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RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

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Front: Children wearing traditional dancing costume on Yap Day 1999.

(Photographed by Shinichi NODA)

## The 1999 Yap Research — 13 October to 9 November 2000 —

Toru AOYAMA

Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands

In 1999, the Center launched a new series of research projects entitled "Social Homeostasis of Small Islands in an Island-Zone" with Professor Inoue as project leader. The term *homeostasis* describes, as its biological origin suggests, the actual and potential ways in which the stability, though not necessarily static but dynamic, of a society is achieved. The goal of the research projects is to suggest the ways in which social homeostasis may be achieved in a society on a small island. The term *island-zone* indicates an island, though insulated by sea, needs to be understood in the context of a group of islands, where networks of people, things and information are formed and interaction among islands take place.

The islands of Yap Proper in the State of Yap, Federated States of Micronesia, were chosen as the research field for the first stage of the project to be taken place in 1999 because of its ideal geographical configuration. The 1999 Yap research was designed to look into the geological, ecological, bio-productive, hygienic and socio-cultural features of natural and human environments in Yap Proper. It is hoped to contribute to the development of agriculture, fisheries, and the actual daily lives of the people of Yap and to promote international exchange between Yap and Japan.

The members of the Center made a preliminary visit to Yap in February 1999. Having successfully established contact with local counterparts, the Center organized a research party of 32 members, including 16 researchers, 12 students and four ship officers, and brought them to Yap in the University's training vessel *Keiten-maru*. The ship departed Taniyama Harbor, Kagoshima on 13 October and arrived at Tomil Harbor, Colonia, capital city of the Yap State of the Federated States of Micronesia on 20 October. The ship returned to Kagoshima on 9 November after leaving Yap on 3 November. The party, divided into three research teams, spent two weeks for research, with Dr Nedachi as party leader and Dr Aoyama as secretary general. The final result of the research will be published in English as one of the Center's Occasional Papers Series, which is scheduled by the end of this year. A brief outline of research activities conducted is given below.

Although their sojourn was brief, members of the research party also enjoyed friendly relationship with the people of Yap. A lively traditional dance session, a barbecue party on the beach, "Open House" of the *Keiten-maru* and a reception part on the ship are only a few of many memorable events. The members were all impressed by the friendliness of the people of Yap and the richness of natural environment of the islands. There is no doubt that the 1999 Yap research enhanced friendship between the people of the two countries and that the similar success should repeat itself in another research in the future.

Research team 1 researched on human activities with special emphasis on the change and maintenance of tradition and cultural identity, social change through the movement of population, and the structure and function of traditional houses.

- Dr Aoyama conducted research on the creation of a new cultural and social identity of the people of

Yap through the state holiday "Yap Day".

- Associate Professor Kuwahara and his student Ms Otsubo, conducted research on the sustainability of traditional cultural system through observation and interviews with local informants.

- Dr Tajima and his student Mr Sueyoshi focused on the migration and economic development in the State of Yap, in particular, the population movement between Yap Proper and the Outer Islands.

- Dr Tsuchida and his students Mr Takezoe and Mr Yamamoto conducted a field survey on traditional rural houses in Yap Proper to analyze the architectural structure of the houses and the life style of the residents.

Research Team 2 collected data on the ecological and geological conditions of the islands of Yap Proper.

- Dr Inoue, Professor Hatta, Professor Shimada, Associate Professor Higashi, Assistant Professor Azuma and Assistant Professor Habano focused on the present situation of fisheries and living organisms in the coastal area of Yap Proper.

- Dr Nedachi and his students Mr Maeda and Mr Shigeyoshi conducted a field survey and collected stone and soil in the islands of Yap Proper as well as sediments in the lagoon.

- Dr Ishiguro, an expert in environmental monitoring by satellite, and his students Mr Tatsuno and Mr Nishimoto measured spectral characteristics of area (forest, urban, river and farm land, shallow sea water etc.,) with a portable spectral-photometer to obtain ground data.

Research team 3 focused on the people-nature interactions in Yap Proper. Agricultural production, the use of marine resources, and parasitic disease and health conditions are the three main topics.

- Dr Nakano, a human ecologist, estimated the production and consumption of local staple crops in the villages of Yap Proper from the information collected through interviews with islanders and statistical data.

- Dr Sakamaki focused on ecological and taxonomical research on pests associated with Taro and other economical crops, and their native enemy-insects (mainly parasitoid wasps). He also searched for soil arthropods and potentially economical pests in the soil of the field and its surrounding vegetation.

- Assistant Professor Onjo and his students Ms Sagara, Mr Kamikawaji, and Mr Yano conducted a field survey to obtain information on the farming system, the result of which may suggest measures for the improvement of agricultural practice in Yap.

- Dr Taura and Mr Abe conducted a field survey on crops in Yap Proper in terms of their varieties, cropping systems and environmental conditions.

- Dr Takeda focused on the second topic, that is, traditional foraging activities and utilization of marine resources in coral ecosystems.

- Dr Noda, Dr Yoshiie and Mr Nakanishi, concerned with the third topic, carried out a field survey to investigate the prevalence of intestinal parasites, the distribution of medically important insects and ticks, and health environment of the community in general.

# **The "Local" As a Empirical Problem in Pacific Islands Anthropology**

Niko BESNIER

Visiting Professor, Kagoshima University Research Venter for the Pacific Islands

One of the most important realizations of the end of the millennium is an appreciation of the extent to which the various corners of the globe are interconnected with one another. We now understand, better than before, that every isolated corner of the world is very much part of global processes. We also know that these connections, spanning large distances and reaching into the most remote islands and forests of the world, have been active for a long time. And we have come to realize that dichotomies that appeared commonsensical and unproblematic (e.g., local global, center periphery, North South, insular continental) may not be as straightforward as they appeared to social scientists only a few decades ago.

The problems that anthropologists and other social scientists face in their fieldwork in the Pacific Islands is to overcome the intuitive but ill-founded feeling that globality, the outside world, and modernity are somehow not relevant to life in small villages huddled along the coastline of relatively remote islands. Indeed, in many parts of the Pacific, people still worry about the effect of the weather on their access to food, still enjoy the relative luxury of pre-capitalist affluence, and continue to make do without electric light, running water, or television. Yet, even before the advent of television (that all-powerful object of attraction which often precedes running water and medical services), the societies and cultures of many islands of the Pacific define themselves in large part in reference to a larger context. "In reference to" may have different meanings in different situations. In some cases, local society and culture are defined in opposition to what outsiders are thought to believe in and practice. In other cases, aspects of localness have been borrowed directly from the outside, a process during which the borrowed item inevitably undergoes localizing transformations. Such is the case of Christianity, for example, which contemporary Pacific Islanders on almost every island of the region view as one of the fundamental pillars of "traditional" culture. The way in which, for example, Samoans and Manus Islanders practice and view the Christian denominations to which they adhere is of course very different from the social and personal values that "same" denominations hold in small-town America or Europe; yet this does not make one set of practices more "genuine" or more "legitimate" than another. In sum, localness is always continuous with, in opposition to, transformative of, and transformed by otherness and globality and their local definition and perception.

There is another side to this coin: just as the boundary between locality and nonlocality is constantly blurred, the internal homogeneity of Pacific Island societies and cultures is often a social fiction (albeit a powerful one). In other words, each society, in the Pacific as elsewhere, is both porous enough to be constantly transformed by the outside world, and heterogeneous enough to warrant an understanding of society as a more or less organized system of difference and divergence. At least some of the heterogeneization that is part of the very fabric of society derives from the fact that people interact with the outside world in different ways. Some have greater access to token of globalization than others; some are

more interested in or have more to gain from what the outside world has to offer than others; and some are better positioned than others to sort through the offerings of the outside world, retaining some tokens while rejecting others.

A powerful illustration of these remarks is one of the most exciting ethnographies published in the last 12 months, Gewertz and Errington's (1999) study of emerging social class in Wewak, the main urban center of the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. The authors document ways in which members of a new cadre of Papua New Guineans, economically privileged thanks to a variety of circumstances, negotiate their relationships with their less privileged kinsmen and "co-culturalists" living either in their villages of origin or in squatter settlements on the outskirts of Wewak, as well as their relationship with a middle-class outside world, to which they are connected through institutions like the Rotary Club and "lifestyle"-defining orientations like an interest in golf. The discourses they deploy in negotiating these various relationship rest of familiar themes: for example, the poor are poor because they do not try hard enough or because their expectations are unreasonable. "Villagers should no longer aspire to Toyota Land Cruisers, . . . they should be content with 'appropriate technology' such as water buffalo" (1999:119), affirms a prominent member of this elite group to Gewertz and Errington, shortly before being driven away in a new Land Cruiser.

The immediate implication of Gewertz and Errington's masterful ethnography is that contemporary social scientific focus should be directed not on the factors that generate commonality within village and island societies and difference between villages and islands, but on the processes through which difference, inequality, and divergence emerge in society and culture. My own research has focused on the interplay of similarity and difference, and the role that globality plays in the emergence of both in two societies: Nukulaelae Atoll, a very small atoll in the Tuvalu group peopled by approximately 310 inhabitants; and the capital of Tonga, home to about 50,000 persons. In the former, my field research since 1979 has focused on conflicts arising in the context of increasing economic differences associated with differential access to money, the source of which is principally salaried relatives who succeed in securing employment overseas. One particularly interesting phenomenon that the atoll has witnessed in the last decade is a significant increase in sorcery accusations, which, as we know from ethnographic writings focusing on areas of the world like West and Southern Africa, is commonly linked with the emergence of new parameters of economic inequality. The material I use in this research consists principally of gossip, through which reputations and life careers are built, maintained, and undermined. Of interest is the transnational nature of this gossip, which can span vast distances thanks to simple communicative technology such as letter-writing. I demonstrate in this work how "talk" of the most trivial kind can in fact present a serious challenge to more tangible sources of power, such as money. Non-material resources, such as reputation and notoriety, as therefore on par with material resources, and non-material resources are powerful enough to render material resources ineffectual.

The second strand of research concerns individuals in urban Tongan society which, for complex reasons, are identified in certain contexts as members of the opposite gender. The nature of this transgenderism is very complex, and this very complexity raises important questions regarding the interface between gender identity, power, prestige, and local global tensions. In particular, the phenomenon appears to be only partly a matter of gender, even though it is understood locally as such. Specifically, persons are often identified as transgendered if and when they exhibit particular enthusiasm for tokens that the outside world has to offer, while not being in an economic position to present themselves as transnational. What I attempt to

demonstrate in this work is the way in which something as intimate and seemingly "local" as gender identity is in fact strongly sensitive to the positioning of persons with respect to local global dynamics, power relations, and economic circumstances.

I have argued in these brief paragraphs that the shift in focus that anthropology and other social sciences have progressively undergone in the last decades of the millennium calls for a different understanding of certain categories like "society" and "culture", a reconsideration of the dynamics of locality and globality, and, in essence, a more complex approach to social processes and cultural systems, in the Pacific and elsewhere. In particular, life in the Pacific Islands can now only be understood with reference to a larger global context. The interface between this context and local life has different consequences for different groups and different individuals in particular societies, creating new patterns of heterogeneity and difference. What should surprise us is not that small-scale societies are as heterogeneous as large-scale industrial societies, but that they can function and present themselves as corporate bodies at all.

Reference: Gewertz, Deborah B. and Frederick K. Errington. 1999. *Emerging Class in Papua New Guinea: The Telling of Difference*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## **Colloquium**

### **"Social Homeostasis of Small Islands in an Island-Zone"**

#### **Autonomy and Independence of Each Islands State of the World**

Shunsuke NAGASHIMA

Faculty of Human Life & Environment, Nara Women's University

The author has visited more than 80 countries and 1700 islands of the world. Focusing on the theme, he summarised institutional differences and their actual circumstances, especially from such perspectives like as independence criteria to meet islands management, island promotion policy classification vs nissiological situations, or cultural identification problems. For sound island independence and democratic autonomy, they have to acquire more than each levels and keep balances of the comprehensive independence criteria; concerning to market economy, citizenship, ecology, health, identity and social countervailing co-operative economy.

# **The Reproduction of Inter-islands Hierarchy between Yap and Outer Islands**

Yasuyuki KARAKITA

Faculty of International Studies, Utsunomiya University

Yap State Constitution defines two councils of traditional leaders, one for Yap called Council of Pilung and the other for outer islands called Council of Tamol. Council of Pilung is composed of traditional leaders of municipalities of the Yap Islands, and Council of Tamol is comprised of traditional leader of municipalities of outer islands. Both councils have the power to disapprove a bill regarded as against tradition and custom. However, tradition and custom are not often discussed at meetings of Council of Tamol, on which the present author conducted a research. At the meetings, an outer islander officer of departments of Yap State Government briefs government projects on outer islands and seeks approval from outer islander chiefs. However, it is often these government officers on which the chiefs depend for their decisions. Nevertheless, chiefs retain their power on the government through their influence on selection of candidates for congressman, senator and governor.

The relationship between the two councils of chiefs is reproducing the traditional hierarchy between Yap proper and outer islands. When Council of Tamol holds a meeting, chiefs visit Gagil municipality to which outer islands are subordinate, and bring tributes of traditional wealth such as outer island loincloth. The outer island loincloth is one of the most important wealth within the exchange system on the main islands of Yap. In return, chiefs from Gagil provide food for outer islanders staying in Colonia, i.e. state capital, on other occasions. The relationship to Gagil can be safety valve for everyday life for outer islander staying in Colonia, because Gagil may provide emergency food and political protection from other Yapese.

Council of Pilung and Council of Tamol are reproducing the traditional hierarchy. However, both of the two councils are based on institution introduced during the period of American governance. Council of Pilung is based on Yap Islands Council of Magistrates and Council of Tamol is based on Outer Islands Chief Council. Yap Islands Council of Magistrates is one of the earliest democratic institutions introduced during American period. It is known that while senators of Yap Island Legislature were often young educated elite, Yap Islands Council of Magistrates was composed of traditional chiefs. However, the member of the council, as well as the legislature, must carry an election. On the other hand, chiefs of respective outer islands appointed a representative to Outer Islands Chief Council among themselves, even though the council itself is an introduced institution.

When Federated States of Micronesia won independence through the Compact of Free Association with United States, Yap State defined itself as government with traditional authority. However, the councils of traditional leaders in Yap States are based on institutions introduced during American governance. The councils redefines themselves as traditional through the process of the constitutional convention of Yap State.



## Research Seminars

February 8, 1999

### **A survey of remote and rural fishing village in Indonesia**

Yukio SHIGEMI

Kibi International University

Indonesia is, like Japan, is an insular country, where fishing industry plays an important role in its economic structure. In 1995 the total amount of catch in Indonesia is 4.12 million tons, about 3.6 percent of that in the world, and the 8th largest in the world while that in Japan is 6.76 million tons, and the 4th largest. The amount of each and the number of people engaged in fishery have decreased in Japan recently, but on the other hand increased in Indonesia. The fishery in Japan was modernized in 1920's by using power vessels. It was not until 1970s that the technical knowledge from the Netherland or Japan modernised fishing industry in Indonesia with rapidity. Its modernization was attained by attaching an outboard moter, meny of which are made by Yamaha, to ordinary boats. At many fishing village there, purse seine fisheries have been introduced, but the traditional ways of fishery by means of beach nets and gill nets still remain.

At Kema III in North Sulawesi, purse seine fisheries have increased in number. It has a population of 2,137, and about 85 percent of its labor population is engaged in fishing industry. At Pohe in the South of Gorontalo, they catch fry of milkfish with beach nets and export them to farms in Taiwan or the Philippines. At Bajo, 20 kilometers to the west of Pohe, inhabitants there emigrated from South Sulawesi at the end of nineteenth century. They have no houses on land and live in the houses on the seawater, which are maintained by piles driven into under the sea. They capture natural pearls and trepangs, the later of which are smoked and sold brokers.

This present small survey will show that the kind of fishery is different from one fishing village to another and that the maintenance of fishing ports and processing facilities have to be improved.

March 8, 1999

### **A Historical Study on the Sea Areas of Ryukyu-Resources and Trade in the Sea Areas of Coral Reefs**

Fusaaki MAEHIRA

Kobe College

How did the people living in the islands zones link their natural environment and ecosystem with the external trade network?

The subject of this report is to focus on the subtropical sea areas of Ryukyu (Okinawa) and examine the history concerning the marine resources of the islands with coral reefs and its trade. The reason why I take up this subject is that I have a great concern about the following; the commodities the Ryukyu Kingdom imported from abroad included the spices from South East Asia, silk and porcelains from China, gold, silver, and copper from Japan. These were common as trade goods in Asia, but many were the rare resources from the outside, as it were, 'treasures' Ryukyu could never produce.

Unlike those from abroad, marine products are the very abundant self-sufficient resources for the island surrounded by the sea. Coral reefs are said to be one of the ecosystems having high productivity as well as the tropical rain forests. People have long traded in abundant marine products and made use of the resources of the coral reefs. In Satsunan Islands and Ryukyu Sea Areas, the trade of shell products with remote places dates back to the Yayoi Period.

Furthermore, the data after 15th century of 'Rekidaihoan' shows the export of great green turbans and cowries to China on tribute trade route. In the export case of 1434, the record of 8,500 great green turbans and 5,500,000 cowries can be found. As is known, cowries were used as shell money in Yunnan in China, South East Asia, Oceania, etc., European merchants carried cowries from the Indian Ocean to West Africa, and used them as the means of exchange in slave trade.

In the beginning of the 17th century, cowries from Ryukyu were remarkable as a part of the worldwide trade resources of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.). For Ryukyu Kingdom with few mineral resources, the export of marine products was an ideal trade form suitable for its natural environment. In that sense, clarifying historically what the trade of marine products really was provides us with an important clue to understand the historical relationships between nature and people engaging in gathering marine products and the trade.

March 18, 1999

**Advanced Information Technology at the Centers For Disease Control**

Joseph A. RAID

Information Resources Management Office , Centers for Disease Control and  
Prevention

CDC is the lead Public Health agency in the United States and is a major contributor to Public Health efforts world-wide. Information is the life blood of CDC and advanced information technologies can make the difference between life and death. This talk will present a general overview of the information infrastructure at CDC and focus on a few sample applications of information technology; photographic image data management using the internet, management of data for human serum and tissue cryogenic storage banks, secure internet transfer of sensitive data, and the establishment of a national network in response to bioterrorism.

May 10, 1999

**The Status of Mangrove in Micronesia**

Toyoshiko MIYAGI

Tohoku Gakuinn University

The natural characteristics of the actual mangrove forest and its habitat are explained. The species component much poor but the forest well reserved the natural condition compare with Southeast Asian's one.

The mangrove habitats developed from the mean tide level and the highest high water level in any kinds of geomorphic setting except beach, and the species make clear zonation. The present day mangrove habitat had been formed as a bio-geomorphological processes at the lower sea-level stage about 2,000 yrs. BP., and it was maintained and mangrove peat accumulated accompany with the gradual sea-level rose until at present. The rapid sea-level rise by global warming will affect severe influence to the habitat and to the ecosystems. At a same time, mangrove peat accumulation is attracting attention for as a role of CO2 sequestration.

June 14, 1999

**Utilization of whales as a food resource: Inter-cultural conflict over whales**

Satoshi MORIYA

Japan Whaling Association

Many peoples in the world - including the Japanese - have used and continue to use whales as an important food resource.

For more than 20 years now many environmental and conservation organizations have contended that "the whale is a special creature that should in no way be used for consumptive purpose" and "whaling activities may lead to environmental destruction." These organizations who profit from using these assertions are increasing the pressures against whaling particularly in Anglo-Saxon, western industrialized countries.

Those people and nations that advocate such a position rely mainly on livestock for their staple animal protein sources, and little on marine living resources. Their contention is an imposition of their values, lifestyle and concept of the relations between the environment and human beings, without regard to other cultures and traditions, especially those pertaining to dietary elements.

The world population is now growing at a rapid pace, which will inevitably prompt increased demand for animal protein. However, diverse problems have already occurred in the production of terrestrial food resources, pointing to the need to further effective use of marine living resources in the years to come.

The whaling issue is not simply an issue of whether or not man can use whales for food, but it is an issue pertaining to whether man can utilize living resources sustainably while preserving the environment. For the Japanese people, it is also an issue of the way of life and culture.

Based on this recognition, Japan is continuing its struggle at the International Whaling Commission - an international body responsible for the conservation of whales and the regulation of the whaling industry - toward realizing the co-existence of man and nature in the 21st century.

September 20, 1999

**Control of schistosomiasis**

Shinichi NODA

Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands

Schistosomiasis is one of the most widespread of all human parasitic diseases, ranking second to

malaria in tropical and subtropical areas. There are many examples from all over the world of the introduction or spread of schistosomiasis as the result of development of man-made water resources and irrigation canals. Snail control is one of the methods for the control of transmission of schistosomiasis, and may entail the use of molluscicides, biological agents and environmental managements. In any methods, the understanding of intermediate snail ecology is important for the planning of snail control.

Attempts were made to control snail population in two villages of Kenya. In Mwachinga village, the snail control was carried out in upper part of the river. The river dries up in the hot dry season, with subsequent formation of small pools. Towards the end of the dry season, these pools may dry up completely. However, snail hosts can survive under the vegetation that maintains an appropriate humidity. Snails were eliminated from pools by the scooping. And, the riverbed was dried by the clearing vegetation. In Mtsangatu village, the modification of river stream was carried out in the part of the river of which flow is perennial. Snail habitats were reduced by clearing of water plants and concentrating the stream water in a narrow channel.

November 29, 1999

### **Transgenderism, Transnationalism, and Beauty Contests in Tonga (South Pacific)**

Niko BESNIER

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Victoria University of Wellington

Beauty pageants are a prime context in which, around the world, persons negotiate the boundaries between fantasy and reality, the local and the global, and domination and agency. This paper will explore the performances of transgendered men, or "leiti" as they are known locally, in Tonga (South Pacific), through their participation in the yearly Miss Galaxy contest, an all-leiti beauty pageant. I will argue that the Miss Galaxy contest enables underprivileged and normally marginalized leiti to perform and assert their identities before large audiences drawn from the Tongan establishment, including members of the increasingly diasporic Tongan population. At the same time, this contest is an occasion for leiti to present themselves as other than Tongans, attempting to insert themselves, through language use and performative effects, into this transnational Tongan imaginary, from which they are otherwise excluded due to their economically insecure status. The beauty pageant is thus a context in which participants act out not just fantasies of gender transformation, but also dreams of status transformation and of escape from the harshness of locally grounded marginalization. In the process, gender crossing and a diasporic consciousness become complexly intermeshed for audiences and participants alike.

December 20, 1999

**The Survey of the Pacific Islands by Training Vessels**

Akio INOUE

Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands

Since its establishment in 1984, the Kagoshima University Research Center for the South Pacific has carried out inter-disciplinary research expeditions to the Pacific Islands by training vessels of the Faculty of Fisheries. The expeditions have been carried out by joint scientific surveys of the Research Center with universities and research institutes in the visited countries and regions. The Japanese scientists who have participated in a total of 10 expeditions number 321, and they have conducted successful intensive surveys in five countries of the Pacific. The joint research results have been published mainly in the Occasional Papers of the Research Center which have acquired a good reputation.

The Research Center for the Pacific Islands continued the joint research and, on board of the "Keiten-maru", it conducted a survey voyage to Yap, Federated States of Micronesia, in October and November 1999. These joint research endeavors have led to the development of a close relationship between Japan and the countries concerned, and have contributed to international cooperation in the promotion of science and welfare of humankind. Obtaining the funding needed for the expedition is getting more difficult, but I sincerely hope that research by a training vessel, which has many advantages, can continue.

January 31, 2000

**The Economy, National Budget and Development in Fiji: Is there a change in Governments' Economic Policy Direction?**

Mahendra REDDY

University of South Pacific

Following independence in 1970, economic ideology underlying the growth policies were those of Keynesian economics. This requires heavy involvement of government in the growth and development process. My examination of key economic data shows that government was a major player in economic development of Fiji. However, in the early 1980s, Fiji's economy underwent a major change in its economic policy approach. The move was away from traditional Keynesian economics to market-based growth and development. This new approach, based on the Neo-classical ideology, is broadly known as Neo-liberalism.

The change was strongly advocated by the IMF and World Bank after they found that island nations had large government expenditures, increasing debt levels and lack of good governance. However, after over a decade of open economic policies, economic and social indicators reveal a worsening social scenario in Fiji. About 33% of the population are living in poverty, 20% of children are malnourished, income inequality is increasing every year and crime rate is at its highest ever. With a new labor government elected in 1999, the 2000 budget delivered promised that the government would make a concerted move to refocus attention on the real needs of the people. My analysis of the Fiji governments budgets since 1991 shows that the new government is bringing back the Keynesian ideology of development. The government has decided to

regulate the financial sector, roll back privatisation of public enterprises, reduce their operating expenditure and increasing capital expenditure. However, once the fundamentals are set in the private sector and a competitive environment evolves, then the role of government will decline. This approach to development is widely known as economic gradualism.

## **Recent Publications of Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands**

### **South Pacific Study, Vol. 20, No.1 (1999)**

Eddy MANTJORO. Socio-Economic System in the Western Pacific Islands: The Practice of Para Island Community.

Munetomo NEDACHI, Kammen M. TAKTAI and Yoko NEDACHI. Geochemistry of Paleosols Formed under Oxidic and Anoxic Conditions in the Babeldaob Island, Palau.

### **Occasional Paper No.32 (1999)**

Foraminifera as indicators of marine environments in the present and past

Hiroshi KITAZATO and Masasi TSUCHIYA . Why does foraminifera act as useful proxies for modern And ancient marine environments ?

Johann HOHENEGGER. Larger Foraminifera - Microscopical Greenhouses Indicating Shallow Water Tropical and Subtropical Environments in the Present and Past.

Akio HATTA. Distribution and daily migration of planktonic Foraminifera in the west pacific.

Rituo NOMURA. Foraminiferal interpretation of brackish environment caused by human activities.

Kimihiko OKI. Kagoshima under Cold Sea Water Told by Fossil Foraminifera.

### **Occasional Paper No.33 (2000)**

Islands and Information Society

Niko BESNIER. Island Microcosms and Global Forces: Nukulaelae Islanders and Changing Communicative Technologies.

Toshio KOSUGE. Information and Communications Technology and Its Application to Human Resource Development in the Pacific Islands Region: The Case of PEACESAT and USPNET.

Hajime OSHIRO. Networks and Organisations Promoting Industrialisation on Small Islands.

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