the other hand, are identified as 'the population who are of Indian descent' and are the 'descendents of the indentured labourers and free settlers of the early part of the twentieth century' (Bureau of Statistics, 1989, p.3).

The period 1879-1916 witnessed the arrival of Indians from India under the indentured labour system to work in the European-owned sugar plantations. Their number grew from 40,286 in the 1911 Census (which was slightly less than half of the Fijian population of 87,096) to 120,414 in 1946, superseding the Fijian population in the 1936-1946 intercensal period by more than 2000. Since 1946, the Indian population has always exceeded that of Fijians (see Table 1). In 1986, there were almost 19,400 more Indians than Fijians but ten years before, the figure was as high as 32,964. The 1966 Census, however, revealed the largest discrepancy between Indian and Fijian population figures when Indians exceeded Fijians by an unprecedented 38,784.

Table 1 A COMPARISON OF FIJIAN AND INDIAN POPULATION FIGURES AT SUCCESSIVE CENSUSES, 1881-1986

Census Year	Ethnic Origin		Total Population
	Fijians	Indians	
1881	114,748	588	127,486
1891	105,800	7,468	121,180
1901	94,397	17,105	120,124
1911	87,096	40,286	139,541
1921	84,475	60,634	157,266
1936	97,651	85,002	198,379
1946	118,070	120,414	259,638
1956	148,134	169,403	345,737
1966	202,176	240,960	476,727
1976	259,932	292,896	588,068
1986	329,305	348,704	715,375

(Source: Adapted from Bureau of Statistics, 1987, p.39)

Close to 84 per cent of all land is owned by Fijians (Native Land). About 10 per cent, which includes some of the best farming land, is

privately-owned freehold and the remaining 6 per cent is held by the Government as Crown land. The Indians own very little land but have established themselves as independent farmers and businessmen. They have done very well for themselves in their 110 years of existence in Fiji and are known to 'dominate the economic activity of the [country].' (Bureau of Statistics, 1989, p.2)

Fiji's economy is based on agriculture and sugar is its backbone with tourism, fisheries, forestry and related services playing an increasingly important role. Sugar is Fiji's leading export commodity and accounts for more than 85 per cent of the total annual value of domestic exports. While the sugar industry is still the backbone of Fiji's economy, it is facing strong competition from tourism which is playing a significant role in the country's economy. In 1984, the gross earnings from the tourist industry were substantially higher than the earnings from sugar exports.

Formal education commenced in Fiji in 1835 with the arrival of two Methodist missionaries - William Cross and David Cargill who, a few weeks after their arrival, opened a school to teach reading and writing to the indigenous people. Other missions, namely Catholic, Anglican and Seventh Day Adventist, arrived later and began educational work in Fiji. For about 80 years, the missions had almost sole responsibility for education in Fiji with no assistance or hindrance from the Colonial Government. With the establishment of the Education Ordinance of 1916, government control over education was increased.

'The history of education in Fiji is largely one of private initiative and effort.' (Fiji Education Commission, 1969, p.6). There is a very high proportion of private schools but the Government has managed to control the educational system through an elaborate system of government aid. In 1982, there were only 35* government-owned schools in contrast to 810* owned and controlled by private committees, Missions, Indian religious bodies and the like.

Fiji became a crown colony of Great Britain in 1874. After almost a century of colonial rule, Fiji became politically independent in 1970. The Alliance Party, which remained the Government from 1970-1986 was viewed by many people as a party mainly for the Fijian people. In contrast, the Opposition Party, the National Federation Party (NFP) was seen as predominantly an Indian Party. When the predominantly Indian Labour/NFP Coalition defeated the Alliance Government in the 1987 General Elections, many Fijians feared they would lose control over their land and destiny. There was much dissension by Fijians against the new Government and to prevent a possible bloodbath, the then Chief of Operations of the Royal Fiji Military Forces, Lieutenant-Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka, staged a coup on 14 May, 1987 (Ravuvu, 1991, p.81). A second coup in September of the same year effectively brought to an end the period of independent rule and ushered in Fiji's new status as a republic.

* This includes Teacher Training Institutions.

THE FIJIAN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM

When one talks about a 'problem', a particular perspective or view is assumed. For the purposes of this research study, the 'Fijian educational problem' is defined in terms of how government viewed the problem at different times over the past forty five years. Both the Colonial and Post-Colonial Governments of Fiji have defined the Fijian educational problem as getting more Fijians to pass successfully through the school system (particularly up to the tertiary level) so that the number of Fijians occupying top or key positions in the government and private sectors would compare favourably with that of other ethnic groups.

The existence of a serious problem in the education of Fijians was apparently first brought to light in 1944 when Stephens (1944) drew the attention of the Colonial Government to the low academic attainment level of Fijians. He attributed this to two factors: poor attendance and the disparity between Fijian and Indian educational standards. Compared to Indian schools, Fijian schools provided an education which was low in quality, particularly in district and provincial schools. At the primary level, the lack of coordination between the various provinces regarding the administration of their schools combined with the inadequacy of facilities and resources in rural districts made it very difficult for Fijian students to successfully move on to the secondary level. To illustrate this point, Stephens noted that only 10.9 per cent (28 out of 257) of the total secondary population was

made up of Fijians in contrast to more than half (150 out of 257) for
Indians.¹

Despite this, the Colonial Government did not deem the problem critical enough to warrant much attention.

It was not until 1966, slightly more than two decades later, that one of the main problems facing education in Fiji was pinpointed as:

How to get enough Fijians 'through to the top' to ensure a reasonably even racial balance in the future top-level manpower of the Colony. (Education Department, 1967, p.6)

In a comparison of examination results of Fijian and Indian students, the following two areas of concern were highlighted: the paucity of Fijian candidates at the Fiji Junior, New Zealand School Certificate and New Zealand University Entrance levels, and the low percentage pass rates of Fijian candidates at the Secondary Schools Entrance and Fiji Junior levels (Education Department, 1967, p.8).

The Colonial Government felt that with regard to Fijian secondary education:

1

Europeans made up 29 per cent of the total secondary population (75 out of 257) with the Chinese making up the remaining 1 per cent (4 out of 257).

Drastic measures are required if enough qualified Fijians are to be produced to occupy a due share of senior positions in the public and private sectors [of the community]. (Fiji Development Plan 1966 - 1970, 1966, p.96)

However, it appears that drastic measures were not attempted until Fiji became politically independent.

Therefore, on the eve of independence, the Fiji Government determined that an inquiry into the educational problems of the Fijians was necessary and the concern for Fijian education was included as one of the 1969 Education Commission's seven terms of reference. More specifically, this term of reference called for an investigation of the educational system in Fiji to determine its relevance to Fiji's needs and to make recommendations with particular reference to

... the special problems of the education of the Fijians and the extent to which these special measures, including scholarship provision and improved preparation for higher education, may be necessary to solve them. (Fiji Education Commission, 1969, p.vii)

The Report of the 1969 Fiji Education Commission is considered to be the turning point for education in Fiji. This report, which devoted a chapter to Fijian education, highlighted the disparity in numbers between Fijians and Indians at proprietorial, managerial and executive levels and teaching in secondary schools. As an example, using statistics from the 1966 Census to demonstrate this disparity, the Report (Fiji Education Commission, 1969, p.67) noted that Indians outnumbered Fijians by more than seven to one at these levels.

The 1969 Fiji Education Commission Report, like the 1966 Annual Report of the Department of Education (called the Ministry of Education after 1970), also highlighted the large disparity between the two ethnic groups, not so much in the percentages of passes as in the gross numbers passing various public examinations. It also drew attention to the depressing performance of many first-year students at the university level. To demonstrate the first point, the Report (Fiji Education Commission, 1969, p.67) noted that in 1968, 48.9 percent of Fijians (133 out of 272) taking the New Zealand School Certificate Examination passed it against 49.9 percent for the Indians (378 out of 757), a difference of only 1 percent. In contrast, the large disparity in the absolute numbers of passes was evidenced by the fact that only 133 Fijians passed the examination compared to 378 Indians, a clear difference of nearly three times as many Indian passes.

Based on the Report of the 1969 Fiji Education Commission Report, the newly independent Fiji Government openly acknowledged the presence of an imbalance between the educational attainment of Fijians and that of other races. One of the long-term aims of the Government's Sixth Development Plan (Fiji's Sixth Development Plan 1971 - 1975, 1970, p.67) which it hoped to achieve by the middle 1980s was defined as 'a marked improvement in the education of Fijians' in order to redress this imbalance. Five years later in 1975, the Government emphasized the need for special measures if the nation was to:

... produce enough qualified Fijians to occupy a due share of top and middle level positions in the public and private

sectors of the economy. (Fiji's Seventh Development Plan 1976 - 1980, 1975, p.184)

What precisely this 'due share' is or should be has however, been left unclarified. The Post-Colonial Government's concern for the education of Fijians had continued into the 1980s.

STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This study examines the extent to which government policies pertaining to Fijian education in the period 1946 to 1986 have been successful in reducing the 'Fijian educational problem'. It assesses the effectiveness of these policies in reducing the educational gap that existed and still exists between the Fijians and Indians. In doing so, this study has documented government policies on Fijian education with particular emphasis on affirmative actions. It has also examined the extent to which these were based on any in-depth research and whether they showed continuity and consistency in their formulation and implementation.

This study will suggest that there were two major shortcomings in the formulation and implementation of Government policies on Fijian education. Not only was there a lack of clarity in the perception of what constituted the Fijian educational problem but there was also a definite lack of clear targets at various times in the implementation of these policies.

NEED FOR THE STUDY

2

To date, no comprehensive study has yet been carried out on government policies dealing specifically with Fijian education. Studies have been carried out on educational policies in general (eg. Hopkin, 1975; Whitehead, 1981, 1986) but no study has yet focussed on government policies with regard to the education of Fijians.

No attempt has been made to put together the research findings on Fijian education; neither has there been any attempt to assess the effectiveness of policies implemented to improve Fijian education apart from the unpublished Kallam et al Report of 1980 which reviewed some aspects of Fijian education between 1971 and 1979. (See Bibliography)

This study tries to achieve all three of the above in order to accomplish the following:

- (a) Provide policymakers and researchers with some basic groundwork on Fijian education;
- (b) Provide information that would make possible the evaluation of government policies on Fijian education;

2

The time of writing of this research report was January, 1991.

- (c) Highlight the shortcomings of past (and current) policies on Fijian education; and
- (d) Provide policymakers with relevant data/information that might lead to the formulation of more effective policies on Fijian education for the future.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

One term needs clarification within the context of this research report. 'Affirmative actions' refers to those special measures deliberately implemented by the Post-Colonial Government, particularly at the tertiary level, in the hope that the imbalance in educational attainment of the Fijians and non-Fijians (notably the Indians) would be reduced. This, it was envisaged by the Government, would somehow reduce, if not close, the occupational gap between the ethnic groups.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study employs the historical approach to examine the literature on Fijian education, with the emphasis placed on affirmative actions, covering a period of forty-one years from 1946-1986. An examination of relevant material before this period was also undertaken to provide some background to the education of Fijians prior to 1946.

The period 1946-1986 was selected for this study for the following

reasons. 1946 was deemed a good time to start from as it was immediately after the Second World War and new educational developments were occurring on a global scale. The period of forty-one years enables a comparison of both the Colonial policies (1946-1969) and Post-Colonial policies (1970-1986) on Fijian education. 1986 was selected as the ending time frame for this study as the period after this witnessed many social upheavals due to the two military coups of 1987.

The major source data for this research were government documents such as the Development Plans, Education Department Reports, Parliamentary Debates, Council Papers and relevant Government reports of the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Fijian Affairs. The Files at the Fijian Teachers' Association Headquarters were very useful. The findings of research studies on Fijian education were also examined. Moreover, other sources such as journals, books, theses and unpublished articles and reports were examined to ensure cross-checking of data.

Informal interviewing of several key personnel at the policy and implementation levels was carried out as access to the pertinent primary source, i.e. confidential Government files, was understandably difficult to obtain.

In assessing the extent to which affirmative actions on Fijian education have succeeded in reducing the Fijian educational problem, a comparison of the pass and retention rates of Fijians and Indians at

the secondary level was undertaken. A comparison of Fijian and Indian enrolment at university level was also carried out. In addition, a comparison was made of Fijians and Indians graduating from the University of the South Pacific (USP), particularly with a first degree.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Only a limited number of sources were examined to provide background information on the state of Fijian education prior to 1946 as the main focus of this study was Fijian education for the period 1946-1986. No attempt was made by the researcher to provide a detailed account of what government policies were on the education of Fijians prior to 1946.

The research findings on the effectiveness of affirmative actions are not conclusive. The use of pass and retention rates as measures of achievement can be regarded as too simplistic a method of evaluation. Other variables such as the nation's overall educational policies, drawbacks faced by the educational system, the economic structure of the nation and the socio-economic framework of the Fijian society play a part in contributing to the success or failure of Government policies on Fijian education.

It was impossible to make a comparison of Fijians and Indians enrolling at and graduating from overseas universities given the fact that the

relevant information was very difficult to obtain. The conclusions drawn with regard to Fijian performance at university level is based solely on their performance at the University of the South Pacific (USP).

The unclear perception by Government of what constituted the Fijian educational problem coupled with the lack of clear Government targets pertaining to Fijian education at various times added to the difficulty of assessing the extent to which affirmative actions have been successful in improving Fijian education.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter is in two parts. The first part undertakes a review of the literature on the determinants of academic performance³ and the second part looks closely at the concept of affirmative action and attempts to briefly illustrate the difference in the use of that concept as originally intended and as used in the Fiji context.

FACTORS AFFECTING ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Educational research has been concerned with the measurement of academic achievement and understanding the factors which influence academic achievement.

Most of the literature reviewed in this section are the results of studies carried out in developed countries. The studies carried out for Third World Countries⁴ and Fiji in particular will be highlighted although studies on achievement in Fiji are discussed in some detail in Chapter 3.

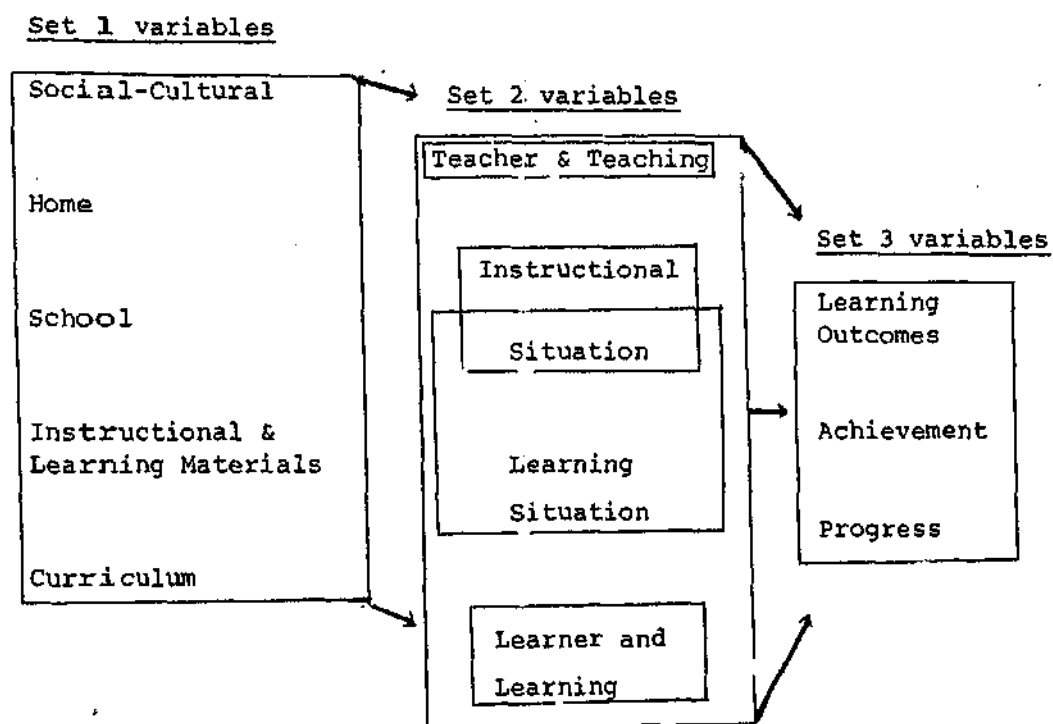
A conceptual model of educational research developed by Mitra (1984), a former director of the National Council of Educational Research and

³ The terms 'achievement' and 'performance' are used synonymously.

⁴ The phrase 'Third World Countries' is used synonymously with 'developing countries'.

Training (NCERT) in India, is useful as it sums up the kind of variables that have found a place in educational research and which ultimately have a bearing on academic achievement (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1: A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH



(Mitra, 1984, p.2)

In this model, Mitra visualizes three kinds of variables which he allots into three sets. Set 3 variables are the outcomes of the educational processes which have been and continue to be the concern of education. Mitra points out that originally, achievement was the focus

of research with studies on tests, examinations, underachievement, overachievement (including the gifted) and the correlates of achievement receiving much attention. Subsequently, the researcher's attention shifted to the study of learning outcomes, objectives and evaluation. Mitra (1984) notes that a recent development is the concept of student progress in education and that research on the assessment of the progress of students in a system over a period of time has been a very recent development.

Set 1 variables, the other important set of variables in Mitra's model, encompasses the independent variables in educational research, some alterable while others are not. Mitra notes that researchers have been interested in social class and cultural variables and this interest has generated a number of research studies relating these variables to the outcomes of the educational processes. Subsequently, the researchers' attention shifted to attempting to explain the reasons for the differences in outcome in terms of home, school and such other variables.

In between (Set 2 variables) is the teaching and learning variables which can be said to be concerned with the heart of the educational process. In the model (Figure 1), there is a partial overlap of instructional situation with learning situation, learning situation being wider. Thus, a good deal of educational research has focussed on the instructional situation in relation to social class, school and instructional materials and so on on the one hand, and to achievement

or learning outcomes, on the other. Similarly, educational research interest continues to be on the learning situation and its relation with society, school and the home and with learning outcomes and achievement (Mitra, 1984). To highlight the voluminous research that exists specifically on these two aspects of the teacher-learning situation, the teacher, his behaviour and methods have been shown in the model (Figure 1) as outside the instructional situation. Likewise, the learner and learning processes have been shown outside the learning situation.

With regard to this model, Mitra (1984) cautions that it does not reflect educational theory but is a convenient way of looking at educational research. Although the model implies a uni-directional flow, in theory the variables interact and the flow is both ways.

THE LEARNER VARIABLES - INTELLECTIVE ABILITY

The intellective or cognitive ability of the learner, his or her personality and home background characteristics have been the foci of studies which have attempted to find some relationship between the learner and his or her academic performance.

In studies which attempt to relate measures of intellectual ability to academic performance, Lavin (1965) notes that the single best predictor of performance at the college level is the high school academic record, which he claims is due in part to the fact that high school grades are

determined by many factors in addition to measured intellectual ability. A similar result was obtained by Entwistle and Wilson (1977) in the two major studies they carried out in Aberdeen and Lancaster universities to explain differences in academic performance. One of their conclusions was that both studies found that previous scholastic attainment was the best pre-entry predictor of subsequent academic attainment.

Lavin (1965) reviewed more than thirty studies which have related measures of intelligence to measures of achievement and concluded that ability measures are the best single type of predictor of academic performance as they account, on the average, for 35 to 45 percent of the variation in academic performance. Bloom (1976) concluded that intelligence measures account for about 50 percent of the variation in academic achievement although he argued that cognitive entry characteristics - the pre-requisite learning skills - have better predictive value than intelligence measures alone. Walberg (1978) reported slightly higher figures of 40 to 60 percent in the variance in learning that can be accounted for by measures of intelligence.

Intellective ability measures seem to be the single best predictors of academic performance and there is ample research evidence to suggest that they account for about one half of the variance in such performance.

THE LEARNER VARIABLES - PERSONALITY MEASURES

The learner's personality variables like extroversion-introversion, attitude to school, aspirations, locus of control, academic motivation, self-esteem, self-concept and learning styles are alleged to be also operative in academic performance. Mc Clelland's work (1961, 1965, 1965B, 1969) seems to suggest that personality can play a major role in achievement. It also seems as if certain cultures and home environments provide these learning experiences to a higher degree than others (Adkin et al, 1972; Zigler, 1970; Rosen, 1959).

Motivational variables of the learner play a very important role in determining success at school (Nicholls, 1979; Bloom, 1976; Weiner, 1972; Carroll, 1963). Several studies indicate that there might be a strong relationship between motivation to achieve and academic achievement. Weiner and Kukla (1970), for example, found that in academic performance situations, individuals with high achievement motivation show greater task performance, maintain high levels of performance without supervision, have a tendency to complete interrupted tasks and when placed in an ability-grouped class, show greater growth in academic achievement and more interest in school work. Weiner and Kukla also showed that individuals high on achievement motivation persist longer at tasks even when experiencing failure. They conclude that this would probably account for the greater academic success of students high in academic motivation.

In two studies of university students in Great Britain, Entwistle and Wilson (1977) found that low motivation appeared consistently as a symptom of failure among university students while the second study found that a factor linking motivation, study habits, ambition, and satisfaction with courses, was one of two which showed a relationship with degree results. Entwistle, Thomson and Wilson (1974) concluded:

Clearly there are quite distinct motivational patterns which lead to academic success for different types of students. Some students are stable, confident and highly motivated by hope for success, while others are anxious, uncertain of themselves and haunted by fear of failure.

(in Kozeki and Entwistle, 1983, p.185)

For Fiji, Kishor (1981) concluded that motivation to achieve significantly correlated with academic achievement.

Evidence in the literature therefore seems to indicate that there is a correlation between achievement motivation and academic achievement even though the notion of cause and effect is questionable.

The literature also seems to show a relationship between locus of control and academic achievement. For instance, Rotter (1966, p.42) noted that locus of control

... may act as a motivational variable in that internally oriented students who believe that rewards come through one's own hard work could be more willing to direct and expand much effort towards academic goals.

Rotter found the converse to be true. Externally oriented students who feel that their academic successes and failures are beyond their control and dependent on the whims and desires of other people or circumstances have little reason to exert task-oriented effort in an attempt to improve on their academic performance.

A decade later, Rotter (1975) clarified the proposed relationship between locus of control and academic achievement by explaining that a child's expectation that a particular behaviour will bring a particular reinforcement is not the only predictor of the occurrence of that behaviour. He stressed that the value of the expected reinforcement is also important. Rotter also points out that the relationship between generalized reinforcement expectancies and achievement is usually lower for college students than for younger children and he offers two explanations for the age difference. Firstly, achievement situations are least novel and least ambiguous for college students therefore the predictive power of generalised reinforcements should be lower for this group. Secondly, Rotter believes those students whose achievement behaviour is affected by external attitudes are less likely to go to college.

Various other studies have also found positive relationships between internality and academic achievement. Bar-tal and Bar-Zohar (1977) have shown that internal locus of control is predictive of academic achievement. Similarly, children in Israel (Handel, 1975), Hungary (Rupp and Nowicki, 1978) and Sri Lanka (Faustman and Mathews, 1980)

also show positive relationships between internal locus of control and academic achievement.

With regard to Fiji, both Basow (1982B) and Kishor (1981, 1982, 1983) found a more external locus of control among Fijians, compared to Indians which could explain why the former achieved poorly. Kishor (1981) concluded that internal locus of control was significantly correlated with academic achievement for both Fijians and Indians.

However, Stipek and Weisz (1981) found from their review of the literature on the relationship between perceived personal control and academic achievement that questionnaire measures of children's locus of control vary greatly in both content and form. Moreover, they found a wide variation in characteristics of the children tested. Consequently, they concluded that it is difficult to reach specific conclusions regarding the relationship between locus of control and academic achievement although they had initially pointed out that 'perceived control of events is one motivational variable that appears to affect children's academic achievement' (Stipek and Weisz, 1981, p.101).

Numerous investigations have demonstrated that students taught according to their learning styles showed increased academic achievement (Carbo, 1980; Cafferty, 1980; Douglass, 1979; Trautman, 1979). Dunn et al (1981) point out that students are able to identify their own learning styles and cited several studies which verified this

(Cafferty, 1980; Robertson, 1977; Farr, 1971; Domino, 1970).

Much of the research on self-concept also seems to show a correlation between self-concept and academic achievement (Wooster and Carson, 1982; Griggs and Price, 1981; Burns, 1979; Canfield and Wells, 1976; Bledsoe, 1967; Brookover, et al, 1964).

Pertaining to self-concept in Fiji children, Kishor (1981) found that this was significantly correlated with academic achievement for both ethnic groups with Indians showing more positive self-concept. Stewart (1982, 1984) emphasizes the psychological need of people to 'feel good about themselves' or have a positive sense of self-concept. Stewart observed that a healthy self-concept in students is conducive to success at school.

However, some researchers (Pottebaum et al, 1986; Scheirer and Kraut, 1979; Shavelson et al, 1976) have raised criticisms regarding the results of such studies and urge educators and the like to be cautious about these findings.

Scheirer and Kraut (1979, p.132) in their review of studies on self-concept in educational programmes note that 'little direct evidence exists in either psychological or sociological literature that self-concept has an independent influence on behaviour'. They point out that not only did most of the programmes fail in their action goals but they also failed to be adequate explorations of various theoretical

approaches to educational change. The two authors give four reasons for the failure of the evaluators of the programmes of educational interventions to find an association between self-concept change and academic achievement, namely: methodological problems with the study design and types of data collected; practical implementation problems such that the intended intervention was not actually taking place; theoretical problems with the specification of the processes by which enhanced self-concept might influence academic achievement; and finally, an erroneous basic theory, such that self-concept is not a viable mechanism for enhancing academic achievement. Scheirer and Kraut (1979, p.145) conclude:

Yet the overwhelming negative evidence reviewed here for a causal connection between self-concept and academic achievement should create caution among both educators and theorists who have heretofore assumed that enhancing a person's feelings about himself would lead to academic achievement.

Similarly, Pottebaum et al (1986) allege that although much research has been conducted in the last three decades or so concerning self-concept and academic achievement, the causal relation between these two constructs has yet to be clearly defined. They maintain that any significant effect between self-concept and achievement could simply be the by-product of other uncontrolled variables since neither variable is generally under experimental control.

It would seem therefore from the review of the literature that some

motivational factors such as locus of control and self-concept may not have as great an impact on academic achievement as previously assumed.

THE LEARNER VARIABLES - HOME BACKGROUND

The social, economic and cultural background of the learner and the ways in which they interact with him and his learning environment have an important bearing on school achievement.

Coleman et al (1966), Jencks (1972), Chopra (1966), Husen (1967), Thorndike (1973), Comber and Keeves (1973) and Toulitos et al (1978) have demonstrated the significance of family background to student achievement in developed countries. Student achievement in various subjects were related to certain background factors such as area of residence, parental education, father's occupation, availability of reading materials and the size of the family.

Some studies have shown that parental encouragement and support-family learning environments - correlate highly with achievement (Marjoribanks, 1977; Wolf, 1964; Dave, 1963; Fraser, 1959). A more recent study by Keith et al (1986) on the direct and indirect effects of parental involvement, homework and television time on high school achievement found that while parental involvement had no direct effect on senior students' achievement scores, it positively influenced the amount of time that they spent on homework. The same study found that as expected, homework had an important, positive effect on student

achievement and television time had a smaller, negative effect.

Research on culture and learning seems to suggest that children of differing groups differ in patterns of achievement as a result of their cultural experiences, values and beliefs (Harrington, 1975; Cole and Scribner, 1974; Kimball, 1974; Maehr, 1974, 1974B). Disparate cultural experiences and values seem to affect success in schools just as much as ability and aptitude.

Although school factors have been found as very significant in developing countries, several researchers have strongly linked socio-economic factors to academic achievement. These studies suggest that children of the urban and affluent have greater chances of success at school in contrast to children of rural dwellers and the poor (Attwood, 1985 - Papua New Guinea; Datta, 1984 - Africa; Niles, 1981 - Sri Lanka; Seshadri, 1976 - India). Fuller (1986, p.493) found that 'school characteristics influence student achievement at least as strongly as does family background'.

However, a review of 9 empirical studies by Simmons and Alexander (1978) investigating the influence of home background factors on achievement in developing countries reported their findings concerning the relative importance of parental socio-economic status as mixed. But they found that student background effects are consistently strong at the primary level although this becomes less important at the secondary level.

A few socio-cultural and home background studies carried out in Fiji are discussed in Chapter 3. What can be concluded from these studies is that the home background of the students had an important influence on school achievement.

The research literature on the effects of the home background of the learner on school achievement seems to indicate that the social, economic and cultural background of the learner has a large influence on student achievement.

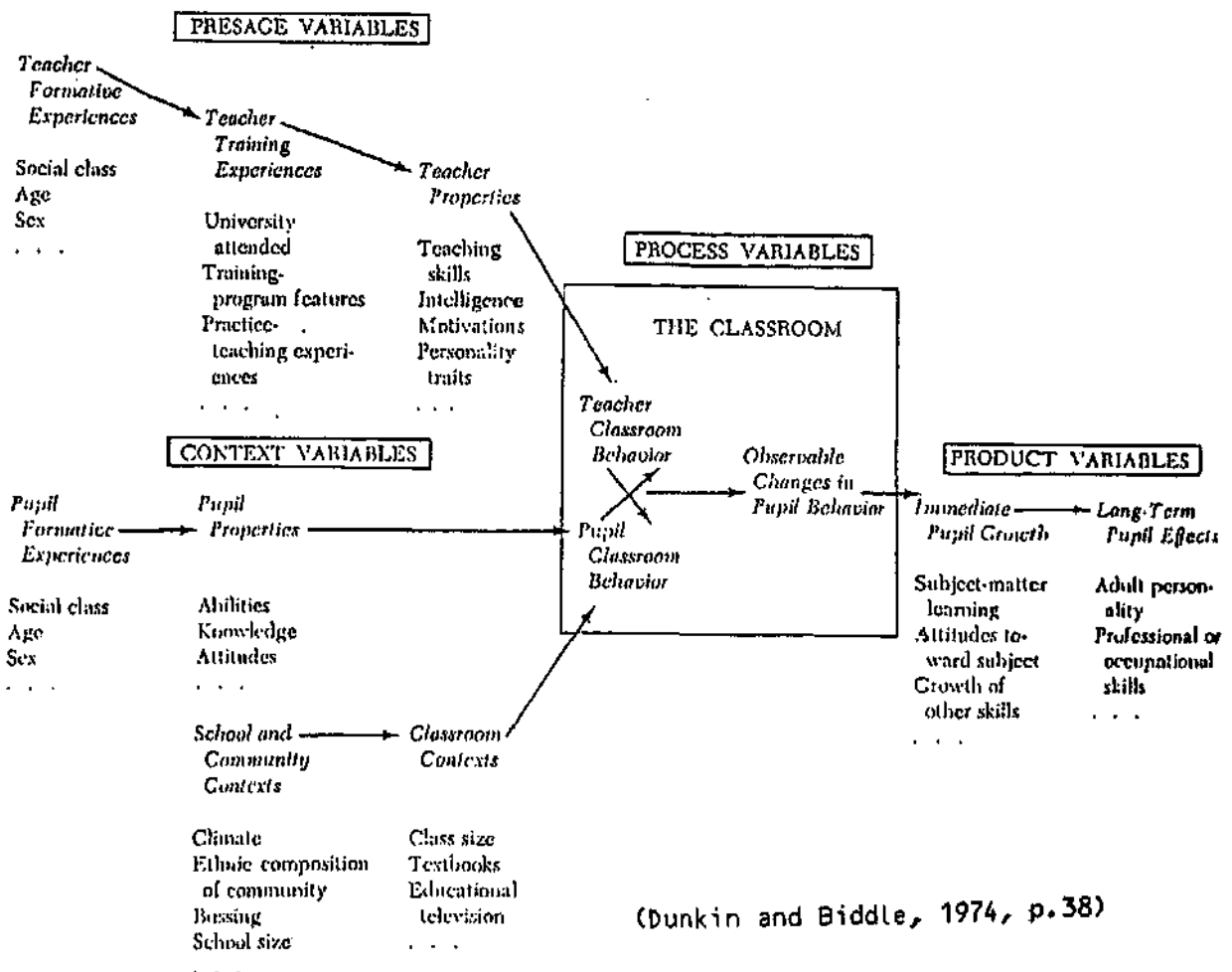
THE SCHOOL - INSTRUCTIONAL PROCESS VARIABLES

In the last two decades, the findings of various research studies challenged the opinion that schools of themselves could do little to influence achievement (Duignan, 1986; Heyneman, 1976, 1979, 1983, 1984; Tymko, 1984; MacKenzie, 1983; Purkey and Smith, 1983; Rutter et al, 1979). Other studies were also undertaken on school effectiveness (Wimpelberg, 1989; Mortimore et al, 1988; Duignan, 1987; Murphy et al, 1985; Cuban, 1984; MacKenzie, 1983; Shoemaker and Fraser, 1981; Averch et al, 1974).

Dunkin and Biddle (1974) reviewed studies involved with the 'systematic observation of teaching in classrooms' (p.3). Their model for the study of classroom teaching (see Figure 2) reduces the thirteen classes of variables identified to four larger classes, namely presage variables (which concern the characteristics of teachers that may be

examined for their effects on the teaching process such as teacher-training experiences); context variables (which concern the conditions to which the teacher must adjust such as pupil formative experiences and classroom contexts); process variables (which concern the actual activities of classroom teaching; and product variables (which concern the outcomes of teaching). This model is useful because it suggests the kinds of variables that have an effect on the actual teacher-learning situation and ultimately on academic achievement.

Figure 2: A MODEL FOR THE STUDY OF CLASSROOM TEACHING



(Dunkin and Biddle, 1974, p.38)

Heyneman (1982) claims that the gap in educational quality between low and high income countries is not only large but is also widening. Heyneman and Loxley (1983) in their study comparing educational achievement in 29 countries found that school resources were more important than pre-school determinants in measuring achievement in all low-income countries. They also found that the impact of quality improvements on achievement was greater in poorer countries. The general conclusion reached by Heyneman (1982) in his cross-cultural study was that school resources and inputs are of critical importance in determining quality. He found that external factors such as socio-economic background of students had less importance in developing countries compared to developed countries.

Several research studies on developing countries have identified the teacher as the critical variable in educational quality and innovation (Lewin, 1985; Saha, 1983; Avalos and Haddad, 1981; Avalos, 1980). Lewin (1985, p.130) notes:

The quality of school experience is heavily dependent on the quality of staff, their motivation and the leadership they experience. If it were not so, it would be difficult to explain the widely recognised differences in performances between schools with similar levels of physical resources.

Lewin found that teacher training in developing countries is often neglected and that priority was given to costly physical development which may be necessary but is not sufficient to bring qualitative improvements.

Husen, Saha and Noonan (1978) reviewed 32 major research studies pertaining to the relationship of teacher characteristics, including the level of educational attainment and pedagogical training, with student performance in developing countries. They conclude that a positive relationship existed between teacher training and student achievement in less developed countries, in particular teacher qualification, experience and amount of education and knowledge.

Similarly, Saha (1983) in his review of 230 school achievement studies in developing countries to assess the effect of teacher variables on student achievement found that

In general, the cumulative evidence indicates that better trained and more experienced teachers produce higher academic achievement.

(Saha, 1983, p.76)

Saha maintains that his findings are concurrent with the research which places a low ranking on home background factors. He argues that since school is foreign to home life, the teacher is the critical variable in determining achievement.

The headteacher or principal (used synonymously) as distinct from the classroom teacher also plays a crucial part in school quality (measured in terms of achievement in examinations).

Somerset⁵ maintains that the internal dynamics of schools are vital to their success and are generated largely by the principal. He claims that a good principal is particularly critical in rural areas where Ministry of Education officials rarely visit and where he/she has almost total influence on school organization and is capable of motivating and inspiring pupils and teachers. Tavola (1990, pp.60-61) continued that in his Ugandan and Kenyan studies, Somerset found that school quality is extremely volatile and that fluctuations in performance often coincided with changes of school principals. Somerset maintains that the success of rural schools is much more haphazard than urban schools as the former are found in predominantly poor communities which tend to be uncritical of teachers in contrast to urban schools which often cater for wealthier communities who are perhaps better versed in education and more demanding of high standards. Somerset suggests that successful principals should be tapped as resources in in-service training for principals, in order to improve the quality of this vital cadre of professionals.

In her own study of school effectiveness in Fiji, Tavola (1990) contends that while effective teachers are essential in the educative process, they are a necessary but not sufficient factor for a successful school. What is more critical, she argues, is that in-school factors, specifically the quality of leadership, the stability

⁵ As reported by Tavola (1990) in her doctoral dissertation, from lectures by H.C.A. Somerset at University of London Institute of Education, March 1987, pp. 60-61.

and strength of the school management and the judicious use of resources, are more important than the 'antecedent variables' of the individual children (e.g. race or socio-economic status) in improving school effectiveness, measured in terms of student achievement.

Similarly, Nabuka (1982) and Rika (1984) found the quality of the principal a critical variable for school effectiveness. These, and Tavola's findings (1990) are consistent with the research on principals in developed countries (Leithwood and Montgomery, 1985; Hall et al, 1984; Hager and Scarr, 1983; Shoemaker and Fraser, 1981).

In their review of studies concerned with school inputs, subject to policy control, which influence student academic achievement in developing countries, Simmons and Alexander (1980) found that teacher motivation, availability and use of the library, textbook availability at primary grades, and homework and free reading were significant for improvement in academic performance. The variables which may be related to student achievement are boarding at secondary school, teacher certification and academic qualification at upper secondary levels, teacher contract (tenure) at upper secondary grades and teacher experience at primary and lower secondary grades. Simmons and Alexander conclude that increasing the quality or quantity of most of the traditional inputs, such as expenditures per student, is not likely to improve student achievement. The only changes they recommend to improve internal efficiency of the educational system are to do with the reduction of unit costs, teacher motivation, textbooks and other

reading materials, and homework. These, they offer simply as a starting point to policymakers who may be interested in experimenting with a limited number of schools to see if improvements could be made.

Fuller (1987, pp.225-256) reviewed 60 multivariate studies conducted in developing countries and notes that 'Much of this empirical work suggests that the school institution exerts a greater influence on achievement within Third World countries compared to industrialized nations, after accounting for the effect of pupil background'. A good deal of evidence suggests that material factors in schools, such as more textbooks or writing materials and availability of school libraries, exercise more influence on achievement in developing countries compared to industrialized nations. However, Fuller (1987) argues that this claim should be treated as a tentative conclusion. As a final note, Fuller points out that:

... researchers should take more care in specifying the conditions under which their findings hold. We have seen that school effects in the Third World seem to be stronger in rural areas and among lower income pupils, compared to urban middle-class areas. Yet we usually forego more careful analysis of the local conditions under which schools influence achievement. Instead we rush to do large national surveys to allow broad influences.

(Fuller, 1987, p.288)

Over the last two decades, there has been an increasing methodological sophistication in educational research. Lavin (1965), in his review of the literature on the determinants of academic performance, highlighted

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two shortcomings of the pre-1965 research, namely, an excessive emphasis on academic grades as the index of performance and an 'atomistic' perspective. However, the methodological approach taken over the last twenty years, has shown improvement. Mitra (1984, p.9) describes it this way:

The variables are defined operationally, the instruments used are sharper, the techniques of observation have become more objective and aimed more precisely at observable behaviour, the designs of experiment allow greater degree of confidence in results, and lastly the statistical techniques take care of interlocking of several variables The influence of the computer and the developments in multivariate statistical methods and their programming, during the last ten years, have moved educational research, almost in a quantum jump, to a new level of sophistication.

From the preceeding review of the literature on factors affecting academic achievement, it becomes obvious that research on the same has changed in terms of its focus, approach and findings. In the field of Psychology, the impact of intelligence and aptitude tests was felt quite early in educational research to account for individual differences in achievement. Soon after the development of research interest in schools was aroused, much research was carried out on the social, economic and cultural factors which affect student achievement. Home, school and such other variables were methodologically considered as contributing to the total variance in achievement. The research focus here was on the social context of the school and its pupil and sociological methods of research were used increasingly to link up society and culture with school, home and curriculum.

It was not until the 1970s that research was carried out focussing on the individual student in everyday, ordinary classroom (Brophy and Good, 1974). Subsequently, the emphasis has shifted away from learning, which has been dominated by psychologists, to instruction, teaching and teacher behaviour (Mitra, 1984). The most recent focus of educational research seems to be on evaluating the effectiveness of schools in terms of school leadership and decision-making, school culture and climate, teacher and student behaviour in relation to the curriculum and the impact of these variables on student outcomes and achievement.

THE CONCEPT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The concept 'affirmative action'⁶ has been defined as an active effort to improve employment or educational opportunities for members of minority groups and women. It has been commonly used for public and private action aimed at remedying race and sex discrimination.

This concept first came into use in the middle 1960s in the United States of America. Glazer (1978, 1983) deals comprehensively with this concept, tracing its origin and development in America from 1964 to the early 1980s. He observed that affirmative action developed following three phases: colour-blindness, colour-consciousness and affirmative or reverse discrimination.

⁶ By Webster's Third New International Dictionary

In the United States, the Federal Government was concerned with the massive public and private discrimination and prejudice practised against the 'blacks'. Hence it made some attempt to improve employment and educational opportunities for them. Several pieces of legislation, for example, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, referred to no specific groups as victims of discrimination and beneficiaries of non-discrimination. They were colour-blind in that discrimination against anyone on grounds of race, colour, religion, or national origin was banned (Glazer, 1983).

Then in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the fight against racial and ethnic discrimination entered a new phase in that there was a shift from being colour-blind to becoming colour-conscious. This meant initially finding out where few minority group members were employed and in what occupations they were absent. It meant seeking out and preparing members of minority groups for better educational opportunities and jobs. When programmes were set according to statistical goals by ethnic groups, affirmative action entered its third phase, what Glazer (1983, p.161) calls 'affirmative' or 'reverse' discrimination. This, according to Glazer, was a giant step forward as it denoted that some active effort was being effected to improve employment and educational opportunities for members of minority groups. However, with the setting of quotas in education and employment in favour of the 'blacks', there was increased resentment and hostility on the part of those who were excluded. Glazer (1978, p.220) puts it this way:

The implications of the new course are an increasing consciousness of the significance of group membership, an increasing divisiveness on the basis of race, colour, and national origin, and a spreading resentment among the disfavoured groups against the favoured groups.

Benokraitis and Feagin (1978) note that it is difficult to have direct and straightforward measures of the impact of affirmative action. Their assessment of the impact of the affirmative action policies carried out in the United States was that while they have provided individuals in minority groups within government, industry, higher education and other spheres with a 'protective shield in attacking employment discrimination', their impact have been 'modest at best' and have not resulted in 'sweeping changes' (Benokraitis and Feagin, 1978, p.194). Benokraitis and Feagin (1978, P.194) sum it up this way:

Theoretically, affirmative action policies were designed to help the system help the victim. In practice, however, the victims still find that they have to fight a system that does not want to help.

After Fiji attained independence in 1970, a number of affirmative action policies were set by the Alliance Government in an attempt to close the educational attainment gap that existed between Fijians, on the one hand, and other ethnic groups on the other. One such policy was the 50 percent parity policy in the award of scholarships in favour of Fijians. The rest of this chapter will outline several differences and similarities in the use of the concept of affirmative action as originally intended and as used in the Fiji context.

In the American context, affirmative action policies refer to those policies set specifically for the improvement of educational and employment opportunities of the minority group who comprise about 17 percent of the total American population. In the Fiji context, however, affirmative action policies were set for Fijians who by no means are the minority group. Fijians account for about 46 percent of the total population. The minority group in Fiji consist of Part-Europeans, Chinese, Rotumans and other Pacific Islanders who, together with the Europeans, make up 4.7 percent of the total population. This is one difference in the use of the concept of affirmative action. Another difference lies in the fact that while in the American context, the benefitting group was the 'black' minority consisting of different nationalities, the privileged group in the Fiji situation are the Fijians. This has led to many accusations of racial discrimination made against the Alliance Government.

Yet another difference in the use of the concept 'affirmative action' as used in the American and Fiji contexts is that statistical goals were set in education and employment for the former while policies for educational improvements only were set in the latter.

However, Fijians could be defined as a minority group in that they were heavily disadvantaged in both educational and employment opportunities. The 'Fijian educational problem' was defined by the Government as a vast disparity between Fijians and other ethnic groups in both educational attainment and opportunities for senior positions in

employment. And because increasing hostility and resentment would result between Fijians and other ethnic groups if these gaps were allowed to widen, the Government implemented a number of affirmative action policies aimed specifically at improving the educational, and by implication occupational, lot of Fijians.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CAUSES OF THE FIJIAN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM

Before any solutions can be reasonably sought for a problem, the causes of that problem should first be thoroughly understood. This chapter examines the Post-Colonial Government's diagnosis of the causes of the Fijian educational problem. It also examines scientific studies undertaken by independent researchers on the same. The final section of this chapter touches on the critical need for policies on Fijian education to be based on a thorough understanding of the causes of Fijian under-achievement.

THE GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

Since 1966, a number of tangible factors have been identified by the Government (both Colonial and Post-Colonial) as impeding the quality of Fijian education performance, and by implication, ultimately contributing to the marked imbalance in the educational attainment of Fijians compared to non-Fijians.

The most serious impediment for Fijian education has been identified as the geographical scatter of the Fiji Islands (Education Department, 1967, p.6; Fiji Education Commission, 1969, p.68; Naisara, 1974, p.1). This factor has contributed to rural schools being too small for effective staffing and teaching. One outcome of this has been the necessity of having multiple classes in the primary schools, once described as a necessary evil (Bole, 1989, p.16). Another outcome of

the geographical scatter of the island is the difficulty of supervision and supply for the 130 or so Fijian schools which can only be reached by sea or costly air transportation. A third outcome of this factor is the establishment of uneconomic schools (Naisara, 1974, p.1).

Other factors which impede the improvement of Fijian education can be classified under what Baba (1982B) describes as institutional factors. The poor quality of teachers and facilities in predominantly rural schools have been identified as impediments to the quality of Fijian education (Education Department, 1967, p.6; Fiji Education Commission, 1969, p.68; Naisara, 1974, p.2; Bole, 1989, pp.18-19). At the school level, the shortage of text-books, library books and other essential teaching equipment like proper laboratories and science equipment, is seen as a serious problem. In addition, the need for professional leadership and better conditions of service for teachers has been recognised. Teachers in the rural areas (which in 1988 constituted more than half of the teaching force) not only are isolated from any intellectual stimulus but also have to contend with poor accommodation facilities (Bole, 1989, p.17).

Conditions in the rural village were also viewed as impediments to Fijian education. Firstly, the less favourable home conditions, compared to the urban area, were not conducive to study. Secondly, the comparatively long distances between home and school, and inadequate transport facilities did not enhance the quality of education in the rural area. Moreover, rural poverty not only made it difficult for

school committees to maintain standards but parents also found it difficult to pay boarding fees for their children who qualified to go to secondary school.

Another institutional factor seen as a problem for the education of Fijians arises from the fact that high schools are mainly urban institutions (Naisara, 1974, p.2). This makes it necessary for the majority of Fijian students from junior secondary schools (who, because of lack of space, cannot be accommodated at boarding schools) to live away from parents, a factor which can adversely affect their studies. This was supported by the Nabuka Study (1982) which will be discussed in detail in a later section.

The 1969 Fiji Education Commission also pointed out three intangible obstacles which need some special measures to assist in bridging the gap between Fijians and non-Fijians. These obstacles can be classified under the category of socio-cultural factors.

The social background of the Fijian people is seen as one of the main intangible factors contributing to the disparity in the educational attainment of Fijians compared to non-Fijians. The Commission puts it this way:

Although it would be hazardous to make dogmatic generalisations, most observers of Fijian life (and this includes Fijian observers) seem to agree that the people are much better, indeed often first-class, at bursts of energy in the face of some exciting task or emergency than they are at long-continued steady slogging at hum-drum jobs. There seems

also to be a tendency to enthusiasm for new approaches, with undue expectations followed by undue discouragement when the pay-off is not as good or so quick as had been hoped.

All these traits, given the historical and social environment, are entirely natural, but changes in attitudes deeply rooted in tradition are notoriously slow and difficult for peoples as for persons. (Fiji Education Commission, 1969, p.69.)

The Minister for Education in 1974, the Honourable Jone Naisara expressed similar sentiments. In commenting on Government expenditure on Fijian education, he said:

I believe that the material assistance given by the Ministry to Fijian education will bear little fruit if the attitude of the Fijian people is not revolutionized. For there, I believe, lies the crux of the problem. What is done is no more than part of a curative campaign. The illness is diagnosed, a cure is offered. But the conditions giving rise to the illness remain unattended. Any preventive programme must include a radical transformation of what is peculiarly a Fijian attitude to education, viz the parent's obligation to his child must not cease after the child has found a place in school and the fees paid. (Naisara, 1974, p.4)

The other two socio-cultural factors which impede Fijian education are a lack of competition since Fijian students stay in an almost entirely Fijian environment, and the slow maturation of Fijian students at boarding schools due to the problem of adjustment (Fiji Education Commission, 1969, p.69). This includes students studying at university.

It will become obvious later that government policy on Fijian education, in particular special measures, were formulated to attack the more urgent problems which were institutional factors that had

manifested themselves at the secondary level. It would seem that the Government pursued short-term policies aimed at improving on the institutional variables rather than any long-term policy to improve the quality of Fijian education as a whole because the intangible problems mentioned above were difficult to resolve due to their very nature.

Baba (1983), in his capacity as chairman of a select committee formed by the Fijian Affairs Board to look into the problems of Fijian education, made nine recommendations to facilitate improvement of school-based factors in a paper presented to the Fijian Affairs Board. The dual purpose of these suggestions was not only to ensure that a large proportion of Fijian students successfully complete secondary education but also to ensure that sufficient numbers of Fijians pursue courses in areas that they were unrepresented (i.e. commerce, science and maths, technical courses etc.).

These recommendations were:

1. That a section in the Ministry of Fijian Affairs take over the responsibility of sponsoring and co-ordinating the sponsorship of Fijian students who are selected to do trade and commercial courses at the Fiji Institute of Technology.
2. That a scheme of attracting quality teachers particularly in the areas of science, mathematics, commerce and technical courses be instituted immediately. These teachers should be well qualified and be committed to the task for which they are required.
3. That the Government takes over selected rural schools and upgrade and centralize their science, technical and library facilities to enable such schools to act as a centre of excellence for the region they serve.

4. That hostel facilities be carefully monitored to ensure that adequate services are available. The Government should take over hostel facilities in selected regional schools and upgrade them accordingly in order that they serve their locality effectively.
5. That a re-examination of the integrated science programme be undertaken for students continuing in science-based programmes beyond secondary level and that teachers be made available to teach the pure science options for rural schools who wish to take them.
6. That a Royal Commission be set up as soon as possible to investigate and recommend ways of improving Fijian education.
7. That principals of rural schools should be offered short inservice training courses and overseas visitation programmes in the area of educational administration to help them build their experience and professional development.
8. That the Government identifies a minimum acceptance level of library resources and ensures that this standard is kept in all rural secondary schools.
9. That rural schools be given continual professional and administrative support of the best available quality. (Baba, 1983, pp. 9-10)

Probably due to financial constraints, the Government has only been able to effect the first suggestion. However, with the creation of special funds specifically for Fijian education in 1984, there was an intensive effort to improve the academic and professional qualifications of Fijians as well as improve the facilities of predominantly rural Fijian schools.

It has only been recently that the Government has recognized the need to improve the quality of pre-school and primary education, particularly in the rural areas, if performance at the secondary and tertiary level is to be improved upon (Fijian Education Committee,

1988; Bole, 1989).

The Government also has, through the Fijian Education Committee (1988), only recently recognized the vital necessity for in-depth educational research for a 'multi-pronged Fijian education development'.

It is interesting to note that this urgent need for research has been expressed by government officials (within the limitations of this literature survey) only on two occasions: first, through the 1980 Internal Review Report on Fijian education (Kallam et al, 1980); and secondly, through this recent statement by the Fijian Education Committee of the Fijian Affairs Board (1988).

A FRAMEWORK FOR RESEARCH ON FIJIAN EDUCATION

Parallel to government concern over the problem of Fijian education, the 1970s and particularly the early 1980s saw a flurry of studies undertaken by keen researchers to investigate the reasons for the ethnic discrepancy in academic achievement of the Fijians and Indians.

In a paper presented to the Research Seminar on Fijian Education in 1979, Baba (1982B) contends that the aim of Fijian education research should be to provide data which should be used as a basis for long-term policies and decisions in improving Fijian education. In the same paper, he highlights three categories of variables which may be used by interested researchers as the bases for investigations into the

differences in educational performance between Fijians and non-Fijians.

These categories of variables are:

- (a) Psychological factors (like motivation/aspiration, need achievement, locus of control, cognitive style);
- (b) Socio-cultural factors (like individualism/cooperation, cultural conflicts, tradition of academic scholarship); and
- (c) Institutional factors (like urban/rural, facilities, teacher quality).

The areas that attracted much investigation were the psychological and institutional domains.

PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES

The first avenue of psychological studies was in the realm of investigating whether the disparity in the educational attainment of Fijians and Indians could be explained in terms of a difference in intelligence or general ability. Chandra (1975) and Bennet (1972) found no difference in the scores of Indians and Fijians on the Queensland Test which is a non-verbal test of intelligence, and in the General ability Test (GAT).

Stewart et al (1980) found that Indians have a higher level of belief

in the trustworthiness of people than Fijians. Stewart (1983) stressed the psychological need of people 'to feel good about themselves' and that greater effort in this area will cost nothing and may have enormous benefit for all school children. He emphasized the fact that the more sure an individual feels about himself and his abilities, the more willing he is to place himself in potential learning situations which may involve taking a risk.

Both Basow (1982B) and Kishor (1981; 1983) have shown lower levels of self-concept in Fijians as compared to Indians. Both researchers also have found a more external locus of control among Fijians than Indians. Basow (1982B) suggests that only Fijian students with exceptionally high work orientation scores appear to make it to university.

Kishor (1981) identified ethnic differences in locus of control orientation, self-concept and academic motivation which underlie the achievement-oriented behaviour of the students. His main conclusions were:

- (a) During the third year of secondary school (i.e. at Form 3), Indians made greater academic progress than Fijians;
- (b) Internal locus of control, academic motivation, self-concept and aspiration of students were significantly correlated with academic achievement for both ethnic groups, and explained significant amounts of variances in their academic

performance.

- (c) Indians showed a more internal locus of control, greater academic motivation, more positive self-concept and a greater valuing of education than Fijians.
- (d) The discrepancies in academic performance between the two ethnic groups was attributable, in a large degree, to their differences in locus of control orientation, academic motivation and self-concept.

Kishor (1983) suggests several reasons for the ethnic variation in locus of control. First, Indians are individualistic and are likely to be more self-responsible for their own success and failures, which could develop in them an internal orientation. In contrast, Fijians live communally (which is a cultural phenomenon) whereby they seek group approval. This might encourage among Fijians a belief that rewards are controlled by powerful others, which in turn would develop an external locus of control.

The second explanation suggested by Kishor (1983) is provided by the country's socio-political system. He notes:

Under the current government policy of the '50:50 racial balance', opportunities in employment and education are available on a quota basis. While the Fijian quota is often unfulfilled for want of appropriately qualified individuals, there are always more qualified Indians than the number of

positions available to them. In this situation, the selection of Indians for jobs and education are highly competitive and therefore they are likely to have learned that success can only be obtained through considerable personal effort and initiative, a characteristic of internality resulting in their greater internal orientation. (Kishor, 1983, p.304)

Fijians on the other hand, often get positions with considerable ease, instilling in them the likely belief that rewards are given rather than earned, which is a characteristic of externality resulting in their lesser internal orientation.

Kishor (1983) cautions against changing the locus of control orientation of Fijian students (as implications it may have on the culture should be considered) until after a thorough study of its manifest and latent consequences has been carried out.

SOCIO-CULTURAL STUDIES

One study which focussed on the effects of culture on the academic achievement of Fijians was Tierney's study (1971) of a single rural primary school - Waicoba District School - where his two years as a teacher afforded him the 'chance to study a particular situation in depth, an important factor when considering the elements which make up "education".' He acknowledges the obvious disadvantage of such a study which is that any generalisations made from the findings in the single school to the national population would be very weak. Nevertheless, his ethnographic study is useful.

The following factors are identified by Tierney as cultural explanations for the low academic achievement of the rural Fijian student: lack of privacy in the home, lack of desire for competition due to societal preference for cooperative individuals, lack of mobility, and pressure for conformity. This researcher believes that societal conformity deserves more attention because it suggests that the light of curiosity and creativity in the mind of the young Fijian is extinguished by powerful forces in his own society whilst he is still young.

Veramu (thesis in progress) highlights some problems faced by rural Fijian students which could explain their low academic achievement. They are: low self-esteem, boring and seemingly irrelevant content, the insensitivity and brutality of teachers and the seemingly lack of parental commitment to their children's education. Veramu's ethnographic case-study is valuable in that he demonstrates that in spite of the adverse conditions existing within the Fijian home or community, a learner could be transformed from being an apathetic learner to being a high academic achiever in the English Language. This was made possible through the teacher (Veramu) deliberately making an attempt to be caring, patient and innovative in the classroom. He utilized the creative participatory problem-solving approach and argues that this approach 'to get learners to decide on instructional methods and learning strategies helped in making them high academic achievers' (Veramu, thesis in progress, p.104).

Thomas (1978) also used socio-cultural variables, namely cooperation and competition, to study children in Pacific Islands (Cook Islands, Samoa and Fiji). He also looked at the school as an agent of social change. He showed that European children were predominantly individualistic and competitive while most Pacific Islanders showed caring, cooperative behaviour. The Cook Islands was least cooperative. In contrast, Fiji and Western Samoa were relatively less modernized but showed higher levels of cooperation.

What is suggested is that cooperation is a positive social value in Pacific Islands, and that competition is more likely to be intergroup rather than interpersonal. Thomas (1979) argues that learning can be just as effective if it is done in situations where sharing and generosity are encouraged rather than working alone and beating others.

In a similar way, Kaye (1984, p.88) demonstrates that at the tertiary level, co-operation at group level (through the use of structured autonomous discussion groups) enabled the students to gain 'confidence in their own ability to think through the implications of questions' and helped them to 'wean themselves from reliance on doctrinal views...' His work is probably the only one of its kind to provide insight into co-operation at university/tertiary level in the South Pacific.

However, one needs to be cautious about these findings because they are too general. For instance, there are differences in cooperation and

competition between rural and urban children in any one particular island setting. In Fiji, for example, urban children were more competitive than those in rural schools who were found to be more cooperative. In the Kaye study, it should be stressed that while the use of autonomous discussion groups might be successful at the tertiary level, this might not be so at the secondary level.

INSTITUTIONAL STUDIES

The Fijian Teachers Association (FTA) began a Special Education project in 1974 aimed at improving Fijian education. This was in response to a challenge by the then Minister of Education (Naisara, 1974) who, in his opening speech to the FTA, expressed great concern about the educational gap between the Fijian and other races, hence the setting up of the "Vuli- Veicuqeni - Bridging the Education Gap Project".

In 1977, a fund was created (called the Ratu Sukuna Foundation Fund) to finance the Project. As a result of the Fijian Education Research Seminar held at the University of the South Pacific (USP) in 1979, a Research Project on Fijian Education was born. Elley (1979, 1982) and Nabuka (1982, 1984) were especially involved in this Fijian Education Achievement Project. They identified specific institutional and socio-cultural factors which affect the educational achievement of Fijians.

The Fijian Education Achievement Project used a random sample of 41 secondary schools with examination results by ethnic group for the

major subjects at the Fiji Junior and New Zealand School Certificate levels.

Elley (1982) summarized the major conclusions of the project, making reference to a report of the project by Nabuka (1982). The major conclusions of the research project were that:

- (a) Fijian students do as well as or better than non-Fijians in English and Social Science subjects. It seems that Fijians do considerably better in English in the primary level (probably because there is no problem in transferring from the vernacular script, as for example in Hindi and Urdu). However, the advantage appears to be maintained at least up to USP Foundation level but is distorted by the greater drop-out rate of Fijians after each examination.
- (b) Fijian students do not perform as well as Indian students in Science and Mathematics subjects at any level studied. Science pass rates in Fiji Junior for 1980 were 36% (Fijians) and 44% (Indians); In NZ School Certificate, 15% (Fijians) and 30% (Indians);
- (c) There is a marked difference between rural and urban students. It was noted that all junior secondary schools are rural as are four fifths of Fijian fourth form classes.

Two questionnaires, designed to investigate the study circumstances of both ethnic groups (Fijians and Indians), were administered, one each to Principals and Form Four pupils. A random sample of 44 schools (1 out of 3 of the total number of secondary schools) was taken. 21 out of 22 Fijian schools responded as did 18 out of 22 Indian Schools.

Conclusions from the Principals' questionnaire revealed that Fijian schools are smaller, more remote, directed by less experienced principals, and poorly equipped in terms of science laboratories, furniture and office equipment. However, classes are smaller and this factor (size of Form Four classes) does not help in explaining ethnic differences.

The information from the Principals' questionnaire was correlated with school performance on the Fiji Junior Certificate examination and these four factors were positively related to Fiji Junior passes: library books ($r = + 0.39$); number of ancillary staff ($r = + 0.37$); adequate science laboratories ($r = + 0.32$); and large classes ($r = + 0.31$).

Over 4,000 Form Four pupils completed the pupils' questionnaire of which 1,055 were Fijians and 1,895 Indians. The findings reveal the following differences between the two ethnic groups. Firstly, Indian pupils have access to more story books in English in their homes than Fijian pupils. 33 percent of Fijian pupils have over 20 books, compared to 52 percent for Indian pupils.

Furthermore, nearly one-third of the Fijian pupils in Form Four attend boarding school, whereas no Indian students in the sample were boarders. In addition, another 20 percent of Fijian fourth formers live away from home with relatives and friends. Thus, only 48 percent live with their parents whereas 89 percent of Indian pupils live with their parents. If parental help and support are important at secondary school level, this could be a very significant difference.

Another difference is revealed in the absence of students from school. Approximately 13 percent of Fijian students admitted to being absent for more than 10 days in the first two terms of 1981 compared to only 8.7 percent for Indian students. There was no difference between ethnic groups in access to electricity in the home. The figure was 52 percent for both groups. With regard to help with homework, there was a small difference reported by both ethnic groups. 31 percent of Fijians receive help 'often' compared with 38 percent of Indians.

Elley (1982) concluded that Fijian students have more disadvantages in their home circumstances compared to Indian students.

The quality of the Principal has been identified by Nabuka (1982) as an important variable for an effective school. The Principal's style of leadership, personal qualities, organizational skills, propensity to delegate and consult, willingness to give individual counselling and assistance to both staff and students were identified in the study as contributing to a strong school ethos and positive attitude towards

work.

The excellence of the Principal as an important factor for school effectiveness is demonstrated in a case study of Queen Victoria School (QVS), a boarding school predominantly for Fijian males (Rika, 1984). When Mr Rika was asked to assume the Principalship at QVS in 1980, it was felt by many that QVS 'was no longer a positive and leading element in the Fijian effort to bridge the education gap' (Rika, 1984, p.1); that QVS needed revitalising and that it should be restored to its once leading position in Fijian and national education in the Fijian and national interest.

Through the strong leadership of the Principal, QVS was restored to its former place in the academic and sports fields. The Principal was committed and did not ask a teacher to do anything he was not prepared to do himself. He led by example. When he told the school to be punctual, he made a point of being in his office at 7.30 a.m. each morning. His attendance was above reproach. He made sure he was seen to be working by both staff and students and he practised what he was telling them to do. Under his capable and effective leadership, not only did QVS excel in the sports field but it also did remarkably well academically. From a 27.1% pass rate for UE in 1978, QVS scored an overwhelming 67% pass-rate after only three years under the new Principalship. In 1982, QVS was second on the national level in the N.Z. School Certificate Examination.

Rika (1984) attributed the following factors as having a positive impact on the overall school culture. Firstly, the reintroduction of the weekly assembly attended by all students and teachers gave the school a feeling of oneness and united them in working towards a common goal. Not only did it provide a forum for motivating and inspiring both teachers and students but it also gave the school direction and orientation. Secondly, the emphasis on spiritual and moral teachings was deemed the cornerstone of school discipline. Thirdly, constant motivation was a crucial factor. The three themes of punctuality, industry and courtesy were emphasised. In addition, morale obtained from rugby success was harnessed to boost academic performance. Inspiration from the Board, Old Boys Association and the Parents Association was another contributing factor to school success.

Nabuka (1984) investigated the extent to which ten different home background variables influenced the academic achievement of Fijian and Indian students. An analysis of examination results (Fiji Junior Certificate) revealed that Indian students performed better than their Fijian counterparts in English, Maths, Basic Science, Chemistry, Physics, Social Science and History. Fijian students performed better only in Geography. When the above differences were tested for significance using the t-test, the differences for English, Mathematics and all the Science subjects were significant at the one percent level; the difference for the Social Sciences was not significant.

Students' home background, collected through a questionnaire survey,

showed that the most significant variables which differentiated between Fijian and Indian students were: the people with whom students reside whilst at school, the educational level of the students' father or guardian, the availability of reading books in the student's home and the availability of the prescribed text books for the student.

The first two variables concern the socio-economic background of the child whilst the last two are school variables. The school variables include the teachers and their quality, both in terms of experience and academic qualifications; material resources (reading and text books); school infra-structure; library, science and general classroom facilities.

Baba (1983) summarizes the institutional variables which could explain the poor performance of Fijian students in examinations as: a lack of qualified teachers to teach in the areas of science, mathematics and commerce; less experience on the part of Fijian principals in secondary schools compared to their Indian counterparts; the following of an integrated science programme in Fijian schools as against pure sciences; and the fact that Fijian schools have less adequate science facilities or laboratories, less adequate library and supportive office equipment.

Baba (1983) also propounds three socio-economic factors to explain the low success rate of Fijians. First, community support in the current voluntary school system is disadvantaged when the community is unable

to pay for necessary school facilities. Second, the majority of Fijian students are in rural areas and are often not given the professional support warranted. Third, a large number of Fijian students live away from their parents in boarding schools which are mainly substandard in the rural areas.

OTHER STUDIES

Some other studies and analyses of examination results which do not fit into the categories proposed by Baba (1982B) and do not focus directly on the causes of the Fijian education 'problem' but which are nonetheless relevant to the issue of Fijian education, have focussed on other variables such as UE marks - Low (1982), Singh and Singh (1988); analysis of University results - Singh (1970), Naidu (1981), Kenchington (1988); and language competence - Elley and Thomson (1978), Fitzcharles (1983), Wolfromm (1988) and Deverell (1989).

Naidu (1981) and Kenchington (1988) highlight the poor performance of Fijian students at university level. Naidu, in an ethnic analysis of academic achievement of USP students by academic discipline rated Indians first in Economics, Administrative Studies and Maths with Fijians beating Indians only in English. Both Indians and Fijians showed no marked differences in Education and Biology. In the seven disciplines apart from English, Education and Biology, when compared with both Indians and 'others', Fijians were rated third in six disciplines having only beaten 'others' in Physics.

Kenchington (1988, p.7), in his analysis of the USP Foundation results between 1984 and 1987, found that 'ethnic Fijian students consistently perform less well than Fiji Indians in Foundation (and tertiary) studies in Science and Mathematics ...' He also highlights the regrettably consistent low percentages of Fijian students (and students from other Pacific Island nations) who qualify each year to progress to Degree studies in Science and Mathematics. In 1984, for instance, only 21.6 per cent of Fijians qualified for degree studies⁷ compared to 89.7 per cent for Indians. Fijian students failed to attain the necessary combination of passes in order to progress to degree programmes in Science and Mathematics. Kenchington mentions that there were some Fijian students who had been offered scholarships by the Public Service Commission (PSC) and Fijian Affairs Board (FAB) to pursue degree studies in Science and Mathematics but had not qualified for entry into such programmes under the new regulations.

When these new 'stringent and inflexible' regulations were revised in 1985, there was a distinct improvement in the overall performance of Fijian students. For example in 1985, the percentage of Fijians who

⁷ 'This appalling figure', according to Kenchington, could be accrued to the change in entry regulations. Before 1984, the course marks of students enrolled in the Science and Social Science Foundation Programmes were processed by a computer programme which produced a sequence of 'Z-scores' for individual courses (graded on a 1-9 scale) and also for the overall year-long achievement of the students (rated 1 to 5). In 1983, a decision was made to assess future Foundation students' performance in individual courses on the letter-grade system (A+ - E). This change negatively affected entry of Fijian students from Foundation programmes to other sub-degree and degree programmes at USP.

were eligible for Degree studies in Science more than doubled (from 21.6 percent to 44.7 percent) while Indian students maintained a high success rate (from 89.7 percent to 93.7 percent).

Nevertheless, it is evident from Kenchington's analysis (1988) that more than 50 percent of Fijian students who enrol in the Foundation Science programme are not eligible for degree studies the following year because of a high failure rate. Kenchington's analysis shows that the following percentages of Fijians were eligible to proceed to degree studies in Science: 1985-44.7 percent; 1986-41.2 percent; 1987-47.5 percent.

For the years 1985 to 1987, the average percentage of Fijians making it through to degree studies from the Foundation Science programme was 44.4 which means that an average of about 56 percent of students in this programme are failing so badly that they cannot continue to the degree level.

THE NEED FOR POLICIES ON FIJIAN EDUCATION TO BE BASED ON IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

A review of Fijian education between 1971 and 1979, carried out by Kallam, Rika, Rustam and Tukunia in 1980, was very critical of the fact that the Government's efforts to improve the education of Fijians in the 1970s were not based on any scientific in-depth research. The Review Team put it this way:

A major deficiency in our Fijian education efforts of the 1970s was that many of the policies formulated and programmes implemented were done on the basis of an impressionistic diagnosis of the problems. Such diagnosis inevitably touched on only the surface of the problems - lack of schools, teachers, quarters, parental poverty etc. These of course were true enough and substantial progress was made in these areas. But the remedies did not go to the heart of the problem which lies in the area of intangibles associated with the socio-psychological characteristics of the Fijian people and children. (Kallam et al, 1980, p.77)

The Review Report pointed out that to make sound judgements and rational decision-making, the Government must undertake research, collate and analyse data to establish scientifically the causal factors in Fijian under-achievement. It was suggested that answers could be found if psychological, sociological and cultural factors were researched. Some areas worth investigating were identified. They were: aspirations of Fijian students and parents, motivation and cognitive style.

The Review noted that despite the fact that the Government had developed the physical facilities for Fijian education, there had been no corresponding improvement in performance. It emphasized that for Fijian performance to improve, the Government needed to study the 'Fijian community and its students in depth and measure the causal factors which impede performance' (Kallam et al, 1980, p.81).

The Review Report cautions that what is needed for equal performance in Fijian education is not necessarily what has worked for non-Fijians.

What may be needed is 'new insights into the Fijian mind, new approaches, new teaching styles to prevent the attrition that takes place in Fijian numbers in schools and tertiary institutions' (Kallam et al, 1980, p.82).

The need for in-depth research into Fijian education was again emphasized by the Review Report:

It is unfortunate that we [Government] have chosen to remain oblivious about the need for in-depth research into Fijian education. The leadership of the professional wing of the Education Department must recognize this need and do something about it. The status quo in this respect cannot be maintained since insignificant tangible results can come from merely building schools, training teachers, remitting fees, developing curriculum etc. without understanding why Fijian children are not able to relate to school life, to curricula and examinations in desirable numbers as others do. (Kallam et al, 1980, p.82)

It was therefore recommended that provision be made to research appropriate aspects of Fijian education problems with the view to 'formulating more realistic policies and programmes to improve Fijian educational performance' (Kallam et al, 1980, p.83).

The Review Report again reiterated:

We [Government] have to move away from the speculative way of approaching the formulation of policy or the implementation of programmes. There is much apathy towards research and researchers in education circles. If there is a lesson to be learnt from our efforts of the 1970's it is that administrative measures will not

by themselves change much in Fijian education. We will have to improve our understanding of the nature of the Fijian society, stop imagining that what worked for others would also work for them and devise new strategies that relate better to the Fijian socio-cultural milieu. (Kallam et al, 1980, p.83)

Whether the Government heeded this plea for detailed in-depth research on Fijian education in its formulation and implementation of policies to improve the education of Fijians in the 1980s will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER FOUR

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON FIJIAN EDUCATION

PREAMBLE

Two dates are particularly important to Fiji's history and development. On 10th October 1874, Fiji became a British Crown Colony. Five years later, on 14th May 1879, the first group of indentured labourers from India arrived in Fiji to work on the European-owned sugar plantations and by 1916, the year the indentured labourers system was stopped, an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 Indians had come to Fiji.⁸

The first date is important because it marked the beginning of almost one century of Colonial British rule which not only shaped the political economy of the country but also influenced the development of Fiji's educational system. Whitehead (1981, p.1) points out that 'all education systems are shaped by the course of history and by the physical and cultural milieu in which they function'. As a result of these factors, the educational systems of third world countries which have attained political independence after a period under colonial rule - Fiji became politically independent in 1970 - have inherited a

⁸ This was an estimate by the Burns Report of 1959 which was commissioned by the Governor of the time, Sir K.P. Maddocks, to enquire into problems connected with the natural resources and population trends of the Colony of Fiji.

legacy of the educational institutions and practices that were part and parcel of the colonial system. Some manifestations of the colonial legacy in education after independence are reflected in the following: the selection and training of a few local elites to implement government policy; the establishment of government and provincial schools in selected areas; the provision of 'imported' curriculum usually obtained from another colonial social context; and the use of a network of examinations as selection and screening devices rather than for diagnostic purposes (Bhindi, 1988).

The year 1879 is important because it marked the beginning of the arrival of the Indian population who comprised a mere 0.46 percent of the total population in 1881, made up almost 29 percent of the population in 1911 but by 1946 had exceeded the Fijian population. The Indian population has dominated in terms of numbers ever since, at least up until the effects of the coups of 1987 were felt.

The Indian people, despite making a late start on the educational scene compared to the Fijians, who had had a lead of over six decades, began to show their superiority over Fijians on the educational front in the 1950s, not only in terms of enrolment, particularly at secondary level, but more particularly in the number and percentage passing the higher national examinations. This trend has continued up to the present time.

This chapter is in three parts. The first part briefly describes the

state of Fijian education prior to 1946. An examination of British Colonial policy on education particularly with regard to Fijian education will then be undertaken for the period 1946-1969 before a more detailed picture of Fijian education is presented for the same period. The last section makes comparisons between Fijian and Indian educational standards.

FIJIAN EDUCATION 1835 - 1946

As mentioned in Chapter 1, formal education was first introduced to Fijians in 1835 when two Methodist missionaries opened a school to teach reading and writing soon after their arrival in Fiji. Their primary objective for doing this was to enable the indigenous people to read the Bible. Nevertheless, they set the basis for an education for Fijians.

The education of Fijians, with the exception of Queen Victoria School⁹ and the provincial schools, was left primarily in the hands of the

⁹Queen Victoria School (QVS) - a boarding school for boys - was established in 1906 to cater primarily for the sons of Fijian chiefs. However, other Fijian boys who passed the relevant examination with good marks were allowed to enter. Initially, QVS was a higher level primary school accepting the cream of students passing the class 5 or 6 examination from the provincial schools. Today, QVS still gets the cream of Fijian boys passing the Class 6 Fiji Intermediate Examination and the Class 8 Fiji Eighth Year Examination into Forms 1 and 3 respectively.

Methodist Mission (and other missions) until much of this control was relinquished to the Colonial Government and local committees after 1932.

Government involvement in and control of education in Fiji was first established in the 1916 Education Ordinance which set up a pattern of Government control through the Board of Education and a system of grants-in-aid. This control was strengthened by the 1918 Ordinance whereby all schools and teachers had to be registered with the Education Department. Despite this, Government involvement in the education of non-Europeans prior to 1945 was minimal compared to that of the Missions.

The 1921 Census revealed that more than 10,000 Fijian children between the ages of 5 and 14 were at school. Yet only 819 were attending 16 Government and Assisted schools in 1919. This meant that the bulk of Fijian students were attending the village schools. The Education Department Report for the Year 1919 noted that whilst Fijians were better off than the other races in the Colony in that they had a school of some sort to attend, the standard of the village school was very low. The Superintendent for Education in 1919 gave this explanation for the low standard of Fijian education:

The teaching is not in any sense 'real': it has little or no connection with the pupil's daily life or environment : it therefore fails to interest and encourages a false mental attitude ... The village school has been a soporific, not a stimulant. (Education Department, Report for the Year 1919, p.5)

The inadequacy or irrelevance of the curriculum to the daily life of Fijian students was seen as a factor contributing to the low quality of Fijian education at least during the period of British Colonial rule.

Two other factors contributing to the low quality of Fijian education were the shortage of trained teachers and the inadequacy of school facilities. The Education Department Report for the year 1923 noted that no progress would be made on Fijian education unless marked improvement was made on the general training of teachers and until the essential school materials and equipment were obtained. This seemed to be the typical refrain in subsequent reports of the Education Department not only for the next two decades but also right up to independence in 1970. In fact, these problems have not been alleviated in the two decades after 1970 as evidenced in the Annual Reports of the Education Department and Fiji's Development Plans of the post-colonial period.

In a letter dated 11th November, 1925 from the Governor to the Secretary of State ¹⁰, the Governor, Mr. Eyre Hutson, noted that in

¹⁰In this dispatch from the Governor to the Secretary of State, the Governor recommended that a Commission be set up to enquire into and report on the whole of the Colony's educational system, particularly the question of the indigenous and Indian races. The Governor felt that it was very critical that the proposed Commission in its deliberations should determine what was the right type of Fijian education, what must be discarded from the present system and what must be introduced. This request resulted in the 1926 Education Commission under the Chairmanship of A. Montague which came up with 52 recommendations.

addition to inadequate facilities and equipment particularly in the village schools and inadequately trained teachers, two other serious defects in the education of Fijians were that vocational training was entirely absent from the curriculum and that there was a lack of means for the higher education of Fijian girls. Mayhew (1937) in his 'Report on Education in Fiji' pointed out that the considerable wastage, particularly in Fijian schools, was partly due to the shortage of competent teachers to effectively teach in the higher classes.

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By 1926, six boarding provincial schools had been established specifically to serve as upper grade primary schools for every part of the Colony catering generally for boys in classes three to eight. The roll in provincial schools was considered too small in relation to their cost (Mann, 1935). They were supposed to be the feeder schools for Queen Victoria School but because they had a low academic standard and were therefore weak rungs in the Fijian educational ladder, they never did fulfil the educational role envisaged for them by Fijian chiefs and the Education Department. Those students who managed to pass from the provincial schools and particularly Queen Victoria School qualified for entrance to the Central Medical School and to the Teachers' Training School. Few were appointed to vacancies in the government service.

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After World War 1, the Council of Chiefs requested the Colonial Government to provide schools giving an education better than that provided in the village schools whose standard at the time was very low. The Provincial Schools resulted and schools were established enrolling from 60 to 80 pupil-boarders each. Capital costs were shared approximately equally between Government and the Provinces.

A memorandum on Fijian education from the Acting Superintendent of Schools, Mr. D.W. Hoodless, to the 1926 Education Commission pointed out that quite a large number of village vernacular schools were unsatisfactory and that considerable improvements could be made in the Primary and Provincial Schools. He noted that the majority of the village schools did not attempt anything more than reading and writing, with very little arithmetic; the teachers were uncertified and that school facilities were extremely primitive. He recommended a thorough reorganisation and suggested amongst other things that an appropriate curriculum be determined upon, that 50 or 80 teachers be trained for the 20 or 25 'model' village vernacular schools that could be opened, and that village schools be organised on a satisfactory financial basis. However, the Colonial Government was not in a position to build the 'model' schools suggested by Mr. Hoodless nor provide financial help to the village schools. The 1926 Education Commission, however, did make recommendations with regard to the training of more teachers and improvement in the curriculum.

The Second World War affected education in Fiji as it did elsewhere. In his address to the Council of Chiefs on 16th September 1942, the Governor mentioned that the war had affected the education of all races, including Fijians, through the requisitioning of schools for defence purposes. The Education Department Report for 1943 (p.1) noted that during 1943, progress in education in Fiji suffered setbacks 'through the exigencies of war, retirements, overstrain of teachers, and local economic conditions'. Fijian schools in particular were

shortstaffed and many schools had to be reorganised to give dual sessions. The Education Department Report for 1943 (p.1) further noted that:

The adverse effect on the standard of attainment in the upper classes caused by this shortage of teachers was aggravated by increased rolls, and the lack of accommodation, school materials, transport and supervision.

Stephens' report on education in Fiji (1944) not only gives a comprehensive picture of Fijian education in 1944 but is also important for it had considerable impact on educational development in Fiji. Stephens was an economist employed by the New Zealand Government and was considered suitable by the Governor to conduct an investigation into education in Fiji.

Stephens' report was very critical of the lack of policy and planning that had characterized educational development in Fiji. He noted:

The present investigation has shown that the chaotic conditions which have emerged over the past 15 years have been largely due to the absence of a definite plan for the administration to follow. Perhaps it can best be described in the words of Topsy in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' - 'just growed'.

(Stephens, 1944, p.93)

The picture of Fijian education arising out of Stephens' Report was a bleak one. At the primary level, district and provincial schools were inadequate, there was a lack of coordination between the various

provinces, and resources were inadequate in rural districts. At the secondary level, there was no connection between the primary and post-primary system. At the post-primary level, those who passed the Qualifying Examination had access to the Central Medical School, the Nursing School, the Wireless School or to the five Teacher Training Institutions (1 government and 4 Mission). At this level, inadequacy seemed to be the key theme - inadequate facilities and resources, an inadequate number of teachers and teacher-trainers, and the inadequate educational background of students entering the higher level institutions. According to Stephens, all these factors contributed to a low quality of education for Fijians.

The Stephens' Report made some recommendations with regard to improving Fijian education. For Fijian primary schools, Stephens suggested that Fijian District Schools be administered for the group as a whole to ensure that there was coordination between the various provinces but he cautioned that the Provincial Councils and other committees should keep a watching brief over the functioning of the schools. He also recommended that English be developed as a medium of instruction although he realised that this would take some time to implement completely. He further proposed that the standard of education be raised and that Queen Victoria School needed to introduce courses so that it could become a full secondary school to cater for approximately 240 Fijian students.

The Stephens Report is also important in that it apparently first

brought to light the low attainment level of Fijian students, partly attributable to two factors: poor attendance and the disparity between Fijian and Indian educational standards. In 1944, only 10.9 percent of students attending secondary schools were Fijians (28 out of 257) compared to 58 percent Indians (150 out of 257). To illustrate the difference in the quality of education between Fijians and Indians, Stephens noted that the standard of education in Indian schools in the first four classes was considerably higher than the standard in Fijian District schools. He added that '... it would probably be correct to say that a larger percentage of the Indian children attending school attain Class 4 than Fijian children' (Stephens, 1944, p.13).

In the 1945 Junior Cambridge Examination, 82.5 percent of Indians who sat passed (66 out of 80) compared to 45 percent for Fijians (9 out of 20). Considerably more Indians - in fact four times more - sat for this examination compared to Fijians. These figures seem to confirm what Stephens had observed about the low attainment level of Fijian students.

A few observations arise out of this discussion on Fijian education from 1835 to the end of the Second World War. Firstly, it is doubtful whether the British Colonial Government would have provided for the education of Fijians and Indians without the help of the Missions. Eight decades of educational activity controlled solely by the various missions had passed before the Colonial Government gained some control

with the adoption of the 1916 Education Ordinance.¹²

Secondly, despite the fact that more Fijians than Indians were enrolled in schools in this period, the quality of Indian education was superior to that of Fijians. This is evidenced in the larger numbers of Indians reaching the secondary level and their better passes in terms of numbers and percentages in the mid-secondary national examination (i.e. Junior Cambridge).

The third observation that can be made for the period up to 1945 is that the Education Department did not seem to know what its task was in the sphere of Fijian education. This seems fairly evident from the related themes of inadequacy - in educational facilities and trained teachers - and the low educational standard of Fijian education consistently appearing in the Education Department Annual Reports and the major Education Reports commissioned by the Governor in the period prior to 1946.

FIJIAN EDUCATION AND COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY 1946 - 1969

Based largely on the Stephens' Report of 1944, the Board of Education

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The 1916 Education Ordinance, according to Bhagirathi (1970), gave the Board of Education very extensive powers to establish government control over education. Bhagirathi argues that 'the foundations of the present system of education were laid in 1916 and that the various educational measures introduced in that year had a great impact on later educational developments'. (Bhagirathi, 1970, p.ii)

formulated a Ten-Year Plan of Development for education (1946-1955) which was adopted by the Colonial Government during the Budget Session of 1946. The Board identified the following problems as facing education in Fiji : complexity of the language problem, the large number of religious sects and the geographical scatter of the Colony.

The general principle of the Plan of Development for education was to raise the standard of the primary school and it was acknowledged that one way of achieving this was to staff the schools with trained teachers. The Board had noted that the standard of work of most primary schools was low and attributed this to the following: the lack of suitable teachers; the lack of incentives to better the status of teacher other than by passing examinations; insufficient supervision; an inadequate syllabus and detailed schemes of work for teachers; ineffective control in many schools; and insufficient equipment and textbooks.

On the basis of the Stephens' Report, the main objectives of the 1946 Plan of Development which directly or indirectly affected Fijian education were:

- (a) a more adequate administration;
- (b) the appointment of all teachers as civil servants;
- (c) the creation of three education districts;
- (d) the establishment of a government school in every well-populated area where funds permitted;

- (e) the consolidation of the Fijian Provincial Schools for boys into one large Intermediate School;
- (f) the development of Queen Victoria School as a secondary school;
- (g) the establishment of a Fijian girls' Intermediate school;
- (h) the implementation of a primary school building programme;
- (i) the replacement of the existing small Mission and Government teacher-training colleges by one large Government Teachers' Training College;
- (j) the gradual development of agricultural and technical education and the teaching of domestic science.

For largely financial reasons, not all these objectives could be implemented or met. However, by 1955, several major projects had either been completed or were under way. Objectives (c), (e), (f), (g) and (i) seemed to have been implemented.

In 1955, three major problems seemed to face education in Fiji, particularly with respect to Fijian education. The standard of education of primary schools was still low. Also, there was a shortage of young people with sufficient post-primary schooling to enter the professions, government service, commerce, technical trades or agriculture. Moreover, the opening up of secondary schools by the Missions and independent bodies to meet the demand for further education meant that they faced financial problems in providing for these schools. This usually resulted in classes being too big and inadequate buildings and key facilities such as laboratories and

workshops. It is pertinent to mention that all these problems are still evident even today with regard to Fijian education. Not only is the standard of education in many Fijian-managed schools (both primary and secondary) still a matter for concern but the number of Fijian students qualifying to enter tertiary institutions has been small in proportion to the number that sit the University Entrance Examination. This has been the trend up until the early 1980s. The third problem pertaining to the inadequacy of school buildings and facilities coupled with the shortage of well-qualified teachers have continued to plague Fijian-managed schools, particularly those in the rural and village setting.

Consequently, in an attempt to alleviate some of these problems, the main emphases of the five-year Plan for Education drawn up by W.W. Lewis-Jones, the Director of Education, for the years 1956-60 were:

- (a) the provision of a balanced series of post-primary courses¹³ embracing academic, modern, technical and agricultural education. This was supposed to provide for those who satisfactorily completed the primary school course;

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A modern post-primary school, according to Lewis-Jones (1955), was one where the courses in the following range of subjects are taught: English Language, Arithmetic, Social Studies, Health Science; Technical Subjects: Woodwork, Metalwork, Technical Drawing, Homecraft; Commercial: Shorthand, Typewriting, Bookkeeping, Commercial Practice; and Science - Agricultural Science including practical work.

- (b) the continued improvement of the quality of primary and lower-secondary teachers; and
- (c) the provision of post-school certificate pre-university training for those who qualified for university or other training.

There were seven main developments during the 1956-60 development period. Firstly, there was the inauguration of the capital and recurrent grants-in-aid system to selected mission and independent post-primary schools. Secondly, limited developments were made in the provision of post-primary, agricultural, technical and vocational education. Thirdly, in relation to this, a student farmer scheme was begun to interest students in agriculture. Also, the period 1956-60 saw the consolidation of multiracial higher education courses for both sexes. Furthermore, in relation to this, the new Suva Grammar School was built to become a multi-racial Government secondary school. Many Fijians have been educated at this school. Moreover, the broadcast service was expanded to both primary and secondary schools. It is questionable, however, whether this service has benefitted rural village schools considering that many such schools do not have electricity nor would they own an adequate-sized radio. Finally, the period 1956-1960 witnessed the passing of the 1960 Education Ordinance where the small Board of Education was replaced by a larger Education Advisory Council. This ordinance placed the responsibility for the control of education upon the Director of Education and his Department.

It was not until several years before independence that the Colonial Government began to show concern and took concerted effort for the problems associated with Fijian education. The Education Department Report for 1966 spent considerable space on this issue. It identified one of the main problems facing education in Fiji as 'how to get enough Fijians "through to the top" to ensure a reasonably even racial balance in the future top-level manpower of the Colony' (Education Department, Report for the Year 1966, p.6). A comparison of examination results had clearly illustrated the following two problems: the paucity of Fijian candidates at the Fiji Junior (Form 4), School Certificate (Form 5) and University Entrance (Form 6) levels and the low percentage pass-rates of Fijian candidates at the Secondary School Entrance Examination (Form 2), Fiji Junior and University Entrance levels.

The 1966 Annual Report of the Education Department noted that the trouble lay at the upper primary and lower secondary levels and that consequently, counter-measures should be concentrated at these levels. It identified four causes for Fijian failure at the Form 2 and Form 4 levels. The geographical 'scatter' of the Fijian population was pinpointed as the biggest single cause for Fijian failure as it had two notable adverse effects. Not only did a small school size result in a teacher having multiple classes but the Education Department's visiting teams had great difficulty in reaching the Fijian primary schools which was so scattered and the fact that about 130 of these schools could only be reached by sea aggravated the problem of supervision.

The second problem affecting Fijian performance at the lower secondary levels (i.e. Forms 2 and 4) was identified as the shortage of textbooks, essential books and equipment in Fijian primary schools, particularly so in the rural area. This has been a chronic problem and has been highlighted since 1919.

The third problem was said to arise out of the less favourable home conditions of the average rural Fijian child compared to both his urban counterpart and Indian children. This was manifested in inadequate lighting at home, the comparatively long distances between home and school, and the inadequacy of transport facilities to name a few. These were considered to affect his schooling.

Finally, a critical shortage of Fijian primary teachers with appropriate academic qualifications, yet another chronic problem facing the education system identified before 1920, was seen as a major cause of Fijian failure at the lower secondary level.

The causes of Fijian failure at the secondary level were attributed to three factors. One of the main factors was identified as the replacement in Fijian secondary schools of qualified and experienced expatriates by inexperienced Fijians. Two other possible explanations were given as the impermanency of staffing in Fijian schools and the lack of competition between races in the exclusively Fijian schools but which was evident in multiracial schools. Competition between the races was viewed as healthy and was considered to help motivate pupils.

to perform better.

For the primary schools, the Education Department in its 1966 Annual Report proposed the following solutions: the appointment of Indian teachers to essentially Fijian schools to offset the desperate shortage of Fijian teachers with School Certificate qualifications; the improvement and expansion of multi-class training since the problems of multiple-class teaching would exist for a long time due to the difficulty of filling the shortage of teachers, and the appointment of an extra Visiting Teacher to each educational district in 1967.

Fiji's Fifth Development Plan for the period 1966-1970 made special provisions for primary education specifically to help Fijian education. The Government was to bear a larger share of the cost of education by not only providing school committees with funds to enable them to grant remission of fees to children in genuine need of help but also to provide primary schools with free approved textbooks, readers and certain teaching equipment. The Government would also help by increasing building grants to primary schools.

The main recommendations of the 1966 Education Department Report with regard to Fijian secondary education were fivefold: an increase in the Department's mobility in outlying areas; the provision of suitably qualified bursars to relieve principals of secondary boarding schools of their routine non-professional duties; the conversion of Adi Cakobau School into a double-entry girl's school from Form 1 to the Lower Sixth

form; the conversion of the present Queen Victoria School into an intermediate boarding school for Forms 1 and 2 only; and the establishment of a new secondary school, from form 3 to the lower sixth form, for Fijian boarders and for day students of all races at Nasinu. Only two of these have since been accomplished - all 10 girls at Adi Cakobau School who sat the Qualifying Examination passed in 1952 and in 1960, 16 out of the 17 girls who sat the School Certificate Examination passed whilst only 2 out of 8 passed the University Entrance Examination. The Nasinu Secondary School opened its doors to Fijian boarders passing mainly from rural schools in 1980.

In addition to these five recommendations, the Education Department in 1966 noted that Fijian education would also benefit from three proposals designed to improve secondary education in general. They were: a more appropriate salary structure for trained graduate teachers, greater expenditure on in-service training courses designed to improve teaching methods and to teach new techniques, and a substantial increase in the provision of funds for secondary school building grants.

Furthermore, Fiji's Fifth Development Plan proposed the establishment of 'middle' schools or what is more commonly known as junior secondary schools. The intention was to provide a more practical training for those students who failed to gain admission to a full secondary course. It was envisaged that these 'middle' schools would replace the primary classes 7 and 8 and eventually take their pupils from Form 1 to the

Form 4 level.

The concept of the middle school was never fully realised for several reasons. One reason is that parents aspired for an academic-type education for their children whether they qualified or not and did not take to the idea of a more practically-oriented education as envisaged for the middle schools. Secondly, and related to the first, the demand for a secondary education for their children witnessed the mushrooming of junior secondary schools but with the emphasis placed on academic subjects rather than practical ones. Consequently, the policy by the Colonial Government to ensure that at least the majority of children were equipped to play 'an effective part in the life of the country' did not get off the ground because public opinion demanded otherwise. The concept of the junior secondary school is discussed more fully in the next chapter, particularly its relative effectiveness in improving Fijian education.

The Colonial Government, preparing to hand over the reins of government to the people of Fiji, now felt that drastic measures were required 'if enough qualified Fijians are to be produced to occupy a due share of senior positions in the public and private sectors of the community' (Fiji Development Plan 1966-1970, 1966, p.96). In making this statement, the Colonial Government was admitting three things. Firstly, not many Fijians were passing the relevant secondary national examinations and consequently, not many were employed in decision-making positions in the community. Secondly, it was indirectly

admitting that it had not done much to improve Fijian education.

Finally, the Colonial Government seemed to be saying that the incoming Government could rectify matters in the form of affirmative actions to improve the lot of Fijians in the field of education and by implication in national life.

A MORE DETAILED LOOK AT FIJIAN EDUCATION 1946-1969

The education of Fijians in the 24 years immediately after World War Two to the year before Fiji gained independence was beset with many problems. These have already been highlighted in the previous section. Chief among these problems were inadequate teachers, both in terms of number and training, inadequate school facilities and educational necessities such as textbooks and science laboratories, lack of professional supervision from headquarters because of the problem of distance, and the irrelevance of the curriculum to the students' daily lives. All these contributed to the low quality of primary education, particularly in the village, district and provincial schools. This adversely affected the number and academic calibre of Fijians entering the secondary system.

The Indians had made a late start on the educational scene. Mayhew, in his 'Report on Education in Fiji', noted in 1937 that the quality and quantity of Indian education in all its aspects and grades was considerably below the level of Fijian education. Yet in just a

decade, the standard of attainment in Indian schools was considered to have increased rapidly and generally had surpassed that of Fijian schools (Education Department, Report for the Year 1946, p.9). Indians also caught up rapidly in terms of numbers. The Indian school population was half that of the Fijian in 1943 and yet by the late 1950s, there were more Indians enrolled in the school system than Fijians (see Table 2). By 1969, there were 1.4 times more Indians at school than Fijians.

TABLE 2 The Number of Fijians and Indians Attending School,
1937 - 1969

Year	Fijians	Indians	Total School Population
1937	16,488	6,938	25,021
1939	19,444	8,438	29,718
1941	21,241	9,536	32,511
1943	20,266	10,161	32,174
1945	23,096	14,278	39,366
1947	25,800	17,792	45,811
1949	26,329	20,647	49,706
1951	28,599	23,638	54,688
1953	28,298	25,394	57,164
1955	29,987	28,819	62,685
1957	32,513	32,440	69,125
1959	35,300	37,570	77,493
1961	38,095	41,214	85,407
1963	38,713	46,116	91,868
1965	41,553	53,382	102,498
1967	46,286	61,639	116,124
1969	52,035	70,383	131,222

(Source: Annual Reports of the Department of Education)

There was a great demand for education in the post-war period, particularly by Indians. The number of Indians at school only took half the time to double in contrast to that of Fijians, that is, it took two decades for the Fijian school population to double compared to

only 10 years for Indians.

The number of Indians enrolled in secondary schools has always been higher than that of Fijians (See Table 3). This is not only a reflection of the higher standard of Indian primary education but also of the higher number passing the national upper primary examination to enable them to qualify for entry to a secondary school.

TABLE 3 The Number and Percentage of Fijians
and Indians Attending Secondary Schools*,
1944 - 1969

Year	Fijians	%	Indians	%	Total Secondary Population
1944	28	10.89	150	58.36	257
1955	671	27.25	1,375	55.84	2,462
1957	1,041	29.91	1,955	56.17	3,480
1959	1,468	29.25	3,010	59.98	5,018
1961	2,339	35.82	3,414	52.28	6,529
1963	2,443	33.46	3,901	53.43	7,301
1965	2,701	31.72	4,735	55.60	8,515
1967	3,478	31.18	6,392	57.31	11,153
1969	4,778	31.70	8,660	57.47	15,068

*Includes technical, vocational and teacher training.

(Source: Annual Reports of the Department of Education)

While the total Indian secondary population for 1955 comprised more than half of the total secondary population, the Fijian roll made up only slightly more than a quarter of the total secondary roll. For the 15-year period between 1955-1969, Fijians made up an average of 31 percent of the total secondary population compared to 56 percent for Indians, a difference of almost two times more Indians.

The Fijian failure rate, and consequently Fijian wastage/dropout rate, has always been high with Fijian wastage increasing dramatically after each national examination. A look at Tables 4-8 will reveal that a large percentage of Fijian students do not pass the Fiji Secondary Entrance, Fiji Junior, Cambridge School Certificate, New Zealand School Certificate and University Entrance Examinations. While a small proportion will repeat the examination they failed, the majority are pushed out of the educational system by virtue of their failure.

Only at the Secondary Entrance level is the number of Fijians sitting an examination comparable to Indians (see Table 4). At each successive level, the number of Fijians sitting the national examination concerned is significantly reduced. To demonstrate this point, in 1966, 718 Fijians sat the Fiji Junior Examination but in 1967, the number sitting the two Form 5 examinations totalled only 187. In 1968, a mere 80 Fijian candidates were eligible to sit the New Zealand University Entrance Examinations. In contrast, Indian candidates sitting these three examinations were 1462, 880 and 281 respectively, making it twice the number of Indian candidates at the Fiji Junior level, almost five times more at Form 5 and three and a half times more sitting the University Entrance Examination.

Not only were Indians superior to Fijians in terms of numbers at the higher secondary levels but they also performed far better in the various national examinations in the quality of passes, the numbers passing and the percentage of passes gained. For example, for the 4-

TABLE 4

A Comparison of Fijian and Indian
Performance in the Fiji Secondary Entrance
School Examination,
1961 - 1963

Year	Fijians			Indians		
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%
1961	1,395	180	12.9	1,345	424	31.5
1962	1,558	213	13.6	1,535	480	31.3
1963	1,698	288	16.9	1,609	618	38.4

(Source: Department of Education, Annual Report for the Year 1963, p.14)

TABLE 5

A Comparison of Fijian and Indian Performance
in the Fiji Junior Certificate Examination,
1966 - 1969

Year	Number of Candidates and Passes by Grades									
	Fijians					Indians				
	Sat	A	B	C	%	Sat	A	B	C	%
1966	718	22	157	110	40.2	1,462	211	489	180	60.2
1967	902	46	194	192	47.9	2,036	267	544	314	55.2
1968	1,182	65	282	178	44.4	2,369	228	660	368	53.0
1969	1,534	109	477	331	59.8	2,965	398	952	515	62.9

(Source: Department of Education, Report for the Year 1969, p.16)

TABLE 6 A Comparison of Fijian and Indian Performance
in the Cambridge School Certificate Examination,
1966 - 1969

Year	Number of Candidates and Passes by Grade									
	Fijians					Indians				
	Sat	Passed				Sat	Passed			
		1	2	3	%		1	2	3	%
1966	62	1	13	35	75.4	450	21	95	172	64.0
1967	29	0	3	10	44.8	376	19	78	149	65.4
1968	52	0	6	19	40.1	297	6	40	113	53.5
1969	14	0	1	3	28.5	205	1	15	56	35.1

(Source: Department of Education, Report for the Year 1969, p.16)

TABLE 7 A Comparison of Fijian and Indian Performance
in the New Zealand School Certificate Examination,
1966 - 1969

Year	Number of Candidates and Passes					
	Fijians			Indians		
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%
1966	110	64	58.2	157	96	61.1
1967	158	77	48.7	504	186	36.9
1968	272	133	48.9	757	378	49.9
1969	487	223	45.8	1,414	545	38.5

(Source: Department of Education, Report for the Year 1969, p.17)

TABLE 8 **A Comparison of Fijian and Indian Performance**
in the New Zealand University Entrance Examination,
1966 - 1969

Year	Number of Candidates and Passes					
	Fijians			Indians		
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%
1966	45	16	35.5	106	64	60.4
1967	88	22	25.0	200	78	39.0
1968	80	23	28.7	281	87	30.9
1969	131	44	33.6	404	132	32.7

(Source: Department of Education, Report for the Year 1969, p.17)

year period between 1966-1969, only 242 Fijians obtained an 'A' Grade in comparison to 1104 Indians who did, a clear difference of four and a half more Indians obtaining 'A' Grade. For the same period, 2163 Fijians passed Fiji Junior compared to 5126 Indians, giving it a ratio of 1 Fijian pass to every 9 Indians. Percentage-wise, an average of 48 percent Fijians who sat the Fiji Junior passed compared to an average of 57.8 percent for Indians.

A similar trend appears for the two Form 5 national examinations. In the Cambridge Examination, only 91 Fijians passed compared to 765 Indians in the 4-year period between 1966-1969, a ratio of 1 Fijian pass to every 8 Indians. In this same period only 1 Fijian obtained a Grade 1 pass compared to 47 Indians. In the New Zealand School Certificate Examination, only 497 Fijians passed against 1205 Indians

for the 4-year period 1966-1969, a clear difference of almost two and a half times more Indians.

The problem of Fijian attainment is most serious at the University Entrance level. Not only is the number actually sitting this examination disproportionally small but the number of Fijians passing is abysmally low. For instance, in 1969, only 44 Fijians passed against 132 Indians, giving it a ratio of 1 Fijian pass for every 3 Indians. The low Fijian number qualifying for entrance to university was a matter of great concern because it was this small number that was qualified to enter tertiary institutions locally or overseas. The number passing or graduating at the tertiary level would be even smaller given that Fijians were performing poorly in overseas universities. Hence the concern of both the Colonial and Post-Colonial Governments for Fijian education was justified since this meant that only a small number of Fijians were qualifying for decision-making positions in national life. This was a national problem confronting the newly independent Fiji Government when it took control in 1970.

CONCLUSION

It seems evident that the Colonial Government was not committed enough towards improving the education of non-European children. The education of European (and Part-European) children was catered for quite adequately by several government schools specifically set up for this purpose and it was these schools which received the best in terms

of adequately qualified teachers, facilities, resources and supervision. It was really the Fijian-managed schools which suffered badly. Government help to the majority of these schools was not forthcoming. In fact, the Colonial Government left the education of Fijians to the Missions, the Provincial Councils and other managing bodies.

Consequently, it is not surprising that the quality of education in Fijian schools was appallingly poor, particularly at the primary level. This contributed substantially to the low number of Fijians passing into the secondary system as well as their poor academic preparation for secondary studies. There was no support by the Colonial Government for Indian education either but Indian schools were known not only for their better quality but also for their greater number of passes in the various national examinations. There was a great disparity in the educational standard of Fijians in comparison to other ethnic groups and this became a matter of great concern in the period prior to and after independence.

Besides the consolidation of four Fijian provincial schools into the Ratu Kadavulevu Intermediate School, the development of Queen Victoria School into a secondary school, the establishment of Adi Cakobau School as a Fijian girls' intermediate school and the establishment of several more Fijian government schools in the rural area, not much else was done by the Colonial Government to specifically improve the education of Fijians in the 24 years between 1946 and 1969.

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CHAPTER FIVE
POST-COLONIAL POLICIES ON FIJIAN EDUCATION,
1970 - 1986

PREAMBLE

The education of Fijians became a matter of great concern for the nation just prior to independence in 1970 (as evidenced by an inquest by the 1969 Fiji Education Commission into the problems of Fijian education) and certainly in the decade of the 1970s. This concern was evident in the 1980s and it seems highly likely that Fijian education will remain a national issue in the 1990s as well.

A brief description of the social, economic and political conditions in Fiji at independence will be undertaken to give a better perspective of the various affirmative actions implemented by the Fiji Government in an attempt to improve Fijian education. This will be the focus of the first part of this chapter. Sections of the report of the 1969 Fiji Education Commission relevant to Fijian education will be examined in the second part of the chapter. The third part of the chapter will examine government policy on Fijian education with particular emphasis on the various affirmative actions implemented by the Government in the post-colonial period. An assessment will be made as to the extent to which Government policies on Fijian education were based on research before a more detailed examination of the state of Fijian education between 1970-1986 is undertaken. In the final section of this chapter, an assessment of the relative success or otherwise of the affirmative

action policies in reducing the so-called 'Fijian educational problem' will be made.

THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF FIJI AT INDEPENDENCE

At independence in 1970, Indians comprised 50 percent of the Fiji population compared to 42 percent Fijians.¹⁴ The remaining 8 percent of the population was made up of Europeans, Part-Europeans, Chinese, Rotumans and other Pacific Islanders. Not only did Indians outnumber Fijians in terms of population figures but they also showed their dominance on the educational and occupational fronts.

It became quite obvious to anyone who cared to study the Annual Reports¹⁵ of the Education Department, Fiji's Fifth Development Plan (DP5) and the Report of the Fiji Education Commission of 1969 that on the eve of independence, Fijian education lagged seriously behind that of other ethnic groups. Not only were insufficient Fijians passing the higher level secondary examinations, particularly at University Entrance level but more seriously, this meant that not many Fijians could be found in senior positions in the government and private sectors at managerial, proprietorial and executive levels.

14

These percentages were obtained from the 1966 Population Census.

15

For the period 1966-1970

The 1969 Education Commission Report had noted that Indians outnumbered Fijians by more than seven to one at these levels. The absence of suitably qualified Fijians to fill positions of leadership in government and the private sector was a major national issue confronting the Alliance Government when it took over the reins of governmentship in 1970.

Political parties had developed in Fiji by the general elections of 1966. The Alliance Party, which remained the Government throughout the period under study (i.e. 1970-1986) had an indigenous branch (The Fijian Association), an Indian Branch (Fiji Indian Alliance) and the General Electors Association. It was seen by many people as predominantly a party for the Fijian people. On the other hand, the party that remained in opposition (1970-1986), the National Federation Party, was seen by many people as predominantly an Indian Party. As early as 1966, local Ministers had been appointed by the Colonial Government to take responsibility for certain government departments or groups of departments so that before formal independence eventuated, there was a large measure of self-government (Qalo, 1984).

Fisk (1970) in his analysis of Fiji's economy in its social and political context, attributes three factors to the Fiji situation at independence. He identifies them as 'the subsistence affluence of the Fijians, the entrepreneurship, know-how, and capital of the Europeans, and subsequently, the wage labour of the Indians'. He claims that the roots of the problem of Fiji at independence were related to these

three factors and their modern derivations.

Fisk (1970) points out that the division of the Fiji population into three racial groups - Fijians, Indians and Others - what he calls 'the three Fijis', is significant when considering the social, political and economic problems facing Fiji. This grouping is of importance because

... the differences between the groups are of great political significance, vital to the division and use of political power in the new nation and correspond with divisions and conflicts of interest in a wide range of social and economic affairs.

(Fisk, 1970, pp.33-34)

Fisk also points out that these three groups are distinct not only in race and political representation but they also have distinct historical backgrounds, different cultures, different motivation and social values. He further notes that the geographical distribution of the three population components have different patterns and that they own different quantities and types of land which they use to a considerable extent in different ways. The three groups are also distinct in that not only do their economic roles follow quite different and readily identifiable patterns but they also have different degrees of access to different types of economic opportunity.

At independence, and the same is true today, the European, Part-European and Chinese group was very largely an urban population. In contrast, only 39 percent of Indians and only 24 percent of Fijians

were urban.¹⁶ Today, more Indians are concentrated in and around the urban centres compared to Fijians who are still predominantly dispersed in the rural areas. What this has meant is that in contrast to Fijians, the European, Chinese and Indian groups have had more access and opportunities to participate in the monetised economy.

With regard to land, close to 84 percent of all land was owned on a communal basis by Fijians, 10 percent was privately-owned freehold¹⁷ whilst the balance was held by the Government as Crown land. The freehold land, often the best for commercial agriculture, was owned mostly by European immigrants. The Indians, in contrast, owned very little land but they leased most of the best land from Fijians, including most of the sugar producing land.

With regard to the racial pattern of economic activity at independence, Fijians owned most of the land and were heavily engaged in a non-monetary but affluent subsistence sector. On the other hand, the European/Chinese group managed and operated the large corporations and institutions, often on behalf of foreign owners whilst Indians owned and operated most of the medium to small-scale enterprises, including most of the commercial farming. Unlike Fijians, Indians had the ability to diversify their economic interests from being mainly farmers to industry, trade and commerce. Today, they have also become promi-

¹⁶

These figures were obtained from Fisk (1970, p.36)

¹⁷

The same holds true today.

ment in education, the professions, the public service and public enterprises, and other services.

In terms of access to opportunities to the means of increasing incomes, Fijians differed widely from the the European/Chinese and Indian groups at independence. Few Fijians were successfully established in business and the higher paid positions in industries. Fijians faced many barriers to success in the monetary economy, two of which were their geographical dispersal and psychological barriers (Fisk, 1970). Their geographical dispersal meant that they were removed from access and opportunities to the booming industries in the towns. Many Fijians were faced with psychological barriers in that 'the advanced sector of the economy appears to them to be a sphere in which success is won not by exercise of the generous virtues of Fijian traditional (or indeed Christian) morality, but rather by its opposite' (Fisk, 1970, p.43).

Indians, on the other hand, lived either in and around urban areas or in closely settled farming areas usually well served with schools, community services and communications. They also had access to areas where rapid developments of the economy were taking place. Unlike Fijians, Indians came from families familiar with the monetised economy and could get guidance and assistance from friends or relatives successfully engaged in business or in skilled trades.

There is also a great contrast between the European, Chinese and Indian groups on one hand, and the Fijians on the other, in terms of

motivation patterns (Fisk, 1970). The former groups are more strongly motivated to succeed in economic activities that produce a high income than Fijians. The subsistence affluence of Fijians has militated against economic advancement on their part. Although the average Fijian could return to the relative security and comfort of his village if he failed in commercial enterprise or in wage earning, unlike most Indians who would be faced with utter poverty and hunger, in the long term he is adversely disadvantaged. Because the subsistence sector does not involve a monetised exchange economy, it is essentially stagnant. This posed a serious problem at independence because whilst the other ethnic groups in Fiji were taking part in the vigorous growth of the economy, Fijians were being left behind.

Fisk (1970, p.47) highlights the fears faced by Fijians at independence:

For the Fijians, the dominant factors are that they now see themselves to be a minority in their own land, with a booming economy in which they play only a minor part, with political power dependent on agreement and support of one of the other racial groups, with pressure of population and competing uses of land bringing the end of subsistence affluence in sight, and the power of the British Queen, on which they have counted much in the past, now being removed.

He continues:

They have a conflict of interest with the European/ Chinese group and with the Indians over the speed of development of the advanced sector, which is running too fast for them to catch up. They have a conflict of interest with the Indians over land and over the fear of Indian numbers leading to Indian political control, which has led them into an alliance with the European/ Chinese group - with

whose economic interests they have the least in common.

(Fisk, 1970, pp.47-48)

Combined with the disturbing educational (and by implication, occupational) gap that existed between Fijians and Indians at the time of independence, all these factors added up to a potentially explosive situation.

After independence, the Alliance Government, predominantly a Fijian Party, felt that some of the fears shared by Fijians could be alleviated if measures were taken to improve their education for it was felt that education, particularly tertiary education, was the key to a more active participatory role by Fijians in the economy.¹⁸ It was against this background that various affirmative action policies were formulated and implemented by the post-Colonial Government in the 1970s, and because the 'educational gap' did not seem to be closing, in the 1980s as well.

THE FIJI EDUCATION COMMISSION REPORT OF 1969

The report of the Fiji Education Commission of 1969 is considered to provide the turning point for education in Fiji. This Commission,

¹⁸ For evidence of this, please see p.131 and pp.140-141 of this thesis. See also DPV, p.50; DPVI, p.191, pp.205-206; DPVII - p.177.

under the chairmanship of Sir Philip Sherlock,¹⁹ Secretary General of the Association of Caribbean Universities and Research Institutes, had seven terms of reference, one of which dealt specifically with the problems of Fijian education. This term of reference specifically called for recommendations to be made with regard to:

the special problems of the education of Fijians and the extent to which special measures, including scholarship provision and improved preparation for higher education, may be necessary to solve them.

(Fiji Education Commission, 1969, p. 67)

The Commission noted with concern that one problem which had concerned the Government, the Education Department and the leaders of the Fijian people was the 'disparity in educational performance between children of the two major racial groups - the indigenous Fijians on the one hand and those of Indian extraction on the other' (Fiji Education Commission, 1969, p.VI).

Three other special features of education in Fiji which the Commission felt Government should take into account in planning for the future were:

¹⁹

The other five members of the Commission were Mr G.S. Bessey, Director of Education, Cumberland; Mr P. Chang Min Phang, Chief Inspector of Schools, West Malaysia; Miss Margaret Miles, Headmistress of Mayfield School, Putney, London; Professor A.J. Lewis, Chairman of the Department of Educational Administration, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York; and Professor O.H.K. Spate, Director of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

- (a) a wide disparity in educational developments between urban and rural communities, and between rural communities able to grow cash crops and those which were not;
- (b) very difficult communications due to the scatter of the islands, the mountainous character of the hinterland and the limited road network; and
- (c) the variety of languages spoken coupled with the fact that English was spoken in comparatively few homes.

All these three special features have a bearing on the problems of Fijian education.

The Education Commission devoted a whole chapter to Fijian education. It defined the Fijian educational problem as the wide disparity in educational opportunity and achievement between Fijians and other ethnic groups. The Commission noted that the low quality of Fijian primary education was reflected in the poor secondary school performance of Fijian students. Since fewer Fijians than Indians sat the NZSC and UE examinations, there was a large disparity in the absolute number of passes. The Commission also noted with concern the poor performance of Fijian students at overseas universities. This poor performance was attributed particularly to the difficulties these students faced in adjusting to a new lifestyle and in developing good study habits.

The Education Commission identified the following factors as impeding Fijian educational development:

- (a) The scatter of Fijian schools resulting in these schools being too small for effective staffing and teaching;
- (b) Difficulty of supervision by Education Department officials because of (a) above;
- (c) Isolation of Fijian rural teachers contributing to lack of intellectual stimulus to help their own professional development;
- (d) Many Fijian students were forced to be boarders because of the distance of schools from their homes, usually in the rural area; this added to the burden of costs;
- (e) Severe shortage of appropriately qualified Fijian primary teachers;
- (f) Rural poverty made it very difficult for committees to maintain adequate standards and for parents to pay school fees;
- (g) Physical conditions in the village were not conducive to study : inadequate lighting; little privacy; children often walked long distances to and from school; and many social distractions.

The Commission points out that the last factor can be remedied reasonably quickly by providing places of study in village halls and churches. However, the first four factors were regarded as built-in problems while factors (e) and (f) were regarded as susceptible to relatively slow improvement.

In addition to these issues, the Commission identified various intangible factors as contributing to the problem of Fijian education. One such cause was attributed to the social background of the Fijian people. The lack of perseverance and patience in many Fijians was seen as a hindrance to their educational progress. Also, difficulties in money management were experienced at the village level. All these were viewed as 'natural' but the Commission noted that changing the attitudes of the Fijian people would be a very slow and difficult task.

The Commission was also of the view that boarding schools had not helped Fijian education. Not only were they seen as contributing to the slow maturation of Fijian students but they were also viewed as affecting their performance in the permissive atmosphere of the university. The problem of adjusting to university life was viewed by the Commission as being hindered by their boarding school experience. In addition, the lack of competition evident in the totally Fijian schools was seen as a definite handicap to Fijian educational advancement. The Commission was also of the view that because the western style of thinking provided the basis of teaching in schools and because English was the medium of instruction, Fijian students were

further handicapped because their language was structurally different from the English language, unlike the Hindi language.

The Education Commission made a number of general and specific recommendations which would particularly help Fijian students. Many of the general recommendations were made with rural needs in mind and as such would be advantageous for Fijian students. The Commission, for instance, recommended that Government build six junior secondary schools of high standard in carefully selected areas. It also recommended the improvement of teacher training and conditions of service, and the localisation of the curriculum. It also recommended that pre-school and adult education campaigns be conducted in rural areas to improve the attitude to and conditions of children's study in the village.

The special measures recommended by the Commission to help Fijians bridge the educational gap involved the award of scholarships. More specifically, the Commission suggested that 50 percent of Government's university scholarship funds be reserved for Fijians on a 'parallel block' basis where Fijians would compete with Fijians for their 50 percent of scholarships whilst non-Fijians would compete for their 50 percent quota. The Commission also recommended that in the event of qualified Fijians in any one year not filling their quota, the unallocated balance of funds should be devoted to other specifically Fijian educational needs such as university students repeating courses, if justified. The Commission, in ensuring that these measures remained

short-term in duration, recommended that these provisions extend for nine years with a preliminary review at the end of six years. But it also recommended that the position by Government should be reconsidered if there was no marked lessening in the disparity in educational attainment between Fijians and other ethnic groups.

Fiji could not develop into a nation while a major section of the community was lagging behind in education, the consequence of which was reflected in their lack of participation in commerce, the private and government sectors and the professions. Hence education for Fijians became a national issue (Baba, 1979).

POST-COLONIAL POLICY ON FIJIAN EDUCATION, 1970-1986

DP5 (Fiji Development Plan 1966-1970, 1966, p.96) for the period 1966-1970, pointed out that drastic measures were required to enable enough 'qualified Fijians to occupy a due share of senior positions in the public and the private sectors' of the community and defined these measures in terms of institutional improvements. These included improving on existing schools and the proposed establishment of a network of junior secondary schools to provide a four-year post primary course with a less academic bias than that provided by existing

secondary schools.²⁰

Based on the recommendations of the 1969 Education Commission, twelve special measures were advocated by Government in DP6 (Fiji's Sixth Development Plan 1971-1975, 1970) to reduce the educational gap between Fijians and other races. These measures were aimed at improving facilities (boarding, books, equipment), encouraging more Fijian involvement through more scholarships, providing incentives for teachers to teach in rural areas (better quarters), improving teacher education (better qualified teachers), establishing more junior secondary schools, launching a 'public relations' campaign, easing the problem of travel, and the acquisition of more vessels for field staff.

More specifically, these measures were:

- (i) the award of scholarships to all deserving Fijian applicants.
- (ii) the expansion of teacher-education facilities and an improvement in the quality of teacher-education, which are likely to have a greater impact on rural than urban education.
- (iii) the opening of strategically placed junior secondary schools, the great majority of which will be established in areas (predominantly Fijian-inhabited) which at present have few or no day secondary schools;

²⁰ DP5 had proposed the establishment of 'Middle Schools' or junior secondary schools to replace classes 7 and 8 and eventually take their pupils to Form 4 level. The Course would specially be designed to provide a more practical training. The 1969 Education Commission, however, had stressed that the Courses offered at the junior secondary school was desirable for all youngsters of post-primary age and that it was not a 'practical' or 'technical' alternative for those who were not clever enough to undertake a traditional academic course.

- (iv) the operation of the 'hostel grant' vote which will be aimed mainly at improving boarding facilities in rural primary and junior secondary schools;
- (v) the possibility of subsidising bus and boat fares for children who have to travel long distances to school;
- (vi) the inauguration of a vigorous and probably prolonged, 'public relations' campaign designed to encourage in Fijian parents, particularly in rural areas, a greater appreciation of the educational needs of their children;
- (vii) the possibility of using village churches for regular and supervised after-school-hours study, homework, and for pre-school education;
- (viii) the acquisition of more vessels to enable the Department's field staff to make more frequent and longer visits to schools which can be reached only by sea;
- (ix) the provision of better staff quarters to enable rural schools to attract and retain the services of better qualified teachers;

- (x) a more generous allocation of books and equipment for rural schools;
- (xi) greater efforts (by amalgamation or by the provision of transport facilities etc.) to reduce the need for multiple-class teaching in rural schools, especially in upper primary classes.
- (xii) a more generous provision for remission of fees in primary schools, and for free and partly free places in secondary schools for Fijian students.

(Fiji's Sixth Development Plan, 1970, pp.205-206)

However, these twelve measures were reduced to five (due mainly to a question of financial constraints) in DP7 for the 1976-1980 period. Four of these measures were a continuation of what was proposed in DP6. Government reiterated that these special measures were required if the nation was 'to produce enough qualified Fijians to occupy a due share of top and middle level positions in the public and private sectors of the economy.' (Fiji's Seventh Development Plan 1976-1980, 1975, p.184)

These special measures to be continued for the five-year period 1976-1980 were namely, the continuation of the 'public relations' campaign; the expansion of teacher-education facilities and an improvement in the quality of teacher education; efforts to attract and retain the

services of better qualified teachers; and the award of scholarships to all deserving Fijian applicants. The new measure added in DP7 was the need for more refresher courses for the teachers of the higher level classes in rural areas. The emphasis therefore for the period 1976-1980 with regard to Fijian education was two-fold: increasing the number of Fijians at the tertiary level and improving teacher qualification.

In addition, DP7 proposed two more measures to provide a satisfactory education for children in rural areas, the majority of whom were Fijians: first the need to raise the standard of rural junior secondary schools; and second, the need to provide appropriate form 5-6 facilities for those fourth form students capable of benefitting from further formal education. Furthermore, the Minister of Education, The Honourable Jone Naisara, at the Opening of the 39th Annual General Conference of the Fijian Teachers' Association in 1974, had pointed out that whilst the Ministry of Education needed to operate within its limited budget, a greater proportion of the education budget was being made accessible to Fijian students. Some examples he gave were: increased building grants to largely Fijian schools, consideration of grants for teachers' quarters, the free issue scheme of books, equipment and principals to junior secondary schools, and the consideration of a loan scheme to enable more Fijian students to attend the University of the South Pacific (USP).

DP8 for the period 1981-1985 placed a heavy emphasis on improving

institutional factors. Government policy on Fijian and rural education was to focus on staffing of primary, junior secondary and rural secondary schools by trained teachers; a continuation of efforts to impress upon parents and pupils in rural areas the value of an appropriate education; upgrading and provision of equipment, materials and books to junior secondary and rural secondary schools; and the consolidation and/or expansion of predominantly Fijian schools.

In a recent statement of Government policy, the Minister for Education, The Honourable Filipe Bole, in the opening speech at the 1989 Fijian Teachers' Association's Annual General Conference, noted that the development of Fijian education up the secondary level (as of education in general in Fiji), had been guided by three basic policies aimed at improving access to, enhancing the quality of and increasing the relevance of education. With regard to the first policy, the Minister stated that plans would be formulated to increase the development of pre-schools to be biased particularly towards the rural areas. To ensure that more Fijian children of primary school can go to school, Government would undertake a national survey to determine the distribution of Fijian children not attending school and to assist financially much needed schools or facilities. Access to secondary schools would be achieved through a review of the roles of the Intermediate and Eighth Year Examinations as well as a survey to determine the need for the expansion of existing secondary schools and construction of new ones, if necessary.

With regard to the second policy (that of enhancing the quality of education), Bole (1989) equated an improvement in both teacher qualifications and facilities at all levels (pre-school to secondary) with a subsequent improvement in quality.

Relevance, the third policy, according to the Minister for Education, was to be enhanced through the following measures : a continual review and modification of school curricula; the expansion of teaching programmes in school to offer a more comprehensive teaching programme with the addition of new subjects designed to increase the prospects of school leavers for jobs and self-employment; more involvement by the Curriculum Development Unit; strengthening the Careers Advisory Services of the Ministry; and the monitoring of the Fijian Education Unit.

Since 1969, at least six affirmative action policies have been implemented by the Alliance Government, especially at the tertiary level, in the hope that the imbalance in educational attainment of the Fijians and non-Fijians would be reduced. This, it was envisaged by the Government, would somehow reduce, if not close, the occupational gap between the ethnic groups. These affirmative actions were:

- (i) The establishment of junior secondary schools since 1969 to specifically increase the number of Fijians at the secondary level and to improve the education of Fijians in general.
- (ii) The reservation of 50 percent of Fiji Government's University scholarship funds for Fijians on a parallel basis since 1970.

- (iii) The inauguration in 1971 of a 'public relations' campaign designed to encourage in Fijian parents, especially in rural areas, a greater appreciation of the educational needs of their children.
- (iv) The award of scholarships to all deserving Fijian applicants since 1975.
- (v) The creation of special funds for Fijian education in 1984, which was an annual fund of \$3.5 million.
- (vi) The conversion of the former Nasinu Teachers' College into a residential college for foundation students in 1984.

The first four policies were implemented in the 1970s. In the early part of 1980, when it became evident to the Government that the educational gap between Fijians and other ethnic groups was not closing, two more affirmative action policies were adopted, i.e. (v) and (vi). Policies (ii), (iii) and (iv) continued to be implemented in the 1980s. The number of junior secondary schools began to stabilize and lessen in the 1980s when they gradually began converting to high schools.

JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The 1969 Fiji Education Commission, whilst seeing the need to increase the number of Fijians with the necessary educational base from which to proceed to higher education, had recommended that the Government initially build only six junior secondary schools of high standard in carefully selected areas. However, the Government chose to ignore this advice.

There were two basic reasons why Government encouraged locally managed school committees to open up junior secondary schools. Not only was it

politically expedient for the Government to do so but it also could not afford to build and maintain the six quality schools envisaged by the 1969 Education Commission (Whitehead, 1986). Before the Commission Report was received, the Government had already approved the establishment of 15 junior secondary schools by local committees (Whitehead, 1986, p.4). By 1970, 10 of these schools were established. This increased to 26 in 1972 and by 1977, there were 41 junior secondary schools in existence. Since the Government could not afford to meet the high public demand for secondary education, it was convenient to leave this responsibility to those local village committees and religious organisations that could afford to establish junior secondary schools. In any case, the Government decided that available funds would go further in the form of grants-in-aid (Whitehead, 1986, p.4).

There are three points to bear in mind in any discussion of Fijian-managed junior secondary schools. First, they are rural-based schools. Second, almost all of them are boarding schools and third, almost all are committee schools, plagued with many problems particularly with regard to finance and management. Considering that the rural economy is basically a subsistence one, it is not surprising that the majority of these schools provided a poor quality education for the bulk of the rural children.

It is true that the junior secondary schools have opened up access of educational opportunity to rural Fijian children. But the Government

has been confronted with the quantity vs quality dilemma where one objective is attainable only at the expense of the other (Whitehead, 1986, p.3). In the case of the junior secondary school, quality has been forsaken in preference for quantity. The rapid proliferation of junior secondary schools outstripped the number of trained teachers available. Local committees also faced financial problems and were not able to maintain an adequate educational standard. Whitehead (1986, p.39) points out that only 7 out of the 35 junior secondary schools in existence in 1973 were even remotely geared to provide the sort of education originally intended and only 78 of their 232 teachers had been specifically trained to work in them.

A review of some aspects of Fijian education carried out by Kallam, Rika, Rustam and Tukunia in 1980 for the period 1971-79 noted that a good proportion of Fijian students in the secondary system was already disadvantaged in that they came from the typical rural Fijian primary school background - small remote schools which made multiple-teaching necessary, negligible remedial work, a scarcity of equipment and materials, restricted educational exposure, and an educationally lethargic social background.

This Review Report pointed out that while a secondary education has been made more accessible to rural Fijian students, the junior secondary schools were failing to draw the eligible children in. The Review Committee identified the following factors as causes for this problem: comparative higher fees in Forms I and II compared to Classes

7 and 8; perceived better teaching at Classes 7 and 8 in comparison to Forms I and II; the greater likelihood of obtaining admission to a 'good' high school after the Secondary School Entrance Examination in primary school; the difficulty of having to secure a Form 5 place; and the discontinuation of some subjects taught at Form 4 when the students reached Form 5. The Review Committee added the problems of the poor quality of facilities in the junior secondary schools and the inability of the community to provide facilities comparable to those available in well-established secondary schools.

When the two problems of a shortage of trained teachers and poor turnover of staff are added, it is not surprising that quality education is out of reach of an appreciable proportion of Fijian secondary school students. Nor is it surprising that a large proportion of students from junior secondary schools are pushed out of the educational system either after failing the Fiji Junior Secondary Examination at Form 4 or through the inability of Fijian parents to pay the exorbitant fees and board for those who qualify for high school.

The majority of those students who manage to secure a place in high school have not been prepared adequately for Form 5 work (Kallam et al, 1980). Since there is often a mismatch of subjects taught at Form 4 in junior secondary school and Form 5 in a new high school, the problems for these students is compounded by the acute problem of readjustment to the new school, subjects, teachers, home, and so forth.

The problem of the poor academic calibre of those entering the junior secondary school is exacerbated by the fact that the cream of students from the primary schools has passed to the three 'elite' Fijian Government boarding schools²¹ which are highly selective in their choice of students. Some students who pass the Fiji Eighth Year Examination will aspire to attend prestigious urban high schools or those renown for good national examination pass rates. What this means is that the majority of students in junior secondary schools did not score high marks in the Class 6 or 8 examinations and were consequently not accepted at the school of their choice.

Perhaps the most serious problem faced by junior secondary schools is one of economics.²² The subsistence economy in the villages means that many parents are not in a position to afford the high cost of educating their children at secondary school. Furthermore, many school committees face many financial problems in maintaining their schools, in providing the necessary textbooks and teaching equipment, teachers' quarters, boarding facilities and the like. Funds, more often than not, are mismanaged.

Furthermore, the poor management of junior secondary schools affects the quality of education in the rural area. There are two facets to

21

Adi Cakobau School (ACS) for Girls; Ratu Kadavulevu School (RKS) and Queen Victoria School (QVS) for boys.

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Interview with Mr Sefanaia Koroi, Principal Education Officer, Fijian Education Unit, Ministry of Education.

this problem. First, the principals of these schools have been diplomates who qualified for school leadership after several years of teaching. Their lack of appropriate training and experience affect the way they run their schools. Second, the Chairman and members of junior secondary school committees generally have had a minimal education. Rika (1979) in a paper presented to the Fijian Education Seminar in 1979, noted that in the Fijian education context, the best brains are managing and controlling schools in the town and their peripheries. On the other hand, the further one moves in land, the lower the level of management expertise to guide school development, financially and professionally. Rika sums it up this way:

School managers in rural schools are people who only went to Class 8 or Form 3, themselves trying to direct the affairs of primary and junior secondary schools because they are the best material which can be found in the village. Often, it is a case of the blind leading the blind. And so until school managers' educational level rises appreciably to enable them to give more inspiring management, Fijian education in remote rural areas will continue to be stunted.

(Rika 1979, p.5)

Bole (1991, p.7) noted that a significant shortcoming of the junior secondary school policy was 'the failure of the system at the time to get its cadre of administrators to understand fully and clearly the reasons behind the policy...'

It seems then that the junior secondary schools, which were supposed to improve the quality of education of the Fijians such that those with the necessary educational base in rural areas could proceed to higher

education, became regarded as 'second best', the very thing that the 1969 Education Commission had warned against.

THE PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN

DP6 had proposed the 'inauguration of a vigorous and probably prolonged public relations campaign designed to encourage in Fijian parents, particularly in rural areas, a greater appreciation of the educational needs of their children'. This concern by the Government has been reflected in subsequent Development Plans.

Since 1971, the Ministry of Education has been engaged in a public relations campaign to create greater educational consciousness amongst Fijians through a number of programmes, one being the Sunday afternoon radio programme in the Fijian language. The objectives of this programme are: - to inspire Fijian students, teachers and parents to greater heights, to inform parents and school committees of the kinds of Government assistance available and how to apply for such assistance, to inform the Fijian public of the latest developments in education, and to acquaint parents with their roles and responsibilities in their children's education (Kallam et al, 1980).

Other programmes include a monthly programme in the Fijian newspaper, and the organisation of seminars and meetings between the field staff of the Ministry of Education and Fijian school committees and parents when the field staff visit rural areas. In addition, Fijian parents

were inspired to support their children's education and Fijian educational efforts through the formation of PTA groups with encouragement from the Fijian Teachers' Association through its 'Vuli Veicuqeni' - Bridging the Educational Gap Programme.

However, these programmes, which seek socio-cultural transformation are not quite successful because in the assessment of Kallam and his colleagues, 'the returns by definition are slow' (Kallam et al, 1980, p.33). What this means is that it is very difficult to change the attitudes and views of Fijian parents with regard to the education of their children because the public relations campaign is not intensive enough to have much effect. Another reason is that the education of secondary school Fijian students do not feature directly in the daily activities of an appreciable number of Fijian homes because the child is away attending boarding school. It was recommended by the Internal Review of Fijian education by Kallam et al (1980) that the public relations campaign be sustained but that more attention be given to students in school through the Careers Teacher. It was also suggested by the same Review Committee that the Post of Career Advisor/Counsellor be established and that it be equated with the Post of Head of Department. However, because of financial constraints and probably because the Government did not deem this a serious proposal, it was not implemented.

Generally, it is the principal or the teacher with a lighter teaching load than others who takes up the position of careers teacher in a

school. This role is often treated lightly. Whilst a period may be allocated for 'Careers', more often than not, nothing constructive is achieved. Most times, this period is either utilized by another subject teacher or declared a study period. This period is utilized mainly when forms need to be filled by students.

The efforts that were mounted toward improving parental awareness about the value of education could never achieve this objective according to the Internal Review Report of 1980. As the Report put it: The efforts were

... beamed too impersonally from too remote a centre for most parents if the radio is used. There is no guarantee that people listen and even if they do, whether they internalize the message. The same is true for the efforts through the newspapers. The occasional visit of a ministry advisor is no substitute for the alternative means possible.

(Kallam et al, 1980, p.76)

The same Review Report reiterated the need for qualified Careers Teachers:

For any public awareness programme to succeed, the dispenser of the message has to be on the spot, and preferably live and work amongst the people themselves. A school's careers teacher with proper training in counselling of students and parents can achieve far more than the other medium used so far.

(Kallam et al, 1980, p.76)

It would seem then that efforts by the Alliance Government to motivate rural Fijian parents about the importance of an education for their children were not vigorous enough to have much effect.

THE 50/50 SCHOLARSHIP POLICY

The policy of allocating 50 percent of the Government's university scholarships to Fijians and the rest to non-Fijians was first proposed by the 1969 Fijian Education Commission and incorporated in DP6 and DP7 for the period 1971-1980. In fact, at the time of writing, this policy was still firmly in place.

One assumption behind this policy was that of the availability of qualified Fijian applicants. Another assumption was that a balanced entry would ensure a balance in the number eventually graduating from university. In theory, this policy was supposed to bridge the educational gap thereby ensuring that more Fijian graduates would be in a position to hold the middle and top level posts envisaged for them by the Government in the public service and public sector of the economy. A tertiary education, particularly university training, was viewed as the means by which a more proportional number of Fijians, in relation to Indians, would participate actively in the economic well-being of the nation. However, the reality sadly did not reflect this vision.

A problem consistently found in the implementation of the 50:50 policy has been a lack of suitably qualified Fijians available for the number

of scholarships awarded, particularly for school leavers entering the University of the South Pacific's Diploma, Social Science, Science and Medical Foundation programmes. This was a direct result of the very small number of Fijians passing the UE Examination (see Table 9).

In the decade of the 1970s, a balance in entry could not be achieved and this trend has continued into the 1980s. It was not until an annual special fund of \$3.5 million was specifically allocated by the Government for Fijian education in 1984 that more Fijians have been able to pursue studies at USP and abroad on scholarship. Table 9 will show that it was not until 1983 that the gross numbers of Fijians passing UE began to show an improvement. However, there has been no significant increase in the percentage of Fijians passing, remaining well behind the Indian pass rates by 10 percent each year after 1983. It is also clear from Table 9 that many more Indians than Fijians have passed the UE Examination thereby ensuring their eligibility for a scholarship. Between 1980-1986, an average of 582 more Indians than Fijians passed the UE Examination.

As a result of the ineligibility of many Fijian students to enter university, the 50:50 scholarship quota in favour of Fijians could not be implemented in its entirety (see Table 10). In fact, the average award of scholarships for the 13 year period from 1975-1982 was 39 percent Fijians compared to 61 percent non-Fijians (Indians and Others). Not once in this 8 year period have Fijians filled their 50 percent quota. The highest they have obtained is 44 percent in 1982.

It is also evident from Table 10 that it is the Indians who have been awarded more than 50 percent of scholarships. In fact, the average distribution of scholarships awarded to Indians in the period 1975-1982 was 54 percent compared to 39 percent awarded to Fijians.

Table 9 A COMPARISON OF FIJIAN AND INDIAN PASS RATES
IN THE NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE (UE)
EXAMINATION, 1970-1986.

Year	FIJIANs			INDIANs			DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INDIAN AND FIJIAN PASSES
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%	
1970	202	45	22	501	167	33	122
1971	224	55	24	585	146	25	91
1972	252	63	25	684	225	33	162
1973	202	58	29	709	232	33	174
1974	240	67	28	807	246	30	179
1975	293	76	26	912	299	33	223
1976	318	96	30	1107	322	29	226
1977	478	107	22	1405	411	29	304
1978	576	170	29	1710	647	38	477
1979	804	183	23	2036	681	33	498
1980	922	184	20	2305	771	33	587
1981	1000	219	22	2278	825	36	606
1982	1117	258	23	2512	837	33	579
1983	1300	334	26	2581	950	37	616
1984	1259	333	26	2597	947	36	614
1985	1433	391	27	2478	874	35	483
1986	1483	345	23	2447	933	38	588

NB. Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.
(Source: Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education)

Table 10 RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT UNIVERSITY
SCHOLARSHIPS, 1970-1982

Year	TOTAL NUMBER	FIJIAN %	INDIAN %	OTHERS %
1970	182	32.96	53.29	13.75
1971	263	34.22	54.75	11.03
1972	338	31.06	56.80	12.14
1973	407	34.40	58.23	7.37
1974	460	34.35	57.39	8.26
1975	557	37.70	54.58	7.72
1976	633	42.65	49.92	7.43
1977	644	36.02	56.99	6.99
1978	676	25.21	58.28	6.31
1979	450	39.93	55.17	4.90
1980	1344	41.82	53.13	5.05
1981	1347	41.42	54.50	4.08
1982	1194	44.47	52.01	3.52

(Source: Parliamentary Debates, 23rd August 1982, p.655 - This table was quoted by Mr. J.M. Ah Koy, the General Member for Suva, who claimed it was supplied to him by the Public Service Commission.)

The 50:50 Scholarship Award Policy has been a controversial one. A lot of concern was shown over this issue in the late 1970s and early 1980s, not only by Fijians who felt that the Government was not properly implementing this policy, but also from non-Fijians, particularly Indians, who felt resentment for a policy which seemed to favour the Fijian people at the expense of their children's education.

The Fijian Teachers' Association has since the late 1970s shown concern for what it saw as the Government's poor implementation of the 50:50 percent policy (Tadu, 1978; Cokanasiga, 1979). In a letter dated 26th July, 1979, the General Secretary of the Fijian Teachers' Association, Mr. I.J. Cokanasiga wrote directly to the Minister for Education

expressing the concern of the FTA that the Government was not diligently implementing the 50:50 policy. He suggested that the discrepancy might be remedied by the Government by recouping the value of scholarships lost in the past through the provision of additional funds to be utilized by Fijians.

In reply to this letter, the Permanent Secretary for Education, Mr Filipe Bole, on 12th September, 1979 wrote that the major problem faced in implementing the 50:50 policy was that there was an insufficient number of Fijians with the necessary qualifications to benefit from a scholarship award. In defence of the Government, Bole wrote:

Overall, we are not convinced that there has been any lack of diligence in the administration of the 50:50 policy. What ought to be done is for those responsible to ensure that a sufficient number of Fijians are in the pipeline for awards and that scholarships given to Fijians are given to the most deserving.

(Bole, 1979, p.2)

Baba (1979) maintains that the short term policy of allocating scholarships to students at the Foundation year at USP on a 50:50 racial basis not only inevitably produces a high failure rate but also is wasteful of resources. He also claims that it 'creates a tradition of failure and lack of confidence among Fijians which could, for some, develop into deep-rooted complexes'. (Baba, 1979, p.17)

Baba points out that awarding 50 percent of scholarships to the 18

percent of Fijians passing UE, compared to the other 50 percent going to the 82 percent of non-Fijian passing UE, encourages the selection of students from differential achievement groups who are placed together in a common programme and are expected to do equally well. As expected, more Fijians than non-Fijians fail at the PII or Foundation level. Quoting an example, Baba noted that in 1977, the overall failure rate of Fijians at the Foundation level was four times greater than that of non-Fijians.

Prior to the 1982 General Elections, controversy over the 50:50 policy was rekindled. The Editor of the 'Fiji Sun' in 1981 claimed that the issue of this policy was largely responsible for the Alliance losing power in the First General Elections in 1977 (Fiji Sun, 21/10/81, p.2). The Opposition Whip, Mrs Irene Narayan, alleged that resentment, frustration and anger were growing among non-Fijians over this scholarship award policy, and she felt that it was high time that a review of this policy, as suggested by the 1969 Education Commission, was carried out. Mrs Narayan described the policy as a costly one as many Fijians who did not have the requisite qualifications dropped out of university after finding the work too demanding.

A similar criticism of the 50:50 policy was made by a lecturer at the University of the South Pacific, Dr. S. Nandan, who felt that the policy was blatantly discriminating and self-defeating (Fiji Sun, 30/10/81). He also felt that the policy had not achieved much and had created a great deal of controversy and resentment among the

disadvantaged group.

In defence of the Government's stand on the 50:50 award policy, the Prime Minister, Ratu Sir K. Mara, said that this policy was a fair one as it would ensure that future racial harmony in the country was achieved (The Fiji Times, 17/10/81). He also pointed out that Fijians were the less advantaged members of the nation and that Indian parents were in a far better financial position to pay for their children's places at USP and abroad. The Prime Minister also pointed out that Fijians were not achieving their 50 percent quota and that more Indians than Fijians were scholarship holders.

Similarly, in defence of the Government's 50:50 scholarship policy, the Minister for Education, Dr. Ahmed Ali, in the Parliamentary Debate Session of August 1982, noted that this policy needed to remain for the sake of political stability. In addition, he called on all to support any move that would help remove the educational disparity that existed between Fijians and other ethnic groups. He also pointed out that the Government needed to provide additional support to Fijian students such as counselling and academic guidance.

In spite of the embarrassment Government Ministers and Fijian people alike must have felt over the 50:50 scholarship issue, it was clear that this policy could not be abandoned because the educational gap between Fijians and other ethnic groups was still very much evident. As the Alliance Party was predominantly a Fijian party, and because the

Government did not have an alternative policy that would enable Fijians to reach the tertiary level, there was nothing it could do except to retain the 50:50 scholarship policy.

THE AWARD OF SCHOLARSHIPS TO ALL DESERVING FIJIAN APPLICANTS

The award of scholarships to all deserving Fijians was another special measure advocated in DP6 and DP7 to improve Fijian education. But as not enough Fijians were eligible to enter USP, a very liberal interpretation was placed on this policy in the mid-1970s to make the policy work. In practice, 'deserving' came to mean all Fijians who passed the UE Examination and expressed a preference for further studies.

It is pertinent to note that while the 1969 Fiji Education Commission talked about qualified Fijians, the policy embodied in both DP6 and DP7 referred to 'deserving' Fijians for the purposes of scholarship award. The implied assumption behind this new practice was that all those students who had achieved a simple pass in the UE Examination would be able to cope with foundation, diploma and degree level courses. However, the contrary was found to hold true. A simple pass in UE was no guarantee of later success.

The immediate effect of allowing Fijians with a simple pass in UE into the Foundation Programmes was an improvement in the ratios of Fijians and non-Fijians, particularly in relation to Indians, gaining awards (see Tables 11 and 12). In fact, Fijian intake into the USP Foundation

Course began to equalise with Indians after 1983 as a result of a topping up of Government scholarship awards to Fijians by the special fund specifically allocated for Fijian education with effect from 1984 (Table 12). It is interesting to note that in 1984, the year this special fund policy was implemented, the Fijian quota for the Foundation programme not only reached the 50 percent mark but for the first time, exceeded Indian figures.

Table 11
ANNUAL FOUNDATION COURSE INTAKE AT USP BEFORE
NEW POLICY OF ALLOWING FIJIAN ENTRY WITH A
200 MARK PASS MINIMUM IN THE UE EXAMINATION,
1970-1976.

Year	FIJIAN	%	INDIAN	%	OTHERS	%	NON- FIJIAN TOTAL	%	OVERALL TOTAL
1970	38	28.6	69	51.9	26	19.5	95	71.4	133
1971	55	31.3	96	54.5	25	14.2	121	68.7	176
1972	49	25.3	119	61.3	26	13.4	145	74.7	194
1973	52	23.3	136	61.0	35	15.7	171	76.7	223
1974	45	22.4	136	67.7	20	9.9	156	77.6	201
1975	49	26.8	107	58.5	27	14.7	134	73.2	183
1976	51	27.6	108	58.4	26	14.0	134	72.4	185

(Source: Student Lists, USP Academic Office)

Table 12
ANNUAL FOUNDATION COURSE INTAKE AT USP AFTER
NEW POLICY OF ALLOWING FIJIAN ENTRY WITH A
200 MARK PASS MINIMUM IN THE UE EXAMINATION,
1977-1985.

Year	FIJIAN	%	INDIAN	%	OTHERS	%	NON- FIJIAN TOTAL	%	OVERALL TOTAL
1977	68	37.0	102	55.4	14	7.6	116	63.0	184
1978	66	34.5	88	46.1	37	19.4	125	65.5	191
1979	71	34.0	115	55.0	23	11.0	138	66.0	209
1980	74	38.6	98	51.0	20	10.4	118	61.4	192
1981	71	36.2	101	51.5	24	12.3	125	63.8	196
1982	79	42.7	88	47.6	18	9.7	106	57.3	185
1983	75	35.4	104	49.0	33	15.6	137	64.6	212
1984	138	53.5	92	35.6	28	10.9	120	46.5	258
1985	136	45.6	137	46.0	25	8.4	162	54.4	298

(Source: Student Lists, USP Academic Office)

However, the failure rate of Fijian students in the Foundation programme, particularly in Science, continues to be appallingly high, particularly when compared with Indian results. The Internal Review Report by Kallam et al (1980) points out that the problem of granting scholarships to all deserving Fijians with a minimum of 200 marks in UE was compounded by the difficulty of selecting non-Fijian students from the very large pool of UE passes which the Report notes is often four times larger than the Fijian pool of available students. So, within the ambit of accommodating all 'deserving' Fijian students, the threshold UE marks for Fijian students remained at about 200²³ while that of non-Fijians consistently increased, being 231 in 1975, 261 in 1977 and 285 for the 1980 intake. The resultant effect is two quite dissimilar groups of students - on the one hand, Fijians with lower aggregate UE marks and academic performance and on the other, non-Fijians with far superior performance on both counts - are selected to undertake the same courses. It is not surprising therefore that Fijians perform badly in their first year at USP. The Review Report by Kallam et al, (1980) noted with concern that in 1977, for instance, the failure rate for Fijians doing Foundation Science was 56.7 percent compared to only 7 percent of non-Fijians failing. 44 percent of non-Fijians achieved Class I or Class II pass compared to none for the Fijian group. The Report also highlighted the fact that 40 percent of

²³ Until 1988 when it was raised to 220 marks. From 1991, an aggregate of at least 250 marks was the new minimum entry mark for Fijians into the Foundation Programme.

the Fijian group who failed had a UE aggregate of 230 or less whereas all the non-Fijian students had a UE aggregate of over 230 marks.

Overall, 42 percent of Fijian students enrolled in the 1977 Science, Medical and Social Science Foundation programmes failed whereas only 8.7 percent of non-Fijians failed their foundation courses (Kallam et al, 1980, p.56).

The Internal Review Report (Kallam et al, 1980) came to two conclusions. First, it was not a viable proposition to continue to regard a simple pass in UE as an adequate entry mark for Fijians into Foundation studies; and second, whatever his ethnicity, no student had a reasonable chance of success at the Foundation level if he had an aggregate UE mark of less than 230. The Review Report therefore recommended that no student (Fijian students included) with less than an aggregate of 230 marks in UE be sponsored for Foundation studies. The Review Report also recommended that provision be made by the Government for Fijians to repeat the UE examination if they scored less than 230 marks chiefly so that if they passed the second time round, they would be better able to compete with non-Fijians in tertiary studies.

However, the Government chose to ignore the conclusions drawn and recommendations made by the 1980 Internal Review Report. As a result, Foundation results for Fijian students, particularly for the Science courses, have continued to be very poor. An analysis of the USP

Foundation results for the period 1984-1987 carried out by Kenchington (1988) highlights the consistent low percentages of Fijian students who qualify each year to progress to degree studies in Science and Mathematics²⁴ (See Tables 13 and 14). Fijians, on the other hand, compare favourably with Indians in the Foundation Social Science Programme.

Table 13 **COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF FOUNDATION SCIENCE (FNCS) AND FOUNDATION SOCIAL SCIENCE (FNSS) RESULTS AT USP, 1984-1987.**

YEAR	STUDENT CATEGORY	SEMESTER I				SEMESTER II			
		STUDENT ENROLMENT		% PASS RATE		STUDENT ENROLMENT		% PASS RATE	
		FNCS	FNSS	FNCS	FNSS	FNCS	FNSS	FNCS	FNSS
1984	Fijians	88	50	64.8	85.2	88	50	47.2	69.9
	Indians	60	32	95.0	98.8	58	32	92.0	95.6
1985	Fijians	85	51	63.7	90.6	76	52	55.4	81.9
	Indians	82	55	93.7	90.2	79	51	93.4	88.2
1986	Fijians	105	67	59.6	82.2	102	63	52.4	74.0
	Indians	92	50	85.9	84.0	80	52	86.2	79.9
1987	Fijians	105	72	66.5	83.1	101	71	52.6	75.2
	Indians	105	75	90.0	88.3	99	73	88.2	86.7

(Source: Adapted from Kenchington, 1988, pp.10-13)

²⁴ See Chapter 3, pp.62-63 of this thesis for a more comprehensive coverage of Kenchington's Report.

Two points seem evident from the preceeding discussion. First, whilst the policy of awarding scholarships to Fijians with a minimum of 200 marks in the UE Examination has undoubtedly increased the number of Fijians enrolled in the Foundation Programmes at USP so that it compared more favourably with Indian numbers, a significant proportion of Fijians are not passing the Foundation Science Programme thereby inhibiting their progress to degree studies in the Science and Mathematics areas. This, it needs not be mentioned, has and will continue to adversely affect the number of Fijian graduates in these areas as well as their chances of filling the occupational gap where Fijian numbers are deficient.

Table 14 COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF POTENTIAL QUALIFIERS
FROM THE FOUNDATION SCIENCE (FNCS) AND FOUNDATION
SOCIAL SCIENCE (FNSS) PROGRAMMES FOR DEGREE STUDIES,
1984-1987.

Year .	STUDENT CATEGORY	NUMBER QUALIFIED		% QUALIFIED	
		FNCS	FNSS	FNCS	FNSS
1984	Fijians	19	36	21.6	72.0
	Indians	52	31	89.7	96.9
1985	Fijians	34	43	44.7	82.7
	Indians	74	49	93.7	96.1
1986	Fijians	42	47	41.2	77.8
	Indians	67	39	83.8	75.0
1987	Fijians	48	55	47.5	77.5
	Indians	82	65	82.8	89.0

(Source: Adapted from Kenchington, 1988, pp.10-13)

The second point that needs to be made is that the Government, in conjunction with USP and other relevant concerned bodies, needs to

review both the 50:50 policy and the award of scholarship policy. There has been a lot of wastage from the USP Foundation programmes, particularly in Science, and it is clearly in this area that the Government needs to re-examine its policies. If the present trend continues, the Government is faced with the continuing problem of sponsoring Fijians in their first year at USP, a significant proportion of whom are likely to fail their courses.

THE CREATION OF SPECIAL FUNDS FOR FIJIAN EDUCATION

In 1983, Cabinet decided that a special fund of \$3.5 million would be set aside annually for a five year period (1984-1988) specifically for the development of Fijian education (Fijian Education Committee, 1988). The Fund would be put under the control of the Minister for Fijian Affairs.

The intention of Cabinet when setting aside this sum was based on the assumption that special financial resources were a prerequisite for any intended improvement in Fijian education (Fijian Education Committee, 1988). Providing adequate facilities, good teaching and suitable advisory services were considered to be the means of improving performance.

The upgrading of Fijian education was to be carried out in two areas:

- (a) School development in terms of upgrading buildings and facilities,

and providing resources and materials particularly in rural Fijian schools; and

- (b) Provision of scholarships for tertiary studies in areas where Fijians were lagging behind e.g. in Commerce, Scientific and Technological fields.

It appears as if the Government decided that providing special funds would help in alleviating the Fijian educational problem as it was generally felt that Fijian students in rural areas were failing examinations because they were disadvantaged in terms of buildings, teachers, facilities, resources etc. In providing a special fund specifically for Fijian education with an emphasis on rural Fijian schools, the Government hoped that the gap in educational attainment between Fijians and Indians would be reduced.

The Government also assumed that if more scholarships were provided in areas where Fijians lagged behind (compared to other races, particularly the Indians), more Fijians would be occupationally represented in middle and top positions in the public and private sectors of the community.

The creation of a special Fund as a special measure to improve Fijian education arose as a consequence of the failure of special measures spelt out in DP6 and DP7 to significantly narrow the educational gap between the Fijians and Indians. It was true enough that in terms of

numbers, more Fijians were getting through to the upper secondary level but in terms of percentages, there was no significant improvement in examination results when compared with Indians.

After independence, it was assumed by the Government that a stable socio-political climate would be maintained if Fijians participated more in the economic life of the nation. Since this would be affected by the fact that Fijians lagged behind in educational and occupational terms,²⁵ special measures were recommended to improve Fijian education. When the specified time was up for these policies to have had an effect (by the mid-1980s), the Government noted (from Education Reports, examination results etc.) that Fijians were still lagging behind. It deemed it necessary therefore to set up a special Fund to specifically upgrade Fijian education along two lines of attack: firstly through the physical development of Fijian schools, particularly in the rural area, and secondly, through the award of scholarships at the tertiary level.

A total of \$17.5 million was allocated by Government from 1984 to 1988 for the improvement of Fijian education. This was in addition to the assistance Fijian schools continued to receive from the allocation of the Ministry of Education and the 50:50 scholarship award policy.

²⁵ The first evidence was the continuing high failure rate of Fijians in external examinations and at USP. The second evidence was the disproportional representation of Fijians in the professions and in top positions in the public and private sectors of the economy.

It was noted by a member of Parliament that the Fund was:

essential not merely for the benefit the Fijian people will receive, but also for the well-being of this country and in this sense, for the welfare of all the people domiciled in Fiji. By ensuring the Fijian people a fair share of the fruits produced in their land, this country will continue to have the stability for which it has been noted for everywhere.

(Ratu T. Vesikula, Parliamentary Debates
Nov/Dec. 1984, p.74)

When asked by Dr. S.P. Nandan of the Opposition Party why the \$3.5 million fund was shifted to the Ministry of Fijian Affairs rather than in the hands of the Minister for Education, the Prime Minister, Ratu Mara answered:

I think the basic criterion that decided Government to allocate this fund and to put it under the Ministry of Fijian Affairs is the fact that it is the Fijian people, as a whole, who have been lagging behind in education. Many endeavours have been made and the problem seems to have not been reduced. We hope that with this injection of funds and activity that will arise from it, we will be able to hope to alleviate the problem that is building up - the resentment of one section of the community about their lagging behind in achievements in the professions and educational attainments.

(Parliamentary Debates, Oct/Nov/Dec. 1983,
p.1756)

Several points seem clear from the above discussion. First, the Government together with the Great Council of Chiefs foresaw social and political instability if Fijians, who owned most of the land, were not able to participate in the social, economic (and political) spheres of

national life.

In addition, the affirmative actions advocated in DP6 and DP7 were not working and the poor examination results of the Fijian continued to be a national concern. It seemed urgent therefore that the Government formulate a policy which would somehow improve Fijian educational performance. It was against this background that Cabinet approved the allocation of \$3.5 million annually specifically for the improvement of Fijian education.

The Fijian Education Committee (FEC) was set up to administer the Fijian Education Fund. The late Mr. Mosese Qionibaravi, then Minister for Finance and Deputy Prime Minister, was its first Chairman, followed by the Minister for Education, Mr Filipe Bole.

The terms of reference for the FEC were:

- (i) To advise the Minister for Fijian Affairs on the use of the \$3.5 million allocated annually by the Government to be spent on Fijian education for a period of five years commencing in 1984.
- (ii) To help formulate the criteria for the allocation of the Fund for assistance to Fijian schools and scholarships for university students including post-graduate studies both at the USP and overseas institutions.

(Fijian Education Committee, 1988)

In November 1985, the Great Council of Chiefs endorsed these additional terms of reference:

- (iii) Scholarship awards in 1986 should sponsor Fijian students studying business, technical and science subjects, Fijian teachers in the Science areas and those likely to accede to positions of leadership in the country.
- (iv) Centres of Educational Excellence be established in 1986 in each province including Rotuma, Government Fijian schools and other Non-Government Schools in urban areas such as Suva, Nausori and Lautoka.

(Fijian Education Committee, 1988)

The Fund was utilized in two directions:

- (a) Building projects, science equipment, library books, textbooks and technical equipment. Also pre-school equipment and training of pre-school teachers.
- (b) Scholarships and upgrading of teacher In-service Training.

Many rural Fijian schools have been developed with the help of the

Fund. It seems fair to say that the Fund has improved Fijian education in so far as school infrastructures are concerned. New school buildings have been built, library and textbooks supplied, science laboratories and technical workshops built. Whether this has contributed to better examination results from rural schools is difficult to ascertain. Results will not improve on the basis of adequate facilities alone. Competent and well-qualified teachers are a prerequisite for good results and the Ministry of Education has failed to provide suitably trained teachers to teach in rural schools.

Furthermore, the necessary manpower to enhance Fijian education did not go hand in hand with physical development. To illustrate, many library books were supplied to rural Fijian schools but in most cases, either there was no library or there was no trained librarian to ensure the best possible use of these resources by students. Another instance is the lack of training and experience on the part of Heads of Departments and Principals in rural schools to maximise the use of valuable resources and facilities supplied through the special fund.

Perhaps the results of Fijian students would have improved dramatically if the Ministry of Education had provided tempting incentives to lure competent and suitably trained teachers to teach in rural schools. Perhaps Fijian educational achievement would have improved with adequate training of HODs and Principals, particularly when the Fund was improving the physical aspect of schools in the rural areas. On the other hand, perhaps the results of Fijian students would show

little improvement even with these aspects accomplished by the Ministry of Education. Firstly, the quality of primary education in rural areas could be a factor that would inhibit the improvement of Fijian education at the secondary level. Secondly, the socio-cultural background of the Fijian could be an inhibiting factor to the enhancement of Fijian education. Thirdly, the home background of Fijian students could be another factor to influence their performance at school level. The fact remains that results for Fijians did not improve to any significant degree after school development became a matter of priority in the use of the Fund.

Between 1984 and 1988, a total of 1643 local and overseas scholarships costing \$5,427,383 were awarded. (The Fiji Times, Sept. 21 1990). The total number of FAB scholarship holders graduating under the Fund between 1984 and December 1989 from USP and overseas universities alone was 216 (Fijian Education Committee, 1990). This excludes the Fiji Institute of Technology (FIT). Of these 216 graduates, there were 29 with post-graduate qualifications: PHD = 1, Masters = 20, Post Graduate Diploma = 8; 173 with first degrees and 14 with Diplomas and Certificates from overseas institutions.

Although the quality of passes by Fijian students has been poor and the fact that there have been many failures (exact numbers are not known because records have not been properly maintained), in terms of numbers, the proportion of Fijian students graduating from tertiary institutions seems promising.

Without the Fund, it is evident that the majority of students graduating from local and overseas tertiary institutions would not have been in a position to afford the cost of further education for themselves.

It would seem that the Fund has contributed to the development of Fijian education. Not only has it contributed to the upgrading of the physical aspects of Fijian schools particularly in the rural area, but it has also enabled a large number of Fijians to graduate with degrees and diplomas both from local and overseas institutions. More Fijians are now in a position to obtain employment in the middle and senior echelons of society as envisaged by the Government. There has been a dramatic upsurge in the number of qualified Fijians getting through the school system to the tertiary level. This is in contrast to a decade ago when not enough qualified Fijians were available to fill their portion of the 50:50 Government scholarship quota.

The Fund has facilitated the easier transition of Fijians from normally taking the back seat to being active participants in the socio-economic fabric of national life. What is to be contended, however, is whether the Fund was efficiently managed and utilized over the 1984-1988 period so that scarce resources were not squandered. The Auditor's Report of 1988 was critical of the way the Fund was managed over this period.

Of the \$16.24 million allocated for the five years up to 1988, almost \$1 million was used for purposes not connected with Fijian education

(The Fiji Times, Sept. 21, 1990). Only \$14,641,030 was actually set aside as funding for Fijian education while actual expenditure incurred was \$13,923,602. The Auditor's Report noted that although the Fund was for a specific purpose, \$951,970 was allocated within the five year period to activities not connected with Fijian education. This is a substantial sum of money. Of this, \$786,000 was used in 1987 to meet shortfalls in Native Lands Trust Board grant payments and on the reorganization of the Fijian administration. Also, scholarship funds were used, without prior approval of the Public Service Commission, for an officer visiting Australia and New Zealand in July 1988 to review and evaluate the performance of FAB and government sponsored students. The visit was for seven weeks and expenditure incurred totalled \$11,954.

There was also mismanagement of funds set aside for school improvement. For instance, the Fijian Education Unit failed to comply with requirements for procurement of goods and services locally in the purchase of \$189,141 worth of goods in 1988.

There were also two positive unintended consequences of the Fund. First, it has raised the aspirations and hopes of many Fijians who, without the fund, would not be able to proceed to post-secondary education. Second, it has highlighted the fact that there is a gap in the educational attainment of Fijians on a provincial basis. The first point is clear enough but some elaboration is needed for the second point.

Toward the end of the first phase of the Fund, it was discovered that several provinces e.g. Ra, Serua, Namosi and Ba were not well represented in the award of scholarships because they did not have eligible candidates. To illustrate, of the total number graduating from the provinces between 1984-1989 (only USP and overseas universities), the breakdown is as follows:

Lau	40	Naitasiri	10
Cakaudrove	29	Macuata	9
Tailevu	27	Bua	8
Kadavu	25	Rotuma	8
Rewa	21	Ra	5
Lomaiviti	14	Ba	4
Nadroga/Navosa	13	Namosi	2
		Serua	1

This has been a matter of grave concern to the Great Council of Chiefs and the Fijian Affairs Board. I was informed²⁸ that relevant measures are being taken to rectify this imbalance but what exactly these measures constituted was left unclarified.

The Fijian Education Fund has had several tangible and positive results. Many rural secondary schools and Fijian scholars have benefitted from this Fund in terms of physical development for the former and tertiary studies for the latter. However, two points need to be considered.

²⁷ Statistics released by Mr Sefanaia Koroi, PEO, Fijian Education Unit, Ministry of Education.

²⁸ Interview with Mr S Koroi, PEO, Fijian Education Unit, Ministry of Education.

Firstly, tight control needs to be held over the Fund so that the mismanagement that occurred during the first phase (1984-1988) is not repeated in the second phase (1989-1993). This calls for careful management if scarce resources are to be efficiently utilized.

Secondly, detailed in-depth research is a necessity if the root of the educational problem is to be discovered and attacked. The Fund - currently and in the past - has concentrated mainly on the secondary and tertiary levels. The educational problem of the Fijian seems to be attacked on a superficial basis only. Only after detailed research has increased our understanding of why Fijians are performing poorly in education in comparison to other races can the root of the problem be uncovered and effectively treated.

A RESIDENTIAL COLLEGE FOR FOUNDATION STUDENTS

In the August/November/December, 1982 Session of Parliament, Dr. A. Ali, the Minister for Education, stated that Cabinet had already decided that the former Nasinu Teachers' College would be converted to an academic centre to accommodate Foundation and first year diploma students who got to USP on government scholarships. The implied assumption behind this policy was that first year students at USP, particularly Fijians, would perform better academically if they were placed under close supervision for a year. The 1969 Education Commission Report had highlighted the fact that Fijians were performing poorly in their first year at university and had attributed this mainly

to the difficulty they faced adjusting to the permissive atmosphere of the university campus.

In 1984, the Nasinu Residential College accommodated 83% of the total Fijians enrolled in the Foundation Programmes compared to 64.1 percent of Indians (See Table 15). In the same year, 86.4 percent of all Fijians enrolled in the Foundation Science Programme were boarding at the College compared to 66.7 percent of Indians.

One special feature of the Nasinu Residential College has been the employment of tutors to specifically help those students who faced difficulties in their studies. In 1984, for instance, there were 15 tutors for History, English, Chemistry, Sociology, Geography, Biology, Mathematics, Physics and Counselling. This however, has not resulted in an improvement in Foundation results.

A re-examination of Tables 13 and 14 demonstrates quite glaringly that in the period 1984-1987, a significant number of Fijians failed the Foundation Science Programme compared to Indians and that less than 50 percent of Fijians in this programme qualified to enter degree studies in any one year.

It seems that there has not been any significant improvements in the performance of Fijian students at USP, particularly at the Foundation Science level where wastage is still quite high. The impact of providing a residential college for first year students at USP has had

Table 15 FOUNDATION STUDENTS BOARDING AT THE
NASINU RESIDENTIAL COLLEGE,
1984-1986*

Year	Ethnic Group	Foundation Science	% of TOTAL ENROLLED	Foundation Social Science	% of TOTAL ENROLLED	TOTAL AT NASINU RESIDENT. COLLEGE	% of TOTAL ENROLLED
1984	Fijians	76	86.4	38	76.0	114	83
	Indians	40	66.7	19	59.4	59	64.1
	Others	1	-	1	-	2	
1985**	Fijian/Rotuman					82	60.3
	Indians					52	40.1
	Others					2	
1986	Fijians	69	65.7	32	47.8	101	58.7
	Indians	34	37.0	21	42.0	55	37.9
	Others	2	-	2	-	4	-

* Within this period, Fijian girls at Nasinu Secondary School were also accommodated at the College.

** Breakdown not given for 1985.

(Source: Ministry of Education Annual Reports and List of Students, USP Academic office)

a negligible effect on their examination results.

WAS GOVERNMENT POLICY ON FIJIAN EDUCATION BASED ON IN-DEPTH RESEARCH?

The inadequacy of research carried out by the Government before formulating and implementing policies on Fijian education in the decade of the 1970s has already been highlighted in Chapter 3. This section will ascertain the extent to which Government policies on Fijian education in the 1980s were based on in-depth research.

Evidence seems to show that the two policies of the 1980s, namely the creation of special Funds for Fijian education and the conversion of the former Nasinu Teachers' College into a residential college predominantly for Fijian students enrolled in the Foundation Programme at the USP, were not based on any in-depth research.

In allocating the Fund specifically for the improvement of Fijian education, for instance, the Government either failed to consider or chose to ignore the following:

- (a) Since 1970 and prior to 1984, the Government had poured in a lot of money in providing scholarships for Fijians (50:50 quota), establishing junior secondary schools, upgrading facilities, etc. It did not question whether the solution to the Fijian educational problem could lie in other directions apart from spending enormous sums of money on improving institutional factors.
- (b) The findings of psychological and socio-cultural studies carried out by keen researchers to investigate the reasons for the ethnic discrepancy in academic achievement of the Fijians and Indians. (e.g. Stewart et al, 1980; Stewart, 1983; Basow, 1982; Kishor, 1981, 1983; Thomas, 1978, 1979.)
- (c) The Government itself had noted in DP8 that despite the provision of financial assistance and easy accessibility to schools for Fijians and rural students, the educational gap between Fijians

and other races still existed. DP8 (1980, p.256) claims that the disparity in educational attainment will 'persist unless the motivational factors concerning the education of Fijian children are recognised and steps are taken to rectify the situation'. Yet the Government did not carry out any research into this area.

- (d) The Internal Review carried out by the Ministry of Education on some aspects of Fijian education between 1971-1979 had pointed out that 'the disparity at the end of Fiji's educational system or in the upper reaches of it will persist unless the basic causes, those at the lower levels of the system, are recognised and that deliberate and bold steps are taken to correct them'. (Kallam et al, 1980, p.2).

The Government seemed to believe, in setting up the fund, that the educational gap that existed between the Fijians and Indians could be reduced, if not closed, with the improvement of institutional factors alone. It failed to consider psychological (eg. self-esteem, locus of control) and socio-cultural studies that showed other causes for low achievement by Fijians compared to Indians. But the greatest failing of Government perhaps lies in the fact that it chose to ignore the findings of the 1980 Review of Fijian Education carried out by Kallam, Rika, Rustam and Tukunia.

This Review Report observed that whilst rural schools were disadvantaged in terms of buildings, teachers and educational resources, many

of the policies formulated and programmes implemented in the 1970s were based on an impressionistic diagnosis of the problem rather than on detailed in-depth research into Fijian education. The Report also claimed that only insignificant tangible results can come from building schools, training teachers, remitting fees, etc. What was critical was to understand why Fijian children were not able to relate to school life, to curricula and examinations in desirable numbers as others do. What the Report recommended was that policies for improvement of Fijian education should be based on in-depth research as to why Fijians were performing poorly in national exams. This was definitely not the case in the formulation of the policy of the \$3.5 million Fund.

It would be seen therefore that the Government based the two affirmative action policies of the 1980s on an impressionistic diagnosis of the problem. Because the affirmative action policies of the 1970s had not had any significant effect on improving the pass rate of Fijians, both at UE level and at university, the Government assumed that an injection of funds for Fijian education would result in better academic attainment. The same can be said for the Nasinu Residential College. The Government assumed that under close supervision, Fijian students would do better at the Foundation level. Government failed to see the importance of conducting research to find out the basic reasons why Fijians have been performing badly since high school.

A MORE DETAILED LOOK AT FIJIAN EDUCATION, 1970-1986

The same problems that had beset Fijian education prior to independence were still evident up to the middle 1980s. The quality of Fijian education, particularly in the rural areas, has continued to be poor. Despite the Government's assurance in DP6 and DP7 that more vessels would be made available for more effective supervision by field staff of the Ministry of Education in usually difficult areas of access, professional guidance and supervision into these areas has continued to pose a problem.

Rural schools particularly still face the problem of teachers - in numbers and training. Of the 2702 secondary school teachers in 1986,²⁹ 17 percent were reportedly untrained. These schools, the majority of which are Committee-run schools, still face the problems of poor management, inadequacy in school, teacher and boarding facilities, a shortage of textbooks, library books and other relevant teaching resources, inadequate science laboratories, libraries, technical equipment, and the like.

The number of Indians attending school continued to exceed that of Fijians. Although the number of Fijians attending secondary school has shown a substantial increase, particularly in the 1980s, the percentage of Indians at this level has always exceeded the 50 percent mark (see

²⁹

From the 1986 Annual Report of the Ministry of Education.

Table 16). In every 100 students in secondary school in 1986, there were 42 Fijians compared to 51 Indians. This compares favourably with ten years before where there were 35 Fijians to every 58 Indians. Nevertheless, in terms of numbers, Indians at secondary school exceeded Fijians by over 4000 in 1976, the lowest difference since 1970.

Table 16
A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF
FIJIAN AND INDIANS ATTENDING SECONDARY SCHOOL,
1970-1986

Year	Fijians	%	Indians	%	TOTAL SECONDARY POPULATION
1970	4,820	30.2	9,642	60.4	15,965
1971	5,432	30.0	11,125	61.5	18,094
1972	6,635	31.5	12,824	60.8	21,079
1973	7,750	32.6	14,334	60.3	23,780
1974	8,786	33.5	15,610	59.6	26,202
1975	9,330	33.2	16,827	59.9	28,072
1976	10,636	34.6	18,092	58.8	30,758
1977	11,631	35.2	19,279	58.4	32,995
1978	12,512	36.3	19,863	57.6	34,493
1979	12,941	37.6	19,949	56.9	35,054
1980	18,540	39.3	25,611	54.3	47,119
1981	18,452	40.2	24,403	53.2	45,843
1982	17,936	40.2	23,711	53.1	44,659
1983	17,774	40.1	23,554	53.1	44,357
1984	17,338	40.1	22,930	53.0	43,277
1985	16,964	40.9	21,588	52.0	41,505
1986	17,582	41.6	21,727	51.5	42,216

NB.: Prior to 1980, Forms 1 and 2 were counted under the primary system but since 1980, they have come under the secondary level.

(Source: Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education)

Initial access to schools by Fijians and Indians is similar but retention and examination pass rates are lower for Fijians throughout the school cycle. The wastage rate for Fijians is very high, particularly at the upper secondary level, caused by dropouts and those pushed out of the system because of failure at each succeeding national examination.

Of the 1508 Fijians that entered Form 3 in 1968, only 223 made it to Form 6, the wastage rate at 85.21 percent compared to 77.37 percent for Indians (see Table 17). The Form 3 Fijian cohort for 1971 shows the highest wastage rate with a 42 percent wastage rate at Form 5 compared to only 23 percent for Indians and only 16 percent of Fijians reaching Form 6 compared to 26 percent of Indians. The overall wastage rate for the Form 3 Fijian cohort in 1971 was as high as 90 percent compared to 78 percent for Indians.

Because of the high Fijian wastage rate, the number of Fijians retained in the system is lower than that for Indians (see Table 18). There has been a gradual improvement in the number of Fijians retained in the system and whether this is partly due to the affirmative actions carried out by Government since 1970 is difficult to ascertain.

Of the Fijians entering Form 3 in 1984, about 40 percent reached Form 6. This was an improvement on the 30.79 percent of Fijians reaching Form 6 in 1983 and the 19.94 percent in 1979. However, since 1979, an average of about 50 percent of Indians have reached Form 6 compared to

about 30 percent for Fijians.

Although the Fijian retention rate is beginning to compare more favourably with Indians percentage-wise, in terms of numbers, the difference is still great. There were 2,348 more Indians than Fijians in Form 6 in 1975 and in twelve years, this has reduced to a difference of 1,064 more Indians in 1987, a large difference on any account.

As a result of the higher retention rate of Indians in the secondary system, more Indians sat and passed the three national examinations- Fiji Junior Certificate (FJC), New Zealand School Certificate (NZSC) and New Zealand University Entrance (NZUE) - see Tables 19, 20 and 21. The average pass rate at Fiji Junior level is comparable for Indians and Fijians but Indians showed an edge of about 10 percent in both the NZSC and NZUE Examinations.

At the FJC level, the pass rate for Fijians improved to close to 80 percent for 1985 and 1986 from the average of 50 percent for the period prior to this (Table 19). But in terms of numbers, Indians continued to dominate. For the 17 year period between 1970-1986, an average of 1106, 741 and 385 more Indians passed the FJC, NZSC and NZUE Examinations respectively.

As a pass in the NZUE was a prerequisite to university studies, the number of Fijians passing this examination since 1970 was of critical importance to the Government, particularly where the 50:50 scholarship

award and the \$3.5 million fund were concerned. For the seven-year period between 1970-1976, there were 460 Fijian passes and the ratio here was 3.6 Indian passes to every Fijian. There was a similar ratio of 3.5:1 in the next seven-year period, 1977-1983. Yet in just three years, 1984-1986, there were 1,069 Fijian passes, bringing the ratio down to 2.6 Indian passes to every Fijian.

Table 17 A COMPARISON OF FIJIAN AND INDIAN WASTAGE AT SECONDARY SCHOOL, 1968-1986.

	Fijians	%	Indians	%	TOTAL
1968 F3	1,508		2,692		4,710
1969 F4	1,638	8.62	3,141	16.68	5,245
1970 F5	916	44.08	2,489	20.76	3,814
1971 F6	223	75.66	609	75.53	967
TOTALS	-1,285	85.21	-2,083	77.37	14,736
1971 F3	2,179		3,934		6,622
1972 F4	2,286	4.91	4,304	9.40	7,059
1973 F5	1,327	41.95	3,320	22.86	5,105
1974 F6	218	83.57	862	74.04	1,211
TOTALS	-1,961	89.99	-3,072	78.09	20,974
1974 F3	3,453		5,318		9,373
1975 F4	3,604	4.37	6,017	13.14	10,206
1976 F5	2,454	31.91	4,426	26.44	7,438
1977 F6	460	81.25	1,391	68.57	2,086
TOTALS	-2,993	86.68	-3,927	73.84	29,103
1977 F3	4,239		6,105		10,969
1978 F4	4,609	8.73	7,009	14.81	12,237
1979 F5	3,005	34.80	4,769	31.96	8,336
1980 F6	901	70.02	2,406	49.55	3,558
TOTALS	-3,338	78.74	-3,699	60.59	35,100
1980 F3	4,537		6,184		11,409
1981 F4	4,477	1.32	6,350	2.68	11,493
1982 F5	3,127	30.15	4,290	32.44	7,945
1983 F6	1,397	55.32	2,743	36.06	4,459
TOTALS	-3,140	69.21	-3,441	55.64	35,306
1983 F3	4,447		5,707		10,859
1984 F4	4,404	0.97	5,857	2.56	10,933
1985 F5	3,137	28.77	3,913	33.19	7,629
1986 F6	1,557	50.37	2,605	33.43	4,539
TOTALS	-2,890	64.99	-3,102	54.3	33,960

(Source: Educational Statistics and Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education.)

Table 18 A COMPARISON OF FIJIAN AND INDIAN RETENTION RATES
IN THE SECONDARY SYSTEM, 1968-1987

Year	Ethnic Group	Form	Number	%	Year	Form	Number	%
1968	Fijian	3	1,508	100	1971	6	223	14.79
1968	Indian	3	2,692	100	1971	6	609	22.63
1972	Fijian	3	2,918	100	1975	6	283	9.70
1972	Indian	3	4,573	100	1975	6	939	20.53
1976	Fijian	3	4,032	100	1979	6	804	19.94
1976	Indian	3	6,065	100	1979	6	3,152	51.97
1980	Fijian	3	4,537	100	1983	6	1,397	30.79
1980	Indian	3	6,184	100	1983	6	2,743	44.36
1984	Fijian	3	4,409	100	1987	6	1,758	39.87
1984	Indian	3	5,680	100	1987	6	2,822	49.68

(Source: Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education.)

On average, the same percentage of Fijian students were enrolled in the Foundation, Diploma and Degree programmes at USP between 1970-1985, being about 32 percent. On the other hand, Indians have exceeded the 50 percent mark in each of these three programmes (Tables 22-24).

Table 19 A COMPARISON OF FIJIAN AND INDIAN PASS RATES
IN THE FIJI JUNIOR EXAMINATION (FJC),
1970-1986

Year	FIJIANS			INDIANS			Difference in Indian and Fijian Passes
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%	
1970	1,698	890	52	3,268	1,803	55	913
1971	1,942	1,055	54	3,598	2,180	60	1,125
1972	2,258	1,172	52	4,152	2,193	53	1,021
1973	2,938	1,405	48	5,037	2,477	49	1,072
1974	3,270	1,583	48	5,600	2,835	51	1,252
1975	3,365	1,711	51	5,631	2,918	52	1,207
1976	3,550	1,729	49	6,213	3,021	49	1,292
1977	4,033	2,040	50	6,760	3,258	58	1,218
1978	4,460	2,252	50	6,313	3,174	50	922
1979	4,246	2,146	50	6,436	3,444	53	1,298
1980	4,273	2,303	54	6,100	3,266	53	963
1981	4,085	2,043	50	5,921	3,357	57	1,314
1982	4,242	2,250	53	5,782	3,299	57	1,049
1983	4,107	2,243	55	5,585	3,422	61	1,179
1984	4,003	2,293	57	5,326	3,363	63	1,070
1985	3,806	3,002	79	4,987	4,005	80	1,003
1986	3,573	2,801	78	4,662	3,704	79	903
AVERAGES	3,520	1,936	55	5,375	3,042	58	1,106

NB.: Percentage figures rounded to the nearest whole number.

(Source: Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education.)

Table 20 A COMPARISON OF FIJIAN AND INDIAN PASS RATES
IN THE NZSC EXAMINATION, 1970-1986

Year	F I J I A N S			I N D I A N S			Difference in Indian and Fijian Passes
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%	
1970	528	310	40	1,604	484	30	174
1971	765	243	32	2,016	618	30	375
1972	871	227	26	2,095	736	35	509
1973	1,075	338	31	2,586	843	32	505
1974	1,439	246	17	2,852	713	25	467
1975	1,912	357	18	3,714	960	26	603
1976	2,156	387	18	4,159	1,088	26	701
1977	2,477	418	17	4,609	1,159	25	741
1978	2,741	574	21	4,589	1,503	33	929
1979	2,835	641	22	4,679	1,798	38	1,157
1980	3,018	700	23	4,287	1,636	38	936
1981	3,050	881	29	4,131	1,802	44	921
1982	2,961	917	31	4,066	1,831	45	914
1983	3,085	918	30	4,133	1,985	48	1,067
1984	2,803	932	33	3,835	1,873	49	941
1985	2,916	992	34	3,658	1,737	47	745
1986	3,502	1,068	30	4,312	1,989	46	921
AVERAGES	2,243	597	27	3,607	1,338	36	741

NB.: Percentage figures rounded to the nearest whole number.

(Source: Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education.)

Table 21 A COMPARISON OF FIJIAN AND INDIAN PASS RATES
IN THE NZUE EXAMINATION, 1970-1986.

Year	F I J I A N S			I N D I A N S			Difference in Indian and Fijian Passes
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%	
1970	202	45	22	501	167	33	122
1971	224	55	24	585	146	25	91
1972	252	63	25	684	225	33	162
1973	202	58	29	709	232	33	174
1974	240	67	28	807	246	30	179
1975	293	76	26	912	299	33	223
1976	318	96	30	1,107	332	30	236
1977	478	107	22	1,405	411	29	304
1978	576	170	29	1,710	647	38	477
1979	804	183	23	2,036	681	33	498
1980	922	184	20	2,305	771	33	587
1981	1,000	219	22	2,278	825	36	606
1982	1,117	258	23	2,512	837	33	579
1983	1,300	334	26	2,581	950	37	616
1984	1,259	333	26	2,597	947	36	614
1985	1,433	391	27	2,478	874	35	483
1986	1,483	345	23	2,447	933	38	588
AVERAGES	712	176	25	1,627	560	33	385

NB.: Percentage figures rounded to the nearest whole number.

(Source: Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education.)

Table 22 FULL-TIME FIJI STUDENTS ENROLLED IN THE FOUNDATION PROGRAMME
1970-1985

Year	Fijians	%	Indians	%	Others	%	TOTAL
1970-71	93	30.1	165	53.4	51	16.5	309
1972-73	101	24.2	255	61.2	61	14.6	417
1974-75	94	24.5	243	63.3	47	12.2	384
1976-77	119	32.3	210	56.9	40	10.8	369
1978-79	137	34.2	203	50.8	60	15.0	400
1980-81	145	37.4	199	51.3	44	11.3	388
1982-83	154	38.8	192	48.4	51	12.8	397
1984-85	274	49.3	229	41.2	53	9.5	556

(Source: Student Lists, USP Academic Office.)

Table 23 FULL-TIME FIJI STUDENTS ENROLLED IN THE DIPLOMA PROGRAMMES
1970-1985

Year	Fijians	%	Indians	%	Others	%	TOTAL
1970-71	72	38.9	103	55.7	10	5.4	185
1972-73	120	33.7	216	60.7	20	5.6	356
1974-75	155	32.2	293	60.9	33	6.9	481
1976-77	221	35.2	370	58.9	37	5.9	628
1978-79	222	30.6	460	63.4	44	6.0	726
1980-81	243	28.0	578	66.5	48	5.5	869
1982-83	241	26.6	620	68.5	44	4.9	905
1984-85	121	30.0	257	63.8	25	6.2	403

(Source: Student Lists, USP Academic Office.)

Table 24 FULL-TIME FIJI STUDENTS ENROLLED IN DEGREE PROGRAMMES
1970-1985

Year	Fijians	%	Indians	%	Others	%	TOTAL
1970-71	56	25.7	122	56.0	40	18.3	218
1972-73	132	26.6	290	58.3	75	15.1	497
1974-75	196	32.4	315	52.2	93	15.4	604
1976-77	236	33.4	381	53.9	90	12.7	707
1978-79	238	32.3	392	53.3	106	14.4	736
1980-81	292	34.1	463	54.1	101	11.8	856
1982-83	408	37.4	580	53.1	104	9.5	1,092
1984-85	339	34.1	557	56.0	98	9.9	994

A significant improvement can be seen in the number and percentage of Fijian students in the Foundation programme in the 1984-1985 period where they exceeded those for Indians (see Table 22). In these two years, 49.3 percent of places went to Fijians compared to 41 percent to Indians. This could be a direct result of the FAB scholarship awards arising out of the annual \$3.5 million Fund set aside by the Government for Fijian education beginning in 1984.

For the period 1971-1990, 1,334 Fijians have graduated from the University of the South Pacific compared to 3,129 Indians, making it a ratio of 1 Fijian graduand to every 2.3 Indians (see Table 25). A significant increase in Fijian graduands is evident in the 1987-1990 period (see Table 26) when a total of 480 Fijians graduated. This could be the result of the special Fund set aside by Government since 1984 to improve Fijian education. The large number of Fijians enrolled in the 1983-1984 period would have started graduating in 1987. This can also be attributed to the priority given by the FAB Scholarship Committee to those students with the fewest number of units left to graduate.

However, when compared to the number of Indians graduating, Fijian graduands still fall short. For the period 1987-1990, 959 Indians graduated in contrast to 480 Fijians, a ratio of 2:1.

Table 25 FIJI GRADUANDS* FROM THE USP OVER A 5-, 10-, 15-, AND 20-YEAR PERIOD, 1971-1990

	Fijians	%	Indians	%	Others	%	TOTAL
1971-75	124	24.4	325	63.8	60	11.8	509
1971-80	445	28.2	975	61.9	156	9.9	1,576
1971-85	779	25.8	1,980	64.5	265	8.7	3,024
1971-90	1,334	27.5	3,129	64.5	389	8.0	4,852

* Includes Certificate holders, Diplomates, Graduates and Post-Graduates.

(Source: List of Graduands, USP Academic Office.)

Table 26 FIJI GRADUANDS* FROM THE USP, 1971-1990

	Fijians	%	Indians	%	Others	%	TOTAL
1971-72	26	26.3	65	65.6	8	8.1	99
1973-74	53	23.1	149	65.1	27	11.8	229
1975-76	124	31.9	213	54.8	52	13.3	389
1977-78	134	30.0	278	62.2	35	7.8	447
1979-80	108	26.2	270	65.5	34	8.3	412
1981-82	122	20.5	425	71.3	49	8.2	596
1983-84	167	26.7	420	67.2	38	6.1	625
1985-86	120	23.6	350	68.9	38	7.5	508
1987-88	227	29.9	484	63.9	47	6.2	758
1989-90	253	32.1	475	60.2	61	7.7	789

* Includes Certificate holders, Diplomates, Graduates and Post-Graduates.

(Source: List of Graduands, USP Academic Office.)

An examination of the number of Fijians and Indians actually graduating from USP with a Bachelor's degree may be a better measure of assessing whether the affirmative actions taken by Government to help bridge the gap in educational attainment at the tertiary level has had any significant effect (Table 27).

Table 27

FIJI GRADUANDS WITH A BACHELOR'S DEGREE FROM USP,
1971-1990

	Fijians	%	Indians	%	Others	%	TOTAL
1971-72	8	17.4	35	76.1	3	6.5	46
1973-74	22	20.2	71	65.1	16	14.7	109
1975-76	57	33.9	80	47.6	31	18.5	168
1977-78	61	33.0	107	57.8	17	9.2	185
1979-80	44	28.4	103	66.4	8	5.2	155
1981-82	60	22.4	178	66.4	30	11.2	268
1983-84	116	35.4	191	58.2	21	6.4	328
1985-86	78	24.5	214	67.3	26	8.2	318
1987-88	143	33.0	257	59.4	33	7.6	433
1989-90	176	40.6	223	51.5	34	7.9	433
TOTAL	765	*(31.3)	1,459	(59.7)	219	(9.0)	2,443

* Averages are given in brackets.

(Source: List of Graduands, USP Academic Office.)

The effect of Government policies at the tertiary level to help Fijians is gradually beginning to show. In the 1989-1990 period for example, 40.6 percent of Fijians graduated with a first degree compared to 59.7 percent of Indians. An immediate effect of the \$3.5 million Fund policy was felt in the period 1983-1984 when 116 Fijians graduated compared to only 60 in the previous two years. One of the priorities in the early implementation stage of the FAB Scholarship fund was to grant scholarships to those students who were close to completion of studies. In any case, the educational gap at the degree level at USP seems to be closing, albeit slowly. The ratio of Indian and Fijian graduates has improved from 4.4:1 in the 1971-1972 period to 2.3:1 for the 1979-1980 period. This has decreased favourably to a ratio of 1.3:1 in the 1989-1990 period.

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE RELATIVE SUCCESS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICIES ON
FIJIAN EDUCATION**

Baba (1979, p.13) argues that despite both Colonial and Post-Colonial Governments making recommendations and formulating policies to improve Fijian education, and despite the fact that a number of 'affirmative actions' were taken by the Post-Colonial Government to do the same, 'the so-called Fijian problem is still very much in evidence'.

The Internal Review carried out by Kallam et al in 1980 of some aspects of Fijian education for the period 1971-1979 pointed out that 'the disparity at the end of Fiji's educational system or in the upper reaches of it will persist unless the basic causes, those at the lower levels of the system are recognized and that deliberate and bold steps are taken to correct them'. (Kallam et al, 1980, p.2).

The Government itself noted in DP8 that despite the provision of financial assistance and easy accessibility to schools for Fijian and rural students, the educational gap between Fijians and the other races still exists. DP8 claims that the disparity in educational attainment 'will persist unless the motivational factors concerning the education of Fijian children are recognized and steps are taken to rectify the situation'. (Fiji's Eighth Development Plan, 1980, p.256).

It seems fairly evident from these three authorities that the affirmative action policies of the 1970s to specifically improve Fijian education and narrow the educational attainment gap that existed

between Fijians and other ethnic groups fell far short of expectations.

There were two serious shortcomings, beside the inadequacy of research, in the formulation and implementation of government policy on Fijian education. Not only was the Government's perception of what constituted the Fijian educational problem unclear but there was also a lack of clear Government targets at various times. These two shortcomings on Government's part add to the difficult task of assessing the extent to which affirmative actions have been successful in bridging the educational gap.

Between 1970-1986, the Government failed to define the problem properly, to set specific achievable targets and to formulate realistic policies that would lead to the attainment of those targets.

The review of Fijian education by Kallam et al undertaken in 1980 to determine the extent to which these special measures had contributed to the narrowing of the educational gap between the nine years 1971-1979 pointed out that 'there is considerable confusion in important quarters relating to the question of the "problem" of Fijian education at the tertiary level. There is no clear perception of what constitutes the problem'. (Kallam et al, 1980, pp.34-45).

The Review Report then asked these pertinent questions: Is the problem concern about the overall imbalance in the occupational structure in the population as a whole? Is it concern about imbalance in specific

categories of occupation? Or is it rather not a question of occupational imbalance at all but that of disparity in success rate in examinations in general or perhaps in particular types of studies?

The Review Report went on to note that while all of these could be regarded as elements of what may be called the problem of Fijian education, it is virtually important to define which of the two-occupational imbalance or imbalance in educational attainment - is the problem of immediate concern to which efforts should be addressed. What should be realized, the Report continued, is that improvement in educational performance is a prerequisite to an improvement in the occupational imbalance that exists between Fijians and other races in Fiji.

What this Review Report observed for the period up to 1980 is very much applicable also for the 1981-1986 period. No real major government effort was expended to find out why students at the upper secondary level were not passing their examinations in satisfactory numbers. Instead the Government concentrated its efforts at the tertiary level where failure was recurring because of inadequate student preparation.

The confusion by the Government with regard to the definition of the 'Fijian educational problem' has contributed to the second problem- that of not setting any clear targets. In the award of scholarships, no targets were set in the sectors of the economy where Fijians were deficient, like law, architecture, engineering and accountancy.

The Government ignored the recommendations made by the Review Committee of 1980 with regard to having clear objectives and targets in the award of scholarships to Fijians. The Review Committee had recommended that:

- (a) specific categories of occupations in which Fijians are deficient numerically be identified;
- (b) criteria be developed for selection of Fijian students for tertiary courses towards these occupations;
- (c) a special pool of scholarships related to the number of available students be set aside each year; and
- (d) special consideration be given to the selection of qualified Fijians for awards in this category.

Consequently, a feature of the policies and programmes of the 1970s and a large part of the 1980s was the failure to define precisely which sector of the economy and in which occupations the Fijian community was grossly under-represented in.

If the aim had been to even out the occupational imbalance, what the Review Report recommended in 1980 should have been heeded by the Government. The Government should have undertaken a comprehensive programme involving the following:

- (a) identification of specific jobs to which a specified number of Fijian students should be attracted;
- (b) counselling of Fijian students in the appropriate high school studies which would qualify them for tertiary studies relevant to the vocations; and
- (c) maintenance of records of progress made and further efforts needed.

In the absence of such a comprehensive programme, Fijian students did not develop a clear perception of their career prospects, did not opt for appropriate high school subjects and eventually faced difficulty either in choosing vocations or pursuing tertiary studies.

From discussion in the previous section of this chapter, it is evident that more Fijians are gradually being retained in the secondary school system and more Fijians are sitting and passing the three national examinations every year. However, the same can be said for Indian retention rates and examination passes. What this means is that the 'educational gap' that existed in 1970 at the school level still exists today. If we can say that Fijian education has improved, then it is an improvement proportional to Indian educational progress.

The policy that has had quite an impact on Fijian education at the tertiary level is the Special Fund Policy implemented in 1984. As

discussed in the previous section, this policy has not only enabled more Fijians to enter university but has also enabled a good proportion to graduate. The ratio in the 1989-1990 period of Fijian graduates to Indian graduates was 1.3:1 which is a significant improvement. However, whether Fijians are graduating in areas where they are traditionally deficient is another question.

In 1988, Cabinet approved an extra five year spell for the Fund (1989-1993) after additional information was furnished on the request of
30
Cabinet on these issues:

- (i) The definition of "gap" between Fijians and the other races and the purpose for which the "gap" was to be reduced.
- (ii) The pass rate per category of study, the percentage of students qualifying at the end of the minimum study period, the number of students doing post-graduate studies and the impact of their being fitted into the system with higher post-graduate qualifications.
- (iii) The aims and objectives for the award of scholarships from the Fund and whether the Fund should be used for specific objectives e.g. to have qualified persons in the various professions, especially in the business and private sectors.

For the second phase of the Fund (1989-93), targets have been set with regard to scholarship quotas for the different disciplines on an annual basis. The breakdown is as follows ³¹ :

<u>Degree</u>	Law	=	10	Economics and Commerce	=	10
	Medicine	=	10	Dentistry	=	10
	Pharmacy	=	10	Accounting	=	25
	Engineering	=	25			
	Sciences	=	40			
	Arts	=	40			

In addition, the Fijian Affairs Board (FAB) would award more than 300 ongoing and new awards annually to cater for manpower needs for Fijians at the Fiji Institute of Technology for instance. For Diplomas and Certificates, the Fund would work at fulfilling the manpower needs of the following Ministries and Departments:

Health (e.g. paramedics)

Education (hoping to revive Diploma in Education at USP)

Primary Industries (e.g. Post and Telecommunications)

Land and Mineral Resources (e.g. Surveyors)

Computers

Science

EDP

Works (e.g. Surveyors and draughtsmen)

Basic Accounting (e.g. Finance, Audit, Customs, Inland Revenue, Government Supplies)

Tourism

³¹ Interview with Mr Sefanaia Koroi, PEO, Fijian Education Unit of the Ministry of Education.

The FAB is broadening the scope of scholarships in line with projected manpower needs. From the above discussion, it is clear that it has only been recently that the Government has realized the necessity of not only setting targets in the disbursement of the Fund but also in defining exactly what the educational gap between Fijians and other races means. This was five years after the \$3.5 million Fund Policy was implemented and eighteen years after the first affirmative action policy on Fijian education came into existence.

It seems evident from the foregoing discussion that most of the special measures designed to improve the education of Fijians fell short of their expectations. Short-term Government policies seemed hastily made to attack the problem of Fijian education in terms of narrowing the educational gap which is seen as a prerequisite for bridging the occupational gap.

Nearly all statements alluding to the problem of occupational imbalance have held out the efforts of the Government in the area of formal education as the means whereby this imbalance could be rectified. This clearly is an unrealistic assumption because it belies three important existing realities (Kallam et al, 1980, pp.36-37).

First, success is a personal thing. It comes from a personally felt need for that success. The awareness of this need cannot be imposed from outside because it come from a personally defined value placed on education as a means of success in life and, in particular, in certain

important occupations. It would seem that only the Fijian Leaders have recognised the value of education and are concerned about it. It has not permeated through the vast majority of the rank and file of the Fijian community in general and the Fijian youth in particular. The Fijian youths need to become more motivated about education if they are to graduate in sufficient numbers to rectify any imbalance in occupations.

In addition, the nation's socio-political system is such that it has created a sufficient sense of security for improvement in educational performance not to be seen as the kind of challenge it is to non-Fijians. The Fijian Youth does not view education as a kind of necessity for future security; and the same urge on the part of Fijian parents and the community at large to ensure that Fijian children get on in education is sadly lacking. The necessary changes vital to change this attitude of the Fijian parents and children towards education is a very time-consuming evolutionary process. Correcting the numerical imbalance in occupations will remain tied to the process of this change.

Furthermore, the non-Fijian section, which is highly motivated towards further advance and has the necessary socio-psychological attributes to make its aspirations a reality, is already preponderant in several important sections of the economy. The number of qualified Fijians entering the employment market is not only small but is insufficient to make a significant impact on the occupational imbalance. The belief

that imbalance in occupations can be rectified by efforts in the area of formal education can only be realised if significantly more Fijians graduate than non-Fijians.

The Special Fund created in 1984 specifically for Fijian education has done much for Fijian education in terms of school improvements and upgrading of qualifications. Only recently has its effects being felt, particularly at the tertiary level.

Since an increasing number of Fijians are passing national examinations and aspiring for further education, there is a great demand for scholarships. The value of the Fund has also depreciated over the year. The cost of building materials has also increased dramatically since 1984, when the Fund started. There is still a need to upgrade school facilities in the rural schools like science laboratories and technical workshops. In the light of all these, there seems to be a need to increase the Fijian Education Fund. But even if the Fund was increased, efficient allocation, utilisation and management are the three factors to obtaining the maximum benefits from scarce resources.

Since there is a strong likelihood of the Fund continuing over the next decade, I would like to make several suggestions with regard to the disbursement of the Fund. First, for more efficient use, the staff of the Fijian Education Unit need to be professionally trained personnel who have know-how and experience in the art of project proposals, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Parallel to this development, a special section of this unit should be devoted to research into Fijian education. Again, this section needs to have dynamic professional people who have had training in research methods. Needless to say, the Research Section would act on or further research the psychological, socio-cultural and other studies carried out in the last two decades.

Emphasis should gradually move away from scholarships to the following:

- (a) Rectifying the problems that would be discovered by the Research Section.
- (b) Carrying out an intensive Public Awareness Campaign by all means possible (television is an almost certain media in the near future) to change Fijian parents and children's attitude to education with particular emphasis on developing and nurturing the positive self-esteem of Fijian children from an early age.
- (c) Placing more emphasis on pre-schools and primary schools, particularly in the rural area.

Of the six affirmative action policies specifically formulated by the post-colonial Government to bridge the 'educational gap' that existed between Fijians and other ethnic groups, the policy that seems to be showing a promising sign is the Special Fund of \$3.5 million per annum, particularly where scholarship awards are concerned. This policy is

enabling a good proportion of Fijians to graduate with both graduate and post-graduate degrees.

However, the six policies implemented since 1970 have not had much effect in bridging the 'educational gap' at the secondary level. Although more Fijians are passing national examinations, the Indian educational attainment level also continues to grow. The difference in retention rates and passes between Fijians and Indians is still substantial. More Indians than Fijians are enrolled in courses at university and a greater portion of Indians are graduating from university than Fijians.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter is in two parts. The first part discusses the findings in chapters 4 and 5 in terms of the relevant literature in chapter 2. The second part summarizes the findings of this research study.

RELATIONSHIP OF RESEARCH FINDINGS WITH RELEVANT LITERATURE

Both the Colonial and Post-Colonial Governments in Fiji had emphasized the point that school-related factors affected the quality of Fijian education. Two chronic problems that has faced (and still continues to face) Fijian education were identified as the inadequacy of school buildings and facilities and the shortage of suitably trained teachers.

The former is a school-related factor and would come under Set 1 variables of Mitra's conceptual model of educational research (see p.16). The latter - the shortage of suitably trained teachers - is the teacher and teaching component of Mitra's Set 2 variables.

Improvements were sought through government policies to improve the instructional situation. An example of this was the annual grant of \$3.5 million specifically set aside for Fijian education. Emphasis was placed on building projects, science equipment, library books, textbooks and technical equipment mainly in junior secondary schools as well as on upgrading teacher qualifications through the award of in-

service scholarships.

This emphasis by the Post-Colonial Government on improving institutional or school-based factors is justified by research carried out in developing countries. For example, Heyneman and Loxley (1983) found that school resources were of more importance than pre-school determinants in measuring achievement in developing countries.

Similarly, Simmons and Alexander (1980) found that availability of and the use of the library as well as textbook availability were significant for improvement in academic performance.

Fuller (1987) in his review of 60 multivariate studies conducted in developing countries also noted that the school institution exerted a great influence on achievement. He found that material factors in schools such as more textbooks and the availability of school libraries had more influence on achievement in developing countries compared to industrialized countries.

The emphasis put by the Government on improving the qualifications of its teaching cadre is also justified by research in developing countries (Lewin, 1985; Saha, 1983; Avalos and Haddad, 1981; Avalos, 1980). Husen, Saha and Noonan (1978) concluded that a positive relationship existed between teacher training and student achievement, particularly teacher qualification, experience and amount of education and knowledge.

Lewin (1985, p.130) also noted that 'the quality of school experience is heavily dependent on the quality of staff, their motivation and the leadership they experience'. Similarly, Saha (1983) found that generally, better trained and more experienced teachers produce higher academic achievement.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The problems associated with the education of Fijians have concerned both the Colonial and Post-Colonial Governments. Both governments have, through the annual reports of the Ministry of Education, acknowledged the fact that the quality of Fijian education was generally poor, particularly when compared with that of other ethnic groups.

Several serious problems have plagued Fijian education since colonial times. Chief among these is the fact that insufficient Fijians have been sitting and passing the upper secondary level national examinations. A high wastage rate, arising out of this high failure rate and the large number pushed out of the educational system due mainly to a question of economics, has contributed to a low retention rate which is particularly noticeable at the upper secondary level. On average, only about 19 percent of Fijians entering Form 3 make it to Form 6 compared to about 30 percent for Indians.

A low retention rate at Form 6 coupled with a high failure rate at this level has meant that not many Fijians have been eligible to enter tertiary institutions including university or to occupy jobs that necessitate a University Entrance (UE) pass. This is in direct contrast to other ethnic groups, particularly Indians, who have a higher retention rate and a substantially larger number of UE passes.

The Fijian 'educational problem' was therefore identified by both the Colonial and Post-Colonial Governments as getting more Fijians to pass successfully through the school system, especially up to university level. Once this was achieved, the number of Fijians occupying top or key positions in the government and private sectors would be on par with that of other ethnic groups. At least this was the rationale behind the formulation and implementation of the affirmative action policies put into place by the Alliance Government when it assumed power after independence. Both the Colonial and Post-Colonial Governments had acknowledged that a large educational gap existed between Fijians and other ethnic groups.

For the period 1946-1969, the Colonial Government, while acknowledging that the quality of Fijian education was poor, did not deem it necessary to take any special measures to improve or upgrade Fijian education. However, it can perhaps be argued that the one positive contribution made by the Colonial Government towards Fijian education was the establishment of the three Government Fijian schools, which subsequently became renowned for educating Fijians who have had and

continue to hold key positions in the Government and private sectors, namely Queen Victoria School (QVS) and Ratu Kadavulevu School (RKS) for boys and Adi Cakobau School (ACS) for girls. Apart from this, the Colonial Government did not effect any policy specifically aimed at improving the education of Fijians.

It was not until Fiji became independent with a government that enjoyed the support of the majority of the Fijian people that the issue of Fijian education became a national concern. In the period 1970-1976, the Government implemented at least six affirmative action policies in a deliberate attempt to close the 'educational gap' that existed between Fijians and other ethnic groups. Of these six policies, four were devoted to upgrading Fijian education at the tertiary level, namely: reserving 50 percent of government university scholarships for Fijians; awarding scholarships to all deserving Fijians; creating a special fund specifically for Fijian education, a good proportion of which was utilized on scholarships; and establishing a residential college predominantly for Fijian students enrolled in the Foundation programmes at the University of the South Pacific. The other two policies were aimed at increasing access to a secondary education for Fijians (junior secondary schools) and instilling in Fijian parents a better appreciation of the educational needs of their children (public relations campaign).

It is worth noting that the Alliance Government did not seem to see the necessity of improving Fijian education at the primary level. The

annual reports of the Ministry of Education, the 1969 Education Commission Report and the Kallam et al Report of 1980 had highlighted the fact that Fijian primary education was low in quality yet the Government formulated and implemented policies aimed at the secondary and tertiary levels.

There seems to have been three serious shortcomings on the Government's part in the formulation and implementation of Fijian education policies in the post-colonial period. First, the Government seems to have based all these policies on assumptions and impressions rather than on detailed in-depth research. Second, the Government failed to identify precisely the constituents of the 'Fijian educational problem'. In other words, it did not have a clear perception of the problem.

The third limitation on the Government's part was that it did not have any clear objectives and did not set any targets in its implementation of the affirmative action policies. Scholarships, for example, were awarded on an uncommitted basis and no targets were set in the award of scholarships in the sectors of the economy where Fijians were deficient. The Government failed to define precisely what sectors of the economy and in which occupations Fijians were grossly under-represented.

Thus, it is not surprising that these three limitations on the Government's part worked against the affirmative action policies having much impact on closing the educational gap that existed between Fijians

and other ethnic groups, particularly Indians. It is true that there has been improvement in the number of Fijians sitting and passing the UE Examination, a critical factor in determining entry to university and other tertiary institutions. But there has been a parallel development in Indian performance.

The educational gap that was identified as existing between Fijians and other ethnic groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s is still evident today. At the secondary level, Fijian academic performance is found wanting in comparison to Indians. The Fijian retention and pass rates are still significantly lower than those for Indians. At the Foundation level at the University of the South Pacific, while the number of Fijians and Indians qualifying for degree studies is comparable for the Social Science programme, the Fijian failure rate in Science has been consistently high. The trend seems to be that more than 50 percent of Fijian students in this programme are failing every year, effectively blocking their entry into degree studies. Many Fijians already enrolled in degree programmes with science and mathematics majors also face difficulty in completing their programme of study. This is a highly unsatisfactory state of affairs considering the national need to have more Fijians in jobs or careers necessitating a science base.

It seems fair to note, therefore, that for the period 1970-1986, the educational attainment gap between Fijians and other ethnic groups did not show any significant reduction. Any improvement in Fijian

education was matched by a corresponding improvement in Indian attainment. The implication here is that the affirmative action policies of the Alliance Government, implemented in the 1970s and 1980s, had a negligible effect in reducing this gap.

However, the picture is not altogether bleak for Fijian education. Only recently has the number of Fijians attaining passes at university taken an upward turn. The policy that seems to be showing a significant effect in helping a number of Fijians get through university is the annual special fund of \$3.5 million which was first implemented in 1984. A large proportion of this fund has been used to top up Government scholarships for Fijians at university and other tertiary institutions both locally and abroad. This policy seems to be ensuring that a larger number of Fijians are graduating from university at least with a first degree. Under the Fund, an increasing number of Fijians are gradually obtaining post-graduate qualifications. It seems clear that without this policy, a good proportion of Fijians would not have been able to afford a tertiary education.

However, a pertinent point to note is that the quality of pass obtained by those Fijians who do graduate is generally poor compared with that of other ethnic groups. The majority of Fijian students in the Science Programmes at USP, for instance, obtain mediocre passes in the courses they undertake.

Two points need to be made with regard to the disbursement of the annual Fund for \$3.5 million. First, it seems fairly evident that Fijians are not qualifying in areas they have traditionally been under-represented in such as science and maths, technical areas and commerce. In the first phase of the Fund (1984-1988), no specific targets were set as to which critical areas scholarship awards should be given. In fact, the scholarship fund seemed to have been implemented on an ad hoc trial and error basis. The setting of specific targets in areas where Fijians have been deficient is a recent phenomenon.

The second point that needs to be made with regard to the Fund is that stringent care needs to be taken in the second phase (1989-1993) to ensure that taxpayers' money is maximized, that the mismanagement evident in the first phase of implementation is avoided. It is evident therefore that specific objectives and targets in the use of the Fund need to be clearly spelt out, not only to ensure that the Fund is effectively managed but also to enable easy monitoring and evaluation on the part of the implementors and policy-makers.

Many lessons can be learned with regard to Fijian education from the mistakes of the last two decades. The whole issue of educating Fijians is a complex one. The reasons why Fijians are not performing as well as other ethnic groups on the educational front are interwoven in their social and cultural make-up and in the current economic and political situation. More research is needed in finding out why Fijians are not performing well academically particularly at the secondary level.

Policies can then be based on the findings of such research. There is a need for the Government to undertake ongoing research on effective policy options in this area as well as monitor the effectiveness of such policy. If a policy is viable, there should be checks put in place to ensure easy monitoring and evaluation. If the policy turns out ineffective, Government should not hesitate about removing that policy. Moreover, policy terms of reference should be clearly defined and clear objectives and targets set. These are critical to ensure that the policy can be monitored and evaluated so that the necessary adaptations or revisions can be made where necessary.

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FIJI GRADUANDS FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC, 1971 - 1990.

	CERTIFICATE HOLDERS				DIPLOMATES				GRADUATES				POST GRADUATE*			
	F	I	O	T	F	I	O	T	F	I	O	T	F	I	O	T
1971					2	8	3	13	4	9	0	13				
1972					16	22	2	40	4	26	3	33				
1973					19	29	1	49	12	32	9	53				
1974					12	49	10	71	10	39	7	56				
1975					24	66	10	100	21	45	15	81				
1976					43	67	11	121	36	35	16	87				
1977					28	95	8	131	32	45	8	85				
1978					45	75	10	130	29	62	9	100	0	1	0	1
1979					35	85	2	122	18	53	2	73	0	2	0	2
1980					29	78	6	113	26	50	6	82	0	2	0	2
1981	0	0	1	1	39	109	8	156	23	68	12	103	0	2	0	2
1982	3	49	5	57	19	110	5	134	37	110	18	165	1	4	0	5
1983	13	69	2	84	20	80	6	106	57	101	12	170	0	0	1	1
1984	1	16	3	20	17	62	5	84	59	90	9	158	0	2	0	2
1985	4	24	6	34	12	37	1	50	28	98	14	140	1	1	0	2
1986	12	29	0	41	13	43	4	60	50	116	12	178	0	2	0	2
1987	24	51	3	78	16	42	4	62	69	147	18	234	9	14	2	25
1988	13	64	2	79	18	43	2	63	74	110	15	199	4	13	1	18
1989	25	60	9	94	17	35	7	59	99	104	14	217	2	12	3	17
1990	17	76	4	97	11	46	2	59	77	119	20	216	5	23	2	30
TOTAL	112	438	35	585	435	1181	107	1723	765	1459	219	2443	22	78	9	109

* Post Graduate includes Post Graduate Diplomas, Masters Degree and Doctorate.

(Source: USP Academic Office.)

FULL-TIME FIJI STUDENTS ENROLLED BY PROGRAMME AT USP, 1970-1985.

	PRELIMINARY (PI)				FOUNDATION (PII)				CERTIFICATE				DIPLOMA				DEGREE				TOTAL			
	F	I	O	T	F	I	O	T	F	I	O	T	F	I	O	T	F	I	O	T	F	I	O	T
1970-1971	26	69	6	101	93	165	51	309					72	103	10	185	56	122	40	218	247	459	107	813
1972-1973	31	36	5	72	101	255	61	417					120	216	20	356	132	290	75	497	384	797	161	1342
1974-1975	43	59	2	104	94	243	47	384					155	293	33	481	196	315	93	604	488	910	175	1573
1976-1977	49	69	4	122	119	210	40	369					221	370	37	628	236	381	90	707	625	1030	171	1826
1978-1979	22	42	8	72	137	203	60	400					222	460	44	726	238	392	106	736	619	1097	218	1934
1980-1981					145	199	44	388					243	578	48	869	292	463	101	856	680	1240	193	2113
1982-1983					154	192	51	397	24	105	12	141	241	620	44	905	408	580	104	1092	827	1497	211	2535
1984-1985					274	229	53	556	22	91	6	119	121	257	25	403	339	557	98	994	756	1134	182	2072

KEY:

F - Fijians
I - Indians
O - Others
T - Total

(Source: List of Students' Registers, USP Academic Office.)

FIJI GRADUATES AND POST-GRADUATES BY PROGRAMME
FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC (USP),
1971-1979

YEAR	ETHNIC GROUP	P		R		O		G		R		A		M		M		E			
		BAGCE Number	%	BScGCE Number	%	BEd Number	%	BA Number	%	BSc Number	%	BTech Number	%	PGD Number	%	MA/MPhil Number	%	MSc Number	%	PhD Number	%
1971	Fijians	-		-		-		4	40.0	0	0.0										
	Indians							6	60.0	3	100.0										
	Others							0	0.0	0	0.0										
1972	Fijians	1	50.0	0	0.0	-		1	5.6	0	0.0										
	Indians	1	50.0	2	100.0	-		15	83.3	6	85.7										
	Others	0	0.0	0	0.0			2	11.1	1	14.3										
1973	Fijians	2	28.6	0	0.0	-		10	33.3	0	0.0										
	Indians	3	42.8	5	100.0			14	46.7	4	80.1										
	Others	2	28.6	0	0.0			6	20.0	1	20.0										
1974	Fijians	2	33.3	0	0.0	-		7	22.6	1	8.3							0	0.0		
	Indians	4	66.7	5	83.3			20	64.5	9	75.0							1	100.0		
	Others	0	0.0	1	16.7			4	12.9	2	16.7							0	0.0		
1975	Fijians	3	15.8	1	14.3	0	0.0	16	34.8	1	12.5										
	Indians	12	63.2	6	85.7	1	100.0	19	41.3	7	87.5										
	Others	4	21.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	23.9	0	0.0										
1976	Fijians	5	35.7	3	30.0	7	43.8	17	47.2	4	40.0							0	0.0		
	Indians	7	50.0	5	50.0	7	43.8	11	30.6	4	40.0							1	100.0		
	Others	2	14.3	2	20.0	2	12.4	8	22.2	2	20.0							0	0.0		
1977	Fijians	4	40.0	1	14.3	9	34.6	16	45.7	1	16.7					1	100.0				
	Indians	3	30.0	6	85.7	15	57.7	16	45.7	5	83.3					0	0.0				
	Others	3	30.0	0	0.0	2	7.7	3	8.6	0	0.0					0	0.0				

(Continued Next Page)

FIJI GRADUATES AND POST-GRADUATES BY PROGRAMME
FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC (USP),
1971-1979

YEAR	ETHNIC GROUP	P R O G R A M M E																			
		BAGCE		BScGCE		BEd		BA		BSc		BTech		PGD		MA/MPhil		MSc		PhD	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1978	Fijians	2	12.5	1	9.1	13	59.1	10	25.6	2	18.2							0	0.0		
	Indians	13	81.3	10	90.0	8	36.4	23	59.0	8	72.7							1	100.0		
	Others	1	6.2	0	0.0	1	4.5	6	15.4	1	9.1							0	0.0		
1979	Fijians	4	19.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	9	23.7	2	16.7							0	0.0	0	0.0
	Indians	14	66.7	10	90.9	3	75.0	19	50.0	6	50.0							0	100.0	1	100.0
	Others	3	14.3	1	9.1	0	0.0	10	26.3	4	33.3							0	0.0	0	0.0

(Source: List of Graduates, USP Academic Office)

FIJI GRADUATES AND POST-GRADUATES BY PROGRAMME
FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC (USP),
1980-1990

YEAR	ETHNIC GROUP	P R O G R A M M E																			
		BAGCE		BScGCE		BEd		BA		BSc		BTech		PGD		MA/MPhil		MSc		PhD	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1980	Fijians	3	23.1	1	11.1	7	46.7	12	37.5	1	14.3					0	0.0				
	Indians	7	53.8	8	88.9	8	53.3	17	53.1	6	85.7					2	100.0				
	Others	3	23.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	9.4	0	0.0					0	0.0				
1981	Fijians	1	8.3	0	0.0	6	33.3	9	20.4	1	20.0					0	0.0			0	0.0
	Indians	10	83.3	13	92.9	10	55.6	27	61.4	4	80.0					1	100.0			1	100.0
	Others	1	8.3	1	7.1	2	11.1	8	18.2	0	0.0					0	0.0			0	0.0
1982	Fijians	4	40.0	3	15.8	13	44.8	12	17.9	3	37.5					1	100.0	0	0.0		
	Indians	4	40.0	13	68.4	14	48.3	47	70.2	3	37.5					0	0.0	4	100.0		
	Others	2	20.0	3	15.8	2	6.9	8	11.9	2	25.0					0	0.0	0	0.0		
1983	Fijians	14	58.3	3	20.0	10	50.0	24	25.0	5	38.5					0	0.0				
	Indians	7	29.2	12	80.0	9	45.0	64	66.7	8	61.5					0	0.0				
	Others	3	12.5	0	0.0	1	5.0	8	8.3	0	0.0					1	100.0				
1984	Fijians	10	55.6	4	23.5	14	53.8	24	36.6	6	35.3							0	0.0		
	Indians	5	27.8	13	76.5	12	46.2	48	63.2	9	52.9							2	100.0		
	Others	3	16.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	5.2	2	11.8							0	0.0		
1985	Fijians	4	26.7	2	10.5	5	45.5	13	18.6	4	16.0					0	0.0	0	0.0		
	Indians	10	66.7	17	89.5	6	54.5	48	68.6	17	68.0					1	100.0	0	0.0		
	Others	1	6.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	12.8	4	16.0					0	0.0	1	100.0		
1986	Fijians	9	75.0	1	9.1	8	40.0	29	27.6	3	10.0					0	0.0				
	Indians	3	25.0	10	90.9	10	50.0	68	64.8	25	83.3					2	100.0				
	Others	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	10.0	8	7.6	2	6.7					0	0.0				

(Continued Next Page)

FIJI GRADUATES AND POST-GRADUATES BY PROGRAMME
FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC (USP),
1980-1990

YEAR	ETHNIC GROUP	P		R		O		G		R		A		M		M		E			
		BAGCE Number	%	BScGCE Number	%	BEd Number	%	BA Number	%	BSc Number	%	BTech Number	%	PGD Number	%	MA/MPhil Number	%	MSc Number	%	PhD Number	%
1987	Fijians			2	66.7	3	12.5	52	35.9	9	20.9			8	36.4	1	33.3				
	Indians			1	33.3	19	79.2	81	55.9	31	72.1			12	54.5	2	66.7				
	Others			0	0.0	2	8.3	12	8.2	3	7.0			2	9.1	0	0.0				
1988	Fijians					9	50.0	46	38.7	14	35.0	1	25.0	4	36.4	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	Indians					8	44.4	59	49.6	26	65.0	3	75.0	7	63.6	3	75.0	3	100.0		
	Others					1	5.6	14	11.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0		
1989	Fijians			0	0.0	10	40.0	63	52.1	14	35.0	3	50.0	1	10.0	1	33.3	0	0.0		
	Indians			2	100.0	11	44.0	50	41.3	25	62.5	3	50.0	8	80.0	1	33.3	3	75.0		
	Others			0	0.0	4	16.0	8	6.6	1	2.5	0	0.0	1	10.0	1	33.3	1	25.0		
1990	Fijians					5	25.0	52	37.7	12	32.4	1	25.0	3	12.0	1	50.0	1	33.3		
	Indians					14	70.0	73	52.9	21	56.8	3	75.0	20	80.0	1	50.0	2	66.7		
	Others					1	5.0	13	9.4	4	10.8	0	0.0	2	8.0	0	0.0	0	0.0		

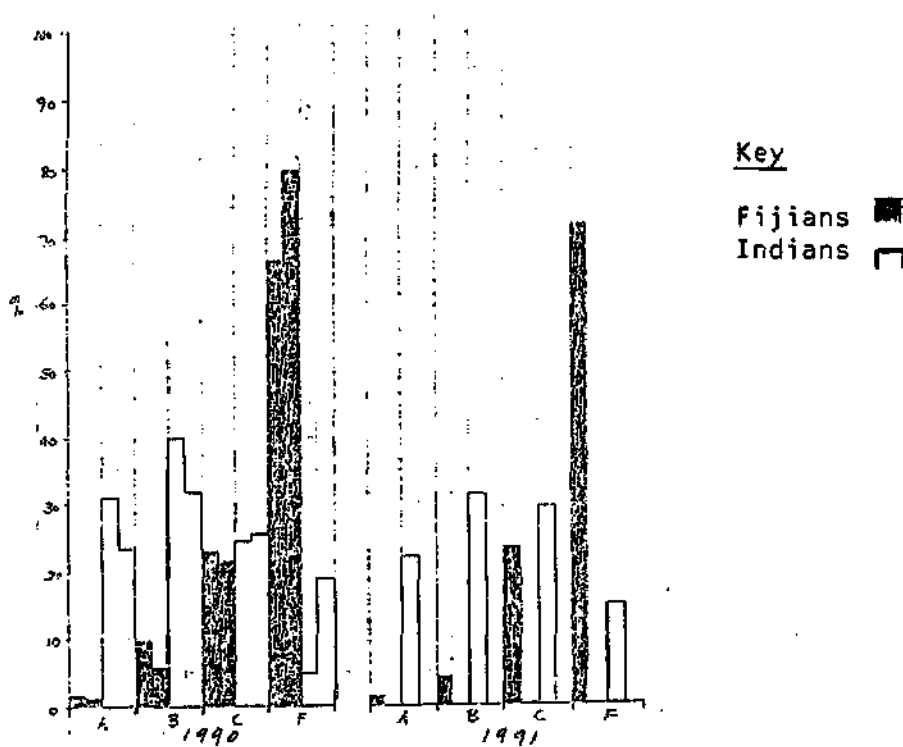
(Source: List of Graduands, USP Academic Office)

APPENDIX E

**A COMPARISON OF GRADES IN
FOUNDATION SCIENCE OF FIJIAN
AND INDIANS, 1990 - SEMESTER 1, 1991.**

	1990				1991				
	A+/A	B+/B	C+/C	F*	A+/A	B+/B	C+/C	F*	
Fijians	1.3	9.4	23.0	66.3	1.4	4.0	23.3	71.3	Semester 1
	1.2	5.6	21.7	77.9					Semester II
Indians	30.9	39.8	24.5	4.8	24.6	13.3	29.4	14.7	Semester 1
	23.5	31.8	25.6	19.1					Semester II

* F Fail (D, DF, E, EX)



(Source: Supplied by Bill Kenchington, USP)

**A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
OF FIJIANS AND INDIANS IN FORM 6,
1970-1986**

YEAR	FIJIAN	%	Indian	%	Total Form 6 Population
1970	213	23.5	533	58.9	905
1971	223	23.1	609	63.0	967
1972	241	22.2	696	64.1	1085
1973	179	17.0	741	70.5	1051
1974	218	18.0	862	71.2	1211
1975	283	20.8	939	68.9	1362
1976	364	21.5	1141	67.3	1695
1977	460	22.0	1391	66.7	2086
1978	619	23.9	1739	67.3	2585
1979	804	24.9	2152	66.6	3230
1980	901	25.3	2406	67.6	3558
1981	994	27.2	2401	65.8	3649
1982	1211	29.1	2643	63.5	4163
1983	1397	31.3	2743	61.5	4459
1984	1367	30.4	2760	61.5	4490
1985	1457	32.6	2642	59.1	4470
1986	1557	34.3	2605	57.4	4539

(Source: Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education)