

**THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON THE CULTURE OF SILENCE,
AND THE I-TAUKEI YOUTH IN FIJI**

By

Naivalucava Vilikesa Ratubulewa

THESIS

Submitted to
KDI School of Public Policy and Management
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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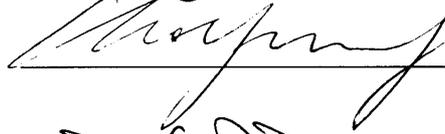
MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY

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ABSTRACT

This study intends to verify the notion that the current youth of Fiji tend to be more vibrant and determined in pursuit of their rights. Slowly but surely they are moving away from the culture of silence under the influence and impact of globalization. Education provides them with the means and audacity to question the status quo, challenging chiefs and government, raising questions in relation to decisions and policies. The affinity to be vociferous however is viewed with suspicion and construed as lack of respect, unbecoming of Fijian ethos. Under the British Colonial regime, and ever since independence, Fiji has undergone significant cultural transformation affected greatly by the processes of globalization. Even so the “culture of silence” an important and unique Fijian cultural heritage remains ingrained among all generations of Fijians.

The question then is whether the impact of globalization in transforming culture could be minimized or should it be maximized as a vehicle for change to engender positive participation on policy development at the national level? Whilst there is no denial that the processes of globalization are inevitable, the choice therefore may be one between resistance or modification to capitalize on globalization.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to:

- *My parents Vilimoni and Narieta Naivalucava for your silent prayers, dedication and for supporting my education ever since I was a child. Your sacrifice has not been in vain. For that I shall be forever grateful to you.*

- *The Youth of Fiji-You are the Future of our country.*

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May God Bless you all.

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Glossary of Abbreviations Used

- AUSaid**- Australian Agency for International Development
- CDU**- Curriculum Development Unit
- CIA**- Central Intelligence Agency
- COS**-Culture of Silence
- CSA**-Commonwealth Sugar Agreement
- FBCL**-Fiji Broadcasting Cooperation Limited
- FIBOS**-Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics
- FINCF**-Fiji Islands National Curriculum Framework
- FWCC**-Fiji Women’s Crisis Centre
- GDP**-Gross Domestic Product
- IMF**- International Monetary Fund
- PTA**-Parents and Teachers Association
- Telecomfiji**-Telecommunications Fiji Limited
- TLTB**- Taukei Lands Trusts board
- UK**-United Kingdom
- UNESCO**- United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
- US**-United States
- VKB**- Vola ni Kawa Bula
- WB**- World Bank
- WTO**-World Trade Organization

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Globalization is not a new phenomenon but in recent times it has become an inexorable force affecting virtually every sovereign state on earth. Fiji was thrust into this system upon colonization and by independence in 1970; the country entered the world scene through the process of political and economic interaction or integration. A wave of globalization brought about by free trade, global interdependence, and technological advances followed, as well as the onset of liberal and democratic values such as freedom of speech and human rights. However pre-colonial Fijian society consisted of warring and contending *vanua* or chiefdoms.¹ Leadership and decision making was the domain of chiefs who reigned over the *i-taukei*² culture of being subservient to chiefly judgment. All decisions by the chief were expected to be carried out silently without question.

Within traditional *i-taukei* society, silence has different literal meanings, for instance, “*vakanomodi*” or “*vagagalu*,” are loosely interpreted as a show of deference. It could also be translated to mean “*vakarorogo*,” to pay attention, or “*veirogorogoci*,” listening to and respecting each other. When village elders or chiefs speak, there is absolute silence and no one is expected to speak or question their authority. The silence *per se* does not denote agreement but “being obedient to one’s senior or to those who hold authority or complying with other customary expectations are all acts of *vakaturaga* (acts of humility, respect, loyalty and honesty) or respect.”³ It is also the same in families; where a father enjoys unfettered authority as head of the family; he speaks and no family member questions his

¹Joni Madraiwiwi, *Governance in Fiji: The interplay between indigenous tradition, culture and politics*. (Keynote address:2009)

²*i-taukei*- refers to the indigenous Fijian population. As of July 2010, all racial groups living in Fiji are known as Fijians whilst the indigenous populations are now referred to as the *i-taukei*. This term is used widely throughout this paper.

³Asesela Ravuvu, *The Fijian Ethos*, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, 1987.pg 18.

authority. This culture of silence (COS) however becomes a liability in the context of freedom of speech and proves restrictive in the pursuit of political participation under globally accepted democratic principles. However, to the *i-taukei*, these are values that define them as a group, one that has its cultures and traditions.

Interaction between *i-taukei* and the outside world began in the early 1600's with the sighting of Fiji by Dutch explorer Abel Tasman, followed by Captain William Bligh in the 1700's. In 1835 the arrival of the missionaries William Cross and David Cargill saw the introduction of Christianity into the islands. This was followed by the British in 1874 colonizing the islands in the name of her majesty Queen Victoria. Prior to this, *i-taukei* culture was largely seen as barbaric and lacking law and order. There were considerable tribal warfare and land struggles as well as leadership and family feuds. There was clearly no sense of any organized civil society.

The British managed to bring some semblance of order into Fiji. However, after their departure in 1970, Fiji was once again left to fend for itself. Many new problems began to emerge. Civil society now was not only made up of the Fijian people but also Indians who were brought in from India by the British under the Indenture system.⁴ From as early as 1881 with a population of only 588, amounting to 0.46% of the total, the Indian population rose dramatically within a period of 126 years to where it stands today at 313,798, amounting to 37% of the population.⁵ Being a largely homogenous society before colonization, *i-taukei* found it difficult adjusting to sharing resources with other groups of people.

⁴ Indentured System was the system employed by the British colonizers who brought in Indian laborers from India to work in sugar cane and cotton plantations in Fiji. This system spanned from 1879 to 1916.

⁵ <http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/>.

Very quickly, political as well as economic changes and challenges brought about by globalization gripped Fijians in all spheres of life such as the “*vanua, lotu and matanitu*.”⁶ The *i-taukei* on the one hand owned the land, whilst the Indians on the other owned the big business enterprises. Being a communal culture, decisions made by chiefs are for the benefit of the whole village and everyone is expected to carry out their roles silently without any opposition to the decisions; these roles were challenged with the advent of the Christian missionaries and the arrival of the Indians to work in the sugar cane plantations.

Writing on his perception of America after one of his visits to the US Alexis de Tocqueville, stated that the US is one where civil society is very much alive, people participate in active group activities such as churches, PTA groups and other forms of social integration. This he identified as the “*glue that holds the American society together*.”⁷ However, in the *i-taukei* context, the glue that holds “people together is the *Fijian culture of honor and respect for elders*.”⁸ Davies referred to this as “the cultural significance of respect and decorum in [*i-taukei*] society [where the] *i-taukei* rarely express their concerns or hurt in public. Accordingly they tend not to complain, even when grossly provoked.”⁹ Thus the so-called culture of silence resting within *i-taukei* civil society represents a profound element of the benign culture.

This so called culture of respect or deference is one that may have served the *i-taukei* well. They lacked a central authority and they basically existed in communities under the big man system. Property rights belonged to the “*mataqali*”(clan).The strongest among them

⁶*Vanua* refers to land or could also be translated to mean place of birth, nation, resources like rivers, mountains, sea. It also is a symbol for culture and socio economic activities to the *i-taukei*. *Lotu* refers here to the church namely the Methodist Church, Catholic Church and other new emerging Pentecostal churches. *Matanitu* refers to the government. They are usually referred to in the same order.

⁷Tocqueville Alexis de, *Democracy in America, chapter 5, “On the Use Which Americans Make of Associations in Civil Life.”* 1831.

⁸Tuwere Ilaitia, *Vanua: Towards a Fijian Theology of Place*, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji, 2002.

⁹John Davies, *On the Source of Ethnic Conflict in Fiji*, Acadia University, Nova Scotia, Canada, 2004.

became chief to lead and protect the group. Warfare was a way of life, thus by necessity they banded together under a leader for their own protection.

As such it is to their benefit to elevate the chief to a status where his words and decisions carry “*mana, sau*” or authority. Thus, the belief that to offend or disrespect a chief is a breach of protocol or “*mana,*” which incurs punishment by way of death or other types of misfortune. This arrangement augurs well for the chief because it helps him keep things under control as his authority is somewhat sacrosanct. For the people, it offers them protection and security.

That is also how the British ruled Fiji by utilizing this culture and in fact incorporating it into law.¹⁰ Inevitably at independence in 1970, the *i-taukei* were far from ready to embrace democracy. Fiji’s first Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara and other chiefs of that era were direct beneficiaries of this culture. Their position as political leaders in power was unquestionable and that was how they kept things under control under the rule of the Alliance government for 19 years.

But democracy is about freedom of speech, equality and rights. Sakeasi Butadroka, a left wing nationalist, was the first to “rock the boat” when he openly questioned policies of the government. As a result, he was unceremoniously dumped from office. But the genie was already out of the bottle. Dr. Timoci Bavadra followed and then Mahendra Chaudhry, but by and large the *i-taukei*’s saw this as “*veibeci*”(disrespectful) a challenge to their culture, and their identity.

However, globalization and its effects cannot be stopped, but each country can either speed it up or control the process to some degree. There is no denying its effect on the *i-taukei* culture amidst calls for *i-taukei* to maintain their culture in an attempt to control the

¹⁰Fijian Affairs Act, cap 120, 1945.

process. The question then is why? Controlling the process of globalization can in fact impede development on all fronts. Politically, the Fijians are still struggling with democratic systems and principles. One reason could be the culture of silence; the reluctance to challenge decisions and policies is another. Also keeping the youth and women in their place, away from the center of power was instrumental because these groups can be very influential in ushering in change to the political landscape.

Unfortunately this culture has permeated into politics, education, church, employment and all spheres of public life where the *i-taukei* people are reluctant to question or critically analyze decisions and public policies. This silent deference is often misconstrued as support when it is merely an extension of respect for authority and decision makers. It has been advocated that this culture of silence is a hindrance to their political development in this era of globalization, interdependence and social networking. However, it has been also argued that this culture is important in maintaining protocols, and values as well as identity of the *i-taukei*, where everyone is united under one central leadership of the *turaga* or chief.

One of the most vulnerable groups affected by this change is the youth. The United Nations Division for Social Policy and Development states that, “Youths are normally called youths in most countries after they have passed the age of 18.”¹¹ However, there are many interpretations that could be drawn from this statement. As seen in Table 1 below, countries such as Ghana, Kenya and Tanzania define youth as from ages 15 to 35. In Nigeria alone, the definition used is from 12 to 30 years of age, whereas in the Republic of South Africa, it is 14 to 35 years.¹²

¹¹<http://www.un.org/events/youth2000/def2.htm>.

¹²Francis Chigunta, *The Socio Economic Situation of Youth in Africa: Problems, Prospectus and Options*, July 12, 2002.

Table 1: Youth ages of some countries.

Country	Age
Ghana	15-35 years
Kenya	15-35 years
Nigeria	12-30 years
South Africa	15-35 years
Tanzania	15-35 years
Fiji	15-35 years

(Source: The Socio Economic Situation of Youth in Africa: Problems, Prospectus and Options)

In the Pacific, the challenges to the youth have also been immense. According to a report by the International Labor Organization, which states that young people within the age group of 15-24 in the Pacific Islands are compounded with new problems such as “inadequate access to relevant education low levels of entrepreneurship, under-employment, informal and low paid jobs; social and cultural pressures, rural-to-urban migration by young people, emerging problem of child labor, HIV/AIDs; and persistent gender inequality.”¹³ This interprets the emerging problems that Pacific Youth are exposed to and are challenged with in this globalized era.

Fiji laws, define youth as from ages 15-35 and they make up about 20% of the total population. Of this number about 60% (live in rural areas and are unemployed).¹⁴ However, in the traditional *i-taukei* structures, there is usually no limit to the maximum age to be considered a youth. A person is usually referred to as an adult once the person gets married even though he or she may still exist within the youth age group. As members of the *i-taukei*

¹³http://www.ilo.org/asia/info/public/WCMS_153024/lang--en/index.htm.

¹⁴<http://www.parliament.gov.fj/publications/viewResearch.aspx?research=19>.

culture go about their daily chores, there is always a hindrance in terms of political and economic development with what is usually termed as the culture of silence. This paper aims to unravel the extent to which globalization has influenced the *i-taukei* culture of silence *vis-à-vis* the youth population.

1.2 PURPOSE OF STUDY

This study intends to verify the notion that the current youth of Fiji tend to be more vibrant and determined in pursuit of their rights. Slowly but surely they are moving away from the culture of silence under the influence and impact of globalization. Education provides them with the means and audacity to question the status quo, challenging chiefs and government, raising questions in relation to decisions and policies. The affinity to be vociferous, however, is sometimes viewed with suspicion and construed as lack of respect, unbecoming of Fijian ethos.

The impact of rising unemployment and poverty should also be analyzed as youths become more vocal in response to the bleak reality of limited opportunities. Unemployment in Fiji, according to the CIA Fact File stood at 7.6% in 1997 and it is estimated that 25.5% of the population is living below the poverty line for the same period.¹⁵ In Fiji, however, statistics reveal that,

The overall unemployment rate has increased during the 1996-2007 intercensal period from 3.7 percent to 8.6 percent. This increase, although not by far as large as some believe, is very significant. It does not come as a surprise, considering that Fiji experienced two coups during this period. These coups led to a downturn in the economy, job losses, etc. In addition, many cane farmers lost their land during this period, due to non-renewal of land leases.¹⁶

¹⁵<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/fj.html>.

¹⁶<http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/Census2007/Release%2020-%20Labour%20Force.pdf>.

The question then is whether the impact of globalization in transforming culture could be minimized or should it be maximized as a vehicle for change to engender positive participation on policy development at the national level? Since the processes of globalization are inevitable the choice may be one between resistance or modification to capitalize on globalization.

1.3 OBJECTIVE

Since independence, Fiji has grappled with the problem of *i-taukei* participation in the economic sphere. This anomaly is often attributed to their lack of economic wherewithal, as well as, customs or traditional obligations that are diametrically opposed to prudent financial management principles. In spite of political control and ownership of more than 80% of land, the *i-taukei* lagged behind their *Indo-Fijian*¹⁷ counterparts in education and economic participation. Consequently successive governments vigorously pursued policies on affirmative action for the *i-taukei*, amidst constant criticism from *Indo Fijian* politicians. This economic vortex has been ascribed by many to the colonial policy of isolating *i-taukei* to village subsistence economy with laws prohibiting them from working for wages. At the same time however the *Indo-Fijians* who had completed their contract as indentured laborers were allowed to work and set up business in the urban centers.

Problems emerging after independence were underlined by the political dominance of *i-taukei* against the economic control of the *Indo-Fijians*. Political and economic changes accelerated by globalization was at the forefront of national development and for *i-taukei*, these changes penetrated all spheres of life; *vanua*, *lotu* and *matanitu*. Their communal way of life was further entrenched by the formalized chiefly structure based on the western

¹⁷ *Indo-Fijian* is the name given to Fiji citizens of Indian origin in Fiji up until July, 2010 when every citizen of Fiji was now called Fijians.

concept of inheritance; confirmed via the VKB¹⁸ and the lease money distribution schedule adopted by the Taukei Lands Trusts Board (TLTB)¹⁹ set up to administer the use and distribution of *i-taukei* land. On the whole, a life of servitude to chiefs pursued by the colonial government proved detrimental to their political and economic participation at national level. In a study, Kevin Barr argues that as younger *i-taukei* are becoming educated; the trends are beginning to change. “People today [are beginning to] question the decision of chiefs, and government [and are becoming more] involved in public demonstrations and trade union disputes.”²⁰ He further claims that the so called culture of silence is slowly giving way due to the intervention of democracy, poverty, human rights and media awareness. These claims by Barr will be investigated further in this paper.

The essence of respect and silent deferral to chiefly decisions is proving incompatible with democratic principles, human rights and individual pursuits that underscore a capitalist economy. This culture of silence is one that permeates the whole *i-taukei* populace and this paper aims not only to unpack it, but to discuss and evaluate its effects foremost on the youth in the context of globalization. To establish the linkages if any between the culture of silence, youth and globalization and how it could influence the development of national policies to cater for these differences.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The general significance of this study is to investigate whether globalization as highlighted by Barr has really affected the culture of silence in Fiji. The specific objectives of the research are to determine the effects of globalization on *i-taukei* youth whom are

¹⁸ VKB-in Fijian it is known as the *Vola ni Kawa Bula*. A registry whereby everyone with *i-taukei* ancestry are registered. It is often used to settle disputes of land, family disagreements and chiefly title disputes. Entries in this register date right back to 1800's.

¹⁹ Taukei Lands Trusts Board is an institution which serves as a guardian of traditional *i-taukei* land. Its role is to protect *i-taukei* interests by documenting all land use as well as preserving land for future generations. It has recently undergone a name change to be known as *I-taukei Lands Trusts Board* or ILTB.

²⁰ Kevin Barr, *Competing Paradigms of Good Governance, Human Rights and Democracy*, Ecumenical Research Centre for Research Advocacy, Suva, Fiji.pg 90.

believed to be the most vulnerable. It could also provide an opportunity to re-look at the implications that this may have on public policy and how they could be developed to capture the needs of the present crop of youth and the young generation. Furthermore, the results could be of vital use to the Ministry of Youth and Sports as well as the Ministry of I-taukei Affairs as it tries to develop policies to serve the needs of the youth in the future.

II. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions are going to form the basis of this research:

- 1) Is there really a so- called *i-taukei* Culture of silence in Fiji?
- 2) Which aspects of globalization have greatly affected the *i- taukei* culture of silence?
- 3) Which aspect of modern technology has infiltrated youth in Fiji the most?
- 4) Does the issue of human rights affect the culture of silence?
- 5) How have the older *i-taukei* generation accommodated modern technology?
- 6) Does the *i-taukei* culture of silence lead to poverty?
- 7) What are the most important factors that may influence policy changes should the government undertake to serve the modern day needs of youth in Fiji?

2.1 RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter will demonstrate the methods used by the researcher. The rationale for using both qualitative and quantitative methods in the research design will also be explained. The effect of globalization on youth will be discussed, followed by a description of the interview, and questionnaire responses used to collect data. Procedures for collecting and analyzing the data are presented, with a discussion of the validity and reliability of these methods. These methods were selected in order to find the effect of globalization on youth and how they now perceive their culture.

2.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study is largely explorative in nature. This is due to the fact that there has been no large scale study to ascertain the effects of globalization on *i-taukei* culture, as globalization itself is broad and has many implications in other aspects of life as well. This research uses the qualitative as well as the quantitative method of research as it consists of

interviews as well as a survey. The qualitative method was employed through a review of relevant literature, as well as communication and discussion with relevant authorities. The quantitative component of the research was carried out through an online survey whereby a list of questions was prepared and distributed amongst the *i-taukei* both in urban and rural areas of Fiji. Views were also collected from those living overseas.

The first part of this research is largely a review of relevant literature related to the culture of silence, youth and globalization. This is necessary in order to understand Fiji's place in the world as well as identifying itself with other cultures of the world. The second part of the research consisting of questionnaires was aimed at *i-taukei* and how they perceived the culture. Special emphasis was directed on the youth and how their general outlook towards *i-taukei* culture has been changed due to the infiltration of modern technology brought about by globalization. The other age groups were also consulted on how they viewed the culture based on the impact of technology and whether it was appropriate to change certain aspects of the culture in this highly globalized age.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL

In his book on *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville makes mention of American civil society and social capital, stating that the American society at the time of his visit in 1830 consisted of men and women who believed in their individual rights as enshrined under their constitution. He further argued that Americans formed all kinds of associations to help them further their causes as well as to engage in social integration that would help them achieve what they were seeking from the government. To this he stated that, “There is no end which the human will despairs of attaining through the combined power of individuals united into a society.”²¹ Thus it is the will of the American people and their outspoken abilities that have enabled them to be as advanced technologically and democratically as where it is today.

American society has changed a lot since its humble beginnings in 1776. Civil society and social capital in those days were thriving as citizens were forming social groups such as PTA’s²², unions, as well as religious groups and many others to voice their opinions. Civil rights organizations such as those led by Martin Luther King (Jnr.) in the 50’s and 60’s, the anti-war demonstrations such as the ones which took place in university campuses across the US are just a few examples of how vocal and democratic America had become. Social capital was very much alive and consisted of people very much concerned about things happening around them. To this end they were not silently accepting everything that the government put on their plate. Originally coined by Lyda Hanifan in 1916, the term social capital was further expanded by Robert Putnam in his book, *Bowling Alone*, which describes social capital as

²¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, chapter 5, “*On the Use Which Americans Make of Associations in Civil Life.*” 1831.

²²PTA-Parents and Teachers Association is a 20th century movement founded in 1897 to look after the needs of students in school.

Features of social organization, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. It consists of relationships based in patterns of reciprocal, enforceable trust that enable people to gain access to resources like social services, volunteers, or funding.²³

In this context, social capital is used as a means for people to seek what they need. It is better to approach situations as a group, rather than as individuals. Thus accomplishing things as a group enables them to be heard by people in authority. Silence on the other hand may be interpreted as a sign that they agree to whatever is being discussed.

In the Pacific perspective however, civil society may not be as advanced or vocal as the American society is. However, the culture of silence could be described as one which is accorded great respect. Pacific Island cultures normally remain silent and are less confrontational in nature. They view their silence as a form of respect and honor for leadership. It is often considered un-chieflly for a person to rise up and question the decisions that have been made by elders. In her research on *Unlocking the Culture of Silence* Patisepa Tuafuti states that,

Silence is an active and a living component of the *Pasifika* culture.²⁴ One of the basic components of cultural and communicative competence in the *Pasifika* is to know when, where and how to speak or be silent in various contexts. Silence is a symbolic and fundamental structure of communication. *Pasifika* peoples, especially elders, comprehend the whole framework that constitutes its (silences) meaning. Many *Pasifika* elders describe the

²³Robert D Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2000.

²⁴*Pasifika* is a general collective term of Pacific cultures namely Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Hawaii, Maori, Vanuatu, Cook Islands and other related Pacific Island cultures. It could also be used to describe values and norms which are common to all Pacific cultures.

culture of silence as a mechanism, with much spiritual, sacred and supernatural power that can make anything possible.²⁵

This she adds is the basis of respect for culture and tradition in Pacific societies. Silence therefore, according to her has greatly shaped peoples actions and perceptions. It defines roles and delegates responsibilities in ways that are unique and specific only within the Pacific context. Furthermore, in his article on Culture and Social Behavior, Harry Triandis mentions that, “silence can mean being strong or powerful.”²⁶

Traditional culture in Fiji is unique in that it is largely communally based. The issue of property rights is a sensitive issue for the *i-taukei* as well, as land belongs to the *mataqali* or clan and not owned individually as in Western countries.²⁷ Activities in rural villages are normally undertaken communally and collaboratively. The well-being of the general community usually supersedes an individual’s needs. In a study conducted in Fiji, Paul David Clark stated, “Through a steady stream of social interactions, group work, and respect of traditions, Fijian communities at the village to the provincial level have the means to build and maintain a large amount of social capital.”²⁸

Thus social capital in Fiji varies greatly from the American context. Social capital already exists within *i-taukei* social forms and contexts. This traditional structure (appendix B) ensures that social capital is alive and well within the village. In a village, everyone is related in one way or another. However, it is interesting to note that social capital and civil society in traditional villages are not as vocal as in America. There are traditional rules with cultural

²⁵Patisepa Tuafuti, *Additive Bilingual Education: Unlocking the culture of silence*, MAI Review, 2010, 1.

²⁶Harry Triandis, *Culture and Social Behavior*, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1994.

²⁷Around 80% of all land in Fiji are communally owned by *mataqali*’s or clans. The other 20% is crown land belonging to the state or as freehold.

²⁸Paul David Clark, *Social Capital and Vanua Challenges to Governance Development in a Community based Natural Resource Management Project in Cuvu Tikina, Fiji Islands*, Bachelor of Arts, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, WA, 1999.

norms and obligations that dictate the way things operate and this sometimes works against the very core of social capital itself. For instance, in *i taukei* villages, women, children and youth are largely seen but not heard. They are allowed to form associations, make contributions and discuss, but during village meetings, village elders are the ones who make important decisions. Once a decision has been made, they are expected to silently “do as they are told.” It is considered unethical and *un- i taukei* if an individual or a woman, child or youth turns back and questions the chief’s decision. This is Barr’s main argument, that, “It has given rise to what has been termed a ‘culture of silence’ where ordinary people do not ask questions or take initiatives, but wait for those in authority to act and decide.”²⁹

Moreover, as Barr further asserts, due to globalization, youth and the underprivileged members of the *i-taukei* society are beginning to stand up lately to challenge traditional authorities on important village and provincial matters. This he adds could be attributed to the effects of education brought about by globalization.

3.2 GLOBALIZATION

There are many definitions of globalization. One definition states that globalization is the "acceleration and intensification of economic interaction among the people, companies, and governments of different nations."³⁰ Harlan in the book *History of Globalization* describes globalization as “a flattened, borderless, non-territorial world where interests of business and society overlap, and where information technology allows business to be conducted as though it were a single place.”³¹

²⁹ Kevin Barr, *Competing Paradigms of Good Governance, Human Rights and Democracy*, Ecumenical Research Centre for Research Advocacy, Suva, Fiji.

³⁰<http://www.globalization101.org>.

³¹Estle Harlan, Tim Rahschulte, George Fox *History of Globalization* Business Consultants University in <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=6&hid=25&sid=e9812460-f1c9-47d2-b668-fe7016822dd7%40sessionmgr4>.

In economic terms, it means the opening up of markets and economies to allow for better and more efficient trade amongst countries. Furthermore, McNeil and McNeil in their book *The Human Web: A Bird's Eye View of World* state that, “the opening up of markets to free trade has caused the speeding up of the globalization process and increases the “thick web of interconnectedness and interdependence.”³² Businesses are able to operate on level grounds without fear of state boundaries or national borders.

The great advances in the field of technology, communication and transportation have enabled multi-national corporations to establish businesses across borders as well as conducting day-to-day business via the internet. “Changes are happening across all realms—politics, economics, culture, science, and technology—and aspects of everyday life.”³³ According to Cole and Durham “the current climate of economic liberalization has plunged children [and youth] into the center of the market in ways that previous laws sought to prevent.”³⁴ This has contributed to youth participation in economic activities. Youth become more inclined to involve themselves in economic activities as well as those that boost personal benefits.

In Fiji's case, the increasing effect of globalization and the economy where the opening up of borders to free trade has greatly increased interaction not only outside Fiji but also within. As a result, Fiji has become more dependent on other countries just as much as

³²John Robert McNeill & William. H McNeill, *The Human Web: A Birds- eye View of World History*, New York: W. W. Norton 2003.

³³Jacqueline Kennelly, Stuart Poyntz, and Paul Ugor,*Special Issue Introduction: Youth, Cultural Politics, and New Social Spaces in an Era of Globalization*,*The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, 31:255–269, 2009.

³⁴Jennifer Cole, and Deborah Durham,. (Eds.). (2008). *Introduction: Globalization and the Temporality of Children and Youth*.In *Figuring the Future: Globalization and the Temporalities of Children and Youth* (pp. 3–23). Santa Fe: School for Advance Research Press.

they are to Fiji. Economic globalization, such as “rule of the market, cutting down of excessive public expenditure, deregulation and the elimination of the public good,”³⁵ has also reached Fiji and has had an impact on all aspects of everyday life. Economic and political interaction between its regional Pacific Island neighbors as well as institutions such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank has meant that the impact of economic globalization has reached as far down as the village level.

Largely subsistence agriculturalists in nature, the *i-taukei* have quickly learnt to quantify things and are beginning to understand that monetarization is the global medium of exchange in this modern era. The ordinary villager is now able to plant dalo (taro)³⁶ and get financial returns from exports to countries such as New Zealand, Australia, the US and UK where the demands from former Fiji and Pacific Island residents are high. In 2010, dalo production alone in Fiji amounted to a total of 69,863 tonnes, 10,000 tonnes of which was exported.³⁷ This, when translated into monetary value represents a direct economic return to the ordinary villager. It is then used to purchase food, luxury items such as TV sets, stereos, improve housing, sanitation, village projects and other immediate needs.

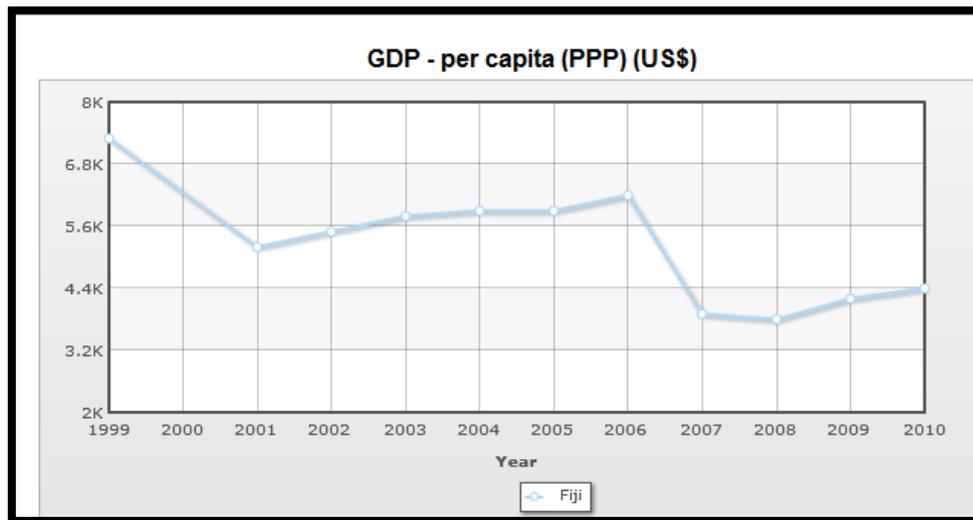
As shown in graph 2 below, Fiji’s GDP per Capita, was at its peak in 1999. However, due to political instability, and the global economic climate it dropped in 2001 and is slowly beginning to make its way up again as of 2010. It is important to note that Fiji has also not been left behind in this global economic revolution, and that economics and the market economy also has an impact on Fiji’s interaction on the global front. The GDP per Capita is an indication that Fiji’s population are also involved in economic activity.

³⁵ <http://corpwatch.org/article.php?id=376>.

³⁶ *Colocasia esculenta*, -a root crop and a staple food for *i-taukei* in Fiji, also known to be consumed in neighboring Pacific island countries such as Samoa and Tonga.

³⁷ http://www.agriculture.org.fj/_resources/main/files/Agriculture%20Export%202008.pdf.

Graph 2 Fiji's GDP Per Capita 1999-2010.



(Source: <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?v=67&c=fj&l=en>)

The sugar industry in Fiji is another area where the *i-taukei* are involved in. Largely owners of land where sugar cane is farmed, their income are derived from land rentals known as lease from the sugar cane farmers. Fiji was largely a sugar producing country and exported sugar into world markets such as the EU, Japan, United States of America, and the Pacific region which includes New Zealand and other Pacific Islands such as Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Tonga, Samoa, and other countries. Sugar used to be Fiji's main income earner and was known to be the "backbone of Fiji's economy."

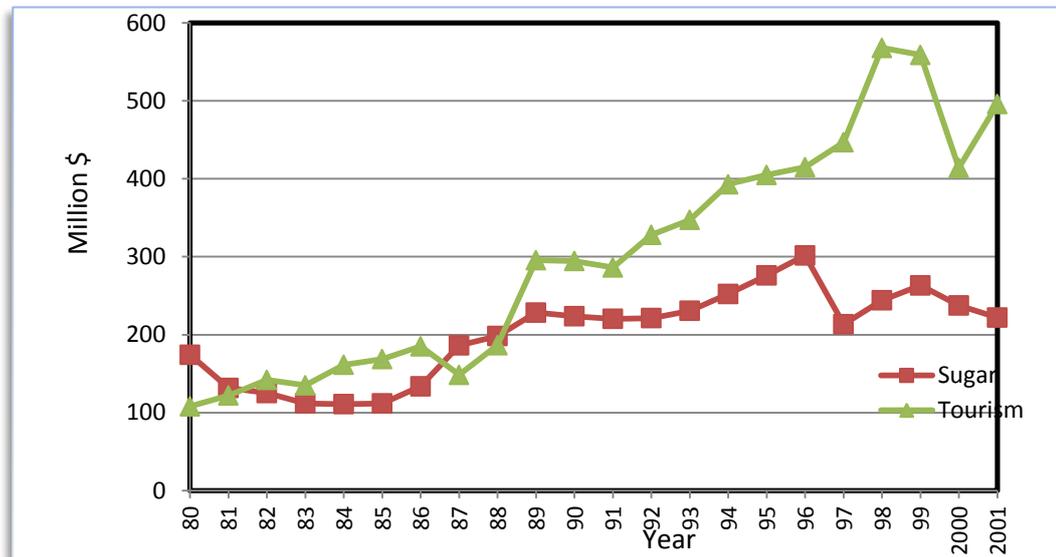
In the period between 1951 and 1973, the sugar industry was driven by the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement (CSA), a preferential agreement between the United Kingdom (UK) and the Commonwealth countries by which the UK guaranteed to purchase specified quantities of sugar for a negotiated price which was higher than the market prices.³⁸

Fiji has to now compete on a level playing field with other sugar producing countries of the world. To do this, it has to ensure that the quality of sugar as well as the cost of production is maintained. Coupled with domestic land disputes between the land owners and

³⁸ http://www.fsc.com.fj/sugar_marketing.htm.

the farmers, the sugar industry has taken a nose dive in production. This has also led to the decline in livelihoods of those whose lives depended on sugar.

Graph 3 Sugar Exports vs Tourism in Million \$



(Source: Fiji's Sugar, Tourism and Garment Industries: A Survey of Performance, Problems and Potentials Paresh Kumar Narayan Biman Chand Prasad.)

Graph 3 above also discusses the amount of revenue that tourism and sugar brought in the country ever since 1980. Sugar once used to be the largest income earner in the early 80's one where people as well as the nation's livelihood depended on. It has now being overtaken by the tourism industry in 1989. The *i-taukei* being large proprietors of land have seen it more profitable therefore to invest their land in tourism related activities such as the hotel industry. Land which once used to be sugar cane farms have now been developed for hotels, motels, eco-tourism and backpacker activities bringing in larger economic returns to the *i-taukei* land owners than what sugar cane farms used to rake in.

Thus the tenets of economic globalization reach the far- flung rural villages and settlements. One must not forget, however, the other side of the coin that globalization has introduced. As economic activities grow, the importance of economics and money also grows.

If not controlled or properly monitored, this could also lead to socio-economic problems such as poverty, non-communicable diseases and the increase in crime as more youth move to urban areas in search for employment as well as better education.

According to a report published by the Southpac News in June 1997, "Poverty pervades all communities, Fijian, Indo-Fijian, and Others. The gap between the rich and the poor is increasing. But much could be done to improve the situation with relatively little money, especially in housing."³⁹ Furthermore, a report by the Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics (FIBOS) states that as of the period 2008-2009 poverty stood at 31% for Fiji.⁴⁰ The same report also stated that the *i-taukei* are the group that have the largest incidence of poverty recording 19% in the urban areas and 43% in the rural areas. Surprisingly, the 43% mentioned in this report are rural dwellers which encompasses those living in villages who are mostly subsistence farmers and do not earn regular incomes.

So the question therefore should be how poverty is defined. Barr defines poverty as, "When a person or family is unable to meet their basic needs, food, clothing, education, and health care they are living below the poverty line."⁴¹ The *i-taukei* defines wealth differently. For them, monetary wealth is not important. What is important is a person who has land, plantations, mats, *tabua*⁴², animals, family, a kind hearted spirit, caring attitude, and other material wealth that could be of value to the *i-taukei* and his culture. A person who has all this is considered to be "*vutuniyau*" (wealthy) thus in this regard it is unfair to label a group of people as living in poverty when they own some material wealth besides money and a regular income. The *i-taukei* still live in villages where they are dependent on subsistence farming as well as fishing and yet they are surviving without any cash.

³⁹<http://www.un.org/popin/regional/asiapac/fiji/news/97jun/1page697.htm>.

⁴⁰http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/Social/poverty_indicators.htm.

⁴¹http://www.fiji.gov.fj/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1532:proper-definition-to-effectively-address-poverty-alleviation-experts&catid=71:press-releases&Itemid=155.

⁴² Tabua is a polished tooth of a sperm whale that is an important cultural item in Fijian society.

Education, one of the products of the missionary work as well as colonization in Fiji, is also feeling the effects of globalization. The arrival of the colonizers into Fiji saw the introduction of the formal institutionalized education system into a country which was largely conducting education on an informal and non-formal basis whereby teaching was based on the development of survival as well as life skills. The early missionaries introduced the teaching of reading and writing to the indigenous people with the original intention of teaching them to read the bible. The British colonizers upon arrival later introduced an education system based on their model back in Great Britain. This resulted in the creation of elite boarding schools such as Adi Cakobau School, Bucalevu Secondary School, Ratu Kadavulevu School and Queen Victoria School⁴³ which was established to educate the select few of Fiji's *i-taukei* students and prepare them for future leadership roles.

The curriculum then was centered on the British education system as well with teachers coming in from Great Britain. It remained so until 1968, when Fiji's Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) was set up, and managed a tailor made Fiji curriculum. However, since globalization has brought in innovative teaching methods, there is a need to explore new strategies as well as methodologies to cater for the needs of the present generation of students. As a result in 2005, calls were made to have a new curriculum design in place to focus more on the holistic development of a child as well as to prepare students for market demands and employment.⁴⁴

A report released by the Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics in 2010, stated that; "In 2009 a total of 129,444 students attended Primary schools and 67,072 students in secondary

⁴³Adi Cakobau School is an all-girls boarding school. Ratu Kadavulevu and Queen Victoria Schools are boys boarding institutions whereas Bucalevu Secondary is a co-educational boarding school. These schools were originally set up for educating future *i-taukei* chiefs and leaders to prepare them for national, provincial, district and village leadership roles.

⁴⁴ The Fiji Islands National Curriculum Framework (NCF) was set up for this sole purpose, but had to be shelved due to unforeseen circumstances. The project was conducted in Fiji with Fiji's Ministry of Education and AUSAid providing the funding.

schools.”⁴⁵ The age group of students in the primary system range from 6 to 14 years whereas students in the secondary range from 15 to 19 years of age, most of whom are classified as youths. Thus a majority of Fijian students have undergone basic primary and secondary education. Furthermore, a 2004 UNESCO report recorded that Fiji had a 99% literacy rate amongst its youth population.⁴⁶ These figures may indicate that most youth go to school and almost all are literate.

Brand names such as Nike, Adidas, McDonald’s, KFC and many other multinational corporations have influenced the lives of the youth and the young generation. Certain sectors of society have labeled the change as a shift in lifestyle of the youth and adolescent population stating that it leads to other social problems such as poverty, drugs, obesity, teenage pregnancies, smoking and alcohol abuse. Jonathan Wood, writing on the *Effects of Media on Our Children and Adolescents*, argued that, “On average, children and adolescents spend more than 6 hours a day with media more time than in formal classroom instruction.”⁴⁷ This is a stark example of how influential mass media is to the young in contemporary societies. The same could also be said for Fiji’s case. More children and youth are exposed to modern technology as they become better educated. In her book *Special Issues Introduction: Youth, Cultural Politics and New Social Spaces in an Era of Globalization*, Jacqueline Kenelly notes that, “their access to global cultural resources influences the specific character of youths.”⁴⁸ Thus in this regard, youth could be easily influenced by their accessibility and exposure to modern technology and media.

⁴⁵<http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/Releases/FFF2010.pdf>.

⁴⁶http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/bangkok/skills-ap/skills/fiji_literacy.htm.

⁴⁷Jonathan Wood, *The Effects of Media on our Children and Adolescence*, <http://www.wabi.tv/news/6563/the-effects-of-media-on-our-children-and-adolescents>.

⁴⁸Jacqueline Kenelly, Stuart Poyntz, and Paul Ugor, *Special Issue Introduction: Youth, Cultural Politics, and New Social Spaces in an Era of Globalization*, *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, 2009.

The urge for survival in this economically driven world has meant that the educated rural youths head to the urban centers in search of employment and a better life. The 2007 Fiji Islands population census found out that “out of a total rural population of 283,410 a total of 150,491 (53%) youths were employed, whereas in the urban areas, 148,483 out of a total of 310,740 (48%) youths were employed”.⁴⁹ These figures clearly show that a majority of youths still reside in the rural areas. Whilst these figures are inclusive of all the racial groups in Fiji and do not give a specific reference to a particular ethnic group, one might still conclude that a majority of these youth are *i taukei* and reside in Fijian villages. Those that reside in Fijian villages may come under the direct rule of chiefs and also the culture of silence.

3.3 TECHNOLOGY

Ever since the introduction of the mobile phone market into Fiji on the 1st of July, 1994, Fiji has been gripped by another wave of technological advancement. A study by the International Telecommunications Union in 2004 found out that, “In 1998, there were about 8000[mobile phone] subscribers.....there were 93,583 mobile cellular subscribers at March 2003 for a penetration rate of 11.4; 91 per cent of customers are pre-paid.”⁵⁰ However, as shown in table 4 below, the figures have increased.

Table 4 Mobile Phone users in Fiji 2008-2009

	2008	2009
Prepaid Users	697,015	698,279
Post Paid Users	22,915	29,796
Total	719,930	728,075

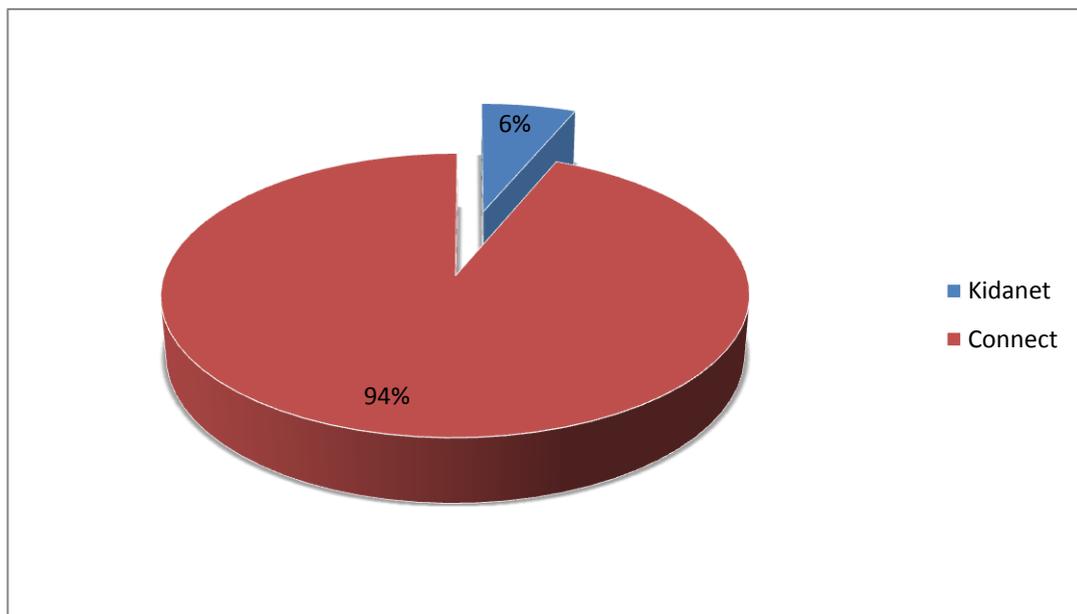
Source: (<http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/Releases/FFF2010.pdf>)

⁴⁹<http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/Key%20Stats/Population/1.12Labourforce%20%20by%20ethnic%20census2007.pdf>.

⁵⁰International Telecommunication Union, *Internet: Fiji ICT Case Study*, June 2004.

The figures above have shown a rapid increase in the usage of mobile phone technology, even though the figures are for only one mobile phone company in Fiji which has made their data available. Perhaps with the inclusion of two more mobile phone competitors in the market lately, the number of mobile phone users has been boosted, thus easing people's access to faster and efficient communications

Table 5 Internet Users in Fiji 2007-2009.



Source: (<http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/Releases/FFF2010.pdf>)

Table 5 above shows the number of internet users in Fiji that use the services of the two internet providers Kidanet and Connect. However, in a study conducted by the International Telecommunications Union states that, “The number of Internet users has been estimated based on the number of subscribers multiplied by three. This would result in an estimate of some 23,000 internet users in 2002 or 2.8 per cent of the population.”⁵¹ On the same note, the website Internet World Stats has also cited ITC, “as of June 2009 there are

⁵¹ibid.

91,400 internet users in Fiji or about 9.7% of the population.”⁵² This figure is insignificant if we compare it with South Korea which has an 81.1% internet penetration rate or Australia with a 78.3% penetration rate. Whilst the true picture of internet users is currently unavailable, it has been observed that most government workers as well as private sector officials have access to the internet in their daily work. Added to this are students who are exposed to the internet in schools as well as in internet cafes. Fiji and all other countries in the Oceania make up 21.3% of internet users [in the world].⁵³

The presence of the internet in Fiji has also expedited growth in various sectors at a rapid rate. In their article on *The Globalization of Technology and its Implications for Developing Countries*, Daniele Archibugi and Carlo Pietrobelli state that, “[thanks to] media, scientific and technical workshops, internet and many other communication channels, globalization allows the transmission of knowledge at a much greater pace than in the past.”⁵⁴ This has been seen in Fiji as many businesses are conducting transactions via the internet. However, the effects of internet and contemporary communications technologies on rural populations as well as the youth remain to be seen. In an article in the *Futures Research Quarterly*, Stevenson wonders if, the new telecommunications technologies, monopolised by the privileged industrialized world, will be “enough to address the world's most serious problems of poverty, hunger and alienation.” The implication is that new communication technologies which do not address immediate human needs are not quite useful to human society no matter how effective they may be in increasing communication among people.⁵⁵

⁵²<http://www.internetworldstats.com/sp/fj.htm>.

⁵³ibid.

⁵⁴Daniele Archibugi and Carlo Pietrobelli, *The Globalization of Technology and its Implications for Developing Countries Windows of opportunity or further burden?* CNR, Via dei Taurini, 19, 00185 Rome, Italy University of Rome III, via Ostiense 161, 00154 Rome, Italy.

⁵⁵Tony Stevenson, and June Lennie, (1995) “Emerging designs for work, living and learning in the ‘Communicative Age’”, *Futures Research Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Fall, pp. 5-36.

In Fiji's case, the impact of technology on its rural population and the marginalized remains to be seen. There are fears that modern technology may in fact invade the privacy and respect of the culture itself. Some conservative *i- taukei* feel that it could possibly harm the culture as more youth are prone to new technology. According to Levi Obijio in his article, *Future Impact of New Communication Technologies*, he states that,

Apart from the question of access, fears also exist about the impact of the new technologies (especially satellite technology) on cultural identity, national sovereignty and inequalities in society. This worry is based on the ground that the new communication technologies are not value-free because they come packaged with the value orientations of their manufacturers.⁵⁶

This is also a very important component that this study is aiming to uncover, since it is common knowledge that all communication technologies come in with certain designs, specification and models that may appeal to the maker or to the country where it was made. It does not consider the values or the culture of the country where it will be sold and how it is going to affect the general population.

Even though the internet as well as modern technology has infiltrated the rural communities, there are concerns that it may have an impact especially on cultures and traditions. The extent or nature of the impact remains to be seen. Already, the youth in Fiji are more inclined to use modern technology such as cell phones, internet, i-Pads, mp4's and other modern hardware as well as software brought about by the influence of the global media industry. They have also become exposed to social networking sites such as Face book, twitter, and blogs, which have broadened their outlook and somehow enhanced their opinion of this global village.

⁵⁶Levi Obijio *Future Impact of New Communication Technologies :A Bibliographic Analysis Communication* Centre of the Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia.

Globalization also influences areas such as health, agriculture, environment, and other related areas that affect our daily lives. However, for the purpose of this paper and for relevancy, the issues of education, economics and technology in terms of globalization have been discussed.

3.4 CULTURE OF SILENCE

The true origin of the culture of silence in Fiji may be difficult to pinpoint. However, two explanations of its origins could be identified. The first explanation could be that it could have been introduced into the culture by the missionaries preaching from the bible about total submission to authority and to God. An example of this was narrated in Tuwere's book *Vanua: Towards a Fijian Theology of Place*, where he narrates a story of the early missionaries experience with the *i-taukei*, who had surrounded some early missionaries in Bua, Vanua Levu, ready to kill them. There was no response from the missionaries and their allies but utter silence and prayer. In the end not one of them was touched by the invaders. Tuwere concluded the story by stating that, "silence, speaking never a word but crying to the Lord for help...a new *mana* had arrived in the land".⁵⁷

The other theory is that it has been part of the *i-taukei* culture ever since. Chiefs found it useful to instill order through fear into the minds of their sub ordinates. In early Fiji, the rule of the club was the law of the land. Chiefs used this to their advantage by quickly eliminating anyone who opposed their authority. The lower classes were expected to obey. Moreover, once it [silence] was inculcated into the culture, it later developed into respect, tolerance and honor. Thus giving birth to the so-called culture of silence.

⁵⁷Ilaitia Tuwere, *Vanua: Towards a Fijian Theology of Place*, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji, 2002, pg 157.

Whilst some societies define silence as depending on the context and the situation, to others it is a part of culture. “To Americans, words are considered very important. Americans often want to fill what they consider to be awkward pauses of silence with words. They even “give their word’ to assure their truthfulness.”⁵⁸ Such is the culture in America where youth, adults and everyone are encouraged to come out and be vocal and express their views openly. Other cultures such as Japan, China, South Korea, Thailand, Swaziland, Ethiopia, and Kenya also value silence. Asian cultures associate silence with wisdom and it is used to express power.

Belinda Otis, writing in *Think Africa on Nigeria*, stated that, “Our culture has used the issue of respect to silence and the youth for a long time. I don’t think it was intentional but it’s a case where if you are young, you are seen and not heard and you only speak when spoken to.”⁵⁹ This was the case in Nigeria, where youth, according to her, are not given the proper recognition they deserve. Silence therefore is not only unique to the *i- taukei* culture. It is also present in other cultures of the world.

Fijian scholar Nayacakalou adds that, “the Fijian society has been labeled as a culture of silence and Fijians are expected not to challenge the wisdom of chief’s decisions.”⁶⁰ In the *i- taukei* culture, it is expected that youths will carry out the dirty or hard work at the chief’s behest. If the chief wants a section of the land to be tilled for planting, it is the youth of the village who are normally called to carry out this important task. Although in pre- historic Fiji, each clan had different roles and tasks to play such as the traditional *gonedau, mataisau,*

⁵⁸J.C.Candon,, Jr. (1978). *Intercultural communication from a speed communication perspective*. In F.C. Casmit

(Ed.), *Intercultural and international communication*. Washington, DC: University Press of America.

⁵⁹Belinda Otis, *Nigeria’s Youth: Silent No More*. Think Africa Press, October, 2011.

⁶⁰R. R Nayacakalou, (1978), *Tradition and change in the Fijian village*. Suva, Fiji: South Pacific Social Sciences Association.

bati,⁶¹ (Appendix C) and other important roles within the village. Today the same practice exists and the youths form the backbone of the village's existence.

However, in this modern day and era, Barr states that “the ‘culture of silence’ is slowly giving way to a ‘democratic culture’ as people become more educated, more exposed to the media, more class conscious, and more dissatisfied with corruption, growing poverty, inequality and government mismanagement.”⁶² These are important claims made by Barr as it may largely point at the core of the *i-taukei* culture itself. Moreover, these claims are important sign posts in the direction where this research will head since it will try and prove if there are any real evidence within Barr's statements.

Most youth in Fiji are better educated than the older generation and are also well versed with global and economic issues and practical solutions to the development of rural and disadvantaged communities. Sadly, these voices are not usually heard in village meetings. They are expected to observe proceedings. For this reason, many youth sometimes reach adulthood unprepared to contribute effectively as citizens because they were always looked down upon in their communities and their views were never considered.

In his book *Vanua: Towards a Fijian Theology of Place*, Tuwera stresses that, “through education and unemployment, [youth] are uprooted from traditional settings of villages and home islands to settle in towns and cities.”⁶³ He further states that the new generations of [*i-taukei*] have little interest with traditional ties with the land adding that they may be “disillusioned by the world of electronic media such as mass media, television,

⁶¹*Gonedau* are a clan whose traditional role is to fish for the chief. *Mataisau*-are the clan whose traditional role as traditional carpenters was to build houses for the chief. *Bati* are the traditional warriors whose role was to fight and protect the chief during wars.

⁶²Kevin Barr, *Competing Paradigms of Good Governance, Human Rights and Democracy*, Ecumenical Research Centre for Research Advocacy, Suva, Fiji.

⁶³*ibid* 54

computers and videos.”⁶⁴ Thus he points out at the need for an urgent intervention at *vanua*(land/village/clans), *lotu*(church) and *matanitu*(government) levels to arrest these problems faced by the youth allegedly brought about by globalization.

3.5 SUMMARY OF LITERATURE REVIEW

In summary, the literature discussed in this research verifies the fact that the COS does not only exist within the *i-taukei* culture as originally postulated. This culture is prevalent in most societies such as Africa and other neighboring Pacific Island countries. However, the question remains as to the extent to which globalization has affected this culture of silence especially amongst the youth population. Of utmost importance are the claims made by Barr and Tuwere in the *i-taukei* context. Whilst both have their individual claims, this research will use their claims to explore a bit further and try to ascertain the truth behind those statements. Has there really been a change in behavior or are they still inclined to the traditional way of doing things given the influence of modern technology? The *i-taukei* are now at a crossroad where it has to make a choice between shedding some of its culture and traditions to accommodate change brought in by globalization or keep the culture and lag behind in development.

⁶⁴ *ibid*

IV. HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

4.1 EDUCATION AND THE *I-TAUKEI* CULTURE OF SILENCE.

Other racial groups such as the Indians were brought in by the British under the Indenture system to work in sugar and cotton plantations. This event introduced the *i-taukei* to a new culture and way of life. To this day, there have been inter- marriages as well as the sharing of resources and food amongst each other. With independence in 1970, came in the opening of markets as well as multilateral and bilateral interaction between Fiji and its trading partner countries. Globalization in terms of economics and technology quickly swamped the land and brought in changes to the culture as well as the way of life. The Fijian or *i-taukei* way of life is one that is rich in traditions and culture and one which they are proud of and will cherish and protect till death. Post-independence Fiji encompassed all racial groups living in the country at that time. However, according to Tuwere in his book *Vanua: Towards a Fijian Theology of Place*,

Fijians [*i-taukei*] have never perceived their country as homogenous..... [*i-taukei*] speak of Fiji in terms of *Kubuna*, *Burebasaga* and *Tovata*⁶⁵.....It is this structure of tradition and culture that demands *veivakaliuci* (regarding the other as higher in rank than oneself), *veirogorogoci* (willingness and commitment to hear the other) and *veivakarokorokotaki* (mutual respect).⁶⁶ (Appendix D)

This culture is originally thought to be unique to Fiji, which embraces respect and obedience of elders and chiefs. Throughout the ages, this has been termed as the anchor of the *i-taukei* culture. However, globalization has brought with it education which is slowly changing the way youth behave and think. It is generally stated that as more youth become

⁶⁵Kubuna, Burebasaga and Tovata are the three confederacies that all *i-taukei* belong to.

⁶⁶ibid 52 pg 30.

better educated, their views towards the culture may change and thus cause a shift in the way they do things culturally.

However, it must be borne in mind that culture is dynamic. It changes with time and as new ideas come in, it shapes the culture to what it is today, and will continue to do so in future. As more youth interact with others through education, the more they may become influenced by other cultures. Fiji's education system is such that students are exposed to a multi-cultural education system and does not discriminate on the type of lessons that they learn in school. What they have learnt in school therefore, may prove influential in the way they conduct themselves as well as the way they perceive their culture. It is essential therefore to find out if this notion is in fact true in the case of the *i-taukei*.

H1: In this age of globalization, does the culture of silence still exist in the *i-taukei* culture.

H1a: The *i-taukei* culture of silence is perceived more amongst the rural people than the urban people.

H1b: Better education has brought about change in the *i-taukei* culture of silence

4.2 HUMAN RIGHTS

Tagged with the advent of globalization, are issues such as human rights, freedom of speech and democracy. Being a public good, it is in global and national interests that human rights has reached Fiji's shores. Largely democratic in nature, the *i-taukei* culture is one which demands respect and obedience to leaders and elders as well. From a cultural perspective, this is what defines a person as a *i-taukei*. However, from a western perspective, this aspect of the culture may seem undemocratic as it may seem to be a more dictatorial type whereby the views of the youth and the underprivileged in society are marginalized. To a

typical *i-taukei*, these are viewed as an invasion of village protocols and cultural systems. The Fiji Human Rights Commission describes Human Rights as:

An international law born after World War II, the idea of the protection and promotion of human rights is enshrined in the most important international human rights document the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The law recognizes group rights as well as the duty of the individual to the society in which she or he lives. Rights and responsibilities go together. This means that you cannot enforce or manifest your own rights over the rights of someone else.⁶⁷

Thus, in rural village settings, there have been instances whereby educated youths have stood up to village elders and have refused to carry out normal everyday village chores, citing their human right to freedom from slavery and servitude as the blueprint for their defiance. The Fiji Human Rights Commission, however, argues that these rights come with responsibilities. The argument, however, remains as to how these responsibilities could be explained in simple everyday language to the youth to enable them to understand a foreign concept which evidently they have difficulty interpreting. In an unpublished article, Fiji Women's Crisis Centre Co-coordinator (FWCC) Shamima Ali had this to say:

Often in the Pacific we leave ourselves in the hands of our leaders and accept the status quo and tolerate a lot of violations of our rights. Often traditional power structures make it very difficult for us to question our leaders. We also have very patriarchal governance structures that often do not allow for questions, opposing views, and inclusiveness of men but more often of women and other vulnerable groups.⁶⁸

Pacific cultures as earlier mentioned within this thesis, encompass respect and tolerance. However, according to Ali, there have to be limits to the way people are treated

⁶⁷http://www.fhrc.org.fj/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=19&Itemid=27.

⁶⁸Shamima Ali, Fiji Women's Crisis Centre, unpublished Report, 2011.

within our different cultures in the Pacific. There has to be a line drawn to demarcate where culture ends and democracy takes over.

So in a sense youth are torn between loyalty to the *vanua* and human rights which advocates freedom of speech and independent decision making. Another aspect that this research is intending to find out is whether human rights has an effect on the youth in the *i-taukei* culture?

H2: Both the youth and older people are now supporting freedom of speech and active participation of the youth in village meeting i.e. breaking of *i-taukei* culture of silence.

H2a: The Youth in comparison to older generation are more vocal against the *i-taukei* culture of silence.

H2b: Youth perception of human rights changes their behavior towards *i-taukei* culture of silence

4.3 MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND THE YOUTH

Modern technology has been in Fiji as early as the introduction of the telephone and the radio way back in the days of the ZJV⁶⁹ radio broadcasting station. Ever since its arrival into Fiji, it has taken the rural villages and islands by storm and at times has proven to be the vital communication link between relatives as well as the respective government departments in periods of crisis and natural calamities such as cyclones.

Fiji at the moment has a host of radio stations besides Fiji Broadcasting Corporation Limited. Communications Fiji Limited, a privately run communications company, has been in the market since its establishment in 1985 and has been providing an alternative to the public at large. It also claims that it is “the largest radio broadcasting company in the South

⁶⁹ZJV as it was originally known began radio broadcasts in Fiji in 1935. It was not until 1952 that the Broadcasting Bill was passed in the legislative council. It is now known as Fiji Broadcasting Corporation Limited and has 6 radio stations. It still remains a State Owned Enterprise.

Pacific as it operates five radio stations in Fiji and, under subsidiary **PNG FM**, a further three in Papua New Guinea.⁷⁰

Other small radio stations have been established as well but, do not have the reach of the nation as compared to the two main players in the radio industry. However, on a daily basis, these stations churn out news, weather reports and music keeping the population informed of the latest developments around Fiji and the world. All stations have their targeted audience and most youths would prefer listening to radio stations that play the latest and contemporary upbeat-a total contrast to the oldies slow and mellow tunes.

The newspaper industry as well is long established in Fiji. One of the largest newspaper companies in Fiji, The Fiji Times has been around since 1869 and has become the longest serving newspaper in Fiji. In 2010, local businessman Mr. Mahendra Motibhai Patel bought the business from Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. Other newspaper companies such as the Daily Post and the Fiji Sun operate within Fiji and provide daily print news coverage.

Television was introduced for a brief period into the Fiji Islands in October, 1991 broadcasting the Rugby World Cup. However, officially, television services started to cover the islands beginning from the 15th of June, 1994. Since then, Fiji TV has grown in strength and workforce and also operates pay TV channels on its sky network besides the free- to- air Fiji One channel. Other new companies have hit the market lately in the form of MAI TV and the Ministry of Information government run network.

The mobile phone industry also hit Fiji with a bang. The Fiji public was introduced to mobile phone technology on the 1st of July, 1994 through the mobile service company Vodafone. This particular market has greatly infiltrated people from all walks of life. From the elite class business men and politicians right down to the ordinary fisherman in the village

⁷⁰<http://www.cfl.com.fj/>

and even school students, all seem to own mobile phones. Accordingly, a research by the International Telecommunication Union in June 2004 found out that “93,583 consumers in Fiji had mobile phones.”⁷¹ Furthermore, the Ministry of Information in Fiji states that as of May 2012, a total of “697,920 citizens have access to mobile phones and 15,752 have access to telecom landlines.”⁷² For a population of more than 900,000, it represents about 75% of the population having mobile phone access which is quite a significant number. Mobile phones have been proven very handy in Fiji because of their portability. The competition in this market was boosted further with the introduction of Digicel and Ink Mobile besides Vodafone which held the monopolistic exclusive license prior to the opening up of the mobile phone market in recent years.

The internet has also helped Fiji to develop at a rapid rate. In their article on *The Globalization of Technology and its Implications for Developing Countries*, Daniele Archibugi and Carlo Pietrobelli state that, “[thanks to] media, scientific and technical workshops, internet and many other communication channels, globalization allows the transmission of knowledge at a much greater pace than in the past.”⁷³ This has been seen in Fiji as many businesses are conducting transactions via the internet. However, the effects of internet and communications on rural populations as well as the youth remain to be seen. In an article in the *Futures Research Quarterly*, Stevenson wonders if,

the new telecommunications technologies, monopolised by the privileged industrialized world, will be "enough to address the world's most serious problems of poverty, hunger and alienation." The implication is that new communication technologies which do not address

⁷¹ibid 40.

⁷² Ministry of Information, Fiji Presentation. MDG workshop, Suva, Fiji. 18/05/2012.

⁷³Daniele Archibugi and Carlo Pietrbrlli, *The Globalization of Technology and its Implications for Developing Countries Windows of opportunity or further burden?* CNR, Via deiTaurini, 19, 00185 Rome, Italy University of Rome III, via Ostiense 161, 00154 Rome, Italy.

immediate human needs are not quite useful to human society no matter how effective they may be in increasing communication among people.⁷⁴

In Fiji's case, the impact of technology on its rural population and the marginalized remains to be seen. There are fears that modern technology may invade the privacy of the culture itself. Some conservative *i- taukei* feel that it could seriously harm the culture as more youth are prone to new technology. According to Levi Obijio in his article, *Future Impact of New Communication Technologies*, he states that,

Apart from the question of access, fears also exist about the impact of the new technologies (especially satellite technology) on cultural identity, national sovereignty and inequalities in society. This worry is based on the ground that the new communication technologies are not value-free because they come packaged with the value orientations of their manufacturers.⁷⁵

Even though internet as well as modern technology has infiltrated the rural communities, there are concerns that it may have an impact especially on cultures and traditions. The extent or nature of the impact remains to be seen. Already, the youth in Fiji are more inclined to use modern technology such as cell phones, internet, i-Pads, mp4's and other modern hardware as well as software brought about by the influence of the global media industry. They have also become exposed to sites such as Face book, twitter, blogs and other social network sites which have broadened their visions and somehow enhanced their opinion of this global village.

Thus, the effects of the Mass Media and technology have to some extent been felt in the islands. It is possible now for ordinary rural villagers to witness first- hand global events

⁷⁴Tony Stevenson, and June Lennie, (1995) "*Emerging designs for work, living and learning in the `Communicative Age`*", *Futures Research Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Fall, pp. 5-36.

⁷⁵Levi Obijio *Future Impact of New Communication Technologies :A Bibliographic Analysis Communication* Centre of the Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia.

such as sporting activities and current affairs. This would definitely have an effect on the culture and the behavior of people in general. The youth are especially affected as they are the ones who are more exposed to these sorts of technology. The question then remains, of the depth to which these particular technologies have infiltrated the *i-taukei* culture. Has it had adverse or positive effects on the culture or the youth for that matter? What does this mean therefore, for the survival and sustainability of the culture itself?

H3: The use of modern appliances and technology changes the *i-taukei* perception towards the culture of silence.

H3a: The impact of modern technology and appliances is greater on the youth than the older generation.

V. RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this study was to find out if the Culture of Silence really does exist in *i-taukei* Fijian culture and if it does, how has its effects been felt by the youth and how has globalization in terms of human rights, modern technology and education affected them both. For this, a survey of the *i-taukei* was conducted. The survey specifically concentrated on youth and the older generation both in the rural and urban areas. In all, the survey involved 68 *i-taukei* respondents. The questionnaire was made by using Qualtrics and was designed in English. No translation was required, since both the respondent groups were good at English. The Questionnaire was distributed to the respondents online through Qualtrics and individual response was also collected in the same way.

The questionnaire was set in three parts, where the first part consisted mainly of some warm up questions, the second part had basic questions and the third part focused on background information. Using a 5-point Likert Scale (Itemized Rating Scale), the questionnaire asked the respondents to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the situation described in questions. The responses were rated as such: strongly disagree scored 1, disagree scored 2, neutral scored 3, agree scored 4, and Strongly Agree scored 5. Therefore, higher average scores indicated a higher degree of agreement with the researcher's view. However, due to time constraint, the questionnaire was only distributed within the particular group, and it was a major limitation of this study. The questionnaire which was prepared and conducted in the survey through Qualtrics is presented in the Appendix.

5.1 Frequency Analysis.

The opinion survey consists of qualitative data. Responses generated during the interviews were classified into five groups. The frequency of these five groups has been

calculated and reported. Missing values are excluded from the analysis. A weighted frequency analysis method has been employed.

To estimate the weighted average of responses, let us define:

f_i = Frequency of response belonging to the i th response level ($i= 1, 2, \dots, 5$)

x_i = Scores (1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

Then, the weighted response (R_w) is defined as

$$R_w = \frac{\sum f_i x_i}{\sum f_i} \quad (i= 1, 2, \dots, 5)$$

The value 3 of R_w is considered as the demarcation value between the average positive and negative side response. If $R_w > 3$, the response is overall positive; if $R_w < 3$, the response has been considered as negative.

H1: In this age of globalization, does the culture of silence still exists in the *i-taukei* culture.

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
21) In your opinion, is there really a "culture of silence" within the <i>i-taukei</i> culture?	53	4.25	.853	.117

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
21) In your opinion, is there really a "culture of silence" within the <i>i-taukei</i> culture?	10.632	52	.000	1.245	1.01	1.48

One-sample t-test was employed and this value compared against the neutral response. The mean response toward the culture of silence is 4.25 which is above the neutral value of 3. The Significant level 0.000 indicates that we can reject the null hypothesis. This means that according to the findings, the culture of silence exists in Fiji.

H1a: The *i-taukei* culture of silence is perceived more amongst the rural people than the urban people.

Group Statistics

	6) Where do you live?	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
21) In your opinion, is there really a "culture of silence" within the <i>i-taukei</i> culture?	Rural	9	4.33	1.000	.333
	Urban	44	4.23	.831	.125

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
21) In your opinion, is there really a "culture of silence" within the <i>i-taukei</i> culture?	Equal variances assumed	.156	.695	.337	51	.737	.106	.315	-.526	.738
	Equal variances not assumed			.298	10.384	.772	.106	.356	-.683	.896

Regarding the existence of the *i-taukei* culture of silence, the mean response of rural people (4.33) is greater than that of urban people (4.23) but significance level (0.737) indicates that this difference is not significant. So the null hypothesis that the *i-taukei* culture is practiced more in the rural than the urban areas is rejected.

H1b. Change in the *i-taukei* culture of silence is a result of better education.

In order to compare the education level between the youth and the older generation in the sample the Independent Samples Test was employed. It found out that, older people are more educated than the youth and the difference is statistically significant. Now the next test is to find out whether this difference of opinion is related to their difference in education level.

Group Statistics

	2) Age	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
4) Highest Educational Level Attained	15-25 yrs	7	4.00	1.155	.436
	26+ yrs	50	5.54	1.474	.208

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
4) Highest Educational Level Attained	.888	.350	-2.646	55	.011	-1.540	.582	-2.706	-.374
			-3.184	8.991	.011	-1.540	.484	-2.634	-.446

By summarizing the means from the above table, we have found the following table

population	Highest Educational Level Attained (mean)	11) Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings? (mean response)	12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making? (mean response)
Youth	4.00	2.71	3.04
Older	5.54	3.86	4.08

To analyze the effect of education on the *i-taukei* culture, the regression test was conducted on the perception of *i-taukei* culture on education level assuming youth as a dummy variable

Regression 1: perception regarding freedom of speech in village meeting vs. education level

Regression 2: perception regarding youth participation in village decision making vs. education level

Model Summary

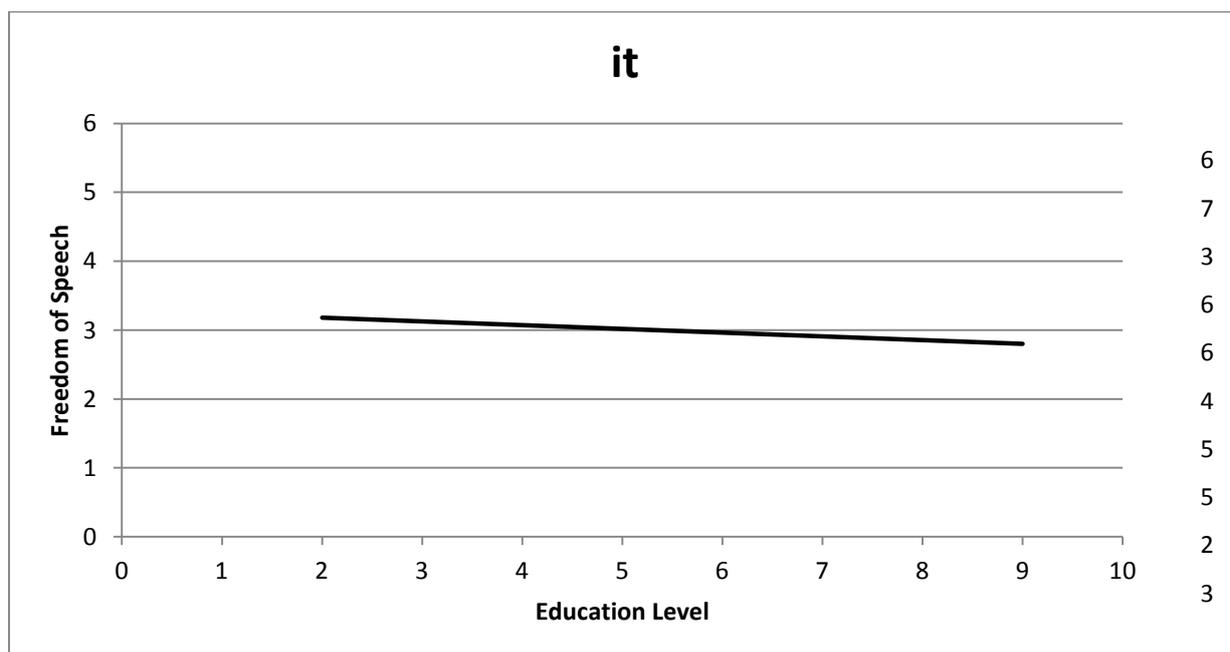
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.116 ^a	.014	-.023	1.443

a. Predictors: (Constant), 2) Age, 4) Highest Educational Level Attained

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
(Constant)	3.528	.775		4.554	.000	1.975	5.081
1 4) Highest Educational Level Attained (please check only one circle)	-.088	.135	-.094	-.653	.517	-.359	.182
2) Age	-.461	.618	-.107	-.746	.459	-1.701	.778

a. Dependent Variable: 11) Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings (freedom of speech)?



Regression equation: $Y = 3.528 - 0.88 X1 - 0.461 X2$

Here Y = Perception regarding freedom of speech in village meeting

$X1$ = education level

$X2$ = dummy variable (Youth)

The opinion towards breaking the culture of silence is negatively correlated with the level of education ($b_1 = -0.88$). For the same education level youth are more restrictive towards the culture of silence.

Regression 2: Perception regarding youth participation in village decision making vs. education level

Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.210 ^a	.044	.007	1.040

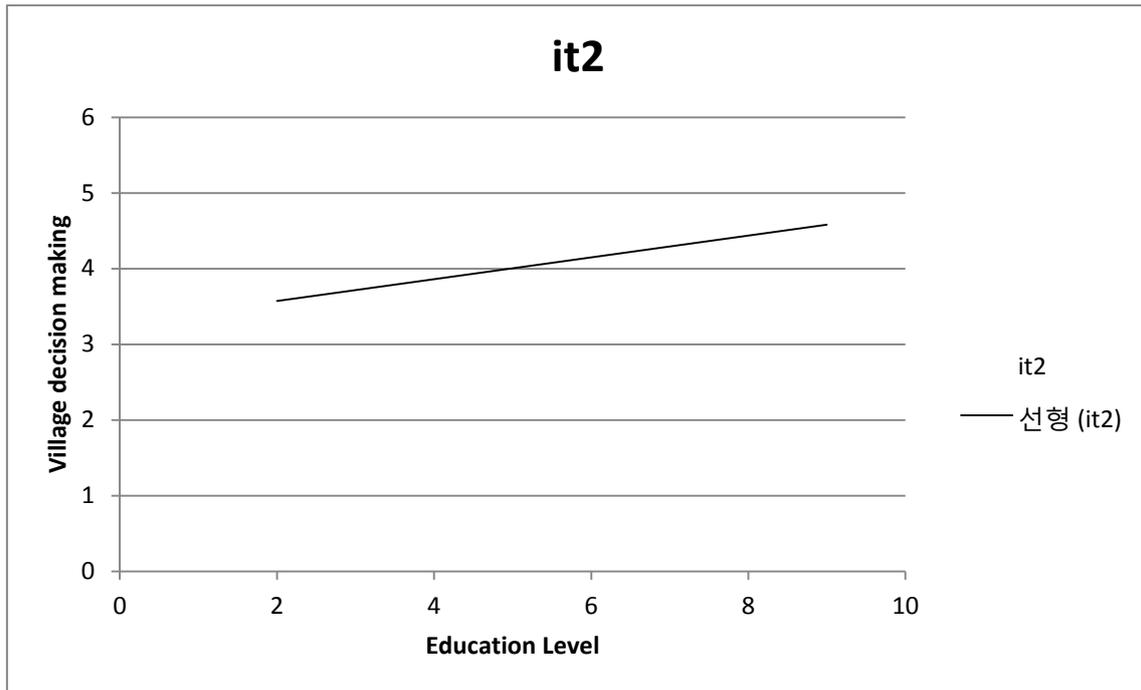
a. Predictors: (Constant), 2) Age, 4) Highest Educational Level Attained (please check only one circle)

b. Dependent Variable: 12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
(Constant)	3.285	.570		5.765	.000	2.142	4.429
1 4) Highest Educational Level Attained (please check only one circle)	.144	.099	.209	1.452	.152	-.055	.343
2) Age	-.004	.448	-.001	-.009	.993	-.902	.894

a. Dependent Variable: 12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?



Regression equation: $Y = 3.285 + 0.144 X_1 - 0.004 X_2$

Here Y = Perception regarding youth participation in village decision making

X_1 = education level

X_2 = dummy variable (Youth)

Opinion towards breaking the culture of silence (freedom speech) is positively correlated with the level of education ($b_1 = 0.144$) but it is not statistically significant ($t = 1.452$). For the same education level, youth are more restrictive towards the culture of silence.

Therefore from the above two regression tests it can be concluded that the older generation are more educated than the youth but their perception towards the change of culture of silence is not related to their education level or achievement. So the null hypothesis is rejected.

H2: Both the youth and older people are now supporting freedom of speech and active participation of the youth in village meeting i.e. breaking of *i-taukei* culture of silence.

The mean responses of youth and older people in Question 11(perception regarding youth freedom of speech in village meetings) and Question 12 (perception regarding youth participation in village decision making) are summarized in the table below:

Report

2) Age		11) Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings?	12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?
15-25yrs	Mean	2.71	3.86
	N	7	7
	Std. Deviation	1.604	.690
	Variance	2.571	.476
26+ yrs	Mean	3.04	4.08
	N	50	48
	Std. Deviation	1.414	1.088
	Variance	1.998	1.184
Total	Mean	3.00	4.05
	N	57	55
	Std. Deviation	1.427	1.044
	Variance	2.036	1.090

The means of the response of the youth concerning ‘the perception regarding youth freedom of speech in village meetings’ (2.71) is lower but concerning ‘perception regarding youth participation in village decision making’(3.86) is higher than the neutral value 3.To find out whether these means are statistically significant or not the one sample T test is employed.

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
11) Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings?	-.471	6	.654	-.286	-1.77	1.20
12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?	3.286	6	.017	.857	.22	1.50

Youth opinion about ‘allowing youth the freedom of speech in village meetings’ is lower than the neutral value but statistically (sig. level 0.654) is not significant, on the other hand youth opinion regarding their active participation in village decision making is higher than the neutral value and statistically significant. So we can conclude that the youth support their active participation in village decision making i.e. change of *i-taukei* culture.

The means of the responses of the older people concerning the ‘youth freedom of speech in village meetings’ (3.04) is slightly higher than the mean. The other ‘perception regarding youth participation in village decision making’ (4.08) is higher than the neutral

value of 3 as well. To find out whether these means are statistically significant or not the one simple T test is employed.

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
11) Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings?	.200	49	.842	.040	-.36	.44
12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?	6.897	47	.000	1.083	.77	1.40

The results of this test indicate that the older generation’s opinion about ‘allowing youth freedom of speech in village meetings’ is insignificant (sig. level 0.842), but their opinion regarding youth active participation in village decision making is statistically significant (sig. level 0.0000). it can be concluded therefore that the older generation of *i-taukei* support youth active participation in village decision making i.e. change of *i-taukei* culture.

H2a: The Youth in comparison to older generation are more vocal against the *i-taukei* culture of silence.

The mean responses of the youth and the older people varies concerning youth freedom of speech and youth active participation in village decision making. To find out whether these differences in opinion are statistically significant or not, Independent Samples Test is employed. It is found that the differences in opinions are not statistically significant.

Though youth and the older people support youth participation in village decision making the youth are not more vocal than the older people. So the Null Hypothesis is rejected.

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
11) Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings?	Equal variances assumed	.005	.944	-.562	55	.576	-.326	.579	-1.487	.835
	Equal variances not assumed			-.510	7.366	.625	-.326	.638	-1.820	1.168
12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?	Equal variances assumed	.571	.453	-.532	53	.597	-.226	.425	-1.079	.627
	Equal variances not assumed			-.743	10.958	.473	-.226	.304	-.897	.444

H2b: Youth perception of human rights changes their behavior towards i-taukei culture of silence

The mean of the responses regarding ‘how the youth perception of the human rights changes their behavior towards i-taukei culture of silence’, is 4.21 which is larger than neutral value 3. To test whether this mean response is statistically significant or not the ‘one sample t-test’ is employed against the neutral value 3.

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
22) Do you feel that Human Rights has also changed the way youth behave in villages?	56	4.21	.825	.110

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
22) Do you feel that Human Rights has also changed the way youth behave in villages?	11.015	55	.000	1.214	.99	1.44

The result shows that the significant level is 0.00- it means the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. We can therefore conclude that youth perception of human rights significantly changes their behavior towards the *i-taukei* culture of silence.

H3: The use of modern appliances and technology changes the perception towards the *i-taukei* culture of silence.

To find out whether the perception towards the effect of using technology on *i-taukei* culture of silence is true, the simple regression test is employed.

1. Perception regarding freedom of speech in village meeting vs. use of technology

ANOVA^a

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	.121	1	.121	.058	.810 ^b
Residual	113.879	55	2.071		
Total	114.000	56			

a. Dependent Variable: 11) Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings?

b. Predictors: (Constant), Technology

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	2.816	.785		3.587	.001
Use of Technology	.017	.072	.033	.242	.810

a. Dependent Variable: 11) Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings?

2. Perception regarding youth participation in village decision making vs. use of technology

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.752	1	.752	.687	.411 ^b
	Residual	58.084	53	1.096		
	Total	58.836	54			

a. Dependent Variable: 12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?

b. Predictors: (Constant), Technology

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.591	.577		6.222	.000
	Technology	.044	.053	.113	.829	.411

a. Dependent Variable: 12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?

Though using technology has positive effect on change of culture of silence but *t-value* (0.242/0.044) and significance level (0.810/0.829) shows that this is not statistically significant. So, the Null hypothesis that “The use of modern appliances and technology changes the perception towards the *i-taukei* culture of silence” is rejected.

H3a: The impact of modern technology and appliances is greater on the youth than the older generation.

Report

Use of Technology

2) Age	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Variance
26+ yrs	10.72	50	2.814	7.920
15-25 yrs	10.14	7	1.574	2.476
Total	10.65	57	2.689	7.232

Report

12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?

2) Age	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Variance
26+ yrs	4.08	48	1.088	1.184
15-25 yrs	3.86	7	.690	.476
Total	4.05	55	1.044	1.090

Perception towards i-taukei culture.

Report

11) Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings?

2) Age	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Variance
26+ yrs	3.04	50	1.414	1.998
15-25 yrs	2.71	7	1.604	2.571
Total	3.00	57	1.427	2.036

The above tables shows that the older generation are using more modern technology and appliances and more supportive of change in the *i-taukei* culture. ANOVA test is employed to find out if their views varied significantly or not. Though their use of technology level and opinion towards change in *i-taukei* culture varies but it is not statistically significant. So therefore, the null hypothesis “The impact of modern technology and appliances is greater on the youth than the older generation” is rejected.

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Technology	Between Groups	2.045	1	2.045	.279	.599
	Within Groups	402.937	55	7.326		
	Total	404.982	56			
11) Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings?	Between Groups	.651	1	.651	.316	.576
	Within Groups	113.349	55	2.061		
	Total	114.000	56			
12) Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?	Between Groups	.313	1	.313	.283	.597
	Within Groups	58.524	53	1.104		
	Total	58.836	54			

VI. CONCLUSION

After an analysis of the data, the study has revealed a couple of interesting findings. Firstly, the study can conclude that majority of the *i-taukei* (both youth and adults) agree that the COS still exists within the *i-taukei* culture. However, in stating this, a significant number on the other hand still feel that the *i-taukei* culture which includes the COS, is important and should be preserved. On the same token, the results also indicate that, despite the widespread usage of modern technology, modern appliances and better education, it still does not have a significant effect or change on the *i-taukei* culture.

These findings are significant in the sense that it could provide valuable insight into the way the *i-taukei* population still value their culture. It points to the fact that despite the advent of globalization, education and technology, they are steadfast in their belief that their culture has not and will not change. Furthermore, despite the original belief that the youth are more vibrant in the pursuit of their rights, youth, generally agree with the adult population that the COS should not be changed.

As such, the study was not able to establish any evidence that there was an evident link between globalization, the culture of silence and the youth. However, the fact still remains that culture is dynamic and changes over time and that the changes brought in by globalization cannot be reversed. The internet, mobile phones are so well entrenched within our cultures that it would be difficult to reverse its usage in Fiji.

As for the policy implications of these results, the relevant Ministries concerned could do well to note that maybe youth are not so interested with issues or happenings around them. It is evident in the low response rate from the youth. From a total of 20 questions sent to youths only 5 responded, whilst 3 responses were incomplete. This ignorance could then again be pointed back at the COS itself. The silence has not given the youth the confidence, freedom and independence to think about issues and critically analyze situations. Thus, they will always rely on elders to do it for them or think that it is the job of the elders to make decisions. Another possible explanation that could be attributed to this behavior is that the COS from the western point of view is the freedom of speech. However, this is totally different from the stand of a *i-taukei*. As mentioned at the very outset of this study, the COS is a culture of respect, honor and veracity. It is one which respects the authority of adults and gives them the due recognition. This in the *i-taukei* context has not changed much, thus the notion by the youth that our culture has not been affected by globalization. These factors could be borne in mind and used as a springboard to future studies.

Finally, the findings also provide the researcher with certain options as well as directions on how future studies could be modeled and designed. The *i-taukei* culture according to this study is currently safe from the infiltration of modern technology, human rights and education, thus displacing the original thought by Barr stating that the culture has changed due to the advent of globalization, poverty and technology. The question then is for how long is the *i-taukei* going to hold out in the face of the wave of globalization gripping our world. This is the issue that could be discussed in another study.

VII Appendices

Appendix A Questionnaire.

Section A

- 1) Gender
- 2) Age
- 3) Marital Status
- 4) Highest Education Level
- 5) Occupational Status

SECTION B

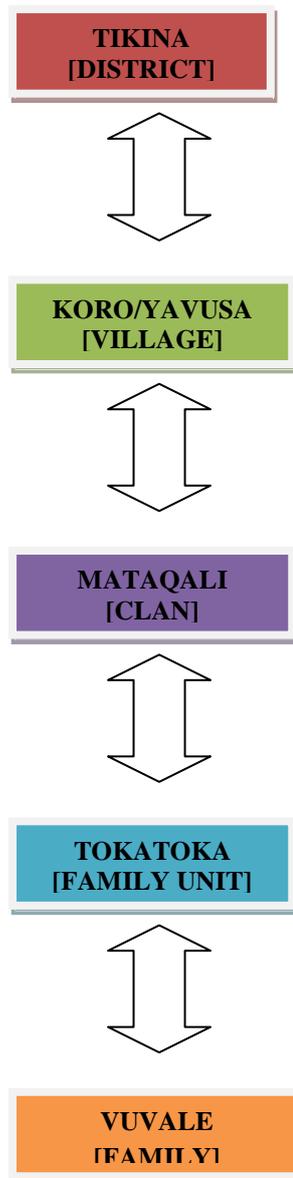
- 6) Where do you live?
- 7) Do you have access to social networking sites such as face book and twitter?

SECTION C

No.	Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
8.	What is your perception of modern technology?					
9.	Do you agree that modern technology has changed the way youth behave?					
10.	Do you agree that youth are allowed to speak and share ideas during village meetings?					
11.	Do you feel that youth should be allowed to actively participate in village decision making?					

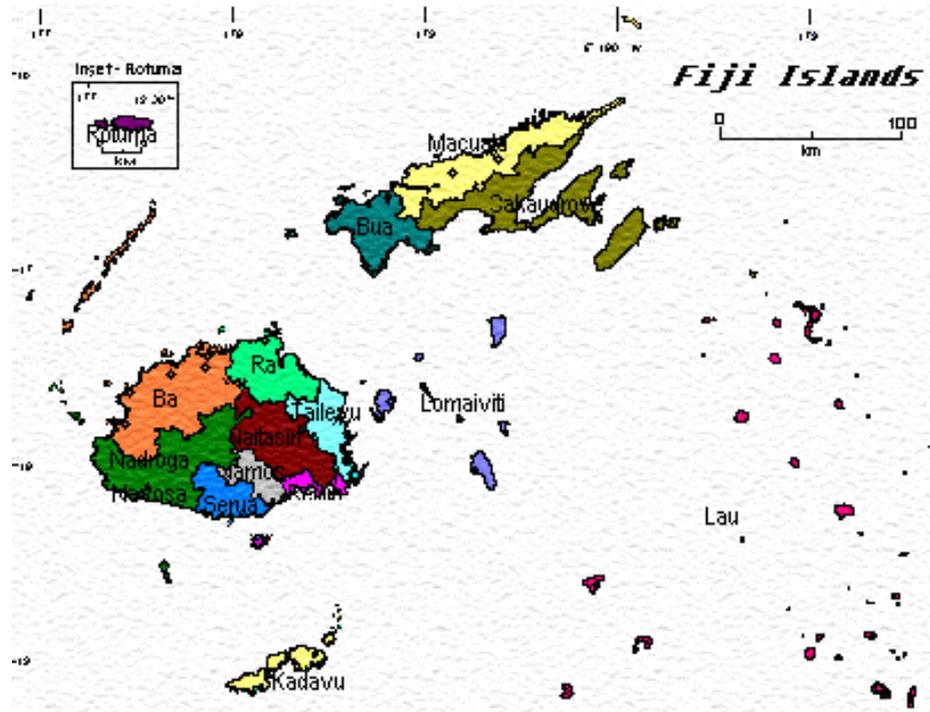
12.	Is the <i>i-taukei</i> culture important and should be preserved?					
13.	Does the <i>i-taukei</i> culture allow women and girls in our villages to make decisions?					
14.	Are <i>i-taukei</i> youth silenced by elders within the <i>i-taukei</i> culture when it comes to decision making?					
15.	Do you feel that certain aspects of the <i>i-taukei</i> culture lead to poverty?					
16.	Should we do away with some parts of our culture?					
17.	Do you think that the youth of today are more vocal because they are better educated?					
18.	Should there be a change in our village administration structures to accommodate changes in youth attitude?					
19.	Do you feel that the government needs to do more for the youth in Fiji?					
20.	In your opinion, is there really a culture of silence in Fiji?					
21.	Do you feel that Human Rights have also changed the way youth behave in villages?					

APPENDIX B The Traditional i-taukei village structure



Source: Fiji Today 2006-2007

APPENDIX D 3 Confederacies and the 14 Provinces of the Fiji Islands.



Source: Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics.

KUBUNA CONFEDERACY

- Naitasiri
- Tailevu
- Ra
- Lomaiviti
- Parts of Ba

BUREBASAGA CONFEDERACY

- Rewa
- Namosi
- Serua
- Kadavu
- Nadroga/Navosa
- Parts of Ba

TOVATA CONFEDERACY

- Cakaudrove
- Bua
- Macuata
- Lau
- Rotuma

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