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On Women and "Indians"

The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion in Militarized Fiji

TERESIA K. TEAIWA

Why should the primary audience for this book, likely North Americans, be interested in or concerned with militarization in the South Pacific republic of Fiji? The United States' foreign policy reaches into the farthest corners of the globe, but surely North Americans cannot be expected to be responsible for knowing, let alone understanding, the impact of their governments' and corporations' actions in every tiny developing nation. Besides, the United States has territories and former colonies in the Pacific (see Camacho 2005; Hattori 2004; Kent 1993; Trask 1999; Underwood 1985) that would seem to demand attention before Fiji. So why should Fiji receive serious consideration from Americans as anything other than an exotic tourist destination?

One immediate answer to this question lies in the current U.S.-led global war on terror and the initially U.S.-led occupation of Iraq that is now being assisted by UN peacekeeping forces. As the reconstruction of Iraq has proven more and more challenging, it has become mortally dangerous for those U.S. and allied forces occupying Iraq, and consequently it has become increasingly difficult to recruit soldiers domestically (United Kingdom 2003; Brooke 2005). In tandem, we have seen growth in the United States' and, especially, in Great Britain's interest in recruiting new members of the armed forces from their former colonial territories (BBC News 2004; Brooke 2005; Haglelgam 2005; Teaiwa 2008) and growth in private, corporate militias—two key by-products of the occupation of Iraq and the global war on terror (Kelsey 2006; Maclellan 2006; *Fiji Times* 2007a).

Fiji becomes significant at three levels in this context. First, it is a preferred supplier of peacekeeping personnel for the UN Assisted Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) Guard Unit, even when its domestic politics (e.g., governments brought to power as the result of coups d'état in 2000 and 2006) may otherwise demand sanction and exclusion from participation in UN activities. Second, it has become a

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reliable source of military recruits for its former colonial ruler, Great Britain, with over a thousand Fiji citizens serving in Iraq and Kuwait under the British flag in 2006 (Kelsey 2006; Maclellan 2006). Third, it is a dependable provider of personnel for multinational private security firms engaged for the most part in Iraq and the Middle East, with no less than three thousand Fiji men on their books (Maclellan 2006).

Thus, a relatively small South Pacific nation, with a relatively small population, and a relatively small standing army, experiences intensified processes of militarization as a result of decisions made by the president of the United States and the prime minister of Great Britain in consultation with one another—decisions that profoundly affect international movements of capital, investment, and labor. So indeed it behooves readers of this book to become aware of and understand what militarization in Fiji means. In addition, the texture of militarization in Fiji offers alternative perspectives on, and invites further consideration of, the possible range of gender and race dynamics in nations built on plural foundations. It bears repeating that the majority of Fiji's citizens enlisted in the Fiji Military Forces (FMF) and serving in UN peacekeeping forces, the British Armed Forces, and multinational private security firms are indigenous Fijian males.

Given the demographic makeup of the country, women and "Indians" become obvious "others" against which both the Fiji military as an institution and militarism as a hegemonic ideology can be defined. The term *Indians*, as used colloquially and on many official documents, refers to Fiji citizens of East Indian descent. However, since the coup of 1987, many Fiji citizens and academics have preferred the term *Indo-Fijian* instead of *Indian* to more accurately represent the history of Indo-Fijian settlement in Fiji since the nineteenth century. Advocates of the term *Indo-Fijian* argue that continuing use of *Indian* serves to further entrench ideologies that would exclude this group from acceptance as full citizens in the nation-state that is Fiji. Throughout, I place the term *Indians* in quotation marks to signify the politics around the use of the term.

In this chapter, I analyze the extent to which women and "Indians" are either included or excluded historically, practically, and discursively in militarized constructions of Fiji. My purpose is twofold: to bring into relief a range of the cultural and political stakes invested in the militarization of Fiji and to raise questions about how "race" and gender intersect in the context of militarization.

As Cynthia Enloe (2000) and others (Katzenstein and Reppy 1999) have noted, military service continues to function in modern nation-states, for better or worse, as a rarefied crucible of citizenship. According to Enloe, "the most optimistic calculation is to figure that when a country's military admits a once excluded or despised group, that institution is transformed and made more compatible with democratic culture. In this perhaps too-sanguine scenario, the outsider group campaigning to enter the military doesn't become militarized; rather, the newly diversified military becomes democratized" (2000, 16).

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Of course, Enloe retains a healthy skepticism about how effectively the military is democratized by its selective inclusions of "once excluded or despised" groups. She calculates that the more likely scenario is that, in fact, those groups have become militarized. But contemporary U.S. military history records a steady stream of women and ethnic minorities queuing up for military service and clamoring for equitable treatment within the military (Katzenstein and Reppy 1999)—in effect, bolstering rather than challenging the military's position in society, and ensuring the indefinite march and progression of U.S. militarization. By contrast, Fiji's military history culminates in the current curious historical moment, in which the once excluded or despised groups—women and "Indians"—are both being differentially treated by and responding to the process of militarization.

Some Background

Fiji is made up of over three hundred islands situated north northeast of New Zealand, east of Australia, and south southwest of Hawai'i. After Papua New Guinea, Fiji is the next most populous Pacific Island nation and has the most developed social and economic infrastructure of all the independent Pacific Island nations. Fiji is a hub of the Pacific: a major crossroads for both shipping and air routes, and home to key regional institutions such as the twelve-member University of the South Pacific and the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat.

A former British colony granted independence in 1970, Fiji has the most visibly "racially" diverse population in the South Pacific,[1] with 54 percent of its residents claiming indigenous Fijian heritage, over 38 percent claiming Indo-Fijian descent (these are largely the descendants of East Indian indentured laborers brought to Fiji by the British in the nineteenth century), and about 7.5 percent categorized as Others (Fiji Bureau of Statistics 2006), consisting of the indigenous ethnic minority Rotumans as well as communities of Europeans, Chinese, and Pacific Islanders of Melanesian, Micronesian, and Polynesian heritage.

Per capita, Fiji is the most militarized of the independent states in the Pacific Islands region. Papua New Guinea, with a total population of over six million, has a defense force of just over 4,000 (U.S. Navy 2005), yet Fiji, with a total population of just under 900,000, maintains military forces only a few hundred smaller than that of Papua New Guinea.[2] As might be expected, the Fiji military is predominantly male. With the nation's multiracial makeup, the fact that the rank and file of the armed forces are overwhelmingly indigenous Fijians raises serious questions about the neutrality of the institution within the highly politicized domestic arena.

Indeed, although Fiji has distinguished itself internationally through service during World War II, in the Malaya Campaign, and as United Nations peacekeeping forces in the Middle East and elsewhere, the roots of Fiji's modern military are

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in a colonial constabulary established to pacify rebellious groups within the country (Kaplan 2001; Nicole 2006; Teaiwa 2001b). Inevitably, it has been the Fiji military's domestic interventions and subversions of government that have attracted the most international attention and censure. May 14, 2007, marked the twentieth anniversary of the country's first military coup d'état, whereas December 5, 2006, became the occasion for its fourth. Modern militarization and militarism in Fiji have been dynamic processes, and in this chapter I describe some of their gendered and racialized dimensions.[3]

Before proceeding further, however, an explanation of who I am and what my interest in militarization in Fiji is may be in order. Although I am a U.S. citizen by birth, African American by maternal descent, and heir to a militarized genealogy in that three generations of my mother's family served in the U.S. armed forces, my formative years were spent in Fiji, the adopted homeland of my father. My father and his family had been resettled to Fiji after World War II, when he was a child. Despite his not being ethnically indigenous Fijian, my father considers Fiji his home and is fiercely patriotic. I have inherited some of his passion for Fiji and was indelibly marked by growing up in that country during its golden days of early independence from Great Britain (Teaiwa 2004).

I grew up singing the Fiji national anthem—"Blessings grant, oh God of nations, on the isles of Fiji." I grew up proud of the multiculturalism I lived, and I believed the political rhetoric I heard on the radio and read in the newspapers as an alert child. I knew I was a member of a racial and ethnic minority in Fiji, and I knew well the power of social exclusion on the school playground. But I believed I was growing up in an increasingly inclusive Fiji, a nation that would allow all of us who sang the national anthem, played and watched sports together, shared each other's food, celebrated each other's religious holidays, and did all those other "soft multiculturalism" things together, to belong.

This personal background evolved into political, professional, and civic engagements. As a young adult observing the two coups that occurred in Fiji in 1987 (the first in May and the second in September of that year) from a distance resulting from my pursuit of a university education in the United States, my relationship with and perspective on Fiji was inevitably politicized. Over time I found useful frames for analysis in Marxism, indigenous rights discourse, women-of-color feminism, and cultural studies. Although initially I was drawn to a Ph.D. topic on women's resistance to land alienation in my own ethnic community, Fiji became the central case study site for my eventual Ph.D. dissertation on militarism and tourism in the Pacific (Teaiwa 2001b).

While still working on my Ph.D., I elected to leave the United States to return to Fiji for extended fieldwork, during which time I had my first child, joined the academic staff of the University of the South Pacific (USP), and became actively involved in several civic organizations ranging in focus from feminist education to the antinuclear movement, and constitutionality and

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political consensus-building. But after five years at USP, an unforeseen opportunity arose to relocate with my son to New Zealand and take up a position coordinating the Pacific Studies program at Victoria University of Wellington. In the last seven years I have observed two further coups in Fiji from my location here in New Zealand (having had the strange fortune of never being in country for any of the coups). Significant populations of both indigenous and nonindigenous immigrants from Fiji reside in New Zealand, and with only four hours of air travel separating the two countries, the frequency of two-way visits is greatly facilitated.

The combination of my professional, academic, personal, political, and civic attachments to Fiji and my marginal identity location (as a patriotic noncitizen ethnic minority member) has infused my thinking with passion and anxiety, insight and confusion, outrage, and empathy. Like most people in Fiji, I have family members and close friends serving in the military with whom I have maintained social relations. In a way I have found it easier to disagree with and disassociate myself from fellow civilians with opposing political views than to detach myself from my relations in the military. Because soldiers in Fiji are not highly paid, do not have the best working conditions, and have few employment alternatives in any case (Teaiwa 2001b), it is easier for me to sympathize with them, even if I am opposed in principle to militarism.

Furthermore, it has become increasingly apparent to me that my position as an analyst of militarism is not uncompromised, and not just because I have friends and relatives in the military. More disturbingly, I have come to see how aspects of social and cultural life in Fiji, in which I had participated and even enjoyed—the educational system, sports, religion, even performances for tourists—are all implicated in reifying the same values that crystallized in the institution of the military (Teaiwa 2001b). Cynthia Enloe (2000) has described a similar process by which the ostensibly civilian roles of mother, wife, nurse, prostitute, and even an inanimate can of soup can be militarized. Under such conditions, authentic demilitarization requires a radical transformation of social and cultural values—a transformation predicated on understanding and not blind opposition, however principled it may be.

I have continued to research and write about militarization in Fiji and am presently preparing to undertake an oral history project with indigenous Fijian women in the Fiji and British armed forces. This chapter grows out of both my previous and ongoing research. I offer it here in hopes that Fiji may benefit from being brought into a robust dialogue on race, gender, and militarization.

At this writing, Fiji has been under military rule since December 2006, when Commander Frank Bainimarama dismissed elected Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase and his nationalist government and formed an interim government with significant civilian backing. As emergency rule continues there, media freedom and other basic human rights have not been allowed full expression, with

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international concerns raised by reports of torture and several confirmed deaths of civilians in military custody (*Fiji Times* 2007b; V. Lal 2007). At the same time, there are counterreports of citizens testifying their support of the military regime and claiming that Fiji has never been safer for women and Indo-Fijians especially (e.g., Nadan 2007). Needless to say, these contradictory circumstances make research into the military a delicate task at this time.

Key sources for this chapter have necessarily been literature-based: newspaper reports, a 1997 *Defence White Paper,* and secondary scholarship on Fiji have supplemented my own personal observations and insider knowledge of Fiji society and culture. It is understood here that news media cannot be taken as showing a simple or value-free reflection of contemporary events but also are likely to project the views of vested interests, and in this way media may shape social perceptions as much as reflect them. In spite of its limitations, the 1997 *Defence White Paper,* published by the Parliament of Fiji, is the result of the most comprehensive review of the Fiji Military Forces ever. It provides a valuable official account of both military history and policy.

There are few focused secondary studies of Fiji's modern military forces (Halapua 2003; Nawadra 1995; Ravuvu 1988). One publication documents the oral histories of Fijian soldiers exposed to Britain's Pacific nuclear testing campaign at Christmas Island (Pacific Concerns Resource Centre 1999). More scholarly and analytical attention has been given to the background and consequences of the military coups of 1987 than to any other aspect of the military in Fiji (Dean and Ritova 1988; B. Lal 1988; V. Lal 1990; Griffen 1989; Robertson and Tamanisau 1988; Scarr 1988; Sutherland 1992). Little of this 1987 coup literature, however, illuminates the dynamics of militarization in Fiji.

A literature has emerged on the coup of 2000 (Field, Baba, and Nabobo-Baba 2005; Lal and Pretes 2001; Ratuva 2000), and no doubt the coup of 2006 will generate a slew of new publications (Ratuva 2007). A recent master's thesis by Luisa Senibulu (2005) looks at professionalism within the FMF and provides summaries of interviews with senior military officers, all of whom profess a firm belief in the responsibility of the military to keep its distance from parliamentary politics—ironic in that they all gave their full support to the 2006 coup. In this context of professionalization, Senibulu's thesis offers occasional insights into the limits and possibilities for women in the Fiji military but says nothing about the implications for Indo-Fijians.

Much of the literature reinscribes cultural biases and political prejudices without questioning them. And as the preponderance of coup-focused literature suggests, analyses of militarism in Fiji have been skewed more toward dramatic events than deep structures. Halapua's work initiated the critical task of identifying and closely interrogating some of the collusions among the Methodist church, the indigenous chiefly system, and the military hierarchy in Fiji (Halapua 2003), but there is yet more work to be done to illuminate the likely trajectory of militarized developments in Fiji. This chapter contributes to the field of Fiji

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military studies most significantly by attempting an unprecedented consideration of the histories of both women and "Indians" in the Fiji military.

Fiji as a Militarized Society

Statistics from Fiji indicate that in 2000, a total of 3,163 servicemen and women were enlisted in the regular armed forces. Of that total, 3,131 or 98.98 percent were male. Of the 32 women in the regular forces in 2000, all of them were recorded as being of indigenous descent. Only 14 of the men or 0.44 percent were not indigenous: 12 were Indo-Fijian, and 2 were categorized as "other" (Fiji Bureau of Statistics 2006). Given this gendered and ethnic profile of the Fiji military, it is safe to deduce that the institution's inferred alterities are either or both nonindigenous and female. However, the military's official policy of targeted and timetabled recruitment of women since 1988, without a comparable target or timetable for recruiting nonindigenous men, indicates a significant asymmetry between "race" and gender, at least as far as the culture of the Fiji military forces is concerned. Under conditions of militarization, "race" thus seems to subsume gender for indigenous Fijians, whereas gender, or more specifically masculinity, is not able to similarly subsume "race" for the nonindigenous.

These figures and disaggregations provided by the Bureau of Statistics may be based on blurred categories of ethnicity, resulting in the inclusion of Rotumans and part Europeans in the figures for Fijians.[4] In any case, the level of formal militarization in Fiji cannot be judged based on the size of the country's regular forces alone. Unfortunately, figures for territorial and reserve forces are not easily accessible, although they probably contribute to between 1,000 and 3,000 additional personnel, with the predominant number of them again likely indigenous men.

The military is an institution with a high public profile in Fiji. On the basis of my current research on media coverage during the immediate first postcoup period of 1987–1988, I find that military-related images and reportage occurred daily. In a survey of Fiji's daily newspapers conducted during the postcoup years of 1995 and 1996, I found that publication of military-related images and reportage occurred no less than once a week (Teaiwa 2001b). I have no doubt that analyses of the immediate postcoup and intercoup periods of this century will show similar patterns of Fijian media coverage of the military. The institution had evidently become normalized in Fiji society. The military is expected to cast a shadow or leave an impression, if not always appearing in full color or three dimensions in every day life.

The shadow or impression that the media provide reflects the statistical demographics: the Fiji military is dominated by indigenous Fijian men; when enlisted women or female officers are portrayed, it seems done for its curiosity value; and Indo-Fijian men are rarely featured in news coverage. It is entirely possible that simply by browsing the Fijian daily newspapers, one could come away

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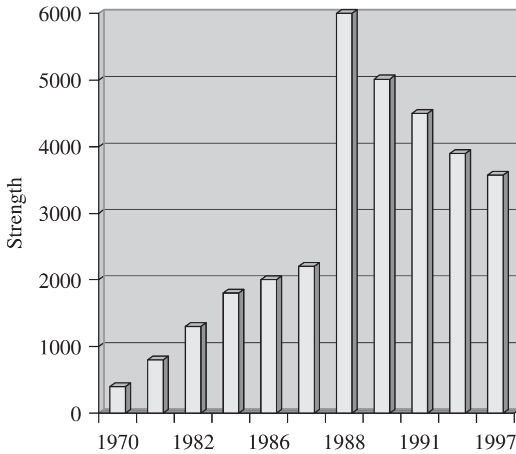

FIGURE 7.1 Fiji Military Forces Development since 1970.
Source: Fiji Parliament 1997, 96.

with the idea that the militarization of Fiji is tautologically attributable to the presence, size, and activities of the Fiji military.

Fiji's military reached its largest size during World War II. Although an official history estimates that more than 11,000 males passed through the military during the war, the peak of enlistment saw a total of 8,513 in the Fijian armed forces. Of these, 1,070 were local Europeans, 6,371 were indigenous Fijians, 808 were New Zealanders, and 264 Indians (Howlett 1948, 149). With the return to peacetime, most soldiers returned to civilian life, and the military ceased its efforts at recruitment. By 1970, the year of Fiji's independence from Great Britain, the number in Fiji's regular forces stood at 400 (fig. 7.1).

The leaders of the newly independent and developing nation, however, sought economic opportunities for its citizens—especially the indigenous population, whose members had been "protected" under British colonial rule from commercial activity (Nicole 2006). In the 1970s, circumstances on the global scene seemed to provide a new opportunity for the employment of indigenous Fijians and a valuable source of foreign revenue for Fiji: the United Nations required international peacekeeping forces to support multilateral attempts to stabilize the Middle East. Because Fijians had distinguished themselves in service during World War II and had demonstrated their commitment to dominant British and American ideas of a "free world" in their contributions to the anticommunist Malaya campaign of the 1950s, they were approached by the UN as a reliable and capable force.

Fiji's engagements in peacekeeping in the Middle East thus led to a gradual increase in its armed forces again. When the first contingent of Fijian peacekeepers was deployed to Lebanon in 1978, the regular forces had grown to a total of 1,300. According to the *Defence White Paper* of 1997, 120 men were dispatched per month (for each of eleven months of the year) for service in the Middle East. Each tour of duty was a year long. In subsequent years, as the UN's peacekeeping

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requirements in the Middle East expanded, Fiji forces were also posted to the Sinai beginning in 1982 (Fiji Parliament 1997, 97). By 1986, and after a fairly steady pattern of growth, the Royal Fiji Military Forces had reached 2,200 in size.[5] Then in 1987 there was a dramatic spike, with the number of regular forces rising meteorically to 6,000. The year 1987 also saw Fiji's first two military coups, and understandably the military came to be perceived by many as a threat to democratic society. In the decade after the 1987 coups, the force was gradually reduced in size until it reached its present numbers.

The 1997 level represented in the last bar on the graph in figure 7.1 seems, by official reckonings, not to have changed significantly since then—even though there have been two more military coups. A constitutional review conducted during 1995–1996 offered the opportunity of reconsidering the role of the military in Fiji's democratic future, but the final report of the Constitutional Review Commission did not take up that challenge (Reeves, Vakatora, and Lal 1996). In May 2000, a civilian-led coup, during which members of the Labour coalition cabinet were held hostage for fifty-two days, received armed support from FMF personnel—specifically, breakaway members of the Counter Revolutionary Warfare (CRW) unit. The military eventually gained control of the situation and arrested the coup makers, but the split within military ranks illustrated by the CRW members' participation in the coup led to an attempted mutiny against the commander and the loss of eleven lives in November that year (Field, Baba, and Nabobo-Baba 2005; Lal and Pretes 2001).

The civilian government put into place by the military subsequently gained legitimacy and then a critical degree of independence from the military through an electoral victory in 2001. The government's unwillingness to prosecute or alienate key participants in the 2000 coup and mutiny led to a growing alienation between the prime minister and the commander of the FMF, with regular threats by the prime minister, Laisenia Qarase, to replace the commander and reduce the military budget (Field 2006; Field, Baba, Nabobo-Baba 2005). A further insult to the FMF came when the prime minister established a national security council in which the military was not invited to participate.

In 2006, with the government's introduction of controversial bills on "reconciliation and national unity" (a euphemism for immunity from prosecution for the 2000 coup makers) and indigenous fishing rights, government and military relations in Fiji had reached such a low that the government of New Zealand was compelled to step in to mediate the developing conflict. The prime minister and commander held talks in the capital of New Zealand, Wellington, facilitated by the governor general of New Zealand (Judge Anand Satyanand, the New Zealand–born son of Indo-Fijian migrants) and the New Zealand minister of foreign affairs (Winston Peters, a New Zealand Maori). However, within a few weeks of the talks, on December 6, 2006, the commander had made good on his threat to remove the prime minister and his government in what has been described as Fiji's first antinationalist coup (Ratuva 2007).

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The impact of militarization on the modern history of Fiji is indisputable, but further studies of the military and the specific articulations of an FMF culture are necessary to appreciate the peculiar dynamics of militarization in Fiji. I do not have space here to examine the institutionalization of indigenous cultural norms and religion in the FMF (see Halapua 2003), nor the social and psychological impacts of international peacekeeping on returned soldiers. In writing elsewhere about the phenomenon of former military officers being appointed to key civilian public service roles in postcoup administrations, I have questioned, as Enloe suggests, whether this action can be reliably read as a civilianizing of the military or, in fact, as the militarization of civilian life (Enloe 1990; Teaiwa 2001b).

Suffice to say, militarization offers complex and troubling challenges for understanding contemporary Fiji. Absent opportunities to study the FMF from the inside, we must examine it at its borders. Indo-Fijians and women are the ostensible "others" for this profoundly male and indigenous institution. By surveying the extent to which the military is prepared and able to include and exclude key groups in society, we may find that what emerges is a mirror image of ways in which those same groups are prepared to include and exclude the military from their respective visions of a good society.

On "Indians": Military Inclusions and Exclusions

According to Vijay Naidu, "the predominance in the army of members of one ethnic category who are closely affiliated to the chiefly hierarchy that wields political power is a matter of concern. There is something immoral and sinister about the arming and training of one ethnic category in a multi-ethnic community" (1986, 13–14). A drastic underrepresentation of a major ethnic group in the nation-state's armed forces is also a matter of grave concern. In 2006, according to official estimates, 0.38 percent of the FMF were of Indo-Fijian descent, and all were males. Such an imbalance in ethnic representation is all the more disconcerting when one takes into account that approximately 40 percent of Fiji's unarmed police force is made up of Indo-Fijians (Fiji Parliament 1997, 73). Although a comparative analysis of racialized or ethnic politics of inclusion and exclusion in Fiji's police and military is beyond the scope of this chapter, I suggest that part of the reason for the disparity between the two institutions can be explained by the histories of Indians in Fiji and their relations with Fiji military forces.

Indo-Fijian identity emerges from a fusion of East Indian and Fijian histories and cultures. Between 1879 and 1916, the British colonial government in Fiji imported approximately 61,000 indentured laborers from the Indian subcontinent to work on white settler–owned plantations. The *girmitiyas* were a diverse group of northern and southern Indians, Muslims and Hindus, of different caste origins. *Girmitiyas* were offered the opportunity of repatriation at the end of their term of indenture, but the majority chose to stay on in Fiji, many of them taking up agricultural land leases to continue working in the sugar industry. The need

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for Indian workers had been determined by a colonial policy explicitly aimed at protecting the native population from the ravages of modernization and the corrupting influences of a waged system of labor (B. Lal 1983). *Girmitiyas*, as waged laborers, on the other hand, were by definition paid for their labor, and of course were by and large well aware of the need for thrift and financial prudence as they planned for lives after indenture. Sadly, these fine traits would eventually come to be held against them by both their European colonizers and the indigenous population.

The British fostered a climate of racialized suspicion between their two subject groups, which future unscrupulous leaders would readily exploit in an independent Fiji (Dean and Ritova 1988; B. Lal 1988). Although the majority of Indo-Fijians are descendants of indentured laborers, Gujarati and Punjabi free migrants came to Fiji in the postindenture period. Resentment by indigenous Fijians of "Indian wealth" is often based on their perceptions of Gujarati merchant activity (B. Lal 1988); they erroneously generalize, on the basis of "race," what in effect needs to be understood as the product of the economic histories of distinct migrant groups. The diversity contained tenuously by the label "Indo-Fijian" must be kept in mind when investigating that community's relationship with the FMF.

The origins of the modern Fiji military forces lie in a colonial armed constabulary that was initially established not to defend against external threats but to pacify and domesticate the indigenous hill tribes, which had not been party to the negotiated Deed of Cession by the coastal chiefs, a process that continued well into the twentieth century (Kaplan 2001; Nicole 2006). This history is worth remembering because it is too easy to see Indo-Fijians as primary "other" to an institution such as the military, so overwhelmingly indigenous in membership and character. Nevertheless, Indo-Fijians were eventually brought into the military's line of fire when it was mobilized to put down the industrial actions of Indo-Fijian workers in the 1920s and 1940s.

Indo-Fijians have not uniformly been positioned as the "other" in relation to the military, however. As most colonial histories demonstrate, specific individuals and communities may have a particular interest in cooperating or collaborating with colonial authorities. In an exchange on the on-line "Great War Forum," New Zealand genealogist Christine Liava'a refers to a soldier from Fiji, one W. Rajah Gopaul Naidu, who served in "Basra, Mesopotamia" in 1919 as an Indian translator for the British Indian Army's 1st King George's Own Sappers and Miners, and 2nd Queen Victoria's Own Madras Sappers and Miners (Liava'a 2006). Fijian scholar Asesela Ravuvu notes that an Indo-Fijian platoon had been formed in 1934 but provides no further details on it (Ravuvu 1988, 8–9). Inexplicably, Indo-Fijian scholars routinely fail to highlight the significance of this historical legacy in their analyses of postcoup politics (e.g., B. Lal 1988; V. Lal 1990). Eventually, as previously mentioned, 264 Indo-Fijians were recorded as having served during World War II (Howlett 1948, 159). The full nature of their

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participation is not easily assessed from the secondary sources, but Howlett provided some insight when he described the Reserve Motor Transport unit as composed entirely of Indians except for the officers, who were of course European.

Among the "Honours and Awards" listed in Howlett's official history of the FMF in World War II, there was only one Indo-Fijian, a staff sergeant Manzoor Beg from the Fiji Medical Corps, who earned a Mention in Dispatches. This stands in contrast to the numerous honors and awards for Fijians, who earned an impressive 2 Foreign Awards (both from the United States), 24 Mentions in Dispatches, 3 Medals of the Order of British Empire (OBE), 16 Military Medals, 1 Victoria Cross, 1 Member of the OBE, 2 Military Crosses, and 4 Distinguished Conduct Medals (Howlett 1948, 155). Given the numbers of enlisted Indo-Fijians relative to Fijians (Howlett 1948, 159), the lack of medals presented to Indo-Fijians is understandable. However, military honors and awards are used to affirm not only military skill and valor but a combined ideal of masculinity and citizenship. The lack of medals earned by Indo-Fijians in World War II could be used to impugn the ethnic group as inherently disloyal to the crown (prior to independence in 1970) and, by default, of questionable loyalty to the independent state. In such scenarios, it becomes easy to justify excluding Indo-Fijians from full citizenship rights in Fiji.

In popular discourse, the terms of Indo-Fijians' inclusion or exclusion from the Fiji military have historically revolved around two questions: appropriate remuneration and necessary masculine attributes for military service. During World War II, Indo-Fijian community leaders condemned the graduated pay rate that saw Indo-Fijian and indigenous Fijian servicemen paid at a lower rate than Europeans, which perhaps explains the low levels of Indo-Fijian enlistment during the war. Unfortunately, the matter has been popularly interpreted by members of other communities in Fiji as an excessive (and typically "Indian") interest in money rather than as a worthy stand on the principles of racial equality (Ravuvu 1988, 16; Fiji Parliament 1997, 10, 73).

Fijians' (and indeed, Europeans' and other Pacific Islanders') assumptions about the "racial" character or cultural heritage of Indo-Fijians have tended to take essentialist turns, as the dismissal in the postwar period of Indo-Fijian males' physical suitability for soldiering demonstrates: "During the recruitment for the Malayan Campaign in 1951 a number of Indians volunteered but were not accepted because it was alleged they had inadequate 'soldierly qualities' for jungle warfare" (Ravuvu 1988, 10). In Fiji's colloquial terms, Indo-Fijians are often disparaged as "kai Idia, skinny malila"—a comment formed by the perception that Indo-Fijians' physical frames tend to be not as robust as those of indigenous Fijians and other Pacific Islanders. Ravuvu's reference to Indo-Fijian volunteers as not having adequate "soldierly qualities" for jungle welfare tells us more about racialized perceptions in Fiji than it does about the actual attributes of those volunteers. The *Defence White Paper* also makes ambiguous reference to an official attempt in 1968 to recruit Indo-Fijian men for officer training: "The product of this policy was a number of Indian officers who served the RFMF well in various

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capacities but whose service did not bring them to top rank or long service with the regular forces" (Fiji Parliament 1997, 72).

Indeed, whether the derision is overt or subtle, such complacency about Indo-Fijian representation in the FMF flies in the face of the rich military history of the Indian Subcontinent. Indians (as opposed to Indo-Fijians) served with distinction in both World War I and World War II (Indian Army n.d.). There is no explicit recognition of this distinction and no consideration in the literature of what India's proud military history means for understanding the Indo-Fijian position vis-à-vis the Fiji military, but the Fiji government has in fact had limited although significant exchanges with the Indian Army during the postcolonial period. In the late 1970s, the FMF engaged in training exercises and exchanges with the elite Gurkha forces of the British Army. As a schoolgirl growing up in the Fijian town of Lautoka during 1976–1979, I vividly recall Gurkha and FMF units marching and jogging through the suburban streets while on training exercises. Public awareness in Fiji of the strong military heritage of Indians also results from the fact that the key actor in the coups of 1987, Sitiveni Rabuka, is widely known to have received his master's degree in defence studies from the Indian Armed Forces Staff College in Tamil Nadu, India (Sharpham 2000, 65–66). Strangely, the *Defense White Paper* acknowledges neither Fiji's official defense exchanges with India nor the martial history of Indians (Fiji Parliament 1997, 37).

Space limitations prevent me from tracing in more detail the ways in which Indo-Fijians have been included in and excluded from the FMF. If further evidence is needed, I can only gesture with one hand toward the overarching postcoups trajectory that has seen Indo-Fijian academics and businessmen become targets of military surveillance and violence in 1987, to Commander Frank Bainimarama's appointment of Fiji's first Indo-Fijian prime minister Mahendra Chaudry (deposed by nationalists in the 2000 coup) to the current interim government cabinet in the pivotal role of minister of finance. With my other hand, I point to the remarkably unsensationalized media reporting around an Indo-Fijian soldier's murder of an indigenous Fijian fellow soldier in 2000 (Field, Baba, and Nabobo-Baba 2005, 243) and the fact that in 2005, the top military lawyer was Lieutenant Colonel Mohammed Aziz, an Indo-Fijian male who had received his law training in Australia with FMF sponsorship (Senibulu 2005, 74).

Mine has been a preliminary account of a previously unsynthesized history, but I hope I have demonstrated sufficiently that the historical relationship between Indo-Fijians and the Fiji military has been marked by both deliberate and unreflexive acts of inclusion and exclusion. Although "race" or racialized perceptions and assumptions have been a crucial factor in explaining or justifying the military's exclusions of Indo-Fijians, they are patently insufficient for explaining any successful inclusive engagements of "Indians" or Indo-Fijians by the FMF. Furthermore, in light of Indo-Fijian acknowledgments in the postcoups era that they need to more publicly prove their patriotism and worthiness,[6] the

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significance of the continued—even if apolitical—withholding of Indo-Fijian labor from military service cannot be underestimated.

On Women: Military Inclusions and Exclusions

Recall for a moment that Fiji's military strength was at an all-time high during World War II, and allow world history to remind us that women were assigned roles as both enlisted nurses and members of the auxiliary forces, especially in the Allied efforts (Nathan 2004). But in the official postwar history of the Fiji Military Forces, the only acknowledgment of women's role in Fiji's World War II efforts came in a cursory noting of the presence of the New Zealand Women's Army Auxiliary Corps and a glowing description of the large canteen set up at the "old Government Buildings to provide recreation and light refreshment for troops on leave. This canteen, most ably managed by Lady Adi Maria, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, and a party of Fijian girls, proved a great success and was an immense boon to troops on leave with no homes in Suva" (Howlett 1948, 40, 267). Fiji's women were clearly not expected to play much of a role in World War II other than keeping the home—and canteen—fires burning.[7]

Women were first admitted into Fiji's modern armed forces in 1988, when the Republic of Fiji Military Forces (RFMF) was eager to restore its credibility on the world scene after carrying out two unprecedented military coups in 1987. A classified advertisement in the January 14 edition of Fiji's premier daily newspaper, the *Fiji Times,* offered "Officer Training for Young Women in the Fiji Military Forces" (*Fiji Times* 1988a, 1988e). By February 1, the newspaper was able to publish a complete list of 227 successful applicants for military selection, and among the names were those of forty-one women (*Fiji Times* 1988d). After three months of training, on April 1, 1988, in what was clearly not an April Fool's prank, forty-one women marched in the Fiji Military Forces convocation parade (*Fiji Times* 1988c; Ravu 1988).[8]

In 1999, when I invited four women serving in the Fiji military to speak to the only women's studies course offered at the University of the South Pacific, they reported that of the original number of women recruited in 1988, only twenty-two chose to stay on in the military, and only six of them had actually been made officers (Kau et al. 1999). According to the women on the panel, there were two main reasons for the Fiji Military Forces' decision to admit women in 1988. Captain Kau suggested, and this was corroborated in the *Defence White Paper* (Fiji Parliament 1997), that women were intended to replace men in administrative duties at headquarters, thereby freeing up men for deployment in the postcoup recovery period. Lieutenant Ana Rokomokoti referred to the pressure of international trends in providing women equal employment opportunities: "If you don't have women in the army, there's something wrong with the army" (Kau et al. 1999). Additional intakes of women into Fiji's regular forces did not recur until

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1998–1999, when only two women were recruited, and then again in 2006 and 2007. The latest official figure of a total of thirty-two women in the regular forces does not account for these recent recruitments. Informal inquiries have provided the estimate that in early 2007 there were between eighty and ninety women in the Fiji Military Forces. In 2003 and 2007, women were among Fiji troops deployed to serve with UNAMI.

To date, there has been no focused scholarship on or analysis of women's experiences in Fiji's military, but occasional insights are gained from more general studies of the Fiji military or journalistic features. In Luisa Senibulu's master's thesis on professionalism in the Fiji military, she cites a *Daily Post* article claiming that "service women share the belief that even though the army is a great job and provides great benefits, a woman in the army will not climb the ranks if she does not have a specialized skill" (Senibulu 2005, 60, citing the *Daily Post,* Jan. 1, 2003). To illustrate this point, Senibulu provided the examples of Captain Karalaini Serevi, an army dietician; Staff Sergeant Karolina Vunibaka, a physiotherapist; Sergeant Raisili, a dental therapist; Major Kau, a dentist; and Major Davina Chan and Captain Samanunu Vaniqi, both commissioned lawyers for the army (2005, 59–60).

Debates about women in combat that have pervaded public discourse in nations such as the United States and Great Britain have not come to the fore in Fiji's public life (see BBC News 2000; Katzenstein and Reppy 1999), in part because the Fiji Military Forces have not engaged in overt combat since the Malaya campaign. But the *Defence White Paper* clearly took its cue from international practice at the time, stating that "servicewomen should not be employed in combat type postings such as the infantry battalion and the anti-terrorist unit (this restriction is common to most armies)" (Fiji Parliament 1997, 75). However, with the core force and peacekeeping force balanced at about 41 percent and 39 percent, respectively (Senibulu 2005, 45), women's role in peacekeeping duties, which was officially sanctioned in 1995, remains unexamined in the literature.[9] I hope to begin to fill this gap with ongoing research, and return to consider Fiji's official position on women in peacekeeping shortly.

The military institutions of Fiji, dominated as they are by men, retain a distinctly conservative analysis of gender issues in the military. The *Defence White Paper* notes that initial reluctance to enlist servicewomen "was based not so much on prejudice as on the expense of providing special accommodation and clothing for females" (Fiji Parliament 1997, 74). Similar reasons were given for preventing women from serving on patrol vessels (75). Insisting that "no great allowances" were made for the first female recruits in terms of field and physical training, the report also refers to the

> high proportion of the servicewomen [who] have married, many of them to servicemen; therein lay several problems for which the RFMF had to make new policies, namely maternity leave . . . and husbands and their

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> wives serving within the same formal chain of command which introduced difficulties (though not insoluble ones) into the military legal and command system. (75)

Finally, in regard to women participating in international peacekeeping missions, the *Defence White Paper* explains that

> Until 1995 servicewomen were not sent . . . overseas. This was not because they had no value there but because of the element of operational danger involved. Further because servicewomen in such employment, being vastly outnumbered by men of many nationalities, tend to be subjected to continual sexual pressure. In addition because they often are called on to work on combined national staffs away from the support of their countrymen, such pressure can prove intolerable. (74)

Such concerns for preserving the sexual propriety and dignity of servicewomen, protestations about the logistical inconvenience of separate facilities for women, and distinct policies for married and pregnant women emerge from patriarchal values and androcentric inertia. Clearly, the inclusion of women in Fiji's military was never intended to be about achieving gender parity or full equality for women in the military.

While gender becomes an obvious matter for consideration when it comes to women in the military, "race" intersects with gender in significant ways. In that first intake of forty-one women in 1988, three of them bore identifiably Indian last names,[10] and one each had an identifiably European, Rotuman, or Chinese last name (*Fiji Times* 1988b). The 2006 Bureau of Statistics report states that all thirty-two servicewomen at the time were indigenous Fijian women,[11] but this information cannot be treated with complete confidence—as I showed earlier, the ethnicity figures for males are arguable. Yet what the figure suggests is that for whatever reason, the few women of racial or ethnic minority communities in Fiji who initially had signed up for military service in 1988 found that the military no longer fulfilled their career or personal aspirations. The majority of women in the Fiji military, like the majority of men, are thus indigenous Fijians, and this incidence puts servicewomen in an interesting position in relation to the phenomenon of women's rights organizing and feminist consciousness-raising in Fiji, which perhaps coincidentally has risen along a parallel timeline.

Conclusion: "Race," Gender, and Militarism in Fiji

What the record on inclusive and exclusive militarization in Fiji seems to show is that "race" is read primarily as masculine (i.e., Indo-Fijians in the military will be male), and gender is assumed to be "raced" (i.e., women in the military will be indigenous Fijian). Put another way, in a situation in which practically all the soldiers are indigenous Fijian males, "race" thus seems to subsume gender for

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indigenous Fijians, whereas gender, or more specifically, masculinity, is not able to similarly subsume "race" for Indo-Fijian males.

Inasmuch as the discussion in this chapter of "race" and gender in Fiji's military has demonstrated that the inclusion and exclusion of "once despised groups"—women and "Indians"—have not been uniform, it is useful to close with reflections on the context of feminism in Fiji. The postindependence feminist and women's rights movement in Fiji has by necessity been a "multiracial," "multiethnic," multicultural project.[12] This diversity makes a feminist lens useful for understanding the topic at hand, enhancing the sort of bifocal approach that would continue to separate perspectives on "race" from ones on gender. In particular, a feminist lens draws into clearer view a group that so far has been even more marginalized than the (indigenous Fijian) women and the (male) "Indians" who have preoccupied most of this chapter: nonindigenous women.

Women's activism and awareness of women's rights issues have grown in Fiji since the 1975 UN International Decade for Women.[13] Within little over a decade, both the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre and the Fiji Women's Rights Movement were formally established as nongovernmental organizations dedicated to critiquing gender inequalities and achieving positive social change for women. Although there was certainly critical engagement by indigenous Fijian women with emerging feminist ideas, nonindigenous women were most visible in this early consciousness-raising phase and have continued to play prominent roles as advocates for women's and human rights in more recent times.[14] Indo-Fijian women in particular, situated as they are at crucial intersections of "race" and gender in Fiji, have risen to prominence in the Fiji women's movement.[15]

The FMF's initial move to recruit women in 1988 and its ongoing efforts in this area are, quite simply, no mere coincidence. Rather, whether by conscious or intuitive design, the FMF has been able to co-opt the feminist agenda by providing proto-feminist career opportunities for indigenous Fijian women. Before the two 1987 coups, the government had made no significant policy statements or major budgetary commitments to women's development outside of traditionally female occupations. But in 1988, struggling to regain international respect, the postcoup interim government established for the first time a full-fledged Ministry of Women, with a cabinet portfolio, and opened the doors of the military to women.

Fiji feminists were aware in 1988 of this possible co-optation. When the longest-publishing daily, the *Fiji Times*, ran an editorial on International Women's Day crediting the first 1987 coup with ushering in a new, enlightened era for women in Fiji (*Fiji Times* 1988b), a group of Fiji's pioneering feminists responded:

> Far from improving the lot of women in Fiji, on the contrary the coup and its side effects have raised the level of tension within families often to the point of physical abuse and made poverty a frightening reality. Women have little to thank the coup for.

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> The statement is . . . an insult to all the women of Fiji who have worked for women's rights for many years. Only time will tell if the creation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs will improve women's status in Fiji, as in many countries a Ministry of Women's Affairs has been created merely as a token gesture to appease the women of the country. (Tuidomo, Ali, and Moore 1988)

Rooted as they were in independent and community-based initiatives, Fiji feminists were rightfully suspicious of governmental moves to institutionalize and bureaucratize a process for women's development. Yet my research has failed to turn up any public statements by the women's rights activists of the time on which they either lobbied for allowing women into the military or congratulated the government on its foresight. The feminist silence in Fiji around women soldiers can be seen then as counterpoint to the historical fact that Indo-Fijians have never publicly lobbied to have the number of women in military service increased. This feature of militarization in Fiji needs to be understood better, because I believe it may contain the seeds of visions of an unmilitarized or demilitarized nation-state.

Fiji women's rights organizations work with and against the military in complex ways. The Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM) and the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (FWCC) have protested against each coup since 1987, and more women and NGOs have emerged with similar pro-democracy standpoints. Let me sketch most inadequately the role of Indo-Fijian women in this area: FWRM's Imrana Jalal was among seventeen pro-democracy activists arrested in 1988 for protesting on the anniversary of the first coup (Griffen 1997), femLink Fiji's Sharon Bhagwan Rolls was a key leader of the women's blue ribbon campaign and peace vigil during the coup and hostage crisis of 2000, and FWCC's Shamima Ali has been an outspoken critic of all of the coups. The FWCC under Ali's leadership was pivotal in the period between the 1987 and 2006 coups in brokering dialogue with the FMF on issues of domestic violence and HIV/AIDS. The inroads made by the FWCC are perhaps exemplified by the gender-sensitivity workshops it was commissioned to run for the military before the most recent coup disrupted relations between government and NGOs. As outsiders to the military, women—and Indo-Fijian women prominent among them—have come to the fore both as peace and democracy advocates and as reformers or educators for the military. The complex context for "race," gender, and militarization in Fiji demands further description and analysis. What will my audience, so far away from Fiji, make of all of this?

In the United States, where discrimination in the military on the basis of race, gender, religion, or sexuality has by no means been resolved (Enloe 2000; Katzenstein and Reppy 1999), it may be difficult to appreciate the context in which women and Indo-Fijians find themselves in relation to the FMF. In addition, given the persistent and dramatic marginalization of ethnic minorities in the FMF, it may seem pointless to draw comparisons with the U.S. Armed Forces,

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where ethnic minorities, unlike women, and religious or sexual minorities, are in fact overrepresented (Kane 2005). Furthermore, what may be even more opaque for the U.S.-based audience of this book is the lack of activism or community mobilization around issues of representation for women and Indo-Fijians in the Fiji military. Nevertheless, I hope this chapter has helped stimulate some critical reflection on the following questions: In what circumstances might ethnicity, "race," gender, and militarization intersect in universal ways, and under what conditions might we find their intersections so historically and culturally specific as to defy generalization?

As I argued at the beginning of this chapter, the contemporary militarization of Fiji is closely bound up with economic and political processes (what some would describe as globalization) determined by the governments of nations and of people who may be unaware of their effects on others. As Cynthia Enloe has reminded us, a persistent stream of thought promotes the idea that military institutions can be democratized if they would only more closely reflect the demography and diversity of wider society within their ranks (Enloe 2000, 16).[16] I hope that what I have shared of the story of women and Indo-Fijians in militarized Fiji will help strengthen in others the resolve to question such a proposition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My sincerest thanks go to Barbara Sutton for inviting me to contribute to this exciting volume and for patiently encouraging me to finish my chapter. Thanks also to Judith Raiskin and all her colleagues at the Center for the Study of Women in Society at the University of Oregon for so warmly hosting me and providing the initial opportunity to air the ideas contained in this chapter as part of their Carlton Raymond and Wilberta Ripley Savage International Studies and Peace seminar series in 2006. Rachel Yates, a promising undergraduate student at Victoria University of Wellington, has ably assisted me with archival newspaper research and provided me with valuable feedback on theoretical and conceptual approaches to my continuing research on militarism in Fiji. My mother, Joan Martin Teaiwa, is my unpaid research assistant extraordinaire, who vigilantly looks out for and shares with me all the contemporary reporting and images of the Fiji military and women soldiers that she finds. A scoping visit to Fiji in the early postcoup period of 2007 was made possible by a grant from the Victoria University of Wellington University Research Fund. My enduring gratitude goes out to my husband Sean for enthusiastically supporting my interest in militarism and feminism—it is always a joy to be able to celebrate the completion of a major piece of writing with Sean and our sons, Manoa and Vaitoa. Finally, I pay my respects to the pioneering feminists and women's rights activists of Fiji, and all the young women of Fiji who, from 1988 to the present, have taken up the challenge of a military career. My work here cannot do justice to the courageousness of theirs, but I hope this chapter will inspire others to want to learn more and perhaps publish their own accounts. I accept full responsibility for any errors of fact or other failings in this chapter.

NOTES

1. It is tempting to describe Fiji as an ethnically diverse society. However, in the context of other South Pacific nations such as Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu,

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which may seem to be racially homogenous but in fact are extremely diverse ethnically (e.g., Papua New Guinea has over 800 distinct language groups among its six million citizens), it is more appropriate to distinguish Fiji as having a "racially" diverse population. In this chapter, quotation marks are used around the words "race" and "racially" because the whole concept of race as a biological fact has been contested by scientists and scholars for some time, but these words are the only ones adequate at the moment to describe the particular diversity of Fiji's population.

2. In 1995 the size of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force (PNGDF) was 3,800, only slightly larger than Fiji's during the same period (New Internationalist 1998). With the 2005 estimate, it becomes clear that with a regular force more than six times smaller than Papua New Guinea's, Fiji has the highest per capita ratio of military to civilian population among independent nations of the Pacific Islands region.
3. In postindependence Fiji, colloquial discourse utilized the terms of race. Indigenous Fijians, "Indians," and "others" were described as "races" or "racial" groups, and Fiji was touted as an ideal of "multiracialism." After the 1987 coups, a discourse of ethnicity came to replace the one of race both within ordinary conversation and within the language of government. Postcoup Fiji saw the establishment of the Department of Multiethnic Affairs, which replaced the precoup Ministry of Indian Affairs and combined the concerns of the large minority population of Indo-Fijians with those of smaller minority groups such as the Chinese, Europeans, Melanesians, Micronesians, part Europeans, and others.
4. It was in fact surprising to see only two "others" accounted for in the statistics, as I could from personal acquaintance identify several more "other" males in the Fiji military at the time.
5. While Fiji was still a member of the British Commonwealth, the force was known as the Royal Fiji Military Forces or RFMF. After the first coup of 1987, when Fiji was expelled from the Commonwealth, the name was changed to the Republic of Fiji Military Forces, retaining the same acronym. After elections in 1992, when Fiji was once again able to return to the Commonwealth fold, the *R* was dropped altogether, and the institution called simply, the Fiji Military Forces or FMF. Fiji society has a penchant for acronyms, and many institutions, from schools (RKS, QVS, SJSS, MBHS) to churches (AG, SDA, LDS) and corporate entities (CML, NBF, MPI), are known by their abbreviations. The FMF shares its letters with Flour Mills of Fiji, which advertises itself by its acronym as well, although in lower case (i.e., fmf).
6. See Teaiwa (2001b) for a discussion of the militarized construction of rugby as the national game of Fiji, and its parallel domination by indigenous Fijian men. There have been no Indo-Fijian rugby players of note at the national level. After the Constitution Review of 1995–1996, as Fiji seemed to be moving toward a new era or "race" conciliation, an Indo-Fijian rugby league was formed with the stated purpose of breeding loyal Indo-Fijian rugby warriors for the nation. This initiative has yet to bear fruit, but in the meantime, Indo-Fijians have thrown their full support behind the national rugby team both at the level of the individual fan and as corporate sponsors. Some of Fiji's most well-known Indo-Fijian-owned businesses have begun to make sizable investments in indigenous Fijian and Pacific Islander rugby development. The best example is Punja's sponsorship of the (Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa) Pacific Islanders rugby team in 2004.
7. Growing up in Fiji, I was aware from an early age of a particularly close relationship between soldiers and (civilian) nurses. It was thought that the two professions were highly compatible on a social scale, and members of each profession considered the

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other desirable life partners. This was manifested in the fraternizing that took place around regularly sponsored dance parties and socials and was evidenced in the significant number of married households made up of soldiers and nurses. In Enloe's terms (2000), the nurse's role becomes militarized as consensual sexual partner or wife for the soldier. A more specific and customarily informed role for women in relation to the military surrounds the practice of launching or blessing the vessels in Fiji's small naval fleet with a Fijian ritual known as *cere*. This ceremony involves older or married Fijian women charging boisterously around the vessel with reams of cloth billowing at their sides. The last reported performance of *cere* took place in 1995 (Teaiwa 2001b, 2005).

8. The newspaper reports that 45 women were accepted for officer training but only 41 completed the course (*Fiji Times* 1988c; Ravu 1988, 8). The figure of 45 does not match the list of 41 names published in the *Fiji Times* (1988d) and the 42 reported verbally by Fiji women in the military in 1997 (Kau et al. 1999). The discrepancies will have to be followed up with research into official military records.
9. The remaining 20 percent of the military constituted a so-called nation-building force (Senibulu 2005, 45). One female officer was posted on a six-month tour of peacekeeping duties to the Sinai in 1995. Another female officer replaced her, and a further one was scheduled to replace her in 1996 (Fiji 1997, 75).
10. Two of these, however, were personally known to me as women of mixed Tongan and Indo-Fijian heritage.
11. It is possible that Major Davina Chan, to whom Senibulu refers in her thesis, was awarded her officer's commission by the army after the Bureau of Statistics data were compiled (Senibulu 2005, 59).
12. From the 1970s onward, there has been a lingering discomfort around the term *feminist* in Fiji women's organizations (e.g., V. Griffen 1989).
13. There has been no feminist revision of Fiji's history to date, and no major survey of contemporary developments in the Fiji women's movement. Amratlal et al. (1975), Gokal (1978), and V. Griffen (1989) are exemplary of early attempts at raising awareness about women's issues and profiling women leaders at both the community and national levels. Knapman's history of white women in Fiji (1986) remains the only sustained examination of women in Fiji's history, and Robert Nicole's thesis (2006) on people's resistance in the colonial era includes an examination of women's resistive acts. A great deal of political writing by Fiji feminists and pro-democracy activists has emerged in the last thirty years (e.g., A. Griffen 1997; Emberson-Bain 1994), but those same feminists have not prioritized documenting their own stories. One focused analysis of women's NGOs in Fiji lays a heavy-handed theoretical critique over their organizational practices and intellectual rigor—in effect, charging them with mimicry of international aid donor-provided templates at the expense of developing more organic local models for social change (Riles 2000).
14. The late Amelia Rokotuivuna was an indigenous Fijian woman activist who is often acknowledged by early nonindigenous feminists as a catalytic influence on their praxis. See her brief biography in Gokal (1978). Nonindigenous women active in the early phrase were, for example, Vanessa Griffen, a key facilitator of national and regional conferences for women from the 1970s through the 1980s (e.g., Griffen 1989); Peni Moore and Shamima Ali, founding members of the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre and Fiji Women's Rights Movement (Tuidomo, Ali, and Moore 1988); and 'Atu Emberson-Bain and Claire Slatter, along with Vanessa Griffen, writers of pivotal texts using feminist analysis to critique development agendas that undermine women's well-being (Emberson-Bain 1994; Emberson-Bain and Slatter 1995).

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15. Since the 1990s, lawyer Imrana Jalal has joined Shamima Ali as two of the most high-profile Indo-Fijian women and feminists in the country (see Jalal 1998; Teaiwa 2001a).
16. The same point is made by Katzenstein and Reppy (1999).

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