—

Sport and Integration: An exploration of group identity and intergroup relations in Fiji

Jack Sugden

A thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Doctor of Philosophy 2017

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Jack Thomas Sugden, declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institute of tertiary education. Information derived from the published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given in the bibliography in accordance with the standard referencing practices.

Signed

Jack Thomas Sugden

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

PREFACE

My interest in conflict and division stemmed from my undergraduate degree in international politics from the University of Manchester (UK), a Masters in ethnic conflict at Queens University (Belfast), coupled with childhood in Northern Ireland during the 'troubles'. I have worked as both a researcher and project leader in Sport for Peace (SFP) and Sport for Development (SFD) projects in Israel/Palestine, West and South Africa and Northern Ireland. It was while researching in Israel/Palestine, and later in South Africa for the University of Johannesburg that I at first became interested in 'bottom up' and/or 'civil society' approaches to peacebuilding and development.

I believe it is the combination of practical and research experience within the two fields of SFP and SFD that have furnished me with the critical skills which have added to the value of these projects on the ground. My experiences in study and in the field have been complementary and have informed the critical lens through which I view the field of sport and social change. This critical appraisal has helped shape this study, providing deep contextual understanding within this field.

At a conference on sport in divided societies in Israel, and later at a similar event in Belfast, I met my now supervisors from The University of Technology Sydney. They shared similar interests and, several conversations later, we formulated the idea for a thesis. I decided to focus on the Fijian context, as it provides an interesting case study of sport and integration. Fiji's unique history of colonialism, migration and division, within a modern political landscape punctuated by four military coups provides a culturally complex site. Following some valuable correspondence with academics based in Fiji - Dr. Mohit Prasad and Dr. Yoko Kanemasu at The University of the South Pacific, I began in earnest. This is what we found.

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the topic of sport and integration (SAI) and discusses the role that sport plays in both uniting and dividing groups in lower and middle income settings. In particular, this thesis addresses the effect of sport on ethno-racial division by exploring the effect of sport on intergroup distance. This in-depth study applies rigorous social science to local voices and ways of knowing, to improve understanding of the role of sport in divided societies. In doing so, this thesis proposes a new framework to map the way in which the practice of popular sports can influence intergroup relations.

The research draws from three distinct but interrelated areas of literature: identity formation, intergroup relations and the effect of sport on these fields. The first two areas are discussed in relation to the role of ethno-racial and social identity in group relations, along with strategies to reconcile intergroup difference. Sport then emerges as an emblematic site for solidifying identity, hegemonic power relations and group categorisation, while also facilitating positive social change in the form of the sport for development and peace (SDP) field. It is shown that our current understanding of SDP is restricted in its focus on development and/or peacebuilding goals, and that an extension to this field is required: sport and integration (SAI). In short, SAI also encompasses sport for social change but it is not orientated towards meeting specific development goals or curating peace in the wake of violence.

The Pacific Island nation of Fiji presents an ideal place for SAI research due to the cultural prominence of sport as well as underlying divisions between Indigenous Fijians and Fijians of Indian descent. Utilising a qualitative mode of enquiry that employs social constructivist logic in its design, the empirical research followed an approach described as 'Short Term Ethnography'. This approach foregrounds local agency and ways of knowing an immersive research journey designed specifically to gain in-depth knowledge. The research took place in a number of locations across Fiji at the community (micro), institutional (meso) and decision making (macro) levels to develop a holistic impression of Fijian sport and society.

The approach I have taken acknowledges that sport is a powerful cultural commodity in Fiji and finds that in some practices, such as rugby sevens fandom and soccer participation, sport serves as a focal point of unity. However, there are other elements of Fijian sport which seem to maintain unequal power relations, perpetuating separatism between Fiji's two main groups. The framework which was built to research SAI in Fiji therefore, functions to expose the exclusive social, cultural and structural mechanisms within Fijian sport and highlights a locally envisaged agenda for change. Based on the initial insights provided by this thesis, this study points to further application of the SAI framework in other societies troubled with division, in both low and high income settings.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACRONYMS

CIIM: Common Ingroup Identity Model
DCM: De-categorised Contact Model
DIM: Dual Identity Model
FFA: The Fijian Football Association
FRU: The Fijian Rugby Union
GCC: The Great Council of Chiefs
HIC: High Income Country
IPM: Ingroup Projection Model
IRB: The International Rugby Board
IRC: Intergroup Relations Continuum
LMIC: Lower and Middle Income Country
MIDM: Mutual Ingroup Differentiation Model
SDP: Sport for Development and Peace
SFD: Sport for Development
SFP: Sport for Peace
STE: Short Term Ethnography

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The problem

In the contemporary world, sport has become a major and sometimes central feature in many societies occupying important spaces in suburbs, towns and cities. Sport predominates on numerous 24 hour news channels, in key subjects in schools and universities and in healthcare and wellbeing discourse (Hargreaves, 2002; Hoberman, 1993; Houlihan & Malcolm, 2015). The globalisation of sports and its ascendancy in public life has provoked various social commentators to speak to the 'power' of sport (Boyle, 2009; Brannagan & Giulianotti, 2015; Wolff, 2011). It is easy to see why, as sport has been appropriated for use in various political, social and economic fields (Allison, 1986; Houlihan & Zheng, 2015). Yet the manner of its usage is up for debate as there is an inherent duality in sport's potential to do great things – it can 'unite people in a way that little else does' as Nelson Mandela (2000) famously said, it can promote hatred, violence and ideology (Cable, 1969; Hay, 2001; Krüger & Murray, 2010), or it can be 'war minus the weapons' (cited in Donnelly, 2011). Sport's capacity to affect human relations forms the basis of this thesis.

The increasing prevalence of global multi-ethnic societies means that a major challenge they face is social integration due to the persistence of discrimination, prejudice and acrimony (Wodak & Boukala, 2015). Peacebuilding studies have recognised the normalisation of intergroup subnational disputes, reducing the relevancy of traditional state centred approaches to solving conflict (Ramsbotham, Miall, & Woodhouse, 2011). In answer to this, peace and social integration research has adapted to look at bottom up, rather than state centric, approaches to reducing intergroup division (Lederach, 2005; Paffenholz, 2015; 2016; Spaaij, Magee, & Jeanes, 2014a). Similarly, the field of international development has also seen a 'bottom-up' turn, with an increase in community focused efforts to provide education and resources in areas most in need (Kidd, 2008b; Reis, Vieira, & de Sousa-Mast, 2015).

Such approaches have co-opted sport in attempts to increase peaceful coexistence and development in societies that are suffering from intergroup division and a dearth of knowledge and resources to aid physical and social development (Kidd, 2008b; Rookwood & Palmer, 2011; Tuohey & Cognato, 2011). Using sport in the pursuit of reducing conflict has become known as Sport for Development and Peace (SDP). This approach has emerged in recent years (see: Sherry & Schulenkorf, 2016). However, questions remain. Firstly, Lower and Middle Income Countries (LMICs) beset by societal division that are not in obvious pre or post-conflict scenarios, are unattractive to aid, research and attention due to the imperceptibility of these problems in comparison to others. Secondly, the structural causes of division are under-researched due to the 'bottom-up' turn, which tends to emphasise a focus on the community level (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013a; Paffenholz, 2010; Sugden, 2011). These are worthy

areas of study, particularly in contexts where division is drawn along ethnic and/or racial lines which, if allowed to escalate, can result in significant conflict (Bhopal, 2014).

This thesis uses the broad term of 'integration' to include harmonious or poor intergroup relations. Integration can be a value-laden term, with connotations of cultural assimilation rather than equal recognition of different cultures (Cronin & Mayall, 1998; Syed, 2013). However in this thesis, I borrow a definition from Spaaij (2012, p. 2), who defines integration as 'the ability to participate fully in economic, social, cultural and political activities, while maintaining one's cultural identity'. This process can be assisted through sport, which is not a new idea. For example, the German Olympic Sports Confederation founded its 'Integration through sport' programme in 1989 (Hartmann-Tews, 2002). For example, sport is used at the grassroots level to facilitate the harmonious integration of Germany's significant immigrant community (Integration-durch-sport, 2016).

Separate research has been carried out into the use of sport for purposes of integration in other high income countries (HICs) such as the Netherlands (Elling, Knoppers, & De Knop, 2001; Van Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2012a) and the UK (Amara et al., 2004). In terms of the effect of sport on shaping and perpetuating the status quo of group relations, research to date is also scarce in LMICs focusing mainly on race relations in North America (see: Carrington 2013). What is lacking is work on this subject within LMICs sport can play an important role in such contexts (Kay & Spaaij, 2012; Kay & Dudfield, 2013). A lack of intergroup harmony can have a substantial effect on the progress of poorer nations and by definition, such contexts may not have the resources to identify and overcome such problems (Brown, 2010; Lake & Rothchild, 1996a; Lemarchand, 1996). Poorer states in Africa, the Middle East and Eastern Europe have struggled with establishing 'societal harmony' and this has led to large-scale conflict in some instances (Njunwa, 2006). Within such contexts sport, as a highly visible and emblematic cultural form (Houlihan & Malcom 2015), may well play and important role in creating and/or reducing distance between groups.

There is an opportunity then, to deepen understanding of the interplay between sport and integration across different societal levels, specifically in LMICs marred by division. To address this issue this thesis will seek to build on the body of knowledge from the SDP field where, to date, there have been two main foci:

(1) Sport for Development (SFD) projects focused on *disadvantaged communities* with goals such as social inclusion, gender equity and socio-economic development (Burnett, 2009; Levermore & Beacom 2012); and

(2) Sport for Peace (SFP) projects focused on societies under extreme stress, with goals of *peacebuilding* in the wake of turmoil (Coalter, 2014; Coalter, 2013; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Levermore & Beacom, 2012; snr Sugden, 2014).

SFP is developed in seriously unstable social and political environments, that can range from extreme risks posed by crime (i.e. favelas in Rio de Janeiro) or post-military situations (i.e. civil war in the Balkans). Given the articulation here of two discrete genres, the overarching SDP label can sometimes distract researchers and practitioners from the context-specific nature of scholarship, which is different in the SFD and SFP spaces (Skelton, 2013). Furthermore, neither of these foci investigates the influence of sport in integration in LMICs effectively. This thesis will investigate this role in the context of Fiji.

1.2 The context

Fiji is a society divided between Indigenous Fijian islanders and Fijians of Indian descent (hereafter Indo-Fijians). Since independence from British rule, Fiji has struggled with its divided population, resulting in a tumultuous modern history marked by political instability and increased poverty (Lal, 2012a; Robertson, 2012; UNDP, 1997) Currently, Fiji is under the control of an executive and armed forces dominated by Indigenous Fijians who seized political power by undemocratic means, but who have since gained legitimacy by winning the first elections in 14 years held in September 2014[1] (Fraenkel, 2015b; Lal, 2014a; Perry, 2014). Power in the island nation is highly centralised with a political culture subject to corruption, nepotism and ethnocentric manipulation. Such centralisation has engendered a lack of ownership over the decision making process, particularly among the Indo-Fijian community (Gillion, 1962; Lal, 2012b; Naidu, 2016; Ratuva, 2007).

Yet Fiji's ethnic division is stable (rather than volatile); there is no civil war at present and its return to democracy, after the most recent period of authoritarian rule (2006-2014), has resulted in its acceptance back into the international community, bolstering economic development (Kelly, 2015; Lawson, 2016). In short, neither a SFD nor SFP lens is appropriate to the Fijian context. Sport is a highly valued cultural commodity, rugby[2] especially being central in the story of Indigenous Fiji (Presterudstuen, 2010a; 2016), while soccer[3] provides a centre for Indo-Fijian identity. In this respect, it has been suggested that ethno-racial division is exemplified in these two mainstream sports hence their selection as useful for study (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c; Prasad, 2013). The rugby or soccer communities are not consistently victims of violent crime, nor are they dominated by tensions associated with military conflict or other combative upheaval. However due to the tumultuous history of division and the importance of sport in Fiji this thesis examines intergroup relations and identity formation through the lens of two sports (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013a). This thesis, therefore, is not about peacebuilding per

---

[1] This election occurred one year into the research.
[2] Hereafter 'rugby' will be used as an umbrella term for rugby union, rugby league and rugby sevens unless otherwise stated
[3] Hereafter 'soccer' will be used to refer to association football. 'Football' may appear in the interview excerpts but generally I use the unique classification of soccer.

se; rather it strives to understand the role sport has/has not played in the gulf between ethnic groups in Fiji.

1.3 The research focus

In a practical sense, the study will investigate the role of sport in the formation of ethno-racial identities in Fiji and will examine the ways in which sport may or may not affect societal integration, with reference to the lived experiences of local people. In order to carry out this aim, the following three research questions were devised:

1. How are Indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian group identities associated with rugby and soccer?

2. What roles do soccer and rugby play in intergroup relations in Fiji?

3. Are Fijian soccer and rugby stakeholders content with the status quo or do they envisage the need for change?

The questions were developed with the different phases of the research in mind. Regarding the first question, research has shown that sport can be important in the shape and nature of group identity, particularly in terms of shared history, culture and experience (see: Bairner, 2008; 2001; Rogers & Rookwood, 2007). Therefore, the initial stages of the research are based around understanding; the interplay between sport and group identities in Fiji, what rugby and soccer mean to local people, and how these sports have come to be linked and intertwined with local identities. The second question then looks to build on research on sport and intergroup relations by investigating the role sport plays in intergroup relations in Fiji. This question also aims to ascertain the degree to which individuals associate each sport with each group, and explore the level to which they feel group relations are affected by this association.

It is only one the research has engaged with the first two questions that the third can be effectively investigated. The final question looks towards integrating local knowledge and voices into a discussion of the status quo and opportunities for change, once the participants perception of the status quo is established. I have labelled this element Sport and Integration (SAI), which has a distinctive focus compared to the SFD and SFP genres discussed above. This investigation seeks to gain an understanding of the values and norms held by Indigenous and Indo-Fijian stakeholders towards sport and integration and how this shapes ethnic separatism in Fiji. As this thesis is exploratory in nature and wary of making assumptions, the first question is concerned with gaining an initial understanding of the extent to which

4

the two major sports feature in the lives and identities of both groups. Following this, the thesis investigates whether this has an effect on intergroup relations, how local people view this situation, and if they see a need for change. Hence, the key aspirations for this study are to:

(a) Investigate the nature of intergroup differences in Fijian sport, and
(b) Investigate any effect on intergroup relations and whether there is aspiration for change.

These goals are consistent with the transformative principles underpinning both SFD and SFP, but with some important differences. There is no focus here on evaluating, or laying the groundwork for projects, around which much SDP work seems to be centred (see: Schulenkorf, Sherry, & Rowe, 2016). Although there is demonstrated merit in such work (Burnett, 2006; 2009a; Reis et al., 2015; Woodcock, Cronin, & Forde, 2012), years of study both in the field and elsewhere have left me with questions about the *structural* causes and exponents of division and what the role sport is in this. Furthermore, the focus on *understanding* sport and integration across different levels is arguably different in focus from studies that are interested in addressing socio-economic disadvantage or peacebuilding in the wake of armed conflict.

This thesis is therefore concerned with the pliant nature of sport, acknowledging that, in its many forms, sport can be a source of societal separation or integration – either between or within groups – and that societal conflict can be either overt or muted (Donnelly, 2011; Kidd, 2008b). In this respect, the focus is informed by the SDP approach. However, it builds on this work by looking beyond the community (micro) level where sport is lived and experienced, where many SDP practitioners operate (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). This thesis also focuses on the organisational (meso) and decision making (macro) levels of sport and society. It aims to go beyond the grassroots level by investigating the norms and values which give meaning to the cultural context in which sport exists (Hayhurst, Kay, & Chawansky, 2015; Spaaij et al., 2014a).

This 'cultural context' of sport is made highly visible by the advances in communication and broadcast technology affecting many global cultures. Sport is not just a valuable but also a highly visible commodity (Maguire, 2015; Miller, Lawrence, McKay, & Rowe, 2001). Previous research in North American and European contexts has determined that exposure to sport plays a significant part in how groups are racially formed and categories maintained (Carrington, 2011; Elling et al., 2001; Van Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2012a). However, there is a dearth of research examining the role sport plays in ethno-racial categorisation in LMICs, particularly when these intersect with societal division. This thesis seeks to address this lacuna and in doing so produce worthwhile and locally driven sport management strategies towards positive change in the context under study. Along with a guide and

conceptual framework to assist future sport for development and management research in other locales. In order to do this, a specific methodological approach has been developed.

1.4 Theoretical and Methodological Underpinnings

This thesis stands on bedrock of theories relating to identity, intergroup relations and sport. Although at times discussed separately, these three themes are ultimately intertwined in regards to the discussion of SAI. Social identity theory will be utilised in relation to group formation, categorisation and the maintenance of beliefs regarding other (out) groups (Brewer, 2001; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009). The research also delves into social psychology by looking at the theories and efficacy of contact between groups and methodologies for improving intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Gaertner, Dovidio, Guerra, Hehman, & Saguy, 2016). Sport as a mechanism for affecting intergroup relations is not a new concept (see: Bairner & Darby, 1999). I therefore draw from literature regarding the role of sport in identity, nationalism and cultural hegemony, and their effect on intergroup dynamics.

The research design is qualitative and is situated within a constructivist paradigm, within a specific cultural context. As Creswell (2007) wrote; 'no longer is it acceptable to be the omniscient, distanced qualitative researcher' (p. 178). It is important for researchers to personally engage with the context and to reflect and reveal their epistemological assumptions along the way. Moreover, I concur with those who are of the opinion that the research participants should have a role in theoretical construction (Brock & McGee, 2012; Collison & Marchesseault, 2016; Mwaanga & Adeosun, 2015). Therefore, while the design is an adapted version of ethnography, this is underpinned by a constructivist approach. This is due to the credence that social constructivist approaches place on emergent theory and the co-production of knowledge (see: Charmaz, 2014; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2008).

The specific methodological approach taken will be explored further in Chapter Four. However, in summary, the approach is essentially 'short term ethnography' (see: Knoblauch, 2005; Pink & Morgan, 2013). This is an immersive approach entailing a number of strategies to build 'thick description' by working and living closely with local people, so that they become part of the process of knowledge construction and not simply objects of study (Geertz, 1994). The approach is shorter than traditional ethnographic approaches in regards to the time spent in the field (Gobo, 2008; 2011). Yet as Marcus (1998; 2007) has determined, it is not the length of a study, rather its content, which is the best measure of its strength. The approach therefore used a number of methods and intensive strategies to build a bank of data from which robust themes and findings can be drawn.

The data collection tools used to build this image include (49) semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in Fijian sport and society. The semi-structured interviews across the macro, meso and micro levels were combined with participant and non-participant observation, extensive field notes and

policy analysis. Together these approaches yielded a data bank reflective of the diversity of social life. Yet the use of such methods, common in 'Western' research paradigms, has drawn critique from post-colonial and Indigenous scholars for 'orientalising' many global cultures (Bishop, 2011; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008; Smith, 1999). With this in mind a collaborative and dialogical method was employed that incorporated elements of 'Talanoa methodology' familiar in the Pacific region (Otsuka, 2005; Vaioleti, 2006). Taken together this is a multi-dimensional and in depth approach to researching sport in an LMIC that will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

1.5 Delimitations

The goal of this research is to delve deeply into a single context, and to learn from the relationships between stakeholders who share a common environment. This is an in depth exploration of the Fijian context with the goal of building further understanding of the role of sport in intergroup relations though a case study approach. Consequentially, this thesis seeks to generate context rich answers to the research questions, and to analyse the implications for theory on SAI. While the practical implications will be specific to the unique context of Fiji, there will be consequences for SAI theory that will improve our understanding of the effect of sport on intergroup relations.

As this thesis is characterised by depth and immersion, maintaining 'objectivity' was a concurrent factor and a potential limitation throughout. Further, due to the fact that I am white/British, this positions me firmly as an outsider in the Fijian context. The insider/outsider dichotomy along with critiques which emanates from post-colonial scholarship will be further discussed in Chapter Four (see: 4.6.2). Briefly, this research takes the view that my status as an outsider is both a hindrance and an asset to the research.

The study is also limited in its focus in the following ways. It focuses on:
1. Two specific sports, rugby and soccer;
2. The two major ethnic groups in Fiji: Indo-Fijians and Indigenous Fijians;
3. One gender (male).

In the first instance, as will be explained further in Chapter 3, rugby and soccer have a particularly salient connection to the two main groups in Fiji, and this grounds the research and justify distinct analysis (Prasad 2013). Secondly, the focus on Fiji's two main groups is justified due to the focus of this study being intergroup relations/division/integration. An emphasis on historically divided Indo-Fijians and Indigenous Fijians therefore provides more context for discussion and theory based on these foci. To mitigate I will avoid broad claims, as to generalise about Indo-Fijians and Indigenous Fijians alike is to misunderstand the anthropology of the nation. Finally, yet importantly the research is predominantly male focused, this is primarily because of the realities of male dominance in rugby and soccer in Fiji, along with the convenience of gaining access to these worlds as a male sportsman myself.

Although many females were involved in data gathering returning significant, yet thematically separate findings. The results and discussion on women in Fijian sport were beyond the scope of this thesis and are earmarked for publishing elsewhere.

1.6 Thesis Outline

This thesis is organised into six chapters. Chapter Two reviews the major theoretical concepts pertinent to the investigation. This involves theories on identity, intergroup relations, and the role of sport, along with its uses in development and peace building. Chapter Three provides a brief contextual guide to the geographically and socially fragmented nation of Fiji, focusing on its modern political history and the place of soccer and rugby in the society. Chapter Four details the methodological framework adopted by this research and the strategies which have been employed to build 'thick description' to a level deemed appropriate to answer the research questions (Geertz, 1994). Chapter Five presents the findings and provides answers to the three research questions above by combining local voices, data analysis and relevant theory in the understanding of SAI in Fiji. Chapter Six presents a discussion on the role of sport in integration more broadly and the locally envisaged opportunities for change in Fijian sport and society specifically. In doing so, the SAI model is explored more generally, focusing on its practical and theoretical contribution, along with its larger place in the arena of sport for social change. The thesis concludes by discussing opportunities for further research and a summary this extensive investigation into sport, identity and intergroup relations in Fiji.

1.7 Summary

The title of this thesis was worded to denote its investigative nature; the only assumption made prior to this research is the existence of some level of ethnic separatism in Fiji which is reflected in sport (Prasad, 2013). By pursuing a truthful impression of Fijian sport and society, I sought to understand more about the role of sport in integration more broadly. In Fiji, it is argued that different sporting codes broadly reflect wider ethno-cultural differences and conflicts in Fijian society (Prasad, 2013). Yet it is also believed that sport in Fiji provides social meeting points that promote a common Fijian identity (Schieder, 2012). In this way, sport may be affecting distance between groups in a number of ways.

This introduction has briefly established the background to the proposed study, the research problem, the aims of the thesis, key research questions, introduced the research design and clarified the research boundaries. As this study is concerned with describing and uncovering social truths within a complex ethno-cultural environment, many sociological theories apply. Therefore, the following chapter reviews the relevant theoretical arguments and highlight gaps in our understanding that this thesis will address.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

As noted in the introductory pages, this thesis is about the interplay between sport and integration in the context of Lower and Middle Income Countries (LMICs). This chapter reviews the relevant concepts and theoretical underpinnings that support the empirical analysis conducted for this thesis. In particular, it begins with a discussion of intergroup relations and social identity theory. It then looks at intergroup distance and how this may be increased or reduced. Sport is then discussed as a tool for national promotion and hegemony, both within nations and internationally, and how it also works to increase and decrease group distance. The role of sport in national identity and subnational distinctiveness will then be discussed before considering how sport is appropriated to meet ambitions of policy and power. The chapter then dissects the now significant field of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP), before highlighting how Sport and Integration (SAI) as an extension of the SDP field is a valuable topic for further research. The chapter concludes with a discussion of sport policy and organisation, with a specific reference to LMICs. The chapter will highlight the gaps in knowledge the subsequent empirical study aims to address: the interplay between sport and integration and the role of sport in framing ethnic identities and affecting intergroup distance.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1 is a visual depiction of where SAI is positioned in relation to the overarching theoretical underpinnings discussed in this chapter. The three spheres represent the three major themes of this study which are visible throughout; 'Intergroup Relations', 'Identity' and 'Sport' which are united by SAI and the Intergroup Relations Continuum (IRC) in the centre – to be explained in due course. There is a degree of overlap between these concepts, for example in discussion of Sport for Peace between groups (see: 2.7.2) the links between intergroup relations and sport are obvious. The concepts of Identity and Intergroup Relations are also inextricably linked, as discussed below. But for now, this diagram serves as a useful map for this chapter and as a reference point for the ensuing discussion, as each major theme feeds off the other in the conceptualisation of SAI.
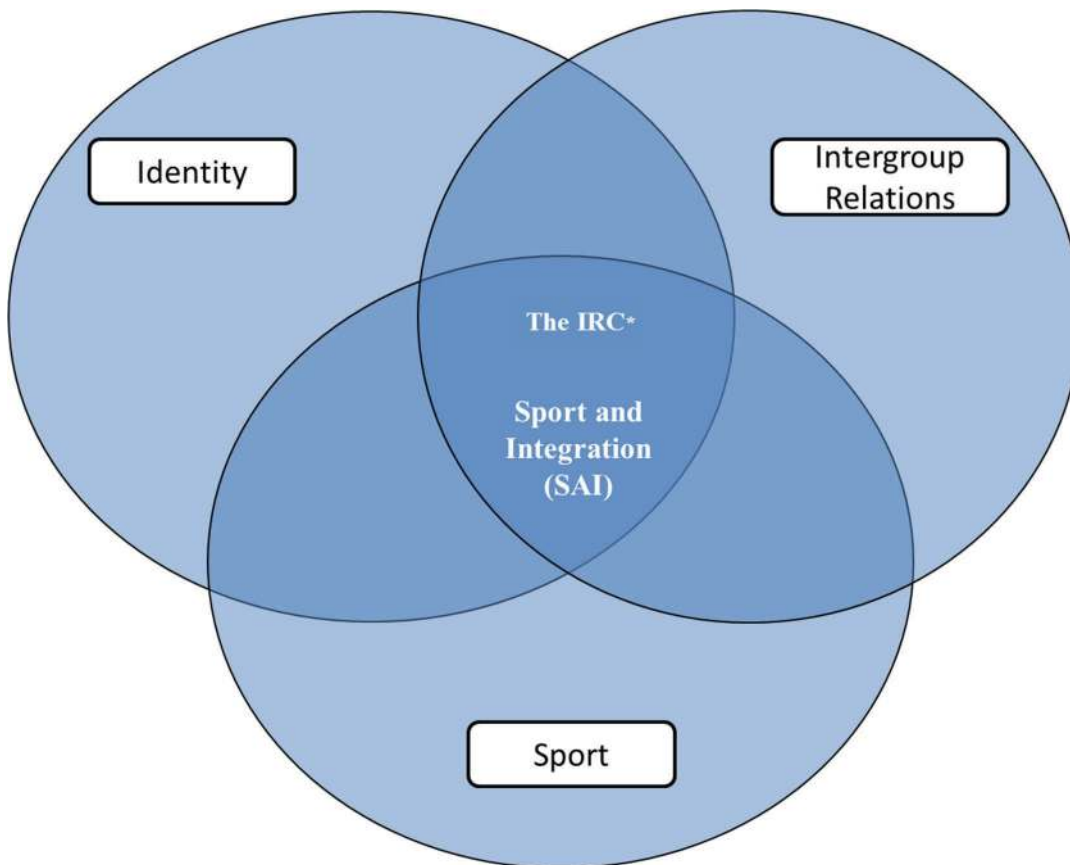
2.3 Theories on Intergroup Relations and Identity

I begin with the study of groups, the identities of which are central to understanding how they relate to one another (Gaertner et al., 2016). Groups permeate society along with academic disciplines; this discussion therefore crosses the boarders of social-psychology, sociology and mental wellbeing in illuminating the role of groups in human behaviour. Indeed the nature of 'groups' is mirrored in their varied definitions. For example, in social psychology a group is described, in one respect, as a collection of individuals who interact with each other in a promotive and interdependent way (Arrow, McGrath, & Berdahl, 2000). Others see groups as self-generating and self-perpetuating, where individuals define themselves as members of a specific group based on an inclusive socio-cultural categorisation (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). For example, Hogg (2013, p. 533) suggests that; 'A group exists psychologically when two or more people define and evaluate themselves in terms of the defining properties of a common self-inclusive category'. Here individuals choose their group membership and even create groups through recognising shared commonalities and behaving in an interdependent manner. Understanding group behaviour is central to this thesis, as so much of our world is organised and defined in terms of

---

*The Intergroup Relations Continuum (IRC)

groups, and so many contemporary disputes take place, and are settled, between groups at the civic level (Paffenholz, 2010).

> Groups are not mere entities in the file drawer of the mind. Groups are physical realities that dot the social landscape like trees in a dense forest … Indeed groups survive long after the original members have turned to dust (Worchel & Coutant, 2001, p. 462).

Groups are both prevalent and long lasting and much attention has been given to the analysis of how they behave. In terms of group behaviour, it is held that the most basic unit of sociological analysis is not *action* but *interaction* (Parsons, 2007). Some groups may enjoy and wish to reinforce their difference from others in their environment as in Basque nationalists in Northern Spain seeking recognition (Herb & Kaplan, 1999; Muro, 2013). Other groups may wish to expand their membership by stressing similarity with groups in their orbit. The African National Congress (ANC) was able to successfully unite various factions fighting for the rights of black and 'coloured' peoples during the era of apartheid in South Africa, for example (Dubow, 2000).

The analysis of groups alone is important as is looking within them, but focusing on interaction *between* groups is crucial in understanding how relations between them can be improved. The origins of intergroup relations theory – a theory that was developed to specifically investigate the behaviour between groups and their members – can be traced back to Gordon Allport (1924). Allport began by looking at how people within groups formed shared attitudes and beliefs about others. He asserted that attitudes form part of the self and they both colour and motivate our actions individually and as part of a group; 'people hold attitudes toward an incredible variety of attitude objects, which include anything that can be the target of a favourable or unfavourable evaluation' (Dovidio et al., 2010, p. 162). Examples may include specific behaviour (i.e. what one thinks of a football team or movie), views of individuals (i.e. one's superior) and socio-cultural groups (i.e. Indians). Our attitudes govern the way people perceive and react to the world, and group membership plays a big part in attitude formation (Maio & Haddock, 2009).

We are naturally drawn towards groups as Hogg (2013, p. 554) argues, surmising his extensive work in this field: 'Intergroup relations are underpinned by people's need to feel positive about themselves, and by their need to feel certain about themselves, their place in the world, and how they relate to other people'. In this regard groups and their relation to others are important in self-definition, and within this 'status' and 'prestige' are key elements as people navigate the world based on perceptions of high or low status groupings (González & Brown, 2006). In this respect, intergroup relations are inextricably linked to identity (see: Figure 1), as the nature of intergroup relations often determine the strength of ingroup identity. This relates to 'intergroup bias' - the tendency for people to favour the group to which

they belong (hereafter, the 'ingroup') over other individuals or other groups (outgroups). Gaertner & Dovido (2014) have devoted significant time to the study of 'intergroup bias', and methods to reduce it, due to its propensity to manifest itself in racism and other forms of prejudice. But recent research has attempted to move beyond a preoccupation with problematic aspects of intergroup relations, by focusing on the individual and, in particular, self-expansionism where people are motivated by the search for *dissimilar others* to enrich or expand the self (Paolini, Wright, Dys-Steenbergen, & Favara, 2016) .

However, although a person's conception of the self may be made up of just one or a number of group memberships, one commonality that many people share is group membership itself (Tajfel, 1978; Williams, 2001). From the immediate family unit, to clubs and interest groups such as bikers, artists, online gamers, soccer fans, musicians - and all the way up to broader religious and national affiliations, humans are persistently identified as group members (Turner, 1981; 1988). Groups can be powerful sources of influential behaviour, and just as humans are cooperative within groups, they can be collectively competitive as a group (Thornton & Clutton-Brock, 2011). Research in this domain focuses on the processes and context of intergroup competition and conflict which can shape and define groups and their members (Tajfel, 2010). For example, in modern times, intergroup conflict at civic level is arguably more common, and potentially more damaging, than traditional state centred disputes (Paffenholz, 2015; Paffenholz, 2016; Ramsbotham et al., 2011). Therefore understanding of intergroup behaviours takes on an even greater importance.

2.3.1 Intergroup Conflict

'Realistic group conflict theory' (RCT) provides a foundational explanatory tool as it is the assumption that 'real' conflict of group interests will lead to real conflict between groups and their members, particularly when resources are scarce (Sherif, 1967). Hence, opposing claims to capital in the form of prestige, power or economic status, can build antagonism and division (Meuleman, Davidov, & Billiet, 2009). This theory stemmed from Sherif's (1961) ground breaking 'Cave Experiment', which grouped boys arbitrarily and facilitated competition for valued prizes. The ingroup loyalty and outgroup aggression, negativity or 'derogation' which transpired in these experiments is said to have demonstrated a degree of innate group competition that added credence to RCT (see: Gaertner et al., 2016; Hogg, 2013). In its contemporary form, RCT is also known as 'Group Conflict Theory' and is ubiquitous in studies focusing on anti-immigrant attitudes (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Masso, 2009; Paxton & Mughan, 2006). This is because the theory predicts that socioeconomically disadvantaged groups are more likely to exhibit negative attitudes towards outgroups when they are perceived to be competing for the same resources such as housing, employment, medical care, etc. (Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013). Situations such as these are compounded when one of the opposing groups is of 'low status' –

viewed as socially, economically and/or politically subordinate (Van Laar, Bleeker, Ellemers, & Meijer, 2014).

There is evidence to suggest that if this 'low' status is institutionally entrenched in laws, practices and public discourse, then the 'low' group may acquiesce due to an inability to envisage an alternative (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). The subordinate status of Muslim Arabs living in Israel is a protracted example, as many find themselves politically, economically and socially disadvantaged as citizens of the 'Jewish' state (Semyonov & Lewin-Epstein, 2011). Although there are many social and religious facets to this dispute, resources, land rights and questions of ownership have been at the forefront of the conflict. While there is potential for a subordinate group to resist the imbalance of the status quo, this may result in serious conflict between groups, creating a scenario where the subordinate group continues to lose out.

While intergroup conflict may be exacerbated by innate competitiveness for resources, it is not just competition that must be present for conflict to occur (Meuleman et al., 2009). Across social psychology and conflict studies there are various factors regarding intergroup conflict which can also lead to disputes. In ethnic conflict studies (Horowitz, 1985) and research on intergroup conflict within social psychology (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), there is agreement on the factors that, together or separately, can lead to intergroup division and then conflict. The first factor is ingroup consensus and intergroup competition over valuable resources (i.e. RCT); second, ingroup agreement over the social categorisation of the 'other' (i.e. Serb or Croat, Tutsi or Hutu); third, little variability and typicality present within the ingroup which is either actual or widely accepted (shared characteristics, location, ethnicity etc); and finally, a change in circumstances which bring differentiated groups into each other's orbit (i.e. urbanisation, migration, employment opportunities, climate). Such conditions have been present and disruptive in social and ethnic disputes in places as diverse as Rwanda (Reyntjens, 1996), India (Weiner, 2015), the Democratic Republic of Congo (Taras & Ganguly, 2015), The United Kingdom (Bagguley & Hussain, 2016) and Eastern Europe (Drobizheva, Gottemoeller, Kelleher, & Walker, 2015).

However, also important for this discussion on intergroup relations is that not only are such disputes disruptive and potentially violent, they are also self-perpetuating, fuelling attitudes of ingroup favouritism and outgroup derogation (Fisher, 2016; Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). Research states that ingroup favouritism is an essential ingredient of group belonging (Jenkins, 2014; Tajfel, 1974), and this relates back to self-definition, belonging and social identity, which will be discussed shortly. A group identity is vital to drawing the boundaries of group membership and intergroup comparison is made starker by the shared undertaking of intergroup division and/or conflict (Bowles & Gintis, 2004; M. B. Brewer, 2001). These experiences can be explored, in part, through the 'self-esteem hypothesis', where

group members feel better, more confident and self-assured when engaging with attitudes that set groups apart from one another – 'intergroup differentiation' (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002, p. 16). Division and conflict may exacerbate 'intergroup differentiation' regardless of whether a group is of 'high' or 'low' status. Indeed, group identification may be strengthened when the group is marginalised, treated with a lack of respect and/or under-represented in the corridors of state power in comparison with others (Cakal, Eller, Sirlopú, & Pérez, 2016; Huo, Smith, Tyler, & Lind, 1996). In fact the experience of conflict has bolstered group membership in many historical examples from conflict in Sri-Lanka, Nepal and Sudan to race riots in America in the 1970s (Stewart, 2016).

In this regard, group opposition can be societally ingrained, intractable and viewed as something that has and will always *be*, the Israel/Palestine situation being reflective of this (Dowty, 2012). RCT even holds that 'ingroup identification' is a direct product of intergroup conflict (Brewer, 2001). What is important for this thesis is the idea that intergroup division can considerably increase distance and in turn perpetuate further group identification and separatism. Once groups become divided it is difficult to reverse this process (see: Cuhadar & Dayton, 2011; Dowty, 2012). A shared history of division may add to the feeling of collective identity that, in itself, has a vital function in the status of intergroup relations. Social identity is one predictor of perceived intergroup injustice and often the motivation for collective action (Jaśko & Kossowska, 2013). The following section reviews social identity theory (SIT) and its influential role in intergroup relations.

2.3.2 Social Identity Theory

Identity is central to intergroup relations and SIT is central to integration and division as it is based on how people positively promote, reflect and define their distinctiveness in relation to others (Boen, Vanbeselaere, & Cool, 2006; Jenkins, 2014; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identity is understood here as 'that part of an individual's self-concept that derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group together with the values and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel, 2010, p. 2). SIT is valuable as it concentrates on the construction of boundaries between groups, including how positive and negative beliefs about one's own and other groups are formed and reinforced. Social psychologists have wrestled with explaining how both homogenous and heterogeneous intergroup tensions exist in some contexts, but not in others (Brewer, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). SIT assists by explaining group closedness and ingroup bias, why group members believe that their group, and its products, are superior to others: in short, why some are considered to be 'like us', and others 'unlike us' (Cuhadar & Dayton, 2011; M. Hewstone et al., 2002).

SIT has two main strands. The first strand is about relations with other social groups while the second strand looks at the group's self-concept. The social identity of the ingroup can be discussed using 'self-categorisation theory' (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). In terms of the first strand,

social identities evaluate and define individual and group behaviour in comparison with others and there is a desire to build and maintain relational superiority of the group over others. According to Hogg (2013, p. 542) this leads to a 'fierce intergroup struggle for evaluative positive group distinctiveness'. Social identity is a powerful way to reduce social uncertainty (Hogg, 2016). Put simply, groups define themselves and justify their existence by way of intergroup comparison. For a sporting example research on soccer fandom in Australia's A-league observed that fans of Eastern European origin tended construct sporting enclaves to preserve and celebrate the ingroup in relations to others. Through support of teams associated with their ethno-social identity (i.e. Adelaide Croatia, South Melbourne Hellas - Greek) groups actively maintain their own social identity in relation to other migrant groups and the wider Australian context (see: Hughson, 1998; 1999; Lock, Taylor, Funk, & Darcy, 2012).

Identity is also central in the second strand of SIT which is more inward looking and utilises the theory of self-categorisation - how groups self-identify, what constitutes their distinctiveness and their conformity to group norms and practices. Within this, a number of sub-theories have since been developed which focus on a range of explanations for group behaviour (see: Hogg, 2016). This list includes the 'self-esteem hypothesis' – which explains how group members discriminate in favour of their ingroup to manufacture a 'positive distinctiveness' in relation to others (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999). It is believed that by believing in a high status image of the group to which one belongs, ingroup members build a positive image of themselves by extension. Thus, overall self-esteem is improved.

In this respect, group membership can be important to mental well-being, as they confer social identity, and provide connection to one's surroundings and others through commonalities in race, religion, nationality, and/or interests such as sports, art and music, etc. (Putnam, 2000; 2007). Thus, group membership may act as a safety net of belonging, and/or a place to share experiences of unfair treatment (Newman, Lohman, & Newman, 2007). In fact, it is the desire to build group power, esteem and salience in *relation to others* that can be problematic, because SIT is foremost a theory of group differentiation centred around:

> … how group members can make their in group(s) distinctive from and wherever possible, better than outgroups. Self-evidently, therefore, groups which discover themselves to be similar to each other should be motivated to show intergroup differentiation (D. Brown, 2000, p. 757).

A person's individual identity and group identity form part of the same self-concept which is often defined in relation to others. This can result in varying degrees of group loyalty, as an extension of loyalty to the self, SIT helps explain a lack of rationality present in some instances of ingroup loyalty

and outgroup derogation (Hogg, 2016). Guilianotti's (2013) work on applying SIT to explain the logic of soccer fan violence is a good example of this. Such instances of soccer fan loyalty have relevance to this study as the rationale behind the maintenance of group salience and distance from others is central to intergroup division (Cuhadar & Dayton, 2011; M. Hewstone et al., 2002). However, as people often identify with a number of groups simultaneously, self-identity, group identity and intergroup relations are ultimately complex.

2.3.3 Identity Complexity

Following the development of SIT, researchers have also become increasingly concerned with the idea that most people are simultaneously members of a number of groups. Where much research has focused on single ingroup and outgroup categorisation, there has long been an understanding that multiple identities are the norm (e.g., Stryker & Statham, 1985; Tajfel, 1978). Berry (2011, p. 22) goes so far as to argue that 'All contemporary societies are now culturally plural' in that no society is made up entirely of people with one identity, language and culture. This 'complex' understanding of social identity has necessitated more research on 'social identity complexity' which 'reflects the degree of overlap perceived to exist between groups of which a person is simultaneously a member' (Roccas & Brewer, 2002, p. 88) and explores how multiple group identities are subjectively represented and negotiated.

People can take on a number of different identities as different times. They can be psychological, such as when an individual is enduring a difficult phase in their lives; functional – soccer coach, piano player, teacher; or an identity based on ethnic, religious, national, sexual, or cultural attributes (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Sometimes these differing identities can be displayed simultaneously. The importance of acknowledging such complexity is key to accepting and understanding the intricacies of intergroup relations. The definition of one's ingroup membership(s) affect not only the concept of the self, but the nature of one's beliefs about other groups (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Illustrations of multiple group identities and their many representations can be drawn from literature on biculturalism, for example, an immigrant group whose ethnic membership and societal group (citizenship) are viewed as separate. 'Hyphenated identities' are an extension of this, recognising the intersection of social and ethnic identities i.e. African-American, British-Indian and Indo-Fijian (see: Berry, 2005; 2011). The norms and values that dominate in a given society will affect the negotiation of intergroup relations. For example, the prominence of one group identity may result in 'cultural dominance' and assimilation by non-dominant groups to the host culture at the expense of ethno-cultural identity. Or they could result in forms of adaptation to new 'hyphenated' cultural realities. A good example of this is the children of immigrant parents switching languages between home and when out at school or in the community (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Here identities are separately enacted according to space and time so that multiple identities can co-exist.

A further sphere of research which posits multiple identities in an environment of co-existence stems from 'Integrated Biculturalism' where the values and norms of different groups are both respected and combined to form an 'intercultural identity' (Asante, Miike, & Yin, 2013; Ting-Toomey, 2015). This idea equates multiculturalism – as the recognition of and coexistence with other cultures - with intercultural identities. From this viewpoint, identities are not compartmentalised and seen as incompatible and separate, but as more fluid and inclusive, and are based in shared cognitive and affective domains of behaviour (see: Berry, 2011). Such research is relevant to culturally plural societies where different ethnic and cultural groups live together, within a communal (political) organising structure (Brooks, 2002).

The degree to which a person identifies with a group, based on nationality, ethnicity, culture etc., invariably defines how that person acts towards outsiders, which has implications for integration. The nature of a group's social identity is dependent on attitudes formed in relation to the political, social and economic context in which they exist (Hacking, 1999). Group identity is also dependent on how a group is positioned in *relation* to others and how individuals within a group feel about their own groups identity. This understanding is made more complex by the number of cross-cutting, overlapping and intersecting identities which extend from one's own concept of the self (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Adopting a set of beliefs associated with group identity is part of a wider sense of 'belonging' associated with group membership, and this may encompass negative attitudes towards another groups (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). Such beliefs and attitudes about one's own group and others are maintained and reproduced through stereotyping (Burns & Gimpel, 2000), which can both fuel and perpetuate separate identities (Brown, 2010; Hutchinson, 2001).

2.3.4 Stereotypes

Outgroups are often categorised according to perceptions of uniform attributes and characteristics and this is linked to stereotyping (Hylton, 2010; Tajfel, 1974). An early definition posits that when one thinks about another group - national, ethnic, religious, etc., the 'pictures in the head' are stereotypes (Lippmann, 1922). Stereotypes are employed regularly so that people can more readily navigate their social world (Alexander, Brewer, & Hermann, 1999; A. Koch, Imhoff, Dotsch, Unkelbach, & Alves, 2016). They allow individuals to predict the behaviour of others based on their perceived or actual category membership. This judgement takes place both consciously and unconsciously and is based on people's *perception* of the geographic, normative, cultural, economic and/or power relationships at the time (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996).

With this information people form attitudes about their own groups in relation to others. Ingroup members will often see outgroups as more similar to each other than they are in reality (B. Bettencourt,

Dill, Greathouse, Charlton, & Mulholland, 1997). Such attitudes are logical as it is surely difficult to understand the intricacies and nuances of groups of which one is not a part. Yet the resultant effect is that stereotypes take groups 'out of history', denying them the ability to change over time (Stockton, 1994, p. 120). For example, in 2014, 'VisitBritain'[5] released a document to industry workers to assist with the management of international clients describing Russians as 'cold', Indians as 'haggling', Australians as 'intolerant' and Germans as 'aggressive and rude'. Although perhaps well-meaning, this understandably received some criticism when it became public, due to the simplified and potentially offensive descriptors of these groups (Johansen, 2014). Such labels or stereotypes originate because, put simply, the self-perception of the ingroup tends to differ from that of the outgroup (Vázquez, Yzerbyt, Dovidio, & Gómez, 2016). Unfortunately, as people readily resort to stereotypes to differentiate one's ingroup from outgroups, they resort to prejudgements and categories which are not necessarily reflective of reality (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Gaertner et al., 2016).

People use stereotypes to categorise, judge and joke about others based on their ascribed or prescribed classification within any number of different categories such as; their profession, preferred sports team, sexual preference, gender, socio-economic status, race, ethnicity etc. In this regard stereotyping can take place along a spectrum from inoffensive to offensive, harmless to damaging, and may serve to both build and maintain distance *and* difference, between groups (Koch et al., 2016).

Stereotypes are also regularly employed to demystify the 'Other', placing outgroups into neat easy-to-understand categories (Stockton, 1994). Said (1979) in a study of Western attitudes to the Middle East looked at the set of collective, largely negative, images that Westerners used to represent this diverse group, terming it as 'Orientalism'. The manufacturing of such imagery has connotations with the backward, desert dwelling, war loving, extremist, terrorists imagery that has more recently been redeployed and maintained by Western media in relation to Middle-Eastern cultures (Alsultany, 2012; A. Richards & Omidvar, 2014).

Stereotypes are essentially simplified and clichéd assumptions, that are sometimes derived from archetypes. Archetypes are individualised personality traits that reflect the reality of the individual away from generalisations about their group membership, a prime example based on historical fact (Cabrero, Winschiers-Theophilus, & Abdelnour-Nocera, 2016). In the example of Western impressions of people from the Middle East, the archetypes of them living in a warm climate and subscribing to certain religious beliefs and customs, have been magnified and explicated by the Western media to form stereotypes. By linking Middle-Eastern generalities to things such as Islamic terrorism, or the negative treatment of women, widespread negative stereotypes are formed (see: Ogan, Willnat, Pennington, &

---

[5] The British Government's tourism department.

Bashir, 2014). Such negative stereotyping has the effect of increasing intergroup distance, reducing tolerance and making it more difficult for groups to draw upon human similarities in a relationship defined by difference (Wirtz, van der Pligt, & Doosje, 2016).

Thus, in the context of race and ethnicity, stereotypes are potentially damaging. Both stereotypes and prejudice are tools of differentiation, and are instrumental in intergroup distance/polarisation. With prejudice, members of outgroup(s) are viewed as less equal and/or less entitled to the same social goods as the ingroup (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Questioning how and why certain ethnic and racial groups receive these labels and how they are re-negotiated is, therefore, important as the answers have both practical and theoretical implications for how intergroup division occurs. For example, the internalisation of both positive and negative stereotypes can affect group behaviour through pressure to conform to dominant opinions which can recycle patterns of division (Smith, 2014; Spencer, 2014). Notions about others are based on a number of assumptions about another group's attributes (e.g. greedy, lazy), and their values (e.g. gender roles, motivations and beliefs) held by group members (Esses, Haddock & Zanna, 1993). Theories based on stereotype formation find such beliefs to be implicit in justifying and maintaining existing relations between groups across different contexts (Alexander et al., 1999; Jost & Banaji, 1994a).

Some argue that the use of stereotypes is pan-cultural. Durante et al (2013) found uniformity in how people base their stereotypes on the perceived ability and/or intention of other groups to impact their own group negatively. In contexts affected by intergroup division, stereotypes can support separatism and present barriers to coexistence and integration. This has been shown to be the case in Northern Ireland (Hughes, 2014), Belgium (Caluwaerts & Deschouwer, 2014) and Israel/Palestine (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). In their study into stereotyping and division in Malaysia, Janssens et al. (2015) found that stereotypes were based mainly on economic positions, however they admit that their study was economically focused and that race and ethnicity should have featured more strongly (p. 60).

It is held that stereotypes based on ethnicity and/or race are more readily activated than others due to both the initial 'visual stage' of stereotype activation, and the historical 'stories' that are attached to some ethno-racial beliefs (Jost & Banaji, 1994b; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 2001). Both are associated with physical and mental characteristics, and have a key role in the cognitive stereotyping of groups' economic status (Saperstein, Penner, & Light, 2013). Racial and ethnic stereotypes can also denote looks (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004), potential crime involvement (Harris, Evans, & Beckett, 2011), or performance in education (Carter, 2005), for example. All these things are, arguably, a product of the cultural setting and are essential ingredients in intergroup bias (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2014). Where stereotypes are part of perceptions about the 'Other', the archetypical reality is often different. So studying how ethno-racial racial perceptions, inclusive of stereotyping, are formed is a

worthy area of study, due to the potential for these to frame identities and influence intergroup relations (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Esteban & Ray, 2011).

2.3.5 Ethno-Racial Formation

The terms race and ethnicity are often used interchangeably and are widely debated concepts across a number of academic disciplines (S. Hall, 1996; Letki, 2008; Mason, 1995; Rubin, 1994; Wade, 1997). However, there are key differences which are important for our discussion. Race is generally associated with the physical features such as skin colour, eye and body shape, along with physical size and both cognitive and physical ability (Kinder & Dale-Riddle, 2012). Ethnicity on the other hand relates to people's common language, socio-cultural or national experiences (Betancourt & López, 1993; Omi & Winant, 1994; 2014). For the purpose of this thesis, the two terms are often used interchangeably. Both terms are significant in discussion of integration. Indeed, the division of people into ethno-racial identity groups calls into question holistic values 'as the consequences of such division have been, and continue to be, great' due to the prevalence of ethnically driven conflict (Bhopal, 2014, p. 3).

Racial Formation Theory' (RFT) attempts to understand how ethno-racial categorisations are formed in one's own mind and in the minds of others. RFT is credited to Omi and Winant (1994), who focused on the term 'race' initially as a concept which symbolises social fragmentation through reference to different types of human bodies – based on skin colour, somatotype etc. They also began the journey towards what is now a broad sociological consensus – that race is a social construction (Feagin & Elias, 2013; Saperstein et al., 2013; Staiger, 2004). RFT is 'the socio-historical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed' (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 48). Although most of their analysis is based on ethno-racial relations in the USA, their critique of colonial and class stratifications for explaining race is useful for this research due to a similar history of colonial rule, the legacy of which can still be seen today (Young, 2005). Fiji has also been affected by such colonial ordering (Sohmer, 1984). Within RFT, ethno-racial beliefs are seen as socio-political contestations that are continually occurring within and among ethnic groups. Such beliefs can be strong but also dynamic in their capacity to change over time.

How ethno-racial groups are conceptualised is flexible and susceptible to transformation (Saperstein et al., 2013). However in divided or fragmented societies where one group is dominant, the reduction of intergroup boundaries based on race or ethnicity is made more difficult as dominant groups are known to maintain and control racial boundaries through social exclusion, or even violence, in order to maintain power and status (Kawakami, Dion, & Dovidio, 1998). The dominant group's desire to maintain the status quo becomes a barrier to integration, Israel/Palestine again being a prominent example (Dowty, 2012).

The formation and maintenance of ethno-racial boundaries is particularly salient in studies on sport and racial formation in North America. In Hoberman's (1997) seminal work, 'Darwin's Athletes' he critiques mainstream society for not perceiving the significance of sport in maintaining damaging stereotypes about (largely black) athletes' sporting abilities and, by inference, intellectual inabilities. This research spawned other work that explicates how and why black athletes are used and portrayed in such a way as to entrench their subordination to white hegemony (Carrington, 2011; 2013). In this respect sport may contribute to racialized attitudes augmented by formal laws governed by habitual practice that can become so entrenched that true discrimination is obscured (Mummendey & Otten, 2001). Such research, situated mainly in the US, has allowed others to contribute to important debates about how groups are formed through sport according to ethno-racial categories (see: Feagin & Elias, 2013; Phillips & Platt, 2016; Winker, 2004).

The above research shows that the sporting domain is just one environment that can have a large influence on both ingroup identity and beliefs about the attributes of outgroups. Yet outside the US, there is a dearth of research on sport and (ethno) racial formation, particularly in the context of group division in LMICs. More can also be learned about how ethno-racial categories are constructed and maintained, along with the myriad ways in which ethnic differences are established and then problematized (E. Anderson, 2013). From the above discussion, it appears that elements of sport can be instrumental reinforcing ethno-racial categorisation and the formation of intergroup distance. This brings the discussion to ethnocentrism whereby ingroup identification is given an ethno-racial logic.

2.3.6 Ethnocentrism

The term 'ethnocentrism' was first coined by Summer (1906), to decide when a given ethnic group gives itself centrality, while outgroups are assessed according to their peripheral position. When a group *does* have a common signifier, particularly one as salient as ethnicity, there is a tendency towards (ethno) centrism (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012). This is essentially ingroup favouritism based on shared ethnicity and, in extreme cases, such favouritism combined with negative attitudes towards outgroups can prove disastrous. A sobering example is when groups see themselves as so fundamentally dissimilar that they view the other as inhuman. In other words, where ingroup members see themselves as human and, in some cases, super-human, outgroup individuals may be downgraded to less than human or 'infra-human' (Lynes, 2011).

Harmful attitudes towards intergroup differentiation can be built up over time before erupting into violence, as in the extreme cases of the mass murder of Jews in Nazi occupied Europe, or the genocide of ethnic Tutsi in Rwanda (Kuper, 1983; Mann, 2005). Around the world, violent conflict is permeated by examples where one, or both groups, are dehumanised by the other. The Israel/Palestine conflict (Dowty 2012), the treatment of the Kurdish peoples living to the North of Iraq (Miller, 2014) and ethnic

violence in North and South Sudan (Jok, 2012) are just a few contemporary examples. These cases are used to exemplify extreme ethnocentrism and dehumanisation, as they signify the most catastrophic breakdown of intergroup relations (Leidner, Castano, & Ginges, 2013).

However, it is suggested that the key to potentially avoiding such conflicts lies in understanding what social processes influence group relations negatively and investigating ways to reverse this (Bodenhausen, Mussweiler, Gabriel, & Moreno, 2001; Stephan & Renfro, 2002). Sadly, a review of the literature shows that social psychologists have a clearer picture of the processes and pre-conditions that initiate division than they do of potential methods to reduce and avoid it (see: Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). Comparatively little attention seems to have been given to situations where potentially opposed groups do in fact coexist in a peaceful manner. In some contexts such as India (Weiner, 2015), modern day Northern Ireland (Hughes, 2014), Kazakhstan (Asker, 2014) and Fiji (Fraenkel, 2015a), intergroup division along ethno-racial and/or religious lines is less conflictual but that is not to say that it is not problematic and worth attention. It is the contention of this study that intergroup relations are constantly in flux and this has warranted the development of the Intergroup Relations Continuum as a way of theorising this dynamic.

2.4 The Intergroup Relations Continuum

Figure 2 shows the newly created Intergroup Relations Continuum (IRC) which I have developed to represent a spectrum of intergroup relations within any given social context. The IRC serves to visualise elements of the literature review to symbolise the fluid nature of intergroup relations and to assist with building theory on sport and integration (SAI). Many of the examples highlighted and discussed thus far have cited situations in which intergroup relations have deteriorated (from a previous period of relative stability). In this regard, intergroup relations are constantly in flux, and subject to any number of variables which can push relations towards harmony or conflict. The continuum does not represent every aspect of intergroup relations, neither does it suppose that in all societies the goal should be a push to harmony - some societies are balanced by coexistence for example (Kriesberg, 2001; Maoz, 2000). Each term on the continuum will be explained briefly below.

Figure 2: Intergroup Relations Continuum
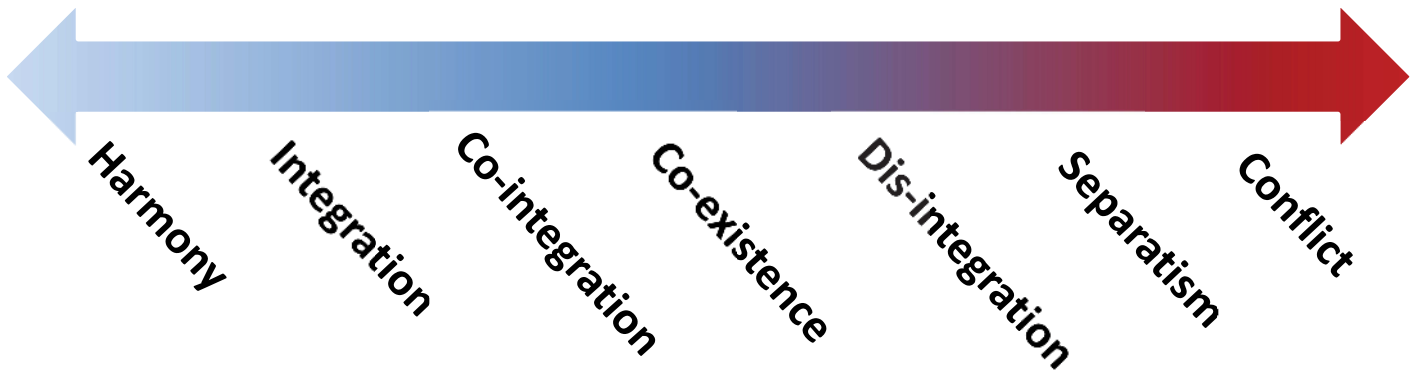
To the extreme left of the spectrum is intergroup **harmony**. This is the societal goal of efforts to improve intergroup relations (see: Dovidio, Eller, & Hewstone, 2011; Gaertner et al., 2016; F. A. White, Harvey, & Abu-Rayya, 2015) and is defined within the field as the complete absence of prejudicial behaviour and conflict between groups. It is also generally viewed as an environment where collectivism reigns, and where group salience is muted (Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010). It is also where intergroup contact occurs regularly and without negative consequence, and where intergroup distance is reduced to the point of irrelevancy. A common collective identity is held with greater importance than separate group identities. This study does not suggest that intergroup 'harmony' is the panacea for intergroup relations. In some contexts, harmony also connotes a loss of (minority) group identity and the acceptance of the status quo whatever this may be (see: Dixon et al., 2010; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009). Yet it is viewed here as a useful goal, in opposition to conflict and a step beyond integration.

Integration is defined here as 'the ability to participate fully in economic, social, cultural and political activities while maintaining one's cultural identity' (Spaaij 2012, p. 2). There is mutual recognition between groups, along with their shared identity as part of a superordinate (national) structure. Within integration, both the ingroup identity and the superordinate connection is maintained within a climate of multiculturalism (Berry, 2005). Groups are separate but bonded through integrative mechanisms and shared socio-cultural spaces, and diversity is present in key social and governmental institutions (see: Agergaard, 2011; Gasser & Levinsen, 2004; Spaaij, 2012).

Co-integration is a term I have borrowed from mathematics which denotes two values which are connected in some way, are predictable, but ultimately separate (Granger, 1986; Hylleberg, Engle, Granger, & Yoo, 1990). Here co-integration is a point on the spectrum between coexistence and integration. It represents a state of intergroup relations where separate group memberships are clear, but

there is growing consensus for a shared identity. In such an environment, extended periods of contact between groups have resulted in horizontal linkages and increased intermingling, reducing group boundaries (Dovidio et al., 2011). For example, the changing of majority attitudes towards disadvantaged migrant groups in the Netherlands can be seen as an example of co-integration in practice. This is due to a combination of interactions over time, cross community linkages and a consensus that has moved away from ethnic reification, but is not completely removed from it (Paulle & Kalir, 2014).

Co-existence, a term prevalent in discourse on peacebuilding (Abu-Nimer, 2001; Assefa, 2001; Gawerc, 2006a) is defined as 'reflecting the realisation on part of the groups that they are mutually dependent to a significant degree. Interdependence may be and often is, ''asymmetrical' (Bercovitch, Kremenyuk, & Zartman, 2008, p. 36). This means that in coexistence inequalities may still exist, but the relationship between groups is functional and peaceful, with mutual recognition of separate roles. It is important to note that some societies may have reached a balance with coexistence as preferable to conflict. Its strength is that clearly recognised and respected boundaries can form a basis for further intergroup understanding, and prevent fears over a loss of identity (González & Brown, 2006). The power sharing arrangement and the coexistence of Protestant and Catholic communities in Northern Ireland since the 'good Friday agreement' (1998) is a good example of prolonged coexistence in action (Kerr, 2006).

When coexistence stops functioning in a way which is mutually beneficial and/or events trigger an increase in fear and mistrust of the 'Other' then relations can begin to disintegrate. **Dis-integration** has been associated with the breaking apart of mono-ethnic national identities (Shain & Sherman, 1998). In international relations, dis-integration is associated with the break-up of supranational economic formations into smaller entities which still retain a degree of inter-relation albeit weaker (Ruta, 2005). Here it is applied to signify the beginnings of intergroup distance indicated by a lack, but not absence, of contact and communication.

Separatism then follows and is a signification of when distance between groups has increased to a stage where there is minimal contact and dialogue, and where levels of mistrust, fear and outgroup derogation are increasing. In terms of ethnicity, separatism is informed by ethnocentrism, ethno-racial stereotypes and ultimately fear of the 'other' (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012; M. E. Brown, 2010; Esteban & Ray, 2011). Group separatism can be dangerous as it 'crystallizes the differences, magnifies tensions and intensifies hostilities' between groups (Schlesinger Jr, 1991, p. 4). Intergroup 'separatism' was present before many of the world's most horrific conflicts such as the genocide of ethnic Tutsi by Hutu in Uganda during the early period of 1990. The 'ethno-federal' separation of the USSR and former Yugoslavia into group sovereignties is also said to have been a precursor for violence in Eastern Europe (see:

Eriksson & Wallensteen, 2004; Grigoryan, 2012; Lake & Rothchild, 1996b; Lemarchand, 1996; Paffenholz, 2016).

Conflict then signifies the complete breakdown of intergroup relations which, in its most extreme case, may result in war (Esteban & Ray, 2011). The outcomes of war or war-like situations have been catastrophic - catalysing violence, famine, mass displacement and many other irreparable damages that can echo through generations (Kuper, 1983; Lemarchand, 1996; S. Miller, 2014). There are peaceful examples of (political) conflict, which can be necessary to secure sustainable and positive change (Simmel, 2010). However, the general consensus is that conflict is to be avoided due to its tendency to provoke dire consequences. Sherif's (1961) 'Cave experiment' (see: **2.3**) indicates a human innateness towards conflict *when* groups are separated and placed in competition with one another. History provides further empirical evidence which supports such claims and, because of this, a significant body of knowledge has grown to address the many challenges associated with conflict, due to its devastating impacts (see: Galtung, 1975; Katano, 2009; Lederach, 1997; Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013b; Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006; Paffenholz, 2010).

This thesis contributes the IRC continuum to add to the body of knowledge on intergroup relations. A continued focus on societies afflicted by conflict has meant that there remains a gap in knowledge in the study of intergroup relations in societies where division is less overt. This study is designed to improve understanding regarding the relationship between sport and intergroup relations in such environments. I refer back to this model at different times throughout the thesis as a visual indication of where intergroup relations are perceived to be, where they have been and where they may be heading in the context being studied. I now turn attention to research on intergroup relations that explore factors exacerbating or reducing a rightward trajectory along the IRC spectrum towards conflict.

2.5 Improving intergroup relations

As discussed, numerous studies have shown how simple it is for intergroup relations to break down and spiral into open conflict (Horowitz, 1985; Lake & Rothchild, 1996c; McGarry & O'leary, 2013; Roudometof, 2001). If clear identifiers such as ethnicity, religion and social class are present, then intergroup distance and feelings such as fear, mistrust, and hatred can become more pronounced (Christ et al., 2014; Hogg, 2013). Given the potential for conflict, measures to reduce intergroup distance must be taken rather than allowing such cleavages to occur (Paffenholz, 2016; Worchel, 1979). Logically then people must seek out ways of improving intergroup relations and researchers look for mechanisms which engender peaceful integration (Dovidio et al., 2009; Höglund & Sundberg, 2008a; Jaśko & Kossowska, 2013). One of the earliest and most researched approaches in this field involves the facilitation of intergroup contact.

2.5.1 The Contact Hypothesis

In terms of intergroup relations, it is believed that 'mere exposure may also be a useful tool for reducing negativity towards out-group members*' (Bournstein 1993, p 98). The contact hypothesis is based on the idea that one does not fear or necessarily mistrust those one encounters often, whether they be people we work alongside, play sports with *or* those of the same ethnic group. Allport's (1954) *contact hypothesis* holds that increasing intergroup contact, through face-to-face encounters, will boost familiarity and therefore intergroup relations will be improved. The theory focuses on the prerequisite conditions for effective contact. These are; equal status, common goals, cooperation and institutional support. They have since been extended to include an emphasis on how individuals are categorised into either out or ingroup members during contact, as this has a significant effect on attitudes, and actions, towards others beyond the contact environment (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The contact hypothesis has received significant empirical support. Pettigrew & Tropp (2000) reviewed 203 studies from 25 nations, encompassing 90,000 participants and found that 94% of the studies reinforced the contact hypothesis (in that 94% of the time, prejudice decreased as contact increased). However, contact per se, particularly among previously opposed groups, is not necessarily the panacea for improving relations (Caspersen, 2004). For instance, in a study by Powers & Ellison (1995) on black and white relations in America found that while sustained contact between both groups can mitigate negative attitudes about the 'Other', it may also have the effect of legitimating and perpetuating a status quo in which one group (white Americans) are more advantaged.

There needs to be considerable understanding of how groups are categorised and thought put into what the end goal of contact is, as contact may improve intergroup relations momentarily but this is dependent on the groups themselves. The context and function of contact must take into account: the deeply entrenched identities at stake, whether these be ethno-racial, religions, socio-cultural or any other categorisation which defines a group's place in the world (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). For example, Inzlicht & Been-Zeev (2000) found that intergroup contact can create 'threatening environments' where separate group identities can be at risk. This is especially the case for stigmatized groups, such as immigrants, who can become more aware of their devalued identity in relation to others in a given context.

The contact hypothesis must be wary of assumptions and mindful of the intended outcomes and whether this is advantageous to all concerned, as failure to do so can be disastrous (Forbes, 1997). For example, in her work in intergroup contact in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Paluck (2010) found that increased interaction between opposing groups and views actually increased intolerance and intergroup grievances, feeding ongoing violence in the region. Furthermore, the theory and method behind the idea

for increased contact and dialogue was formulated by 'college students in rich industrialised nations' with a lack of foresight and knowledge of the context at hand (p. 1180).

2.5.2 Group Categorisation and Identity

Where properly engineered, contact is efficacious in reducing group boundaries, however an understanding of how groups become separately categorised before, during and after contact is also important (Brewer, Weber, & Carini, 1995; Brewer, 2001; Dovidio et al., 2009). This allows us to understand the history of intergroup relations, whether these relations have become better or worse over time and what the key factors were/are in this relationship. Within this literature, a number of models have been proposed, including: the de-categorised contact model, the common ingroup identity model, the ingroup projection model, the mutual ingroup differentiation model and the dual identity model. While all models may have the same end goal, they are significantly different in their approaches on how to get there. These models are discussed below.

The De-categorised Contact Model (DCM)

The DCM holds that when different group members interact they should be encouraged to conceive of themselves as separate individuals and not solely as group members – so they become 'de-categorised'. A prominent articulation of this approach is Brewer and Miller's (1984) personalisation view. The authors theorise that contact should take place on an individual basis, promoting opportunities for personal efforts towards humanisation and mutual recognition. This approach champions individual agency and can be effective in allowing people to move away from negative ingroup stereotypes and prejudice of outgroups. The DCM is based on initially creating a contact situation where potentially damaging and distance creating categories are de-emphasised and/or made less relevant to improve intergroup perceptions (Brewer and Miller 1984). This came from the realisation that mere categorisation itself is enough to bring about intergroup bias, so it is suggested here that blurring category borders can weaken such bias (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971).

In this model, de-categorisation is achieved through personal relationship formation during contact, leading to more individual framing of the 'other' in the hope of dispelling any negative stereotypes (Brewer &Miller 1984). The DCM is particularly useful in one-on-one interactions or in smaller group settings, within a positive and controlled environment, where people can get to know each other through interpersonal exchange (González & Brown, 2003). Yet despite empirical support (see: Bettencourt et al., 1997; Brewer et al., 1995) this model is somewhat problematic, as individually de-categorising people is made easy only when the groups in question are small, hence this may have limited impact.

DCM in practice

The effectiveness of de-categorization has been shown in numerous small scale studies, which have confirmed that interpersonal focus in contact scenarios is useful in reducing negative stereotypes (Bettencourt, Brewer, Croak, & Miller, 1992). But there has been difficulty reported in large scale studies where such personalisation across two or more large groups is not logistically possible, or theoretically appropriate (González & Brown, 2003). This is because the conditions that serve the personalisation approach remove the individual from their group category, and therefore, any positive change in perception is personalised, however feelings towards the outgroup may well remain unchanged (Hewstone et al., 2002).

The Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM)

The CIIM seeks to reduce the definitive categorisation of separate groups in favour of a common identity; in short, this is done through foregrounding existing superordinate memberships (such as school, company, nation) over sub-categories (e.g. ethnic group, sub-culture). Often, the ingroup building process is assisted by introducing common goals that individuals are encouraged to share, and that can be achieved only through engagement and cooperation (Gaertner et al., 2016; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Rather than aiming to remove the use of social categorisations altogether, the CIIM approach seeks to remove the use of previously separating terms such as 'us' and 'them' in favour of an inclusive 'we'. It is argued that 'If members of different groups are induced to conceive of themselves as a single, more inclusive superordinate group, rather than two completely separate groups, attitudes towards former outgroup members would be expected to become more positive' (Dovidio et al., 2009, p. 114).

This redirection towards a singular, inclusive identity is intended to replace perceptions of subordination with belonging, where collective goals and commonalities are highlighted (Vale 2014). This may direct relations towards 'harmony' on the IRC (figure 2) due to the emphasis on the reduction of potentially robust and distance creating identities. Superordinate identities are associated with what Anderson (1983) terms 'Imagined Communities' - socially constructed communities, intangible groups that are emotionally rather than physically connected. Yet the concept of an imagined community is relevant here as many efforts to improve intergroup relations attempt to facilitate an environment where disparate groups can envisage a hypothetical, or 'imagined', community with holistic beliefs and values (Eriksen, 2001; 2002). In the CIIM this strategy is central as it places an emphasis on superordinate identity and common goals, diverting attention away from group differences and towards commonalities.

CIIM in Practice

This model has received support in both small group and larger field experiments (Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994; Gaertner et al., 2000), showing that when the contact environment abides by the rules of contact theory, perceptions of common ingroup identity are more likely to occur (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Moreover, when two groups conceive of themselves as of equal status during contact then they are more likely to envisage themselves as part of a broader group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). For example, in Fiji, the current political leadership has attempted to increase intergroup harmony between its two main ethnic groups in a superordinal manner by officially re-branding all citizens as 'Fijian', where previously only Indigenous islanders were (officially) known as 'Fijians' while those of Indian descent were known as 'Indo-Fijians' or simply 'Indians' (Ratuva 2007) – this will be discussed further in the next chapter (3). However, how successful this re-categorisation process really was, and if strong ethnic identities can in fact be successfully subsumed into a superordinate classification, remains to be seen. We will return to this example later in this section.

Sporting environments may assist in the creation of a shared identity, and there is empirical support to suggest that sport is such an instrument (M. Woisetschläger, J. Haselhoff, & Backhaus, 2014; Yoshida, Gordon, James, & Heere, 2015). In Croatia, for example, the nation's first post-Croatian War of Independence leader, President Tudjman, used football stadia as potent sites for expressions of national homogeneity and nationhood to restore feelings of pride and unity after a period characterised by regional and ethnic division (Brentin, 2013). Fans identify with teams and form such communities because of the positive effect it has on self-esteem and their sense of belonging (Dimmock, Grove, & Eklund, 2005; Hirt, Zillmann, Erickson, & Kennedy, 1992). In SIT, sports teams are seen as effective 'targets' of identity (Tajfel, 1978) and, as such, are useful sites for reducing distance between groups by suspending narratives of division and group salience (Porter & Smith, 2013). However, sports games, races and events are finite and, consequentially, so is the recognition of common identity, particularly when groups are of unequal status and/or categorised by differences in class, ethnicity, religion etc. in everyday life (Guilianotti, 2013).

When groups are not of equal status, then the situation is analogous to when one company has taken over another rather than merged (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993), or when members of a higher status ethnic group are motivated to maintain the status quo, as with Jews and Arabs in Israel/Palestine (Halabi, Nadler, Dovidio, & Noor, 2010; Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2008). The reduction of categories and the adoption of a shared identity associated with both the DCM and the CIIM is problematic in that it might pressure subordinate groups to conform and to perceive an unjust system as being otherwise.

The CIIM has theoretical issues also. First, it is might be unrealistic for people to abandon an identity in favour of another shared version as people's identities are often an important part of their self-concept and are therefore difficult to forget (González & Brown, 2006; Huo et al., 1996; Smithson, Sopeña, & Platow, 2015). Second, and quite possibly as a result of the first issue, the reduction in intergroup bias is rarely strong enough to have a long term effect on altering outgroup attitudes beyond the contact environment (Hogg, 2013). Finally, questions remain as to which group sets the parameters for the superordinate identity that persons are encouraged to share and adopt? This brings us to the ingroup projection model.

Ingroup Projection Model (IPM)

The IPM, promulgated by Wenzel et al. (2008), is a newer addition to the field of intergroup relations and social psychology. It is important in the critique of the CIIM in that the IPM sees joint categorisation as a potential obstacle to intergroup harmony. It is less of a solution to framing intergroup contact and more of an indication of potential barriers to intergroup harmony that can emerge when groups are forced together. In the IPM, ingroup/outgroup comparisons are made via perceptions of the 'prototypicality' of groups to a relevant category (Smithson et al., 2015). Group members assess the ingroup and outgroup's relative attributes based on a social category that encompasses both groups. This superordinate group acts as a reference point for highlighting intergroup differences, but it is not objective or indeed static. It is subject to the differing views coming from various vantage points of ingroup and out-group members (Wenzel et al., 2008).

To simplify, individuals use ideal types within a number of categories to derive a sense of self (Tajfel 1987). These categories have various levels of inclusion from the unique individual, where only the self is a member, through less unique classifications (e.g. a social scientist), or as a human being where all categories are encompassed (Wenzel et al., 2008). Individuals' definitions of themselves and the groups to which they belong depend on what is perceived as a 'prototype' or ideal member of their group. Social categories are viewed here as comparable only to the extent to which they share inclusion in higher level categories. For example, anthropologists and sociologists are social scientists, but ingroup perceptions about what represents the ideal social scientist will differ. The ingroup and outgroup will then be compared according to perceptions about their level of conformity to this ideal type (Haslam et al., 1998).

This theoretical construct follows social identity theory in that ingroups project an ideal identity that, in a certain context, is stereotypical or 'prototypical' and therefore positive and normative (Wenzel et al., 2008). The important point for this discussion on intergroup relations is that research shows how ingroups tend to project their own prototype as a claim for the suitable prototype for the superordinate identity - also known as the 'false consensus effect' (see: Krueger & Clement, 1994; Ross, Greene, &

House, 1977). For example, Turner (1987) hypothesises that 'ethnocentrism, attraction to one's own group as a whole, depends upon the perceived prototypicality of the ingroup in comparison with relevant outgroups (relative prototypicality) in terms of the valued superordinate self-category that provides the basis of the intergroup comparison' (p. 61). Applied to the social scientist example, both anthropologist and sociologist may feel differently about the kind of work that a 'good' social scientist does and this belief may self-justify their sense of entitlement to a greater share of research funding. This is due to their own perceived conformity to an ideal, applied to examples of intergroup division; in practice this will become clearer still.

IPM in practice

Unlike models which advocate adopting a superordinate identity, IPM holds that antagonism will be created when groups are expected to add a superordinate level to their conception of self, as conflicts over what this macro identity should look like may exacerbate division and exclusion (Wenzel et al., 2008). In general, this model is not one which highlights ways of healing intergroup relations, but ways in which intergroup rifts may occur. A number of studies have confirmed that the members of groups in intergroup contexts will disagree about the ideal prototype (see: Jetten & Spears, 2003; Kessler et al., 2010). One notable study for our purposes, as it deals with large real world group categories, is that of Waldzus et al (2004). They found that among different groups of 'bikers' the ideal type of 'biker' was different, reflecting the prototypical characteristics of each sub-group. However, in the same study, looking at East and West Germans after unification, both groups agreed that 'Westerners' were viewed as more 'typically German', as defined by historical stereotype consensus (p. 392), however they disagreed on the *level* of prototypicality. West Germans saw themselves as even more typically German than 'Easterners', suggesting that groups will often struggle to agree 100% on what is representative of the prototypical superordinate identity.

Overall, the IPM is somewhat simplistic and context dependent. For example, it presumes that a superordinate identity is sought and that prototivity, or closeness to the group's ideal type, will be projected even when social reality and common sense may suppose otherwise. This was discussed by Kessler et al. (2010), once again in Germany, who looked at recent migrants who did not see themselves as prototypically 'German', and who had no desire to be seen in such a way. This caused them to be negatively valued by the majority as they did not aspire to the prototype 'according to the standards of the society'. The majority group had its own idea of what was the prototypical German. The minority group did not fit this so they were evaluated negatively. This model raises problems regarding the formation of a superordinate and/or shared identities, for example, how can everyone agree on the majority prototype? Can divergent versions of superordinate identity exist harmoniously? This leads to the next model.

Mutual Ingroup Differentiation Model (MIDM)

The MIDM was formulated first by Hewstone & Brown (1986) and then reframed by Vivian et al. (1997). This model can be seen as a contrast to the DCM and CIIM. It also does not face quite the same problems highlighted by the IPM as it is based on the belief that 'The simultaneous maintenance of both the ingroup/out-group distinction and a superordinate identity, in a cooperative setting, is useful for the generalisation of positive intergroup attitudes' (Gaertner et al 1999, p 391). Rather than an emphasis on de-categorisation, the MIDM posits that intergroup relations will be more harmonious when group identities are allowed to remain salient, but within a superordinate context of cooperative interaction (Gaertner et al., 2016). Potentially negative feelings over a perceived loss of identity and subordination to a macro identity are avoided as salience is balanced by intergroup cooperation. Here, groups work in parallel and this can engender admiration and recognition of out-group attributes, along with recognition and pride of one's own (González & Brown, 2003). Within this model, the need for groups to conform and/or agree on a superordinate identity is less important as there is an emphasis on the recognition of separate but coexisting identities.

MIDM in Practice

Greenland and Brown (1999) looked at this model in relation to intergroup contact, comparing pleasant/unpleasant outcomes in small scale experiments. They varied both the nature of intergroup contact (pleasant/unpleasant) and the typicality of outgroup members and found that there was a reduction in in-group favouritism when groups were kept separate. When contact did occur it did so under pleasant circumstances – British and Japanese students working together on an academic task - where groups learned from each other's behaviours, which also helped with self-esteem. For van Oudenhoven et al. (1996) results were similar when looking at cooperative learning experiences of Turkish immigrants in a Dutch setting. They found that where groups of participants worked separately on shared goals, they experienced increased feelings of mutual respect and admiration. The model is also supported in studies that have found limits to the contact hypothesis, notably when contact is built around participants simply getting to know each other rather than engaging in collective action it is less effective (see: Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012).

As contact is not directly encouraged, this is also a downside to the MIDM, as it is generally agreed that contact is a necessary element in improving intergroup relations (Hughes, Campbell, & Jenkins, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Richter, West, Van Dick, & Dawson, 2006). People-to-people (contact) initiatives are now a well-established part of conflict resolution between disparate groups in contemporary peacebuilding theory (Feller & Ryan, 2012; Paffenholz, 2010; 2016; Yablon, 2007). This model is a departure from those above as there is less emphasis on commonality and more on coexistence, that sists on the right hand side of the IRC spectrum (see: Figure 2). Intergroup relations

may be peaceful in the short term but group boundaries and distance are prolonged in the long term (Oh, Chung, & Labianca, 2004).

Much of the discourse regarding the models that have been discussed so far is somewhat dated. Studies which have found fault with the above models have informed discussions on the potential for hybridity in applying different aspects of these models at any one time, and one model that does this well is the dual identity model.

Dual identity model (DIM)

In the DIM the goal is to reduce intergroup bias by systematically altering the perception of intergroup boundaries, and redefining what is conceived of as an ingroup member, while maintaining group salience (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Hogg, 2013). In acknowledgement of the shortcomings of previous models, many scholars have found the DIM to be useful. This is, in part, due to a recognition that people's identities are important to them, and it may have been that the desire to maintain group identities is a potential flash point in intergroup relations (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2014). The DIM, therefore, combines the communal elements of the CIIM, the identity protection facets of the MIDM and requires a degree of re-categorisation associated with the DCM. The goal is then the simultaneous achievement of a shared superordinate identity, and a positively acknowledged distinction of ingroup identities (González & Brown, 2003). Applied to inter-ethnic contact scenarios, success lies in convincing opposing ethnicities that the maintenance of their own identity, along with acceptance of other groups under a common identity banner, is possible and in fact advantageous.

The DIM is a useful model for improving intergroup relations, as it allows for groups to envisage a shared existence that does not threaten their own enclaves of identity. This approach acknowledges that a residue of identity may always remain even after a person has left a group and accepts the identity of another (Smithson et al., 2015). Furthermore, as discussed above (see: 2.2.3) 'social identity complexity' and societal pluralism are contemporary norms, and multiple identities are common the world over (Berry, 2011; Brooks, 2002). The DIM suggests simultaneous coexistence and integration of multiple identities within a shared framework. The simultaneous emphasis on identity maintenance and the sharing of a broader identity label is present in modern multicultural nation-states, and helps us discuss identities and integration in the context of the global enmeshment of peoples, races, languages etc. (see: Banks, 2017).

DIM in Practice

An example often referred to in relation to sport is Nelson Mandela's use of the rugby union world cup in South Africa (1995), where the South African team were victorious against all odds. Mandela saw the potential of sport to connect opposed ethnic groups. In a nation emerging from a period of racial

apartheid, the Springboks (the national rugby team) were symbolic of white South African nationalism, and many black South Africans would even actively support opposition teams from other nations, rather than support the Springboks. However, Mandela publically supported the team, specifically encouraging them to reach out to black communities and sing the new national anthem proudly, and to play under the banner of '*One Team, One Nation*'. The national anthem was a hybrid version of the hymn 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika' (God Bless Africa) and 'Die Stem van Suid-Afrika' (The Call of South Africa). The song simultaneously combines South Africa's five main languages, giving a nod to each major subnational identity, while also celebrating a collective South African nationalism. This galvanised the 'rainbow nation' in a way that was previously unimagined, as the bitterly divided society threw its unified support behind the song and the team (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008a; Steenveld & Strelitz, 1998).

The case of post-apartheid South Africa shows how groups can maintain identities, while adapting to super-ordinate group membership. It also shows how, even when ethno-racial or religious identity is strong, the perception of a macro connection can be maintained through the use of sport. This is an example of the introduction of a superordinate identity during a collaborative contact scenario, and elements of this are evident in peacebuilding work elsewhere. For example, musical groups in Northern Ireland - where groups from across the sectarian divide have met to take part in collaborative music exercises. These encounters have been useful in both building and reconciling the dual identities at play (Pruitt, 2011). Music and theatre have also been utilized in a similar fashion by facilitating combined drama workshops consisting of both Tamil and Sinhalese participants in Sri-Lanka (Premaratna & Bleiker, 2010). While the inherently collaborative environment of soccer has been utilised to bring Arabs and Jews together on the field in the Middle-East and to help heal division in West Africa (Rookwood & Palmer, 2011; Sugden, 2008).

Schulenkorf (2010) applies many of the above models to the use of sports events in the healing of group relations in Sri Lanka. He found that through shared participation in the events, previously opposed groups of individuals were able to de-categorise the 'other' (DCM), and also maintain their own ethnic group salience, while envisaging a common Sri-Lankan identity (DIM). In this study Schulenkorf showed that, if contact is carefully planned and structured with the local context in mind, several of the above models can co-exist as complementary products of intergroup contact.

The ability to envisage a shared national identity is then made possible through increased contact. Many countries around the globe play host to multiple ethnicities and cultures, many of whom show a degree of singular national identification at one time or another. For example, Canada in its diversity is said to be the world's first 'post-national' country, with many of its diverse inhabitants sharing the 'Canadian' identity. This is in part due to an official policy of multi-culturalism that has been a key tenet of

Canadian national policy since 1982, leading to integrated communities (Foran, 2017; Gordon-Walker, 2016). Similarities can also be found in Sweden, which celebrates its national day as a 'festival of multiculturalism'. Since its national day has existed only since 2005, this is a clear statement about how the nation sees itself and the future (Schall, 2014). Britain, France and Germany have also loudly self-proclaimed their societies as multi-cultural at times (Koenig, 2015; Morales & Giugni, 2016). Yet a resurgence of nationalist political parties across all three contexts and the implications of 'Brexit' on the UK's multiculturalist rhetoric, are proof that the prospect of multiple identities living side by side is still unpalatable to many (Vieten & Poynting, 2016)

The DIM can sit close to 'Integration' on the IRC (Figure 2) in that it is a model that can help facilitate multiculturalism by normalising the maintenance of identities and furthering harmony via shared attachments to a superordinate identity. This is encouraged by increasing personal contact, communication and direct exchange on a large scale (González & Brown, 2003). The approach correlates with modern attitudes towards societal pluralism and intergroup solidarity (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015) in a way that reduces the exclusion of minorities and celebrates distinctiveness, in a climate of coexistence.

Yet the IPM is not to be forgotten, as even in the examples of Canada and Sweden there is a suggestion that minority groups are overshadowed by the projection of a hegemonic superordinate identity (Andersson & Hammarstedt, 2015; Sanou et al., 2014). This poses the question: on whose terms is the superordinate identity formed and decided? Does this matter, if superordinate identity attachment is an individual decision? Such questions will be discussed later in the thesis. The key themes of identity and intergroup relations have been introduced and discussed. Just one circle in the conceptual framework remains to be discussed. I will now discuss the role of sport and how sport is interrelated with identity and intergroup relations. The realm of sport is a powerful and highly visible canvas on which the prototypical projection of identity occurs regularly. This has been particularly evident where national identity is concerned (Bogdanov, 2017). I begin with a discussion of sport and the nation.

2.6 Sport and the Nation

The nation is understood as representative of the political, economic and social community within determined geographical boundaries (Hobsbawm, 2012). It is believed that national identity is 'the most consistent predictor of xenophobic attitudes' where those who do not conform to what the majority see as the dominant national image may face discrimination (R. Brown, 2000, p. 78). This is informed further by ingroup beliefs about the homogenous nature of other groups, which can take the form of stereotyping and even racism. A high level of affinity with national identity is often known as

'nationalism' and is among the most widely discussed concepts in modern political and social thought (see: Billig, 1995; Gellner, 2008; Hobsbawm & Kertzer, 1992; Ignatieff, 2010).

As this study looks at the intergroup relations in a national setting, nationalism is important due to its ability to affect intergroup relations both positively as a focal point of unity (Billig, 1995), and negatively as a marker of difference (Coakley 2012). As Mummedey et al. (2001) found, positive feelings towards one's nationality often means opposition and rejection of others as an inevitable consequence. Although national identity is just one of many available identities, it remains a powerful one, stimulating more emotion than many other attachments (M. E. Brown, 2010; Ignatieff, 2010; Poole, 1999). Sport and nationalism is a force which can drive intergroup relations either way along the IRC spectrum (Figure 2).

Due to the increased mobility and diversity of global populations, there are now claims that the 'nation' is a defunct unit of analysis in a post-modern age (Paasi, 2016; Reeskens & Wright, 2013). However, this is exactly why it is relevant in the contemporary study of identity, sport and intergroup relations, as groups often refer to nationalism as an anchor of self-definition in a changing world. From here they can differentiate others, such as sub-national groups and rival nationalities, and celebrate their own national distinctiveness (Gonzalez-Torres & Fernandez-Rivas, 2014). Nationalism is linked to SIT in that national affiliation is given meaning through comparison to others (Andreouli & Howarth, 2013). Flags, anthems, typography, culture, stereotypes, political identity and other characteristics all engender a sense of shared belonging and attachment or 'nationalism' among citizens (Smith 2013). Belonging is reinforced through 'carnivalesque' practices such as national days of celebration (Independence Day, USA; Australia Day, Australia; St Andrews Day, Scotland; Coronation Day, Thailand; Bastille Day, France.) and in modern nation states. Belonging can also be reinforced by supporting a national team on the sporting field (Mummendey et al., 2001). Through the celebration of a (sometimes nostalgic) nationalism through sport, groups can participate in a singular version of a shared (national) identity which may not reflect the realities in modern, diverse nations (see: Bairner, 2015; Brentin & Cooley, 2016).

The commercial power and reach of sport compounds its use as a nationalist tool. Sport has journeyed from pre-modern traditions of Olympism dating back millennia (Papakonstantinou, 2003), through village versus village football games in Britain (M. Taylor, 2013), to its modern, globalised form. Sport now permeates modern life through key subjects in schools and universities, major spaces in cities, and numerous 24/7 sports channels (Cronin & Mayall, 1998). The Olympic movement, the Football World Cup, The Commonwealth Games, the various Tennis opens, Formula One and The Athletics World Championships have further encouraged growth in sport buoyed by evolutions in travel, technology and interdependent multimedia (Houlihan & Malcolm, 2015; Sage, 2015). Sport is now interwoven with the

story of many nations which strive to display national pride and identity on the world stage. As Jarvie (2013) puts it:

> It is important for politicians and world leaders to be associated with sports personalities; it contributes to the economy; some of the most visible international spectacles are associated with sporting events; it is part of the social and cultural life of different localities, regions and nations (p. 2).

The widespread appeal and exposure enjoyed by mainstream sport make it a functional platform for celebrating identity and nationalism(s). The practices of flag waving, the singing of national songs and the ratification of social, even '*tribal*', bonds are built through the informal activities of players and fans (Hughson, 1999). Sport is a social construction and a malleable one at that. It can be adapted and ascribed meaning according to the context that surrounds it (snr Sugden, 1999). Sport as a mode of representation can therefore be enacted in a number of ways. On both sub-national and international stages, people can use sport to project their own identity and to signify and reinforce group membership. Sport, therefore, reveals underlying social linkages, it is a focal point of expression, not a random picture of society, but an integral part of it - a direct form of societal reflection (MacClancy, 1996). As Hoberman (1993) argues:

> Sportive nationalism is not a single generic phenomenon; on the contrary, it is a complicated socio-political response to challenges and events, both sportive and non-sportive that must be understood in terms of the varying national contexts in which it appears (p.18).

Sportive nationalism celebrates this uniqueness and is, by its very nature, blatant – it is highly visible as a spectacle so fans and participants may take advantage of sport's exposure to accentuate group belonging (Hughson 1999). Elites also regularly appropriate sport to enhance prestige, as an instrument in national rivalries, national branding and even as an alternative to more overt forms of diplomacy as an instrument of 'soft power' on the international stage (Brannagan & Rookwood, 2016; Freeman, 2012). National sports can be appropriated to personify a nation for both internal and diplomatic purposes and, by doing this, provide particular insights into a nation's make up along with its history (Andrews, 1999; Qiu & Yang, 2008). Viewing the nation through a primordialist lens, for example, would allow an interpretation of national origins in which sports are interwoven with a particular historical nationhood – language, land, blood ties, tribalism, etc (M. E. Brown, 2010). However due to increased global migration and the resultant spread of multiculturalism, some group identities are under challenge. As a result, sport is being used to reaffirm the boundaries of identity and group membership in a globalised world (Seippel, 2017).

37

2.6.1 Sport and Identity Maintenance

It is erroneous to assume that all members of a community utilise sport in some way to define themselves or form an attachment to their nation or ethno-social group. Sport is one of a number of factors that influence social and cultural identity (NZTRI, 2007). Yet, as discussed, globalisation has affected the self-concept of many of the world's nations (Ariely 2011). Sport can therefore act as a rallying point for national identities in the face of cultural insecurity (Porter & Smith, 2013). In sport, 'fans are at least partially "safe" in a volatile world of unstable identities' (Porat, 2010).

Indeed some 'national' sports achieve a synonymous relationship with the nation in times past, unique to context – as in bull fighting in Spain or hurling and Gaelic football in Ireland. Yet bullfights in Spain, for example, are not enacted across the whole nation, and neither is hurling popular with all groups in Ireland. However both, at one time or another, have been appropriated as symbolic sites of Spanish and Irish nationalisms respectively (Bairner 2001). In this respect, sports, and their organisations, may also be employed to maintain a *version* of national identity. In doing so, it can undermine official or competing versions of national identification by acting as a rallying point for alternative sub-national groups (see: Bairner, 2008; 2001; Rogers & Rookwood, 2007).

This may become problematic in contexts characterised by poor intergroup relations brought about by competing versions of national identity, as this may inform a push towards further disintegration and separatism (Theeboom, Schaillée, & Nols, 2012). Divided and fragmented societies can struggle with developing a collective national consciousness, and less dominant cultural groups or '*submerged nations*' can augment this situation by retreating into sporting enclaves (Bairner 2008). Within such pockets, cultural independence and distinctiveness are enacted in opposition, and/or in contrast, to different versions of national identity (Field, 2014). At the societal level, 'sport provides both athletes and fans with opportunities to celebrate a national identity that is different from, and in some cases, opposed to, their ascribed nationality' (Bairner, 2008, p.423).

Sport has been used to define and redefine group relations and ethno-national boundaries through the projection of an ideal nationalist type (as in the IPM, see: 2.5.2). Examples of such ethno-national posturing through sport can be found in a number of contexts such as Scotland (Kidd, 2008a), Wales, Catalonia and The Basque region in Spain (Hargreaves, 2002), Quebec (Potter, 2008) and in Northern and Southern Ireland (Bradley 1998). Sport can act as a vehicle of cultural resistance by celebrating group distinctiveness, where individuals can meet to celebrate ingroup commonality (Bairner 2008). This can take place in opposition to hegemony hegemonic nationalism, which can also be reinforced through sport.

2.6.2 Sport and Hegemony

Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' is important for this study, particularly in regard to the use of sport. For Gramsci, creating hegemony was a political, intellectual and social exercise, which works by perpetuating a common world view within popular culture (Gramsci, Nowell-Smith, & Hoare, 1971). Overarching cultural power in a hegemonic form may result in underprivileged and/or minority groups falling victim to cultural oppression. In this case, rather than integration based on mutual recognition and equal access to citizenship goods, the status quo of the dominant cultural ideology is reproduced (Comstock et al., 2008). Hegemony can be overtly or covertly present, across the continuum in Figure 2, at every stage. For example, critics of 'harmony' see the dangers of group salience being sacrificed in favour of superordinate – hegemonic – collectivism (Dixon et al., 2010; Saguy & Chernyak-Hai, 2012). In coexistence, the balance between groups can be held in place by the hegemony of one group over others. The situation within the borders of Israel is a useful example of this, Jews and Arabs coexist under the umbrella of a Jewish national identity, albeit one that varies in intensity between regions within the disputed territory (Dichter & Abu-Asba, 2006; Dowty, 2012).

Yet sport is a powerful cultural form which can be used for hegemonic purposes. Hargraves (1984) discussed the uses of sport for reinforcing bourgeois control over 19th Century Britain. Sport can be but one of a number of sites in which the 'celebration' and reinforcement of national hegemony can be crafted (Jarvie, 2014). Yet for Gramsci (1971), where there is control, there is also potential for resistance and Rowe (2004) highlights how this is commonly played out in sport; '…as an important battleground where social values and relations are shaped, represented and contested (p. 17)'.

Returning to Ireland, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) reflects another pertinent example of ethno-national preservation and counter-hegemonic resistance. Established in 1884 as the governing body of Gaelic football, handball and hurling, the GAA has 'been crucial in the preservation of Ireland's "traditional" games and cultural past times in the face of British imperialism' (Bairner 2001, p. 124). In North of the region, in particular, competing national aspirations are reflected in sports organisation and practice. For example, both the Protestant dominated Irish Football Association (IFA) and its more Catholic counterpart, Football Association Ireland (FAI) have claimed to represent Ireland at different times, reflecting the sectarian divide (Holmes, 1994). Although cross community relations have cooled in recent years, the GAA was, and in many respects remains; 'central to the definition and promotion of Irish Nationalism and [is] symbolic of the continuing challenge to "British" identity' (Houlihan, 1997, p. 135).

Similarly, Celtic Football club in Scotland has also served as a bastion for Irish/Catholic identity as it is a product of both mass migration from Ireland in the 19th Century and a further willingness to show

solidarity with Irish Catholics during 'the troubles' in Ireland (Boyle, Giulianotti, & Williams, 1994). For many, Celtic F.C. is the greatest single 'ethno-cultural' force for the Irish Catholic/Catholic community in Scotland, as it provides 'the social setting and set of symbolic processes and representations through which the community's sense of its own identity and difference from the Indigenous community is sustained' (Bradley, 1998, p. 87). This situation has resulted in localised animosity at football matches between Celtic and their main rivals, Glasgow Rangers. Rangers' fans draw upon historical imagery and ties to Britain and Protestantism, just as Celtic fans draw on ties to Irish/Catholicism contributing to the volatile atmosphere which surrounds these 'Old Firm' derbies (Conner, 2014).

In many cases, identity is confirmed through the specific character of a sport and/or celebrated through the use of symbols and artefacts as cultural signifiers. Sports occupation of key spaces and places in contemporary societies are amplified through revolutions in travel and technology, exposing sport to wider audiences (Cronin & Mayall, 1998; Houlihan & Malcolm, 2015; Sage, 2015). The increased visibility of sport has in many ways improved its potency as a tool of hegemony. As discussed above, sport can be used to promulgate a *version* of identity and/or ideology that is essentially hegemonic, curtailing any counter-hegemonic attempts to subvert the status quo (Giulianotti, 2015; Rowe, 2004).

However, sports may still provide a space which ethnic, religious and/or cultural groups can use as an island of identity in a sea of unfamiliarity (Bairner, 2008; Hay, 1998; Prasad, 2013). In regards to 'Croatian' football clubs established in Australia, namely Melbourne Croatia, Sydney Croatia and Adelaide Croatia, these clubs were established by Croatian migrants throughout the 20th Century (Hay, 2001). They found a sense of familiar collective identity and support in such clubs, as well as a site for identity maintenance and resistance to the 'white Australian' hegemony of the time (Bruce & Hallinan, 2001). However, these clubs contributed to an embattled mentality among Australian Croatians that placed limits on integration (Hay, 1998). Ethno-national assignations in professional clubs in Australia have since been banned, in part, due to this (Georgakis & Molloy, 2016). This policy decision had a dramatic effect on the national soccer landscape and illustrates why sport policy is an influential tool in this regard.

2.6.3 Sport Policy

Policymaking is of central importance as it dictates how sport is treated, funded and enacted across different levels of a given society, as well as how the nation is represented through sport internationally (Victoroff, Adelman, & Spanovic, 2012). Governments have long been aware of the need to add inclusive sport policies to their agenda, with the goal of magnifying social, political, economic, participatory benefits (Bailey, 2005; Bloyce & Smith, 2009; Hartmann-Tews, 2002). For example, at the macro level, the importance of sport in the construction and maintenance of the 'nation' has been

foregrounded and reflected in government policy across high and low income nations: 'Sport has become a cultural, social and economic clarion call, providing opportunities for global recognition; sporting success within these nations is often inextricably bound to perceptions of national worth' (Nicholson, Hoye, & Houlihan, 2010, p. 436). Brazil, for example, overspent on staging the most expensive Football World Cup (2014) of all time, and then went on to host the Olympics two years later, despite a backdrop of vast social inequality, political turmoil and mass protests (Holston, 2014; Horne & Silvestre, 2016).

The lengths that nations are now going to, both socially and financially, to host major sporting events, are indicative of their importance as an alleged shortcut to development - to draw the eye of investors and business interests and as a mask for deeper problems (Schausteck de Almeida, Bolsmann, Marchi Júnior, & Souza, 2013). Large scale mega events and global sporting competitions are now esteemed platforms from which nation-states can construct and launch a specific brand identity. This is directly evidenced in Qatar's unlikely, yet successful, bid to host the soccer World Cup (see: Brannagan & Giulianotti, 2015; Brannagan & Rookwood, 2016), which is projected to cost over $200 billion (USD) by the time of the tournament in 2022 (The Guardian, 2017). In this regard, hosting international competitions can be a way of show casing the status and prowess of a nation. International prowess can be inextricably connected to an imagined national wellbeing (O'Leary & Khoo 2013).

In addition, the *micro* level has also become the target of many government sport policies. This is in part due to evidence, available since the 1950s, regarding the health benefits of physical activity. This suggested that a healthy population is one which is able to work and be less of a burden on national health systems (see: Park, 1994). Yet, despite this knowledge there is still a (global) lack of investment in grassroots participation and inclusion in sport and exercise leading to a 'pandemic in physical inactivity' (Kohl et al., 2012). This is due to a number of factors including the decline in community sporting spaces and the advancement in travel and technology leading to more sedentary lifestyles. The overemphasis on international competition and elite sport is another significant variable affecting participation at the grassroots due to this funding priority (Green & Houlihan, 2005; Grix & Carmichael, 2012; Houlihan & Zheng, 2015).

Despite the cost and emphasis drawn by elite sport, government sport policies have been obliged to add social issues to their remit (Bloyce & Smith, 2009; Suhrcke & de Paz Nieves, 2011). In terms of social inclusion and integration, many argue that national sport policy has a responsibility to address this (Burnett, 2006; Spaaij, Magee, & Jeanes, 2014b). There has been more attention to inclusion in sport within HICs where researchers have critiqued school sport and called for more focus on social outcomes beyond just simple play (see: Bloyce & Smith, 2009; Stidder & Hayes, 2011). However, this is not

always the case in LMICs where the picture can be more complex, and where a more holistic approach to education may not be the top priority.

Research has shown that in Zambia for example, 70% of government sport funding went to elite soccer, while just 2% was allocated to 'sport for all' initiatives (Banda, 2010). Similar policies are seen elsewhere in LMICs as diverse as Chile, where the lion's share of government funding goes to 'elite performance' (Olympic sports) and the 'Amateur Football Association' (Bravo & Silva, 2014, p. 138). In Fiji, the government's almost symbiotic relationship with rugby union has meant that it has dominated the sport policy agenda despite rhetoric which states otherwise (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c; Naupoto Hon, 2012a; 2012b). In Ghana, preferential treatment of key sporting federations has hampered community recreation efforts in physical education in schools (Sofo & Baba, 2013). At the same time, Andreff (2006) has highlighted numerous LMICs in Africa where government policy and subsidies are skewed towards elite participation in sport, rather than to the use of sport for the purposes of much needed social development.

Policies related to the education system can have an important effect on how sport is framed in wider society. Sport in schools can be responsible for '…developing a sense of community and group cohesion amongst students, helping to reduce drop-out rates, and giving poor and minority groups access to education' (Rees, Miracle, Coakley, & Dunning, 2000, p. 277). Socialisation into sport when one is young affects a person's ongoing rates of participation and their perception of sport later in life. Research highlights how school experiences are vital however there are many examples of school teachers who struggle to integrate those of diverse cultures and abilities into sport activities (Azzarito, 2009; Bailey, 2005). Rich (2004) highlights the tendency for school teachers to perpetuate dominant hegemonic discourses in sport through their approaches to education which can result in perpetuating patterns of exclusion.

Importantly, there can be a significant disconnect between government policy and practice. What is legislated and intended at the macro level may not match up with the experiences of participants and instructors at the micro and meso levels (I. McDonald, 2005; Rainer, Cropley, Jarvis, & Griffiths, 2012). In some contexts, community level participation and action may be disconnected from the national policy makers' version of reality, as is the case in divided societies such as Fiji (Cattermole, 2008), Israel (Porat, 2014) and Sri Lanka (Schulenkorf, 2010a). However, within such environments sport may still be used to foster national unity (snr Sugden 2010). Indeed, 'The recasting of physical education in schools is one such policy that can alter a nation's sporting landscape' (Sam, 2015, p. 152). However, the effectiveness of sport in achieving state goals is a product of many factors. Size is one, as within smaller states there may be unique opportunities, but also barriers in this regard.

In smaller LMICs, resources for the provision for sport can be comparatively low (Houlihan & Zheng, 2015). However others have contended that being small is not without its benefits, as in small states there is potential for more direct deliberation and effective redress of grievances, collective efficiency in identifying public goods and faster enforcement of policy and decision making, than in larger systems (Colomer, 2007). Essentially small states can benefit from 'high actor interconnectivity', so a geographically small state can benefit from the increased potential for effective and quick policy implementation across major societal institutions (Darko & Mackintosh, 2014, p. 368). So, in theory, small states can take advantage of easily identifiable resources, networks and social goods, and incorporate them into a sport policy framework more efficiently than in larger contexts (Sam, 2015). However, Darko and Mackintosh (2014, p. 274) mention that there is generally a lack of 'evidence based policy and associated systems' in sport policy in small and lower income states. So smaller states may have the capacity to be more direct in their decision making yet sometimes lack the research tools to use this to their advantage. However due to their inherent smallness, such states can utilise sport to promote their nation in ways which are not possible by economic or political means for example. There is now real recognition of sports value for the small state brand in the contemporary world (Brannagan & Giulianotti, 2015; Houlihan & Zheng, 2015). But the internal dynamics of sport policy in both small states and LMICs, and the role of sports organisations therein, are still under-researched (Holdsworth et al., 2013).

2.6.4 National Sport Organisations

Gomez et al. (2008) classify National Sports Organisations (NSOs) [6] as bodies responsible for governing sports, developing both participation at grassroots and elite performance while regulating the rules of the game and competition. They are also responsible for the management and staging of attractive sport spectacles by using competition systems (e.g. tournaments, leagues, circuits) that meet the requirements demanded by key sporting stakeholders such as professional teams, athletes, coaches and the community. These are generally non-for-profit entities that have a remit to provide sporting opportunities across the macro, meso and micro levels. Internationally, NSOs are also important players in the Olympic movement (Chappelet, 1991, 2008). The international role of NSOs has grown in importance due to growing amount of exposure and potential for income that can be gleaned from commercialised and globalised sport (Hargreaves, 2002; Houlihan & Zheng, 2015; Maguire, 2015; T. Miller et al., 2001).

Internally, NSOs are positioned at the *meso* (institutional) level and are instrumental in managing national and regional sporting events and leagues (Schulenkorf & Frawley, 2016). In this respect NSOs

---

[6] In this study, I use NSOs – also popularly known as national federations.

operate in a central position and therefore must contend with a number of complexities and challenges (Winand et al., 2012). NSOs must also manage:

> A definable membership or user base, a set of relationships with key funding agencies, contractual obligations to government, a set of business contracts with other commercial, non-profit or public sector organisations and a volunteer base (Hoye & Cuskelly, 2007, p. 9).

When considering the role of NSOs in divided societies we need to consider a further complexity. In such contexts, national sport organisations and clubs can become bastions of identity. Evidence of this can be seen in the history of organisations responsible for soccer and Gaelic football in Ireland (see: 2.6.1), where sports organisations become places to display a *version* of national identification, and act as a mechanism which can prevent coexistence and integration (Bairner & Darby, 1999; Bairner, 2001; snr Sugden & Bairner, 2000). An extreme example of this was the 'all white' South African Rugby Board and the resultant boycotts of the Springboks rugby team due to its racial organisation (see: Höglund & Sundberg, 2008b; Keim, 2003). In contrast, inIsrael/Palestine, sport has been heralded as an 'integrative enclave' in some areas (see: MacLean, 2014). Others have argued that the Israeli Football Association controls and silences its Arab/Palestinian players in a way that secures Jewish hegemony more broadly (Shor & Yonay, 2011).

Aside from acting as barriers to integration, sports organisations, in their centrality, can be influential in intergroup relations. Government figures and stakeholders along with community groups can form influential clusters that can shape the institutional agenda in such organisations for the better (Houlihan, 1997). In Northern Ireland for example, by 1996, the Sports Council had set about implementing a cross-community relations agenda. This was part of a suite of social, economic, religious and political initiatives which gave momentum to the overall peace process in Northern Ireland (snr Sugden, 2010a).

In LMICs, societal division presents a further challenge. Although the above research indicates NSOs tends to be focused towards HICs, this is not to say that NSOs in LMICs are inherently different, only that fewer resources and checks and balances alter organisational behaviour and priorities. For example, Andreff (2006) conducted a study that included 30 sports in 'developing' countries. He found that in Africa 80% of the least well off countries subsidise NSOs but, with the exception of soccer, this was not enough for them to provide year round access to sport. In such contexts, other developmental aspects are given priority when it comes to government funding, such as education, healthcare and infrastructure needs (see: Andreff, 2006; Khan et al., 2012). The SDP field discussed above has, in part, emerged into

the vacuum created by the inability of the world's poorer nations to provide sporting opportunities, and the chance for people at the community to develop and coexist 'through' sport (Kidd, 2008b).

Nevertheless, NSOs within LMICs can wield significant power. Smaller, less well-off states are often side-lined globally, due to the dominant realist paradigm in international relations which gives credence to power derived from economic and military force (see: Waltz, 2001). Yet by carving out sporting niches and leveraging international success, NSOs in LMICs can make a significant contribution to putting their nation on the world map. Such is the case with rugby federations in Fiji, Samoa and Tonga (Houlihan & Zheng, 2015; Rika, Finau, Samuwai, & Kuma, 2016), the athletics association in Jamaica (Toomer, 2015), and football associations in Ghana and the Ivory Coast (Darby, Akindes, & Kirwin, 2007). But there is a downside as, due to sporting success and popularity, NSOs may attract an inordinate amount of state support that could arguably be used for more urgent social development projects (Banda, 2010; Bravo & Silva, 2014). Furthermore, it has also been reported that within LMICs the potential for corruption and the misuse of funds is higher which adds further complexity (Andreff 2006).

The vacuum left by sports organisations and those in charge of sport inside LMICs utilising sport for purposes other than social development, has been filled in places by international organisations seeking to use sport for purposes of positive social change (Coalter, 2007; Kidd, 2008b; Schulenkorf et al., 2016). Sport's malleable nature means that it can be appropriated to meet a number of societal needs which go 'beyond sport' in terms of just physical activity (Hayhurst et al., 2015; Schulenkorf & Adair, 2014). The realisation of this, popularised by the South African example mentioned above (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008b), gave birth to the now significant field of sport for social change. This can be traced back to ancient Greece and the 'truce' which was invoked to allow athletes and spectators to pass through disputed territories on the way to the games in the ancient territory of *Elean* (see: Kyle, 2014). In modern times the idea of using sport as a means of pursuing positive social change, apart from the physical competition that defines it, was popularised by Nelson Mandela. He proclaimed optimistically: 'Sport has the power to unite people in a way that little else can…it breaks down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of discrimination. Sport speaks to people in a language they understand' (cited in Donnelly, 2008).

This popularisation gave birth to the two broad categories of Sport for Development (SFD) and Sport for Peace (SFP) due to the practical difference in focus, yet in the literature these are normally grouped together – perhaps simplistically so – under the umbrella of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP). I discuss these now before moving more specifically towards Sport and Integration – a newly proposed arm of SDP and the focus of this thesis.

2.7 Sport for Development and Peace (SDP)

SDP is described by Darnell (2012, p. 6) as an umbrella term for: 'the specific mobilisation and implementation of sport as a means of meeting the goals and challenges of international development'. Kidd (2008b, p. 370) highlights the size of the SDP umbrella by defining SDP as the varied attempts to 'remobilize sport as a vehicle for broad sustainable social development'. Importantly, Coalter (2010a) differentiates SDP-related activities into 'sport plus' and 'plus sport'. 'Sport plus' is focused on altering sport itself, alongside other programs in order to achieve development outcomes. While 'plus sport' utilises sport in its unmodified form as a hook to attract those in need towards education and training programs (an approach communally used in aids awareness/prevention work). In any case, SDP work is built on a theoretical framework that encompasses many concepts relating to the improvement of intergroup relations, such as the contact hypothesis discussed above (2.5.1), as well as other elements of social psychology adapted to utilise sport in the pursuit of positive social change (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011).

The size and growth of the SDP field can be understood by looking at the number and breadth of on-the-ground projects now taking place throughout the world under this banner. Kidd (2008) mentioned 150 SDP organisations registered with the official online platform[7]. At the time of writing (2017) there are 678 registered, 93 of which are specifically dedicated to peace (and there many others)[8]. The majority of these organisations look to implement positive social change through the use of sport, focusing on a diverse range of issues. In the opening issue of the *Journal of Sport for Development* the editors identify prominent themes in the use of sport for social change: disability, gender, health, livelihoods, education, social cohesion and, as a separate arm, peace (J. Richards et al., 2013).

The rapid growth in 'SDP' practitioners, and the subsequent field of study, emerged from the somewhat 'evangelised' belief in sport's potential to act as a catalyst for positive social change (Coalter, 2013). Key figures and organisations such as the United Nations (UN) along with Jacques Rogue[9] and the International Olympic Committee have contributed further to the field. The inclusion of sport as a tool through which to achieve the UN's Millennium Development Goals was another significant step as it was symbolic of the UN's recognition that SDP aligned with its philosophy (Beutler, 2008). SDP then reached a milestone when UN announced in 2014 that April 6th would henceforth be known as the *'International Day of Sport for Development and Peace'* (UNOSDP, 2015). SDP is built on 'the

---

[7] The official online platform which collates information and stories from SDP organisations is: www.sportanddev.org

[8] Although sportanddev.org is recognised as the official online platform for navigating and mapping the SDP field there are a number of organisations that operate in a similar fashion yet do not appear here.

[9] President of the International Olympic Committee 2001-2013.

tremendous appeal that it has for youth volunteers, the financial support it enjoys from the powerful international sport federations and the extent to which it has been championed by the United Nations' (Kidd 2008, p. 371).

Despite the institutionalisation and the tendency towards a rose-tinted view of SDP, there is significant evidence to suggest that sport is indeed capable of promoting positive social change. However, this is only if the *right* environment is created and the methods are locally driven. There are a number of studies which give testament to this (see: Schulenkorf, Sherrry & Rowe, 2016). Yet SDP is still termed 'mythopoeic' due to a tendency of those working within the field to overstate what sport can achieve in contexts with deep-seated problems (Coalter, 2010a). More recently, a number of critical perspectives have now begun to catch up with practice, issues relating to power, ideology and gender in the field (see: Coalter, 2013; Darnell, Chawansky, Marchesseault, Holmes, & Hayhurst, 2016; Giulianotti, 2011a; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Hayhurst et al., 2015; Kidd, 2008b; Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). These range from practical issues of implementation to a tendency for programmes to reaffirm unequal structures of neo-liberal power (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Darnell, 2014).

At present, and as its label denotes, there are two broad arms to the SDP field, one which uses sport to achieve specific development outcomes – Sport for Development (SFD), and one which deals specifically with conflict resolution, reconciliation and peacebuilding – Sport for Peace (SFP). I will argue in this thesis that a third arm, Sport and Integration (SAI), is required. This is to better distinguish the role that sport plays in the intergroup relations of LMICs experiencing intergroup division that is not classified by conflict but by another of the labels on the IRC (see: 2.4).

2.7.1 Sport for Development

Firstly, Sport for Development (SFD) is geared towards organisations which use sport to achieve both specific and broad development outcomes such as resource and knowledge provision in disadvantaged communities. Such goals correlate with international development work elsewhere, yet despite sharing many of the goals associated with the 'mainstream' international development field, SFD arguably remains isolated (Hayhurst, 2015a). This is potentially due to the benign view of sport held in other fields, and the idea that SFD emerged from the 'failings' of traditional development orthodoxy. Earlier approaches to international development have been recognised as over-representing Western neo-liberal values due to the focus on solely economic rather than social solutions (Darnell & Black, 2011; Levermore & Beacom, 2012).

This 'failure' was partially recognised in the 2007 World Development Report which highlighted the centrality of young people in managing the transition from crisis to development through social organisations (The World Bank, 2007). In the report sports clubs, environmental groups, art and music

schools etc., were emphasised as an accompaniment to purely economic strategies aimed at development that focused on the availability of credit and employment as crucial to sustainable development (pp.103 – 111). However, the report also states that; 'there are few persuasive evaluations of these programs, and most do not link program characteristics to the assets and developmental processes believed important for youth development' (p. 175). A problem in the SDP field has been a lack of effective monitoring and evaluation of on-the-ground projects (Coalter, 2007; 2010a; 2013; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011). There have been calls for more contextual knowledge, local empowerment and socio-historical understanding and of the broader context in which such work is situated (Burnett, 2009b; 2011; 2015b).

Yet SFD specifically is about resource and knowledge provision, generally in contexts that are seriously disadvantaged, encompassing goals such as disease awareness, health provision, female empowerment and gender rights, trauma relief, and capacity building (see: Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). This means that SFD, while well-meaning, is open to further critique about the assumptions made in the design and delivery of development programs about how people in need should live their lives. A well founded critique, then, is that on some occasions SFD aligns with and strengthens hegemonic neoliberal systems of domination or as Hartmann and Kwauk (2011, p. 291) put it:

> Sport based "development" programs have been…about sports' ability to re-socialise and recalibrate individual youth and young people that, in turn, serves to maintain power and hierarchy, cultural hegemony, and the institutionalization of poverty and privilege. It is, in other words, a fundamentally reproductive vision of development.

This critique is directed at the methodology of implementation and the role of facilitators across many SFD projects delivering education and resources in LMICs, as many originate in the global north (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Darnell, 2014). An impartial 'change agent' may be advantageous, even necessary, in projects geared towards peacebuilding and coexistence between groups. This is due to their presumed neutrality and ability to act as a 'point of connection' (Schulenkorf, 2010b, p. 23). But in SFD, knowledge and resources are being imparted making it quite value heavy – how and what is delivered to local people is not always dictated by them and in some cases local values are ignored in favour of neo-liberal ideals and practices (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). Furthermore, there is potential for practitioners to overstate their achievements, as claims are not always accompanied by evidence. So 'While many SFD programmes claim significant impact on society, in many cases, the sport programmes are poorly planned and do not provide scientific evidence about their effectiveness' (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011, p. 312).

In addition to a tendency towards evangelism and a lack of theoretical support for SFD programs, there are also moral concerns associated with the field. No matter how sensitively one approaches such work, and despite the differing assumptions attached to both SFD and SFP, having people and organisations from higher income countries (HICs) come in to deliver any kind of development or peace work in LMICs is inherently problematic. Using finances, knowledge, research and staff from overseas inevitably reduces local agency. Consequently unequal global power relations are reproduced and new relationships of dependency promoted (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Darnell, 2014; Hayhurst, 2015b).

In recent years, however, the goalposts are being moved due to an increase in monitoring and evaluation, adding empirical support for the benefits of SFD events, adding to the anecdotal evidence on the impact of such work (Welty Peachey, Borland, Lobpries, & Cohen, 2015). There has also been a growth in scholar-practitioner work adding critical, post-colonial and feminist voices to the praxis of SFD and SDP more generally (see: Hayhurst et al., 2015; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Schulenkorf & Adair, 2014). This is not to say that SFP is immune to the critique discussed up to now. However, the differing goals and functions of the 'change agent(s)' within SFP make it possible to argue for its separate treatment. It is also worth noting that the potential bias and assumptions associated with program delivery in SFD work are less obvious in SFP, as the latter draws mainly from the basic assumption that peace is preferable to conflict (Rookwood, 2013).

2.7.2 Sport for Peace

Conflict resolution and peace building activities in deeply divided societies are classically dominated by state-led or state-sponsored manoeuvres within political society. However, the significance of civil society interventions in peace processes cannot be underestimated (Hasenfeld & Gidron, 2005; Paffenholz, 2010; 2016). Within this sphere, sport and related activities have become increasingly prominent. There are many examples of where organisations have borrowed from the contact hypothesis highlighted above (see: 2.5.1) and carefully adapted contextually relevant sports in an attempt to build peaceful relations in, for example, Sub-Saharan Africa (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008b), the Middle East (Sugden & Spacey, 2016), South Eastern Europe (Gasser & Levinsen, 2004), Cyprus (Tuohey & Cognato, 2011) Sri Lanka (Schulenkorf, 2010a) and Northern Ireland (Bairner & Darby, 1999). The conflicts characteristic of these regions have certain common features, such as the drive for ethno-religious and racial separation linked to territorial and institutional governance (Esteban & Ray, 2011). But there are also vast differences, determined by distinctive political and cultural histories. Through the careful studying of how the contact environment may increase intergroup harmony, the above examples contain elements of success.

In Israel/Palestine, sport-based NGO 'Football for Peace' involved local stakeholders, coaches, volunteers and community leaders in football training camps, which brought together young people

from Arab and Jewish communities through joint soccer participation. Its success was measured both empirically and anecdotally, through the tremendous growth in the number of participants that came to the projects over the years. More recently, qualitative investigations around the program and stakeholder experiences have further confirmed the efficacy of such work (Schulenkorf & snr Sugden, 2011; Schulenkorf, snr Sugden and Burdsey, 2014). This is reinforced by the fact that as a result of the project, the Israeli Sport Authority now includes cross community relations in their remit (Sugden & Spacey, 2016; snr Sugden, 2008). Similarly, 'Peace Players International' has also seen success in their work in Cyprus, Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine through the use of basketball (primarily) to foster 'good will' and to act as a site for social exchange. The organisation has found success through the use of; 'local leadership; a balance of sport and educational content; integration that is both frequent and long-term; and an internal leadership development process' (Tuohey & Cognato 2011, p. 56).

The theoretical underpinnings for such work can be traced back to Anderson (1983) and the CIIM discussed above where a common sense of identity or '*imagined community*' can be shared by those participating or engaging in a common interest. In this case, sport can be the 'hook' to draw in disparate communities and, through careful application of the *contact hypothesis* and the pursuit of superordinate goals, can be used to bind two or more groups into a functioning unit (snr Sugden, 2008). Joint sporting activities can be useful in helping opposed groups realise the potential for coexistence, by creating an environment where individuals are all equal and are all playing by the same rules (Rookwood & Palmer, 2011; Skelton, 2013). In the field of sport management, scholars have also employed elements of Allport's (1954) contact theory in displaying the efficacy of sport in reducing discrimination and prejudice (Cunningham & Melton, 2011; Welty Peachey et al. 2015).

Within such spaces, sport provides a sort of distraction from ingrained categorisation that signpost groups as separate or incompatible. People operate in a suspended, or 'imagined', domain which exists outside the narrative of a divided society and where the boundaries of identity have been removed in favour of the rules of the game (snr Sugden & Bairner, 1999). Through carefully building a sporting environment through which disparate groups can enjoy sport together, a neutral/outsider 'change agent' can play a vital, but passive role in bringing about intergroup harmony (Tuohey & Cognato, 2011).

Sports' potential to reduce intergroup distance and dull ethnic division lead to Leberach (2002), one of the prominent figures in modern peacebuilding research, to recognise sport's ability to provide a 'locus' for peace and to reduce fear of the 'other'. This approach also ties into the de-categorised contact model (DCM) mentioned above and can be a tool in building a dual identity (DIM) (see: 2.5.2). An individual may consider themselves as a member of a closed ethnic group, yet participation in sport within this 'imagined community' can extenuate commonalities and this can allow disparate groups to envisage a shared future (Dyck, 2011; Schulenkorf, 2010a). However, as with SFD, SFP also suffers from

'evangelism' regarding the role it can play in deeply divided societies (Coalter 2010). There is a lack of stringent monitoring and evaluation, partly as most organisations are charities and unwilling to invest in research, preferring instead to maximise the amount spent on actual program delivery (see: Coalter, 2014; Schulenkorf et al., 2016). Such realities mean that frontline work utilising sport for the purposes of peacebuilding is portrayed as successful based on anecdotal evidence rather than rigorous empirical analysis. Yet this is not to say it holds no value, only that both SFP and SFD can benefit from constructive and critically pragmatic scholarly attention to maximise impact and mutual learning within and across these fields (Rookwood, 2013).

Speaking of the SDP umbrella more broadly, the field is dominated by projects that take place at community (micro) level (see: sportanddev.org). Yet, such work has a tendency towards the ephemeral and is further limited by funding, resources, contextual factors and any number of other factors impacting on what can be achieved in often quite challenging contexts (Schulenkorf, Sugden, & Burdsey, 2014). Despite limitations there are notable examples in the praxis of leveraging short-term SDP events that can catalyse change for participants at the centre of the projects, along with associated communities (see: Welty Peachey et al., 2015; Schulenkorf, 2010b). In addition, inherent challenges make sustained positive outcomes an ambitious goal (Skelton, 2013), particularly when there are structures and mechanisms in broader society inhibiting positive change or making things worse.

To its credit, 'Peace Players International' attempts to build sustainability through 'season long' partnerships between groups from different communities (Tuohey & Cognato, 2011). In another approach, 'Generations for Peace' continuously employs a 'cascading model' which empowers, trains and deploys local change agents to work in afflicted communities around the globe. However, when appraising the approximately 100 other SFP organisations registered with the official SDP platform (sportanddev,org), it is clear that the goal of sustainable change is undermined by the short term nature of many projects. This realisation - from both a theoretical point of view and through practical experience - has in part formed the basis of this thesis.

So too has a further realisation that there is a tendency, in SDP research and practice, towards extremities. The field is focused on the provision of knowledge, resources and peacebuilding assistance in LMICs most in need, and the perceived or actual need to target such populations often dictates the availability of funding for SDP work (Coalter, 2010b; 2013). Looking at the intergroup relations continuum (Figure 2) and using SFP work as an example, this tends to take place during or after violent conflict. This leaves a gap in work and research in such contexts which have not (yet) exhibited overt conflict, or that are deemed to have recovered. Consequentially LMICs characterised by less overt levels of division receive less attention. However this may be important in preventing a slide towards conflict and/or improving intergroup relations and harmony. There is a theoretical gap, therefore, in our

understanding regarding role of sport in intergroup relations that could buttress the SDP field more generally.

What has emerged from the review of SFP and SFD is that firstly, the literature tends to target the community (micro) level; and secondly, projects are facilitated, funded and/or conceived in HICs and as a result are guilty of reimagining unequal global power relations (see: Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Darnell, 2014). Finally, the SDP field often proffers short term solutions in extreme cases of conflict or disadvantage. Not all SDP organisations are susceptible to such critique. The author has sought to demonstrate that there are several gaps in our understanding about (a) the interplay between sport and intergroup relations across different levels of society and (b) whether local people can be included in framing understanding about longer term opportunities for societal progression through sport in LMICs. This thesis therefore asks about the potential role that sport plays in such contexts and cultures, specifically the role that sport plays in reducing/increasing prospects for integration.

2.8 Sport and Integration (SAI)

The idea that sport is a significant site for participation in civic life and is a useful tool in promoting peaceful integration has been met with recognition in a number of forms. The method's inclusion in the European Union's policy agenda for social integration (Gasparini & Cometti, 2010), and the global cacophony from elements of the SDP movement above, are clear examples. There is also discourse that focuses on the use of sport for peace in the wake of violent conflict and division (Hayhurst et al., 2015; Skelton, 2013; Sugden, 2008; Tuohey & Cognato, 2011). Yet there is little about the interplay between sport and integration in LMICs suffering from non-violent but damaging levels of intergroup distance. This presents a significant problem as resource-poor contexts, by definition, may lack the means to assess and then deal with damaging levels of division, ethnocentrism and isolationism, for example.

Integration itself is a multidimensional and value laden term with connotations of assimilation and the removal of nuance in favour of ethnic homogeneity (Ashraf & Galor, 2007; Brubaker, 2001; Syed, 2013). However, Spaaij (2012) defines integration simply as the simultaneous freedom to maintain one's own cultural identity, while enjoying open access to social, cultural and political rights. Here integration stands for mutual recognition of a shared humanity and the rights of each individual and group to take on their own identity free from discrimination. There are many examples, from around the world where sport has been used to combat negative boundaries in stable societies relating to factors such as gender (Hayhurst, MacNeill, Kidd, & Knoppers, 2014), sexuality (Griffin, 1998), disability (DePauw & Gavron, 2005) and ethnicity and religion (Cronin & Mayall, 1998). But, in terms of the latter, most studies until now have been focused on HICs with little or no attention given to LMICs and

the interplay between sport and integration in such contexts. It is within this gap that the present study is situated and I refer to this concept as Sport and Integration (SAI).

In terms of the extant body of knowledge, Elling and De Knop (2001, p. 415) found that policymakers in the Netherlands have long since held that sport is an 'ideal institution for stimulating or enhancing the social integration of marginalised groups, such as ethnic minorities'. The idea of using sport for purposes of integration is certainly not new; for example, in 1989, the German Olympic Sports Confederation founded its 'Integration through Sport' programme (Hartmann-Tews, 2002). This continues today, working to utilise sport at the grassroots level in facilitating the harmonious integration of Germany's significant migrant community (Integration-durch-sport, 2016). Other work on sport and integration, based in HICs, found that although sport can reinforce separatism, participation in sport has the potential to enhance social inclusion, respect and promote understanding (Elling et al., 2001; Spaaij, 2012; 2013; Van Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2012b).

Elling and De Knop (2001) took a more structural approach to integration through sport in the Netherlands. The authors argued that integration through sport can be employed effectively in three relevant domains. Firstly, structural integration: where participants engage in activity as part of a pre-existing structure/majority of the population. Secondly, socio-cultural integration: where respect and trust in diversity of values and identities is fostered; and finally, social affective integration: relating to an increase in social capital when participants form new friendships and networks across and within ethno-religious groups, through physical activity. The inference is that, enacted correctly, sport can make a contribution to positive integration across several domains (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

Such efforts towards integration are closely linked to 'social inclusion', defined by Bailey (2005, p. 72) as the process of 'bringing individuals from a variety of social and economic backgrounds together in a shared interest in activities that are inherently valuable'. This may be achieved through fostering a sense of belonging, to a team, club or community, or through the increase of community cohesion and shared civic pride (see: Spaaij et al. 2014). The distinction between 'integration' 'social inclusion' here is that increased integration might be achieved by improved efforts at social inclusion. In social inclusion individuals and groups feel that they are an equal part of a broader group (Bailey 2005). Sport can be a useful medium through which to socially include diverse groups with the aim of integration, where a group is considered and feel part of a larger group yet is free to practice and maintain their own identity. However, its efficacy in this regard should not be overstated in disguising more macro societal problems concerning a lack of integration (Coalter 2005).

Spaaij (2012) studied the integration of Somalis into Australian culture at the community level in Melbourne and found that when Somalis played in mono-ethnic teams, few bridges were formed between them and the local community. In fact, inter-ethnic encounters on match days served to reinforce boundaries due to the logic of competition. But Spaaij also found that interaction with the footballing community more broadly engendered further interaction and understandings with local government and NGOs. This went beyond the field of play as simply being a football team made up of many Somalians in a league dominated by more local groups, the club interacted with a diverse group of people on and off the field. In this respect, sport has potential to foster diversified social capital and a multicultural consciousness beyond the local community level. Key messages from these studies may well be applied to sport management in LMICs, but not before a clear understanding of the culture within which sport exists is reached.

Transferring these positive cross-cultural networks from the field of play to alter the culture of sport and the culture within which sport is played requires more thought. So too does the well-founded belief that sport is not necessarily 'ideal' as a neutral site for integration (Eitzen, 2016). What this chapter has revealed thus far is the lighter side of sports' 'Janus face' (Donnelly 2011). Indeed there is a much darker side of sport evident throughout history (Bairner, 1996; Brannagan & Giulianotti, 2015; Cable, 1969; Carrington, 2011; Griffin, 1998; Tatz, 1995). Sporting by-products can be negative or positive - pushing intergroup relations to the left or right on the IRC spectrum (see: 2.4).

It is the contention of this study that sport's split personality is exactly why it must be studied in order to make sense of the sporting status quo along with the elements within it that promote integration and harmony and/or separatism and conflict - and everything in between. SAI is not viewed here as a method of inducing contact between groups, rather it is the study of the role that sport can and does play in integration as opposed to assimilation, categorisation and re-categorisation. What is sought first is an understanding of the interplay between sport and integration that will progress towards a theoretical and practical tool. As Elling and De Knop (2001, p. 429) conclude:

> Sport policies should therefore not aim to diminish the need for social distinction and
> diversity among sports organisations. Instead policies should be developed that aim to
> increase the mutual acceptance of social difference without placing hegemonic value
> systems above others.

SAI is a model that considers this by recognising the needs and goals of a given society which are context specific, and the role of local people as the keepers of knowledge, in leading any process of change. Not all societies require more integration. However, in LMICs which are beset by division that

is not necessarily overt, this review has discovered a need for further research on the role of sport in such contexts.

2.9 Summary

This chapter presented the relevant theories and concepts that underpin the research questions and context under study. These are distinct yet inter-related and include theory on social identity and group formation, along with theory on intergroup relations. Across these theoretical spheres, sport is a unifying thread and this study exists to interrogate the role of sport in group identity and formation as well as its role concerning intergroup dynamics. To weave these threads together, this chapter began by addressing the role of identities in group relations before looking at intergroup relations specifically and strategies to improve them. It is shown that there is a vast number of psycho-social and contextual factors which affect groups and their formation, as well as their attitudes towards and relationships with outgroups. The study of groups is relational, made clear in the discussion of social identity theory, ethnocentrism and nationalism, and that sport can be a valuable commodity in the extenuation or reduction of intergroup distance. As the IRC indicates, intergroup relations are in flux, moving either to the left or right of this continuum. The socially constructed nature of sport means that it can be appropriated for a number of purposes, from helping relations become more harmonious, to fermenting intergroup distance and conflict.

Two specific gaps have emerged from the review of the literature. Firstly, the dual focus of SFD and SFP may not be sufficient in addressing and understanding the role of sport in integration in societies not undergoing extreme stress but which still suffer from damaging levels of intergroup distance. Hence, there is scope for a more nuanced arm of the broader SDP field which I have termed Sport and Integration (SAI). Secondly, an understandable preoccupation with the community level within SDP has meant that the wider mechanisms operating *across* the micro, meso and macro levels of society, especially in LMICs experiencing ethno-racial division, have also received less attention. This study will seek to fill these gaps, in the hope of building further understanding of the role of sport in integration and to uncover locally articulated opportunities for sustained positive change. We now move to review the context in which this empirical study takes place, the Pacific Island nation of Fiji.

Chapter 3: Context

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will give an overview of the rich context of Fiji in terms of sport and intergroup relations, thereby explaining the reasons why the country has been chosen as a significant site for the research of SAI. It will begin historically as it is deemed important to acknowledge the major effect of Fiji's colonial past on its present. The discussion then highlights aspects of modem socio-political history relevant to the study to assist in understanding how these picturesque islands have become characterised by ethnic division and political acrimony. This history echoes through the sporting world and therefore the discussion will move on to the role of sport in aspects of Fijian identity. Specifically, the sporting structures of rugby and soccer are chosen as sites for this study due to the deeper roles and meanings that appear to have become attached to these sports in Fiji, beyond simple recreation (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c). This is a situation which will be made apparent through further discussion of the macro, meso and micro levels of Fijian society and questions regarding their inter-relationships in the context of sport and identity. The chapter concludes with reference to government policy and key sports organisations, raising questions around the institutionalised value of sport in a culture of separatism.

3.2 The context of Fiji

With a population of approximately 8,500,000 spread over 332 islands, 110 of which are inhabited, Fiji is the most populous Pacific Island nation (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015). The islands can be described as geographically disparate, but they share collective isolation in a vast ocean. For many, Fiji connotes tropical beaches, blue skies, smiling locals, fire dancing, traditional Fijian dress etc. However, beyond these nostalgic images and rituals, socially constructed by the global tourist industry (Kanemasu, 2013), Fiji is recovering from a volatile period. For example, the nation has undergone four military coups since independence from British rule in 1970 (Gounder, 2013; Macnaught, 1979; Ramesh, 2008). At the core of these conflicts was acrimony between Indigenous Fijians (iTaukei) and those who were migrants or progeny of migrants – most notably Fijians of Indian descent (hereafter Indo-Fijians).

FIGURE 3: THE FIJI ISLANDS

Historical legacies and cultural distinctiveness have enabled ethnic-based grouping, but they do not always determine the extent of such divisions at the community level. Across Fiji, Indigenous and Indo-Fijians work and live side by side (Naidu, 2016). There are also substantial populations of both rural and urban iTaukei and Indo-Fijians. At the last full census report, both communities shared a relatively equal share of those said to be living in poverty (Fijitimes.com, 2010). Nevertheless, intergroup differences persist in many aspects of the society, with Indo-Fijians dominant in the economic sphere and iTaukei in occupations such as the police and the military. This creates a 'polydominal' system of power and racial attitudes – where no group holds both economic and political hegemony. This enables a 'privileged marginality', where individuals are dominant in one area of social life but inferior in another and this fosters ambivalence over the status quo (Larson, 2014). Yet the status quo was not always the case. There are further complexities, such as Fiji's highly influential colonial past.

3.3 From Sugar to Separatism

Fiji began its modern life as a European colony, with colonisers interested in exploiting the production of sugar from cane (Miyazaki, 2005). The heavy dependence on sugar production had lasting consequences for the demographic structure of the islands as to maximise production, the British hierarchy imported a huge, predominantly Indian, imperial workforce to meet the demands of the industry. This was also a strategy to avoid disturbing the Indigenous population further by the backbreaking labour required to turn a profit (Ratuva, 2007).

Outwardly preserving local culture and placing local chiefs in positions of privilege, though bereft of real power, was a method of colonial control. The colonial regime produced a 'form of ethnic apartheid

and – in the absence of self-government – a legacy of rule by decree' (Robertson, 2012, p.509). The latter allows quick, unchallenged creation of law by a single person or group, and is used primarily by dictators and absolute monarchs (see: Carey & Shugart, 1998). These legacies have been lasting and the costs of this failure high. What began as a tentative trading relationship between Britain and Fiji in the early 19th Century soon grew into full colonisation by the British. Formal cession was agreed and took place on October 10th 1874, when the most powerful chiefs Cakobau and Ma'fu, and other senior elders, signed two copies of the Deed of Cession. Among the agreements was a fee from the British to the chiefs of US$40,000, which bought the British 96 years of rule (Thomas, 1989).

The exploitative nature of this deal was seemingly eased by the creation of the Great Council of Chiefs (GCC) in 1875, which acted as an avenue through which the various Fijian tribes could gain the illusion of redress. However, control remained firmly with the British who extended the contract to include Indian indentured labourers from 1879 onwards (Ramesh, 2008). This policy of indenture was essentially a manipulative labour contract that committed Indian labourers to five years of arduous work in the cane fields in order to pay off their passage from British-controlled India (Robertson 2012). Rather inevitably this created a three tier ethnic hierarchy with the British at the top and the iTaukei being shepherded in second. The native islanders enjoyed relative autonomy and explicit protection by the British elite. But in terms of the indentured labourers however, the elite agreed to acknowledge and respect difference, but not to address it. This lack of action helped preserve Indigenous Fijian culture and dominance over the new Indo-Fijians, the legacy of which is evident today (Naidu, 1980; 2016).

The influx of cheap labour was not initially seen as a problem, rather as a solution. Sir Arthur Gordon, the first governor of Fiji (1875-1880), wanted to preserve Indigenous culture as part of the 'native policy' – a new approach to Colonial control at the time. This included the reservation of 83% of land for Indigenous peoples, highly important due to the centrality of land, or '*vanua'*, in Indigenous culture. In local dialect, the name for Indigenous Fijians '*iTaukei'* translates as 'owners' (MacNaught 1979). However, despite guaranteeing lands, the colonial order for financial self-sufficiency of Fiji meant utilizing the lucrative sugar cane crop covering the islands. But first it had to be harvested and since the use of Fijian labour was viewed as damaging to their traditional way of life, so Arthur Gordon looked to British controlled India as a labour source (Sohmer, 1984).

From 1879-1916, it is estimated that around 60,000 indentured labourers were brought over from India and other areas to work in the cane fields (Lal, 2013). The workers agreed to come based on the promise of freedom and access to equal citizen rights after five years of labour to pay off their passage from the sub-continent (Gillion, 1962). Thus the ethnic makeup of the Fijian Islands was drastically altered for good, with there now being two large ethnically-based populations, the *iTaukei* - also referred to as

Indigenous Fijians, or simply Fijians[10], and those who came from South Asia - referred to as Indo-Fijians, Fijians of Indian descent, Indians or also simply as Fijians[11]. Equal rights and representation for the latter, however, were to remain elusive, despite a second wave of wealthier, predominantly Gujarati, Indians[12] who arrived in the 1960s (Lal, 2012b; Trnka, 2008).

The indentured labourers were meant to be a short term solution, but were imported with a lack of foresight as most stayed, setting up their own farms and businesses on the West of the main island *Viti Levu* and around *Labasa* in *Vaua Levu* (Gillion, 1962). They found a cultural foothold, increased in numbers and began to dominate the economic sphere, while continuing to follow their own religions – Hindu, Muslim or Sikh. Between 1921 and 1960, the Indo-Fijian population quadrupled, peaking at 50.5% of Fiji's total population (Lane 2012). It was around this time that a fresh wave of migrants arrived with entrepreneurial ambitions and soon began to rival Europeans in dominance of the economy (Leuprecht, 2012).

Thus began the emergence of not only ethnic, but economic separatism in Fiji. Following independence in 1970, Sir Gordon's 'native policy' mission was perceived as 'a remarkably prolonged exercise in well intentioned British paternalism'. The goal was to maintain and preserve the "Fijian way of life" from what Ratu Sir Lala Sukana, the chiefly leader, termed as 'the omnipotence of the great octopus of the modern world' (Macnaught, 1979, p. 1-2). But instead, once the British super-structure was removed, Indigenous Fijians found they were ill-equipped to deal with a rapidly globalising, neo-liberal world unlike their Indo-Fijian countrymen, now skilled in industry and who were keen to take advantage of their new found autonomy and work their way out of indentured poverty (see: Lal, 2006; 2012b; Macnaught, 1979).

Economic and numerical power did not equate to political power, however. Following independence from Britain in 1972, many iTaukei felt that their identity was being threatened as the sizeable Indo-Fijian population looked to capitalise on their new access to open democracy (Newland, 2013). What began as a solution to labour needs had now snowballed into a real threat to Indigenous national identity. Many Indigenous Fijians were wary of independence, viewing it as an opportunity for the Indo-Fijians to exploit them. In many ways it was - the Indian community had been side-lined from power for some time and saw independence as an opportunity to gain representation (Lal, 2012b; Ramesh, 2008; Trnka, 2008).

---

[10] I refer to this group as both iTaukei and Indigenous Fijians interchangeably as this is the way in which they also refer to themselves and others across the islands. They are also commonly known as 'Fijians' but I will refrain from using this term to avoid confusion.

[11] This group will hereafter be known as Indo-Fijians in this thesis.

[12] Gujarat is a state in the Western part of India.

3.3.1 Coup Culture

Political equality would prove elusive for the Indo-Fijian community as polarisation took its toll. Ethnic polarisation was further catalysed by the attitudes of the contracting British empire, epitomised by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Julian Amery who, in 1960, wrote that Fijians and Indians; '…are more distinct as communities than Jews and Arabs in Palestine, Greeks and Turks in Cyprus or even Europeans and Bantu[13] in South and Central Africa… it is impractical to think in terms of a single Fiji nation or common (electoral) roll' (Lal 2006, p. 37). Essentially, from the British point of view the iTaukei were a loyal, militarily competent Indigenous force. As time progressed, it became evident that the UK wanted some semblance of democracy, but one which left the Indigenous islanders firmly in control (Lal 2012). The result was an ethnic split between Indigenous islanders and Indo–Fijians which, following British departure, was bereft of an arbiter (Gains 2012). Arguably the Indian population has since been pushed to one side, then slowly diminished in number due to several reasons which many attribute to civil strife (Prasad et al. 2001; Trinka 2008).

This has led to a contemporary situation where, although there is cooperation and goodwill between both groups in some areas, in others there are inter-ethnic tensions personified in sporadic violence, abuse and intimidation by Indigenous nationalist groups (Newland 2013). This has created distance and polarisation between the two groups which is implicated in the country's tumultuous, post-independence, political history (Ramesh, 2008; Ratuva, 2014). Fiji's modern history has been punctuated by four coups (three military, one civilian), the majority of which were based on ethnic divides and conflicts. The activation of the Fiji Labour Party (FLP) quickly led to the first coup in 1987 and the second soon after, that confirmed ethnically based political polarisation and Indigenous paramountcy. In the subsequent coups in 2000 and 2006, race also proved to be a significant motivation for undemocratic action.

Political power in Fiji was, until fairly recently, characterised as a 'militocracy', personified by the rule of the Indigenous Fijian soldier, Commodore Voreqe Bainimarama, who seized power in 2006 (Lane, 2012). His 'soft-authoritarian' leadership was cemented following a court ruling in 2009 which led to the abrogation of the nation's constitution (N. Koch, 2013). In 2014, however, Bainimarama's authority was put, for the first time, to democratic elections. His Fiji First Party won almost 60% of the popular vote, which allowed Bainimarama to assume the role of Prime Minister officially, with a powerful mandate from the electorate (Perry, 2014). This peaceful bestowing of power reaffirmed the political power of Indigenous Fijians even though, as will be explained, significant economic power lies elsewhere in the country.

---

[13] A colonial term referring to the hundreds of ethnic groups across the middle and southern parts of Africa who speak 'Bantu' languages.

The 2006 coup leader, Bainimarama himself, broke the mould citing a fight *against* division as his reason for installing an Indigenous-led executive that still dominates today. As Robertson (2012) states:

> The 2006 coup further debilitated already weakened state institutions and it rendered once thriving civil organisations bitterly divided. Despite fluid promises to introduce transformative constitutional changes, the military now appears certain to consolidate its own role as the nation's final political arbiter (p. 518).

This modern history of civil strife was a major factor in Fiji's inclusion in South Pacific's 'arc of instability' alongside Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Timor-Leste (McCarthy, 2011). The violent coup in 1987 and a repeat in 2000 proved severely damaging to the nation's future, fuelling waves of Indo-Fijian emigration. Its failure to settle into a stable democracy has also resulted in regional tensions. In September 2009 Fiji became the first nation to ever be excluded from the Pacific Island Forum (PIF)[14]. While the Islands were also suspended from the Commonwealth due to its lack of progress towards democracy following the coup. The Commonwealth had demanded that the Fijian premier commit to re-joining negotiations with the opposition and to set a date for credible elections by 2010. However, this demand was ignored and thus Fiji was duly suspended (Lal 2011).

Since then things have cooled and Fiji has restored relations with regional giants Australia and New Zeland, and has been readmitted to the (PIF) and the Commonwealth due to its modern democratic status. This has brought with it a more extended and somewhat docile period of Indigenous political domination (Fraenkel 2015; Lal 2013; Ratuva 2007). Due to this, Fiji can be viewed as a deviation from international norms which legitimately construct Indigenous people as minorities at risk from modern conceptions of nationhood. Fiji is an example of where such groups have used the logic of indigeneity to argue for the redistribution of political and economic resources (Larson & Aminzade, 2007, p. 87).

The concept which denotes ownership and traditional links to the land *vakavanua* has placed Indigenous islanders in a position of privilege architected, in part, by the British. While the British initially intended to use Fiji for economic gain, they either ignored or failed to anticipate the legacy of racial segregation that was manufactured to achieve it (Gaines, 2012). As Chand (2015, p. 152) argues; 'the coups in contemporary Fiji and the ethnic strife the nation has experienced the past century are the products of extractive economic and exclusionary political institutions implanted at colonisation'. As will become

---

[14] The Pacific Islands Forum is an inter-governmental organization that aims to enhance cooperation between the independent countries of the Pacific Ocean, Fiji was suspended on May 2nd 2009 on similar grounds to that of the Commonwealth suspension.

clearer throughout the thesis, the colonial legacy in Fiji is stark. A lack of unity has dogged Fiji's progression since, with democracy and good governance facing significant challenges (Prasad, 2014).

3.2.2 'Democratic' Fiji and Bainimarama

In September 2014, Fiji hosted its first peaceful democratic elections in 14 years, a clear signpost that the nation was aiming to leave behind its troubled past. The result gave a considerable mandate to Commodore Voroque Bainimarama and his supporters, confirming his leadership. For his critics, the real tests, such as consolidating his power and proving himself internationally legitimate, were just beginning (Coakley & Fraenkel, 2014; Fraenkel, Firth, & Lal, 2009; Lal, 2014b). Peaceful and authentic elections however were s significant step towards legitimacy and reduced international disquiet brought about by its undemocratic past, which placed the country under a shadow of political and economic seclusion (Gounder, 2013).

FIGURE 4: A ROAD SAFTEY BILLBOARD, PRIME MINISTER BAINIMARAMA WATCHES ON

Despite worries over ethnocentrism in the executive, a successful and well-funded campaign built on multicultural, populist, rhetoric meant that Bainimarama's Fiji First party polled at 60% of the Indo Fijian vote, but importantly, the party's share of the Indigenous vote was a comparatively low 40%. The latter was due to many iTaukei choosing the Indigenous nationalist Social Democratic Labour Party (SODELPA) who ran on a banner of 'reclaim Fiji for the Fijians'. SODELPA managed to secure a significant (28%) share of the popular vote. For many Indigenous islanders, the fear of cultural erosion, loss of ownership over the islands and loss of traditional identity are still very real, not least because of the government's decision to disband the Great Council of Chiefs in 2007. As for the Indo-Fijian vote, their overwhelming support may be due to the lack of a safe alternative (see: Fraenkel, 2015a; 2015b; Wagner & Dreef, 2014).

Bainimarama now sits atop an overwhelmingly Indigenous leadership that governs a split population. The most recent census placed the iTaukei at 56% and Indo–Fijians at 37% of the national population (Census 2007)[15]. Although the first elections since 2000 have been deemed a success in some quarters (Wagner & Dreef, 2014), in others there have been allegations of illegal press regulation and political corruption. Lal (2014a, p. 14) has been openly critical: 'There was a peaceful transfer to democracy for one reason and one reason only: Bainimarama won the elections'. The electoral process also drew criticism from politicians and international lawyers (Bhim, 2015) and political commentators as Frankael (2015b) surmised:

> This was a 'competitive authoritarian' election, characterised by careful controls
> over media outlets, manipulation of rules regarding political parties and candidate
> nominations, and selective use of state finances to harass opponents (p. 1).

Questions remain over whether Fiji has evolved into a fully functioning democracy or if the Bainimarama executive has simply used the elections to screen itself from domestic and international critique. However, the election has cemented Indigenous power, for now, but it has not dispelled the spectre of ethnocentric authoritarian rule (Baledrokadroka, 2016; Firth, 2015; Naidu, 2016).

3.4 Contemporary "Fijian" identity

Indigenous identity is defined through the sharing of narratives based on ancestral ties to the *vanua* (land) and its people. These narratives are played out and perpetuated through storytelling and friendly rivalries - *Tauvu* - and/or kinship ties with other clans - *Naita* (Newland 2013). This socio-cultural process had occurred over hundreds of years, so when a large unfamiliar population was imported and then began campaigning for a share of power this caused problems. Indeed, among indigenous groups, uniting centuries of proud tribal tradition under one national banner was challenging to begin with (Thomas, 1989; 1990).

One factor that unites the iTaukei is religion. Almost all are Christian and most are Methodist (Census, 2007). The status quo is a product of the first missionaries to land there in 1835 who deftly wove tribal tradition, spiritualism and Indigenous narratives into their own theological teachings. Newland comments that 'In effect, this underpinned the Fijian identity of the *vanua*, Methodist devotion (*lota*), and the chiefly system of social order (*Ratiuism*)'(2012, p. 229). Through the careful use and

---

[15] Although there have been no recent surveys, most estimates do not show a large deviation from these figures see: http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/

understanding of Indigenous culture, these early missionaries were able to preserve traditional cultural practices, while imposing Christian beliefs on the islanders (Presterudstuen, 2016; Ryle, 2012).

The Indo-Fijians, on the other hand, are a complex mix of sub-cultural groupings - Punjabis, Gujarats, South and North Indians, and religions - Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians. To outsiders they are generally grouped together through their presumed cultural similarity, the way they dress, their family units, the food they eat, music they listen to and festivals they organise and attend. They tend to see themselves as 'Indo-Fijian' or simply 'Fijian' (Prasad, 2009; Trnka, 2008). But this is also to do with the difficulties among both groups in reconciling a common identity, when for so long they have been separate. We will return to this later in the thesis (see: 6.2).

3.4.1 Ethnic Identities

Both the willingness to preserve identity and the historical factors which have enabled intergroup distance have led to key areas in Fiji becoming noticeably divided along ethnic lines: 'the makeup of many sporting associations, youth groups, cultural organisations and even some trade unions is defined on the basis of ethnicity' (George, 2012, p. 24). The socio-cultural manipulation of primordial cultural bonds has contributed to ethnic grouping in Fiji, along with the 'coup culture' and political volatility since independence. Ethnic division at the societal level has long been mirrored, reinforced and manipulated by ethnically defined political factions that have been perpetuated through a Westminster system of government which is confrontational in nature (Robertson, 2012).

The primordialist view highlights grouping through collective, ethnic and emotional ties rather than the logic of individual needs, and does not easily accommodate for the fluidity of modern social relations (Coakley, 2012). This view may apply to Fiji as in many ways tribalism still lies very much at the heart of Fiji (Slatter, 2014). For Indigenous Fijians, daily and religious life is infused with tribal culture, evidenced in the importance of *vanua* and its connotations of ancestral land to the iTaukei. Tribal affiliations mean that the land and resources are viewed as one piece belonging to them (Larson 2014). As is the case of many poorly financed post-colonial states, such as Uganda, The Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Rwanda and Papua New Guinea, problems arise when the new administration is ill-equipped to serve the entire population effectively (see: Chua, 2004; Lachenal, 2016; Miles, 2015). This is particularly the case when leaders allocate costs and benefits of state goods unfairly, encouraging polarised ethnic voting and resulting ethno-nationalist governance, as has been the case in Fiji (Larson, 2013).

Ethnic posturing in Fiji is personified in the way that the state and society as a whole has wrestled with ethnic labels (Prasad, 2009). The current leadership has succeeded on a platform of populist rhetoric and a push to create a common Fijian identity. This began with the permanent suspension of the

Indigenous-only chamber of governance – The Great Council of Chiefs in 2007 (Fraenkel et al., 2009). Later, in 2010, the government continued in its attempt to quell ethnic disquiet by officially re-categorising all citizens of Fiji as 'Fijian', giving everyone the right to refer to themselves in the same way as Indigenous islanders. However, this was rejected by Indigenous nationalists who wished to keep this assignation for the iTaukei alone (Akram-Lodhi, 2016). Despite the official reorganising of ethnic labels in Fiji, ethnic cleavages are still visible and there is mistrust of such attempts by the Indigenous-led government to appeal to social justice (Naidu, 2016).

In some ways, the structure of the Fijian political system has come to reflect this dynamic in the the regularity of ethnic discourse merging both ethnic and political identities. As Ratuva argues (2014, p. 14) 'Consequently political identity assumes an ethnic character and ethnic identity becomes a political construct' and thus, 'the historical process of state-sponsored communal engineering in Fiji has blurred the distinction between communal and ethnic identity'. The major post-colonial hurdle for Fiji is to overcome such ethnic markers, and to create a common Fijian nationalism and political consciousness not dictated by ethnicity (Naidu, 1980; 2016).

3.4.2 Cross community relations

Ethnic division in Fiji has become a covert, rather than an overt characteristic of the islands due to the absence of open conflict and the cultural hegemony of the iTaukei (Akram-Lodhi, 2016). On the surface, inter-ethnic relations in Fiji are improving, and the nation has entered a relatively harmonious period, a decade since the last coup in 2006. Yet a few years later Trnka (2008) labelled Fiji as a '*state of suffering*' - bitterly divided, with fear and mistrust characterising the Indo-Fijian/iTaukei relationship. Ultimately the groups have seen each other as fundamentally different for some time. Trnka (2008, p. 117) points to how Indo-Fijians see their Indigenous countrymen and women as 'junglis' – between 'savages' and 'animals' – breeders of instability, while for the iTaukei, Indo-Fijians appear untrustworthy, 'selfish', and 'cunning'. These labels may well have perpetuated intergroup distance and this is problematic as 'When stereotypes are repeated over and over again the constructed images become real in people's cultural sub-consciousness and the target group even end up assimilating to, and playing out these images' (Ratuva, 2007, p. 391).

Such beliefs may add a degree of permanence to ethnic division and perceptions of the 'other' (Kashima, 2000; Wirtz et al., 2016). Indigenous islanders see themselves as family orientated, collective people – Christians who believe in exchange and community hierarchy echoing earlier social structures akin to *Ratuism*. Indo-Fijians, in contrast, are portrayed as individualist in nature, driven by materialism, profit and wealth. In many ways, Indo-Fijians reciprocate, viewing themselves as enterprising and hard-working while seeing the iTaukei as idle, less productive and brutish (Guinness & Besnier, 2016). However, such distinctions are said to becoming more blurred due to the urbanisation of Fiji as the

younger generations flow towards built up areas in search of employment (R. Kumar & Radika, 2013; T. Phillips & Keen, 2016).

A report by 'Minority Rights International' states that; 'Rapid urbanisation, and a growing modern economy are eroding entrenched ethnic divisions' (Naidu, Matadradra, & Sahib, 2013, p. 4). Coupled with non-iTaukei centred policies and more inclusive rhetoric from the modern government, this has led to the belief that inter-ethnic relations have improved. The peaceful 2014 elections have been greeted in some quarters with euphoria in terms of marking the arrival of a new era (Fraenkel, 2015b). However, such joy must be balanced with reality, such as the flag debate, which raged throughout the research.

FIGURE 5: ONE OF THE MANY BANNERS DEPICTING THE FLAG DEBATE

The national flag is a significant rallying point of a nation and can be essential in building a shared identity in divided societies (Schatz & Lavine, 2007). In Fiji, both groups share a high level of identification with Fiji's flag, with both groups regularly seen waving the flag at sporting events at home and overseas (Guinness & Besnier, 2016). However, the Bainimarama-led government has for years been at odds with Fiji's colonial past, and has been looking to alter the flag, hoping to remove the British colonial insignia (Ewart, 2016b). As the Prime Minister stated:

> It is time to sever links that are no longer relevant…It is time to have a national symbol
> that reflects our present state as a nation. That has Indigenous and truly Fijian symbols
> of identity (Bainimarama, 2015c).

Here one can see the direct links which are forged between what is Indigenous, what is Fijian and what constitutes the nation, a slip from the Prime Minister's integrationist rhetoric which surrounded his election. This sentiment is entirely in keeping with the critique of the executive's benign ethno-

nationalism (Fraenkel et al., 2009; Fraenkel, 2015a). This indicates that while on the surface, cross-community relations have eased, a push for a more 'Indigenous' flag in a bi-ethnic nation is symbolic of where power lies in dictating these relations at present. However, following the rugby Sevens gold medal in the Rio Olympics, the government dropped the idea of a flag change, potentially due to the level of opposition on the ground (see: Ewart, 2016b). Still the prime minister was quoted as saying after praising the victory: 'I remain convinced personally that we need to replace some of the flag's colonial symbols with a genuinely Indigenous expression of our present and our future' (Ewart, 2016b). This is clear example of Indigenous hegemony and ownership over the imagining of Fiji the nation, and of the power and meaning of rugby beyond the sporting sphere. This suggests that rugby at least, has a role to play in the present and future of Fijian identities.

3.5 Rugby and Indigenous Fiji

From the beginning, rugby's introduction, like many other colonially organised sport projects, was utilised by the British as a civilising force intended to divert the potentially violent and disruptive cultural practices of what was traditionally a tribal nation (Presterudstuen, 2016). Its introduction worked and was met with minimal resistance. In short, rugby had the desired effect (Prasad, 2013). Local elites begun to pursue the sport to 'prove their physical prowess in ways that resonated well with the colonial administration', consolidating their relationship with the hierarchy by partaking in this 'gentlemanly and prestigious cultural practice' (Presterudstuen, 2012, p.240). This legacy of British rule has gained permanence in Fiji, exemplified in rugby's central position in the story of the nation (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c; Presterudstuen & Schieder, 2016; Schieder, 2011).

FIGURE 6: LOCAL RUGBY GAME ON TAVEUNI, 'THE GARDEN ISLAND'

3.5.1 Rugby, Christianity and Power

Rugby's connection to the iTaukei way of life is reflected in its participation which, like the government and military, is overwhelmingly Indigenous (Kanemausu & Molnar 2013a). Rugby has become an emblematic platform for muscular Indigenous identity and autonomy, not just at home but internationally (Presterudstuen, 2010a; Presterudstuen & Schieder, 2016). But predating rugby was the introduction of Christianity to the islands, which was deftly interwoven with local culture and politics. Christian belief became associated with power and political ascendency, due to its usefulness in forging alliances and currying favour with the colonial hierarchy (see: Ryle, 2005; 2016). This Christianisation of Fiji has had a sustained impact on the nation today – influencing a social order that is built on the collusion between pre-modern patriarchy and an indigenised version of muscular Christianity. As Presterudstuen and Schieder (2016) write:

> The hegemonic notion of Fijian masculinity today stems from a romanticised image of the Fijian warrior which has become discursively intertwined with the historical construction of the *Bati* ideology (p. 223).

'*Bati'* translates as 'the knife' or 'the sharp edge' and the 'Bati ideology' is the physical and violent imagery that underlines Fijian male social performance, evoking a tribal warrior past (Teaiwa, 2005). This ideology 'has become deeply imbedded in the dominant cultural discourse of Fijian society and is today widely regarded as a cultural practice inextricably intertwined with Indigenous identity and tradition' (Kanemasu and Molnar 2013, p. 1). The manifestation of this traditional masculinity combines with Christianity in the way Fijian men engage in physical contests and, rugby. Rugby is the vessel within which the Fiji *bati,* muscular Christianity and post-modern/global influences are bound and practised. Participation and success on the sporting field has become intertwined with a modern realisation of tribal culture and ordering, '*Ratuism'*, identity and the powerful male Fijian '*bati*' narrative (Presterudstuen & Schieder, 2016). At the centre of this imagining is the Fijian Rugby Union (FRU), the administrative centre of the sport, built with British paternalism and labelled by Taeiwa (2005, p. 213) as 'a bastion of the Fijian (male) elite'. The national rugby teams are held up as centres of the prototypical Fijian, with historical connotations linking them to a noble warrior past, a relationship tacitly and explicitly encouraged by the British (Guinness & Besnier, 2016).

Rugby training sessions are stages for religio-cultural practice with sport being a way to publicly show sacrifice and commitment to *NoquKalou, Noqu Vanua* (lit. My God, My Country) seen as a noble pursuit for Fijian men. It is essentially the re-imagination of Fijian ethno-national identity where aspects of the colonial and 'Fijianness' have become intertwined, encapsulating a new but authentic Indigenous

tradition (Presterudstuen, 2010a). However, the use of rugby as an outlet for Indigenous tribal urges is a simplistic and primordialist assessment. As Molnar and Kanemasu (2013a p.7) argue:

> The appropriation of rugby by "the Fijian cultural logic" implies the singularity and fixity of such a logic and inadvertently reproduces the binary distinction between the pre-colonial/Indigenous and the (post)colonial/modern/Western, despite the emphasis on the articulation between them.

With the links between rugby, tradition and masculinity among the iTaukei, it is unsurprising that the police, the army and the navy have their own fiercely competitive teams. A striking example of the importance of rugby in Fiji was the most recent coup on 5th December 2006. The coup was initially planned for Friday, 1st December 2006. However, it was postponed due to the 'Ratu Sukuna Bowl' rugby clash, one of Fiji's largest national sporting events, a game between the police and army teams, due to take place on the same day (Schieder, 2012). 'Only in Fiji that a coup could be put on hold for a rugby match', said one commentator (*Fijitimes,* 4 December 2006). This illustrates the value of rugby in life across the islands; it has become less of a national sport and more of a characteristic of the Island nation. Moreover, it is an essential part of what many see as *being* Fijian, and more exclusively, a Fijian man (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c).

For many young men, rugby is also a way out of Fiji and a path to riches beyond their potential at a local level (Schieder, 2014). Fiji, along with Tonga and Samoa, are major 'donor countries' for international rugby talent. Legions of young boys are now aspiring to follow friends and relatives overseas to lucrative contracts and even dual nationality in places such as Japan, New Zealand, Australia and Western Europe (Horton, 2012; Molnar & Kanemasu, 2014). However, hegemonies that frame the global rugby economy present Pacific athletes as 'muscle for hire', particularly in reference to 'brawn drain'. Within this post-colonial framework, Pacific men are still defined in relation to their physicality and 'hyper-masculinity' and this has the effect of orientalising Pacifica cultures (Schieder, 2014, p. 246). In this respect men from this region are grouped together and simplified into categories which do not relate to enlightenment or intellect, akin to the orientalising of Middle-Eastern cultures by elements of 'Western' culture (see: Said, 1993).

Indeed the migration of Fijian rugby players overseas, along with Fiji's on-field achievements, have fed global stereotypes about Fiji as a rugby nation. But once again this can promulgate the 'mythic exotica' of Pacific islanders (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013b; B. McDonald & Rodriguez, 2014). This reaffirms the noble *bati* warrior stereotypes at home, but this international reputation means that rugby has also become a useful political and economic tool for the government overseas.

International success has meant that the sport has become a useful diplomatic tool. Due to its tainted international reputation due to political turmoil, the Fijian leadership have been keen to champion the overseas achievements of the Fijian rugby team in order to normalise international relations (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013). For example, rugby has also been a useful diplomatic tool for Fiji, key to the mending of relations with New Zealand, and regional giant, Australia, in recent years (SMH, 2016). While internally, it has been suggested, through the careful manipulation of media outlets, sport and entertainment, the minds of the population have been deftly distracted from the various abuses of power by the leadership (Narsey, 2015). Rugby Sevens, in particular, draws huge support from across Fiji and as such has become a useful tool in nation building.

3.5.2 "Fijian" Rugby Sevens

Considering its size and wealth, Fiji regularly overachieves in Sevens rugby, outperforming larger and more resource-rich nations on the international circuit. A shorter, faster and more modern form of the traditional rugby union or rugby league codes, Sevens also takes place on a full rugby field, except with just seven players on each side. Games are action packed and short (15 minutes), and as part of the popular HSBC World Series, tournaments are held over a weekend, touring global cities such as Dubai, London, New York, and Hong Kong. The Fiji Sevens team regularly features in the top three at these tournaments, and won the series for the second time during the field research, in June 2015 and again in 2016, along with a gold medal at the Rio Olympics in August 2016 (see: fijiruby.com). Support for the national Sevens team is notably multicultural (unlike its participation), and this buoyed by Fiji's success internationally (Presterudstuen, 2010a).

Sevens' popularity is also an avenue through which the Fijian elite can architect a symbiotic aura of success, legitimacy and populism through the use of sport in national 'branding' (Cattermole, 2008). On an international level, unable to gain recognition due to a lack of political, economic or indeed democratic virtues, authoritarian elites such as Fiji's have been known to architect a cult of personality. Through attributing sporting success to their personalities, politicians and leaders can build synonymity with sporting achievement in order to foster an environment of gratitude from the population (Allison & Monnington, 2002). The dynamic between the Fijian rugby and the nation's elite is indicative of this, exemplified in Bainimarama's numerous and continued appearances and speeches that made reference to Fiji's rugby success (2013; 2014; Bainimarama, 2015b). The Prime Minister also inserted himself into the middle of the team photo on the field, directly after Fiji secured gold at the Rio Olympics, before announcing a national holiday to celebrate (Rajan, 2016).

Through Sevens, Fiji can parade its independent identity away from the trappings of colonial rule (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013a; Presterudstuen, 2010a). For the small nation, independence from colonial

rule was not necessarily fought or campaigned for, as was the case for other colonised peoples, who found unity in resistance such as occurred in India (Robertson, 2012). Many island nations find collective unity difficult because of tribalism and the geographical constraints of physically uniting people (Connell, 1987). Fiji is a prime example with its tribal past and present, along with the physical reality of a geographically split country, compounds ethno-social fragmentation. However, rugby could have a more cohesive role to play in the future as it 'serves as a symbolic medium of anti-colonial nationalism which, especially at times of international competitions, at least temporarily dissolves the ethnic and gender boundaries' (Kanemasu & Molnar 2013a, p. 8).

However, the imagery and symbolism of rugby *as* Fiji is at odds with its demographic reality, wherein a sizeable Indo-Fijian population exists. This group has traditionally been side-lined from political power (Lal, 2014c; Trnka, 2008), and the sphere of rugby, gaining prominence instead in the business community and soccer (Prasad 2013).

3.6 Soccer and Indian Fiji

The prevailing socio-cultural discourse within and emanating from Fiji is dominated by the iTaukei. Indo-Fijians are also overshadowed by Indigenous athletes in sport with a recent study on sports participation in Fiji stating: 'the absence of young Indo-Fijians is unfortunate because the nature of their participation is relatively unknown' (Vakaoti, 2016, p. 36). This is especially unfortunate due to the rising levels of NCDs across Fiji and the correlation with physical inactivity (Gyaneshwar et al., 2016). However, indo-Fijians are not *completely* absent from Fijian sport as they have a large presence in Fiji's second most popular game, soccer (James, 2015).

FIGURE 7: FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION CLUB TOURNAMENT (FACT) IN NADI

Aside from rugby, soccer is arguably the second most popular game in Fiji (James, 2015). However, compared to rugby there is much less discourse on Fijian soccer, again a reflection of rugby's dominance in Fiji. Although soccer in Fiji enjoys a relatively mixed base of participation and support 'Football in Fiji takes on a racially charged outlook that it is an Indo-Fijian sport'. This perception is due to the sport's history and the creation of what Prasad (2013, p. 25) terms as 'racial myths and narratives of ethnocentrism'. These were brought about due to the separate development of the iTaukei and the Indo-Fijians, and influenced heavily by the machinery of colonialism discussed above. This is an important point as this study will investigate if these 'myths' have been maintained, or if they have transformed through sport, and the implications this may have for integration.

The iTaukei elite were the initial agents of soccer's popularity in Fiji as their sons were enrolled in the more sought after Christian mission schools from the late 1890s that all favoured soccer as their prescribed/main sport. Later their loyalties began to slide towards rugby as they found, and were shown, how elements of the full contact sport meshed well with *Ratuism* and the Fiji *bati* (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c; Presterudstuen & Schieder, 2016). Thus a split in sporting cultures was manifested in tandem with the split in Fiji, with the Indigenous islanders turning towards rugby and leaving Indo-Fijians with soccer. Class is also a factor that splits both soccer and rugby along ethnic lines as rugby (rugby union especially) was traditionally associated with the chiefly elite, who pursued rugby to prove their physical prowess to the colonial administration. At the same time, soccer became known as a comparatively 'low' sport because of its popularity with the indentured labourers brought over from India to work the cane fields (Prasad, 2013).

Soccer's popularity grew, reaching across the islands, in the form of The Vridhi Cup. This competition was organised by the Indian Reform League, an organisation made up of well-educated Indo-Fijians whose aim was to carry out social work and apply pressure for social reform on behalf of the Indian community. The tournament was organised and played among Indo-Fijians in rotation from 1832 to 1928 on Catholic mission grounds in *Toorak* and *Nausari* (Prasad 1998). Formal organisation then arrived in the shape of the 'Fijian Indian Football Association' (FIFA) on October 8th, 1938 (Fijifootball.com). The ratification of this solely Indian, formal national organisation was an important step for many Indo-Fijians, and not just as soccer fans, but as citizens who were being side-lined in the macro corridors of power:

> Between 1938-61, the first generation of Indo-Fijian lawyers clamoured for the
> presidency of the Fiji-Indian FA. Their aspiration, it can be argued, was based on the
> recognition that the football body was the closest thing to a national assembly for
> the Indo-Fijians (Prasad 2013, p. 36).

Like the FRU, the FIFA also emerged as a product of the mission in sports; an integral part of Victorian morals based on discipline, healthy exercise and order (Watson, Weir, & Friend, 2005). It was supported by the colonial hierarchy and by commercial interests such as the Colonial Sugar Refinery (CSR). The promotion of sport was an instrument of rule that went hand in hand with the utilitarian benefit of producing and maintaining the health and well-being of a colonised work force. Having the two ethnic groups in separate camps in terms of work, life and sport fitted well with the colonial policy of 'divide and conquer' evident in Fiji during the period of British rule (Guinness & Besnier, 2016; Robertson, 2012).

The FIFA was officially racial, intended for players of Indian descent only (Prasad 2013). It remained The Fiji Indian FA until 1961 when an application for membership of FIFA[16] was rejected on the grounds that the organisation was ethnically biased. The 'Indian' was then omitted, and it became the Fiji Football Association (FFA). Up until that stage, participation in football had remained clearly associated with indo-Fijian ethnicity and; 'As part of the official and universally understood colonial policy and practice, both "Indians" and "Fijians" accepted and promoted this separation' (Prasad, 2013, p.32).

---

[16] The Fédération Internationale de Football Association – association football's global governing body, not to be confused with the Fijian Indian Football Association.

The separate and ethnically-based organisation was an early indictment of the pseudo-elites that indulged in the centralization and separation of power with the colonial administration in forming the ethnically exclusive Fiji Indian FA. This subservience to partition was universally acknowledged and accepted as part of colonial practice in Fiji, further separating the two main ethnic groups (Ryle 2016). Today however, in the absence of the racialized practices of the FIFA and the divisive influence of the British, football in Fiji appears to be more ethnically mixed, with iTaukei players well represented across all levels.

3.7 Soccer and the iTaukei

Due to the racial beginnings of soccer in Fiji and its association with the Indo-Fijian community (Prasad 2013), one may be forgiven for thinking that shared participation in soccer is a recent phenomenon. But early documentation shows that, although not as prominent as the early FIFA, iTaukei involvement in soccer was evidenced in Indigenous or 'native leagues', as they were known (Prasad, 1998). Then following the integration of soccer into the national psyche under the new banner of the FFA, further opportunities for inter-racial bonds were provided through the game. This prompted the first iTaukei player in the FFA - Esala Masi - to say, 'In soccer people shared in their knowledge of the game and delighted in providing practical help and moral support to each other' (cited in Prasad 2013, p. 35).

National team photos from recent years show a notable prominence of iTaukei players in this 'Indian' sport and this presents a paradox worth investigating (see: fijifootball.com.fj). Furthermore, soccer also makes a useful point of analysis in terms of SAI due to its potential to function as a space for cross community participation. Yet despite the stories of inter-ethnic friendships in Fijian soccer, Indigenous Fijians do not appear to be much involved in the coaching of teams or in the organization of the sport more generally (see: James, 2015). Why then is the organisational exclusion of the iTaukei taking place? This is counter to the tendency toward Indigenous domination that appears in the sport policy landscape.

3.9 Sport policy in Fiji

At the macro level, the Fijian government's official attitude towards sport and ethnic integration is evident in the most recent youth sport policy (2012). The dictum is focused mainly on youth empowerment, health, participation, facility development and life skills, including the promotion of 'respect and understanding for cultural, religious and ethnic diversity through virtuous education' (V. Naupoto Hon, 2012b). The how, what, where and when of 'virtuous education' is unclear. This may be read as a confirmation of the state's acknowledgement of the need to address ethnic division through sport. Yet, through a different lens, this is a rather benign statement that could fit into many government's sport policies.

The primary national sport policy goes slightly further in acknowledging ethnic division in Fiji, though this is by no means a prominent focus. Its main facets are participation, elite athlete development and health, whilst also serving 'to assist National Sports Organisations (NSOs) develop a more strategic approach to the development of their sports'. The policy aims to implement this vision through 'promoting participation by *all* in sports and recreational activities, ensuring that *all* citizens in Fiji receive every opportunity to enrich their lives through quality sport programs' (Naupoto, 2012b, emphasis added). This policy of inclusion is again broad and could be found in many national sports manifestos. However, the national policy does go further than its youth counterpart in recognising the uniqueness of Fiji's polarised plurality in stating: 'At a society level sports contribute to an environment for social interaction, unification and reconciliation that is essential' (Naupoto Hon, 2012a). The recognition of sport's positive potential is not recent. In 2005, the Minister for Information said

> The government's strategic development plan and affirmative action recognises that sport promotes nation building and community development by bringing people of all communities together…the government has taken on sport as a strategy to ensure its vision of a peaceful, prosperous Fiji (Tihotoni 2005).

Aside from soundbites from past and present leaders on the need for unity and the mention of sport as a vehicle for cross community dialogue, it remains to be seen whether this has been put into practice. All-encompassing sport policy drafts are rare in Fiji and this is, in part, due to the governance preference towards, somewhat ad hoc, rule by decree. As yet another colonial legacy, this approach allows the quick and unchallenged creation of law by a person or group, a practice that the current leadership has employed with great impact (see: Dutt, 2010; Government of Fiji, 2013a; Robertson, 2012). For example, in 2013, the Fijian government produced the 'Sports Commission Decree' (2013a). This set out the government's plan for a Fijian sports commission to control government funding and run 'give it a go' programs, with little reference to cross-community participation.

Part of the remit of the sports commission is to oversee community outreach projects that aim to recognise young talent and '… develop elite athletes in their sport of choice'. How these are managed and rolled out may prove enlightening by way of comparison between policy rhetoric at the macro level, and how sport is experienced at the micro level. In terms of civil society input, research has shown that the Indo-Fijian community wants the government to provide sport and recreational facilities which would bring ethnic groups together (Naidu et al., 2013). Whether the government is willing to comply with such requests still remains to be seen. A stakeholder who is nestled between the community and the government are key sports organisations who play a central role to the present and future of sport in Fiji.

3.10 Sport Organisations

At the *meso* level, it is quite possible that attempts to create unity and reconciliation may be hampered by the deeper meanings and pseudo identities that are attached to some of Fiji's National Sport Organisations (NSOs). Previous research has suggested that; 'ethnically exclusive sports and social clubs have been problematic in causing division in Fiji' (Naidu et al., 2013, p. 21). As mentioned above, rugby's popularity in Fiji is unrivalled; this is personified by, in a somewhat unique scenario,the Fijian president as the head of the FRU.

As for the FFA, its founders have seen the sport grow from humble beginnings and the organisation progress from a colonial proxy to an independent organisation, becoming a founding member of the Oceania Football Confederation (OFC). From an external point of view, the organisation can be viewed as a set of poles. One end sees the organisation as a church of cultural power for Indian-Fijians marginalised from mainstream politics (Prasad 2013). At the other end, the FFA is perceived as a rare social meeting point for Indian-Fijian and iTaukei football fans and players alike (Prasad 1998). This thesis will explore on which part of the spectrum the organisation currently sits and whether there is an appetite to use the sport for purposes of increased and more holistic cross-community dialogue.

Overall, the organisation of both soccer and rugby within the totemic sphere of civil society is a metaphorical embodiment of Fiji's identity struggle. Rugby can be used to express a muscular Indigenous identity and symbolic violence through its performance of hegemonic nationalism (Guinness & Besnier, 2016; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c; Presterudstuen, 2016). On the other hand, soccer seems to operate in a counter-hegemonic sphere as an important cultural space for the maintenance of a largely submerged Indo-Fijian identity. This may go some way to explaining why these organisations have not mobilised to improve estranged intergroup relations, or it may be the case that there is simply no desire for further integration. As Coakley and Fraenkel (2014) surmise, comparing Fiji to Northern Ireland, the main barrier to a progressive inter-ethnic future in Fiji is not only a lack of trust between elites on either side, but also a lack of understanding between communities.

3.11 Summary

This chapter serves as an outline into the historic and societal context of modern Fiji and the dual sporting worlds of rugby and soccer. In the two sports, both the Indo-Fijian and iTaukei communities may have found anchors for socio-cultural power and ethnic identity. In neither organisation is there any history of encouraging multiculturalism, and this seems to be a product of the deeper sociological meanings attached to the two sports by their respective communities. It can be concluded that soccer has acted as an important socio-cultural site for Fiji's Indo-Fijian community which for many years has been side-lined from the national consciousness, both in politics and sport (Prasad 1998). Rugby, on

the other hand, is a keystone in the narrative of Indigenous Fiji (Guinness, 2009; Presterudstuen, 2010a; 2016; Ricciardelli et al., 2007).

It is an assumption of this thesis then, that both sporting spheres may in some ways personify the separatism that is endemic in modern Fiji. This study also contends that this sporting culture and the broader context will prove to be a fruitful site for research into SAI, due to the high value placed on sport in a society beset by latent division. In depth insight into the context and the local people and stakeholders at various levels should provide an opportunity for deeper understanding of the meanings attached to both sports among the two major ethnic groups in Fiji. In doing this, Fiji presents a potent environment in which to investigate what factors exist that either push relations towards harmony or conflict and what serves to maintain the status quo. In the next chapter, the study will make further reference to the research questions, the overall research approach and the methods of enquiry that were deployed to investigate the research questions.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of the current chapter is to provide a rationale for the methodological approach taken in this study. The previous chapter detailed the context of Fiji and provided background on the two major sports in Fiji. Chapter Two highlights the gaps in knowledge regarding the role of sport in divided societies and its potential to affect identity and intergroup relations across the macro, meso and micro levels. The thesis, therefore, investigates the interplay between sport and integration (SAI), in the context of Fijian soccer and rugby. This study seeks to foreground local voice and knowledge and, in doing so, answer three distinct yet inter-related questions:

1. How are Indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian group identities associated with rugby and soccer?

2. What roles do rugby and soccer play in intergroup relations in Fiji?

3. Are Fijian rugby and soccer stakeholders content with the status quo or do they envisage a need for change?

Gaining an understanding of the meanings that both sports hold in terms of the identities of local people is a critical first step. This lays the groundwork for further exploration as to the role that these two sports play, or do not play, in intergroup relations across Fiji, along with any emergent opportunities for future change. Despite being presented in a linear fashion here, answering these questions did not always follow this order. For example, local opinion on the sporting landscape and the status quo was something I was very receptive to throughout the research.

What follows is a step by step guide to the approach, including a detailed rationale as to why, and how, it was formed. As the research is geared towards in-depth knowledge and understanding, the research design is a qualitative, case study approach that utilises a 'Short Term Ethnography' approach (Pink & Morgan, 2013). This is a further adaptation of traditional ethnography that prioritises contextual experience in data collection, analysis and theorising to build a first-hand understanding of SAI in Fiji. The epistemological discussion will detail the rationale behind the choice of methods in relation to previous research in this area. It will also outline the approaches embedded within the method that have been designed to navigate the complexities of such a study, and to maximise the opportunities for learning.

Just as important as the data collection tools are the strategies employed to maximize time and local interests across the research; these will be explained before outlining the approach to data analysis, along with the ethical considerations and limitations of this study.

4.2 Research paradigm

A research 'paradigm' is defined as the guiding philosophy that underpins scientific enquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). A central philosophy of this research is social constructivism, an approach to research that acknowledges the inevitable presence of the researcher, especially within qualitative approaches. Social constructivism: 'assumes that people, including researchers, construct the realities in which they participate…[it] starts with the experience and asks members how to construct it' (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 607). In many ways this is a rejection of world views that are individualistic, where researchers emphasised individual analysis rather than collective meaning along with meanings and realities that are developed when researchers are not present (Charmaz, 2014). A methodological self-consciousness is crucial to this paradigm as it requires 'scrutinising our positions, privileges, and priorities' during research (Charmaz, 2017, p. 35). This is why is has been deemed as an ideal philosophy from which to draw given the 'outsider' position from which this research operates and its commitment to local agency.

This commitment is also why the research uses qualitative enquiry to answer the research questions effectively; access to the 'real' and 'lived' experiences of both Indo-Fijians and Indigenous Fijians (iTaukei) is seen as paramount. A qualitative approach is the most appropriate option due to its propensity to give 'authenticity to the human experience' allowing locals and the researcher the tools to fully describe social realities (Silverman, 2013a, p. 8). Furthermore, the exploratory nature of the research aim is suggestive of an inductive approach which also fits well with qualitative methods (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). A qualitative approach is also preferable in adding volume to local voices. For example, through the use of in-depth interviews, Talanoa methodology and other carefully employed ethnographic tools (see: 4.6) Fijian people can comfortably express their views, feelings and experiences. The data will therefore emerge from diverse sources, contexts, people and levels in order to build a three dimensional image of Fijian sport and society.

Within such an approach the researcher can play the part of an impressionist who situates and recalibrates an image of reality in close partnership with those who shape it. The image is made clearer still by the shared experience and dialogue of the researcher and the participants. Such an approach is more meaningful when LMICs are under study as more traditional approaches have been accused of back grounding local agency by Indigenous and post-colonial scholars (see: Bishop, 2011; Denzin et al., 2008; L. T. Smith, 1999). It is important to devise bottom up theory which puts 'the last first' and 'the first last'. This is from Chambers (1994) who believed in 'handing over the stick' to rural and urban

populations to control their future. This means that local people have a key role in the research process and the interpretation, so that the research is written *with* them rather than just *on* them, thereby foregrounding local interests which can become ignored in more formal 'positivist' approaches (Silverman, 2010).

This calls for sensitivity, an appreciation of social constructivism and a 'methodological self-consciousness' that 'requires scrutinising our position, privileges, and priorities and assessing how they affect our steps during the research process' (Charmaz, 2017, p. 35). As will be discussed further, inbuilt are strategies that de-centre the researcher and allow for a significant attention to 'positionality' and 'reflexivity' regarding the research environment (Deutsch, 2004; England, 1994). Researchers are not only part of the representational process, they are influenced by the cultural processes that are being co-created in conversation, action and text (Anderson, 2006). The research design therefore draws from social constructivism due to the combination of inductive methods, the co-construction of meaning and self-conscious questioning.

The quest for research legitimacy is all the more important given the history of the SDP field from which this study is drawn. In recent years, critics have sounded the alarm against 'top-down', neo-colonial paradigms of sport-as-aid (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Darnell, 2014; Reis et al., 2015), with development 'change agents' helicoptering in to wave the flag of Western progress and, by assuming a deficit perspective, 'make a difference' to the 'plight' of those less fortunate. Change agents, or facilitators, hailing from higher income settings have been viewed as a necessity to safeguard the aims of funding bodies and to carry out the SDP project work plan originating in their home setting. Their role has brought with it a number of complexities (Schulenkorf 2010), not least the recycling of unequal power relations (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). Western researchers have tended to gloss over problems caused by the legacy of colonialism, and/or proffer 'solutions' underpinned by neo-colonial attitudes (Spaaij & Jeanes, 2013). As Collison & Marchessault (2016, p. 2) have put it, much SDP research is 'mute to deeper understandings of participants', with a tendency to 'disregard or temper the voices of those truly worth listening to: the participants themselves'.

As discussed in the literature review (2.7), key to a post-colonial approach is transformation of perception: people are not research 'subjects', but rather agents in a research process. They are producers of knowledge, rather than objects for the Western gaze (Mwaanga & Adeosun, 2015). From this perspective, reflexive, post-colonial field studies rely on local knowledge and the agency of participants, with scholars embedded in the communities they are trying to understand (Burnett, 2015b; Sang, Joy, Kinge, Sayce, & Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012; Spaaij, 2012). Viewed thusly, the 'research environment' has already been lived by those within it, so the role of scholars is to mediate their

perceptions, thereby enabling experiential stories to be facilitated and local knowledge curated (England, 1994).

A dynamic approach is formed that is broadly positioned within the qualitative, social constructivist paradigms that see the multiplicity of social realities and therefore the merit in processual and co-constructed methods of understanding. Adding elements of constructivism to qualitative research and this thesis specifically encourages the decentring of the researcher, reducing any inherent (colonial) bias in this final product (see: Charmaz, 2006; 2008; 2014; Keaton & Bodie, 2011). In areas which are under-researched depth and understanding is made more difficult when the research is stretched across a number of contexts (Cardenas, 2016; Yin, 2011). As such a single instrumental case study was therefore deemed appropriate for this study.

4.3 The Instrumental Case Study

Chapter Three denotes how Fiji is a rich site in which to explore sport and intergroup relations due to the cultural value that is attached to both rugby and soccer. Stake (2000) suggests that the use of an instrumental case study is well suited for the development, expansion, and refinement of theory and supporting new understanding. It provokes the researcher to consider how the concerns of theory are manifest, or not, in the case. Furthermore, Yin (2003) also advises using a constructivist paradigm as a basis for case study research. The efficacy of this approach is built around the close collaboration of the researcher and local participants. SDP research has recently taken a more holistic turn that highlights the importance of the 'academic-stakeholder' relationship in decoding complex environments (Collison & Marchesseault, 2016; Collison, Giulianotti, Howe, & Darnell, 2016). The importance of this to the instrumental case study approach is that there are two goals; (a) to accomplish something locally; (b) to draw knowledge from the case in understanding and support of theory (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Stake, 2000).

According to Stake (1995) the instrumental case study is a detailed examination of a single sample, to gain insight and understanding of a particular situation or phenomenon. The case plays a supporting role and it may or may not be seen as typical of other cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008). As Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 5) argues, 'context dependent knowledge is at the very heart of human activity', while Harper et al. (2013) also advise that a strong case study that explores relevant themes in a convincing way can be highly influential. Often the goal in case study research is not to demonstrate but to learn. The interpretation of a contemporary case is therefore valuable in the refinement of theory and understanding (Stake, 1995). In selecting a case, social constructivist researchers are inclined to explore and analyse groups and individuals where the processes under study are most likely to occur (Charmaz,

2000). As Stake (1995, p.242) has argued 'My choice would be to take that case from which we feel that we could learn the most'.

Fiji is instrumental in this regard due to the unique struggle with poor intergroup relations blended with sport and ethnic identity (Lal, 2012a; Prasad, 2013; S. Prasad, Dakuvula, & Snell, 2001). This means opportunities to investigate questions and assumptions relating to SAI across different levels. There is strong argument that in order to achieve depth in learning in a social science context, the researcher must seek immersion (Ward, 1997) as 'the most advanced form of understanding is achieved when researchers place themselves within the context being studied' (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 20). Placing trust in the research process and inserting mechanisms to strengthen the objectivity of qualitative knowing are therefore essential. This research has allowed for this when formulating a methodological framework that incorporates a number of data gathering techniques and strategies that aim to decentre the researcher (see: 4.7). This framework was also designed to garner a more holistic impression of Fijian sport and society and this is detailed below.

4.4 Methodological Framework

The methodological framework is the skeleton on which the methodology is built, providing a structure which supports the various methods and strategies enabling the gathering of relevant data and the emergent theory. In the current study the adopted framework is an adaptation of 'short-term ethnography' (Pink & Morgan 2013) designed to maximise time by applying a number of methods and intensive strategies to gather rich data in a shorter period than in longer, more traditional ethnographies. By rigorously applying these methods and strategies I was able to understand and answer the issues surrounding the three main research questions stated above. Figure 8 assists by depicting how these methods inter-relate with the research questions, sampling and overall epistemology of this study.
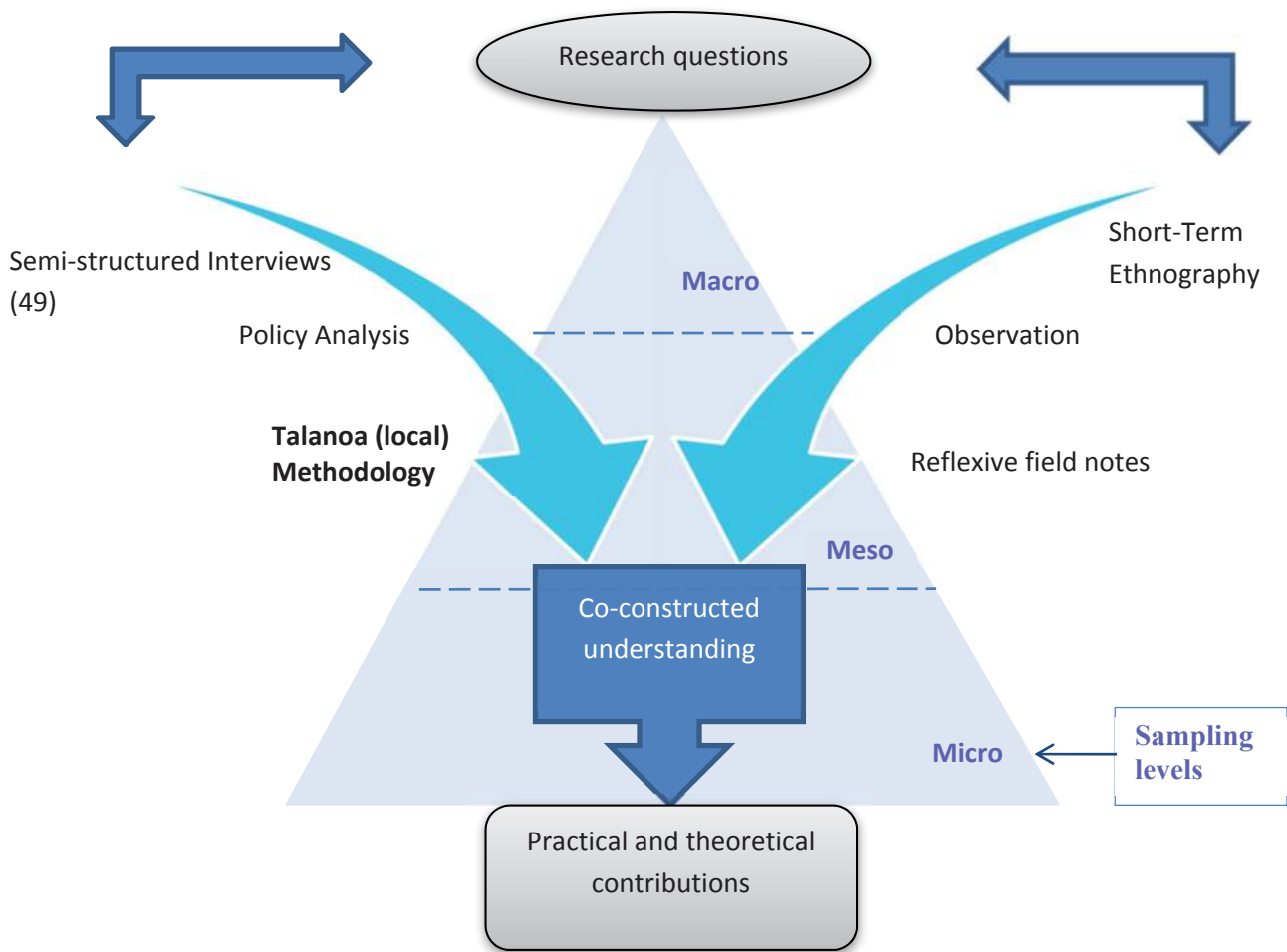
FIGURE 8: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The framework depicts the process of researching SAI as an outsider researcher. The model begins with a set of research questions designed to site the research, which are there to be checked and re-addressed in line with the emergent data - indicated here by the two-way arrows. 'Short Term Ethnography' is one of the guiding methods through which data collection took place. Within and alongside it, tools such as (non) participant observation, reflexive field notes, policy analysis and semi structured interviews are also employed. The study also incorporates *Talanoa* method (see: 4.6.5), that enables learning from local realities beyond of the boundaries of 'Western' research approaches.

Central to the framework presented in Figure 8 is a triangle divided into three to represent the community (micro), institutional (meso), and decision making (macro) levels across which the study took place. The triangle is wider at the base, reflecting the greater numbers of participants. Finally, the data gathered is filtered through what I have termed here as 'co-constructed understanding', where the

researcher is not an authoritarian expert with an objective view but a participant in the interpretation of reality (see: Charmaz, 2000; 2006; 2008; 2017). This is crucial as through close relationships that I built with local people I was able to gain their input on the subject at hand and the emergent theory. The research contends that people in LMICs are quite capable of engaging with social science, and this research employs mechanisms and strategies that enable just that. This takes place across several levels and the reason for this is discussed next.

4.5 The Macro, Micro and Meso levels of analysis

The nation and its state institutions provide macro-level information about a country, but without knowledge of meso and micro levels of social organisation, observers are unable to grasp important underlying complexities (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000; Pope, Robert, Bate, Le May, & Gabbay, 2006). As these may be profound, an understanding that reaches across these levels is key. As Pope et al. argue (2006, p. 59); 'to understand the pace, direction and impact of organisational innovation and change we need to study the interconnections between meanings across different organisational levels'. The macro, meso and micro, as units of analysis is an adaptation of Goffman's (1974) frame analysis which identifies the different levels to perceive, locate and identify experience and meaning. Collecting data across the three levels helped in learning more about sport and intergroup relations beyond the community level, while also illuminating how sport in Fiji is treated both as national policy and a local program.

In terms of the **macro** level, both policy analysis and conversations with those in positions at this level was enlightening. The macro level sample contains those who reside at the top of key sports organisations, and who make influential decisions about sport in Fiji. I visited such organisations and government departments, spending time with and interviewing many such individuals, and was able to garner their opinion on the past, present and future of Fijian sport. Access to individuals at this level was more difficult than to those at community level due to the nature of their roles within hierarchical structures which must be negotiated in Fiji. However, through local networks and persistence, I was able to meet and form relationships with some key individuals at this level. Such insights shone a light on those who control sport and help build and impression of how sport is viewed and handled at this level, based on the inter-relationship between policy and the management of sport.

At the meso level of the sporting field policy begins to take shape and where there is 'the greatest potential for misunderstanding and misinterpretation' (Caldwell & Mays, 2012, p.3). The meso level is populated by sporting bodies, NGOs, teams and other institutions. Across this level I visited NSOs such as the Fiji Football Association, The Fijian Rugby Union, Fiji Cricket and the Fijians Sports Commission. I also spent time at three , two rugby clubs and two soccer clubs, getting to know and

interviewing key stakeholders such as coaches, (head) teachers, journalists, academics and a human rights figure, all with the goals of gaining input, understanding and opinion about SAI at this level.

Those within the *macro* and *meso* levels play a key role in dictating the way in which sport is played at the *micro* level. The community level is also important to this study as this is where sport is practised, embodied and 'lived' and, in divided societies, where intergroup separatism is most visible (Lederach, 1997; snr Sugden & Bairner, 2000). It is here where real life can be experienced and observed more readily and where I dwelt for most of the research. From this position, I was able to compare what I saw, heard and experienced with what I gleaned from those in positions of power and influence. This allowed for a more three dimensional understanding of Fijian sporting life leading to a rounded theoretical construction. Further to this, the purpose-built data collection tools add to the distinctiveness of this approach and these will be discussed next.

4.6 Methods of Enquiry

The data collection tools were chosen through both an intuitive analysis of what the context and questions demanded and an appraisal of well-known qualitative SDP research in LMICs to date. The research process itself began before my doctoral program commenced, progressing into two periods of intensive research in Fiji. The first trip was a ten day reconnaissance journey across the main island of *Viti Levu*, and this was followed by a nine week immersive research experience six months later. The methods of enquiry and research strategies employed before, during and after these trips, will now be discussed.

4.6.1 A Need for Multi-method

Interviews have traditionally dominated qualitative research (Silverman, 2011), and this is also the case in LMICs where numerous SDP studies aim to understand local perspectives solely through the use of semi-structured interviews (Anaza & McDowell, 2013; Dyck, 2011; Njelesani, 2011; Šafaříková, 2012). These approaches are important in prioritising local voices by allowing participants to control and communicate their views and opinions on a given SDP program. The use of interviews alone may distort and simplify the complexities occurring 'on the ground'. It is an approach to research that has been criticised in SDP literature for its potential to reproduce unequal relations of power and knowledge (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011).

It is also argued that the 'Western World' is an '*interview society'*, whereas for non-Western respondents the face-to-face interview may not be a comfortable scenario in which to reflect their 'real world' experiences. Hence, in these researcher-provoked situations, the authenticity of the data collection may be compromised (Silverman, 2013b). However, interviews can complement participant observation and related methods and this justified their inclusion in this study as they allow a direct

channel for local people to give their opinions. For example if, as an outsider, I were to go to Fiji and build an impression of Fijian sport without asking and recording local opinions and stories directly. I would be guilty of many the mistakes maligned by Indigenous and post-colonial scholars (Bishop, 2011; Denzin et al., 2008; L. T. Smith, 1999; 2014). These conversations were essential as through long and in-depth interviews with locals, whom I had taken the time to learn to know, I was then able to refer to them in decoding the research context of which they are a part.

Another common approach undertaken in SDP research in LMICs is to apply multiple methods, generally in an effort to diversify the type of knowledge and information that emerges from such environments (see: Burnett, 2006; 2015a; Clark & Burnett, 2010; Ponting, 2008; Willis, 2000). Interviews are still often central but other tools such as focus groups and participant observation are also well utilised (see: Bourgeois, 2011; Njelesani, 2011; Schulenkorf, 2010b). Focus groups, or group type discussion such as *Talanoa* (see: 4.6.5), can allow respondents to take part and engage in collective discussion and they can also reveal informal power relations (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). They are, therefore, particularly useful in contexts where the face-to-face interviews are not a common experience (Otsuka, 2005; Stewart & Shamdasani, 2014).

By employing multiple methods, researchers can source and compare differing forms of data and knowledge which can fill gaps left by other methods. This is particularly useful when the goal is an in depth understanding of a socio-cultural environment, as in this research (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Olutayo, 2014). Ethnography is the umbrella which often houses a number of data collection tools for achieving such understanding and it is an approach from which this design draws heavily.

4.6.2 Ethnography

Ethnographic observation, which evolved from the broader field of anthropological inquiry, was developed as a system of research by Western social science scholars operating in LMICs (see: Brewer, 2000; Rabinow, 1988; Walsh, 1998). Time is devoted to the exploration of unstructured and naturally occurring data allowing for a careful interpretation of meaning and detailed description (Gobo, 2008; 2011; Willis & Trondman, 2000). A great deal of emphasis is placed on direct observation of social interaction, although 'when doing ethnography, it is also essential to listen to the conversations of the actors "on stage"… and ask questions' (Gobo, 2011, p.15). Yet one must be careful that an 'ethnographic self-consciousness' is continuous, as this is a check against the orientalising potential of Western views and research paradigms. It is necessary to stimulate a sensitivity to those included in the study (Forsey, 2010).

Despite the field's engagement with LMICs, there are few examples of where ethnography has been used as a tool to research SDP in such contexts (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). Its scarcity in SDP might be

explained due to the many complexities associated with researchers undertaking ethnographic observation in cultural, political and natural environments where they are seen as an outsider. As Scheyvens (2014) has noted of LMICs, newcomers are prone to misunderstand context-rich socio-cultural norms and behaviours to which they are unaccustomed. However, assuming that ethnographers are appropriately acculturated – especially by a variety of locals in the research environment – there is the capacity for observation to add value to qualitative studies involving written and oral testimony. As Burnett (2001) has argued, SDP research, in its fullness, requires a combination of approaches and perspectives to develop a deep understanding of context.

Short Term Ethnography

The belief that ethnographic research requires months and sometimes years of immersion in a research context may well be hindering its use in SDP (Crabtree, 2006; Lassiter, 2005). Therein lies a complexity as ethnography is the best approach in 'writing' and understanding culture, but the contemporary time pressures of academia restrict its use (Hammersley, 2017). Marcus (2007) has pondered the issue of time committed to ethnographic field work. He argues that the appearance of a study, if reduced merely to length of immersion, is not necessarily a guide to its validity. For him what is most important is the depth of inquiry and the perceptions that have been gleaned, with time constraints delimitating scope of focus, but not intensity of research. In this tradition, Pink and Morgan (2013, p.2) have developed; 'short term ethnography' (STE), where they argue that:

> Ethnography is not always characterized through long-term engagement with other people's lives. Rather it involves … observational methods to … delve into questions that will reveal what matters to those people in the context of what the researcher is seeking to find out.

From this perspective, STE fieldwork is not merely temporally pragmatic, it must be rich in detail. Pink and Morgan (2013, p.1) acknowledge that 'short-term ethnography' itself is not a new phenomenon', for there have been previous advocates of this type of inquiry. Most notably, Knoblauch (2005) has used the label 'focused ethnography' to describe 'time intensive' approaches to ethnographic research. This approach is characterised by a number of short term field visits which are 'part time' rather than permanent, adopting audio-visual equipment to assist in the short but intense periods of data collection. Pink and Morgan's (2013) approach to STE also foregrounds intensity but also a constant 'ethnographic-theoretical dialogue' and (re)engagement/review of the audio-visual materials gathered during field research after its conclusion.

In my case, due to the length of an average doctoral study program, time was constrained. Hence, I drew from this body of knowledge in order to create an adapted form of STE suitable for the context of

Fiji and the study of SAI. My version of STE also champions research intensity and a constant comparative theoretical dialogue, but goes further by employing a reconnaissance journey, along with constituent strategies (see: 4.7), which served to maximise time. These adaptations have allowed me to construct a significant bank of what Geertz (1994) terms as 'thick description'. During my time in Fiji I lived, ate, talked, exercised and socialised with the local population. Part of this immersion meant I was also able to draw from participant and non-participant observation as I shared in the lives of local people.

Observation

As a key tenet of ethnography, observation was essential to this research. I moved between a status of participant and non-participant observer in different times and spaces throughout my time in Fiji. Douglas (1976, p. 12) argues: 'Direct observation of things in their natural state (uncontrolled) is the primary basis of all truths'. The goal of the researcher is to become a participant in culture and the formation of reality by developing relationships with those who can show and tell what is going on (Hunt, 1989). Observations can also support and guide the interpretative reflection in SDP research, combining the 'natural' with researcher-provoked data and filling in the gaps to allow for deeper understanding. However, the researcher must also be an observer of that culture. This is where it is somewhat contradictory, as observation denotes being objective, clear eyed and critical, whereas participation is linked to immersion and subjectivity (Brodersen, 1971; Delamont, 2004; W. A. Hall & Callery, 2001). Walking a fine line between the two positions is required.

In their study on SDP in the context of the Cambodian football league Okada and Young (2011) were able to both evaluate the role of the league in positive social development, and observe the inherent patriarchy within the league's structure. The observations allowed for theory to develop outside formal interview scenario in LMICs and hence this study also uses a number of different techniques. For example, both participant and non-participant observation implies closeness with the environment, allowing the researcher to view how the social world is structured by its inhabitants without their influence (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010).

However, there are dangers in observation that lie in the potential to misinterpret cultural norms, settings and behaviours in LMICs (Scheyvens, 2014). In addition, the loss of objectivity in the researcher's position, or 'going native', losing the detachment needed to produce informed theorizing, can also be problematic (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). I therefore was mindful of my position in relation to the research and went to great lengths to tread carefully within and across these worlds.

Navigating the Insider/Outsider Positions

In any ethnographic endeavour, the role of the Western researcher within a LMIC context is complex. The desire to produce an accurate and reflective, decolonised account that also stands up to peer review in social science, is a difficult task. Within post-colonial research, many arguments can be made against an 'outsider' point of view in LMICs (Bishop, 1998; 2011). This has rendered research '*a dirty word*' in some Indigenous circles (Smith, 1999, p.1). However, speaking only as an insider can dictate a standpoint epistemology and undervalue contemporary social science research in LMICs (see: Barrett, Little, & Carter, 2013; Brock & McGee, 2012; Burnett, 2006; Fan, Hazell, & Thorat, 2000).

Maintaining a contextual dialogue, and objective sociological scrutiny, means that the researcher's position as an insider-outsider is not fixed but fluid (Breen, 2007). This is where the research position is 'ever shifting and permeable', while being flexible and reactive to the demands of the research context (Naples, 1996, p. 40). This debate between 'us' or 'them', 'we' or 'they', is not new to ethnographic research (Shore, 1996; 1999). However, in the approach taken here, the duality of maintaining a reactive sociological stance, and the need to become close and experience the lives of those I sought to understand meant moving quickly between these worlds. In the hope of reaching a deep and 'inter – subjective' understanding (Englebretson, 2007).

Altering the researcher's stance in this fashion has become a key tenet of ethnographic fieldwork (Adler & Adler, 2012; Allen, 2004; Uddin, 2011). In this research, I show that there is merit in moving between an insider and outsider position, particularly in the context of sport where there are opportunities to become an insider as a non-local who is able to participate as a player and/or a fan. This involves moving flexibly between the physical and metaphorical boundaries of the field of play. For example, in training with a rugby team in Suva (hereafter the Suva rugby team[17]) I was able to enjoy the practice as an insider participant, reflecting later. However, I was also able to step out at times, both physically and mentally to reflect on what was being experienced and observed.

Greene (2014) has argued that researchers should not concern themselves with being either/or (outsider or insider), and rather strive to be both, as there are mutual benefits in being close to one's research and keeping a distance to maintain an outside perspective. The researcher should strive: 'to make themselves acceptable to all parties in the field, if possible to take on a research role that allows maximum flexibility in forms of social relations and social interaction' (Ball, 1990, p. 165). But this goes beyond perspective and concerns the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity. I believe that a fine line may be walked between objective truths and subjective rigour through a commitment to the co-construction of meaning. This need for more grounded, informed, contextual understanding has long been the call in

---

[17] Pseudonym.

SDP research (see: Burnett, 2001), and approaches which bring the research closer to the 'natural' can make a contribution towards this goal. Yet beyond these more personalised ethnographic approaches, policy analysis assists in building an impression of Fijian sport by offering a more macro perspective.

4.6.3 Policy analysis

To understand how policy works across the macro, meso and micro, levels translates into better understanding how sport is prioritised by those in power. Policy is a social and political activity which spans these levels. Through its analysis, the researcher is uniquely positioned to see how a system responds to the will of the executive (Sabatier & Weible, 2014).

What is of interest to this study is the way that sport is viewed and utilised by government and policy is a vital indication of this. Furthermore, through policy analysis one can also map the degree to which policy translates to sporting practice. Indeed, 'The way from policy-making at the national level to the implementation of the policy at the local level is long and uneasy' (Skille, 2008, p. 181). By viewing official policy documents, funding statements and annual reports of key government departments and NSOs, I was able to see how both the present and future of sport is viewed by key decision makers. Furthermore, by seeing the extent to which such policies were enacted at community level I was able to theorise on the relationship between policy and practice. This gave me a further avenue of analysis beyond interviews with those at decision making level. Thus, I was able to further contextualise their comments and rationalise any entrenched political interests, often the product of the analysis of sport policy (Houlihan, 2005). Such comparisons and perceptions of the path of sport policy were discussed in interviews but brought together, with other methods, among the pages of a reflexive field diary.

4.6.4 Reflexive Field Notes

Reflexivity, awareness of positionality and self-conscious-introspection all took place within the pages of my field diary. Analytical self-reflection helps to link elements of autobiographical and personal experiences of the researcher with the social, cultural and political context surrounding them (Ellis, 2004). In more depth, reflexivity means awareness of the relational influence between ethnographic researchers, their settings and the participants. This must be driven by a willingness to better understand oneself and others through self-examining action and environment in reference to dialogue with others (Anderson 2006, p. 382). In terms of SDP research, open and honest records and reflection in this form 'can shed light on contemporary geo-political struggles and power relations within the sport for development and peace field' (Chawansky, 2014, p.10). A detailed field diary was, therefore, an important site for the recording of memos, and the constant comparison of themes and experiences in relation to the research questions. Yet this research sought to go further by attempting to reverse the unequal power relations in mainstream research that is dominated by Western paradigms (Bishop, 2011; Denzin et al., 2008; Smith, 1999). To do this, I drew heavily from the *Talanoa* method.

4.6.5 Talanoa Method

'Talanoa methodology' was researched before landing in Fiji, in the hope that my own exploration would involve 'personal encounter(s) where people "story" their issues, their realities and aspirations' (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 21). Talanoa is characterised by oral traditions and very open, emotional dialogue. It is also complex, varying across Pasifika cultures (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). According to Halapua (2008, p.1), the Talanoa method is widely recognised as 'engaging in dialogue with, or telling stories to each other absent (of) concealment of the inner feelings and experiences that resonate in our hearts and minds' … (with) '*tala* meaning talking or telling stories and *noa* meaning zero or without concealment'.

What enables Talanoa method is the personal relationships between the researcher and the participant which are essential in the sharing of information. It is due to this closeness, and the typical length of Talanoa discussions which are measured in hours rather than minutes, that such discussions; 'will almost always produce a rich mosaic of information'. Competent researchers and their participants can then pick and arrange relevant information and embroider it into knowledge relevant to the research (Vaioleti, 2016, p. 22).

In Fiji, this theory was transformed into experience. I learned first-hand the 'Talanoa way' of meeting, greeting and sharing talk and time with Indigenous locals. From a research perspective, Western-oriented traditions of 'face-to-face interviews' were, at times, shown to be culturally unfit for that purpose. A fluid, conversational dialogue – varying considerably in terms of scope and duration – was the norm. Discussions with a group were often preferred by those with whom I sought to speak. In Western-oriented research these might be construed as 'focus groups', except in Fiji there was no explicit focus and the groups either grew or shrank in size over time. They were as fluid and open as the group members wanted them to be, with people invited on an impromptu basis, and leaving according to their own needs or whims.

A particularly important gateway into Talanoa was through Kava circles. Fijian Kava circles vary, from the highly ceremonial and formal welcoming of guests, to the more impromptu gatherings of friends and family. In Kava cricles people are found relaxing, joking, sharing cigarettes and sweets, while listening to and sharing stories (Tomlinson, 2007). During the first 'reconnaissance' trip to Fiji, I was invited into three 'Kava circles'. These informal sessions involved anywhere between four to fourteen Indigenous Fijian men and women sitting in a circle, taking turns to drink Kava from a coconut shell, or similar. During the second trip, the nine-week immersion, I experienced fifteen Kava circles and Talanoa get-togethers, each taking place for several hours. These were intimate and dynamic environments, where I listened keenly. They had already been made aware, or would soon be made so,

about the purpose of my journey to Fiji, and were very keen to tell their stories for that purpose. I was overwhelmed by the generosity of these locals: they made me feel welcome, at ease in their cultural spaces, and were enthusiastic about talking with each other to allow me to peer into their lives. This ranged from serious topics through to comedic recitals. These intimate experiences allowed me to engage in what the locals regarded as authentic dialogue; their warmth also made me feel privileged – especially as an outsider who was new to Fiji.

FIGURE 9: KAVA VENDOR IN NADI THAT ENJOYS CONSISTENT TRADE

I trained and spent time with the Suva rugby team throughout my time in Fiji. After play, the team would sit in the shade near their home ground, drink Kava and chat the 'Talanoa way' for anywhere between 3-8 hours. I never had to ask to join; as someone who watched the team and had been welcomed to train with them, it was offered as a natural extension of their openness to a (non-threatening) outsider. The Kava circle, demonstrated a fluidity of intercultural engagement that was not obvious outside that intimate context. It seemed that the 'Talanoa way' had opened spaces for all invited into the circle, with even outsiders, like myself, accorded respect as equals.

Taken together then, one can begin to see how the combined approach to data collection which incorporated 49 in depth interviews, extensive and reflexive field notes, policy analysis, (non) participant observation and Talanoa method yielded a significant amount of data. However, the tools alone are not enough to answer the research questions in a robust manner. I also needed to devise a set of 'research strategies' to assist in their deployment under the short term adaptation of ethnography. Such strategies were key in tying the mythological framework together and in reaching an appropriate level of richness in the data and these will be discussed next.

4.7 Research Strategies

During my time in Fiji I immersed myself in the homes, sporting teams, spaces and social circles of local people and travelled across the country to maximise time and space and access a variety of perspectives and environments. In doing this I was able to gather a rich bank of data aided by the implementation of a number of key strategies. These are grouped here under: 'building access and creating opportunities'; 'making collaborative connections' and 'making use of free time'. I look also at the approach to sampling taken in this study.

4.7.1 Building Access and Creating Opportunities

By 'building access and creating opportunities' I continually and actively placed myself in positions to gather relevant data. This also bears in mind Glaser's (2001) mantra that; 'all is data' or potentially so, in such research. The process took place over three stages. The first stage involved making contact and building initial relationships with local people and groups relevant to the research. For example, contact was made with local academics at the University of the South Pacific who had written in similar areas, along with a leader of a local sport based NGO and a local sports journalist.

The second stage was a 10 day reconnaissance trip to Fiji. Within this initial trip, I travelled around Fiji meeting contacts face-to-face while establishing further connections. This provided an opportunity to listen, first-hand, to their stories and to seek advice about meeting with others in Fijian sport, from elite to community levels. This process allowed for the development of rapport with key individuals, paving the way for interviews in the nine-week journey to follow. The advantage of this pre-trip was in the detailed knowledge gained by talking to the local people face-to-face and learning about different locations to visit, other people to speak to and organisations worth accessing. The pre-trip was also important for me to extend my cultural awareness. The third stage was the primary field trip, where I gathered the bulk of the data through the aforementioned methods (4.6) I was now in a good position to capitalise on the earlier preparation.

During the first days in Fiji, when possible, I talked to local people, sports fans and players. This eventuated in the discovery of a top men's rugby team based in Suva composed of both Indo-Fijian and Indigenous-Fijians – a rarity at this level and worthy of exploration. I found where the team trained, both on and off the field and proceeded to go to the same gym and run laps around the field wearing rugby branded clothing. After a few days, a conversation was struck with one of the team members and I was invited to train with them right away. I trained and socialised with the team on and off for a period of two months and, in this time, was able to experience and observe some of the meanings that the sport held for the players.

FIGURE 10: IMMERSED IN THE 'SUVA TEAM' (MIDDLE BOTTOM) AFTER MY LAST TRAINING SESSION

4.7.2 Making collaborative connections

The above experiences were not just about getting close to local people to get an interview. I also worked hard to make these connections collaborative, to bring them into the purpose of the research. Being involved in prayers and speeches before and after each training session highlighted the centrality of both spirituality and rugby in their lives. This is indicative of the importance of building personal connections that also became collaborative as I openly discussed my interpretations with local people I had grown to know. These experiences lead to valuable interviews and conversations in which relationships of trust were built and contributed to candid discussions about issues of race, identity and ethnic division in Fiji.

This strategy goes beyond including local voices in research (Hodder, 2003; Rodman, 1992) as local voice was involved in the research *process* in acknowledgement of the need to incorporate Indigenous thought beyond simple data collection (Briggs & Sharp, 2004) and to strengthen the bond between the academic and participant in sport based research in LMICs (Collison et al., 2016).

The example of the rugby team is indicative of how a number of local connections and friendships were made that became vital to the research direction. These connections helped in allowing local people to participate actively in the checking and re-checking of ideas emerging from the data. This strategy served to add authenticity and a degree of co-production to the image of Fijian sport and society, achieved by gaining different perspectives on the progress of the research and the evolving questions herein. By sharing the emergent themes I could check my own understanding against local opinion. These discussions occurred in many settings such as the gym, around the dinner table with host families or at lunch with local academics, all with the purpose of de-centring myself from the research process, or, at the very least, allowing local voices to influence my interpretation of their reality.

94

4.7.3 Maximising Time

Globally, there are different understandings of time that alter according to culture and context. These varied conceptions are important in research design. For example, during this research the concept of 'Fiji time' was regularly encountered (Aveni, 2000; Greenhouse, 1996). 'Fiji time' is associated with tasks and feelings that are more fluent and flexible than empirical understandings that pervade 'Western' culture, which typically perceives time as digital, structured and linear (Fabian, 1983; Lewis & Edwards, 1993). In Western research paradigms, the assumption is that qualitative data is gathered within a set time, typically within the borders of interviews and/or observations (see: Bryman & Bell, 2015).

FIGURE 11: SIGN ON A LOCAL POSTBOX DEPICTING THE LOCAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS TIME

As I was able to visit Fiji on only two occasions, I needed a strategy to make effective use of the time that was available to me. The STE method required deep immersion in Fijian host communities, as well as a commitment to engage with a wide variety of relevant groups and individuals. The goal was to maximise available time in an attempt to realise a research goal – a task that would be 'easier' with temporally longer ethnographies (Pink & Morgan, 2013).

In my case, 'Fiji time' meant that data gathering was often unpredictable by way of schedule, and unstructured by way of time, so it was necessary for me to adapt. For example, I avoided pursuing an 'interview mode' when first meeting someone who had agreed to offer testimony. I had learned that sitting down, being relaxed and 'shooting the breeze' was the normal way of conversation in Fiji, and an unhurried dialogue was culturally appropriate for what, in a Western sense, would be deemed a research 'interview'. Beyond the 'appointment' model, it became clear that the deepest and most profound conversations took place with people I had built a relationship with over time, either through socialising or living with them. In some cases, these conversations would last hours as they meandered away or towards the research topic, or took place cumulatively over days, in small parts, as the

relationship grew. This immersive research then became both a socialising experience and an educational process.

The 10-day reconnaissance journey was also pivotal in this regard as it assisted in maximising time and research activity during the 9-week field trip. This initial journey allowed further links to be developed with key decision makers in both rugby and soccer. These connections had also been facilitated via prior communication with contacts at the University of the South Pacific, who provided me with research credibility, notwithstanding my status as an 'outsider'. This also allowed me access to individuals and networks from which to grow my sample.

4.7.4 Sampling

TABLE 1: INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

	Indo-Fijian		iTaukei		other	
Level	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Micro	7	3	7	5	1	0
Meso	11	1	3	2	2	0
Macro	1	1	3	1	0	1

The eventual tally of 49 interviews is depicted in Table 1. This number was not a specific target going into the research yet I was aware of time pressures so I hoped to conduct as many good quality interviews as possible. With this in mind I aimed to conduct four one-on-one interviews per week, and if there were recommendations from respondents to speak with others, so be it. This is evocative of the 'snowball sampling' method, which in my case started purposefully in that I targeted specific stakeholders in sport, and then became more theoretical as themes emerged and as I listen to local recommendations (see: Draucker, Martsolf, Ross, & Rusk, 2007; Noy, 2008). I began by contacting specific stakeholders in Fijian sport, and this progressed through recommendations, introductions and pure chance.

The 10 day reconnaissance journey had allowed me to reach out to people and the nine-week field trip allowed the interviews to take place whether they were diarised in a conventional format or otherwise. At the end of each day, I reconsidered my field notes, reconfigured the table of respondents, and then thought about trying to optimise the scope and range of research participants. As shown in the above Table 1, I endeavoured to represent ethnic and gender diversity in interview participants, to gain direct

testimony from different perspectives across the macro, meso and micro levels. Both males and females made significant contributions, yet because of the male centred nature of soccer and rugby in the nation, the interview sample is made up of mostly males.

Aside from the interview participants, many more local people contributed to the research through informal immersion. These are hard to quantify but consistent with the approach taken to ensure balance in the interview participants I regularly asked myself questions such as; 'Have I spent more time with one group or the other?'; 'From which level have I gathered most data so far?' etc. I then adjusted my behaviour depending on the answers to such questions.

To add some structure during the formalised interviews, during most conversations I used an interview guide (see: Appendix 2) and this was built around the three main research questions (1.3). In development of this guide, I treated each question as a tree trunk with smaller branches/questions attached to it, together providing enough information to meaningfully address the main question. This is consistent with two streams of advice. Firstly, from Silverman (2013) who decries asking research questions directly. And secondly, from Kallio et al,. (2015) who profess the wisdom in preparing a focused structure to guide conversations in qualitative research that should be used but not followed strictly. With this in mind, and by way of example, in the case of the first research question – 'How are Indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian group identities associated with rugby and soccer?' my questions to participants ran along the lines of; 'Are you a sports fan? Which sport do you follow the most in Fiji? And; 'In which environment would you enjoy/play this sport most regularly?' By following this approach to questioning, I was able to establish reference points for relevant topics, and at the same time form a more rounded impression about the role of sport in local people's lives and identities.

Although the interviews are important, they are not to be placed above less formal methods in terms of their contribution to the research. When joining a kava circle or shared a meal with a local family, I was overwhelmingly a listener. In total, I engaged in 15 kava circles encompassing periods of Talanoa that related both directly and indirectly to the research. Beyond this, I conducted daily social observations over the 9 weeks that were punctuated by heightened periods of sport-related observations at formal soccer (5) and rugby (7) games. As a participant observer, I was further involved in 10 rugby training sessions with the Suva team and 7 football training sessions with football teams in Suva and Labassa (the latter located on the neighbouring island of Vanua Levu).

Informal research was therefore critical for my overall experience as it added important context and local understanding. In line with this, considerable contextual research was conducted prior to the research (see: Chapter 3). Along with policy analysis which was conducted a priori, it informed the interview questions that were finally used. In regards to documentation, I analysed two official sport

policy statements (Naupoto 2012a; 2012b) five speeches on sport policy and outreach (Government of Fiji 2013; 2014; 2016a; 2016b; 2016c) and one official decree (Fiji national sports commission 2013).

Beyond this contextual knowledge I still needed to deploy strategies, some of which are discussed above, to reduce the shortcomings of interviews, which can sometimes appear unnatural and performative (Silverman, 2011; 2013a; 2013b). I tried never to conduct a research interview with anyone on a first meeting for example. Instead, the initial engagement was purposively social and my aim was to appreciate the person, get to know them, and to build rapport before a more thematic dialogue in respect of sport and society. In this way, I learned much more about Fijian society, culture and people than I had anticipated. I was able to convert this knowledge into worthwhile themes but only through a rigorous approach to data analysis.

4.8 Data Analysis

In more linear studies, once the data have been collected it is then analysed and tested to discover whether or not it is consistent with the theory (see: Gounder, 2013; Letki, 2008). However, the inductive nature of this research required processual, concurrent data analysis that maintained a relationship with the research questions (Charmaz, 2000). The diverse data set collected needed to be organised effectively so I used 'concepts', 'codes' and 'categories', to provide clarity to the rich but anarchic data (Birks & Mills 2011). Codes can be used when key words or even groups of these words (usually taken from conversations with participants) are also used as a tag to a certain topic or 'concept' while categories are groups of codes which are related (Holloway, 2008). This tag is used in a way that: '…symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language' (Saldaña, 2012, p. 3).

Analysis begins with data collection and initial coding before moving on to intermediate coding, selecting a core category and building theoretical sensitivity. Through the analysis of initial data, further themes and questions were developed to be reflected into concurrent data gathering, with parallel attention being paid to constant comparative analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Kendall, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this approach, as in other constructivist methods, data analysis begins early and is ongoing. Data and resultant theory is therefore emergent as it 'begins with an inductive understanding as events unfold and knowledge accrues' (Charmaz, 2008, p. 155).

This process produces codes, which are participant inspired, rather than just researcher generated, and is applicable to many qualitative studies, particularly action, practitioner and ethnographic research (Brannick & Coghlan, 2010; McCurdy, Spradley, & Shandy, 2004). It is also useful in examples of scholar/practitioner research as it focuses attention on the participants' language and their everyday

lives rather than terms derived from academia (Fox, Martin, & Green, 2007; Stringer, 2007). Throughout the analysis, and the research more generally, there is an interplay between academic and local ways of knowing, so the analysis is framed as an integration of the two.

By developing a design that allows for emergence, knowledge is allowed to build and shape the conditions and consequences of further study. This involves 'co-constructed understanding' (see: Figure 8), through established friendships and connections with local people. Locals are continually involved in the interpretation and the emergence of findings, through direct exchange and then phone and email conversations in the latter stages of the research. Also crucial to the later stages of coding is '*in vivo*' coding' otherwise known as verbatim/Indigenous/emic coding due to its propensity to give volume to participants' voices (Saldaña, 2012). Through the use of participants' own language this method encouraged the interpretations of terms that are true to context rather than academic or professional realms (Stringer, 1999).

In practical terms coding and thematic analysis took place in two broad stages. The initial stage was conducted manually, in the field, though listening to recordings and reviewing notes at the end of the day. Questioning of my own consciousness was key throughout the ethnographic journey; reflecting on the day's research activity and then again at the end of each week were crucial points in time. This is because these sessions allowed me to ask important questions about what I had seen and heard and my interpretations of it. I would ask myself questions like: Would a Fijian see this the same way? How might this have been experienced if I were a woman? Or not a sports enthusiast? Although such questions are impossible to answer with any certainty, yet they helped me to think on extending my own positionality beyond the self in an attempt to view the data from different angles.

There is a degree of intuition to these initial stages of coding in field work - after seeing and hearing something a lot, this then becomes a theme and assists in adding colour to the impression of social reality. For example, I saw, and was told again and again, that for Indo-Fijians wanting to play rugby it is not easy, for a number of reasons (see: 5.2.3). This then became an initial theme which I noted and saw evidence of in the field. Then back at home I set such themes aside while I manually transcribed the interviews and employed 'NVivo' software to code them along with the field diary. Next I compared this secondary round of analysis with the themes generated in the field to test for correlation, while maintaining contact with Fijian participants through email, Skype and social media to further check my interpretations. Objectivity in data analysis is a difficult path to follow, mainly due to inevitable hand of the researcher in writing up research. This is because research and writing are 'inherently ideological activities' (Silverman, 2013a, p. 343). So a commitment to co-constructed understanding and a careful, two stage, approach to analysis is an attempt to limit this subjectivity.

99

In this respect, inductive coding drove much of these emergent themes. However, the overall approach to data collection, inclusive of observation, policy analysis and other less formal approaches taken, was also driven by deductive analysis. This 'a-priori' approach meant that there was a degree of pre-determinacy about where I looked and what I was looking for (Stuckey 2015). In my case the conceptual frames of identity, intergroup relations and sport were useful categories to begin with in order to guide my discovery into the rich and 'chaotic' Fijian sporting context. This was not to force data down pre-determined passages, but to focus the gaze of the research towards data that would illuminate the key research questions and individuals who were able and willing to contribute to the research aims (see: Saldana 2015).

The centrality of Fijian people to the research and throughout analysis also brought further ethical considerations to the more common concerns associated with human research in such contexts. I was therefore required to submit a rigorous ethics application which was carefully assessed and then passed by the UTS ethics committee. Indeed there were many ethical considerations and these will be discussed next.

4.9 Ethical considerations

The fact that this research is written by someone from a HIC on Indigenous peoples from a LMIC means that there are numerous ethical considerations, some of which have been addressed above (see: 4.6.2). It was from reading Smith (1999) and other Indigenous, postcolonial and feminist scholars (Bishop, 1998; 2011; Briggs & Sharp, 2004; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012) that I was able to carefully design this methodology. This is a research design that foregrounds local agency and strives to add value by uncovering opportunities for positive change in Fiji as identified by local people. From the outset, I was in contact with local academics and sporting stakeholders regarding the research, listening to their thoughts on the design, the method and the eventual findings.

Drawing from local involvement to such an extent also tempers any personal bias. However, as a practitioner in the SDP field for just under nine years, and through thorough engagement with the plethora of critical scholarship emergent in recent years deriding the 'evangelism' of the field (Coalter, 2014; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Darnell, 2011; Hayhurst et al., 2015; snr Sugden, 2010b). I have both positive and negative views on the role of sport. I believe that these experiences combined, along with my strategies towards 'self-conscious introspection' and the primacy given to local voices, mean that I have produced a balanced account.

Furthermore, the nature of this type of (qualitative) research means the sharing of people's personal views, circumstances and opinions could negatively impact on them if widely publicised without

sufficient anonymity (Somekh & Lewin, 2011). Those whose input is analysed may, for example, risk losing social standing, self-esteem, employment and could also be the subject of ridicule (Stake, 2000). This is a reality in Fiji which has a modern history of dealing harshly with those who publicly contradict the government (Dutt, 2010; Trnka, 2008). Hence, participants were fully briefed on the research focus, objectives and any issues likely to be raised. Full anonymity was given to all participants to protect their identity, applying de-identified codes to each participant. All participants participating in recorded interviews were issued with a detailed but easy to follow information sheet regarding the research and they were required to sign a consent form that gave further assurances about both the purpose of this research and their guaranteed anonymity. In Talanoa discussions, all participants were also handed an information sheet and were verbally advised of my role and that I was recording when I chose/was invited to do so. Yet in the Talanoa, discussions were less 'researcher led' than the interviews. In such environments, I was observer, participant and researcher all in one. Finally, the data itself was stored in a password protected computer and device that were kept in a locked room when I wasn't present (see: Bouma, 2000).

I also sought the help and advice of Dr. Mohit Prasad and Dr. Yoko Kanemasu of the University of the South Pacific. I was in regular contact with both individuals throughout the study, especially when in Fiji itself. Finally, I received full approval from the UTS ethics committee (Approval No: 2014000611), following a successful application which detailed all the ethical issues, risks, considerations and responses relevant to the research.

4.10 Limitations

In such a large undertaking, there are limitations which temper both the ability to make broad claims regarding the data, and which serve as opportunities for further research (7.4). As in many qualitative endeavours, the researcher's influence is central and this is a limitation in many ways. My position as an outsider, for example, is clear. As a white male with an English accent, I was undoubtedly treated differently than a local. This had its advantages, in gaining access and acceptance into the Suva rugby team for example, but also its disadvantages. At times I had the impression that people were showing off to the 'outsider'. To mitigate this, I invested time in getting to know participants through socialising, training and sometimes living with them until I felt that they were relaxed and no longer felt the need to perform artificially.

My 'outsider' status also meant that there were undoubtedly things such as language codes and cultural references which I may have missed. English is the national language of Fiji, but there are still communities, more common in rural areas, who speak Fijian dialects and/or Hindi as a first language. This hampered these participants' ability to express how they felt. In such cases, I used an interpreter,

usually a friend of the interviewee. However, the presence of an interpreter affects the personal and private nature of interviews (Farooq, Fear, & Oyebode, 1997; Williamson et al., 2011). This was not a common problem however, and an interpreter was required only twice. It was also mediated by a reliance on other methods where language was not a focal point.

Due to resource constraints and the rigours of a doctoral program of study I was able to live in Fiji for just a little over nine weeks, preceded by ten days for the initial scoping visit. I would have liked the fieldwork period to have been longer. But the time one spends in the field does not necessarily correlate to robust research; rather it is the rigorous and careful application of methodological tools and research strategies which determine a study's efficacy (Marcus, 2007; Pink & Morgan, 2013). The STE approach was adopted with this in mind and explained in section 4.7.

In terms of the research sample, there is an over-representation of males in this study. Unfortunately Fijian soccer and rugby are very male dominated spaces (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c; Presterudstuen, 2010b; 2016). So through in depth engagement with these worlds I was exposed to more men than women. This means that my findings and conclusions will be somewhat limited to 'male' sport in Fiji, hegemonic though it may be. Despite this I did spend time talking with and learning from many different females across Fiji, and even spent a day coaching a girls' team at a local soccer tournament. Through such interaction with females both inside and outside the sporting context, significant findings emerged relating to women's participation in Fijian sport. Such were their importance they have been earmarked for a separate and forthcoming study.

Finally, this study is crude in its simplification of group identity in Fiji, focusing only on its two main ethnic groups – Fijians of Indian descent (termed here as Indo-Fijians) and Indigenous Fijians (iTaukei). This ignores Fiji's smaller ethnic groups consisting mainly of part-Europeans, Fijians of Chinese descent and 'mixed race' Fijians (Fijians with mixed iTaukei and Indo-Fijian parentage). Hence, this study's focus on 'Indigenous' and 'Indo-Fijian' identities is somewhat crude as it fails to accommodate mixed race families and hybrid identities in Fiji. This ethno-racial variability has recently been the subject of research by Cocom (2014). In the present study, the focus has been on the two major ethnic groups and their longstanding association two sports, which has been a key feature of the cultural dynamics of Fiji. There are undoubtedly more complex and overlapping intergroup identities yet the focus of this thesis on Indigenous and Indo-Fijian groups is emblematic of Weber's 'ideal type' in sociological research (see: Weber, 2009). I am not claiming that both of those groups are homogenous or fully representative of the complex reality of the Fijian social order, but in terms of the aims of thesis, they epitomise the most typical characteristics of the subject matter under consideration.

4.11 Summary

The methodological approach in this study is an intense, immersive and collaborative approach to understanding people's social realities and the interplay between sport and integration in Fiji. Knowledge is extended by building relationships with local people, involving them in the research narrative and by maximising the time between more formal data gathering activities (Silverman, 2013b). Through this, I have opened myself, and the research, to multiple directions from which learning can occur (P. Willis & Trondman, 2000). Through the recognition and respect of local people as the keepers of knowledge, this research goes to great lengths to 'de-centre' the Western researcher (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). Yet my own voice is not mute. The idea was to both foreground local agency *and* employ tried and tested theoretical tools to produce a valid research outcome. I now discuss the findings that have emerged from this approach.

Chapter 5: Findings

5.1 Introduction

This section of the study draws upon the research experiences articulated in Chapter Three. In keeping with the aim of the thesis, this chapter will address the three research questions outlined previously, and do so sequentially. Because these questions are discrete yet connected, there is the prospect of repetition: this has been minimised by referring the reader to relevant prospective or retrospective discussion elsewhere in the chapter. The objective is to provide an uncluttered narrative that can point the reader in different directions, as needed, without the burden of excessive duplication.

To recap, three questions have been conceived to explore how and why the sports of rugby and soccer are associated with group identities in Fiji (5.2); the role of these sports for intergroup relations in Fiji (5.3); and whether those invested in rugby and soccer are content with the ethno-cultural dynamics of these sports in Fiji, or if they would prefer change (5.4). My goal was to allow those invested in Fijian rugby and soccer to tell their own stories and to share frank opinions. This chapter, therefore, is a sincere effort to communicate with, learn from, and try to understand what locals regard as the virtues or otherwise of the ethno-cultural dynamics of Fijian rugby and soccer.

5.2 Indigenous and Indo-Fijian identities: rugby and soccer

This section of the findings aims to address, with the benefit of textual and oral data, the first of the questions posed in this study: How are Indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian group identities associated with rugby and soccer? The emphasis here was on ethno-cultural identification and representation in, for and by Fijians, focusing on what rugby and soccer *mean* for national and local Fijian communities.

As discussed in Chapter Two, there are typically complex cultural and social identities associated with groups that comprise a larger polity, whether a community or a nation. Indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians sense of identity and difference has been foreshadowed, and in some respects rehearsed, in Chapter Four, where a background to the special circumstances of Fiji, its people and the nation's sport culture was presented. Taken together, that foundational discussion provides a basis upon which to now reflect on group engagement in rugby and soccer.

5.2.1 Fijian Rugby: the national landscape

Rugby is by far the highest profile and most dominant sport in Fiji. It routinely fills newspapers, not only in the sport pages but as headline stories. During my two trips to Fiji, rugby was a common topic of conversation by locals, when taking a ride in a taxi or sitting at a bus stop, while sharing a drink in bars and social clubs, working out in the gym and in conversation at the dinner table. This local

fascination can be explained, at least in part, by numbers: Fiji has the highest rugby player/population ratio in the world (Fiji Rugby Union, 2016). Locals tell newcomers that rugby is a key part of Fijian national identity, as MCWF1 explained to me: *"I can guarantee you every single person in Fiji minimum 90% can tell you who the captain of the Fiji Sevens Team is. But I can guarantee you that they can't tell you who the Minister for Sport is."*

This idolisation of rugby is not simply about participation numbers; it is also a function of on-field performances. Fiji has an international reputation for athletic prowess in rugby, with competitors boasting a fluid, entertaining style of play that has long earned admiration. In the Rugby Seven's format, Fiji is one of the best teams (Robinson, 2016), winning the World Series in 2006, 2015 and 2016. When the men's Olympic team also captured a gold medal in Rio in 2016 there was literally a pandemonium of euphoria in the streets of Suva (Ewart, 2016c). In the 15-a-side game, the Fijian national team has not been as successful on the world stage, but the numerous players contracted in club teams abroad are followed at home as de facto representatives of Fijian rugby (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013b).

I was fortunate to be in Suva at the time of the 2015 World Series win: public expressions of joy and pride in this achievement were palpable among all Fijians, whether male or female, Indigenous, Indo-Fijian or other. During the victory parade through the centre of the city I waited with two elderly iTaukei women who remarked to me: *"We have been waiting for this day, we are only small islands and we have beaten the rest of the world"* (PC 21/05/15). The ladies had been lining up by the side of the road in the rain for six hours; they were determined to cheer their national team in person, and were hardly alone.

FIGURE 12: THIS GROUP OF WOMEN WAITED SIX HOURS IN THE RAIN FOR A GLIMPSE OF THEIR SEVENS HEROES

When the small size of Fiji is considered, whether in terms of geography, population or economic resources, the country's international success in rugby has been remarkable. As MCT3 stated: *"I think that rugby is a big image thing for the nation, it's a big thing for us, it gives us pride for the nation as a whole."* This type of sentiment was offered consistently in my discussions with Fijians, whether rugby players or rugby fans, Indigenous or Indo-Fijian. Such is the pervasiveness of rugby in Fiji that even those who aren't invested in the game appreciate its significance in national life. As an Indo-Fijian female (FCIF2) put it: **"***Well, Fiji is like a little dot on the map and one of the ways the world notices Fiji is through rugby so it's something that everyone here is immensely proud of."*

There is a sense of 'imagined community' (B. Anderson, 1983), even when Fijian teams and players are far away. Sevens rugby tournaments are now televised from some the world's best-known cities – Hong Kong, Paris, Sydney, London, Edinburgh, Las Vegas and Dubai – and, as one avid watcher in Suva ruminated: *"they [Fijian players] go around the world and they represent Fiji and how we play [with] our finesse, our culture, what makes us play the way we do"* (MCPT2). In short, rugby serves as a high-profile flag bearer for Fiji, allowing a collective sense of pride from the feats of national teams, as well as professional players who compete with clubs abroad.

Of course, as explained in Chapter Four, the cultural affinity for rugby also stems from historical influences: these began under British rule, but since the advent of Fijian political independence, the game has been re-appropriated to suit a postcolonial sensibility of local pride and elevated status (Collins, 2015). As one Indigenous Fijian player asserted:

> Back in the colonial days, it was the first sport that was introduced to our forefathers. But back then, what I know about rugby history is that rugby was mostly played by the chiefs at first, people who were high ranking Fijians that's what I know. And I think that because chiefs played it back in the day that it was considered an elite sport (FCPT2).

In the post-colonial era, rugby has retained its elite status. In part, this is because the game was initially intertwined with tribal ordering – *Ratuism* (see: 3.5.1). However, it is now embedded very differently – culturally and politically – in Fiji. Indeed, it is no coincidence that the Prime Minister of the country automatically assumes the role of President of the Fijian Rugby Union (FRU). As the first Indo-Fijian premier was removed via a violent military coup shortly after election in 2000, it remains to be seen whether this would still be the case were an Indo-Fijian to assume political power (Trnka, 2008). The current leader, Prime Minister Bainimarama, keeps close ties with the sport, offering these thoughts at an FRU training workshop during my time in Fiji:

> We Fijians know how to show the world what we are made of. We talk about how Fiji punches above its weight class, and it's true…And, of course, there is rugby. We all know it, and people who couldn't tell the first thing about Fijian culture or politics or even place Fiji on [a] map know it well. Fiji is a world rugby power (Bainimarama, 2015a).

A brief anecdote gives insight into the cultural power that frames Fiji as a *rugby* nation. A former elite player told me how he had travelled to Australia in 1992 to play in a rugby league Sevens tournament because of the prize money ($100,000 AUD). This was a time in which rugby union was an amateur sport. When the athlete returned to Fiji he received a letter from the Chairman of the FRU banning him from playing rugby union due to his deviation from Fiji's traditional code of participation (MOT4). When I asked why, the explanation was stark: "*Because here in Fiji it is traditionally rugby union*". To add context: the FRU Chairman at the time was Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara (more commonly known as Ratu Mara, touted as the founding father of modern Fiji), the first Prime Minister of the post-independence nation (Ratuva, 2007). The suspended athlete had not simply flouted rules associated with

amateurism; the more serious charge was that he had devalued his skills by using them in a game that was both foreign and irrelevant to Fiji's reputation as a rugby union nation.

Thus far the *Findings* have reflected on the interplay between rugby and the Fijian nation. But, how does rugby resonate with the two key ethno-cultural groups under focus, Indigenous and Indo-Fijians? What cultural and social identities are associated with rugby, and how are they played out among these two key communities? We begin with the group for whom rugby has traditionally had very close ties.

5.2.2 Rugby: Indigenous Fijian Dimensions

Historically, rugby has been a marker of both colonialism and post-colonialism, with politically ascendant groups in charge of running the game and ascribing core values to its position as *the national game* (Schieder, 2011; 2012). The recent history of Fiji, which has seen the rise of Indigenous political power – first through successive coups, then democratically – has further positioned the sport of rugby as a hegemonic cultural activity. As indicated previously, the game resonates with Fijians from various walks of life; the achievements of Fijian teams and players abroad is a widespread source of local pride. But that does not mean an equal share in the 'glow' that rugby provides to those who seek to bask in its reflected glory.

First, it is important to appreciate how Indigenous Fijians typically reflect upon rugby and their sense of identity, community and masculinity. As discussed in Chapter Four, the history of Fijian rugby has been a story of Indigenous engagement, with sparse involvement of Indo-Fijians. Rugby has therefore been a space within which Indigenous narratives have been woven; the game is both a site and activity for men who – based on discussions with me – see themselves as 'authentically' Fijian, and have a sense of masculinity that complements the dominant iTaukei ideal of physical strength and courage. The modernism of the rugby code is, somewhat creatively, a place where pre-colonial traditions of masculinity and Indigeneity can be performed anew (Presterudstuen, 2010b). The ritualistic and role-specialised nature of team rugby is even said to complement older ways in which men in tribal settings worked together, negotiated leadership and established bonds. Status, hierarchy and codes of conduct are therefore significant. As a top rugby administrator put it:

> We (iTaukei) are warriors, we have a war mentality among the guys, now we have modernised we still have that grit, that fight, we still want to do things, if we are not playing rugby we are being mischievous, we are doing things like gathering the boys together and go and have a couple of beers and get silly. (MOT3).

Second, rugby is interwoven with the dominant religion of Indigenous Fijians – Christianity. Religious practices are typically embedded into rugby culture (Ryle, 2012), along with links between Christianity and Fijian indigeneity. Before and after the many training sessions in which I took part, as well as the games I observed, players would ritually join arms in Christian prayer, which was followed by a brief chant in an Indigenous dialect. Both ceremonies were intended to culturally bond and spiritually enthuse the players before a shared physical performance (Presterudstuen, 2016).[18]

FIGURE 13: THE SUVA TEAM GETS SERIOUS BEFORE A BIG GAME

Such rituals bind the players as a team by combining individual and group identity in a distinctly Indigenous way. This was normative rather than contrived; it was conduct that was consistent with rugby being played the 'Fiji way' (code for the Indigenous way). During many conversations with people involved in rugby, whether as administrators, players or supporters, it was common for them to use this type of language about the sport: "*It's a religion*" (FCT1) or "*Like a religion*" (FOT1). More than mere symbolism, the complementary interplay between rugby avidity and religious observance was palpable. As MCWF1 recalled:

> Fiji was playing in the Hong Kong Sevens at 8.00am on a Sunday morning. I can
> say that [a] couple of sessions of church that morning were delayed until the Sevens
> was over.

Third, rugby is firmly embedded into the cultural fabric of Indigenous Fijian communities of all shapes and sizes, rural and urban. It is not simply a means for locals to come together, it is a key way by which Indigenous men compete for community status and publicly establish reputations for character, loyalty and achievement. There is an expectation around Indigenous men/boys that they *should* be interested in

---

[18] Presterudstuen (2016) has emphasised an important connection between traditional notions of masculinity amongst Indigenous Fijians and what might be described as an ethos of muscular Christianity in the Fijian setting.

rugby as a confirmation of masculinity. The players and teams I spent time with looked down on those who did not fulfil this expectation; "*In terms of social, it's just what we do*" stated one player (MCPT2), "*...it was how we (iTaukei) were brought up*" said another (MCPT1). From a very different perspective, an Indo-Fijian head teacher emphasised to me that: "*the sport (rugby) is like a culture to the Fijian (Indigenous) people*" (MOIF8).

FIGURE 14: THE SUVA TEAM'S WARM UP RITUAL

Century's old regional, inter-village rivalries and symbolism are interwoven with the modern game, as evidenced by matches between local powerhouses *Nadroga* and *Naitasiri*. I observed that after scoring a try, players, from local through to international levels, typically make a sign with their arms and hands to pay homage to their tribe, village and/or Christianity (Presterudstuen, 2016). This is not surprising given the sport's closeness with Indigenous tribal cultures and its centrality to what locals call 'the Fiji way'. On the international stage, the Fijian national rugby union team perform a pre-game ritual – the *Cibi;* this is a tribal 'war' dance similar in intent to the famous Maori 'Haka' performed by the New Zealand All Blacks prior to their games (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c). There is, however, an important contrast: while Pakeha (whites) have been a 'natural' part of Kiwi rugby, this has not been the case, as I will soon explain, for Indo-Fijians for a simple reason: they have not appeared in Fiji's national rugby teams.

For Indigenous boys, rugby is a typical rite of passage from childhood to youth, and then to adulthood. During this transition, the physical development of Fijian males is a focus; speed, flexibility and muscularity are all prized, with effort in the gym intended to maximise the last of these (Ricciardelli et al., 2007). Locals explained to me that it was very rare for an Indigenous boy to have not played rugby. The game's significance is exemplified at different levels: rugby is played regularly in schools, on local fields in villages, in amateur leagues, and in 'business house' (inter-company/work) competitions. Other

than on Sundays, which are generally respected by Indigenous Fijians as a time for religious observance, a game of 'touch'[19] would be played on any space available. For example, as I observed in the village of *Namatakula*, the young boys and one or two girls would wait until the tide went out to take advantage of a long, flat sandbar that enabled them to set up a game beside the sea. In many rural areas, particularly where village living structures are the norm, an evening game of rugby is a standard feature of daily life. In urban settings, it is also common to see parks and fields filled every evening with male Indigenous Fijians of all ages playing pick-up/casual games before the night closes in.

With the Suva team, I was privileged to be invited to socialise outside training and, after games, sitting in the shade near to their changing rooms to drink Kava and engage in Talanoa.[20] This was something they did after every game *"until the sun disappears"* (MCPT1). Being part of this team meant that the boys could be identified publicly as talented rugby players and enjoy the associated social status. This sense of position and honour fits well with Indigenous customs that emphasise respect for hierarchical structure. Even within the team there was a clear hierarchy exemplified during the ceremonial process of 'Kava' drinking after games. The more senior players took little part in making and serving the drink, these duties being left to the younger, less experienced team members. They knew their 'place' in the social pecking order. This was a time for male bonding, but Indigenous norms of hierarchy and masculinity were reflected in both leadership and deference[21] (see also: B. McDonald, 2004; B. McDonald & Hallinan, 2005).

I spent many evenings with the Suva team like this, generally socialising - not *directly* 'researching' or asking questions pertinent to this study, but *indirectly* gaining understanding. The Kava drinking served as a useful occasion where the team would discuss aspects of the team and the club, but also share other stories about their lives. It was here that I gained impromptu insights into the socio-cultural value of rugby for these young men. They did not talk about themselves so much as emphasise the importance of rugby for the wider Indigenous community. As MCPT2 commented on the role of the sport: *"Oh a big role! In terms of social, it's just what we do"*. MCPT1 added: *"I love the game…it was how I was brought up"*, while MOIF8 commented (with parenthesis included)[22] that *"the sport is like a culture to the Fijian (Indigenous) people"*. Rugby is, from these perspectives, as natural to Indigenous Fijian men

---

[19] 'Touch' or 'touch rugby' is an informal game of rugby where the rules are similar except that contact is limited to a touch on the waist rather than a tackle. This is to prevent injury during training and allows more people to take part, including women and children.

[20] As discussed in *Chapter Four: Method*, Talanoa is a Pasifika concept referring to frank expression without concealment, a period of honest discussion with feeling that typically features storytelling.

[21] This type of masculinised cultural hierarchy can be found in various national contexts. An ideal example is the hierarchical nature of elite rowing in Japanese universities, where newcomers are expected to act extremely deferentially towards established athletes. Only after an 'apprenticeship' of service to the group can they undertook anything more than menial tasks. See McDonald (2004) and McDonald and Hallinan (2005).

[22] Henceforth parentheses will be added for clarification purposes unless otherwise stated.

as kava drinking, Talanoa, and church. They were, as Presterudstuen has observed in his own research, typically interwoven (Presterudstuen, 2010a; 2016).

Fourth, to many young men with whom I spoke, rugby can also be associated with financial goals and career aspirations; this is especially so given that the game has been professional for just over twenty years (Mumm & O'Connor, 2014; Rika et al., 2016). While there is money to be made at the elite level at home, the big money is abroad, and that is an ideal for some. In speaking to Indigenous men in the villages, it became clear to me that rugby was not only a core part of their culture and social life, it also offered the prospect of journeys away from the local and familiar, and towards places they fantasised about experiencing. These young men dream of doing well in rugby to ensure the financial support of their families. As MCT4 explained: "*The purpose of sports is in my village here. We want to develop the skills and go overseas and play so that we can earn money and support our families.*"

In both rural and urban areas, Fijian boys spoke fondly of friends who had "*made it over in Europe*" or elsewhere, securing lucrative contracts with earnings that are difficult to come by in Fiji (B. McDonald & Rodriguez, 2014). The Pacific islands have become a breeding ground for rugby talent to be lured by overseas clubs willing to offer attractive salaries, lifestyles and a dual nationality (Besnier, 2014; Horton, 2012; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013a). This has meant unprecedented opportunities for locals, as MCT4 pointed out:

> If you go before Naqara, there is a new house built just before you go to the bridge on the left. The name is Semi Radradra, he went to France, to play Rugby there on contract and he sent money back just this year.

For many of the boys with whom I trained, an overseas contract, together with the social status that this afforded, was an aspiration. The increased commonality of TV sets in Fijian houses, plus the broadcasting of the international Sevens and glitzy Australian rugby league competition (the NRL) several nights a week, adds fuel to these wishes (Lakisa, Adair, & Taylor, 2014; Panapa & Phillips, 2014). Some of the teams featured Fijians who had 'made it', this contributing to the country's formidable reputation as a breeding ground for rugby talent. Internationally, Pacific islanders have an elevated status as athletes on the rugby field: in practice they are in search of fortune for their families and a way to "*Make Fiji proud*" (MCT3). A renowned sport journalist (MOIF3) explained to me how this was deeply ingrained in rural areas, particularly where wealth is less common: "*Rugby is important for the identity of people in Fiji especially for the iTaukei, its livelihood also for 1000s and 1000s of players, coming from the villages.*" The potential for international rugby fame is indeed alluring for village boys; Fiji's reputation in this regard has become central to both the national and international

persona of the nation (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013a; Kanemasu & Molnar; Schieder & Presterudstuen, 2014; Schieder, 2014).

When considering Fiji's international reputation for rugby and the meanings that the sport holds in Indigenous communities, one can begin to appreciate why rugby has become so synonymous with iTaukei male identity. Their on-field success adds to the sense of pride and belonging that the iTaukei already share. With rugby having such a central role in the story of Fiji 'the nation', it is important to understand how and why Fiji's other major ethnic group, Indo-Fijians, have connected (or otherwise) with the sport.

5.2.3 Rugby: Indo-Fijian Dimensions

Indo-Fijian men and women rarely feature in the sport of rugby, either on the field or in the sport's administration. Their position seldom extends beyond that of a fan, generally of the Sevens team, and, to a lesser extent, fifteen-a-side rugby union. Indo-Fijian participants I spoke with commonly shared in the pride and joy of national rugby success; they were familiar with player names and the schedule of national team games. But their support rarely extended beyond watching occasionally at home on television. Rugby featured much less in conversation with Indo-Fijians than with the iTaukei; they do not attend games in large numbers, and their TV sets are typically not tuned to the sports channels. Furthermore, during the 2016 post-Rio victory parade for the Sevens Olympic team, I canvassed the crowd lining the streets and found that, although some Indo-Fijian fans were present, they were hard to spot among the throngs of Indigenous Fijians.

On and off the field at games and tournaments I saw few Indo-Fijians in rugby. There are various reasons for this, some of which I was made aware of from existing literature, but this was confirmed my own observations. The perception, part fact and part exaggeration, of differences in physical size and muscularity between Indigenous islanders and those of Indian descent has been discussed (see: Presterudstuen, 2010b; 2016; Ricciardelli et al., 2007). Thus, I travelled to Fiji with that pre-existing assumption. While speaking to locals, both Indo- and Indigenous-Fijian, typical differences of somatotype (i.e. physical size and shape) were commonly discussed; this was compounded by contrasting group attitudes to the aggression, power and pain often associated with rugby. In other words, the 'physical being' attributed to groups was not a complete explanation; divergent attitudes towards physicality in a collision sport were also pivotal. *"They don't really like playing the sport"* (MCPT2) or; *"only some they would play [sport]. A lot of them just take their books and read".* (MCT4). A young Indo-Fijian hockey player said of the prospects of more Indo-Fijian rugby players; *"they would get thrashed because their physique is not so big"* (MCIF1).

There is a further opportunity deficit in terms of Indo-Fijians and sport. Classically, there is far more pressure on young Indo-Fijian men (compared to iTaukei men) (Ricciardelli et al., 2007) to prioritise education and career paths over sporting commitments (Nabobo & Teasdale, 1995). When combined with attitudes towards physicality, these factors play to the socially and culturally ingrained stereotypes that channel 'small' – or at least physically cautious – Indo-Fijians away from the sport (a point developed further in 5.3.1). While modest bodily stature is often described as a constraining factor for many Indo-Fijians, I certainly spoke to Indo-Fijian rugby players and trained alongside Indo-Fijian athletes in the gym who were not small and revelled in the combative physical nature of rugby. In short, a combination of assumptions about physique and cultural attitudes towards physicality were critical to an overall trend of few Indo-Fijians from rugby playing ranks. For Indio-Fijians, education was given much higher profile and value than sport. Taken together, these meant a lower likelihood of engagement with sport, but an even smaller likelihood of their engagement with a highly combative sport like rugby.

Rugby's centrality to the dominant cultural logic in Fiji has preserved it as an Indigenous space, with norms and stereotypes about physicality and mentality acting as useful tools to this end. In this regard, ethnocentrism in the sport is, intriguingly, both passive and active. Indo-Fijians are not typically part of the sport's playing ranks, but dominant stakeholders in the game act in a way that now accentuates this. In the early 20th century, the FRU attempted to support Indo-Fijian players by setting up dedicated Indo-Fijian leagues and competitions (Prasad, 2013). As an FRU official explained, "*it's about putting them together so they get into the feel of things and once they know and want to break out and go into the regular clubs they can do that*" (MDT1). However, grouping by ethnicity like this may constrain talented Indo-Fijian athletes who might wish to compete with iTaukei players. On another level, this denies both groups an opportunity for increased contact and communication.

In any case, the Indo-Fijian competitions and the support from the FRU have since stopped, but not because of a lack of player numbers. As I was told by an Indo-Fijian rugby player and a (an all too rare) top RFU administrator on separate occasions, that decision stemmed from financial constraints, namely, the "*misuse of funds*" by those organising the Indo-Fijian competition (MCPIF1/MOT3). I have not been able to validate that claim, but the Indo-Fijian rugby competition remains unsupported financially by the FRU. In 2015, the FRU's Annual Report stated plans to "Introduce MPP (mass participation programs) to schools and universities, along with other institutions, Indo-Fijian schools, special needs schools". Yet among the Indo-Fijian schools I visited during the research (admittedly the small sample of three) there was no evidence of this being put into practice. My impression was supported by

conversations with key members of staff at the FRU. They showed little indication of any genuine commitment to getting Fiji's sizeable Indo-Fijian population actively involved in the sport (MOT3/FDT2/MDT1). The statement above from the 2015 Annual Report is the *only* mention of Indo-Fijians in the 72-page document, and the way it is phrased does not suggest that this group is a priority.

It might be presumed that 'Indo-Fijian' schools might be a site for improved access to rugby for Indo-Fijian students. Before considering this proposition, it is worth acknowledging that many such schools, despite being run by Indo-Fijians, are mixed in terms of ethnicity. This is not a criticism, rather a statement of fact. Crucially, these schools were also sites for the perpetuation of ethno-racial beliefs about which group 'belongs' to a particular sport, with rugby couched as an Indigenous space (discussed further in 5.4.5). Across each school I visited, Indo-Fijian pupils were noticeably less involved in school sport, even during recreation (play) time. For Indo-Fijian pupils this was this was more evident, with many young girls not even bothering to change for physical education sessions as one young Indo-Fijian told me (FCPIF2).

Meanwhile, the government has shown little effort to encourage Indo-Fijians to take part in the sport, with rugby outreach programs targeting iTaukei communities. The government perspective is: "*Indo-Fijians are not so much interested in other sports (than soccer)*" (FDT1). What is more, the FRU itself is apathetic, as one Indo-Fijian player complained: "w*e approached the FRU and we asked them can you provide us with trainee referees to officiate at the game and their costing was waaaay (sic) higher than what was expected … I mean we are trying to develop but the FRU said no*" (MCPIF1). Indeed, both the organisation and practice of the FRU, along with government sport policy, closely aligns to the Indigenous character of the national sport. When speaking with me, a top FRU official was dismissive about Indo-Fijian development in rugby; "*they don't like contact...they are a soft kind of people*" (MOT3). But some Indo-Fijians still manage to enter the field, despite the many barriers (see: 5.2.3). Speaking to the Indo-Fijian player above, he told me that it was because of his friendship with iTaukei boys or; "*the guys from Fijian schools*" that he was able to play with at university (MCPIF1). This suggests that, within rugby itself, the major obstacles to Indo-Fijian participation are at the macro level – government policy, and at the meso level – the RFU.

In general, this lack of organisational support is a further reason why "*It's very hard for Indians to get involved in rugby*", as a prominent sports journalist stated (MOIF3). Henceforth, there continues to be an almost total absence of Indo-Fijian players at the elite level. As the same sports journalist confirmed, "*Every Saturday they are playing Suva rugby competitions ... you wouldn't see any Indian in any club rugby, you would never see that, nor would you see any Indian fans*" (MOIF3).

5.2.4 Rugby and Sport Policy

This relationship between the government and the FRU is well known across the islands, forged through state financial support and, to be candid, nepotism (Kuma, Finau, Rotuivaqali, & Rika, 2013; Rika et al., 2016). A senior sports official told of how this causes problems, as was the case in 2015: "*individually they (FRU) got $300,000 and we are sending 26 sports to the Pacific Games and we got $300,000. So how can you do that?*" (FDC1). However, when this disproportionate support was brought up elsewhere - mainly among players and other stakeholders in rugby, there was a more receptive position: "*it's fair enough its favourable, because it's our national sport here*" (MCPIF1).

Aside from being the national sport, rugby is a valuable economic entity for Fiji, bringing in millions of dollars' worth of remittances from the rugby-playing diaspora, even helping to keep Fiji's economy afloat during troubled times (Horton, 2012; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013b; Schieder, 2014). Success in rugby also acts as a powerful diplomatic tool for the government: Bainimarama utilises international games and tournaments to make speeches and build bridges with other nations (see: SMH, 2016). As MCPT2 put it: "*The more the exposure the more they (the national rugby team) put Fiji on the map*".

Rugby draws inordinate government support due to its popularity, the economic benefits of exporting talent overseas, and its value as a diplomatic agent in international relations (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013b; N. Koch, 2013). However, another factor also emerged based on the recurring theme of ethnicity and power. Since 2000, power in Fiji has been centralised in the hands of Indigenous Fijians; many respondents believed that the indigeneity of the executive and the FRU further solidified this donor/recipient relationship. As FDC1 pointed out:

> I think that there is a bit of influence there, rugby and netball get very strong government support and that's partly because it is the iTaukei ... they are the ones who play those sports so that's partly why they get so much support.

This view was echoed by other Indigenous and Indo-Fijians, both inside and outside the formal interview setting, and was largely taken for granted. In that sense the close relationship between government policy and rugby is normalised. As MOIF4 stated:

> Bainimarama is in power so here is his opportunity, because they give Fiji Rugby a lot of money like previous iTaukei governments … that has always been the case, as far as the sports are concerned, rugby has always received the lion's share of government funding and the justification is that rugby union is right up there, not so much soccer.

The link between rugby and the elite is historically embedded in *Ratuism* – and which has become perpetually intertwined with muscular Christianity (see: 3.5.1). Coupled with international success, this has built a dominant Indigenous narrative in Fijian sport and society (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c). But there is also a class/status element to this, as FCPT2 pointed out: "*chiefs played it back in the day so it is considered an elite sport.*" This means that Indo-Fijians are considered as outsiders or '*strangers*' in this regard, so involvement for them is harder (MCIF4). As a Fijian academic indicated, government support for soccer is comparatively low, "*As opposed to rugby where the funding runs onto millions…especially when it comes close to elections and when there are big games on*" (MOIF9). Fijian rugby's success and popularity make it an extremely valuable political tool, one that is often wielded by the Indigenous executive. As mentioned previously, the Fijian Prime Minister is 'automatically' the head of the FRU, but he/she assumes no such role with Fijian soccer.

5.2.5 Fijian Soccer: the national landscape

This section outlines the social and cultural aspects of soccer in Fiji and the position it holds in the lives of both major groups. Due to the centrality of rugby to the dominant cultural logic, Fijian soccer is overshadowed. This is also reflected in the lack of scholarship about Fijian soccer (see: 3.6). As one sport administrator bemoaned: "*Everyone must compete with rugby*" (MDT5). Yet, despite this reality, soccer still receives significant support in some areas, and during major national tournaments and rare international fixtures, it even pushes rugby off the back pages of local newspapers.

Soccer is also a very popular participation sport, among both Indo-Fijian and Indigenous groups, with parks, beaches and indoor facilities commonly playing host to casual games and 'business house' (inter-company) tournaments. However, unlike rugby, Fiji's international soccer success has been limited in recent years, and at the elite level the game is publicly known to be in a poor state. In recent years, the national team has found a home at the bottom of FIFA rankings, sitting at 181st at the time of writing (2017). This is nearly 80 places lower than its peak of 106th in 2008 (FIFA, 2017). A lack of regular international fixtures, together with falling numbers watching games and tournaments, means that performance and support are both at a low ebb. This was highlighted in my numerous conversations with soccer journalists, ex-players, and coaches alike (MOIF3/MCT5/MCT3/MCIF4/ MOIF8). The falling standards of play and gate receipts have heralded mounting critique of the Fijian Football Association (FFA), which administers the game from Suva (R. Kumar, 2013). One ex-international compared a recent game to when he played and lamented the poor size of the crowd: "*there would have been less than 2000 (fans) … the standard of soccer in Fiji is really going down*" (MCT5).

The Indo-Fijian character of soccer is shown through the support of local teams, whose fans are predominantly Indo-Fijians. But there is muted Indigenous support for the national team, especially when compared to the following for rugby Sevens. A local soccer expert and academic told me that

117

"when the national [soccer] team plays, even then you don't have much iTaukei support" (MOIF9). When I was in Fiji, the Under 20s national soccer team made history by qualifying for the World Cup and were playing in New Zealand. Their opening match, against Honduras, was due to start soon and I was making my way around the town of Labasa looking for a place to watch the game. Eventually, I found a local social club full of excited, Indo-Fijian, supporters, but the iTaukei people I encountered were uncaring or unknowing of the game.

Curiously, Indo-Fijian support of the national soccer team can sometimes be relatively weak. For example, in 2005, when the Indian soccer team toured Fiji, the Fijian captain Esala Masi was forced to plead with the home crowd to support the local team instead of the visitors (Keown, Murphy, & Procter, 2009). A key sport administrator confided in me that despite the Under 20s World Cup run in soccer, *"the national team still can't get the support"* (MDT5). This points to Indo-Fijians limited sense of identifying with a superordinate 'Fijian' national identity.

5.2.6 Soccer: Indo-Fijian aspects

Soccer in Fiji is a significant cultural artefact for the Indo-Fijian community (Prasad, 2013). In 1961, the Fiji Indian Football Association became the FFA, thereby removing its 'Indian' assignation, but the organisation's distinctly Indian character remains. Surprisingly and perhaps counter-intuitively this contrasts with the playing ranks which have swollen to include a significant number of Indigenous players, indeed, they form the majority at the elite level. At the Football Association Cup tournament (FACT), I spent three days with officials in the main stand and sat chatting with fans on the grass bank circling the field. Utilising a press pass procured at the FFA in Suva, I found myself sitting with the national soccer coach who commented that although Indo-Fijians dominated the administration of the sport, in terms of the national team *"my players are 90% iTaukei"* (PC 08/05/15). Indeed, at the tournament the teams were made up of, in my estimation, 70% iTaukei players. This is not a recent occurrence: when I visited the Fiji soccer museum in the North/Western town of *Ba,* I found that iTaukei players have outnumbered their Indo-Fijian teammates in Fiji for decades. Moreover, a local soccer expert confirmed to me that the squads of most top-level teams will be generally between 60-70% iTaukei, with the starting line up even higher (MOIF9).

Explanations for higher Indigenous representation in soccer will be discussed in the next section. For now I shall address the low proportion of Indo-Fijian players in the game which is due to both economic and socio-political reasons. First, Indo-Fijians have been poorly treated by those in power throughout most of Fiji's modern history (see: Trnka 2008). Their experience as indentured labourers, for example, has left them with an embattled cultural mind-set that places a high priority on rising above economic vulnerability, with a strong emphasis on education towards securing a profession or, at the very least, optimising the financial rewards associated with paid employment. Within this mind-set, there is little

room for sport which, for many Indo-Fijian families, is not seen as a career path. Indeed, it is widely perceived as an impediment to the core skill sets that are needed – education, a white-collar profession, and the financial means by which to raise a family comfortably (MOIF4/FCPIF2/FOIF2/FDF1/MOIF5).

Second, as a local soccer expert informed me (MOIF4), *"there are also historical reasons - the 1987 coup in Fiji and the movement of a lot of people from Fiji so sports took a backseat (for Indo-Fijians) a lot of the priority places were given to the iTaukei in education and other things."* In short, at a time of political unrest, when Indo-Fijian influence in government and society were under duress, sport was not a priority for this group. Third, there are social, institutional and cultural mechanisms within Fijian sport that dissuade Indo-Fijians from engaging fully in sport; I discuss those ethno-cultural barriers in more detail in sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2.

Despite the preponderance of iTaukei elite soccer players, both now and in the past, the game in Fiji is still overwhelmingly typecast, categorised and understood as being 'Indian' (MCPT1/MCIF1/MCIF2/ MOIF2/MOIF1/MCT5). This stems from soccer's origins as an 'Indian' sport in Fiji, along with Indo-Fijian dominance in the sport's administration. From ground staff right up to the FFA president, the organisation of soccer is managed and controlled by Indo-Fijians. This has contributed to the perception that "*soccer in Fiji is from the Indians*" (MCT5), it is "*their sport*" (MCPT1) or "*our sport...it is mostly Indians who are putting in all the effort, the time, the money*" (MCIF4). To learn more about this, I visited the new FFA headquarters in Suva several times, spoke with key groups, sat in the stands with officials during games, and even coached with FFA staff. What did I learn?

The FFA is run by an ethnically exclusive Indo-Fijian group (overwhelmingly male) who protect and enjoy the status and power of their roles. There is a real sense of ownership about the 'running' of soccer within the Indo-Fijian community. This seems especially potent given that Indo-Fijian power and influence in Fijian society has long been a bone of contention in other contexts, such as politics and commerce (see: Ryle, 2016). The Indian control of soccer poses no threat to dominant iTaukei sport interests, which are almost exclusively found in rugby. Soccer is, from that perspective, an administrative enclave for the exercise of Indo-Fijian 'self-importance'. The fact that they oversee and manage competitions in which iTaukei players typically outnumber Indian players does not diminish their custodianship of the sport. They are also able to promote soccer as a site of Indo-Fijian cultural expression, such as Hindi music, food and, as will become clear, their language.

The FFA presides over the national team and manages the various regional teams and competitions. But the game is not faring as well as it has in the past, especially the international team, and there is a stated need for further development at the micro level (MCIF4/MOIF2/MOT1). Ex-players were quick to

deride the state of the game in Fiji (MCT5/MCT3), current players and professional coaches were also very critical as one senior coach admitted: "*interest is getting less and less and the standard is getting lower and lower we are in a mess*" (MCIF4). The organisation is therefore attracting mounting criticism. Yet, speaking to those within the organisation, there was an embattled attitude and support of the hierarchy was the norm:

> What Fiji Football are doing now is a great job, and then you see from the president to the players how much it takes to be in Fiji Football. How much sacrifice it takes how much money has to be spent. There is criticism that this has happened, that has happened, but I guess for those people who are criticizing … everyone can't be pleased (MOIF5).

There is an element of protectionism concerning the Indo-Fijian hierarchy at the FFA, some of whom have been in place for over 20 years. Not only is the FFA an administrative hub, it also functions as an important site for the socio-cultural identity of the Indo-Fijian community.

FIGURE 15: FANS AT THE FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION CLUB TOURNAMENT (FACT) OVERWHELMINGLY INDO-FIJIAN

Since its early days, soccer in Fiji has been racially assigned to Indo-Fijians (Prasad 2013). The iTaukei presence – even dominance – on the pitch in tournaments and elite competition is not reflected off the pitch in terms of soccer administration. As a local sport sociologist explained: "*Yes the iTaukei have*

been around for a long time but that perception [of soccer as Indo-Fijian] is due to the fan following which is almost exclusively of Indian descent and not the other way around" (MOIF9). Indigenous names are absent from the list of staff at the FFA, while Indigenous match officials and male iTaukei coaches are uncommon. For example, close to 70% of elite coaches are Indo-Fijian, a stark contrast to the overall demographic profiles of players (MOIF9).

The dominance of Indo-Fijians in soccer's administration has meant that soccer in Fiji has kept its 'Indian' label in all but name. As a Fijian sociologist and former sports journalist pointed out: "*To be honest it's because these Indian officials they want to monopolise their position they want respect, and it's not just a race thing it's also a group thing, it's very hard for someone from the outside to get in*" (MOIF4). This is an example of collective closedness; a group is both characterised and protected by itself (in this case) attributing power to ethnicity (Gaertner et al., 2016). The soccer hierarchy is therefore difficult for ethnic 'outsiders' to infiltrate. As an ex-international soccer player stated:

> The Indians they come through the trade unions or they come through the teachers'
> union, but in political power, no. So this may be one of the reasons why they hold on
> to football (MCT3).

All this evidence suggests that soccer has served as an important cultural enclave for Indo-Fijians. But there is an underlying motivator beyond mere self-interest; those who run soccer see their actions as strategic positioning against Indigenous cultural and political hegemony in other areas of Fijian society (MOIF4/MCT5/MOIF/MCIF4/MOIF8). The organisational culture of soccer is such that it functions as a place where the Indo-Fijian business elite and powerful stakeholders in the sport can meet, make decisions and feel 'in control'. Although Fiji is undergoing a slow political evolution, with more Indo-Fijians in positions of power within the Indigenous led government than before, there is still a real sense that the iTaukei are still in firm control of the political sphere (Fraenkel, 2015b; Lal, 2014b). The FFA organisation and its games and tournaments function as significant social meeting points for Indo-Fijians, from the elite down to the community level.

Soccer is a space proudly controlled and owned by Indo-Fijians, at least in a managerial sense, and is of real cultural value. For the many Indigenous players, the sport appears to be less culturally significant, though still being enjoyed as a form of play and exercise (this is discussed further in the next section). An Indo-Fijian sports administrator informed me that the dominant iTaukei presence of players at the elite level was uncontroversial: *"the dynamic is that they (iTaukei) are just interested in playing and having a good time, very few get involved in the administration"* (MDIF1). From this perspective, Indians are the custodians and guardians of the game, while the iTaukei – though not unwelcome as

players - find few opportunities in managing soccer. As will be seen in 5.3.1, this narrow view plays to widely held ethno-racial stereotypes that 'orientalises' Indigenous Fijians. Orientalism occurs when the iTaukei are assumed to be physically gifted but lacking off-field talents in business strategy or management.

Indo-Fijian fans and organisers I spoke to were able to reconcile the high percentage of iTaukei in 'our sport', as one Indo-Fijian soccer coach put it:

> Fijians (iTaukei) are gifted with physique, they have that physique to run well and challenge balls and all that. But there are certain positions where we need Indians who can distribute and read the game…once they (iTaukei) lose track of the game and go back to their village they are more occupied with other things (MOIF1).

This was a common justification for why the iTaukei are not involved in the FFA, and this plays to ethno-racial beliefs about the physical prowess of Indigenous Fijians, as well as assumption about the advanced management capabilities of Indo-Fijians. Even outside the FFA, Indo-Fijian cultural ownership of soccer in Fiji was evidenced in many locations around the islands (e.g. *Ba, Lautoka, Nadi*). The FACT tournament is a clear example. Here, although the majority of players on the pitch were Indigenous, around 90% of people off the field, from those emptying the bins to the FFA President and his associates, were Indo-Fijian. The clear majority of the crowd were Indo-Fijian, while the music playing between games was distinctly Hindi. As MOIF3 pointed out: "*If it is Hindi music you know it is soccer*". Such cultural identification of the soccer space was repeated, to varying degrees, around Fiji.

FIGURE 16: SOCCER BALL/KITCHEN IN THE SOCCER-MAD TOWN OF BA

Thus, even though the player demography of the national team and other elite sides have become indigenised since the early days of soccer, the sport is organised and framed in such a way that it retains its 'Indian' character. "*Indians go for soccer, and Fijians go for rugby*" said one Indo-Fijian soccer fan in a matter of fact way (MCIF1). An elite Indo-Fijian soccer player had a similar view. He acknowledged that there are many iTaukei players in the top ranks, but the game is still 'seen' as an Indian sport because "*Indians are only ever playing football (soccer)*" (MCPIF2). Generally speaking, iTaukei fans came to games only due to close personal links with players. According to a local soccer expert, "*most of the iTaukei fans will be immediate relatives of the players themselves....or former players and their families*" (MOIF9). Indo-Fijians are relatively unknown in other mainstream sports in Fiji, yet in soccer they claim ownership as they are at least represented in places on the field, and are in control of the sport and its cultural framing off the pitch. As a locally based sports researcher put it: "*They have had a hold on it. They have had a hold on the sport and this you know the same guys in power for a number of years*" (MOA1).

Basic statistics on soccer participation are hard to come by in Fiji, as are other national data records, with the most recent census completed in 2007 (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2017). However, I tried to discern a sense of proportion via interviews and personal observations. When visiting the offices of the Fijian Olympic committee, which also administers the Fiji Pacific Games team, I looked at a calendar picturing the athletes they would be sending to Port Moresby. Fijian athletes at these games would be competing across 26 sports, but on close inspection I found Indo-Fijian faces to be largely absent (FASANOC, 2015). More recently, examination of the athletes who travelled to the summer Olympics

and Paralympics in Rio shows that of the 130 athletes sent only 7% were Indo-Fijian (FASANOC, 2016). This is not a new problem. Khan (2010) writes about the significant challenges faced in terms of sports participation in Fiji. For example, at a nation-wide school athletics competition in 2010, of the 128 gold medals presented 97% were taken home by iTaukei athletes, while at the 2016 games, the figures were almost identical (Coke Games Fiji, 2016)

So apart from soccer, particularly among the elite echelons of high performance sport, Indo-Fijians are a rare sight. I can also confirm this having travelled to sporting spaces across islands for two months, finding only three Indo-Fijian athletes competing at the elite level outside soccer. This absence from much of the sporting sphere may go some way to explain why Indo-Fijians involved with soccer take such great pride in their roles. It is a platform for socio-cultural identity, facilitates a presence in mainstream Fijian sport, and it also appears to suit a cultural preference that is not geared towards broad-based athleticism.

Aside from Indo-Fijian organisation of soccer, language also plays a part in ethnically branding the game as 'Indian'. Perhaps surprisingly, this was an opportunity for cross-cultural – albeit one way – learning. For example, MCPIF2 complimented his teammates: "*if you go around and you will see that Fijians (iTaukei), all Fijians are speaking in Hindi*". A sports broadcaster also saw the value here: "*It's amazing the Fijian players they know how to talk in Hindi and they converse on the field in Hindi with each other. It's surprising you know*" (MOIF7). The excitement about iTaukei men speaking Hindi was interesting as this is rare in Fiji. Although there were occasional examples of Indo-Fijians speaking to their team-mates in snatches of iTaukei dialect, in most instances the iTaukei boys spoke Hindi. Once again this shows how the game is perceived and branded, even though iTaukei players are more common, the language of the game is 'Indian'. What it also suggests, contrary to local convention, is the intellectual potential of iTaukei men: they had 'picked up' another language while playing a sport. This is counter to the limiting assumption that they are 'all brawn and no brains'.

Although the iTaukei dominate the top levels of Fijian soccer, in social games and in 'business house' (inter mural) competitions, Indo-Fijian players are widespread. I spoke to an Indo-Fijian man who organises games. He told me that among Indo-Fijian businesses, it was very popular (MCIF2). In community settings, featuring impromptu games "*if you see soccer you will see 80% Indians…Indian boys (playing) and if you see rugby you see the other way around with the iTaukei*" (FCPIF2). A regular scene at a park in Suva saw Indo-Fijian 'only' games, along with some mixed games, being played regularly. Therefore, as well as being a cultural space, soccer is also a significant part of the social identity of many Indo-Fijians at sub-elite, recreational levels. Indeed, in rural areas, pick-up games are part of daily life. As with rugby, these games go on long into the evening. As MCIF2 explained:

If you go to any particular rural areas or suburbs you will notice that in the afternoons, mostly kids as soon as they finish from school, what they do is just grab the soccer ball and run to the field and once one or two guys go to the field then you will see plenty people come on to the field.

In more formal games, mainly Indo-Fijian fans that still attend find an outlet for regional pride and inter-district rivalry. As a sports journalist described: "*you don't see (Indigenous) Fijian people on the stands, because with the Indian people their love for the sport is that high that they don't even care about the standard of football, they just go and watch it for district pride*" (MOIF3). In travelling to different games, and when discussing the large Indo-Fijian support base, many respondents mentioned "*bringing the community together*" (MOT2) and "*the big family*" (MOIF7), describing the sport as an important social hub for their ethnic group. At the elite level, soccer tournaments are popular occasions for coaches, club managers and business leaders to renew old acquaintances and to compete for sponsorship opportunities. Indo-Fijian businesses dominate the advertising hoardings at such occasions, which are reflective of the group's domination of the business community, and of the audience at such events.

Whereas rugby is a bastion of Indigenous identity, soccer is the same – albeit in a structurally different way – for Indo-Fijians. From both managerial and cultural perspectives, soccer is 'Indian' – in administration, music, signage, language and fan demography. These factors all reinforce perceptions that the sport 'is' Indo-Fijian. Although soccer is not an Indo-Fijian mirror of rugby by way of participation, there is certainly an element of protectionism by Indo-Fijian stakeholders that isolates Indigenous Fijians from influential positions within the organisation of soccer.

5.2.7 Soccer: Indigenous Fijian aspects

Soccer has traditionally not strongly featured in the socio-cultural discourse of Indigenous Fijians. Yet this simple summary is unable to account for a stark reality – the significant number of iTaukei playing soccer, and their dominance in the elite ranks of the game. A local soccer expert estimated that apart from the national team there are more Indo-Fijian players at the top level, but 70% of the elite players are still iTaukei (MOIF9). My observations at elite games and tournaments backed this up – iTaukei players seemed to represent around 80% on average. From a playing perspective, therefore, soccer has come a long way from its beginnings as an 'Indian-only' sport played on Sundays (a religious day for the Methodist majority of Indigenous Fijians) (Prasad PC 26/05/17). Today, soccer is played throughout the weekend, yet the cultural branding of soccer as 'Indian' still turns some iTaukei away. As MOIF3 explained:

People who were iTaukei they were my good friends and they were good players, very good soccer players ... when you go to uni (university) and say 'hey this guy was a very good soccer player' they would get offended. People associated the sport with us (Indo-Fijians) so if you played soccer you became part of Indian society.

Indo-Fijians and the iTaukei are typically seen as poles apart in terms of notions of manliness (Presterudstuen, 2010a; 2016). A Fijian sport sociologist told me a story about his former life as a school sports teacher and some challenges he faced:

There were problems with the name calling that went on with the Fijian (iTaukei) boys who came out to play being called 'Indian' in a derogatory way. Then there was the resistance. I was trying to get some of the good [iTaukei] soccer players to come on board, who were good players but they felt that they would be ostracised by others by playing an Indian sport (MOIF9).

The derogatory references to being 'Indian' is indicative of the division between the two groups, and a power imbalance. Such derogatory comments are embedded in stereotypes about Indo-Fijians as 'weaker' than the iTaukei (discussed further in 5.3.1). As an iTaukei rugby player stated:

We grew up with... in Fijian, iTaukei language we say 'Ka India' for instance if you are weak we say 'stop acting like an Indian'. Something needs to change, eh? It's the way we were brought up, what is it, cultural...when one thinks they are stronger than the other (MCPT1).

A team mate later indicated to me how this dynamic is ingrained: "*Fiji it's mostly like that, if you play soccer they say 'oh you are Indian' they have that mentality where Fijians (iTaukei) play rugby and... that's just how it is, when we grew up we all knew that, Indo-Fijian boys play soccer, we play rugby*" (MCPT2). The reason why mockery of iTaukei soccer players takes place is due to its variance to the centrality of rugby in Indigenous male identity. As a Fijian sport sociologist explained, this "*goes back to a particular masculinity and macho culture associated with playing rugby and the fact that soccer is at least in this cultural mind-set not seen as having the same physicality to it*" (MOIF4). This means that, by association, participation in soccer by Indigenous males can be portrayed as a threat to their masculinity (as being 'Indian' is posited as opposite to this masculine ideal). So, there is a paradox in that soccer is labelled in a derogatory way by some iTaukei as an 'Indian sport', while only real 'Fijians', the iTaukei (the *bati*) play rugby. Yet this is a perception that does not reflect the reality.

Despite such beliefs, the iTaukei dominate elite soccer, yet local people were unsure why this was so. One senior Indo-Fijian soccer administrator told me: *"I can guarantee now that there are more [Indigenous] Fijians that play soccer than Indo-Fijians, I don't know why but that's something that I am sure of"* (MDT5). With the benefit of further investigation, I conceived explanations for why this apparent paradox exists. First, the mind-set among both ethnic groups in relation to 'serious' sport is very different. For example, an Indo-Fijian female athlete told me of her trouble in continuing with sport in her teenage years because of the cultural pressures on her to focus on studies (FCPIF2). An Indo-Fijian male athlete confided in me that "*for Indians there is pressure from the families, like Indian families don't put much importance onto sport, you must go for education*" (MCIF1). This 'mind-set' presents a significant barrier to Indo-Fijian participation in sport (see: 5.3.2). Commitment to training regimens needed to succeed at elite level may be perceived as a waste of time and resources among many Indo-Fijians. This, in turn, creates unfilled spaces for Indigenous players to fill. They are, after all, perceived – whether by self or others – as 'natural' athletes, a skill set that applies to soccer as well as rugby.

The second reason is to do with the schooling system. Indo-Fijians have led the way in educational attainment for many years (Dakuidreketi, 2006; Nabobo & Teasdale, 1995)**,** and because of this many iTaukei families regularly send their children to 'Indian schools' where soccer is the main sport (MOIF1/FDIF1/MOIF2). As one mother told me; "*most of the Fijians playing soccer, they are schooled in the Indian schools*" (FCT1). Thirdly, soccer is an option for young boys who can't get into the extremely competitive rugby teams around Fiji. Interestingly, a top soccer coach even saw his iTaukei players in this light; *"Even though they play here soccer, they know that for them rugby is their sport. But when they cannot get into rugby they come here...soccer"* (MOIF2). Such is the belief in the iTaukei/rugby nexus that even at the elite level of soccer, players are seen to be subverting their roles as rugby players. In addition to this, Indigenous players can take advantage of the stereotype that they have a 'natural gift' for sport – this helps them to get selected. As two Indo-Fijian observers saw it, the iTaukei "*are gifted with physique*" (MOIF6), and sport is "*in their blood*" (MOIF1). Indeed, coaches often feel they *need* iTaukei; "*most of the teams we have, the good midfielders are Indians, whereas good centre backs are Fijians* (iTaukei)" said one senior coach (MOIF8).

The Indigenous 'love of sport' is not merely a stereotype, it's a cultural reality. Although rugby is the traditional pastime for iTaukei, I observed their enjoyment of physical activity in a host of different sports, such as volleyball, netball and basketball.

Lastly, both geography and family are influential. If a young man is an elite iTaukei soccer player in Fiji then, according to my Fijian sources, there is a good chance that their father, uncle or brother has played previously. Place can also be critical: if an iTaukei boy grew up in the soccer-mad areas in the

West (towns of *Nadi, Ba, Lautoka*) of the main island or in *Labasa* on the neighbouring island of *Vanua Levu*, then the game was more likely to be normative. All the iTaukei players I spent time with had one or both of these connections; *"My dad and my uncles, all my dad's brothers, we all played football in Fiji...in Lautoka"* (MOT1), *"I moved to Nadi"* (MCT3), *"I am from Ba that's why I play"* (MCT5). Therefore, when taken together we can see how the above factors have influenced the high representation of the iTaukei in elite soccer. Indeed, their numbers would most likely be higher if participation was not derided by some as "*ka India*" – associated with Indo-Fijians in a derogatory way.

The iTaukei domination in the playing ranks has led to frustration from some ex-players at feeling *'left out'* of the organisation of the game. After a long playing career, a former Fijian soccer international team member (MCT3) explained:

> It's just a control thing they (Indo-Fijians) control. They should go and get the former start (starting line-up) players and get them to go to the coaching course because you know most of the boys are unemployed after sport … players are like teabags for Fiji Football - when they are all used up, they just throw them away.

There are few iTaukei in the soccer administration, and this leads to frustration from iTaukei ex-players who see a game in decline. That situation is compounded by the perception that Indigenous Fijians are not disciplined or technically minded enough to manage soccer (MOIF1/FDT1/MOIF4). I socialised with several ex-international players, getting to know two in particular. I spent a few days with one in *Nadi,* and stayed with another amidst the sugarcane fields in rural *Ba*. On both occasions their anger towards the FFA was palpable. They both believed that the closed, Indo-Fijian nature of the organisation was harming the game and blocking a potential career for them (and others like them) in both coaching and administration (MCT5/MCT3).

FIGURE 17: TRAINING WITH LAMBASSA MEN'S 1ST TEAM

These tensions were exemplified on Fiji's inaugural national sports day, part of which I spent as a girls' soccer coach chaperoning an under 14s girls team at an inter-district competition. Almost all of those taking part were iTaukei girls; some officials, sponsored by the FFA, were iTaukei women. This suggests that it is easier for iTaukei women to break into the organisational ranks than Indigenous men. It also supports what a Fijian sport journalist suggested to me about the closedness of the FFA, comparing it to the world governing body: "*it would be very difficult to get involved if you are not part of that circle, so FIFA's influence has spread far and wide*" [23] (MOIF4). Another top Indo-Fijian coach admitted tentatively: "*it's very clear in Fiji soccer is....if you want to hold any post in soccer in Fiji you have to fork out from your pocket*". He then went on to say that; "*When it comes to big business men and big iTaukei business people they tend to invest in rugby*" (MOIF2). This suggests that those iTaukei who are not well off will struggle to get a foothold in soccer either as a coach, administrator or one of the more ceremonial roles such as club president. This frustration was vocalised by MCT3 who felt used by the FFA saying: "*most of the boys are unemployed after soccer, so what can we do*".

The FFA also tends to look for coaches among school teachers, many of whom are Indo-Fijian (Iredale, Voigt-Graf, & Khoo, 2015; C. M. White, 2014). The coaching courses are also held during the school holidays, as MCT5 explained: "*Yeah mostly they call in school teachers, because they have the courses during the school holidays... you were asking me yesterday why don't you go for the course...I can't get the time off!*" Their experience as a school teacher does not always denote knowledge of the game either, "*in terms of football they (school teachers) know nothing*" (MCT5). After reducing one young female player to tears in the girl's tournament, the Indo-Fijian coach's iTaukei (female) assistant came

---

[23] Fédération Internationale de Football Association – Soccer/football's world governing body, infamously corrupt and closed off to outsiders.

to sit with me and said *"I know he is hopeless but what can I do!?"* (PC 26/06/15). Regrettably, this was not an isolated incident: some of the coaching I witnessed at the girls' tournament, and around Fiji from Indo-Fijian school teachers, was at times chaotic and often hindered player performance. For other local soccer coaches (past and present), former players and local experts (from both groups), this formed part of the reason why soccer in Fiji is struggling (MOIF9/MCT3/MCT5/MOIF8/MOIF3).

So aside from participating as players, the iTaukei find it difficult to infiltrate the soccer hierarchy due to the strength of 'Indian' ownership, the ethnic protectionism of the organisation, and the inference that financial investment is required to get a foot in the door (discussed further in 5.3.3). When combined with widespread stereotypes negatively framing the technical capacity of Indigenous Fijians (as discussed previously, MDIF1/MDT1/MOIF6/FOT1), this makes the door to Fiji's soccer hierarchy hard to open for the iTaukei. The lack of indigeneity off the field in the organisations and at games and tournaments also reflects how soccer is not considered a part of the Indigenous 'Fijian' cultural sphere, a reality reflected in policy.

5.2.8 Soccer and Sport Policy

In many ways, the FFA, as well as soccer generally, is defined by its separation from the Indigenous political elite. As Prasad (2013) has highlighted, soccer is one of the few places that Indo-Fijians have felt represented, and there are elements of this that continue today. A result of this separation is that soccer receives little attention from government in terms of grants; it is barely mentioned in sport policy (see: V. Naupoto Hon, 2012a; 2012b). Unlike the FRU, the FFA is relatively autonomous from the Fijian government, but it is also isolated. As an Indo-Fijian coach explained:

> I have been in soccer a long time and the government assistance compared to what they give rugby is non-existent as far as soccer goes. Everything is for rugby, nothing is for soccer; they don't support soccer. They might give them a token here now and again but it is really non-existent (MCIF4).

A Fijian expert on sport history explained that over a 15-year period during which he carried out research into Fiji soccer (1995-2005) *"apart from a few small grants, like waivers for passport fees, accommodation for international coaches and airport taxis and other things, apart from that, there was very little funding for soccer"* (MOIF9). More recently, following the Under 20s team foray into the World Cup, the team was commended by Prime Minister Voreqe Bainimarama for gaining international recognition, with each of the players being awarded a $500 (FJD) prize. Yet this was a rare treat for a

sport that is largely ignored by the government, which lavishes most of its attention on rugby due to the incomparable levels of success by the Sevens teams, as well as rugby's status as Fiji's national sport.

Although soccer suffers from a lack of support from government, it does not appear to be in financial peril. I was given a tour of the brand new FFA headquarters which dwarfs that of the FRU. This complex is complete with multiple offices, a giant boardroom that looks out over new pitches, and is complete with bedrooms and dormitories upstairs where the players can stay when 'in camp'. The money for the build is said to have come from FIFA, the Oceania Football Association and local Indian "*Fijian businesses*" (PC 05/05/15). Collectively, they may have contributed more funding to soccer than the Fijian government, however this is difficult to discern because FFA financial reports have not been made publicly available.

In this regard, soccer sits apart from government and rugby. Taking a step back to the first research question, we can see an association of soccer and rugby with the image and identities of both major ethnic groups. Going into this research, much was already known about the important role that rugby plays in the story of Indigenous Fiji (Guinness, 2009; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013a; 2013c; 2016; Presterudstuen, 2010a). The present study found the intertwining of rugby and the imagining of a dominant Fijian identity, with rugby as Indigenous, Fiji as a rugby nation, and therefore Fiji 'as' Indigenous.

However, in attempting to answer the first question it has become apparent that the picture is more complex than initially thought. Rugby functions as a bastion of indigeneity, yet this is embodied in *relation* to Indo-Fijians in a way that displays and promotes an embattled, singular, Fijian identity. Soccer, on the other hand, is labelled and framed as an Indo-Fijian sport, but mixed participation and iTaukei dominance at elite level shows this to be paradoxical and is counter to the narrative that soccer is an 'Indian' sport. Also, the growing support and identification among Indo-Fijians with rugby, specifically Sevens, means that the Indigenous-only narrative is disrupted here also - although to a limited degree. There is certainly more to this story, particularly in regards to intergroup relations.

5.3 Fijian intergroup relations: rugby and soccer

The following section reveals what was learnt through investigating the second research question **(2): What roles do soccer and rugby play in intergroup relations in Fiji?** As will become apparent, the research found that, on many occasions, soccer and rugby did influence intergroup relations, with ethnic division being played out, and sustained, in the nation's two major sports. However, as the research

progressed it also materialised that soccer and, to an extent, rugby Sevens, could act as important social bridge between both communities. This brings us back to the 'Intergroup Relations Continuum' (IRC) introduced in Chapter Two (see: 2.4) embellished below:
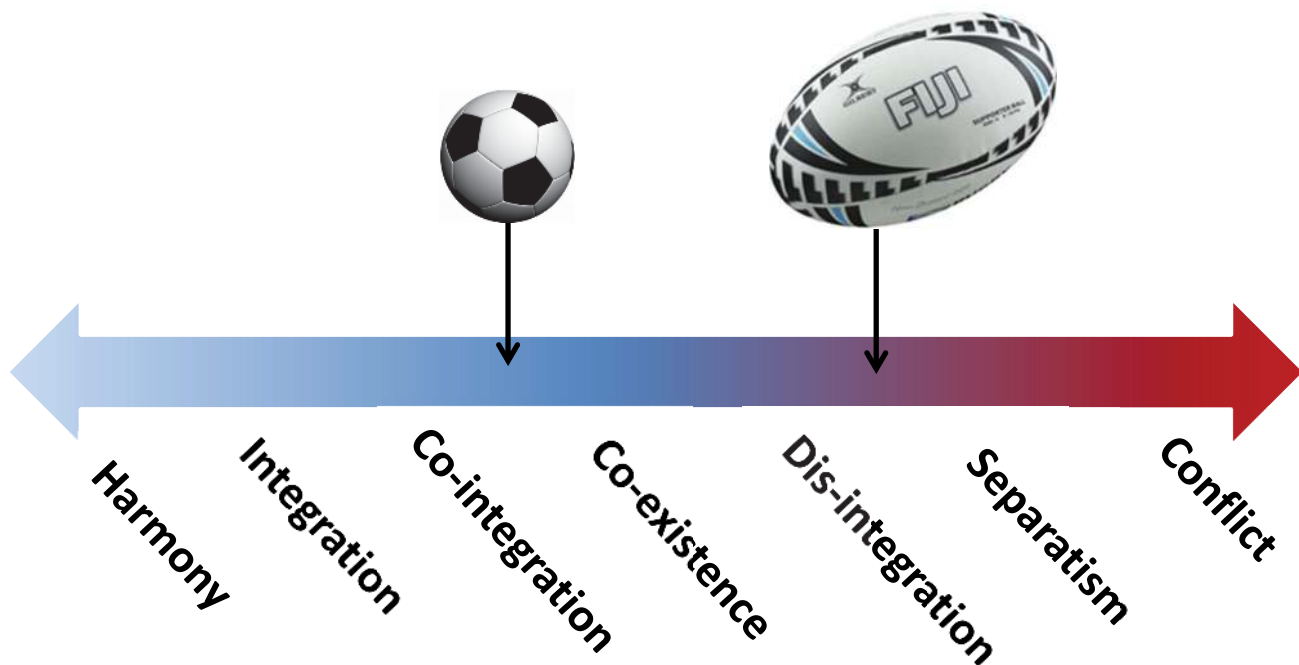
FIGURE 18: THE IRC REVISITED

The IRC was introduced to depict elements of the theoretical framework and the dynamic nature of intergroup relations. Now that we are discussing findings, a soccer ball has been added along with a larger rugby ball. Both have been added to provide a visual representation of the roles that soccer and rugby play in intergroup relations in Fiji, as determined by this study. The model will be assessed in the following sections, but for now a brief synopsis is presented. Soccer in Fiji exemplifies both coexistence and elements of integration. Soccer is a shared space in Fiji despite its 'Indian' assignation and control, and it assists in bringing about some degree of mutual recognition, cultural exchange and cross-community linkages. Rugby, on the other hand, is relatively closed and ethnocentric, a potent site for the reproduction and the maintenance of intergroup distance. In some areas rugby foments dis-integration and separation of iTaukei and Indo-Fijian groups. The larger size of the rugby ball in this depiction is intended to symbolise the greater power and significance that this game holds in Fiji. Before closely examining both sports in this regard, I outline what was learned about the ethno-racial landscape within which both rugby and soccer are informed and enacted. This is followed by a discussion of the

divergent mind-sets and beliefs that inform separatism in these codes, along with the rest of society more broadly.

5.3.1 The Ethno-Racial Landscape

In Fiji, people commonly revert to ethno-racial stereotypes to navigate group relations; sport is an important site for these beliefs to be expressed. In terms of respondents in this study, ethnic stereotypes commonly surfaced in relation to cultural preferences, shared traditions and generalisations about group behaviour. Racial stereotypes were readily called upon by either iTaukei or Indo-Fijian respondents to explain what they assumed to be the 'natural' physical and mental attributes of people in the other group. There were many examples of ethno-racial 'thinking'. The following are intended to capture their essence. Beginning with rugby, the absence of Indo-Fijian players is not unexpected; indeed, it appears normal and 'natural'. As an Indigenous player told me:

> There are barriers - firstly in their (Indo-Fijian) physical attributes meaning how physical things can get, plus there is their confidence to play the sport is not there… they do not have the drive that we have the local, the Fijian, the iTaukei have to play the sport (MCPT2).

The above sums up how many iTaukei feel about Indo-Fijians and similar points of view were a constant through the research. MCPT2 references a lack of "physical *attributes*" drawing from the popular assumption of Indo-Fijians as 'small' and 'weak', so less likely to compete effectively in rugby. He then points to a perceived lack of "*confidence*" and "*drive*", negative stereotypes that generally position Indo-Fijians as poorly equipped in relation to the iTaukei. Also notable is a reoccurring theme relating to language, where the "*local*" and the "*Fijian*" is synonymous with Indigenous Fijians, a point I return to.

For Indo-Fijians, the perception by others and of self is not just about rugby. From my experience in Fiji, and in the wake of discussions with numerous people, Indo-Fijian participation in a range of sports is typically 'recreational' rather than 'serious'. As we have already seen, there are relatively modest numbers of high-performing Indo-Fijian soccer players, while few of their ethnic peers represent the nation at the Olympic Games or similar events. At a community level, Indo-Fijians certainly take part in soccer, netball and volleyball to a degree,[24] but the prime emphasis appears to be sporadic involvement for socialisation and exercise. Why so? In part, as we have seen, there is a strong Indo-Fijian cultural emphasis on education and career development; sport does not tend to figure in those

---

[24] Both netball and volleyball are sports dominated by Indigenous female and male participants. However, it was beyond the scope of this research to look further into these sports.

aspirations, and can also be positioned as an unhelpful distraction. But beyond such thinking, some Indo-Fijians are being dissuaded from sport because of how they are seen by others.

This begins at school, all the way up to elite sport organisations. FCPIF1 told of how she was prevented from playing netball at a young age; when I asked why, her response was: *"they would see us as the weak and delicate ones, that's how they would see us as not the strong ones"*. MCIF1 also told of how in '*Indian schools there was only soccer'*, compounding separation from rugby. Meanwhile, in the mixed schools I visited there was less encouragement of Indo-Fijians in sport generally. The compound effect that these beliefs have on the Indo-Fijian community is that many have accepted their position on the side-lines; this is part of a 'self-fulfilling prophecy', with pejorative attitudes perpetuating marginalisation. This has consequences such as limiting opportunities and impacts on physical health. Among Indo-Fijians, exercise seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

Research into physical activity and NCDs in Fiji has shown that Indo-Fijians are less commonly involved in sport than their Indigenous countrymen and women (Carroll, 2015). If Indo-Fijians are going to be involved sport, it will be 'their sport' – soccer. But even here there is scepticism. As a leading Indo-Fijian soccer coach explained: *"if you go to an Indo-Fijian family and ask them to play, then no interest. Just support for support oooooooooh they will be the first ones with a beer"* (MOIF2). Another coach saw Indo-Fijians as clever and strategic, but best placed on the side-lines rather than on the front line because *"only Indians can read the game"* (MCT3). An ex-player offered a similar sentiment: *"They are better with the whiteboard"*, thereby reinforcing perceptions about Indo-Fijian's supposed facility for strategy and planning. This bolsters the 'clever' and 'strategic' stereotypes about Indo-Fijians that find a logic through teaching soccer tactics (i.e. coaching) more so than competing on the field. My observations in Fiji confirmed that from the elite FACT competition to the girls under-14s tournament, Indo-Fijian coaches were common, but Indo-Fijian players less so.

What of the other side of the coin? An iTaukei athlete spoke to me about the relative absence of Indigenous persons in the organisation of soccer. He said: *"I dunno why there hasn't been any Fijian representatives in the management part but I guess we are just the foot soldiers. We just like to be in the sport to play the sport, leave all the politics and the bureaucracy and whatever to those people (Indo-Fijians)"* (MCPT2). Indigenous Fijians are stereotyped as physically gifted but not mentally. As FOT1 mentioned, speaking about the technical aspects of rugby: *"they (the iTaukei) are not as good at it as they could be because they rely too much on their brawn rather than their brains"*. This was also used as an excuse for why soccer is coached and managed by Indo-Fijians – because it is considered

more tactical (at least in Fiji) than rugby. As one Indigenous rugby player stated: *"when you see iTaukei when they go and play soccer, how those guys, how the Indo-Fijian boys manipulate them, how they play"* (MCPT1).

Although iTaukei were leading players in the elite levels of Fijian soccer, many of my respondents thought that, while impressive athletes, they had limited skill sets and 'understanding' of the game. According to several Indo-Fijian coaches and players, the key positions (i.e. centre, midfield) where much of the decision and play-making are made, should be occupied by Indo-Fijians based on their 'intellectual' gifts (MOIF1/MCPT1/MCIF4). This perpetuates the stereotype of an assumed intellectual superiority of Indo-Fijians, as compared to the physically strong, but mentally weak iTaukei. This is one way that Indo-Fijian stakeholders in soccer reconcile the volume of Indigenous players in the national team and the top leagues. The iTaukei are labelled as 'powerful' and 'physical', meaning that they are ideal competitors, but they must be managed and directed by the 'strategic' Indo-Fijian coaches. I spoke at length to a top coach who firmly believed in the 'inherent' differences between the two groups in soccer:

> Indian players have a more tactical approach to the game. They can see their game in a visionary way in terms of creating things, Fijian (iTaukei) players are more physical in the way they approach the game…the coaches that are in charge of the teams have to guide the players and make sure they look forward to the games coming up. With the Fijian (iTaukei) players if you relax a bit then they will break all the rules (MOIF1).

In this regard, ethno-racial categories formed in society are given logic in sport, as one academic and former sport journalist described:

> I mean (Indigenous) Fijians are gifted sports people, and Indians are gifted business people, this might sound foolish. But Indians are seen to be gifted in education, gifted business people, but these again are perceptions, who is to say that [Indigenous] Fijians aren't gifted in business, this is a perception (MOIF4).

Ethno-racial stereotyping like this – both between and within groups – is by no means new to Fiji (see: Trnka, 2008). It has been referenced elsewhere as part of the 'muscular native' stereotype connected

135

with the Fijian tourist industry (Kanemasu, 2013). But here in sport there is a particular complexity: these stereotypes about 'body' and 'mind' are both maintained and challenged in Fijian sport and wider society. Such beliefs have a primordial effect on Indigenous Fijians, labelling them as strong and powerful – yet also lazy, unintelligent and more prone to cause trouble than their Indo-Fijian counterparts. These types of ideas create a culture that channels young iTaukei men towards rugby, and Indo-Fijians away from it. This ethnically stacks the sport and its administration, which is one of the reasons that rugby appears on the right of the continuum (Figure 18).

However, I found many exceptions to these stereotypes: Indo-Fijian rugby players and coaches and iTaukei soccer players, along with the many young Indigenous academics with whom I shared a library at the University of the South Pacific. Such exceptions to the 'small', 'soft' Indo-Fijian and the 'brawny' but 'dim witted' stereotypes of the iTaukei suggest that widespread beliefs, while a reality, are incomplete explanations for alternative lived experience. In Fiji, ethno-racial stereotypes are deeply ingrained in history, as FOT1 pointed out:

> This is a perception that is created and facilitated by the British, this is where all those stereotypes are from, like Fijians are lazy they are not smart, and it comes from these sort of things so we are physically built to do hard work therefore that translated to sport.

Such is their permanence, ethno-racial stereotypes are reflected in broader society in business, education and politics (see: Kumaravadivelu, 2003), and perhaps most visibly in sport. Such pervasive ethno-racial stereotyping (of other and self) perpetuates the separate categorisation of Fiji's two main ethnic groups, this contributing to intergroup distance. During the research, the perception of Indigenous Fijians as lazy and not 'business minded' was used as an excuse for poor organisation, unemployment and even corruption. For example, speaking to a young Indigenous musician on the Island of *Taveuni*, he explained: "*we like the easy life, no hurry no worry, that is the Fijian way, we are not known for hard work, that's for them (Indo-Fijians)*" (PC 08/06/15).

When taking part in Talanoa sessions around Fiji, there was a general light-heartedness and acceptance over these separate, but coexisting, roles. In the village of *Bouma*, sitting with an iTaukei group, jokes were made at Indo-Fijians' expense – such as they are always trying to get more money, while the iTaukei prefer the easy more relaxed life and are, 'therefore', happier. Yet such gaiety was tinged with jealousy over Indo-Fijian progress in business, and their ability to propel themselves upwards from the

bottom tier of Fijian society they had occupied historically. As the wife of an iTaukei village chief suggested to me: "*it's not fair they have better lives than us… but we are the real Fijians eh?"* (FCT2).

FIGURE 19: WOMAN AND HER DAUGHTER AFTER OUR CONVERSATION THAT LASTED HOURS - IN BOUMA VILLAGE

Ethno-racial perceptions, shared by Indo-Fijians and Indigenous islanders alike, seemed to preserve a lack of belief in what the iTaukei can achieve away from sport. This is detrimental to a broad-based education: "*kids when they grow up they look up to rugby players, it's part of their upbringing. So they don't focus on their studies...as long as you get into a national team, as long as they get into a contract, it's OK"* (MOIF3). Yet the chances of gaining a lucrative contract overseas are low. One headmaster complained that convincing young Indigenous boys of the value of education in the face of such stereotypes and aspirations was "incredibly hard" (PC 14/06/15).

On the other hand, for Indo-Fijians, the widespread acceptance of these stereotypes serves as a barrier to sport. It is evident in their lack of acceptance into the rugby sphere, in the discriminatory approach in government sports outreach, in the way that physical education is delivered, and through the 'mind-set' among Indo-Fijians that de-prioritises sport. This all maintains a degree of ethno-racial separatism in Fijian sport that informs and entrenches the dominant mind-sets and beliefs of both groups.

5.3.2 Cultural Mindset and Beliefs

The ethno-racial stereotypes discussed above are back-grounded by the cultural beliefs and norms of both groups. What emerged from the various experiences I shared and observed with local people is that sport is viewed and treated differently by these groups.

'Mind-set' or 'thinking' were repeated by many participants, in relation to the Indo-Fijian community and their attitudes towards sport. Such beliefs have parallels in the study of cultures originating from 'South Asia[25]' (see: Lawton, Ahmad, Hanna, Douglas, & Hallowell, 2006; Nanayakkara, 2012). A common theme raised internationally by a number of studies is that groups of 'South Asian' (male and female) descent consistently participate less in physical activity than other groups. Although the contextual reasoning behind the low rates differ, there is an underlying consensus regarding cultural norms among these groups that they (Indo-Fijians) do not prioritise physical activity (Bhardwaj et al., 2008; Lawton et al., 2006; Mohan, Wilkes, & Jackson, 2008; Nanayakkara, 2012).

However, while this 'mind-set' may have had some South Asian ancestral influence, this study found that in Fiji it is rooted in the history of Indo-Fijians specifically. Indo-Fijians refer to their familial origins in indentured servitude as motivation for their high performance in education. As a local academic told me: "*Indians (Indo-Fijians), they place more value on education, that's a major priority, as Indians come from more poor backgrounds and don't have land so you see. The only way out of poverty is education*" (MOIF4). As outlined in Chapter 3, early Indo-Fijians were confined to sugar-cane fields on iTaukei protected land, so for them access to education was highly prized and seen as a path out of such a limited life. This comes from their early status as '*vulagi*' (visitors)[26]:

> It's because we are not the Indigenous people of this country so we have to look after ourselves, nobody else is going to look after us, it's like with any country, the immigrants come in and they know they have to work hard. They know that if they don't work hard they don't have a roof over their head (MCIF4).

Even several generations after arriving in Fiji, there is a real belief among some Indo-Fijians that they are still migrants. Stemming from this view, there are very strong familial pressures on Indo-Fijians to focus on study, to achieve success and wealth – meaning that sport is often seen as a waste of time. This is how FCPIF2 explained Indo-Fijian absence from certain sports: "*I would say that Indian parents think a lot so maybe that's the reason … Yes! It's the thinking!*" This 'thinking' deprioritises sport on a

---

[25] Understood in the literature as individuals from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.
[26] The term '*vulgali*' is still used as a derogatory term for Indo-Fijians.

list topped by education, starting a family and earning a decent living. A soccer coach and head teacher gave his opinion:

> For the iTaukei it's more of a free life for them you know. But for the Indians at that age (adolescence) they are more concentrated on not playing sports, their concentration is based on their studies, they are looking at career paths for their life long process … sports might be distracting (MOIF8).

This suggests a fundamental difference in upbringing that socialises both groups into having different aspirations, expectations and roles, which are generally accepted as part of 'the way things are' in Fiji. A top rugby official tried to explain the difference in mind-sets regarding sport between the two groups:

> After a while they (Indo-Fijians) became better people, they went through education so they would have the chance to be educated, and we were slow and they were fast. They excelled faster because they wanted to move more and more and they had that passion to do something, we were more slow coaches but we picked up as we went on (MOT3).

Part of the reason for this lackadaisical attitude towards education and business among the iTaukei relates to the past. There is a long history of British paternalism designed to protect the 'Fijian way of life' from the 'omnipotence' of the modern world (Macnaught, 1979). The British allowed *Ratusim* to remain in place, and channelled the iTaukei's physical strengths into the English sport of rugby and their newfound religious devotion into Western Christianity (Presterudstuen, 2010a; 2016; Ryle, 2016). However, on the eve of British departure and the advent of post-colonialism, Indigenous Fijians were ill-equipped to deal with the demands and opportunities presented by independence. Their culture had not come to value business and education as highly as their Indo-Fijian countrymen, who looked to take advantage of their new found autonomy to excel in and value these activities (Lal, 2006; 2012b; Macnaught, 1979). Indo-Fijians had not known protection; rather, they had endured much hardship from the colonial regime. For them, the accumulation of wealth and progress through education was their chosen strategy for advancement (see: 3.4).

The result is the development of two very different cultural attitudes towards education, business, and of course, sport. The archetype of Indo-Fijians as hard-working and industrious have persisted through history and now inform ethno-racial stereotypes. Yet there is some awareness that this mind-set may be problematic. As two respondents from both groups put it: "*something that really needs to be looked in to*" (MOIF2); "*an issue that needs addressing*" (MDT5). They were commenting on Indo-Fijian's low levels of participation in sport, thereby not taking advantage of its potential for health and social

benefits. This issue has also been raised in social media forums, independent of this research.[27] Yet these beliefs are widely held and ingrained, fitting well with the deeply embedded stereotypes of Indigenous Fijians as strong and powerful and Indo-Fijians as non-sporty, *"soft"* (MOT3), and *"business-like"* (MOIF4). Such beliefs make a significantly contribute to maintaining the ethno-racial imbalance in the sporting sphere.

Separate mind-sets in practice

There are indications that the FFA is unhappy with this status quo. A local expert explained to me that in an attempt to reverse this dynamic, *"sometimes there have been like silent calls for the administration (FFA) to have more players of Indian descent in the teams"* (MOIF9). As evidence of this, speaking at a secondary schools' championship, the FFA vice president encouraged mainly Indo-Fijian school teachers to encourage their students to think of soccer as a career (fijifootball, 2016). While the 'Just Play' program encourages Indo-Fijians to participate in soccer, this is a SFD program orchestrated by the Oceania Football Association, working across LMICs in the Pacific. In Fiji the program is delivered through the FFA to diverse areas with the remit of promoting healthier lifestyles, gender equity, inclusion of those with disabilities and child protection (OFC, 2017). Early in the research I visited the program in *Ba* and had a Talanoa with those running the project, an Indo-Fijian male leader and six iTaukei female staff. They explained that challenging such stereotypes was difficult, but this was not their main policy aim. Child protection and gender equality seemed to be their key focus, which is understandable given the challenges Fiji faces in these areas (2013; see: Chattier, 2015; Fiji Women's Crisis Centre, 2013).

It was difficult to track down Indo-Fijian rugby players, and any Indo-Fijian female athletes. But when I did, they all spoke of the difficulties they faced in subverting these cultural norms and beliefs by playing sport. They all complained of lack of encouragement at all levels, with a rugby player saying; *"if you encourage an Indo-Fijian to play (rugby) and the support is there, they will play … the lack of encouragement is basically from the grassroots levels in schools"* (MCPIF1). Indo-Fijian women are noticeable in their absence from sporting spaces. I asked FCPIF2, a 20-year-old Indo-Fijian female field hockey player, if there were any other Indo-Fijians in her team. She laughed at me:

> No! I think I am the only one in the whole bunch. Yeah, there might be some half-caste but for Indian I think I am the only one, and they kind of get surprised when they hear that I am Indian, because I don't think they really encounter those kind of people in sports here (FCPIF2).

---

[27] For an online discussion on a lack of Indo-Fijian participation in sport see:
https://www.reddit.com/r/rugbyunion/comments/3m8dda/question_for_fijians_about_indofijians/

If one remembers that the Indo-Fijian population of Fiji is estimated at around 38% of the total, then the above extract is even more significant.[28] Indo-Fijian men and women face difficulties when trying to participate in mainstream sports, from discrimination in rugby to culturally-informed views that sport is a distraction from getting a good job and starting a family. All the Indo-Fijian athletes I spoke to shared difficulties in overcoming these barriers, with one athlete who had competed at the Commonwealth Games stating: *"If I would have got married a different story, I would not have been what I am today. That is what it is with the Indians, once they get married, it's very difficult for them to participate in sports"* (FOIF2).

Once again the influence of the typical Indo-Fijian family was mentioned as another key barrier to their participation. I asked another Indo-Fijian athlete if they felt pressured: *"yes it's pressure, because parents are like 'what are you going to do with sports'…It's typical Indian families so for them sports is not really a major thing, they don't see how sports is going to help you in life"* (FCPIF2). There is also a real contrast in the way Indo-Fijian and iTaukei children are brought up in Fiji. Generally speaking, iTaukei kids are more active and able to roam more freely and their parents are less strict. As a top soccer coach explained;

> The iTaukei from the time they are small they started playing with the coconuts and their lifestyle going for swimming and fishing… they are not much supervised compared to the Indian children, they have a free life. They do a lot of discovery moving here and there so they are more equipped compared to the Indians (MOIF5).

From my own observations of family life in Fiji, Indo-Fijians seemed stricter with their children, while iTaukei kids were allowed, and even encouraged, to roam around outside and be active. In both groups, the children are socialised very differently from an early age. It is no surprise, therefore that intergroup separatism in some areas of social life is stark. The distinct nature of Indo-Fijian and iTaukei upbringings and their separate histories have meant that the archetypal aspirations, expectations and mind sets of both groups are quite different. Their strength of purpose has, nonetheless, been compromised by assumptions that, in other ways, Indian and iTaukei Fijians are 'not fit' for purpose. This is where stereotypes become a looming shadow alongside archetypes: in the case of these two groups, they have been homogenised as 'naturals' in either physical or mental realms, but not both. It is as though the philosophy of the Ancient Greeks, where strength of mind and body were equally valued, is beyond comprehension in Fiji. According to current stereotypes, a Fijian can only be one or

---

[28] Once again a significant finding in this research was that Indo-Fijian women are almost completely absent from the sporting sphere. The nuances of this are beyond the scope of the present study. But I have collected sufficient data which will be used at a later date to write a paper.

the other, and they are predisposed as such dependent on whether they are iTaukei (physically 'gifted') or Indo-Fijian (mentally 'gifted').

According to an Indo-Fijian law student "*There is that preconceived notion that Fijians (iTaukei) are automatically better at sports than Indians, its people saying that Indians can't play sports so they are discouraged, it's like 'people say I can't play sports so why should I'. That attitude needs to change*" (FCIF2). But change to this mind-set will not be easy, particularly in a society where there is a significant lack of presence among Indo-Fijians in mainstream sports. For example, the only professional rugby player who has had Indo-Fijian links – Jack Prasad – was quickly (re)contextualised as being "*half Fijian....he has Fijian (iTaukei) blood in him*" (MOT3). Indo-Fijian athletes were also a rare sight in sporting discourse, on television and in print, further supporting these stereotypes.

Conversely, ethno-racial stereotypes about Indigenous islanders as 'naturally' physically endowed, but 'inherently' slow witted, leisurely people also contribute to a mind-set in the Indigenous community about their limited abilities in education. There is a feeling among Indigenous Fijians that they are not as academically able as other groups, with ethno-racial stereotypes underscoring this (see: Dakuidreketi, 2006; 2014; C. M. White, 2014). During one of the many Kava drinking and Talanoa sessions in which I took part, (see: 4.6.5), an iTaukei villager confided in me happily "*we like the easy life…we live for today…it's different thinking you know, the Indian guys, they are not like us*" (PC 06/06/15). On other occasions, I sat and chatted with the Suva rugby team, drinking Kava after training and matches. Although they were one of the few teams with Indo-Fijian members, they were seldom at these social sessions, and when they did come they would leave early. After an Indo-Fijian player left early on one Saturday, I turned and asked; 'Where is he going?' To which an iTaukei teammate laughed, "*Who knows, probably to study or something!?*" (PC 22/06/15).

Although the players all seemed like good friends, there seemed a real belief among both groups that they are, outside of being in the same sports team, ultimately unalike, not merely by choice, but because of 'natural' differences in physical and mental attributes. The Suva team was a microcosm of what I saw around Fiji. The players from different ethnic backgrounds coexisted amicably, with the iTaukei members dominant, but the Indo-Fijian players seemed apart socially, despite being fellow team members. More broadly, I saw coexistence in action across much of Fiji. Groups worked and lived side by side, but their contrasting cultural norms and beliefs maintained a degree of difference that is consistent with benign coexistence. This is certainly an improvement on Fiji's past, which was arguably more characterised by enmity, and further towards the right of the IRC continuum (Figure 18). Yet there remains societal mechanisms that prevent further cohesiveness and even promote separatism. These are present at every level, and highly visible in the way that rugby is organised.

5.3.3 Rugby: separatism

Ethno-racial stereotypes certainly help to preserve rugby as an Indigenous space, as MOIF2 explained: "*if you see an Indo-Fijian person holding a rugby ball it will be like 'oh wasting your time...what will he do'"*. These popular and entrenched beliefs have at times manifested in prejudice, particularly where rugby is concerned. For instance, one respondent told how his son tried to get into the rugby team in school and "*they told him to go and play soccer because he is Indian!"* (MCPIF1).

Despite these barriers, there are many Indo-Fijians who do try to compete, but they are often met with negativity, with iTaukei players making it hard for them. This emerged when I spent time with the Suva team, one of the few top clubs with Indo-Fijians in the squad (three). An Indigenous team member, whom I knew well, was proud of their involvement; he believed that they were one of the "*friendlier teams"*, as Indo-Fijian boys often faced difficulties:

> When they play (other teams) they get it! All the other boys are like yeah let's kill
> them!! Haha… it's just...Fiji you know they say 'it's not your sport' believe it or not
> some people here believe that rugby is an iTaukei sport, it's not an Indian sport...it's
> pretty sad really…not many people have tapped into it (MCPT1).

Although the Suva team was, by and large, friendly towards Indo-Fijian players, they considered themselves the exception rather than the rule. As an iTaukei journalist put it:

> I have been to rugby games where Indo-Fijians have played and I feel sorry for them
> because they play normal rugby but the verbal abuse coming from the side, especially
> from iTaukei people, it hurts their moral[e] because they want to participate and want
> to contribute to the Indo-Fijian rugby community but there is no support from both
> sides especially the Indigenous Fijians (MCT2).

This was confirmed by a veteran Indo-Fijian player who had experienced racial prejudice in rugby "*a lot of times"* himself (MCPIF1). As we talked, circling a vacant rugby field, he told of racial abuse aimed at other Indo-Fijians players, speaking of two players in particular who received abuse from the side-lines, while even their own teammates lacked trust in their ability, therefore not passing to them

when there was an opportunity. However, after a particularly good piece of defending from one player the mood changed: "*The Indian guy that was left on the wing to cover two. And once he managed it the confidence came back to the team. So these iTaukei guys, the players, they felt that he was part of the team. That all happened in one game. Even on the side-lines these Fijian (iTaukei) guys were saying biyaaa!!"* [29] (MCPIF1). Hence, there is potential for joint participation in the sport to change attitudes for the better. However, after spending time with Indo-Fijian rugby players, this led me to conclude that the challenges they face are much more substantial than opportunities to be welcomed and valued.

The belief that 'Indians' don't belong in rugby – "*that sport's for them (soccer), this sport's for us*" (MCWF1) is actively reinforced from a young age, thus hindering Indo-Fijian involvement in the game. As the sports journalist MOIF3 explained:

> For the national Sevens team if you see Indians going for trials people would be like 'really!?'. In a place like Fiji we are behind when it comes to integrating and stuff so we are still caught in the olden days. Indians are hesitant because they feel that is not their field, for whatever reason, and Fijians (iTaukei) are like 'no that's our sport!'

A recent news piece, which shone a light on Fijian rugby in the wake of their Olympic triumph, suggests that Indo-Fijians are excluded and intimidated due to resentment over their dominance in business (Besnier & Brownell, 2016). I found a degree of this in the behaviour of the Suva team, which seemed quite happy to kick Indo-Fijian boys off one end of the field before we started training, despite the team not needing that space. This action, along with the laughter of rugby player MCPT1 above when talking about the discrimination Indo-Fijian players face, suggested a lack of empathy for the Indo-Fijians' position. There were also signs that iTaukei stakeholders in rugby wished to maintain the sport as an Indigenous space, using Indo-Fijian stereotypes based on a lack of size and sporting acumen as an excuse for exclusion. This tactic is linked to fears that rugby could be another site for a process of Indigenous cultural erosion. Speaking to an iTaukei rugby player on this issue he said: *"we need to safeguard our interests… they (Indo-Fijians) are telling us you need to change your cultural ways, you need to change so that we can develop, and we are saying why?"* (MCPT2).

---

[29] Biyaa is a terms of endearment meaning 'brother'.

Thus, rugby remains almost sacrosanct, a space controlled, owned and protected by Indigenous Fijians, and this is evident in the centralisation of power and a lack of inclusivity from the FRU. One participant, a well-known human rights advocate, was outspoken about this:

> It's extremely hierarchical like...to me what it does is, the Fiji Rugby Union is racist... it's racist... it promotes racism, they talk about the fact that it's inclusive but that's all bullshit. It's really about... strengthening this whole Fijian male macho identity (FOT1).

The result is a national sport that is ethnocentric and exclusive, which can have a detrimental effect on intergroup relations (see: Figure 18). Indo-Fijian players wishing to break into mainstream rugby face an uphill battle, one that few have won. It is no wonder then that many prefer to watch at home, or retreat to '*their sport*' – soccer.

5.3.4 Soccer: separatism

The association between Indo-Fijians and soccer is further amplified by the character of the FFA. Speaking about the organisational staff, one prominent sports journalist (MOIF3) complained that: "*you don't see many iTaukei in soccer (organisation) because Fiji football don't embrace them*". The need to invest in the FFA to become part of the hierarchy is said to be partly responsible for this. There was no evidence of any official process or amount which needed to be donated for an individual to become involved with the soccer administration, however this informs group closedness within the organisation; it also links to allegations of corruption and nepotism at the FFA, which I will return to shortly. But what is clear is that Indo-Fijian businesses are a crucial source of income for the FFA (MOIF6): "*A lot of money comes into Fiji football from them (Indo-Fijian businessmen)*". Another coach explained why Indo-Fijians were so prevalent in the organisation: "*It's because of the money factor, to be part of Fiji soccer you need to invest, from the smallest to the full scale*", as a junior coach confirmed (MOIF2). There is a tendency for iTaukei-owned businesses to invest in rugby (MOIF2) and Indo-Fijian counterparts in soccer. Indo-Fijian monetary commitment is in part due to the status afforded to those who are part of the soccer hierarchy, but also a necessity due to the lack of government financial support received by the FFA (see: 5.2.8). This leaves less wealthy iTaukei soccer stakeholders with fewer avenues for involvement.

Respondents told me that to become part of the soccer 'family' you needed to part with considerable amounts of cash. Indeed, some Indo-Fijians seek recognition in the soccer hierarchy at high personal cost, as a local expert explained: "*I call it ego-capitalism. There are a lot of stories about these guys*

who ruin their businesses and themselves due to the patronage of teams....there are a few of them" (MOIF9). This further supports the prized place that the Fijian soccer organisation holds in Indo-Fijian society, and why iTaukei ex-players struggle to gain access or employment at the FFA. But ethnocentrism is also a factor, as an Indo-Fijian academic explained: *"race is also there, you can't say it's not racial, you would be deluding yourself, there is a racial element"* (MOIF4). In the soccer grandstands, Indigenous Fijians were also in the minority, a fact that, Indo-Fijian sports journalist MOIF3 believed was attributable to the performance of the FFA:

> If you ask anybody many people are scared to be critical of Fiji football but I have been and I always will be because they are not doing their job, so that's why you don't see Fijian (Indigenous) people on the stands.

Those in power at the FFA have managed to stay there owing to a combination of fear, nepotism and corruption. These themes are regularly referenced when the FFA came up in conversation with me (MCT3/MCWF1/MOIF3). The FFA draws criticism based on perceived corruption, allegations of match fixing, the poor performance of the national team, and reduced fan attendances at local games (James, 2015; R. Kumar, 2013). Although this criticism is not well publicised, possibly due to soccer's position in the shadow of rugby in Fiji, the 'Clean Up Fiji FA' Facebook group has over 1000 followers. It is a numerically significant group in tiny Fiji, and it parallels the disenchantment in Fijian soccer administration I encountered during the research.[30] As is all too common in international football governance the FFA set up its own 'ethics committee' in March 2016, rather than inviting scrutiny by an independent body. No surprise, therefore, that it has yet to uncover any major cases of foul play (Narain, 2016).

Those within the FFA seemed fearful in speaking out on controversial issues to do with the ethnic make-up, or offering any criticism of the organisation. For example, when speaking to one official about the absence of iTaukei staff members in the organisation he replied: "*Yeah, we have started employing Fijians (iTaukei).... but...*" (MOIF6). He then shook his head and signalled for the next question. In addition, after thanking another top official following a similar conversation, during which he had also steered away from the topic of iTaukei inclusion, he replied: *"No problem… just make sure you take out anything negative"* (MOIF5). This aversion to broaching anything remotely controversial indicates that criticism of the organisation, and/or any agitation for change, is likely to be resisted by the decision makers.

---

[30] See: https://www.facebook.com/Fiji-Football-Corruption-144420405757573/

Away from the FFA, elements of community-level soccer also exemplified a degree of separatism. In my search to train with a soccer team around *Suva*, for example, I trained on several occasions with a team of boys from the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. I came to know their coach who was an Indigenous Fijian and a former player. He explained that the Indo-Fijian boys had been invited to play with them but tended to keep to themselves – going so far as labelling them *"racist"* (MOT1). Speaking to an Indo-Fijian social development manager, he spoke of the teams and tournaments he played with in Suva, *"Muslim will have their Muslim Soccer, and the Sanatan will have their Sanatan[31] Soccer and it's everyone. So I play for Suva Gujarati[32] Team"* (MCIF5). All these teams are defined by ethno-religious labels, none of which denote shared participation with Indigenous Fijians.

In my observation of parks and sporting spaces in urban areas, mixed teams were an exception rather than the rule at grassroots level, reflecting a degree of division in urban areas. The belief that soccer is an *'Indian'* sport, along with an ethnocentric organisation that is resistant to change, does nothing to alter this. The perception among some former players is that the FFA is stopping soccer from progressing, not just in terms of game development, but socially. One former international player complained that while he had formed some important bonds with Indo-Fijians on the field, the mono-ethnic organisation of soccer was fomenting dis-integration by favouring Indo-Fijian appointees: *"they are splitting us up!"* (MCT3). All that said, with the popularity of both rugby and soccer in Fiji, there are occasions and areas when both communities share enjoyment of these sports, which I discuss now.

5.3.5 Rugby: towards integration

Fiji's inordinate international success in rugby has meant that both main ethnic groups share varying degrees of pride in the national team. As one Indo-Fijian law student explained: *"… if I think about it in terms of rugby I think that it does unite the nation, it's common ground, everyone is pretty into it and I think everyone is proud of that particular field"* (FCIF2). National pride or *"pride for the nation as a whole"* (MCT3) was a factor that kept coming up when discussing rugby. This seemed one way through which both groups could feel some sense of attachment to a superordinate 'Fijian' identity. As a top iTaukei rugby official explained:

> Rugby is part of our history you know, it is important in Fiji, it brings people together
> so to speak, it has stayed strong all throughout our turbulent years and challenges… the
> whole of Fiji as a country has been involved in military coups over the years and the

---

[31] Sometimes known as Orthodox Hinduism.
[32] Gujarat is an area of Western India from which many Indo-Fijians trace their ancestry.

thing about rugby is that they were supposed to do a military takeover but they put that
on hold so that they could play (MDT1).

The sport has indeed been a constant despite political upheaval, as rugby, and to some extent art and poetry, were the most important social meeting points for both groups. In terms of sport, this is due to the pride associated with such a small nation competing internationally. But there is also a view, from an optimistic perspective, that sport can be virtuous for the 'whole' of Fiji:

In terms of political [sic], it plays a key role, a good example is… umm... you know about the segregation in Fiji between races and all, but then when it comes to rugby, everyone is united everyone has a common interest in rugby. Despite the different backgrounds, different races... (MCPT2).

Both of the above statements were from iTaukei stakeholders in the game, so their view may be more favourable. However, speaking to a range of both stakeholders and non-stakeholders in sport, nobody could think of anything that brings both communities together better than rugby or, to a lesser extent, soccer. Sitting with groups during Talanoa, people often spoke gleefully about rugby in an almost evangelical way due to what was perceived to be its unifying properties for the nation. But it was often difficult to discern which format people were referring to when answering such questions - rugby union (15s) is the more traditional format in Fiji and traditionally an overwhelmingly 'Indigenous zone' (Presterudstuen, 2016). While 15s seems to have prompted support of the national team in the past, today Sevens is adding lustre to the rugby role.

Sevens

Sevens is the newer, faster, more glamorous rugby format, widely considered more entertaining – especially for those new to the game (see: Gee, Jackson, & Sam, 2016). It is much more spectator friendly than 15s, as an Indo-Fijian student stated: "*I don't know the rules of Rugby. I only love watching Sevens, 15s is a boring game for me*" (MCIF3). The entertainment value of Sevens, and Fiji's numerous recent successes, coupled with the sport's newness and (subsequently) looser links to traditional iTaukei culture, has opened the sport to a more bi-ethnic following than 15s. For example:

I think if we didn't have Sevens Rugby the coalitions may not have been always there, it's the one event, it is the one thing that stops the nation…whether you are Indo-Fijian background, iTaukei Fijian background … whatever (MCWF1).

Such sentiment was supported elsewhere by a social development manager: "… *if an Indian or Fijian is sitting together they have an argument, but if Sevens Rugby is going on they will sit together and watch the game*" (MCIF5). Unlike with 15s, Indo-Fijians seemed to feel much more of a connection to Sevens; herein lies an opportunity in terms of intergroup relations. Counter to the narrative that 'rugby is not for Indians'; Indo-Fijian support for Sevens is increasing. Sports journalist MOIF3 was encouraged by this change when we discussed the lack of active Indo-Fijian support for rugby in the past:

I mean Sevens is trying to change it, you see people like my dad, he is Indian, my mum is Fijian. I was surprised you would wake up at 12pm when the Sevens was on, my dad would wake you and he doesn't know much about Sevens but he will still watch it. So if he can change then others will, I have cousins who know players' names and before they never knew who was playing.

A senior manager at the FRU also referenced the increasing interest: "*This Indian family was having a prayer and they were asking a little Indian girl who her favourite player is and she is saying one of the Fijian Sevens boys!*" (MDT1). During the research, it seemed that the fervour for Sevens was peaking as Fiji rocketed towards a second World Series victory. This was a useful time to gauge the importance of the sport to both groups. For example, as Fiji tightened its grip on the competition, needing a win to secure victory, it was 4am on Monday morning in *Suva* and my Indigenous host family, from toddler to grandfather, were glued to the TV set. A short tour of the local neighbourhood, which was ethnically mixed, confirmed that we were not alone judging by the unmistakable lights of TV sets and shouts emitting from the windows of nearby homes. As MCPT1 surmised after the tournament:

It brings them together, especially the Sevens. You watch the Sevens and Fiji reaches the final then the iTaukei families, the Indian Families, the Chinese families, all of them are cheering. Look at the World Series the one they just won. These guys come back and we will have some sort of a national party. It unites the people under one thing, it shows that you don't need to change much, the people just need to unite.

In this regard, although 15s and Sevens remain strongholds of Indigenous identity, the joint pride and fandom among both groups off the field is promoting a shared attachment to the sport – though for Sevens specifically – and the national symbolism that comes with it. This is why rugby is placed before separatism in the continuum model I have conceived (Figure 18). However, this is not to be overstated, as shared fandom in sport does not automatically translate to intergroup harmony; it is a process that can take much time (Hughson & Poulton, 2006; King, 2000). Aside from shared fandom, in many ways Sevens is still very much an Indigenous (male) space, in symbolism, practice and organisation (see: Cattermole, 2008; Presterudstuen, 2010a; 2016). Nonetheless, there is still potential in rugby to promote, even if fleetingly and episodically, a common sense of 'Fijian' identity.

In the stands, and more commonly facing televisions sets, both groups sit and cheer side-by side during the brief games and tournaments, but beyond that intergroup contact, inter-ethnic connection through rugby is uncommon. Active fandom is largely an Indigenous practice in Fiji. This was exemplified at the victory parade and at the 'Coral Coast Sevens' tournament in *Nadroga*. Canvassing the crowds at both events, I observed Indo-Fijians to be few in number. In this regard, shared fandom is superficial when held up against the deeper roots of ethnic difference. Rugby can, and is, being used to mask deeper problems, as rugby player MCPT2 explained: *"The government uses rugby to promote the myth of unity…behind the curtains there is still segregation"*. However, away from the rugby spotlight, at the grassroots level and in the stands in certain areas, soccer still plays a valuable role as a social meeting point between Fiji's two, often culturally separated, groups.

5.3.6 Soccer: towards integration

Joint participation in soccer is one of the few areas in Fiji where Indo-Fijians and the iTaukei share a commonality in sport and society more broadly. Across Fiji, there are examples of soccer acting as a site for shared participation, and there were some very real examples of inter-ethnic friendships that had been formed through the game (MOIF8/MOIF4/MOT1). In some rural areas with a high Indo-Fijian population, such as *Ba* and *Labasa,* this was even more common. In such places, mixed fandom is slightly higher. Indo-Fijians were still the majority in the stands, but iTaukei fans more noticeable than elsewhere. Once again, language interchange on the field was brought up numerous times as a powerful signifier of the sport's integrative potential. As a top-flight coach explained:

> I think that even though we have a lot of iTaukei boys playing in our team they are well
> versed in both tongues...iTaukei language and Indian language so the mixing among
> them is I think perfect so it has a good effect on the team (MOIF8).

English is the national language of Fiji and the lingua franca of business, education and governance (Maharaj, 2013). I found that while most people could speak English well in more urban centres, in rural areas English proficiency was not as good, particularly among the iTaukei. This could because speaking English in such contexts is seen as overly formal, even 'un-Fijian' (see: C. M. White, 2002). Yet the point here is, through soccer, iTaukei players are learning and conversing in an Indian language, along with English and iTaukei dialects, within a climate of coexistence. This is significant as the learning and sharing of Indo-Fijian culture from and by the iTaukei, on such a scale, is rare due to the typical Indigenous dominance of other socio-cultural contexts.

However, as discussed above (see: 5.2.6), this language interchange is largely one way, with the expectation on iTaukei players to adopt Hindi to interact with Indo-Fijian coaches and teammates. This shows the degree of Indo-Fijian cultural dominance in soccer, despite the figures showing Indo-Fijians to be in the minority at top levels. Indeed, players and coaches often referred to the integrative power of inter-group participation. A common point of reference was when all the boys are 'in camp': the top players travelled, ate and stayed together for big games and tournaments (MOT2/MOIF8/MOIF1). This suggests that, at least in this defined context, the unity shown on the field could go beyond it. But it is important not to overstate the case: sport provides an unusual bonding team environment, but it does not typify society more generally. As one iTaukei player put it:

> Well, when you play the sport you all come together, you are all one, but as soon as you walk out and you take off the uniform and go into groups and go and sit down then that negativity comes back again (laughs). Never mind if you are wearing the same jersey and rubbing shoulders with each other, when you leave the pitch...you can feel it (MCT3).

Soccer's heartland is Fiji's west, from the ethnically mixed town of *Nadi* through Indo-Fijian dominated *Lautoka* to *Ba*, completing a 62-kilometre-long coastal stronghold for the sport (plus *Labasa* on neighbouring island of *Vanua Levu*). Through visiting and spending time in these places, I found that ethnic separatism in soccer was less typical. These areas are hubs for the sugar-cane industry, with high working-class Indo-Fijian populations. In these places, soccer is number one and rugby is second in terms of popularity. In those areas, coexistence through mixed participation and fandom is far more common than across the rest of Fiji, where the iTaukei population is higher and the influence of rugby more evident.

151

FIGURE 20: ETHNICALLY MIXED LAMBASSA F.C. HUDDLE BEFORE TRAINING

These areas are populated by many 'Indian' schools which have ethnically mixed student bodies that promote soccer as their main sport. I visited two schools in *Ba*, and although there was mixed participation in soccer, its assignation as an 'Indian' sport remained. As the Indo-Fijian headmistress of one school told me: "*Ba is very famous for soccer, so most of the students here are very fond of playing soccer but the iTaukei students also have rugby at heart so the iTaukei have rugby and then we have soccer*" (FDIF1). While the head of sport at a similar school in the area confirmed: *"Indians soccer is their love, [Indigenous] Fijians they are crazy for rugby, but there are certain Fijians who also have a passion for soccer"* (MOIF1).

What this shows is that even in areas where soccer is the main sport, and iTaukei participation in this sport is high, the sport is still associated with the Indo-Fijian community. In this regard, soccer is still organised on Indo-Fijian terms, just as rugby is framed, even more so, in the image of the iTaukei. Of course, as we know, soccer is not an Indo-Fijian sport in a playing sense, as most top players are iTaukei. Yet it *is* the only mainstream sport where Indo-Fijians have a presence and a supporter culture. This is counter to the historical narrative of Indo-Fijian exclusion in sport and society. Sharing this space reduces intergroup distance. As a local expert on soccer (MOIF9) explained:

> The fandom in soccer builds a kind of bubble around iTaukei players so that they are
> not seen as the 'Other' as Indo-Fijian players have been treated in rugby. So there is the
> creation of that kind of bubble in soccer … If you are in Ba or even in Sigatoka[33],

---

[33] This town is on the South/West of Fiji's mainland, the capital of the Nadroga region - well known for rugby. It also has a high population of Indigenous Fijians.

amongst the players themselves they have a really good understanding of each other. In terms of language, in terms of culture, in terms of the idiosyncrasies that each group has, so that they can relate to each other most of the time.

In this respect, soccer is an example of coexistence in action, moving towards integration: both groups have built horizontal linkages and friendships through their common involvement in the game. As MOIF9 went on to say: *"I think that is one of the key things that happens in that shared space, like in any team and I think for most of them it stays on for quite a while I know most of the players are still...even if they have problems they have their friends from soccer."* This goes further than shared, but short-term, fandom of rugby that is lauded as a source of unity for both communities. Indeed, this study has shown that, in practical terms, soccer is doing this to much greater effect. However, the difference between urban and rural/Western areas in terms of integration and coexistence is a phenomenon that still poses questions. The following extract from a former national team player and top coach goes some way towards answering them (MCIF4 – my speech in bold):

Is there still a bit of tension between Indo-Fijians and Fijians?
Well I come from the West, I come from Ba and playing (soccer) with me there were three Indians and the rest all Fijian boys and we all got on very well. In the West, there are few problems, those Fijian boys, they talk in Hindi, they know the Indian language...it's only in Suva.

Why are there less problems in the West?
Because it's all local people, local Fijians, local Indian, they have all lived there for generations and you know, the families have known each other for maybe a couple of generations. Whereas in Suva it's all different, it's all people coming from different outer islands and they have never associated with Indians, Indians have never associated with them so there is always that suspicion and that fear you know.

Did sport have a role there?
Well I played for Ba and in Ba everyone was behind us, the way soccer is played whether you were Indian or Fijian everyone was behind us so that was bringing us together that way.

Is there any other way they come together?

No, just sport and marriage, but what else can bring them together...they go to school together what else... I mean there is nothing actually... apart from when you intermingle, you go to market on a Saturday and that's it.

This extract supports several key points that have been highlighted above. The first answer shows, once again, that iTaukei players are prominent at the top level of soccer, but cultural exchange exists quite narrowly through shared sport participation and language. In the second answer, the geographical differences in intergroup relations are untangled; in urban areas, such as Suva, there is more migration from outer, relatively mono-ethnic, regions. This lack of diversity means that these groups are less used to one another – there has simply been less contact, so levels of intergroup mistrust and fear are higher. This has echoes of previous work into intergroup contact regarding the 'contact hypothesis', which was discussed in Chapter Two (2.5.1). Finally, in the last two answers, the respondent explains again the importance of soccer in 'togetherness' and 'intermingling' between groups in Fiji.

Until now we have seen how both mainstream sports inform the identities of both ethnic groups, with rugby and soccer framed in ways that can either increase or decrease intergroup distance. But questions remain about what to do with this knowledge and, more importantly, how local people view this situation. I discuss this issue now.

5.4 Dialogue: sport and (dis)integration in Fiji

The previous sections have demonstrated complexity in how both rugby and soccer engage and represent Indian and iTaukei Fijians in differing ways, and in alternative spaces. In both sports, one can see the enactment of the wider cultural norms and mind-sets in which both groups are ultimately different and separate. Returning to the IRC (Figure 18), it is the position of this researcher that, although there are inclusive elements to rugby fandom, soccer promotes the reduction of intergroup distance more so than rugby. Yet, in saying this, there are elements of both sports that are decidedly ethnocentric. This mirrors Fijian society generally. There are areas that can best be described as 'coexistence' and even 'integration' in action, while other regions show clear intergroup distance and separatism. Sport has a tangible role in this intergroup dynamism, wherein iTaukei/Indo-Fijian separatism, coexistence and integration play out across the islands.

The following section now addresses research question **(3): Are Fijian soccer and rugby stakeholders content with the status quo or do they envisage the need for change?** As a lead into that question, this section evaluates the official messages emanating from the macro level in terms of sport by looking at policy: the focus is in how the sporting status quo has been framed. The discussion includes information about funding priorities, community outreach initiatives, as well as the inaugural 'National

Sports Day'. It revisits some of the key drivers of the 'natural order' – namely government institutions, schools and sport organisations. Who better to discuss the efficacy of all this than people at ground level? By prioritising the voices of locals, there is an opportunity to explore the impact of policy – the extent to which it is aspirational, rhetorical or impactful. That becomes a springboard for a more emphatic discussion by locals about *their* views about sport (rugby and soccer) in Fiji. Are they content with the status quo or do they foresee a need for change? The section begins with an examination of government sport policy, and how this dictates the shape of Fijian sport.

5.4.1 Government Policies: official sport policy

Aside from their special relationship with rugby and the FRU, government sport policy in Fiji is administered by the Ministry of Youth and Sport with the help of the Fiji Sports Commission. Its most recent set of sport policies were released in 2012 (V. Naupoto Hon, 2012a; 2012b). These policies are broad and wide ranging, including many catch all statements highlighting a need for increased participation and access to sport for purposes of healthy living. Yet such statements are not qualified by any coherent plan for delivery Notable for this research are two brief passages: sport will be used to promote 'respect and understanding for cultural, religious and ethnic diversity' and government policy will 'promote participation by **all** in sports and recreational activities, ensuring that **all** citizens in Fiji receive every opportunity to enrich their lives through quality sport programs' (Naupoto 2012b, emphasis in the original).

Subsequently, the Ministry of Youth and Sport staged a national conference with the theme of inclusion. The Minister of Sport at the time, Commander Viliame Nauvoo, gave a speech to more than 500 youth "of diverse backgrounds". Part of this message was the importance of youth consultation, diversity and participation in sport. The Minister gave assurances that "the collective resolution from the participants during the conference will be integrated in the Ministry's planning and implementation for the upcoming 2015 budget process" (Government of Fiji, 2014). If carried through to practice, this integrative rhetoric could have positive implications for greater access to sport for young people, and, should it be done so inclusively, better opportunities for co-existence and co-integration in the two main staples of rugby and soccer. Has there been any discernible impact of these policy pronouncements?

I studied the most recent government budget address (2016). The Indo-Fijian Finance Minister, Aiyaz Sayed-Khaiyum, set out a budget of $22.5 million (FJD) to the Ministry for Youth Development and Sports Programmes. This represented an increase of $5.8 million from the previous year "to enable teams to compete overseas". A further $5.4m was channelled to the national sports commission to 'assist with Fiji's participation in major international sport tournaments held in 2016. These included: the Rio Olympics, Northern Rugby Tour, Pacific Nations Cup, U20 World Rugby, Pacific Challenge and the National Rugby Championship', along with $9 million towards hosting the Fiji international golf

tournament (Government of Fiji, 2016a, pp. 55-56). Despite earlier rhetoric, there was little mention or commitment of funds to increase participation in 'sport for all', or physical activity to help minimise NCDs. From the perspective of cohorts with low levels of physical activity (such as among Indo-Fijian communities), there was no discernible strategy. Instead there was an emphasis on funding high performance sport and elite international competitions, particularly concerning rugby and golf.

Before this announcement, the government had established the 'Fijian Sports Commission (FSC)' whose remit is to act as a go-between across "Fiji's established sporting organisations, our sports people, and our communities". Yet, although this unit was built with community development in mind, there have been other priorities since its inception. The government states that the establishment of the FSC was due to "a realisation that Fiji's sports people contribute substantially to the nation's economy" (Government of Fiji, 2013b). This is really about the rugby-playing diaspora of Fiji, along with the economic advantages of being 'placed on the map' via elite sporting success, which again means rugby (see: Grix & Lee, 2013; Nygård & Gates, 2013). In essence, there is a mismatch between what the Fijian government is saying about the need to build community participation, and what it actually seems to be doing, focusing its resources and energies on elite success and, more than any other sport, rugby. Meanwhile, the FSC's raison d'etre is supposed to be community sport development. It is therefore important to analyse a key element of that, the government's touted 'sport outreach' policy.

5.4.2 Sport Policies: Outreach

Government sports outreach efforts are implemented to promote sport and healthy living to *all* Fijians (see: youth.gov.fj). On the ground, there were people who had some knowledge of these programs. One villager on *Taveuni*[34] recalled an outreach program that came to the island a year previously: "*Yes. There are 5 different sports, Netball, Rugby, Soccer, Cricket, Boxing and 6… Rugby League….for girls and boys both*" (MCT4). However, in the Indo-Fijian majority town of *Ba,* a sports coach remarked: "*Not much, to be frank*" (MOIF5). The manager of a sport-based NGO, who has worked across Fiji for many years, expressed concern that outreach was scarce and lacking in key areas: "*about diet, hydration and nutrition there is absolutely no knowledge of that*". He was also worried that outreach work was only targeting iTaukei communities (MOWI).

The main concern of MOW1 is the alarming statistics which show that Fiji suffers from some of the highest mortality due to NCDs in the world. This is linked to diabetes and other health problems brought on by an inappropriate diet and lack of sufficient exercise (Carroll, 2015; R. Taylor et al., 2013; WPRO,

---

[34] Fiji's 3rd largest island an overnight boat trip away from the mainland.

2002). The government is aware of this, and therefore made strong statements of intent to spread awareness by working closely with health officials, especially in terms of providing information on diet and exercise (Government of Fiji, 2016b; 2016c). In terms of tangible efforts to put this into practice by way of sport, the government recently opened a $250,000 (FJD) sports facility in *Davuilevi* in *Nausori,* a largely Indigenous area, specifically to fight NCDs among local people (RatuLailai, 2017). In terms of encouraging physical activity more broadly, government sports outreach programs are supposed to be at the forefront of change, but that is not obvious at ground level. What is more, all the initiatives I identified focused on areas of Fiji where the iTaukei are most numerous. Yet, as indicated throughout this findings chapter, all the available evidence indicates that sedentary conduct and low levels of engagement with physical activity and sport are more likely among Indo-Fijians. The uneven distribution of funding correlates with a recent AusAid report which also indicates that outreach focused mainly on iTaukei villages (Carroll, 2015).

It worth remembering at this point that, as a LMIC, Fiji lacks the resources needed to drive comprehensive outreach programs (Bauman et al., 2011). Nonetheless, a basic level of outreach is in operation around Fiji, particularly in rural areas. Empirical data to understand the scale of this was almost impossible to come by; unfortunately, the Ministry of Youth and Sport did not respond to my inquiries. However, I spoke with a senior manager at the FSC who took care of outreach programs. Sitting in her office, we discussed the important work outreach does for women's sport in Fiji through the promotion, for example, of volleyball. As part of this conversation, I asked if many Indo-Fijian women were involved. She responded:

> Some of them cannot wear the uniform that is required of them when it comes to volleyball competitions, or in any sport for that matter, but they need to be somewhat more educated to the level where they say, 'yes there are standards that we need to meet' (FDT1).

I asked if they would consider changing the uniform to allow for dress that accommodated certain religious beliefs in the Indo-Fijian community. FDT1 replied that they had done so many years ago, but only when they played in Iran. Such a lack of flexibility suggests an unwillingness to adapt to bring in more Indo-Fijian participants, and this went beyond female sport. Elsewhere in conversations around government outreach programs, a familiar narrative emerged, one which did not actively involve Indo-Fijians. As another iTaukei senior sports administrator was candid in explaining:

There is nothing that is…there is no work put in to get the Indians involved, they only go to rural areas where the vast majority of the population is iTaukei. We have been in the program for a year now I have seen what it's like and there is no way, there is no form of integration that is happening at the moment, it's just what it is you know and that's what it is in Fiji (MDT5).

Such testimony was supported repeatedly by local academics (MOIF4/MOIF9) and top administrators from rugby (MOT4), soccer (MOIF5), the Olympic committee (FDC1) and the Pacific Games Council (MDIF1). These respondents spoke, albeit with varying degrees of criticism, about the way in which outreach is managed, their consensus being that the government tended to focus its resources on rural iTaukei villages. Part of the reason for this is logistical, as a senior sports administrator explained: "*They go to the villages because in the villages they have the structure they have a village head, a person of respect so if you want the whole village to come together they will … whereas the Indians they live in* settlements and there isn't any structure to hold them together" (MDIF1).

Yet aside from logistics, this preference for iTaukei participants means that outreach carves a familiar groove that prioritises Indigenous Fijians in sport. Hence, there is a tangible inconsistency between what is said in government sport policy documents and what is happening on the ground. The lack of provision for Indo-Fijian people and their communities is in keeping with the findings of this study. Towards the end of the primary field trip there came another opportunity to assess how government policy was embodied, this time in the form of the 'National Sports Day'.

5.4.3 Sport Policies: National Sports Day

Fiji's inaugural national sports day took place on July 26th 2015. This celebration was intended to usurp the 'Queens Birthday', a relic of colonial Fiji. I first heard of the proposed celebration through a Suva-based sports journalist: "*they said they were going to organize a nationwide event to bring different communities together to be part of the plan but there is not much info about how they are going to do that*" (MOIF3).

On the day itself, I was staying on a sugarcane farm in *Ba*. I spent the first part of the day at a girls' under-14s soccer tournament before journeying to the larger town of *Lautoka,* where one of the biggest national sports day events was taking place. Here a multi-sport competition was organised and attended by teams representing different government and civic ministries. At this point I had spent eight weeks in Fiji – living, training, socialising, coaching and engaging in Talanoa with a diverse group of iTaukei and Indo-Fijians. What I saw on national sports day came as no surprise. Aside from the soccer

administrators at the girls' tournament in *Ba*, who were mostly Indo-Fijian, the sport element of the day was experienced almost entirely by the iTaukei.

Despite a majority Indo-Fijian population in the host town of Lautoka, Indigenous Fijians made up the clear majority of participants, in my estimation 95%, while there were few Indo-Fijian spectators. I asked a bystander why there were so few Indo-Fijians participating. His reply was simple: "*They are just not interested*" (PC 26/06/15). However, there were also very few Indo-Fijians spectating or joining in the board games in the shade, where less physically active participants were sitting and taking part in Fiji's other national pastime, drinking Kava. The public atmosphere of the day was good; people were happy and upbeat, and it seemed to go well in both locations. But there was no clear strategy regarding the 'power' of sport to bring 'together' people from different backgrounds, nor was there an obvious message about sport and exercise in battling NCDs.[35] In my conversations with people on the day, they were generally confused and/or uncaring about the overall meaning of the holiday, enjoying time off regardless.

Grassroots physical activity and community building do not come across as a key aim of the Fijian government in terms of sport. A top sport administrator (FDC1) lamented a lack of funding for sports outside rugby, complaining that the government consistently failed to consult sporting bodies about the aims and impacts of policy. By way of example, the government decided to build an elite institute of sport, but without formal consultation with sporting bodies. As FDC1 explained in an exasperated tone: "*There are not too many athletes that would benefit from such an institute ...but government did not* listen to our views and they are still going to build an institute of sport."

As this stage, an institute has yet to be built. However, the government's focus on forging an international profile through sport, by leveraging rugby Sevens, has become a key tenet of the leadership's sport policy (2013; Bainimarama, 2015b; V. Naupoto, 2014; SMH, 2016). A local sports expert pointed out to me that rugby has been used as a political tool for some time, but on top of that: "*the strange thing is that the government is putting a couple of million dollars into the hosting of international golf, mainly because of the white tourism exposure they get through it*". This is about Fiji putting government money forward to secure a 'co-sectioned' place in the prestigious European PGA tour (see: PGA Australia, 2016). Given the government's stated priorities in sport for health promotion, this allocation of resources raises eyebrows (Carroll, 2015; Government of Fiji, 2016b; 2016c).

---

[35] For example, an event in the town of Nadi - a fun run sponsored by the McDonalds fast-food chain – gave out over $900 worth of meal vouchers to participants, thereby offering mixed messages in terms of exercise, nutrition and health.

Government policy around community sport can be summed up by a lack of practical follow-through on policy rhetoric, especially around relationship-building across different social groups; and, in terms of physical activity, as part of a strategy to militate against NCDs. The above evidence suggests that elite success, essentially through rugby, as well as aspirations of international prestige through millions of taxpayer dollars going to a golf tournament, are more important to the reputation of the Fijian government than substantive opportunities at the community level. Public opinion about this situation, as well as the broader state of Fijian sport are of particular interest to this study, and are canvassed in the next section.

5.4.4 Community Voices: status quo

Presented above is a depiction of the sporting status quo in Fiji, albeit with a limited focus on rugby and soccer. Throughout the research, I went to lengths to gather testimony from both stakeholders and non-stakeholders in sport, with the aim of co-producing a picture by which to interpret the role sport in intergroup relations – specifically in terms of the iTaukei and Indo-Fijian communities. This meant employing the data collection strategies outlined in Chapter Four. It was crucial that local people I spoke with were aware of, and felt at ease with, the research process and their role in it (should they choose to participate). In doing so, I asked local people to share their own thoughts about the 'way things are' in Fijian sport; responses to this were not simple.

Within both Fijian communities under focus there is a history of deference to hierarchy. This is a deterrent to open speech against authority. In the iTaukei community, there is a cultural tradition of *Ratuism*, a historical system of tribal ordering that is a hallmark of Indigenous culture (see: 3.4.1). Meanwhile, Indo-Fijians are also discouraged to speak freely against those of higher status due to a cultural legacy within their own culture wherein status and hierarchy are given precedence over open exchange of views (Chattier, 2012; Chattier, 2013; Voigt-Graf, 2008). In general terms, Fiji has its own 'free speech' nuances. There is a culture of silence reinforced by restrictions on public criticism and constraints on the operation of the media. This was manifest in the 2010 media decree instigated by the (current) Bainimarama government, which has meant fines and jail time for journalists who do not toe the line (Singh, 2010). Some respondents showed trepidation in speaking out against any type of seniority, such as the government, or about corruption or ethno-racial relations.

Those in power in Fiji have a controversial history of 'dealing' with outspoken people (see: Dutt, 2010; Trnka, 2008). As an example, a female iTaukei and a key contributor to this research (FOT1) was taken away and beaten due to her outspoken views during the time of the 2006 political coup. Despite risks like this, many locals were still willing to share their thoughts frankly and candidly, particularly given

assurances of anonymity and the fact, ironically enough, that I was an 'outsider' with no axe to grind. I had established rapport with many locals, thereby developing their trust. Many confided in me that they were keen to speak, providing there was no way of them being identified. This gave me reassurance that the testimony I received was genuine.

A key theme in my conversations with locals involved their understanding of, and opinion about, major sports organisations, specifically the FFA and the FRU. Both of those bodies were regularly named by respondents as epitomising 'corruption' and nepotistic practices. The FFA hierarchy has been in place for a long time, and is heavily linked to the Indo-Fijian business community. That group's financial support is crucial to the organisation's survival (see: 5.3.3). There is widespread acceptance that soccer is '*run by the (Indo-Fijian) businesses'* (MDT5), and that this does not translate to openness in term of appointments of key personnel. Whereas the FFA is criticised mainly for nepotism, the FRU is cast as a villain in terms of allegations of corruption. The FRU receives much more government funding than the FFA, yet regularly runs into financial difficulties. This provokes anger at the grassroots level, particularly outside major towns and cities where they rarely see any trickle down of funding. As a woman in the village of Bouma stated: *"only those who stay in the FRU they know that, they know where the money goes, they benefit from it. But us here no"* (FCT2). From within the FRU, the feeling was that the money gets sent out to the regional organisations and gets lost there, not at rugby house (MOT3). Elsewhere at the Fijian Rugby League headquarters, I spoke to an official about this point of view. He responded with: "*That's bullshit… they (FRU) just misuse the money…The administration for the Rugby Union [elite] is more corrupt"* (MOT5).

The irony in this statement was quickly realised directly after the conversation: I had placed my notes on the desk but was instructed to be careful not to touch anything because "*we are being investigated for the misuse of funds"* (though it was unclear by whom) (PC 18/06/15). Every respondent I spoke with was forthright that corruption is widespread in Fijian sport. Yet, to them, this was no surprise. After all, Fijian society in general is no stranger to corruption in government and business (Hill, 2015; Wallace, 2014). A top rugby official attempted to explain the extent of the problem: "*We (iTaukei) tend to lose focus when we have a lot of money, by putting our hands in the kitty and use it for other things* than rugby, what it is supposed to be used for. Of all the rugby unions that are in Fiji there is a lot of misuse of funds' (MOT3).

The problem of corruption is hardly hidden from public discourse. There is even official acknowledgement. Around the country on bus shelters and billboards it is easy to find anti-corruption notices, complete with a phone number to report transgressions. In terms of sport, there have been calls to 'Clean up the FRU' (Bola-Bari, 2013), while the decision by the IRB to suspend funding in 2014

arose after the organisation failed *"to address significant concerns regarding the administration and governance of the union"* (A. Kumar, 2014). Most recently, after leading Fiji's most successful ever Sevens team to Olympic glory, coach Ben Ryan parted ways with the FRU, criticising the organisation's mishandling of funds. This stemmed from the fact that the Fiji Sevens team is among the best in the world, but among the least well paid (Ewart, 2016a).

Both the FFA and FRU have been subject to criticism citing nepotism and corruption as causes for concern; with calls to 'Clean up the FRU' in 2013 (Bola-Bari, 2013). Then in 2014, the International Rugby Board (IRB) suspended its funding after the FRU failed 'to address significant concerns regarding the administration and governance of the union' (A. Kumar, 2014). The FFA also draws criticism, based on perceived corruption along with the poor performance of the national team and limited/decreasing gate receipts at local and regional games (James, 2015; R. Kumar, 2013). However, this criticism is not well publicised, possibly due to soccer's position out of the limelight, in the shadow of rugby in Fiji.

The FFA and the FRU were common targets of accusations citing impropriety during the research, with the FRU receiving most criticism. Upon speaking to a high-level sports administrator, now retired, he told of the time he was approached by the IRB to represent them at the FRU and to look after the finances:

> I said yes I can do that for you guys, but Fiji rugby didn't want me now, why? Because
> I am of Indian origin? I would like to think that wasn't the reason. I said to them that
> do you think that a group of crooks would have an honest man among them? (MDIF1).

Such allegations were twinned with a sense of inevitability. Talking to one young athlete about the state of play in sport (MCIF6), he said simply: "*In rugby union, even in soccer…corruption is everywhere…there is nothing we can do about it*". Bainimarama's honorary position at the helm of the FRU, and the fact that his daughter is married to the current FRU president, is a situation one respondent derided as "*incestuous*" (FOT1). In this regard, the organisation is in a unique position of power in Fiji, sheltered by its association with an executive that people are fearful of criticising (see: Dutt, 2010; Foster, 2007). Concurrently, the FFA faces anger among fans, ex-players and coaches, many of whom see corruption and nepotism causing a lack of positive change and grassroots development (MCPIF2/MCT5/MCT3/MCIF4). A former top level coach admitted that there is little change in the FFA because: "*for their own survival they have to look after the people that put them there*" (MCIF4).

This results in organisational stagnancy within the FRU and FFA which, given their ethnocentrism, helps to maintain ethnic separatism in these sports. As one ex-soccer player said of both organisations:

"*this is where the split comes in you know, from our togetherness, it's the administration*" (MCT3). However, at the community level there were cases of both groups sharing rugby and soccer fields. The 'Suva rugby team', with whom I trained and socialised for the duration of the research, were happy to have Indo-Fijians playing. Moreover, in other locations (i.e. *Ba*, *Labasa*, *Nadi*) I witnessed mixed soccer teams that had been playing together with no issues for many years. Once again this shows a disconnect between how sport is perceived and treated at the decision-making level and the realities on the ground (at least in some places).

Discontent over the management of soccer and rugby was clear. At the same time, there was typical ambivalence about the prospects for change. Such ambivalence ought not to be confused with satisfaction however. Many local people from both groups felt comfortable enough to reveal disenchantment with 'the way things are' in Fijian sport and society. At times, though, there was a palpable fear of change – how would it be achieved, and what might it look like? This was most noticeable among iTaukei respondents in rugby, who were keen to cling on the 'their' game in its current shape and size.

As one Indigenous athlete complained: "w*e have never told you people (Indo-Fijians) to change your cultural ways, we have to change just for the betterment of the nation?!.....f**k that!...f**k that!*" (MCPT2). There was also a feeling of loss of ownership, and connection to the land '*vanua*' – being central to Indigenous culture. Anger over this perceived loss of ownership, together with jealousy of the rising economic power of the Indo-Fijian community was a constant theme (FCT1/FCT2/MCPT2). In political terms, this has been evident through the huge support for SODELPA[36]. On the other hand, and despite such tangible fears, an iTaukei man and former international soccer player told me how Indo-Fijians would always struggle to gain a foothold: "*They can't do anything in politics because Fiji is run by the iTaukei. Whatever whoever says what, the iTaukei is in command but you can only say...nobody dares…*" (MCT3). He then laughed nervously and made a gun sign with his hand, pointing it at his head, before motioning that we should move on to a different topic.

This undercurrent of tension was further exemplified by Indigenous rugby player MCPT2 who, when speaking about government policy on racial unity, lent in and whispered: "*It is all a facade, it's all a show....*" The idea of 'unity' through rugby was derided by one iTaukei player as a "*myth*" (MCTP2). Others I spoke with all agreed, including a prominent human rights figure: "*They [sports] are used as a tool to promote this idea that we are all united, one people, one colour whatever this rubbish is*" (FOT1). These comments are representative of a more widespread and underlying feeling encountered

---

[36] The Social Democratic Liberal Party – Fiji's Indigenous nationalist party which polled 28% of the popular vote at the last election (Fraenkel, 2015a)

throughout Fiji. Although intergroup relations in Fiji are stable, there remains a palpable sense of uneasiness. Returning to Figure 18 (5.3), defining intergroup relations in Fiji fluctuates according to time and place. In some areas, relations were good, yet others areas epitomised intergroup separatism (e.g. MCIF1/MOIF4/MCPT2/FDC1 /FCT2/MDIF1). In terms of the latter, a stark warning came from one senior sports administrator:

> Well for Fiji how I feel, about the segregation and the way it is now, it is going to lead to something big it's going to be something really bad, I hope it doesn't go back to what it was in 87... people are getting really angry and the whole culture of Fiji is changing, you can feel it, and some people can't do much (MDT5).

The reference to 1987, harks back to the period before Fiji's first ethnically-driven coup, a time when the country was probably at its most publicly divided, nearing open civil conflict (Ratuva, 2014). The current situation is characterised by ethnic division that is less overt, yet in some places there is simmering inter-group discontent and dislike that occasionally boils over. For example, an Indo-Fijian law student told me of the time that an iTaukei man came to her house to sell coconuts, but reacted angrily when they wouldn't buy any: *"he looked my uncle right in the eye and said 'go back to India' and then he spat on the screen door. So, I still think there is racial tension but it's not as bad as it used to be"* (FCIF1). Indeed, there are some signs of and opportunities for change; these were also discussed by local participants. Inevitably, though, thinking about prospects for change can be challenging.

5.4.5 Community Voices: change and challenges

Based on the conversations I had with people around Fiji, along with the weeks of informal time I spent with numerous communities, I curated a substantial data set about how locals saw the present and envisaged the future of Fijian sport and society. Some of the common and most relevant themes have been grouped together and highlighted above; I now turn to the question of whether people feel that changes are needed.

The value of the status quo was generally viewed as negative by those who were not in positions of power and/or working within key sports organisations. Those employed within them were muted, unwilling to challenge their position by engaging in frank criticism. But there were among them a few who were candid. When reflecting on the government's integrative rhetoric, the overwhelming response was that there was no substance behind it, or that they were "*just words*" (MOA1/MCT3/ MOT1/MCPT2 – quoted in all). As a senior administrator stated: "*I think there is a lot of lip service...a lot of words. And they recognize a sport that can unite the nation but they have to invest in this, just admitting it is not enough*" (MDIF1). After asking people what they would change, if anything, about

Fijian sport, it became clear to me that responses were typically clustered into one (or more) of four areas.

The **first** area is sport policy. There was an avalanche of complaints about inept government follow through on sport development policies, relationship building and efforts to encourage exercise as a means by which to reduce risk of NCDs. As a highly experienced administrator told me under cover of anonymity; *"when it suits them they will say that sport is a social force and unites the nation, we should invest in that if we want unity, if we want all of us to think as one nation, one people...but when you go to them for funding and all that then inclusion is right at the bottom of the list"* (MDIF1). Not only were there many critics of the way that government sport policy was managed, these voices came from positions of real significance within Fijian sport and academia. They called for more inclusion for everyone in sport, and a greater emphasis on sustainable outreach work (see: MOIF0/MDT5/FDC1/MOIF4/MDIF1).

Secondly, there was much vitriol based on the widely-held belief that the organisations are corrupt and nepotistic. For example, a young soccer fan was resigned to this conclusion: *"there's corruption everywhere ... we cannot do much about that"* (MCIF1). As discussed above (see: 3.4.3) corruption is widespread in sport. Local people are aware of this, and it has become normalised, part of the societal landscape. Of all the proposed changes, this was the one that local people saw as least likely.

The third theme was in relation to the 'mind-set' of both groups when it comes to sport. As an iTaukei rugby player explained: *"In Fiji it is mostly Indians who are academics, iTaukei are more rugby, sports kind of people, but you hardly see them the other way around...that really needs to change"* (MCPT1). Speaking to an Indo-Fijian soccer player on the same topic, he believed that: *"Yes they* (Indo-Fijians) *don't see much benefit of sports. But change has to start with the person and parents should support their daughters and sons in participating more in sports. This will help build their self-confidence"* (MCPIF2).

Altering such mind-sets in Fiji is not easy and changes inevitably take time (Schieder, 2011). There are, of course, those who see nothing problematic in the status quo: coexistence, rather than integration, preserves group identities. Whether such groups are positioned or treated equally in Fiji is a further layer in that discussion. Coexistence can involve equanimity, but may also feature inequity with one group advantaged over another for simply 'being' who they are. The ethno-racial landscape discussed above (5.3.1) both informs and draws from the separate norms of both groups in a way that is cyclical – perpetuating division and separate categorisation. Yet there are socially constructed mechanisms that serve to maintain these norms and, like all human endeavours, they can potentially be subject to change

to produce different outcomes (Lynch, 1998). A more inclusive approach to sports outreach from the government, the organisation of the FFA, and in the practice and structure of the FRU are just some areas where opportunities for inclusion lie. At present, it is little more than a policy aspiration with little in the way of a platform to precipitate change. Beyond official rhetoric, what are tangible opportunities to consider reform – should that be deemed important? Where does a conversation start when separatist beliefs are so culturally ingrained? Youth and physical education emerged as a **fourth** area with the potential to facilitate inclusion by challenging stereotypical mind-sets.

Physical Education

Many research respondents believed that youth should be targeted to improve inclusivity and diversity in sport participation. As an iTaukei women put it: "*One thing I would really do is I would target kids*" (FOT1). The school system was also highlighted by an Indo-Fijian woman: "*I think to change the whole mind-set … probably primary school and high school would be the best place to start to break the barrier* (between groups)" (FCIF1). In schools, there is a problem that was observed by myself and confirmed by respondents (FCIF1/FCIF2/FOT2/MOT4/FCPIF2). Young people were being categorised athletically early on, pushed either towards or away from certain sports based on their ethnicity. Many respondents felt that a reframing of sport in schools is needed to give everyone an opportunity to take part in what they wished. As FCPT1 summarised, while speaking about group separatism and sport in Fiji:

> I also blame the education system … my personal opinion is that if you really want to effect change in a small country like Fiji, you change the curriculum you change the schooling system, change the way we educate our children because they are our future, we need to change their perception of sport.

I visited three mixed primary schools across Fiji and found that these perceptions were ingrained in the education system as Indo-Fijians (especially females) are given fewer opportunities than iTaukei students. As one Indo-Fijian athlete highlighted: "*it (school) was still very restrictive in terms of what you can do and what you want to do in sport*" (FCIF1). This is compounded by pupils who are unwilling to take part in any sport. In general, Indo-Fijian pupils were less interested in playing sport at break-time than the iTaukei pupils, while school sports teams were populated mainly by iTaukei. The lack of engagement among females was even more noticeable, as FCPIF2 remembered from her recent time at school: "*Even doing PE classes 90% of the (Indo-Fijian) girls won't even change [their outfits], they will just sit*". She went on to talk about how both girls and boys were channelled into certain groups based on their ethnicity;

In the high school … there is an Indo-Fijian team and an iTaukei team so that's how they do it they say that the Indians are separate from the Fijians. So that's when we became really angry with that idea, we said that's not supposed to be like that because sports is supposed to unite people and mix people and not divide people more like Indians and Fijians (FCPIF2).

Across Fiji there are many ethnically mixed primary and secondary schools, but sports teams are not reflective of that student demography. For example, schools with mostly Indo-Fijian students did not give sport much time: "*other schools like the Indo-Fijian schools they don't have it (sport) so they don't do well … they have it in their curriculum but they don't have any awards as they don't play it much …*" (FCPT1).

FIGURE 21: BOUMA VILLAGE SCHOOL

Reforming sporting pedagogy, starting at primary level, so that it is more inclusive and encouraging of all students in sport appears to be one way that the cyclical reproduction of group separatism in Fijian sport and society might be disrupted. This may even affect the 'mind-set' of young Fijians. As one young Indo-Fijian hockey player recalled: "*When I went to high school there's a bit of that racism thing. I think because some of my really very good friends are Fijians, iTaukei so I didn't really get much*

brutality compared to some of the others (Indo-Fijians)" (MCIF3). The headmistress of a successful Indo-Fijian school pointed out that sport participation across ethnic groups would improve "*if the ministry of education puts in the curriculum that sport is a must… if sport is embedded in such a way then I think the family (Indo-Fijian) will change their mind-set*" (FOIF2). Separate participation from a young age is, of course, representative of ethno-racial differences elsewhere in Fiji, such as disparate ethno-racial entry into higher education or employment in the police and military. Sport is, therefore, not alone in terms of divergence and separatism for Indo-Fijian and iTaukei groups.

Changing the mind-set is, as hinted above, not just about sport. It is also very about inter-community cohesiveness and the ability of all people in Fiji to envisage a shared and co-equal future. Until now this has been a struggle, as MDIF1 put it: "*Kids growing up now are being told that Indians and Fijians are apart. But if you want the next generation to come up as one then you need to grow them up telling them that we are one people*". This is being said but not done as, despite rhetoric to the contrary, governmental approaches to sport policy and outreach have done little to change this dynamic. A soccer coach and primary school teacher had a similar view: *"Yeah sure that's (separatism) a problem so for that I think it should start by making changes at primary school ... You can't change them around when they are grown up"* (MOIF5). Teaching staff are critical, as an experienced leader of a local sports based NGO stated:

> In reality the training for teachers in 'physical education' (PE) is extremely limited and they do not have the capacity or resources to deliver effective PE… PE in primary schools is 'play time', and until that evolves into a structured class and lesson under 'Physical Education', progress will be challenging (MOW1).

Primary schools were a key area of concern for those who wished to change the status quo. An Indo-Fijian female athlete explained to me that a lack of inclusivity in sport meant that separate mind-sets become solidified and were unlikely to change in high school or further (FCPIF2). Upon discussing this theme with an Indo-Fijian rugby player (MCPIF1), he responded:

> I'm not sure what that mind-set is but it's something that the (sports) ministry should look in to… I mean the FRU can sit down and get their heads together; they can put forth to the ministry of education for every school to have a rugby team and a soccer team. I mean that will help both ways.

There are opportunities for change in the way that sports policy, outreach and physical education are framed, and in the governance of key sports organisations. A change in mind-set may be possible if such locally articulated solutions to separatism in sport and society are implemented. However, while local people typically expressed enthusiasm for greater inclusion, the outlook regarding the potential for change is uncertain.

5.5.6 Outlook

Any change to the organisational status quo will need to do battle with those who have succeeded within it. The powerbrokers in the FFA and the FRU have nothing to gain by changing, as the existing order suits their authority and status. However, in saying this, in 2013 the FRU appointed a female to their board, Dr Esther Williams, who is the former vice-chancellor of the University of the South Pacific. This would have been unthinkable a few years back due to the inherent patriarchy of the organisation (FOT1). It is important to emphasise that this is out of the ordinary. No additional steps have since followed in what remains a very patriarchal and mono-ethnic organisation. "*The FRU is like a closed group at the moment*" said an Indo-Fijian rugby player (MCPIF1).

Although there is simmering discontent regarding this status quo in Fiji, among both groups, and a recognition of intergroup separatism, any change to this dynamic is likely to be slow. There is also a degree of apathy about 'the way things are'. Sitting in many kava circles across the country and talking with diverse groups, there were similarities in the ways in which local people related to how Fijian sport and society was run- sometimes anger, sometimes with a smile, but almost always with shrug of the shoulders. For example, when talking with one group in *Nadi* about potential corruption in the FRU, the result was a laugh and a pat on the back for me with the line: "*That's Fiji bro! what can we do haha…*" (PC 0307/15).

Such apathy was commonplace - on one of the many short 'taxi driver interviews' I conducted as I travelled around the towns and cities, one driver said to me, regarding the possibility for change; "*The problem with Fiji is that half of us are asleep and the other half are dead*" (PC 14/06/15). The driver seemed saddened by this and when I discussed it with a social justice campaigner (FOT1) she agreed: "*Yes it's true …, here I can't even get 100 people to march on something that really matters*" (FOT1).

This degree of indifference is not just due to the so-called 'relaxed culture' in Fiji. Fiji is going through a period of relative stability, entering into democracy and back into the international fold without major disruption. I found that although few people thought that things were perfect, they thought they were not too bad (compared with the past), so why risk upsetting this relative calm? This study does not make

an argument for radical change that would destabilise the status quo. Rather, by travelling down local routes to knowing it has unearthed some opportunities and barriers which, if addressed, may lead to increased intergroup harmony, beginning with sport. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

5.5 Summary

Beginning with the first research question, this chapter detailed how both rugby and soccer hold different but profound meanings among Indo-Fijian and iTaukei communities. Rugby's importance to Indigenous culture is undeniable. It has resulted in the sport being labelled, protected and owned by the iTaukei in a way that is both exclusive and ethnocentric. Soccer, on the other hand, is a space controlled and ethnically branded as Indo-Fijian, but it also serves as a focal point of sub-national identity. By investigating the second research question, it was found that, through sport at least, intergroup distance is present at the macro, meso and micro levels. It backgrounds ethnocentrism in sport policy, in terms of preferences towards elite sport, and with outreach to iTaukei communities only. It is evident in the lack of inclusivity in rugby generally, but also in the hierarchy of soccer administration. It is visible in normatively separate group participation and attitudes towards the two sports at community levels. These realities both inform, and draw from, an ethno-racial landscape in sport and society where separate categorisation of both groups is deeply-rooted.

That said, other factors challenge a simple binary divide and provide a more nuanced perception of ethno-racial norms and stereotypes. For example, iTaukei players are prevalent in soccer, particularly at the elite level, and the game has become one of the few sites in Fiji where both groups are able to take part in regular cultural exchange. This exchange has encouraged coexistence, allowing friendships and shared enjoyment of the sport to take hold, this leading – in some places – to integration. There is also evidence of unity through sport in the shared fandom of rugby Sevens. Yet set against the backdrop of entrenched beliefs and distinct cultural mind-sets that perpetuate separatism, such unity through sport seems ephemeral and tokenistic.

The sum of this is that there are key sporting spheres in Fiji that increase rather than reduce intergroup distance, while there are others that are sources of coexistence. However, through investigation of the third research question, many local people have asserted a need for change, and were forthcoming with suggestions, pointing out opportunities where reforms could occur. Greater efforts at cross-community inclusion in sport policy outreach and in physical education in schools are tangible areas where they saw improvement as being both necessary and practical. If sport can increase distance between groups in Fiji, then logically it can have the opposite effect.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This thesis sought to understand the role of sports in group identity and intergroup relations in a society with an embedded ethno-cultural divide. Post-colonialism has brought opportunities, along with tensions. Fiji faces challenges of governance, development, and social cohesion that are typical of a developing country. The two main ethnic groups in Fiji, the iTaukei and Indo-Fijians, have long been economic and political rivals. Today they co-exist relatively peacefully. This does not mean, of course, that there are no substantive tensions or divides between them. The study explored group identities and intergroup relations in the context of sport, through which iTaukei and Indo-Fijians make sense of self and others, as well as intergroup connections (or otherwise). Rugby and soccer were ideal expressions of that, as has been explained. The following section evaluates what can be learned from the thesis findings. It also discusses the contribution of the study towards sport and development literature.

This study began with an underlying assumption about the virtues of Sport and Integration (SAI); that is, sport as a vehicle to include people from various backgrounds, and for the playing field to provide opportunities for social cohesion. That is an aspiration stemming from my SDP field work in places such as the Middle East, Africa and Northern Ireland. These environments have embedded and embodied intergroup hostility. Sport for peace projects have been positioned as a socio-politically 'neutral' means by which to introduce people to each other who, normatively, view members of another group with suspicion or enmity – simply because of that group identity. Fiji has not had the type of civil and military conflicts that have characterised the societies where I previously conducted field work. Yet this does not mean that SDP initiatives are not important in these contexts where they aim to create a more harmonious community. Unlike my previous field work, the Fiji research was not part of a SDP program. The goal in this case was to explore ways in which sport included or excluded groups who, by and large, had co-existed peacefully, and to investigate the potential, or otherwise, for sport to offer integrative opportunities, thereby considering the possibility of changing the status quo (should that be agreeable to locals).

I went on an exploratory journey with local people in Fiji to illuminate this concept. Firstly, a review of the body of knowledge showed clear gaps in our understanding relating to Sport and Integration (SAI) in LMICs, along with the function of sport in intergroup relations beyond the micro level. Secondly, this review also further informed the three main research questions and the multifaceted and in-depth research design that took place over two trips to Fiji. The investigation of these research

questions depended on data collection tools and strategies, as discussed in Chapter Four, and the product of this design was revealed in the previous chapter. In the process, prospects for integrative change across the macro, meso and micro levels were discussed with locals. This helped to fill some of the gaps in understanding that emerged from Chapter Two regarding SAI.

The present discussion will summarise the key findings in relation to the literature. I do this by utilising a visual tool – the Intergroup Relations Continuum (IRC – Figures 2 and 18). I then discuss the status quo versus a change dynamic regarding sport and group identity. The Fijian sporting context has the capacity to move towards harmony by being more inclusive, or by maintaining intergroup distance and separatism, even though this risks conflict. Finally, I discuss the opportunities and challenges that were foreshadowed in the findings, in relation to wider literature. I close this thesis by outlining the theoretical contribution of SAI and prospects for further research in this area.

6.2 Identities in Coexistence

Throughout this research journey, what was always clear is that Fiji is not in immediate threat or danger of intergroup conflict, but neither is it at a point where harmony is characteristic. Instead, intergroup relations in Fiji are more closely defined by separatism in some parts and coexistence (towards integration) in others. However, one of the real reasons why Fiji is still viewed as a divided society (Naidu, 2016) is the strength of the Indigenous and Indo-Fijian identities, bolstered, to varying degrees, through sport. One of these spaces is the emblematic and deeply meaningful world of Fijian rugby. The unique position of rugby makes it a clear example of cultural hegemony in action, having the direct effect of maintaining distinct identities, coexisting but ultimately separate.

6.2.1 Hegemony in Fijian Sport

As stated in the literature review (2.6.2), hegemony is contested in several political, economic and social arenas, one of which is sport. In the present study, Fiji was found to be a clear example of cultural hegemony though sport. While sport in Fiji is officially considered 'separate from politics', that perspective is part of a myth-making narrative. Rowe's (2004) application of Gramscian theory is relevant, which holds that contemporary displays of sport are sites of and vehicles for the representation and confirmation of dominant social systems (see: 2.6.2). The present research showed that, whether knowingly or otherwise, the national celebration and preferential state support of rugby plays a significant part in securing 'common consent' for the unbalanced relations in a number of societal spheres, one of which is sport. This is distinctly Gramscian in nature, with rugby serving as a control mechanism for reproducing the status quo, acting as a 'hegemonic apparatus' of cultural dominance (Gramsci 1971, p. 328). It maintains Fiji 'as' rugby, rugby 'as' Indigenous, and therefore Fiji 'as' Indigenous.

In this respect, the way in which rugby functions is a coming together of both sporting nationalism (2.6) and the Ingroup Projection Model (IPM – 2.5.2). Firstly, in terms of nationalism, this study has shown that, a 'national' sport formed around a singular ethno-national typology can be displayed and confirmed through international competition (Bairner, 2008; Bairner & Hwang, 2010; Brentin, 2013). Fiji displays its post-colonial ethno-nationalism through its active use of rugby to display an image of Indigenous Fiji to the rest of the world, when in fact there is a demographic reality that is at odds with this impression. The use of the national team in such a way is not seen as problematic, and it is easy to see why. A real sense of pride in international success is a widespread emotion amongst both major ethnic groups. Yet, internally, the ceremonial chanting and dancing before games, tribal celebrations, and symbolism associated with the naming and branding of teams evokes rugby as the flag bearer for, and key in the dissemination of, Indigenous Fiji. Many elites use sports teams and competitions in a similar way, ensuring they are acted out, played and branded to encompass a dominant *projection* of nationhood worldwide (Bairner, 2008; 2010; Hargreaves, 2002; 2009; Porter & Smith, 2013). Whether it is authentically representative or otherwise is another matter.

The promulgation of a singular ethno-national identity in a bi-ethnic state can be problematic in the journey toward a collective national consciousness. This is where the 'Ingroup Projection Model' (IPM) comes in. It is held that ingroup/outgroup comparisons are made via judgements over the 'prototypicality' of groups to a certain category (Smithson et al., 2015). In Fiji, the 'prototypical' image of the superordinate 'Fijian' identity is noticeably Indigenous – even Indigenous only. This is a process bolstered by rugby through its ethnic exclusivity, its domination of the sporting discourse, and its closeness to iTaukei culture.

Soccer, on the other hand, is given secondary treatment as an 'Indian sport', and is rarely part of the popular, or 'Fijian', discourse. Yet the Indo-Fijian character of the FFA and soccer's position as Fiji's second largest sport means that this game allows Indo-Fijians a place at the mainstream sporting table, in a way that is 'counter-hegemonic' (see: Giulianotti, 2015). This counter-hegemony takes place at the macro level due to iTaukei dominance of sport management in Fiji's other main sporting institutions and bodies such as netball, volleyball, athletics and the sports commission itself. However, this research found that iTaukei players made up the clear majority of elite competitors, so although soccer is Indo-Fijian in character, the face of the sport is distinctly Indigenous. Hence, an assumption about the counter-hegemonic position of soccer as Indo-Fijian is paradoxical given the high levels of iTaukei representation at the macro level.

Nevertheless, the iTaukei dominance of elite soccer is, in its own way, counter to Indigenous notions of hegemonic masculinity, while also counter to perceptions of Indo-Fijian dominance in the sport, which are true at the meso level. This is because the iconic image of the dominant 'muscular' man in Fiji is that of iTaukei and their performance in the collision sport of rugby. As discussed in Chapter Three, studies have shown how there is considerable pressure on young Fijian men to embody this stereotype (see: Guinness, 2009; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c; Presterudstuen, 2010a; 2016). But this research has shown that while soccer is not only derided as a 'weak', 'Indian' sport, this perception is contradicted by the realities of mixed ethnic participation, which is accentuated by the fact that most elite level players are iTaukei. Therefore, the Indigenous practice of soccer in Fiji is a challenge to dominant conventions of iTaukei masculinity.

In terms of the IRC, (Figure 22 ahead) this reality forms only part of the reason why soccer is positioned more to the centre of the continuum, for the *practice* of soccer is undoubtedly an area where coexistence/integration is being displayed. This efficacy of soccer as a tool to promote coexistence is not new; it has been used specifically for this purpose in parts of Israel/Palestine and in Northern Ireland (Rookwood & Palmer, 2011; J.T.Sugden, 2011). In Fiji, this process has come about more naturally, evidenced through shared participation at every level, cultural exchange in the form of language, along with friendship networks that last beyond the game itself (see: 5.3.6). This is especially important in Fiji, as soccer is one of the few genuine social meeting points for both major ethnic groups.

Shared fandom of the national Sevens team, however, is another commonality between both ethno-racial groups. In this regard, sport can unite people domestically and serve as a focal point of national pride internationally. Such 'sportive nationalism' may transcend ideology and politics in a way that is both emotive and useful, particularly in the establishment, formation and maintenance of an emerging national identity (Brentin, 2013; J. Hoberman, 1993). Yet shared support is ephemeral and somewhat tokenistic, especially when held up against a background of entrenched and separate identities that are bolstered by ethnocentric cultural hegemony elsewhere. This has the effect of simultaneously 'othering' Indo-Fijians in the Indigenous national psyche, while also shoring up the boundaries of separate, albeit co-existent identities.

6.2.2 Separate Identities

Despite a large iTaukei presence in soccer, the findings show that both rugby and soccer act as important sites for the maintenance and celebration of separate ethno-racial identities. In 2.3 it was discussed how groups are self-perpetuating and self-generating, yet group boundaries are also made stronger when opposed to others (Hylton, 2010; Tajfel, 1974). The ethnocentric nature of soccer's organisation is somewhat mirrored in the 'Indian' culture of the sport. This organisational culture is counter to the relatively mixed ethnic group participation, and is the reason why soccer is not positioned further to the left of the IRC (Figure 22). However, it is in rugby where hegemonic and ethnocentric notions of Indigenous masculinity are most pronounced. From the micro, through meso and up to macro levels, rugby in Fiji can be defined by its ethnic exclusivity. This foments and perpetuates intergroup distance, pushing relations further to the right of the IRC.
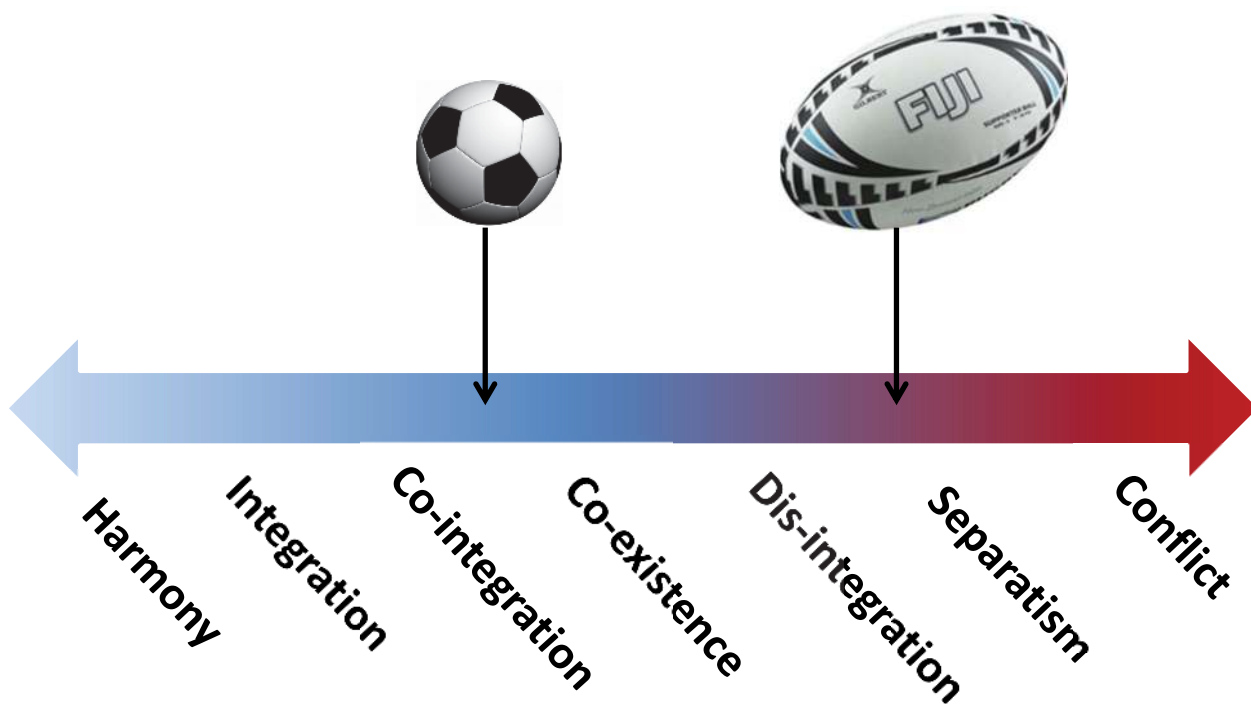
FIGURE 22: THE INTERGROUP RELATIONS CONTINUUM REVISITED

In-group favouritism and out-group derogation is common in cases of intergroup division (Curley, 2009). In these respects, Fiji is no different. The convention of rugby as Indigenous only, due to the perceived athletic prowess of the iTaukei, gives credence to widely believed and accepted ethno-racial stereotypes about both groups which place them apart. This continues a colonial legacy of intergroup separatism which today places iTaukei as physically 'gifted' and Indo-Fijians as mentally 'gifted'. The embodied norms of Fijian sport reflect these differences, giving permanence to these beliefs. Prejudice

can come about because of negative stereotypes (Dovidio et al., 2010) and, in Fiji, mainstream sports are a source of stereotyping and an arena for the activation of prejudice. This is exemplified by: firstly, Indo-Fijians who are targeted on the rugby field and barred from playing due to their image as 'soft' and 'weak'; and secondly, through the attitude of many Indigenous men who do not value education due to pressures to conform to the hegemonic masculinity (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c; Presterudstuen, 2016). The purveyance of such ethno-racial stereotypes presents a significant barrier to integration. These are just two brief examples of how sport can play a role in ethno-racial formation.

The social settings of both rugby and soccer, to varying degrees, are used to celebrate, but then also reinforce and confirm and these distinct ethnic identities in several ways. Whether intentional or otherwise, the way in which the sports are organised and played out means that group distinctiveness is a direct product. A key tenet of social identity theory (SIT) is ingroup distinctiveness in relation to outgroups (D. Brown, 2000). The almost sacrosanct treatment that rugby gets, as a highly visible and proud Indigenous space, celebrates its 'Fijian-ness' almost in opposition to Indo-Fijians. This is displayed both internally in school sports, across media, fields and stadia and externally in international games and tournaments.

In this are elements of the 'self-esteem hypothesis' being enacted (see: 2.3), where through shared fandom, participation and organisation of rugby and/or soccer, groups were seen to be reaffirming and confirming their own sense of belonging (Hewstone et al., 2002; Williams, 2001). In rugby, feelings about Indigenous cultural erosion are waylaid, while soccer presents Indo-Fijians with a social meeting point and a counter-hegemonic presence at the macro level of Fijian sport. Soccer also serves as a place to publicly enact and preserve the 'submerged identity' of Indian Fiji (Bairner, 2008; 2001). In this vein, sporting spaces are rallying points for separate identities in the face of cultural insecurity, as they have been in contexts elsewhere (Bairner, 2008; Hay, 2001; Porter & Smith, 2013). In their own minds and each other's, separate ethno-racial and social identities are maintained, with rugby and the organisational structure of soccer complicit in this separation.

The subversion of ethno-racial labels was also evident in many areas of Fijian society: iTaukei participation in soccer, Indo-Fijian rugby players and coaches, iTaukei academics, etc. This suggests that ethno-racial beliefs about intergroup difference that are being preserved in sport are not reflective of the contemporary reality revealed by this research. The way in which rugby and soccer are currently framed simplifies the binary distinction between Indo-Fijians and the iTaukei that, upon close inspection, is far more complex. A combination of the impact of time and the increased urbanisation of

Fiji, along with the progress of mixed schools, community groups, political cooperation and the increased commonality of mixed marriages (see: 7.4.4) are just a few factors that point to a breakdown of separatism in some areas of Fijian society (Naidu, 2016). However, aspects of Fijian sport, shown here, reinforce the imagined distance between Fiji's two main groups. Its effect on intergroup relations, in this regard, is substantial.

6.3 Intergroup Relations

The somewhat evangelical project to co-opt sport in order to bring disparate groups together in harmony and coexistence in an apolitical, egalitarian zone is well known (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2014; Giulianotti, 2011b; snr Sugden, 2011). What the findings of this study have shown, is sport's tendency to categorise, rather than de-categorise groups. This speaks to sport's 'Janus' face, its ability to bridge divides or to create them, to unify and to polarise (Donnelly, 2011). The example of Fijian sport depicts this duality – acting as a social meeting point in some areas, yet fomenting what I term 'imagined distance' in others.

6.3.1 Imagined Distance

Anderson (1983) talks of 'imagined communities' and how relational networks can be socially constructed so that human perception can be managed to think as part of a group or otherwise. SFP theory makes use of such a concept, with research showing how sport can be instrumental in building such communities, where ethnic, racial and religious divides become of reduced consequence (Jarvie, 2003; Lechner, 2007; Schulenkorf, 2010b). This occurs briefly in Fiji through the shared fandom of rugby Sevens and in a more robust manner in joint participation via soccer, mainly at grassroots level[37]. Generally, though, the present study found that rugby and soccer in Fiji do more to divide its two main groups than bring them together. Through historical stereotypes, institutional rigidity and ethnocentrism in these two sports, ethno-racial, social and cultural differences between groups are re-produced. 'Imagined distance', then, occurs when similarities are muted and differences are normalised, in this case through ethno-racialised practices in two Fijian sports.

While rugby and soccer separate the two main ethnic groups, I encountered many mixed friendships, sports teams and clubs, along with several thriving mixed schools where children played together with abandon. This suggests that the two groups that have shared the islands for over 100 years need not be routinely distanced after all. Rather, they have few 'culturally neutral' opportunities to explore their commonalities, in part, through ethnocentric elements ingrained in society. This reinforces the imagined distance of Fiji as a society divided along ethnic lines.

---

[37] Cricket in Fiji emerged as a sport which appears to be further ahead than soccer or rugby in terms of inclusion, alas it was beyond the scope of this research to delve deeper into this sport.

The sheer popularity of rugby in Fiji and its centrality to the story of the nation means that the public is exposed regularly to the discourse of iTaukei sporting hegemony. Forest & Dunn (2010, p. 99) highlight the 'considerable and compelling' influence of media and mass audiences in relation to ethno-racial stereotyping of groups. Such effects impact on the popular imaginations of majority and minority ethnic groups in a given context. In this sense, members of both ethnic groups typically see themselves in the narrow form in which they are described, something I could affirm through numerous discussions in the research field. McDonald & Rodriguez (2014, p. 240) argue that Fiji's international success and reputation as a rugby nation have meant that stereotypes about Fijians have had an impact beyond the nation – a 'language of the dominant logic' played out externally. Internally, though, this dominant logic manufactures distance between Indo-Fijians and the iTaukei by asserting that groups are, or ought to be, in separate categories.

6.3.2 Categorisation through Sport

It was found that the role of sport in categorising groups in Fiji has, and continues to have, an effect on intergroup relations. Narratives about Indigenous Fijians as warrior custodians of power, and Indo-Fijians as hard working and business minded were formed by British rule and given permanence in contemporary discourse (Macnaught, 1979; Naidu, 2016). Indo-Fijians are also categorised in opposition to the islander identity; their progression in the education and business sectors fuels popular stereotypes that they are 'selfish' and 'greedy' (Ratuva, 2007). Again, sport plays a part, with soccer's label as 'Indian' speaking to stereotypes of Indo-Fijians as 'tactical' and 'quick witted', as soccer is considered a more tactical and strategic game than the collision sport of rugby (see: 5.3.1). The issue here, though, is that 'one sided representations of race and ethnicity in the sporting context can have meaning and consequences far beyond the boundaries of the sporting world itself' (Van Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2012b, p. 129).

Sport can frame subconscious thought about racial/ethnic groups in non-sporting situations, becoming a vehicle of categorisation. For example, referring to a dearth of black quarterbacks in American football, Buffington (2005) found that sport can entrench difference by portraying some groups as 'fit' for athletics and labour, but not for leadership and management positions. In Fiji, the indigeneity of rugby feeds into a narrative whereby Indigenous islanders are seen to have an abundance of brawn, but a deficit of brain. The lack of Indo-Fijian participation/representation also reaffirms ethno/racial labels that further limit their access to sport. The limiting of participation to certain groups has wider consequences, such as the touted physical benefits of sport (particularly in a nation like Fiji, beset with

NCDs) (Gyaneshwar et al., 2016), along with the well-known social development opportunities associated with participation (Burnett, 2006; Reis et al., 2015; Tonts, 2005).

The way in which sport contributes to ethno-racial formation and separate categorisation can be powerful. As discussed in the literature review (2.3.5), until now research on the role of sport in 'racial formation' has been dominated by HICs. This is in the form of North American scholarship that focuses generally on the experience and representation of black athletes (Birrell, 1989; Buffington, 2005; Carrington, 2013; Johnston, Delva, & O'Malley, 2007; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005; Staiger, 2004), as well as European scholarship looking at racism, sport and society (Burdsey, 2012; Long & Spracklen, 2010). However, few studies seem to have highlighted the effect of sport on ethno-racial formation outside these contexts, as well as the implications for intergroup relations in divided societies more specifically. The case of Fiji adds to that body of literature.

Aside from reaffirming intergroup ethno-racial stereotypes, such pervasive and culturally embedded forms of social conditioning can endorse ingroup identity. Herein, stereotypes are identified and applied, categorising and labelling groups in such a way that they become part of a group's 'self-concept' (Mackie & Hamilton, 2014). This is a barrier to both the dual identity (DIM) and de-categorised identity models (DCM) discussed in Chapter 2 (2.5.2). As rugby and soccer affirm separate categorisation, more so than functioning to reduce it, this makes it difficult for groups to envisage shared identity (Dovidio et al., 2009). Separatism hinders any attempt to form a common ingroup identity (see: CIIM), but leaves scope for the implementation of the mutual ingroup differentiation model (MIDM), which mirrors coexistence. Although coexistence is by no means a negative in terms of intergroup relations, the nature of this relationship is contingent on freedom and equality. In that respect it can be a means rather than an end; for example, it is surely preferable to intergroup conflict, yet if groups coexist but are demonstrably unequal, then this relationship favours the dominant (see: Abu-Nimer, 2001; Gawerc, 2006b).

In relation to the IRC (Figure 22) in some areas both groups are well integrated, bordering on harmonious, while in others, relations are more strained and separatism is clear. In general, both groups in Fiji coexist yet, by its very definition, coexistence denotes a toleration of difference that may not necessarily be applied respectfully (see: Hammack, 2006; Shor & Yonay, 2011). Lawson (2012) describes the system of ethno-racial relations in Fiji as 'polydominal' – owing to the separate spheres of power in which each group excels (see: 3.4.1). I prefer to describe the situation as 'unbalanced coexistence'. From a young age, ethnic groups in Fiji are socialised into their separate roles and sport

plays a key role in this process. This contributes to a cyclical scenario where separate identities translate to separate roles in Fiji.

That is perhaps what is most fundamentally challenging: the way in which both groups see themselves and each other as profoundly different makes it hard to imagine a shared future and a collective Fijian identity. The likelihood of imagined distance overshadows imagined community, except in the rhetorical sense of its application to rugby and national identity. All this takes place despite rhetoric from the government about challenges to separatism through the removal of ethnic labels under a collective 'Fijian' identity (see: 3.4). The lived realities among locals are not reflective of official rhetoric, as shown in the many extracts from conversations with Fijian people outlined in Chapter Five. One constant is that Indo-Fijians are regularly referred to, by themselves and each other, as 'Indians' and Indigenous Fijians/iTaukei as 'Fijians'. Such assignations are made indiscriminately. Even though the government has attempted to label all citizens as 'Fijian' (see: 3.4.1), the reality is that, across all levels, a belief in an authentic shared identity does not yet exist.

6.4 Opportunities: Change across the Macro, Meso and Micro.

The findings show that many advocate for change (5.4.4), with opportunities across the macro, meso and micro levels. The following section explores these findings in relation to the concepts that underpin this study.

6.4.1 Sport policy

Sport policy can be critical in terms of promoting inter-group inclusion and integrative change (Bloyce & Smith, 2009; Corboz, 2012; Long, Robinson, & Spracklen, 2005). In getting to know Fijian sporting culture across the micro, meso and macro levels, it was important to compare official sport policy documents concerning sport (Government of Fiji, 2016a; V. Naupoto Hon, 2012a; 2012b), with research undertaken across the three different levels. Through this evaluation, I found that government policy not only favours rugby, but Indigenous Fijians more generally; this is, in part, due to a genuine perception that Indo-Fijians need not be targeted for sport because, in essence, they are 'not interested' in participating. Furthermore, in terms of government funding, the FRU receives support vastly superior to any other body to enable it to continue to *'punch above its weight'* on the world stage, as stated publicly by the Prime Minister (Bainimarama, 2015c). In this regard, international sporting success is a useful diplomatic tool for the Fijian elite: it is in rugby, not soccer that the nation excels, this justifying its superior backing.

Sam (2015) has found that smaller states tend to build a sport policy that asserts a collective identity affirmed 'against' the rest of the world. However, in Fiji the collective identity depicted through the

organisation and display of rugby is at odds with Fiji's underlying ethnic diversity. At first glance this is not necessarily problematic, for Fiji is essentially a LMIC trying to make the best of the political and cultural capital from its successes in rugby. But the Fijian government's consistency in giving the largest share of public money to rugby not only highlights this sport as a key policy tool in the pursuit of soft power, it also gives value to the sport and its stakeholders, placing it above others.

When this is coupled with a somewhat discriminatory approach to sports outreach that tends only to deal with iTaukei communities, the integrative and egalitarian policy rhetoric at the macro level is compromised. Those from key decision making positions within Fijian sport and society agree that policy statements extolling plans for sport to be used to increase intercommunity dialogue are 'just words' (5.4.4).

The views of many locals indicated scepticism of government efforts towards inclusion in sport. What the sport ministry said 'would' be happening in sport is clearly not. My own observations confirmed this. There is no evidence of practical follow through on policy statements, such as the use of sport for: "social interaction, unification and reconciliation that is essential" (V. Naupoto Hon, 2012a), or even in: "promoting participation by all" (V. Naupoto Hon, 2012b). This is problematic from an intergroup relations perspective, but also from a health perspective. Fiji is among the world's worst nations when it comes to death from NCDs for which regular physical activity is shown to be a militating factor (Carroll, 2015; WPRO, 2002). A somewhat exclusive approach towards sport in terms of funding and government outreach (5.4.2) means that sectors of the population, in this case Indo-Fijians, lack the same level of support as the iTaukei.

There have been strong arguments that sport policy has a responsibility to meet the goals of inclusion and integration (Burnett, 2006; Spaaij et al., 2014b). However, Fiji's status as a LMIC limits the degree to which it can resource comprehensive outreach, facility upgrades and overall physical activity and wellbeing services to a geographically fragmented population. The decision to fund rugby and elite sporting competitions over more inclusive, grassroots sporting initiatives is, in that regard, significant (see: Government of Fiji, 2016a). So is the criticism over the lack of practical follow through on government policy which emanated from key individuals in Fijian sport and society. So herein lies an opportunity, if the government of Fiji actually wants to foster a more inclusive, harmonious and health-promoting sporting culture. There is scope to do this by readdressing the way in which the current exclusive sport policy is prioritised and enacted, by making practical steps to open up sporting organisations and spaces to those who have previously faced barriers to entry.

181

Challenges

Altering governmental approaches to sport policy and outreach strategies are areas that could increase the involvement of the Indo-Fijian community, but there are significant challenges in terms of influence at the macro level. First, this research has shown that the government is preoccupied with elite sport in terms of funding and resources (see: 5.4.4), and it is hardly alone in this regard. Global research into physical education in LMICs has reported that there is a lack of attention towards physical education in schools in favour of elite sport. This is evident in countries as diverse as Zambia (Banda, 2010), Chile (Bravo & Silva, 2014) and Ghana specifically (Sofo & Baba, 2013). Andreff (2006) has found that this issue affects many LMICs in Africa broadly (see: 2.6.3). Convincing the Fijian government to re-prioritise may well prove difficult.

Second, in democratic countries there is a tendency for sport policies to take on a political logic, their lifespan being measured in the length of the electoral cycle (Keat & Sam, 2013). That said, despite an upcoming election in 2018, Bainimarama's government in Fiji does not appear to be going anywhere; it remains popular. This stability presents an opportunity in terms of re-evaluating the aims and outcomes of the Ministry for Sport in terms of grassroots participation and inclusion. Yet as Fiji's government is largely Indigenous with a reputation for preferential treatment towards iTaukei groups (Fraenkel, 2015b; Ratuva, 2007; 2014; Trnka, 2008), political stability may not be conducive to change through critical engagement. Indeed, the reverse seems more likely. Bainimarama's benign authoritarian leadership style is not suited to reflecting on critical voices outside his government. The government has a rock-solid ideological commitment to rugby as a source of national pride. It also has an official relationship with the FRU (via Bainimarama's role as president) for which it provides significant financial support (see: Bainimarama, 2013; 2015b)**.**

6.4.2 Sports Organisations

Moving on to the meso level, participants were outspoken in their criticism of both the FFA and the FRU. Giulianotti (2015, p. 175) reminds us that 'sport as a whole is a field which compromises diverse intersecting fields, particularly in the form of differing sport categories'. In Fiji, the high-profile position occupied by rugby, and to a lesser extent soccer, means that those agents who control such 'fields' wield significant power. In both cases, there is no appetite amongst those in the executive for reform. Contributors to this study were typically pessimistic or ambivalent about prospects for change, but these responses are not to be confused with satisfaction about the status quo – quite the reverse. The key challenge, from their perspective, is the unlikelihood of reform, but also no tangible idea about what change might look like. In that respect, there was puzzlement and, in some cases, fear that change might be worse than the existing order. This was most noticeable among iTaukei stakeholders in rugby, who

spoke proudly about how 'their' game is embedded in Indigenous identity and its role as a visible expression of sporting success for Fiji internationally (see: 5.3.3).

The FRU has been described as one of the key pillars of Fijian society (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c). The present study adds credence to this view, finding it to be a bastion of Indigenous male identity and ethno-nationalist exclusivity. While it is not uncommon for a sports organisation to project a *version* of national identification, this becomes problematic in divided societies, particularly when it serves as a barrier to respectful coexistence and opportunities for integration (Bairner & Darby, 1999; Bairner, 2001; snr Sugden & Bairner, 2000). The FRU has not sought to engage Fiji's sizeable Indo-Fijian population. Not only does the organisation believe that the sport 'is' iTaukei, there is a wider societal perception that Indo-Fijians are 'naturally' too 'soft' for the game. This means that there are many barriers for Indo-Fijian rugby players and coaches who wish to engage with rugby. Such individuals support widely-held beliefs about Indo-Fijians. Some have been vilified for trespassing on a highly prized cultural practice 'of' the iTaukei. The FFA, on the other hand, is more inclusive in its outlook, yet nepotistic in its approach to management; those who run the game are almost exclusively of Indo-Fijian ethnicity, whether by custom or design. Indeed, the absence from the FFA administration of former iTaukei soccer players is something to which the latter objects, though this has had no impact on Fiji's soccer hierarchy. The iTaukei are reduced to physical beings - they can play soccer but not use their brains to manage the game, whether as coaches, administrators or in the FFA executive.

The locals I spoke with who vehemently criticise these organisations expressed a desire for change. Both organisations have a reputation for corruption and a lack of inclusion. Although corruption in the FRU has received more exposure in the media (see: Bola-Bari, 2013; A. Kumar, 2014), the present study found that corruption within both organisations is normalised at the community level. Houlihan (1997) has argued that meso-level reforms to the organisation of sport can be highly influential in altering the socio-cultural landscape for the better, particularly in the case of divided societies (Gasser & Levinsen, 2004; snr Sugden, 2010a). But this is more likely in sport environments where governance, including transparency and accountability, is robustly exercised and criticised. That is not the case in Fijian sport generally, nor for the FRU and FFA specifically.

Should those in power, or those who have the capacity of holding them to account, are prepared to consider reform, then much could be achieved. The FRU could make a commitment to encourage more Indo-Fijian participation. Indeed, study participants from the Indo-Fijian community lamented the lack of teams and leagues open to Indo-Fijian players and coaches (5.3.3). The FRU has made no

promotional efforts other than to iTaukei players and communities. It is not the case that Indo-Fijian athletes are necessarily diminutive and physically daunted by the aggressive and physically arduous nature of rugby. I witnessed ethnically mixed teams where, although in a minority, the Indo-Fijians contributed capably, the degree to which they were encouraged and accepted however was unclear. Given the tremendous variety of body types, shapes and athletic capabilities in every ethnic community, the FRU's decision not to reach out to Indo-Fijians diminishes their talent pool. At the recent Rugby Sevens world championships in Las Vegas and Toronto, the Fijian team failed to make the finals. Perhaps it is time for the FRU to identify rugby talent from all of Fiji, not just the iTaukei?

Soccer, on the other hand, is far more inclusive in terms of playing the game in Fiji, with mixed teams common in some areas (particularly in the West of the mainland and in Labassa on *Viti Levu*). However, lack of opportunities for the iTaukei in coaching and administration is an effort on the part of the Indo-Fijian elite to preserve soccer as their 'own' game – even if the best players are typically iTaukei.

Challenges

Beginning with the FRU, Fiji still performs well above its 'weight' in rugby; they revel in this. On-field success is, ironically, an impediment to any sense of the 'need' for administrative reform. Indeed, praise from the government often comes from the prime minister, also president of the FRU (Bainimarama, 2013; 2014; 2015b). The iTaukei dominance in the RFU is underpinned by its ethnocentrism and Indigenous hegemony in the sport, meaning that at the meso-level, change within rugby is unlikely. This is a factor contributing to rugby's place towards the right of the IRC (Figure 22**)**.

The FFA, on the other hand, does not have a regular turnover of staff, with the latest CEO retiring only recently after a tenure of 14 years (Fiji Sun, 2016). The organisation does not seem open to hiring iTaukei officials in administrative positions. Furthermore, both the FFA and the FRU roles are valuable spheres of ethno-social identity for the Indo-Fijian and iTaukei communities respectively, which means that both organisations are resistant to change. Widening the pool of talent, in terms of more experienced iTaukei coaches in the FFA and the potential in untapped rugby talent within the Indo-Fijian community is yet to be appreciated. That said, for reform to take place, the root causes of division in Fijian sport and society needs to be addressed. Key to this is the way that sport is structured and framed in schools.

6.4.3 School Sport

At the micro level, education was a salient theme in discussions with respondents about possibilities for change. The findings reflected the separatist attitudes of both groups in regards to cultural priorities, stereotypes (othering) and 'thinking' (self-worth) in relation to sport and other aspects of life. These

remain profound barriers in terms of prospects for reducing intergroup distance. Such mind-sets are notoriously hard to alter, particularly if they are a product of separate social, cultural and religious histories, as is the case in Fiji (Guinness, 2009). Yet the present study found that the ways that sport is treated in schools is critical to the socialisation of young people, especially with a re-emphasis on ethno-racial 'suitability' for certain types of physical activities. According to local respondents in this study, changes to the status quo are unlikely unless primary school physical education is liberalised and made culturally inclusive rather than an exercise in separating iTaukei boys into rugby and Indo-Fijian boys into soccer, as though their ethnic backgrounds made these choices 'natural' rather than a process of selection by stereotype (5.4.4).

At present, there is little literature on the role of physical education (PE) in divided societies. However, the data gathered here suggests that Fijian schools could serve as a focal point for transformational change. Sport in schools can build a sense of community cohesion among students, in the process enabling minority group's access to education (Rees et al., 2000, p. 277). In terms of Fiji, this is not simply about providing ITaukei and Indo-Fijian children with opportunities to choose rugby *or* soccer (or, preferably, have a chance to play both); it is also about disrupting the mind-set that iTaukei are 'naturally' gifted at sport and Indo-Fijians 'naturally' gifted at academia, with deficits for both groups in the reverse. A scenario may be imagined where both iTaukei and Indo-Fijian students are equally encouraged into sports and in doing so challenge the socially constructed limitations that have been placed around the physical and mental capabilities of each.

None of this would be easy. Studies have found that teachers typically struggle to integrate diverse cultures and abilities in school sport (Azzarito, 2009; Bailey, 2005). Given such difficulties, some teachers tend to recycle dominant norm, practices and patterns of group inclusion/exclusion (Rich, 2004). Indeed, a recent study found that 'when teachers are Indo-Fijians their confidence in teaching Rugby is lower: a similar pattern was found when iTaukei-Fijians are teaching soccer' (Dorovolomo, 2015, p. 95). One of the complaints among some respondents in the present study was that in 'Indian' schools it was always soccer and in iTaukei schools always rugby and this institutionalised separatism in those sports. That contributes towards a cyclical dynamic. Indo-Fijian teachers are knowledgeable about 'their sport' soccer, but there are fewer opportunities for them to learn about rugby, so they teach only soccer. The situation is similar for rugby and iTaukei educators, who act out their roles as rugby coaches when given the opportunity.

Furthermore, preferential treatment is given to iTaukei athletes, and in some cases separate teams are formed, with students channelled towards or away from certain sports based on their ethnicity. Key to this is research showing that physical education in schools is instrumental to the embodied socialisation of young people (Bailey, 2005; Laker, 2002). Social bonds can be generated through a positive experience in physical education. These can have a lasting effect beyond the school environment. Negative experiences are just as profound by way of influence (J. R. Anderson et al., 2014; Bailey et al., 2009). A liberalisation of physical education (PE) could be useful in disrupting young people's 'normative' perception of group identities and capabilities in Fiji, thereby challenging stereotypes around sport and society. In the present study, local school teachers believe that reframing the curriculum to encourage more joint participation could be transformational (5.4.4). Of course, altering the way sport is treated in schools comes with its own set of challenges.

Challenges

The Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) is solely responsible for developing and implementing the Fijian school curriculum. The efficacy of this organisation has been questioned. One study found "weak research and consultation with academics, stakeholders and teachers" and this is seen as "major impediments" to their ability to carry out much needed changes (S. P. Chand, 2015, p. 85). Beyond that logistical hurdle, there is also a problem with the 'low value' associated with PE in the national curriculum. PE is seen very much as 'play time' rather than pedagogy, and therefore given much less priority than other subjects. There are also challenges in terms of teacher competency as dedicated PE teachers are rare, while those who do take these classes have varying degrees of ability, confidence and interest.

FIGURE 23: AN OPTIMISTIC LOCAL ARTIST PAINTS THE ROAD AHEAD FOR FIJI

6.5 Summary

This chapter discussed the key findings of this research in terms of group identity and intergroup relations in Fiji. As ever, there is a duality about the impact of sport. It has the ability to include or exclude, unite or divide. The IRC tool was used to visually demonstrate where the sports of rugby and soccer 'fit' on a spectrum of group relations, from (at the extremes) conflict through to harmony and variations within. There are embedded norms and assumptions about the 'natural' capabilities and inclinations of iTaukei and Indo-Fijian communities (albeit in this case the focus is on men and boys), those being expressed in the two major sports of rugby and soccer. These are accentuated in the organisation of these games via the FRU and the FFA, as well as the 'culture' within which these sports are played. This reality assists in separate categorisation by re-imagining distance between the two groups, when across Fiji there are examples contrary to the historical narrative of division.

This chapter then discussed whether locals are satisfied with the status quo or envisage change, and (if so) what that might entail. There is pessimism about reform to national sport policy, for the words 'inclusion' and 'integration' were simply viewed by locals as rhetoric. At the grassroots level, schools

are complicit in the normalisation of rugby as iTaukei and soccer as Indo-Fijian. Participants feel that change is most likely if schools take PE more seriously, have accredited PE teachers, and a commitment to introduce a range of sporting activities to all students, for a combination of motor skill development, health and wellbeing, and socialisation. Again, though, there is acknowledgement that reforms to primary school education are difficult because the national curriculum does not put PE on the same level as 'thinking' subjects like mathematics. To that extent, physical activity is not a 'serious' endeavour from an educational perspective. All this means that those who imagine changes to allow for rugby and soccer to be more inclusive and integrative are at the same time cognisant of how difficult it is to implement reform.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to explore the nature and extent of 'sport and integration' in the context of a LMIC – Fiji, and its two main sports, soccer and rugby. Fiji was selected as an ideal site for this type of research due to its status as a relatively stable post-colonial society, albeit with a longstanding divide between the country's two major ethnic groups. The collective identities of the iTaukei and Indo-Fijian communities have long found expression in the sports of rugby and soccer respectively. With ethno-racial separatism reflected in this dynamic, Fiji provides a vivid portrayal of group identities and intergroup relations. This study has shown how both rugby and soccer are awash with the politics of inclusion and exclusion. It has also revealed how The Ministry of Sport announces policies that infer sport for integration, but its funding priorities and outreach programs reinforce existing divides.

Within this sporting culture, two key sporting bodies, the RFU and the FFA, do not even pretend to promote cross-cultural engagement (at the most it is incidental, rather than sought, in the rise of iTaukei players in soccer). Schools have a low-level commitment to PE as an educational activity and, even where sport is encouraged, teachers often lack the skill sets needed to promote a range of sports to both iTaukei and Indo-Fijian students. In terms of Fiji specifically this thesis concludes that there are several organisational, structural and sociocultural conventions at work within sport at least, that perpetuate division and hinder the nations progress towards harmony. Yet within this dynamic, along with the findings in this thesis, local voices have added their testimony highlighting both opportunities for change and the will to see it brought about. However, it is not just advancements in understanding relating to Fiji that have been brought about due to this research, and it is the contributions to theory and research that will be highlighted next.

7.3 Sport and Integration: Tool, Method and Theory

There have also been theoretical advancements that have emerged as a result of this exploration. They are highlighted in this section as the tool: Intergroup Relations Continuum (IRC), the method: adapted ethnography and the theory of Sport and Integration (SAI). These contributions have arisen both as a necessity in seeking understanding about the role of sport in intergroup relations in Fiji and due to a lack of understanding regarding SAI more broadly. I begin first with the tool.

7.3.1 Tool: The IRC

To begin, in terms of intergroup relations, at the front end of this thesis I designed a tool termed the Intergroup Relations Continuum (IRC), as depicted below. This stemmed from a realisation that intergroup relations are constantly in flux and that a tool to reflect this is likely to be useful as a visual guide (see: 2.4). Then, following intensive research into rugby and soccer, I could map the 'position' that these two sporting cultures occupy on the IRC, thereby visual representing the relationships between these sports, and their contribution towards iTaukei-Indian intergroup relations in Fiji (see also: 5.3).

FIGURE 24: THE IRC
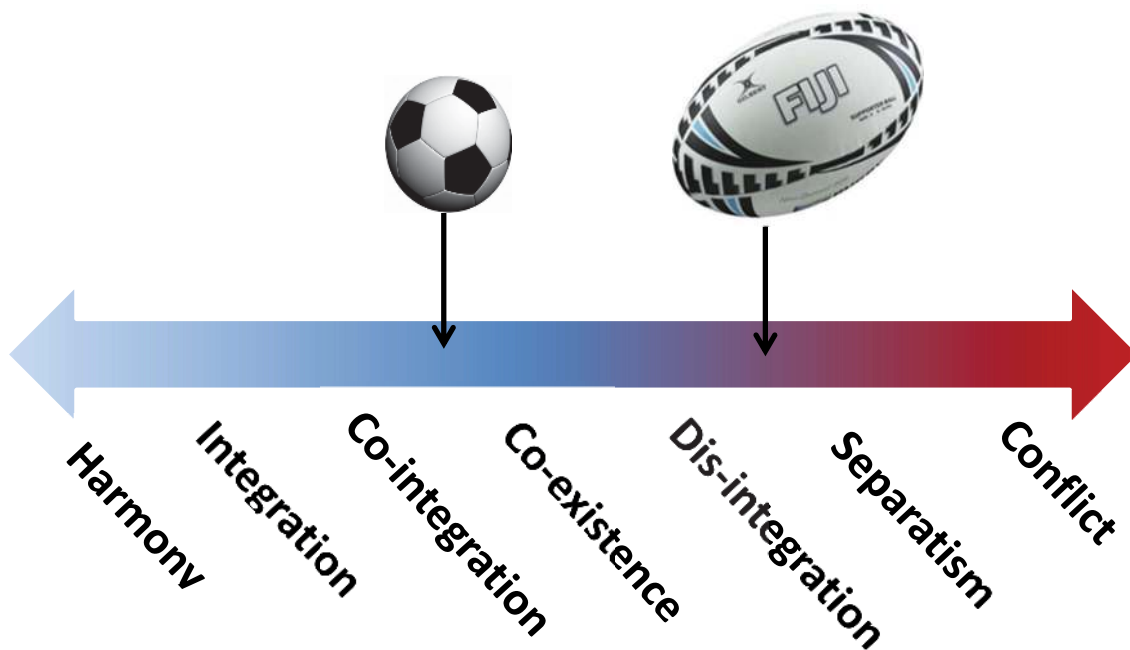
The IRC tool contributes as a companion in the research of scholars seeking to present a visual representation the past, present and future role of sport within intergroup relations. The IRC could also be used to visually map key sports and intergroup relations in societies with similar ethnic polarities to Fiji, such as Malaysia (Roper, 2011). Or in consideration of other variables, such as the degree to which sports are gender inclusive/exclusive or sexually integrated. In a relatively un-divided nation, such as Australia, this tool can be employed to theorise where key sports such as cricket, rugby union and Australian Football League (AFL) appear on the continuum in relation to, as examples, Indigenous people and women. The IRC also help map the influence of sport on relations in societies with more overt divisions, such as Israel/Palestine or Rwanda. The utility of the IRC is contingent on thorough and careful application of the underlying evidence of policies and practices of inclusion, exclusion, co-

existence, etc. Such evidence must be gathered through the in-depth and careful application of the appropriate methods.

7.3.2 Method: adapted ethnography

The methodological strategy taken towards the exploration of SAI in Fiji offers a further contribution to scholarship. This approach was born from post-colonial critiques of SDP research, as well as warnings about problems with, and limits of, 'outsider' research in LMICs (see: Darnell et al., 2016; Schulenkorf et al., 2016). Critics point to the worrying habit of research into sport in LMICs being conducted by well-meaning, but Western-oriented scholars from HICs, in the Global North. A post-colonial response is to ensure that local voices and concerns drive the data and are instrumental in the findings. While deep immersion in the research field over long periods is an ethnographic ideal, the pragmatic reality is that many scholars face substantial time limitations (i.e. funding, university commitments) and are therefore obliged to work within those constraints (Hammersley 2017). The present study grappled with that challenge, deploying its own 'adapted' version of short-term ethnography, which involved local immersion in various communities and reciprocal learning, using a reconnaissance journey followed by a field trip (See: Chapter Four). Practically speaking, this adapted approach goes further than earlier attempt to shorten ethnography (see: Knoblauch, 2005; Pink & Morgan 2013). It utilises a reconnaissance journey along with carefully planned strategies to be employed throughout, to build a significant bank of data in satisfaction of the research questions and overall aims. And this approach is adaptable still, the model leaves room for more or less method and importantly encourages the thorough research of local ways of knowing, such as Talanoa, to be incorporated.

With this in mind, in doctoral programs of study contemporary time and resource pressures highlighted by Hammersley (2017) are also acute. The onus for novice academics to produce a quality thesis while in parallel ensuring that they teach, publish, accept marking contracts, organise conferences, and negotiate funding constraints etc. mean that undertaking long-term immersive research is challenging. Rather than cast such approaches aside however, this research has accepted these challenges and produced a robust framework for short but intensive and immersive research that other researchers and Ph.D students can follow. This framework provides specific details and steps as to how to collect a rich bank of data in unfamiliar places with limited time and resources, set within a framework that is itself adaptable. It does this while staying up to date with modern epistemological debates this reflects one way in which this study differs from previous SDP research - justifying an adapted approach to ethnography that both draws from, and is unique to, this field.
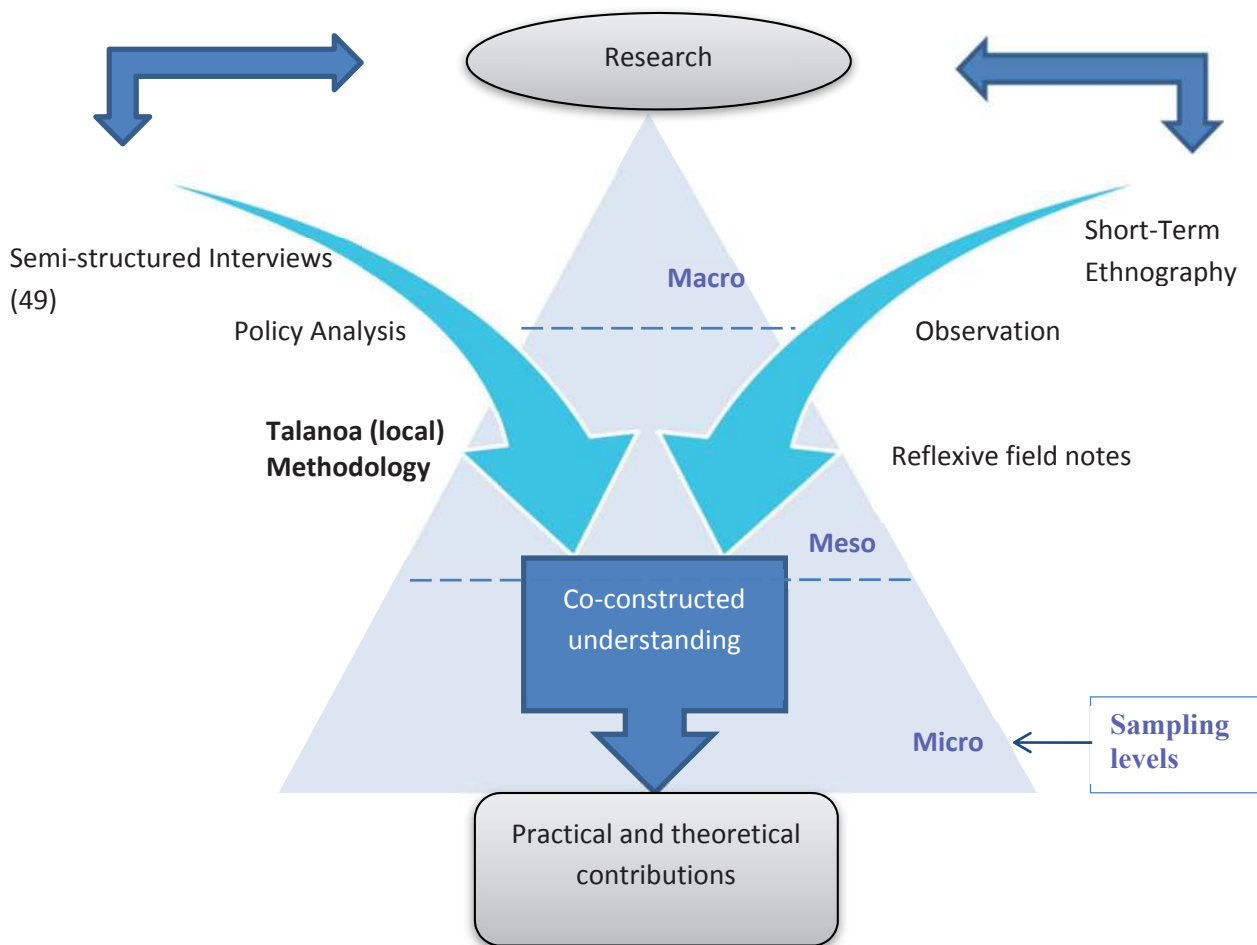
Darnell et al. (2016) argues for the importance of a 'reflexive sense of humility' in SDP research; the approach taken in this thesis is consistent with that stance. While the method is also mindful in circumnavigating post-colonial and Indigenous scholarship that is wary of 'outsider' research (see: 4.6.1). The framework is a pragmatic approach that adapts ethnography and applies a number of carefully selected tools and strategies to give justice to local meaning and realities. The data collection and analysis taken here is riddled with self-conscious introspection, placing local people as core to the *process* of knowledge construction, and thus not just mere objects of study. Hereby the approach is both locally and researcher driven. In this respect 'outsider' status is not a limitation per se; it is a consideration as such a perspective can have advantages in maintaining an element of 'independent' sociological scrutiny, while also building a closeness with the research environment (see: 4.6.2).

Local involvement and co-constructed understanding is, literally, central to this methodological framework, depicted once more in Figure 25. This model yielded a considerable amount of data and,

along with constituent strategies (see: 4.7), this research process has proven useful in highlighting exclusionary forces in Fijian sport. The framework is, therefore, proven in its ability to uncover such mechanisms compiled as it is, of a unique blend of data gathering tools and strategies, spread across the micro, meso and macro levels, to build a holistic impression of key sporting cultures in Fiji. The incorporation of Talanoa method was essential in formulating an understanding of local realities, on their terms in an environment they were well used to. In this regard Talanoa was not incorporated as a token gesture towards local ways of knowing but emerged as a key element to this framework. In Figure 25 'Talanoa (local) methodology' is in bold to highlight both its importance, and the recommendation that if one were to employ this framework elsewhere, then prior research and incorporation of local ways of knowing is indispensable.

This framework answers calls from within the field of SDP extolling the need for comparison and contrast regarding the way sport is managed and lived across the micro, meso and macro levels (see: Spaaij et al., 2014b). As Lyras and Welty Welty Peachey (2011, p. 315) argue, 'sport is a complex social phenomenon with both micro and macro level tangible and intangible outcomes'. Burnett and Uys (2000) have earlier highlighted the need for research attention, in a given context, to span different levels in order to help elucidate robust praxis in the field of sport and social change. The methodological framework adopted here does just this and in doing so formed the basis for theory on SAI.

7.3.3 Theory: SAI

There is considerable literature on the potential of sport for improving intergroup relations, as well as a body of knowledge on the use of sport for integration (Elling et al., 2001; Spaaij, 2012; Van Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2012b). Studies have demonstrated the capacity of sport to reduce intergroup distance, to foster intergroup harmony, and to remind people of their common humanity. However, most of these are based around SFP projects or events and not on the structural causes of division (see: Sugden & Spacey, 2016; snr Sugden, 2008; Tuohey & Cognato, 2011). The present study found that while there are numerous societal reasons behind group division, sport itself can contribute to group isolation and separatism. In that respect, although sport can be a site of bridge building, it can also be a vehicle for bridge burning.

Whereas SDP has traditionally focused on societies or communities under extreme stress (i.e. recovering from war) or danger (i.e. spread of HIV-AIDs), SAI has a less dramatic but no less important function – to evaluate the social utility of sport in places that, although stable, have deep-seated divides. There is a substantial body of literature into sport and gender inclusion, sport and multiculturalism, sport and anti-racism, etc. in economically advanced nations. By contrast, research into LMICs is

dominated by the SDP lens. The focus tends to be on specific (and laudable) goals such as improving sport opportunities for women, using sport to promote safe sex messages, and using sport as an 'escape' valve from violent conflict. By contrast, scholars have often overlooked ways in which sport itself contributes to divides in an LMIC.

SAI theory is based around a confluence of theories on social and ethno-racial identity and (improving) intergroup relations. There is an inbuilt belief in the potential of sport to enhance social development and decrease intergroup distance, an impact that has been documented by scholars, governments and neoliberal institutions worldwide (Hayhurst et al., 2015; Kidd, 2008b; Reis et al., 2015; Schulenkorf & Adair, 2014; UNOSDP, 2015). Yet SAI is critically pragmatic in its appreciation of the Janus-faced nature of sport to include/exclude or to unite/divide (Donnelly 2011). Drawing from this SAI seeks to highlight exclusionary sporting practices and allow for opportunities for change to emerge. Such an approach supports the stated need for those working in the SDP field to 'recognise the complexity of change and identify the forces both driving and inhibiting change' (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011, p. 316). As sports participation by itself does not necessitate development outcomes (Hoekman & Schulenkorf, 2015). Rather, the outcomes are subject to complex and varied mediating factors, including the values and conduct of sports coaches and players through to the norms and cultures within which sport is played.

Therefore, as Spaaj has put it, 'creating inclusive sports communities essentially requires a shift in how sport and particularly organised competitive sport, is understood and valued within a society' (Spaaij et al. 2014, p. 140). The idea here is that through conducting in-depth, constructivist field research across the micro, meso and macro levels of a society, a degree of knowledge can be built to assess the varied milieu within which sport is shaped. Such knowledge has pinpointed long-term causes of intergroup distance and/or disharmony in sport, this providing a basis for reassessment.

One of the key findings from this research is that, in Fiji, sport plays a key role in maintaining and recycling ethnically configured group categorisations through exclusionary practices. However, the ability of SAI to advocate (inclusive) social change rests with locals *wanting* to alter the (non-inclusive) status quo, and having the *power* to persuade those in authority to respond to their criticisms. In the case of Fiji, as in many LMICs, 'the people' have little influence beyond their immediate environment, and, notwithstanding their voices in this thesis, little influence outside that context. However, as someone who had the privilege of engaging with Fijians from both the iTaukei and Indo-Fijian communities, I have an opportunity, and indeed a responsibility, to report on and publish the views of 'the people'.

Their message needs to reach the Fijian Government, the FRU, and FFA. Advocacy will therefore be part of my post-thesis commitment to the Fijian communities I engaged with.

7.4 A research agenda: SAI, Fiji and beyond

As stressed in Chapter Four (4.10), there are delimitations and associated limitations in this study. Looking ahead, there are opportunities for research to further explore SAI in Fiji, and indeed similar LMIC environments. What is more, the thesis findings identified several areas that require research beyond the confines of the present study. As will now be explained, these include: a substantial focus on women's sport in Fiji, particularly (the lack of) Indo-Fijian female participation; the motivations of key sports organisations and their attitudes to co-existence, separatism and inclusion; the potential of local people to shape change (where they seek it); and, finally, opportunities for further research into SAI.

7.4.1 Indo-Fijian Women in "Fijian" Sport

Fijian soccer and rugby are very male dominated spaces (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2013c; Presterudstuen, 2010b; 2016). The focus of the present study, and therefore my ethnographic experience, was centred on men. This means that my findings and conclusions are limited to 'male' sport in Fiji. That said, I was fascinated by the subordinate and sometimes invisible place of women in Fijian sport. Indeed, I observed an almost complete absence of Indo-Fijian women in the sporting sphere, whether as participants, spectators, or administrators. Further research into women and sport in Fiji would obviously draw attention to problems of marginalisation or exclusion. This is hardly an issue for Fiji alone: several studies highlight the low numbers of females in sport within 'developing' countries, with women therefore more at risk than men of chronic NCDs due to physical inactivity (Aitchison & Henderson, 2013; Guthold, Ono, Strong, Chatterji, & Morabia, 2008). Aside from health effects, there is also a clear correlation between increased female participation in sport and positive development in gender equality (Hayhurst, 2014), women's empowerment (Samie, Johnson, Huffman, & Hillyer, 2015) and positive integration (Kay & Dudfield, 2013). These are all areas in which Fiji is lacking, specifically in terms of social exclusion and the proliferation of NCDs (Fiji Women's Crisis Centre, 2013; Gyaneshwar et al., 2016).

7.4.4 Broader Research into SAI

A focus on two main ethnic groups – Fijians of Indian descent and Indigenous Fijians – does not take account of Fiji's other smaller ethnic groups consisting mainly of part-Europeans, Fijians of Chinese descent and 'mixed race' Fijians (Fijians with mixed iTaukei and Indo-Fijian parentage). This ethno-racial variability has recently been the subject of research by Cocom (2014). There are undoubtedly more complex and overlapping intergroup identities, yet the focus of this thesis on Indigenous and Indo-Fijian groups is emblematic of Weber's 'ideal type' in sociological research (see: Weber, 2009). In

terms of the aims of thesis, they epitomise the most typical characteristics of the subject matter under consideration. Investigating other sports in Fiji to see if similar levels of separatism are being fostered and if these are also feeding into the broader picture of ethno-racial division is also a potential arena for further research. A deeper investigation into other key sports in Fiji, such as cricket, volleyball and weightlifting may add further weight to the current study and/or present further opportunities in the examination of hegemonic, exclusive and/or inclusive practices in sport. Furthermore, now that the SAI framework has been shown to be useful in Fiji specifically, there is scope to broaden this research to different contexts. This study was produced in part to address SAI in a LMIC beset with non-violent divisions. However, its efficacy suggests that similar research could be fruitful in other contexts and not necessarily those with a low income status.

Furthermore, now that the SAI framework has been shown to be useful in Fiji specifically, there is scope to broaden this research to different contexts. This study was produced in part to address SAI in a LMIC beset with latent division. However, its efficacy suggests that similar research could be fruitful in other contexts and not necessarily those with a low income status. To further test the SAI, future research could bring this approach to other LMICs hampered by 'latent' division, such as India (Weiner, 2015), modern day Northern Ireland (Hughes, 2014) or Kazakhstan (Asker, 2014). Yet this is not to say that other, HICs will not benefit from SAI research. There are now more people than ever fleeing conflict and degradation in the Middle East and Africa to the relative safety of HICs in Europe, Oceania and North America. It is critical then, to engage with methods in sport, or otherwise, that assist highlighting the common humanity between disparate groups (see: Ariely, 2012; Bhopal, 2014; Foner & Simon, 2015; United Nations, 2016).

As Collison & Marchesseault (2016, p. 2) have put it, the SDP field is 'poor in documentation of how target participants actually culturally live, socially experience and personally feel, interpret and engage'. There have been calls to connect deep contextual research to broader power structures and struggles to improve our understanding of sport and social change (Burnett, 2015b; Darnell et al., 2016). The present study is inspired by that clarion call. It explored questions of identity and intergroup relations, drawing on the lived experience of locals. However, the study also evaluated the political environment, about which local responses provide a contextual backdrop. The thesis was, therefore, also a critique of how organisations, in government, education and sport, exercise power, policy and hegemony.

8.1 Final Comment

The strength of group identities in Fiji is stark, underpinned by a desire to maintain ingroup identities in the face of the perceived power of the 'other'. Distinctive groups are not inherently problematic. It is hardly unreasonable to observe Indo-Fijian dominance at a Hindi festival or Indigenous Fijian dominance at a village Kava circle. These celebrations of identity are culturally authentic and most relevant to an ingroup. Sport, by comparison, is a global phenomenon – albeit with local nuances – that is intended to be cross-cultural and open to all comers. In the 21st century, sport is supposed to be colour 'blind' and meritocratic, available to men and women irrespective of their ethno-racial or religious background. From that perspective, where sports are structured to either marginalise or exclude people based on rules, norms or stereotypes, their inclusive nature is fundamentally compromised. They are arguably not for inclusive purposes, as the SAI paradigm emphasises. The strength of separatist group identities can be problematic when inclusion in sport gives way to exclusion. This has happened in Fiji, moving sport away from its ideal form.

More broadly this research has moved beyond previous scholar-practitioner work I have been involved in regarding the field of SDP. This thesis is less about the sporting projects and events associated with the field, and more about understanding and analysing the context within which sport is played – relying on local voices as a guide. The result has been a theoretical framework termed Sport and Integration. SAI adds value to conversations about embodied experiences of sport and social change; it is also about evaluating sporting 'cultures' and intergroup relations therein. The diverse work being carried out globally by SDP remains critical, but it has unwittingly drawn attention away from SAI, where the social, cultural and structural aspects of sport can assist in categorising people into convenient and ultimately separate groups. To me, finding and exposing such elements will be a lifelong endeavour.

Appendix 1: Breakdown of interview participants

Code	Occupation/role	location	Gender	Ethnicity
FCIF1	Administrator	Urban	Female	Indo-Fijian
FCIF2	Student	Urban	Female	Indo-Fijian
FCPIF2	Student	Urban	Female	Indo-Fijian
FCPT4	Female rugby player	Urban	Female	iTaukei
FCPT1	Female rugby player	Urban	Female	iTaukei
FCPT4	Female rugby player	Urban	Female	iTaukei
FCPT3	Female rugby player	Urban	Female	iTaukei
FCT1	Unemployed/ female rugby player	Rural	Female	iTaukei
FCT2	Unemployed	Rural	Female	iTaukei
FDC1	Senior administrator	Urban	Female	Chinese Fijian
FDt1	Administrator at Fiji Sport Commission	Urban	Female	iTaukei
FOIF1	Headmistress	Rural	Female	Indo-Fijian
FOIF2	Sports club president	Urban	Female	Indo-Fijian
FOT1	Social development professional	Urban	Female	iTaukei
FOT2	FRU Administrator	Urban	Female	iTaukei
M0T2	Soccer coach	Rural	Male	Indo-Fijian
M0T3	FRU administrator	Urban	Male	iTaukei
M0T4	Coach - Rugby League	Urban	Male	Fijian
MDT5	Senior sports administrator	Urban	Male	ITaukei
MCIF1	Student – tertiary	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MCIF2	Head teacher (primary)/ professional soccer coach	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MCIF3	Student – tertiary	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian

MCIF4	Ex-national soccer team coach	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MCIF5	Teacher and soccer coach	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MCIF6	Professional soccer player	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MCPT1	Student/Rugby player	Urban	Male	ITaukei
MCPIF1	Unknown/rugby player and coach	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MCPT2	Law Student/Rugby player	Urban	Male	ITaukei
MCPT3	Rugby coach/ Player	Rural	Male	ITaukei
MCT1	Shop keeper	Rural	Male	ITaukei
MCT2	Student	Urban	Male	ITaukei
MCT3	Unemployed/ Ex international soccer player	Rural	Male	ITaukei
MCT4	Farmer	Rural	Male	ITaukei
MCT5	Water technician/ ex international soccer captain	Rural	Male	ITaukei
MCWF1	Manager sports resort	Rural	Male	White Fijian
MDIF1	Senior sports administrator	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MDT1	FRU senior administrator	Urban	Male	ITaukei
MOA1	Sports researcher	Urban	Male	African American
MOIF1	Teacher (secondary) and soccer coach	Rural	Male	Indo-Fijian
MOIF2	Manager Labasa	Rural	Male	Indo Fijian
MOIF3	Journalist	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MOIF4	Journalist/Academic	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MOIF5	Teacher and professional soccer coach	Rural	Male	Indo-Fijian
MOIF6	FFA administrator	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MOIF7	Sports editor / journalist	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MOIF8	Head teacher/ Soccer coach Labasa	Rural	Male	Indo-Fijian
MOT1	Mechanic/ soccer coach	Urban	Male	ITaukei

MOW1	Co-ordinator NGO – Think Pacific	Rural/Urban	Male	White British
MOIF9	Academic - sport	Urban	Male	Indo-Fijian
MCIF6	Organiser of community soccer	Rural	Male	Indo-Fijian

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Research Question	Sub-questions
1) **How are Indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian group identities influenced through rugby and soccer?**	- Are you a sports fan? Which sport do you follow the most in Fiji? - In which environment would you enjoy/play this sport most regularly? - Do you think that rugby/soccer has much importance to Fijians beyond simply playing or watching it? - Which is the most important sport in Fiji? Why? - Do you think there are any stereotypes or labels attached to these two sports? - How are women represented in both sports?
2) **What roles do soccer and rugby play in intergroup relations in Fiji**	- Do you every play rugby/soccer as part of a mixed team of Indians/Indigenous? - Is participation normally mixed? Why?/Why not? - What effect do you think these sports have had on relations between the two groups over the years? - Have you ever experienced a time where ethnicity was an issue when being involved with rugby/soccer?
3) **Are Fijian rugby and soccer stakeholder's content with the status quo or do they envisage a need for change?**	- How do you feel about the way rugby and soccer in Fiji is organized at the moment? - What would you like to see change and what would you like to see stay the same? - Do you think these sports could be used to promote further integration in Fiji? - If so how? If not why not? - Do you think there would be any barriers to this? - Do you think women from both groups could be given more opportunities to play together? - The most recent government sport policy said that it would use sport to promote *'social interaction, unification and reconciliation'* between ethnic groups, have you seen much evidence of this?

REFERENCES

Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. (1988). Comments on the motivational status of self-esteem in social identity and intergroup discrimination. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 18*(4), 317-334.

Abu-Nimer, M. (2001). *Reconciliation, justice, and coexistence: Theory and practice,* NY: Lexington books.

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (2012). Keynote address tales from the field: Reflections on four decades of ethnography. *Qualitative Sociology Review, 8*(1), 10-32.

Agergaard, S. (2011). Development and appropriation of an integration policy for sport: How Danish sports clubs have become arenas for ethnic integration. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 3*(3), 341-353.

Aitchison, C., & Henderson, K. (2013). UNICEF and UN women's evidence gathering to address inequalities in the post-2015 global development agenda: Leisure as a site of inequality and a means of addressing inequality. *World Leisure Journal, 55*(2), 193-203.

Akram-Lodhi, A. H. (2016). *Confronting Fiji futures*, Canberra: ANU Press.

Alexander, M. G., Brewer, M. B., & Hermann, R. K. (1999). Images and affect: A functional analysis of out-group stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77*(1), 78-92.

Allen, D. (2004). Ethnomethodological insights into insider–outsider relationships in nursing ethnographies of healthcare settings. *Nursing Inquiry, 11*(1), 14-24.

Allison, L. (1986). *The Politics of Sport,* UK: Manchester University Press.

Allison, L., & Monnington, T. (2002). Sport, prestige and international relations. *Government and Opposition, 37*(01), 106-134.

Allport, F. H. (1924). The group fallacy in relation to social science. *The Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, 19*(1), 60.

Allport, G. W. (1954). The nature of prejudice. *Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley,* 1979, 5-18.

Alsultany, E. (2012). *Arabs and Muslims in the media: Race and representation after 9/11*. New York, NY: NYU Press.

Amara, M., Aquilina, D., Argent, E., Betzer-Tayar, M., Coalter, F., Green, M., Taylor, J. (2004). The roles of sport and education in the social inclusion of asylum seekers and refugees: An evaluation of policy and practice in the UK. *Retrieved September, 10*, 2008.

Anaza, E., & McDowell, J. (2013). An investigation of constraints restricting urban Nigerian women from participating in recreational sport activities. *Journal of Leisure Research, 45*(3), 324-342.

Anderson, E. (2013). *Streetwise: Race, class, and change in an urban community*, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Anderson, J. R., Bond, B., Davis-Street, J., Gentlewarrior, S., Savas, M., & Sheehy, D. (2014). Transforming the classroom–and the world: Voices from a culturally inclusive pedagogy faculty learning community. *Faculty, Administrator & Staff Articles Bridgewater State University*. Paper 3, 1-18

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities* (Rev ed.). London, New York: Verso.

Andersson, L., & Hammarstedt, M. (2015). Ethnic enclaves, networks and Self-Employment among Middle Eastern immigrants in Sweden. *International Migration, 53*(6), 27-40.

Andreff, W. (2006). 30 sport in developing countries. In W. Andreff, S. Szymanski (Eds.) *Handbook on the Economics of Sport* (pp. 308 – 329), Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Andreouli, E., & Howarth, C. (2013). National identity, citizenship and immigration: Putting identity in context. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 43*(3), 361-382.

Andrews, D. L. (1999). Dead and alive? Sports history in the late capitalist moment. *Sporting Traditions, 16*(1), 73-84.

Ariely, G. (2012). Globalization, immigration and national identity: How the level of globalization affects the relations between nationalism, constructive patriotism and attitudes toward immigrants? *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 15*(4), 539-557.

Arrow, H., McGrath, J. E., & Berdahl, J. L. (2000). *Small groups as complex systems: Formation, coordination, development, and adaptation*. London: Sage.

Asante, M. K., Miike, Y., & Yin, J. (2013). *The global intercultural communication reader*. London: Routledge.

Ashforth, B. E., & Mael, F. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *Academy of Management Review, 14*(1), 20-39.

Ashraf, Q., & Galor, O. (2007). Cultural assimilation, cultural diffusion and the origin of the wealth of nations, Providence: Brown University press.

Asker, C. (2014). A comparative study of Kazakhstan and Estonia during and after the nation-building process. In E. Lazolo (Ed.) *Chaos and complexity theory in world politics* (pp. 69-80), New York: IGI Global.

Assefa, H. (2001). *Coexistence and reconciliation in the northern region of Ghana,* NY: Lexington Books.

Aveni, A. F. (2000). *Empires of time: Calendars, clocks and cultures,* London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks.

Azzarito, L. (2009). The panopticon of physical education: Pretty, active and ideally white. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy, 14*(1), 19-39.

Bagguley, P., & Hussain, Y. (2016). *Riotous citizens: Ethnic conflict in multicultural Britain,* London: Routledge.

Bailey, R. (2005). Evaluating the relationship between physical education, sport and social inclusion. *Educational Review, 57*(1), 71-90.

Bailey, R., Armour, K., Kirk, D., Jess, M., Pickup, I., Sandford, R., & Education, B. P. (2009). The educational benefits claimed for physical education and school sport: An academic review. *Research Papers in Education, 24*(1), 1-27.

Bainimarama, F. (2013). Pm Bainimarama - speech at the FRU centennial jersey launch. Retrieved from http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Speeches/PM-BAINIMARAMA---SPEECH-AT-THE-FRU-CENTENNIAL-JERS.aspx

Bainimarama, F. (2014). *Speech at the opening of additions to the Savusavu market.* Retrieved from http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Speeches/PM-BAINIMARAMA---SPEECH- AT-THE-SAVUSAVI-MARKETL-JERS.aspx

Bainimarama, F. (2015a). Hon pm Bainimarama speech at 2015 head of foreign missions opening workshop. Retrieved from http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Speeches/HON-PM-BAINIMARAMA-SPEECH-AT-2015-HEAD-OF-FOREIGN-.aspx?feed=news

Bainimarama, F. (2015b). Hon pm Bainimarama speech at Fiji rugby union development workshop. Retrieved from http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Speeches/HON-PM-BAINIMARAMA-SPEECH-AT-FIJI-RUGBY-UNION-DEVE.aspx

Bainimarama, F. (2015c). Hon. Pm Bainimarama speech at the official opening of the Nasinu legal aid office and announcement on the national flag. Retrieved from http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Speeches/HON--PM-BAINIMARAMA-SPEECH-AT-THE-OFFICIAL-OPENING.aspx

Bairner, A. (2008). Sport, nationalism and globalisation: Relevance, impact, consequences. *Hitotsubushi Journal of Arts and Sciences, 49*(1), 43-53.

Bairner, A. (1996). Sportive nationalism and nationalist politics: A comparative analysis of Scotland, the republic of Ireland, and Sweden. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 20*(3), 314-334.

Bairner, A. (2001). *Sport, nationalism, and globalization: European and North American perspectives*, NY: Suny Press.

Bairner, A. (2015). Assessing the sociology of sport: On national identity and nationalism. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 50*(4-5), 375-379.

Bairner, A., & Darby, P. (1999). Divided sport in a divided society: Northern Ireland. In J. Sugden, & A. Tomlinson (Eds.), *Power games: A critical sociology of sport* (1st ed.), London: Meyer and Meyer.

Bairner, A., & Dong-Jhy, H. (2011). Representing Taiwan: International sport, ethnicity and national identity in the Republic of China. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *46*(3), 231-248.

Baledrokadroka, J. (2016). The Fiji military and the 2014 elections. *The People have spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji,* Fiji Sun p. 17.

Ball, L. (1990). Insiders and outsiders: A review essay. *Journal of Monetary Economics, 26*(3), 459-469.

Banda, D. (2010). Zambia: Government's role in colonial and modern times. *International Journal of Sport Policy, 2*(2), 237-252.

Banks, J. A. (2017). Diversity and citizenship education in multicultural nations. *Multicultural education in glocal perspectives*, *1*(1), 1-28.

Bargh, J. A., Chen, M., & Burrows, L. (1996). Automaticity of social behaviour: Direct effects of trait construct and stereotype activation on action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*(2), 230-246.

Barrett, C. B., Little, P., & Carter, M. (2013). *Understanding and reducing persistent poverty in Africa*, London: Routledge.

Bar-Tal, D., & Teichman, Y. (2005). *Stereotypes and prejudice in conflict,* UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bauman, A., Ma, G., Cuevas, F., Omar, Z., Waqanivalu, T., Phongsavan, P. (2011) Equity and Non-communicable Disease Risk Factors Project Collaborative Group. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health, 65*(1), 35-43.

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report, 13*(4), 544-559.

Bercovitch, J., Kremenyuk, V., & Zartman, I. W. (2008). *The SAGE handbook of conflict resolution*. London: Sage.

Berry, J. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29*(6), 697-712.

Berry, J. (2011). Integration and multiculturalism: Ways towards social solidarity. *Papers on Social Representations, 20*(2), 1-20.

Besnier, N., & Brownell, S. (2016). The untold story behind Fiji's astonishing gold medal. Retrieved from http://www.sapiens.org/culture/fiji-rugby-racial-sexual-politics/

Besnier, N. (2014). Pacific island rugby: Histories, mobilities, comparisons. *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science, 3*(3), 268-276.

Betancourt, H., & López, S. R. (1993). The study of culture, ethnicity, and race in American psychology. *American Psychologist, 48*(6), 629-641.

Bettencourt, B. A., Brewer, M. B., Croak, M. R., & Miller, N. (1992). Cooperation and the reduction of intergroup bias: The role of reward structure and social orientation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 28*(4), 301-319.

Bettencourt, B., Dill, K. E., Greathouse, S. A., Charlton, K., & Mulholland, A. (1997). Evaluations of ingroup and outgroup members: The role of category-based expectancy violation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33*(3), 244-275.

Beutler, I. (2008). Sport serving development and peace: Achieving the goals of the United Nations through sport. *Sport in Society, 11*(4), 359-369.

Bhardwaj, S., Misra, A., Khurana, L., Gulati, S., Shah, P., & Vikram, N. K. (2008). Childhood obesity in Asian Indians: A burgeoning cause of insulin resistance, diabetes and sub-clinical inflammation. *Asia Pac J Clin Nutr, 17*(1), 172-175.

Bhim, M. (2015). 'Stifled aspirations': The 2014 general election under restrictive laws. *Pacific Journalism Review, 21*(1), 108-119.

Bhopal, R. S. (2014). *Migration, ethnicity, race, and health in multicultural societies,* Oxford University Press.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal* Nationalism, London: Sage.

Birrell, S. (1989). Racial relations theories and sport: Suggestions for a more critical analysis. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 6*(3), 212-227.

Bishop, R. (1998). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: A Maori approach to creating knowledge. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(2), 199-219.

Bishop, R. (2011). *Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research*, York: Springer.

Bizumic, B., & Duckitt, J. (2012). What is and is not ethnocentrism? A conceptual analysis and political implications. *Political Psychology, 33*(6), 887-909.

Bloyce, D., & Smith, A. (2009). *Sport policy and development: An introduction*, London: Routledge.

Bodenhausen, G. V., Mussweiler, T., Gabriel, S., & Moreno, K. N. (2001). Affective influences on stereotyping and intergroup relations. *American Psychological Association, 2* (1) 319-343.

Boen, F., Vanbeselaere, N., & Cool, M. (2006). Group status as a determinant of organizational identification after a takeover: A social identity perspective. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 9*(4), 547-560.

Bogdanov, D. (2017). *Influence of national sport team identity on national identity*. FL: The Florida State University.

Bola-Bari, V. (2013). Clean up FRU. Retrieved from http://fijisun.com.fj/2013/05/21/clean-up-fru/

Bouma, G. (2000). Ethics in human research. In. G. Bouma, R. Ling (Eds) *The Research Process* (pp. 190-202), USA: Oxford University Press.

Bourgeois, A. (2011). Contested perspectives of 'marvel'and 'mockery'in disability and sport: Accra, Ghana. *Sport in Society, 14*(9), 1237-1250.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (2004). The evolution of strong reciprocity: Cooperation in heterogeneous populations. *Theoretical Population Biology, 65*(1), 17-28.

Boyle, R. (2009). *Power play: Sport, the media and popular culture: Sport, the media and popular culture*, Edinburgh University Press.

Boyle, R., Giulianotti, R., & Williams, J. (1994). 'We are Celtic supporters...': Questions of football and identity in modern Scotland. *Game without Frontiers: Football, Identity and Modernity.*2 (2), 73-101.

Bradley, J. M. (1998). Sport and the contestation of cultural and ethnic identities in Scottish society. *Immigrants & Minorities, 17*(1), 127-150.

Brannagan, P. M., & Giulianotti, R. (2015). Soft power and soft disempowerment: Qatar, global sport and football's 2022 world cup finals. *Leisure Studies, 34*(6), 703-719.

Brannagan, P. M., & Rookwood, J. (2016). Sports mega-events, soft power and soft disempowerment: International supporters' perspectives on Qatar's acquisition of the 2022 FIFA world cup finals. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 8*(2), 173-188.

Brannick, T., & Coghlan, D. (2010). Doing action research in your own organization. London: Sage.

Bravo, G., & Silva, J. (2014). Sport policy in Chile. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 6*(1), 129-142.

Breen, L. J. (2007). The researcher 'in the middle': Negotiating the insider/outsider dichotomy. *Special Edition Papers, 19*(1), 122-145.

Brentin, D. (2013). 'A lofty battle for the nation': The social roles of sport in Tudjman's Croatia. *Sport in Society, 16*(8), 993-1008.

Brentin, D., & Cooley, L. (2016). Nationalism and sport. A review of the literature. *Studies on National Movements, 3*, 54-78.

Brewer, J. (2000). *Ethnography,* NY: McGraw-Hill International.

Brewer, M. B. (2001). Ingroup identification and intergroup conflict. *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction,* 4(2), 17-41.

Brewer, M. B., Weber, J. G., & Carini, B. (1995). Person memory in intergroup contexts: Categorization versus individuation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*(1), 29.

Briggs, J., & Sharp, J. (2004). Indigenous knowledges and development: A postcolonial caution. *Third World Quarterly, 25*(4), 661-676.

Brock, K., & McGee, R. (2012). *Knowing poverty: Critical reflections on participatory research and policy.* Earthscan.

Brodersen, A. (1971). *Collected Papers V. Phenomenology and the social sciences* (Vol. 205). Springer Science & Business Media.

Brooks, S. (2002). *The challenge of cultural pluralism*, Oxford: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Brown, D. (2000). *Contemporary nationalism: Civic, ethnocultural and multicultural politics,* Boston: American Psychology Press.

Brown, M. E. (2010). Causes and implications of ethnic conflict. *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration, 4*(2)*,* 80-100.

Brown, R. (2000). Social identity theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 30*(6), 745-778.

Brubaker, R. (2001). The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 24*(4), 531-548.

Bruce, T., & Hallinan, C. (2001). The quest for Australian identity. *Sport Stars: The Cultural Politics of Sporting Celebrity,* 2(3), 257-273.

Bruening, J. E., Welty Peachey, J., Evanovich, J. M., Fuller, R. D., Murty, C. J. C., Percy, V. E., . . . Chung, M. (2015). Managing sport for social change: The effects of intentional design and structure in a sport-based service learning initiative. *Sport Management Review, 18*(1), 69-85.

Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (2007). *The sage handbook of grounded theory,* London: Sage.

Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2015). *Business Research Methods,* Oxford University Press, USA.

Buffington, D. (2005). Contesting race on Sundays: Making meaning out of the rise in the number of black quarterbacks. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 21*(1), 19-37.

Burdsey, D. (2012). Sport and challenges to racism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 35*(1), 162-163.

Burnett, C., & Uys, T. (2000). Sport development impact assessment: Towards a rationale and tool. *SA Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation, 22*(1), 27-40.

Burnett, C. (2001). Social Impact Assessment and Sport Development: social spin-offs of the Australia-South Africa junior sport programme. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 36*(1), 41-57.

Burnett, C. (2006). Building social capital through an Active community club'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 41*(3-4), 283-294.

Burnett, C. (2009). Engaging sport-for-development for social impact in the South African context. *Sport in Society, 12*(9), 1192-1205.

Burnett, C. (2011). Local agency as a strategic imperative in sport for development. *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation & Dance, 2*(1), 1-17.

Burnett, C. (2015a). The 'uptake'of a sport-for-development programme in South Africa. *Sport, Education and Society, 20*(7), 819-837.

Burnett, C. (2015b). Assessing the sociology of sport: On sport for development and peace. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 50*(4-5), 385-390.

Burns, P., & Gimpel, J. G. (2000). Economic insecurity, prejudicial stereotypes, and public opinion on immigration policy. *Political Science Quarterly, 115*(2), 201-225.

Cable, V. (1969). The 'football war' and the Central American common market. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, 658-671.

Cabrero, D., Winschiers-Theophilus, H., & Abdelnour-Nocera, J. (2016). Re-conceptualising personas across cultures: Archetypes, stereotypes and collective personas in two locales in pastoral Namibia. *Proceedings of the CaTaC*, 35-48.

Cakal, H., Eller, A., Sirlopú, D., & Pérez, A. (2016). Intergroup relations in Latin America: Intergroup contact, common ingroup identity, and activism among indigenous groups in Mexico and Chile. *Journal of Social Issues, 72*(2), 355-375.

Caldwell, S. E., & Mays, N. (2012). Studying policy implementation using a macro, meso and micro frame analysis: The case of the collaboration for leadership in applied health research & care (CLAHRC) programme nationally and in North West London. *Health Res Policy Syst, 10*(32), 10-32.

Caluwaerts, D., & Deschouwer, K. (2014). Building bridges across political divides: Experiments on deliberative democracy in deeply divided Belgium. *European Political Science Review, 6*(03), 427-450.

Cardenas, A. (2016). Sport and peace-building in divided societies: A case study on Colombia and Northern Ireland. *Peace and Conflict Studies, 23*(2), 4-27.

Carey, J. M., & Shugart, M. S. (1998). Calling out the tanks or filling out the forms? In. J. Carey, S. Sugart (Eds.) *Executive Decree Authority* (pp. 1-29), Cambridge University Press.

Carrington, B. (2011). 'What I said was Racist—But I'm not a racist': Anti-racism and the white sports/media complex. In J. Long and K. Spracklen (Eds.) *Sport and challenges to racism* (pp. 83-99), London: Springer.

Carrington, B. (2013). The critical sociology of race and sport: The first fifty years. *Annual Review of Sociology, 39*, 379-398.

Carroll, T. (2015). *Promoting participation in sport and other physical activity in Fiji.* (Government report). Canberra: Australian Aid.

Carter, P. L. (2005). *Keepin'it real: School success beyond black and white.* Oxford University Press.

Caspersen, N. (2004). Good fences make good neighbours? A comparison of conflict-regulation strategies in post-war Bosnia. *Journal of Peace Research, 41*(5), 569-588.

Cattermole, J. (2008). WE ARE FIJI: Rugby, music and the representation of the Fijian nation. *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures, 2*(2), 2099-2115.

Chambers, R. (1994). Participatory rural appraisal (PRA): Analysis of experience. *World Development, 22*(9), 1253-1268.

Chand, S. (2015). Socio-Political consequences of forced migration: The case of Indian indentured workers to Fiji. *Studia Historica Gedanensia, 5*(1), 139-153.

Chand, S. P. (2015). Challenges faced by curriculum developers in implementing multilingual education in Fiji classrooms. *Curriculum and Teaching, 30*(1), 85-94.

Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructively methods. In N. L. Denzin (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 509-535). Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis,* CA: Pine Forge Press.

Charmaz, K. (2008). Constructionism and the grounded theory method. *Handbook of Constructionist Research*, 397-412.

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory,* London: Sage publications.

Charmaz, K. (2017). Constructivist grounded theory. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 12*(3), 299-300.

Chattier, P. (2012). Sita's virtue, streedharma and shakti: Politics of gender in rural Fiji Indian society. *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific, 4*(2), 48-62.

Chattier, P. (2015). Women in the house (of parliament) in Fiji: What's gender got to do with it? *The Round Table, 104*(2), 177-188.

Chattier, P. D. (2013). Gender, survival and self-respect: Dimensions for agency for women within a poor rural Indo-Fijian community. *Open Research Repository,* Sydney: ANU.

Chawansky, M. (2014). You're juicy: Auto-ethnography as evidence in sport for development and peace (SDP) research. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health,* (ahead-of-print), 1-12.

Christ, O., Schmid, K., Lolliot, S., Swart, H., Stolle, D., Tausch, N., Hewstone, M. (2014). Contextual effect of positive intergroup contact on outgroup prejudice. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, 111*(11), 3996-4000.

Chua, A. (2004). *World on fire: How exporting free market democracy breeds ethnic hatred and global instability*, Random House LLC.

Clark, C., & Burnett, C. (2010). Upward social mobility through women's soccer: Psycho-social perspectives of sports. *African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance: Special Issue 1, 16*, 141-154.

Coakley, J. (2012). "Primordialism" and the study of nationalism. *The Multicultural Dilemma: Migration, Ethnic Politics, and State Intermediation, 42*, 153-172.

Coakley, J., & Fraenkel, J. (2014). Resolving conflict in bipolar societies the fate of political settlements in Fiji and Northern Ireland. *Political Science, 66*(1), 23-45.

Coalter, F. (2014). Pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will. In N. Schulenkorf, D. Adair. (Ed.), *Global sport-for-development: Critical perspectives* (1st ed., pp. 62-78). Hampshire: Palgrave: Macmillan.

Coalter, F. (2007). *A wider social role for sport: Who's keeping the score?* (1st ed.). London: Routledge.

Coalter, F. (2010). The politics of sport-for-development: Limited focus programmes and broad gauge problems? *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 45*(3), 295-314.

Coalter, F. (2013). *Sport for development: What game are we playing?* London: Routledge.

Cocom, R. (2014). *Exploring ethnic and national identification: An interpretive inquiry among persons of iTaukei and indo-Fijian descent (highlights of the research proposal).* (Unpublished Masters). Suva: The University of the South Pacific.

Coke Games Fiji. (2016). Competition results. Retrieved from https://sites.google.com/site/cokegamesfiji/coaches

Collins, T. (2015). *The Oval World: A global history of rugby*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Collison, H., Giulianotti, R., Howe, P., & Darnell, S. (2016). The methodological dance: Critical reflections on conducting a cross-cultural comparative research project on 'Sport for development and peace'. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 8*(5), 413-423.

Collison, H., & Marchesseault, D. (2016). Finding the missing voices of sport for development and peace (SDP): Using a 'Participatory social interaction research methodology and anthropological perspectives within African developing countries'. *Sport in Society, 2*(1), 1-17.

Comstock, D. L., Hammer, T. R., Strentzsch, J., Cannon, K., Parsons, J., & II, G. S. (2008). Relational-cultural theory: A framework for bridging relational, multicultural, and social justice competencies. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 86*(3), 279-287.

Connell, J. (1987). Migration, rural development and policy formation in the south pacific. *Journal of Rural Studies, 3*(2), 105-121.

Conner, N. (2014). Global cultural flows and the routes of identity: The imagined worlds of Celtic FC. *Social & Cultural Geography, 15*(5), 525-546.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*, London: Sage.

Corboz, J. (2012). Commercial sport and culture change: Lessons from 'Respect and Responsibility'– A primary prevention of violence against women policy implemented in the Australian football league. Retrieved from: www.Inter-Disciplinary.Net/Probing-the-Boundaries/Wp-Content/Uploads/2012/10/Corbozsportpaper.Pdf

Crabtree, A. (2006). *Designing collaborative systems: A practical guide to ethnography*, NY: Springer Science & Business Media.

Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2007). Designing and conducting mixed methods research. London: Sage.

Cronin, M., & Mayall, D. (1998). *Sporting Nationalisms: Identity, ethnicity, immigration, and assimilation*. London: Frank Cass.

Cuhadar, E., & Dayton, B. (2011). The social psychology of identity and inter-group conflict: From theory to practice. *International Studies Perspectives, 12*(3), 273-293.

Cunningham, G. B., & Melton, E. N. (2011). The benefits of sexual orientation diversity in sport organizations. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *58*(5), 647-663.

Curley, T. M. (2009). Social identity theory and EU expansion. *International Studies Quarterly, 53*(3), 649-668.

Dakuidreketi, M. R. (2006). *Context of science teaching and learning in Fiji primary schools: A comparative study of ethnic Fijian and indo-Fijian communities,* Fiji: The University of the South Pacific, Lautoka Campus.

Dakuidreketi, M. R. (2014). Scientific method and advent of literacy: Towards understanding iTaukei and Indo-Fijian school students' differential achievement in science. *Universal Journal of Educational Research, 2*(2), 99-109.

Darby, P., Akindes, G., & Kirwin, M. (2007). Football academies and the migration of African football labour to Europe. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 31*(2), 143-161.

Darko, N., & Mackintosh, C. (2014). Challenges and constraints in developing and implementing sports policy and provision in Antigua and Barbuda: Which way now for a small island state? *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 7*(3), 1-26.

Darnell, S. (2012). *Sport for development and peace: A critical sociology*. London: A&C Black.

Darnell, S. (2014). Orientalism through sport: Towards a Said-ian analysis of imperialism and 'Sport for development and peace'. *Sport in Society, 17*(8), 1000-1014.

Darnell, S., & Black, D. (2011). Mainstreaming sport into international development studies. *Third World Quarterly, 32*(3), 367-378.

Darnell, S., Chawansky, M., Marchesseault, D., Holmes, M., & Hayhurst, L. (2016). The state of play: Critical sociological insights into recent 'Sport for development and peace' research. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport,* 1(1), 12-23.

Darnell, S., & Hayhurst, L. (2012). Hegemony, post colonialism and sport-for-development: A response to Lindsey and Grattan. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 4*(1), 111-124.

Darnell, S., & Hayhurst, L. M. (2011). Sport for decolonization exploring a new praxis of sport for development. *Progress in Development Studies, 11*(3), 183-196.

Delamont, S. (2004). Ethnography and participant observation. *Qualitative Research Practice,* 3(4), 217-229.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2000). Qualitative research. CA: Thousand Oaks.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). *The sage handbook of qualitative* research, London: Sage.

Denzin, N., Lincoln, Y. S., & Smith, L. T. (2008). *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies*, London: Sage.

DePauw, K. P., & Gavron, S. J. (2005). *Disability sport,* Human Kinetics, 4(2), 1-17.

Deutsch, N. L. (2004). Positionality and the pen: Reflections on the process of becoming a feminist researcher and writer. *Qualitative Inquiry, 10*(6), 885-902.

DeWalt, K. M., & DeWalt, B. R. (2010). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers.* Rowman: Altamira.

Dichter, S., & Abu-Asba, K. (2006). Two peoples, one civil society. In E. Kaufman, & W. V. Salem J. (Eds.), *Bridging the divide: Peacebuilding in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict* (1st ed., pp. 167-198), London: SAGE.

Dimmock, J. A., Grove, J. R., & Eklund, R. C. (2005). Reconceptualizing team identification: New dimensions and their relationship to intergroup bias. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice, 9*(2), 75-92.

Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2005). Beyond the optimal contact strategy: A reality check for the contact hypothesis. *American Psychologist, 60*(7), 697.

Dixon, J., Levine, M., Reicher, S., & Durrheim, K. (2012). Beyond prejudice: Relational inequality, collective action, and social change revisited. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 35*(06), 451-466.

Dixon, J., Tropp, L. R., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2010). "Let them eat harmony" prejudice-reduction strategies and attitudes of historically disadvantaged groups. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 19*(2), 76-80.

Donnelly, P. (2008). Sport and human rights 1. *Sport in Society, 11*(4), 381-394.

Donnelly, P. (2011). From war without weapons to sport for development and peace: The Janus-face of sport. *SAIS Review, 31*(1), 65-76.

Dorovolomo, J. (2015). *Physical education in Fiji and Solomon Islands: Students' physical activity contexts* (PHD Thesis) Submitted to Southern Cross University, Lismore, Australia.

Douglas, J. D. (1976). *Investigative social research: Individual and team field research.* Sage Publications Beverly Hills, CA.

Dovidio, J. F., Eller, A., & Hewstone, M. (2011). Improving intergroup relations through direct, extended and other forms of indirect contact. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 14*(2), 147-160.

Dovidio, J. F., Hewstone, M., Glick, P., Esses, V. M., Dovidio, J., Glick, P., & Esses, V. M. (2010). Prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination: Theoretical and empirical overview. *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination,* London: Sage.

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Saguy, T. (2009). Commonality and the complexity of "we": Social attitudes and social change. *Personality and Social Psychology Review : An Official Journal of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Inc,* 13(1), 3-20.

Dowty, A. (2012). *Israel/Palestine*, NY: Polity.

Draucker, C. B., Martsolf, D. S., Ross, R., & Rusk, T. B. (2007). Theoretical sampling and category development in grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research, 17*(8), 1137-1148.

Drobizheva, L., Gottemoeller, R., Kelleher, C. M., & Walker, L. (2015). *Ethnic conflict in the post-soviet world: Case studies and analysis,* London: Routledge.

Dubow, S. (2000). *The African National Congress*, SA: Sutton Publishing.

Durante, F., Fiske, S. T., Kervyn, N., Cuddy, A. J., Akande, A. D., Adetoun, B. E., Mastor, K. A. (2013). Nations' income inequality predicts ambivalence in stereotype content: How societies mind the gap. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 52*(4), 726-746.

Dutt, R. J. (2010). The Fiji media decree: A push towards collaborative journalism. *Pacific Journalism Review, 16*(2), 81-96.

Dyck, C. B. (2011). Football and post-war reintegration: Exploring the role of sport in DDR processes in Sierra Leone. *Third World Quarterly, 32*(3), 395-415.

Eberhardt, J. L., Goff, P. A., Purdie, V. J., & Davies, P. G. (2004). Seeing black: Race, crime, and visual processing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87*(6), 876-888.

Eitzen, D. S. (2016). *Fair and foul: Beyond the myths and paradoxes of sport*, NY: Rowman & Littlefield.

Elling, A., Knoppers, A., & De Knop, P. (2001). The social integrative meaning of sport: A critical and comparative analysis of policy and practice in the Netherlands. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 18*(4), 414-434.

Ellis, C. (2004). *The Ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*, NY: Rowman Altamira.

England, K. V. (1994). Getting personal: Reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The Professional Geographer, 46*(1), 80-89.

Eriksen, T. H. (2001). Ethnic identity, national identity, and intergroup conflict. *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction, 2*(1), 42-68.

Eriksen, T. H. (2002). *Ethnicity and nationalism: Anthropological perspectives*, London: Pluto Press.

Eriksson, M., & Wallensteen, P. (2004). Armed conflict, 1989–2003. *Journal of Peace Research, 41*(5), 625-636.

Esteban, J., & Ray, D. (2011). A model of ethnic conflict. *Journal of the European Economic Association, 9*(3), 496-521.

Ewart, R. (2016a). Fiji rugby sevens coach Ben Ryan calls for squad to be set up as stand-alone franchise. Retrieved from http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-12-20/ben-ryan-calls-for-standalone-fiji-rugby-sevens-squad/8134888

Ewart, R. (2016b). Fiji won't change national flag after winning its first olympic gold medal, PM frank Bainimarama says. Retrieved from http://www.abc.net.au/news/richard-ewart/7294174

Ewart, R. (2016c). Rio 2016: Fiji rugby sevens team returns home to national celebrations after winning first Olympic gold. Retrieved from http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-08-22/fiji-olympic-team-returns-home-to-celebrations/7771170

Fabian, J. (1983). Time and the other: How anthropology makes it object. Columbia University Press.

Falk, I., & Kilpatrick, S. (2000). What is social capital? A study of interaction in a rural community. *Sociologia Ruralis, 40*(1), 87-110.

Fan, S., Hazell, P., & Thorat, S. (2000). Government spending, growth and poverty in rural India. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 82*(4), 1038-1051.

Farooq, S., Fear, C. F., & Oyebode, F. (1997). An investigation of the adequacy of psychiatric interviews conducted through an interpreter. *The Psychiatrist, 21*(4), 209-213.

Farrelly, T., & Nabobo-Baba, U. (2014). Talanoa as empathic apprenticeship. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint, 55*(3), 319-330.

FASANOC. (2015). Team Fiji reveal names for pacific games. Retrieved from http://www.foxsportspulse.com/assoc_page.cgi?c=1-3653-0-0-0&news_task=DETAIL&articleID=34357183

FASANOC. (2016). Fijian Olympic committee - team Fiji. Retrieved from http://websites.sportstg.com/assoc_page.cgi?c=2-3653-0-0-0&sID=35619

Feagin, J., & Elias, S. (2013). Rethinking racial formation theory: A systemic racism critique. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 36*(6), 931-960.

Feller, A. E., & Ryan, K. K. (2012). Definition, necessity, and nansen: Efficacy of dialogue in peacebuilding. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly, 29*(4), 351-380.

Field, R. (2014). For kick and country: The 2010 VIVA world cup and sport as a site for expressions of alternate 'national' identities. *National Identities,* (ahead-of-print), 1-17.

FIFA. (2017). Men's rankings. Retrieved from http://www.fifa.com/fifa-world-ranking/ranking-table/men/

Fiji Bureau of Statistics. (2007). Fiji statistics at a glance. Retrieved from http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/

Fiji Bureau of Statistics. (2015). *Population and labour force estimates of 2014.* (Statistical Report No. 99). Suva: Fiji Government.

Fiji Rugby Union. (2016). The Fiji rugby union. Retrieved from http://www.fijirugby.com/pages.cfm/about-union/

Fiji Sun. (2016). Bob Kumar retires. Retrieved from http://fijisun.com.fj/2016/10/06/bob-kumar-retires/

Fiji Women's Crisis Centre. (2013). *Somebody's life, everybody's business! National research on women's health and life experiences in Fiji*. Suva, Fiji: Fijiwomen.com.

Fijifootball. (2016). Football can be a career, teachers told. Retrieved from https://www.fijifootball.com.fj/archives-4575/

Fijitimes.com. (2010). 45% of people in poverty. Retrieved from http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=144874

Firth, S. (2015). The Fiji election of 2014: Rights, representation and legitimacy in Fiji politics. *The Round Table, 104*(2), 101-112.

Fisher, R. J. (2016). Towards a social-psychological model of intergroup conflict. In. R. Fisher (Ed) *Ronald J. fisher: A North American pioneer in interactive conflict resolution* (pp. 73-86), Washington: Springer.

Fleischmann, F., & Verkuyten, M. (2016). Dual identity among immigrants: Comparing different conceptualizations, their measurements, and implications. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 22*(2), 151.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 12*(2), 219-245.

Foner, N., & Simon, P. (2015). *Fear, anxiety, and national identity: Immigration and belonging in North America and Western Europe*, London: Russell Sage Foundation.

Foran, C. (2017). The Canada experiment, is this the world's first post-national country. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/04/the-canada-experiment-is-this-the-worlds-first-postnational-country

Forbes, H. D. (1997). *Ethnic conflict: Commerce, culture, and the contact hypothesis.* Yale University Press.

Forrest, J., & Dunn, K. (2010). Attitudes to multicultural values in diverse spaces in Australia's immigrant cities, Sydney and Melbourne. *Space and Polity, 14*(1), 81-102.

Forsey, M. G. (2010). Ethnography as participant listening. *Ethnography, 11*(4), 558-572.

Foster, S. (2007). Who let the blogs out? Media and free speech in post-coup Fiji. *Pacific Journalism Review, 13*(2), 47-62.

Fox, M., Martin, P., & Green, G. (2007). *Doing practitioner research.* London: Sage.

Fraenkel, J. (2015a). An analysis of provincial, urban and ethnic loyalties in Fiji's 2014 election. *The Journal of Pacific History, 50*(1), 38-53.

Fraenkel, J. (2015b). The remorseless power of incumbency in Fiji's September 2014 election. *The Round Table,* (ahead-of-print), 1-14.

Fraenkel, J., Firth, S., & Lal, B. (2009). *The 2006 military takeover in Fiji: A coup to end all coups?* Canberra: ANU E Press.

Freeman, K. (2012). Sport as swaggering: Utilizing sport as soft power. *Sport in Society, 15*(9), 1260-1274.

Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2014). *Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model*, Psychology Press Online 1-17.

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio, P. A., Bachman, B. A., & Rust, M. C. (1993). The common ingroup identity model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias. *European Review of Social Psychology, 4*(1), 1-26.

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Guerra, R., Hehman, E., & Saguy, T. (2016). A common ingroup identity: Categorization, identity, and intergroup relations. In T.D. Nelson (Ed) *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination,* (pp. 433-454) Psychology Press Online.

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Nier, J. A., Banker, B. S., Ward, C. M., Houlette, M., & Loux, S. (2000). The common ingroup identity model for reducing intergroup bias: Progress and challenges. *American Psychological Association*, 1(3) 22-36.

Gaertner, S. L., Rust, M. C., Dovidio, J. F., Bachman, B. A., & Anastasio, P. A. (1994). The contact hypothesis: The role of a common ingroup identity on reducing intergroup bias. *Small Group Research, 25*(2), 224-249.

Gaines, E. (2012). British imperialism in Fiji: A model for the semiotics of cultural identity. *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law-Revue Internationale De Sémiotique Juridique, 25*(2), 167-175.

Galily, Y., & Rookwood, J. (2013). Building from Beslan: Examining an NGO community sport initiative in Russia and its capacity to promote peace amongst victims of terrorism. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research, 5*(4), 230-242.

Galtung, J. (1975). Three approaches to peace: Peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding' in: *peace war and defence: Essays in peace research,* In J. Galtung (Ed.), *Peace war and defence: Essays in peace research* (pp. 137) Copenhagen: Christian.

Gasparini, W., & Cometti, A. (2010). *Sport facing the test of cultural diversity: Integration and intercultural dialogue in Europe, analysis and practical examples* Council of Europe.

Gasser, P. K., & Levinsen, A. (2004). Breaking post-war ice: Open fun football schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Sport in Society, 7*(3), 457-472.

Gawerc, M. I. (2006a). Peace-building: Theoretical and concrete perspectives. *Peace & Change, 31*(4), 435-478.

Gee, S., Jackson, S. J., & Sam, M. (2016). Carnivalesque culture and alcohol promotion and consumption at an annual international sports event in New Zealand. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 51*(3), 265-283.

Geertz, C. (1994). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. *Readings in the Philosophy of Social Science, 2*(1), 213-231.

Gellner, E. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism.* Cornell University Press.

Georgakis, S., & Molloy, S. (2016). From old soccer to new football? Expert accounts of transformations on the world game in Australia post-Crawford report. *Soccer & Society, 17*(1), 72-89.

George, N. (2012). *Situating women: Gender politics and circumstance in Fiji.* Canberra: ANU E Press.

Gillion, K. L. (1962). *Fiji's Indian migrants: A history to the end of indenture in 1920,* Oxford University Press.

Gioia, D. A., Corley, K. G., & Hamilton, A. L. (2013). Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research notes on the Gioia methodology. *Organizational Research Methods, 16*(1), 15-31.

Giulianotti, R., & Armstrong, G. (2014). The sport for development and peace sector: A critical sociological analysis. In D. Adair N. Schulenkorf (Eds.), *Global sport for development: Critical perspectives* (1st ed., pp. 15-32), UK: Palgrave and Macmillan.

Giulianotti, R. (2011a). Sport, transnational peacemaking, and global civil society: Exploring the reflective discourses of "sport, development, and peace" project officials. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 35*(1), 50-71.

Giulianotti, R. (2011b). Sport, transnational peacemaking, and global civil society: Exploring the reflective discourses of "sport, development, and peace" project officials. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 35*(1), 50-71.

Giulianotti, R. (2015). *Sport: A critical sociology*, London: John Wiley & Sons.

Glaser, B. (2001). *The grounded theory perspective: Conceptualization contrasted with description*, Boston: Sociology Press.

Glasford, D. E., & Calcagno, J. (2012). The conflict of harmony: Intergroup contact, commonality and political solidarity between minority groups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48*(1), 323-328.

Glasford, D. E., & Dovidio, J. F. (2011). E pluribus unum: Dual identity and minority group members' motivation to engage in contact, as well as social change. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 47*(5), 1021-1024.

Glesne, C., & Peshkin, A. (1992). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* Longman White Plains, NY.

Gobo, G. (2008). *Doing ethnography*, London: Sage.

Gobo, G. (2011). Ethnography. *Qualitative Research,* 3(1)*,* 15-36.

Goffman, E. (1974). 1986 frame analysis. *A Essay on the Organization of Experience.* Boston: North-Eastern University Press.

Gómez, S., Martí, C., & Opazo, M. (2008). The structural characteristics of sport organisations: Differentiation within elite Spanish professional football clubs. *Working Paper.* Barcelona: University of Navarra Press. 1-14.

González, R., & Brown, R. (2003). Generalization of positive attitude as a function of subgroup and superordinate group identifications in intergroup contact. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 33*(2), 195-214.

González, R., & Brown, R. (2006). Dual identities in intergroup contact: Group status and size moderate the generalization of positive attitude change. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 42*(6), 753-767.

Gonzalez-Torres, M. A., & Fernandez-Rivas, A. (2014). Some reflections on nationalism, identity and sexuality. *International Forum of Psychoanalysis, 23*(3) 135-143.

Gordon-Walker, C. (2016). *Exhibiting nation: Multicultural nationalism (and its limits) in Canada's museums,* British Columbia: UBC Press.

Gounder, N. (2013). Correlates of poverty in Fiji: An analysis of individual, household and community factors related to poverty. *International Journal of Social Economics, 40*(10), 923-938.

Fiji national sports commission decree no.5, Decree U.S.C. 69 (2013). doi:22/01/13

Government of Fiji. (2013b). Sports commission to encourage community development. Retrieved from http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Press-Releases/SPORTS-COMMISSION-TO-ENCOURAGE-COMMUNITY-DEVELOPME.aspx

Government of Fiji. (2014). Conference to target youth inclusion in nation building process. Retrieved from http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Press-Releases/CONFERENCE-TO-TARGET-YOUTH-INCLUSION-IN-NATION-BUI.aspx

Government of Fiji. (2016a). 2016 budget address. Retrieved from http://fijivillage.com/eventpages/2015/Budget2016/Documents/2016_Budget_Address.pdf

Government of Fiji. (2016b). Health officials urged to work with government to eradicate NCD. Retrieved from http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Press-Releases/HEALTH-OFFICIALS-URGED-TO-WORK-WITH-GOVERNMENT-TO-.aspx

Government of Fiji. (2016c). President champions NCD awareness campaign. Retrieved from http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Press-Releases/PRESIDENT-CHAMPIONS-NCD-AWARENESS-CAMPAIGN.aspx

Gramsci, A., Nowell-Smith, G., & Hoare, Q. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci: Ed. and transl. by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith.* International Publishers.

Granger, C. W. (1986). Developments in the study of cointegrated economic variables. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics, 48*(3), 213-228.

Green, M., & Houlihan, B. (2005). *Elite sport development: Policy learning and political priorities* Psychology Press Online.

Greene, M. J. (2014). On the inside looking in: Methodological insights and challenges in conducting qualitative insider research. *The Qualitative Report, 19*(29), 1-13.

Greenhouse, C. J. (1996). *A moment's notice: Time politics across cultures.* Cornell University Press.

Greenland, K., & Brown, R. (1999). Categorization and intergroup anxiety in contact between British and Japanese nationals. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29*(4), 503-521.

Greenwald, A. G., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2014). With malice toward none and charity for some: Ingroup favouritism enables discrimination. *American Psychologist, 69*(7), 669-675.

Griffin, P. (1998). *Strong women, deep closets: Lesbians and homophobia in sport.* London Human Kinetics Publishers.

Grigoryan, A. (2012). Ethno-federalism, separatism, and conflict: What have we learned from the soviet and Yugoslav experiences? *International Political Science Review, 33*(5), 520-538.

Grix, J., & Carmichael, F. (2012). Why do governments invest in elite sport? A polemic. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 4*(1), 73-90.

Grix, J., & Lee, D. (2013). Soft power, sports mega-events and emerging states: The lure of the politics of attraction. *Global Society, 27*(4), 521-536.

Guilianotti, R. (2013). *Football, violence and social identity.* London: Routledge.

Guinness, D. (2009). The rugby dream: Fijian masculinity, communality and migration. *MPhil Diss., University of Oxford Nd,*

Guinness, D., & Besnier, N. (2016). Nation, nationalism, and sport: Fijian rugby in the Local–Global nexus. *Anthropological Quarterly, 89*(4), 1109-1141.

Guthold, R., Ono, T., Strong, K. L., Chatterji, S., & Morabia, A. (2008). Worldwide variability in physical inactivity: A 51-country survey. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 34*(6), 486-494.

Gyaneshwar, R., Naidu, S., Raban, M. Z., Naidu, S., Linhart, C., Morrell, S., Taylor, R. (2016). Absolute cardiovascular risk in a Fiji medical zone. *BMC Public Health, 16*(1), 1-17.

Hacking, I. (1999). *The social construction of what?* Harvard University Press.

Halabi, S., Nadler, A., Dovidio, J., & Noor, M. (2010). Help that hurts: Effects of perceived security of hierarchy and perceived trust in the outgroup on interpretation of outgroup assistance. Psychology Press Online.

Halabi, S., Dovidio, J. F., & Nadler, A. (2008). When and how do high status group members offer help: Effects of social dominance orientation and status threat? *Political Psychology, 29*(6), 841-858.

Hall, S. (1996). Gramsci's relevance for the study of race and ethnicity. In. D. Morley, K. Chen (Eds.) *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (pp. 411-440), London: Routledge.

Hall, W. A., & Callery, P. (2001). Enhancing the rigor of grounded theory: Incorporating reflexivity and relationality. *Qualitative Health Research, 11*(2), 257-272.

Hammack, P. L. (2006). Identity, conflict, and coexistence life stories of Israeli and Palestinian adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 21*(4), 323-369.

Hammersley, M. (2017). What is ethnography? Can it survive? Should it? *Ethnography and Education, 1*(1), 1-17.

Hargreaves, J. (1984). State intervention in sport and hegemony in Britain. *Leisure Studies Association, 3*, 32-46.

Hargreaves, J. (2002). Globalisation theory, global sport, and nations and nationalism. In. J. Sugden and A. Thomlinson (Eds) *Power Games: A Critical Sociology of Sport,* (pp. 25-43).

Harper, C., Jones, N., & Marcus, R. (2013). *Research for development: A practical guide*. London: Sage.

Harris, A., Evans, H., & Beckett, K. (2011). Courtesy stigma and monetary sanctions toward a socio-cultural theory of punishment. *American Sociological Review, 76*(2), 234-264.

Hartmann, D., & Kwauk, C. (2011). Sport and development: An overview, critique, and reconstruction. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 3*(1), 1-22.

Hartmann-Tews, U. (2002). Sport for all. *Sport and Physical Education in Germany,* 1(1), 129- 153.

Hasenfeld, Y., & Gidron, B. (2005). Understanding multi-purpose hybrid voluntary organizations: The contributions of theories on civil society, social movements and non-profit organizations. *Journal of Civil Society, 3*(2), 97-112.

Haslam, S. A., Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., Reynolds, K. J., Eggins, R. A., Nolan, M., & Tweedie, J. (1998). When do stereotypes become really consensual? Investigating the group-based dynamics of the consensualization process. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 28*(5), 755-776.

Hay, R. (1998). Croatia: Community, conflict and culture: The role of soccer clubs in migrant identity. *Immigrants & Minorities, 17*(1), 49-66.

Hay, R. (2001). "Those bloody Croatians": Croatian soccer teams, ethnicity and violence in Australia, 1950-99. *Fear and Loathing in World Football,* 3(2), 77-90.

Hayhurst, L. M. (2014). The 'Girl effect'and martial arts: Social entrepreneurship and sport, gender and development in Uganda. *Gender, Place & Culture, 21*(3), 297-315.

Hayhurst, L. M. (2015). Sport for development and peace: A call for transnational, multi-sited, postcolonial feminist research. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health,* 4, 1-20.

Hayhurst, L. M., Kay, T., & Chawansky, M. (2015). *Beyond sport for development and peace: Transnational perspectives on theory, policy and practice. London:* Routledge.

Hayhurst, L. M., MacNeill, M., Kidd, B., & Knoppers, A. (2014). Gender relations, gender-based violence and sport for development and peace: Questions, concerns and cautions emerging from Uganda. *Women's Studies International Forum,* 47, 157-167.

Heine, S. J., Lehman, D. R., Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1999). Is there a universal need for positive self-regard? *Psychological Review,* 106(4), 749-766.

Herb, G. H., & Kaplan, D. H. (1999). *Nested identities: Nationalism, territory, and scale.* London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hewstone, M. E., & Brown, R. E. (1986). *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters.* Basil Blackwell.

Hewstone, M., Rubin, M., & Willis, H. (2002). Intergroup bias. *Annual Review of Psychology, 53*(1), 575-604.

Hill, B. (2015). Corruption widespread in Fiji's public sector. Retrieved from: http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-11-27/corruption-widespread-in-fiji's-public-sector/6982154

Hirt, E. R., Zillmann, D., Erickson, G. A., & Kennedy, C. (1992). Costs and benefits of allegiance: Changes in fans' self-ascribed competencies after team victory versus defeat. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 63*(5), 724.

Hoberman, J. (1993). Sport and ideology in the post-communist age. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hoberman, J. M. (1997). *Darwin's Athletes: How sport has damaged black America and preserved the myth of race*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (2012). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*. Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J., & Kertzer, D. J. (1992). Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe today. *Anthropology Today, 8*(1), 3-8.

Hodder, I. (2003). Archaeological reflexivity and the" local" voice. *Anthropological Quarterly, 76*(1), 55-69.

Hoekman, M. J., & Schulenkorf, N. (2015). 7 sustainable management of sport-for-development through youth re-engagement. *Transnational Perspectives on Theory, Policy and Practice, 53*, 135-144.

Hogg, M. A. (2013). Intergroup Relations. In S.T. Fiske, D.T. Gilbert, G. Lindzey (Eds) *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 533-561), London: Springer.

Hogg, M. A. (2016). Social identity theory. In S. McKeown, R. Haji, N. Ferguson (Eds.) *Understanding peace and conflict through social identity theory* (pp. 3-17). New York: Springer.

Höglund, K., & Sundberg, R. (2008a). Reconciliation through sports? The case of south Africa. *Third World Quarterly, 29*(4), 805-818.

Holdsworth, M., El Ati, J., Bour, A., Kameli, Y., Derouiche, A., Millstone, E., & Delpeuch, F. (2013). Developing national obesity policy in middle-income countries: A case study from North Africa. *Health Policy and Planning, 28*(8), 858-870.

Holloway, I. (2008). *AZ of qualitative research in nursing and healthcare.* London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Holmes, M. (1994). Symbols of national identity and sport: The case of the Irish football team. *Irish Political Studies, 9*(1), 81-98.

Holston, J. (2014). "Come to the street!" Urban protest, Brazil 2013. *Anthropological Quarterly, 87*(3), 887-900.

Horowitz, D. L. (1985). *Ethnic groups in conflict*. Oakland: Univ of California Press.

Horton, P. (2012). Pacific islanders in global rugby: The changing currents of sports migration. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 29*(17), 2388-2404.

Houlihan, B. (1997). Sport, national identity and public policy. *Nations and Nationalism, 3*(1), 113-137.

Houlihan, B. (2005). Public sector sport policy developing a framework for analysis. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 40*(2), 163-185.

Houlihan, B., & Malcolm, D. (2015). *Sport and society: A student introduction*. London: Sage.

Houlihan, B., & Zheng, J. (2015). Small states: Sport and politics at the margin. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 7*(3), 329-344.

Hughes, J. (2014). Contact and context: Sharing education and building relationships in a divided society. *Research Papers in Education, 29*(2), 193-210.

Hughes, J., Campbell, A., & Jenkins, R. (2011). Contact, trust and social capital in Northern Ireland: A qualitative study of three mixed communities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 34*(6), 967-985.

Hughson, J. (1998). Soccer support and social identity: Finding the Third space'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 33*(4), 403-409.

Hughson, J. (1999). A tale of two tribes: Expressive fandom in Australian soccer's a-league. *Culture, Sport Society, 2*(3), 10-30.

Hughson, J., & Poulton, E. (2006). Only genuine fans need apply: An organisational analysis of the English football association's response to football supporter stereotypes. *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing, 2*(1-2), 69-82.

Hunt, J. C. (1989). *Psychoanalytic aspects of fieldwork.* Chicago: Sage Publications.

Huo, Y. J., Smith, H. J., Tyler, T. R., & Lind, E. A. (1996). Superordinate identification, subgroup identification, and justice concerns: Is separatism the problem; is assimilation the answer? *Psychological Science, 2*(1) , 40-45.

Hutchinson, S. E. (2001). A curse from god? Religious and political dimensions of the post-1991 rise of ethnic violence in South Sudan. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 39*(02), 307-331.

Hylleberg, S., Engle, R. F., Granger, C. W., & Yoo, B. S. (1990). Seasonal integration and cointegration. *Journal of Econometrics, 44*(1), 215-238.

Hylton, K. (2010). How a turn to critical race theory can contribute to our understanding of 'race', racism and anti-racism in sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 45*(3), 335-354.

Ignatieff, M. (2010). *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the new nationalism.* New York: Random House.

Integration-durch-sport. (2016). Overview. Retrieved from https://integration.dosb.de/inhalte/ueber-uns/das-programm/

Inzlicht, M., & Ben-Zeev, T. (2000). A threatening intellectual environment: Why females are susceptible to experiencing problem-solving deficits in the presence of males. *Psychological Science, 11*(5), 365-371.

Iredale, R. R., Voigt-Graf, C., & Khoo, S. (2015). Trends in international and internal teacher mobility in three pacific island countries. *International Migration, 53*(1), 97-114.

James, K. (2015). Sugar city blues: A year following Lautoka Blues in Fiji's national soccer league. *The International Journal of Soccer, 1*(1), 1-25. doi:04/02/15

Janssens, H., Verkuyten, M., & Khan, A. (2015). Perceived social structural relations and group stereotypes: A test of the stereotype content model in Malaysia. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 18*(1), 52-61.

Jarvie, G. (2003). Communitarianism, sport and social Capital Neighbourly insights into Scottish sport'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 38*(2), 139-153.

Jarvie, G. (2013). *Sport, culture and society: An introduction.* London: Routledge.

Jarvie, G. (2014). *Class, race and sport in South Africa's political economy (RLE sports studies)*. Lonbdon: Routledge.

Jaśko, K., & Kossowska, M. (2013). The impact of superordinate identification on the justification of intergroup inequalities. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 43*(4), 255-262.

Jenkins, R. (2014). *Social identity*. London: Routledge.

Jetten, J., & Spears, R. (2003). The divisive potential of differences and similarities: The role of intergroup distinctiveness in intergroup differentiation. *European Review of Social Psychology, 14*(1), 203-241.

Johansen, M. (2014). VisitBritain's advice on how to avoid offending foreigners backfires. Retrieved from http://www.ibtimes.com/visitbritains-advice-how-avoid-offending-foreigners-backfires-1528986

Johnston, L. D., Delva, J., & O'Malley, P. M. (2007). Sports participation and physical education in American secondary schools: Current levels and racial/ethnic and socioeconomic disparities. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 33*(4), 195-208.

Jok, J. M. (2012). Insecurity and ethnic violence in South Sudan: Existential threats to the state? *The Sudd Institute,* 1-5.

Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994a). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 33*(1), 1-27.

Kallio, H., Pietilä, A. M., Johnson, M., & Kangasniemi, M. (2016). Systematic methodological review: developing a framework for a qualitative semi-structured interview guide. *Journal of advanced nursing*, *72*(12), 2954-2965.

Kamberelis, G., & Dimitriadis, G. (2005). Focus groups. In N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research-Third Edition.* (pp, 887-908). London: Sage publications.

Kanemasu, Y. (2013). Social construction of touristic imagery: Case of Fiji. *Annals of Tourism Research, 43*, 456-481.

Kanemasu, Y., & Molnar, G. (2013a). Collective identity and contested allegiance: A case of migrant professional Fijian rugby players. *Sport in Society, 16*(7), 863-882.

Kanemasu, Y., & Molnar, G. (2013b). Pride of the people: Fijian rugby labour migration and collective identity. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 48*(6), 720-735.

Kanemasu, Y., & Molnar, G. (2013c). Problematizing the dominant: The emergence of alternative cultural voices in fiji rugby. *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science, 2*(1), 14-30.

Kashima, Y. (2000). Maintaining cultural stereotypes in the serial reproduction of narratives. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26*(5), 594-604.

Katano, A. (2009). Conflict prevention and peacebuilding. *Religion and Politics, 4*(3), 351-367.

Kawakami, K., Dion, K. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1998). Racial prejudice and stereotype activation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 24*(4), 407-416.

Kay, T., & Dudfield, O. (2013). *The commonwealth guide to advancing development through sport*, London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Kay, T., & Spaaij, R. (2012). The mediating effects of family on sport in international development contexts. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 47*(1), 77-94.

Keat, R. A., & Sam, M. P. (2013). Regional implementation of New Zealand sport policy: New instrument, new challenges. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 5*(1), 39-54.

Keaton, S. A., & Bodie, G. D. (2011). Explaining social constructivism. *Communication Teacher, 25*(4), 192-196.

Keim, M. (2003). *Nation building at play: Sport as a tool for social integration in post-apartheid South Africa,* Achen: Meyer & Meyer Verlag.

Kelly, A. (2015). Restoring democracy: Australian responses to military coups in Fiji. *Journal of International Studies,* 11, 1-13.

Kendall, J. (1999). Axial coding and the grounded theory controversy. *Western Journal of Nursing Research, 21*(6), 743-757.

Keown, M., Murphy, D., & Procter, J. (2009). *Comparing postcolonial diasporas*. London: Springer.

Kerr, M. (2006). Imposing power-sharing: Conflict and coexistence in Northern Ireland and Lebanon. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

Kessler, T., Mummendey, A., Funke, F., Brown, R., Binder, J., Zagefka, H., Maquil, A. (2010). We all live in Germany but… ingroup projection, group-based emotions and prejudice against immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 40*(6), 985-997.

Khan, K. M., Thompson, A. M., Blair, S. N., Sallis, J. F., Powell, K. E., Bull, F. C., & Bauman, A. E. (2012). Sport and exercise as contributors to the health of nations. *The Lancet, 380*(9836), 59-64.

Khan, Z. (2010, October 18). Sports inspiration. *Fiji Sun*, pp. 6.

Kidd, B. (2008a). *Sporting success, role models and sports participation: A policy related review', research report,* (No. 101). Edinburgh: Sports Scotland.

Kidd, B. (2008b). A new social movement: Sport for development and peace. *Sport in Society, 11*(4), 370-380.

Kinder, D. R., & Dale-Riddle, A. (2012). *The end of race? Obama, 2008, and racial politics in America.* Yale University Press.

King, A. (2000). Football fandom and post-national identity in the new Europe. *British Journal of Sociology, 51*(3), 419-442.

Knoblauch, H. (2005). Focused ethnography. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* 6(3), 63-82.

Koch, A., Imhoff, R., Dotsch, R., Unkelbach, C., & Alves, H. (2016). The ABC of stereotypes about groups: Agency/socioeconomic success, conservative–progressive beliefs, and communion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 110*(5), 675-695.

Koch, N. (2013). Sport and soft authoritarian nation-building. *Political Geography, 32*, 42-51.

Koenig, M. (2015). Incorporating Muslim migrants in western nation states—a comparison of the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. In. S. Kubert (Ed.) *After integration* (pp. 43-58). NY: Springer.

Kohl, H. W., Craig, C. L., Lambert, E. V., Inoue, S., Alkandari, J. R., Leetongin, G., Lancet Physical Activity Series Working Group. (2012). The pandemic of physical inactivity: Global action for public health. *The Lancet, 380*(9838), 294-305.

Kriesberg, L. (2001). Changing forms of coexistence. *Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice, 3*(2), 47-64.

Krueger, J., & Clement, R. W. (1994). The truly false consensus effect: An ineradicable and egocentric bias in social perception. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67*(4), 596.

Krüger, A., & Murray, W. (2010). *The Nazi Olympics: Sport, politics, and appeasement in the 1930s*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Kuma, C., Finau, G., Rotuivaqali, M. B., & Rika, N. J. (2013). Accounting and accountability in the Fiji rugby union (FRU). Fiji, Suva: USP repository.

Kumar, A. (2014). IRB suspends fund to FRU. Retrieved from http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=256753

Kumar, R. (2013). On the ball', *Fiji times online,* Retrieved from: Http://Www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=238224

Kumar, R., & Radika, R. (2013). Exploring the developments in urbanisation, aid dependency, sectoral shifts and services sector expansion in Fiji: A modern growth perspective. *Global Business and Economics Review, 15*(4), 371-395.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2003). Problematizing cultural stereotypes in TESOL. *Tesol Quarterly, 37*(4), 709-719.

Kuper, L. (1983). *Genocide: Its political use in the twentieth century.* Yale University Press.

Kyle, D. G. (2014). *Sport and spectacle in the ancient world.* London: John Wiley & Sons.

Lachenal, G. (2016). At home in the postcolony: Ecology, empire and domesticity at the Lamto field station, Ivory Coast. *Social Studies of Science, 46*(6), 877-893.

Lake, D. A., & Rothchild, D. (1996a). Containing fear: The origins and management of ethnic conflict. *International Security, 21*(2), 41-75.

Lake, D. A., & Rothchild, D. (1996b). Containing fear: The origins and management of ethnic conflict. *International Security, 21*(2), 41-75.

Laker, A. (2002). *The sociology of sport and physical education: An introductory reader.* Psychology Press Online.

Lakisa, D., Adair, D., & Taylor, T. (2014). Pasifika diaspora and the changing face of Australian rugby league. *The Contemporary Pacific, 26*(2), 347-367.

Lal, B. (2006). Fiji: British documents on the end of empire project. *Her Majesty's Stationary Office,*

Lal, B. (2012a). Editorial: Fiji's coup conundrum. *The Round Table, 101*(6), 489-497.

Lal, B. (2012b). Trajectories of transformation: Fiji Indians from common roll to consociationalism. *Diaspora Studies, 5*(2), 147-169.

Lal, B. (2013). *Chalo jahaji: On a journey through indenture in Fiji*, Canberra: ANU Press.

Lal, B. (2014a). In frank Bainimarama's shadow: Fiji, elections and the future. *The Journal of Pacific History,* (ahead-of-print), 1-12.

Lancee, B., & Pardos-Prado, S. (2013). Group conflict theory in a longitudinal perspective: Analyzing the dynamic side of ethnic competition. *International Migration Review, 47*(1), 106-131.

Lane, J. (2012). Fiji: What kind of militocracy? *Japanese Journal of Political Science, 13*(03), 401-417.

Larson, E. (2013). Political orientation and the resonance of ethnic mobilization: Understanding the prospects for reducing ethnic politics in Fiji. *Ethnicities,* 6(8), 68-83.

Larson, E., & Aminzade, R. (2007). Nation-states confront the global: Discourses of indigenous rights in Fiji and Tanzania. *The Sociological Quarterly, 48*(4), 801-831.

Lassiter, L. E. (2005). *The Chicago guide to collaborative ethnography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lawson, S. (2016). Chiefly leadership in Fiji after the 2014 elections. *Elections in Fiji*, *1*, 41-63.

Lawton, J., Ahmad, N., Hanna, L., Douglas, M., & Hallowell, N. (2006). 'I can't do any serious exercise': Barriers to physical activity amongst people of Pakistani and Indian origin with type 2 diabetes. *Health Education Research, 21*(1), 43-54.

Lechner, F. J. (2007). Imagined communities in the global game: Soccer and the development of Dutch national identity. *Global Networks, 7*(2), 215-229.

Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Lederach, J. P. (2005). *The moral imagination: The art and soul of building peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lee, J. W., & Bairner, A. (2009). The difficult dialogue: Communism, nationalism, and political propaganda in North Korean sport. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 33*(4), 390-410.

Leidner, B., Castano, E., & Ginges, J. (2013). Dehumanization, retributive and restorative justice, and aggressive versus diplomatic intergroup conflict resolution strategies. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 39*(2), 181-192.

Lemarchand, R. (1996). *Burundi: Ethnic conflict and genocide*. Cambridge University Press.

Letki, N. (2008). Does diversity erode social cohesion? Social capital and race in British neighbourhoods. *Political Studies, 56*(1), 99-126.

Leuprecht, C. (2012). The ethno-demographic structure of democratic consolidation in Mauritius and Fiji. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 50*(1), 75-102.

Levermore, R., & Beacom, A. (2012). Reassessing sport-for-development: Moving beyond 'mapping the territory'. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 4*(1), 125-137.

Lewis, W., & Edwards, P. (1993). *Time and western man.* Santa Rosa, CA: Black Sparrow Press.

Lindsey, I., & Grattan, A. (2012). An "international movement?" decentring sport-for-development within Zambian communities. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 4*(1), 91-110.

Lippmann, W. (1922). Stereotypes. London: Sage Publications.

Lock, D., Taylor, T., Funk, D., & Darcy, S. (2012). Exploring the development of team identification. *Journal of Sport Management, 26*(4), 283-294.

Long, J., Robinson, P., & Spracklen, K. (2005). Promoting racial equality within sports organizations. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 29*(1), 41-59.

Long, J., & Spracklen, K. (2010). *Sport and challenges to racism.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lynch, M. (1998). Towards a constructivist genealogy of social constructivism. *The Politics of Constructionism, 2*(1), 13-32.

Lynes, K. (2011). On the ground. *Intervention and Research in Visual Culture, 4*(2), 17-32.

Lyras, A., & Welty Peachey, J. (2011). Integrating sport-for-development theory and praxis. *Sport Management Review, 14*(4), 311-326.

M. Woisetschläger, D., J. Haselhoff, V., & Backhaus, C. (2014). Fans' resistance to naming right sponsorships: Why stadium names remain the same for fans. *European Journal of Marketing, 48*(7/8), 1487-1510.

Mac Ginty, R., & Richmond, O. P. (2013). The local turn in peace building: A critical agenda for peace. *Third World Quarterly, 34*(5), 763-783.

MacClancy, J. (1996). *Sport, identity and ethnicity.* Bristol: Berg Publisher Ltd.

Mackie, D. M., & Hamilton, D. L. (2014). *Affect, cognition and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception*. Boston: Academic Press.

MacLean, M. (2014). Revisiting (and revising?) sports boycotts: From rugby against South Africa to soccer in Israel. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 31*(15), 1832-1851.

Macnaught, T. J. (1979). *Assessments of the Fijian colonial experience, 1874-1970.* New York: American Historical Association.

Maguire, J. (2015). Assessing the sociology of sport: On globalization and the diffusion of sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 50*(4-5), 519-523.

Maharaj, M. (2013). English under the microscope. Retrieved from http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=313561

Maio, G., & Haddock, G. (2009). *The psychology of attitudes and attitude change*, London: Sage.

Mann, M. (2005). *The dark side of democracy: Explaining ethnic cleansing*. Cambridge University Press.

Maoz, I. (2000). Multiple conflicts and competing agendas: A framework for conceptualizing structured encounters between groups in conflict—the case of a coexistence project of Jews and Palestinians in Israel. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 6*(2), 135.

Marcus, G. E. (1998). *Ethnography through thick and thin*. NJ: Princeton University Press.

Marcus, G. E. (2007). How short can fieldwork be? *Social Anthropology, 15*(3), 353-357.

Mason, D. (1995). *Race and ethnicity in modern Britain*. Oxford University Press.

Masso, A. (2009). A readiness to accept immigrants in Europe? Individual and country-level characteristics. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35*(2), 251-270.

McCarthy, S. (2011). Soldiers, chiefs and church: Unstable democracy in Fiji. *International Political Science Review, 32*(5), 563-578.

McCurdy, D. W., Spradley, J. P., & Shandy, D. J. (2004). *The cultural experience: Ethnography in complex society*. Oxford: Waveland Press.

McDonald, B. (2004). The university rowing club as a site of moral and social education in Japan. *International Sports Studies, 26*(2), 15-28.

McDonald, B., & Hallinan, C. (2005). Seishin habitus spiritual capital and Japanese rowing. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 40*(2), 187-200.

McDonald, B., & Rodriguez, L. (2014). 'It's our meal ticket': Pacific bodies, labour and mobility in Australia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science, 3*(3), 236-249.

McDonald, I. (2005). Theorising partnerships: Governance, communicative action and sport policy. *Journal of Social Policy, 34*(04), 579-600.

McGarry, J., & O'leary, B. (2013). *The politics of ethnic conflict regulation: Case studies of protracted ethnic conflicts* Routledge.

Meuleman, B., Davidov, E., & Billiet, J. (2009). Changing attitudes toward immigration in Europe, 2002–2007: A dynamic group conflict theory approach. *Social Science Research, 38*(2), 352-365.

Miles, W. F. (2015). *Hausaland divided: Colonialism and independence in Nigeria and Niger*. Cornell University Press.

Miller, S. (2014). *Iraqi Kurds: Road to genocide* (PHD Thesis), Submitted to Baylor University.

Miller, T., Lawrence, G. A., McKay, J., & Rowe, D. (2001). *Globalization and sport: Playing the World*, London: Sage.

Mills, J., Bonner, A., & Francis, K. (2008). The development of constructivist grounded theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5*(1), 25-35.

Miyazaki, H. (2005). From sugar cane to 'swords': Hope and the extensibility of the gift in Fiji. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 11*(2), 277-295.

Mohan, S., Wilkes, L., & Jackson, D. (2008). Lifestyle of Asian Indians with coronary heart disease: The Australian context. *Collegian, 15*(3), 115-121.

Molnar, G., & Kanemasu, Y. (2016). *Challenges of exploring women's resistance in post-colonial hegemonic masculinity*, Worcester: Worcester online e-press.

Molnar, G., & Kanemasu, Y. (2014). Playing on the global periphery: Social scientific explorations of rugby in the pacific islands. *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science, 3*(3), 175-185.

Morales, L., & Giugni, M. (2016). *Social capital, political participation and migration in Europe: Making multicultural democracy work?* Springer.

Mumm, G., & O'Connor, D. (2014). The motivational profile of professional male Fijian rugby players and their perceptions of coaches' and managers' cultural awareness. *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science, 3*(3), 202-221.

Mummendey, A., Klink, A., & Brown, R. (2001). Nationalism and patriotism: National identification and out-group rejection. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 40*(2), 159-172.

Mummendey, A., & Otten, S. (2001). Aversive discrimination. *Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology: Intergroup Processes, 2*(1), 112-132.

Muro, D. (2013). *Ethnicity and violence: The case of radical Basque nationalism.* London: Routledge.

Mwaanga, O., & Adeosun, K. (2015). 20 the critical participatory paradigm and its implications. *Ethics and Governance in Sport: The Future of Sport Imagined,14* (1), 190-110.

Nabobo, U., & Teasdale, J. (1995). Education for cultural identity: A Fiji case study. *Prospects, 25*(4), 695-706.

Naidu, V. (1980). *The violence of indenture in Fiji.* Suva: World University Service.

Naidu, V. (2016). Fiji: Ethnicity and the post-colonial. *Internal Conflict and Governance, 6*(2)*,* 81-101.

Naidu, V., Matadradra, A., & Sahib, M. (2013). *Fiji: The challenges and opportunities of diversity*. Minority Rights Group International.

Nanayakkara, S. (2012). Crossing boundaries and changing identities: Empowering South Asian women through sport and physical activities. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 29*(13), 1885-1906.

Naples, N. A. (1996). A feminist revisiting of the insider/outsider debate: The "outsider phenomenon" in rural Iowa. *Qualitative Sociology, 19*(1), 83-106.

Narain, P. (2016). Fiji FA establishes ethics committee. Retrieved from http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=345120

Naupoto, V., Hon. (2012a). *National sports policy.* (1). Fiji: Ministry of Youth Sports.

Naupoto, V., Hon. (2012b). *National youth sports policy.* (2). Fiji: Ministry of Youth Sport.

Naupoto, V. (2014). Minister Naupoto - speech at the Fiji national sports commission conference with the national sporting organisations. Retrieved from http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Speeches/MINISTER-NAUPOTO---SPEECH-AT-THE-FIJI-NATIONAL-SPO.aspx

Newland, L. (2013). Imagining nationhood: Narratives of belonging and the question of a Christian state in Fiji. *Global Change, Peace & Security, 25*(2), 227-242.

Newman, B. M., Lohman, B. J., & Newman, P. R. (2007). Peer group membership and a sense of belonging: Their relationship to adolescent behaviour problems. *Adolescence, 42*(166), 241-263.

Nicholson, M., & Hoye, R. (2008). *Sport and social capital*. London: Routledge.

Nicholson, M., Hoye, R., & Houlihan, B. (2010). *Participation in sport: International policy perspectives,* London: Routledge.

Njelesani, D. (2011). Preventive HIV/AIDS education through physical education: Reflections from Zambia. *Third World Quarterly, 32*(3), 435-452.

Noy, C. (2008). Sampling knowledge: The hermeneutics of snowball sampling in qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 11*(4), 327-344.

Nygård, H. M., & Gates, S. (2013). Soft power at home and abroad: Sport diplomacy, politics and peace-building. *International Area Studies Review, 10*, 235-243.

NZTRI. (2007). *National identity and sport: An annotated bibliography.* (No. 4). AUT University: New Zealand Tourism Research Institute.

OFC. (2017). Just play. Retrieved from https://www.oceaniafootball.com/category/just-play-programme/

Ogan, C., Willnat, L., Pennington, R., & Bashir, M. (2014). The rise of anti-Muslim prejudice: Media and Islamophobia in Europe and the United States. *International Communication Gazette, 76*(1), 27-46.

Oh, H., Chung, M., & Labianca, G. (2004). Group social capital and group effectiveness: The role of informal socializing ties. *Academy of Management Journal, 47*(6), 860-875.

Okada, C., & Young, K. (2011). Sport and social development: Promise and caution from an incipient Cambodian football league. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 41*(1), 5-26.

Olutayo, A. O. (2014). 'Verstehen', everyday sociology and development: Incorporating African indigenous knowledge. *Critical Sociology, 40*(2), 229-238.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960's to the 1990's* (2nd ed.) New York: Routledge.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2014). *Racial formation in the United States.* London: Routledge.

Otsuka, S. (2005). Talanoa research: Culturally appropriate research design in Fiji. *International Education Research Conference,* Melbourne Australia.

Paasi, A. (2016). Nationalizing everyday life: Individual and collective identities as practice and discourse. *Geography Research Forum.* 19, 4-21.

Paffenholz, T. (2010). *Civil society & peacebuilding: A critical assessment.* Lynne Rienner Publishers London.

Paffenholz, T. (2015). Unpacking the local turn in peacebuilding: A critical assessment towards an agenda for future research. *Third World Quarterly, 36*(5), 857-874.

Paffenholz, T. (2016). Peacebuilding goes local and the local goes peacebuilding. In. T. Debiel, T. Held, U. Schneckener (Eds.) *Peacebuilding in Crisis: Rethinking Paradigms and Practices of Transnational Cooperation.* (pp. 210-224) London: Routledge.

Paffenholz, T., & Spurk, C. (2006). Civil society, civic engagement, and peacebuilding. *Social Development Paper,* 36. 1-23.

Paluck, E. L. (2010). Is it better not to talk? Group polarization, extended contact, and perspective taking in eastern democratic republic of Congo. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 36*(9), 1170-1185.

Panapa, L., & Phillips, M. (2014). Ethnic persistence: Towards understanding the lived experiences of pacific island athletes in the national rugby league. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 31*(11), 1374-1388.

Paolini, S., Wright, S. C., Dys-Steenbergen, O., & Favara, I. (2016). Self-Expansion and intergroup contact: Expectancies and motives to Self-Expand lead to greater interest in outgroup contact and more positive intergroup relations. *Journal of Social Issues, 72*(3), 450-471.

Papakonstantinou, Z. (2003). Alcibiades in Olympia: Olympic ideology, sport and social conflict in classical Athens. *Journal of Sport History, 30*(2), 173-182.

Park, R. J. (1994). A decade of the body: Researching and writing about the history of health, fitness, exercise and sport, 1983-1993. *Journal of Sport History, 21*(1), 59-82.

Parsons, T. (2007). An outline of the social system (1961). *Classical Sociological Theory,* 3(2), 421-440.

Paulle, B., & Kalir, B. (2014). The integration matrix reloaded: From ethnic fixations to established versus outsiders dynamics in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 40*(9), 1354-1374.

Paxton, P., & Mughan, A. (2006). What's to fear from immigrants? Creating an assimilationist threat scale. *Political Psychology, 27*(4), 549-568.

Perry, N. (2014). International monitors endorse Fiji elections as credible. Retrieved from http://bigstory.ap.org/article/6e44f8f77b6e4c0e867b9d8750689e5b/international-monitors-endorse-fiji-election

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2000). Does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Recent meta-analytic findings. *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination,* 93, 114.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 90(5), 751-765.

Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U., & Christ, O. (2011). Recent advances in intergroup contact theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 35*(3), 271-280.

PGA Australia. (2016). The Fiji international has come of age. Retrieved from http://www.pga.org.au/news/pga-tour-aus/2016/fiji-international/the-fiji-international-has-come-of-age

Phillips, C., & Platt, L. (2016). 'Race' and ethnicity. *Social Advantage and Disadvantage, 3*(1), 242 – 257.

Phillips, T., & Keen, M. (2016). *Sharing the city: Urban growth and governance in Suva*, Fiji, Suva: ANU.

Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction, 36*(3), 351-361.

Ponting, J. (2008). *Consuming Nirvana: An exploration of surfing tourist space* (PHD Thesis), Submitted to The University of Technology Sydney.

Poole, R. (1999). *Nation and Identity*. New York: Psychology Press.

Pope, C., Robert, G., Bate, P., Le May, A., & Gabbay, J. (2006). Lost in translation: A multi-level case study of the metamorphosis of meanings and action in public sector organizational innovation. *Public Administration, 84*(1), 59-79.

Porat, A. B. (2010). Football fandom: A bounded identification. *Soccer & Society, 11*(3), 277-290.

Porat, A. B. (2014). Who are we? My club? My people? My state? The dilemma of the Arab soccer fan in Israel. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 49*(2), 175-189.

Porter, D., & Smith, A. (2013). *Sport and national identity in the post-war world*, London: Routledge.

Potter, E. H. (2008). *Branding Canada: Projecting Canada's soft power through public diplomacy*. Toronto: McGill-Queen's Press.

Powers, D. A., & Ellison, C. G. (1995). Interracial contact and black racial attitudes: The contact hypothesis and selecitivity bias. *Soc.F.* 74, 192-205.

Prasad, B. (2014). Why Fiji is not the "Mauritius" of the pacific? Lessons for small island nations in the Pacific. *International Journal of Social Economics, 41*(6), 467-481.

Prasad, M. (1998). *Sixty years of soccer in Fiji, 1938-1998: The official history of Fiji football association, a specially commissioned history of Fiji football association on the occasion of their diamond jubilee celebration*. Suva: Fiji Football Association.

Prasad, M. (2009). Vijay Singh's indo-Fijian work ethic: The politics of diasporic definitions. In M. Keown, D. Murphy, J. Procter *Comparing postcolonial diasporas* (pp. 168-188). NY: Springer.

Prasad, M. (2013). Sidelines and solidarity: Race and cultural hegemonies in the transition from mission to national soccer in Fiji and South Africa. *The Journal of Pacific Studies, 33*(1), 26-43.

Prasad, S., Dakuvula, J., & Snell, D. (2001). *Economic development, democracy and ethnic conflict in the Fiji islands*. Minority Rights Group International, 1-36.

Premaratna, N., & Bleiker, R. (2010). Art and peacebuilding: How theatre transforms conflict in Sri Lanka. In. O. Richmond (Ed) *Palgrave Advances in Peacebuilding: Critical Developments and Approaches* (pp. 376-391). London: Palgrave and Macmillan.

Presterudstuen, G. H. (2010a). The mimicry of men: Rugby and masculinities in post-colonial Fiji. *The Global Studies Journal, 3*(2), 237-247.

Presterudstuen, G. H. (2010b). The mimicry of men: Rugby and masculinities in post-colonial Fiji. *The Global Studies Journal, 3*(2), 237-247.

Presterudstuen, G. H. (2016). Performing masculinity through Christian devotion: Methodism, manhood and colonial mimicry in Fiji. *Interventions, 18*(1), 107-126.

Presterudstuen, G. H., & Schieder, D. (2016). Bati as bodily labour: Rethinking masculinity and violence in Fiji. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology, 17*(3-4), 213-230.

Pruitt, L. J. (2011). Music, youth, and peacebuilding in Northern Ireland. *Global Change, Peace & Security, 23*(2), 207-222.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community.* London: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 johan skytte prize lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies, 30*(2), 137-174.

Qiu, P., & Yang, J. (2008). Exploration of the development of traditional national sports discipline from the perspective of its history and current state [J]. *Journal of Physical Education, 2*, 19.

Rabinow, P. (1988). Beyond ethnography: Anthropology as nominalism. *Cultural Anthropology, 3*(4), 355-364.

Rada, J. A., & Wulfemeyer, K. T. (2005). Colour coded: Racial descriptors in television coverage of intercollegiate sports. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 49*(1), 65-85.

Rainer, P., Cropley, B., Jarvis, S., & Griffiths, R. (2012). From policy to practice: The challenges of providing high quality physical education and school sport faced by head teachers within primary schools. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy, 17*(4), 429-446.

Rajan, N. (2016). Rio Olympics 2016: What does Fiji have which India doesn't? Retrieved from http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/web-edits/rio-olympics-2016-india-medals-fiji-population-rugby-2969997/

Ramesh, S. (2008). *Hegemony, anti-hegemony and counter hegemony: Control, resistance and coups in Fiji* (PHD Thesis) Submitted to the University of the South Pacific, Suva.

Ramsbotham, O., Miall, H., & Woodhouse, T. (2011). *Contemporary conflict resolution.* Cambridge, UK: Polity.

RatuLailai, P. (2017). New sports facility helps fight NCDs. Retrieved from http://fijisun.com.fj/2017/01/24/new-sports-facility-helps-fight-ncds/

Ratuva, S. (2007). Politics of ethno-national identity in a post-colonial communal democracy: The case of Fiji. In. A. Allahar (Ed). *Ethnicity, Class and Nationalism. Caribbean and Extra-Caribbean Dimensions* (pp. 171-198) New York: Springer.

Ratuva, S. (2014). Ethnicity, affirmative action and coups in Fiji: Indigenous development policies between the 2000 and 2006 coups. *Social Identities,* (ahead-of-print), 1-16.

Rees, C. R., Miracle, A. W., Coakley, J., & Dunning, E. (2000). Education and sports. In J. Coakley, E. Dunning (Eds) *Handbook of Sports Studies* (pp. 277-290), London: Sage.

Reeskens, T., & Wright, M. (2013). Nationalism and the cohesive society a multilevel analysis of the interplay among diversity, national identity, and social capital across 27 European societies. *Comparative Political Studies, 46*(2), 153-181.

Reis, A. C., Vieira, M. C., & de Sousa-Mast, F. R. (2015). "Sport for development" in developing countries: The case of the vilas Olympics do Rio de Janeiro. *Sport Management Review,* 19(2), 107- 119.

Ricciardelli, L. A., McCabe, M. P., Mavoa, H., Fotu, K., Goundar, R., Schultz, J., Swinburn, B. A. (2007). The pursuit of muscularity among adolescent boys in Fiji and Tonga. *Body Image, 4*(4), 361-371.

Rich, E. (2004). Exploring teachers' biographies and perceptions of girls' participation in physical education. *European Physical Education Review, 10*(2), 215-240.

Richards, A., & Omidvar, I. (2014). *Muslims and American popular culture*. Boston: Praeger.

Richards, J., Kaufman, Z., Schulenkorf, N., Wolff, E., Gannett, K., Siefken, K., & Rodriguez, G. (2013). EDITORIAL journal of sport for development. 1-3.

Richter, A. W., West, M. A., Van Dick, R., & Dawson, J. F. (2006). Boundary spanners' identification, intergroup contact, and effective intergroup relations. *Academy of Management Journal, 49*(6), 1252-1269.

Rika, N., Finau, G., Samuwai, J., & Kuma, C. (2016). Power and performance: Fiji rugby's transition from amateurism to professionalism. *Accounting History, 21*(1), 75-97.

Robertson, R. (2012). Cooking the goose: Fiji's coup culture contextualised. *The Round Table, 101*(6), 509-519.

Robinson, J. (2016). Olympic rugby's tiny superpower. Retrieved from http://www.wsj.com/articles/olympic-rugbys-tiny-superpower-1470957347

Roccas, S., & Brewer, M. B. (2002). Social identity complexity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 6*(2), 88-106.

Rodman, M. C. (1992). Empowering place: Multilocality and multivocality. *American Anthropologist, 94*(3), 640-656.

Rogers, G., & Rookwood, J. (2007). Cardiff city football club as a vehicle to promote welsh national identity. *Journal of Qualitative Research in Sports Studies, 1*(1), 57-68.

Rookwood, J., & Palmer, C. (2011). Invasion games in war-torn nations: Can football help to build peace? *Soccer & Society, 12*(2), 184-200.

Roper, A. P. (2011). *Sport and nation building in Malaysia* (Doctor of Philosophy). Submitted to Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia.

Ross, L., Greene, D., & House, P. (1977). The "false consensus effect": An egocentric bias in social perception and attribution processes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 13*(3), 279-301.

Roudometof, V. (2001). *Nationalism, globalization, and orthodoxy: The social origins of ethnic conflict in the Balkans*. London: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Rowe, D. (2004). Antonio Gramsci: Sport, hegemony and the national-popular. In R. Giulianotti (Ed) *Sport and modern social theorists* (pp. 97-110), NY: Springer.

Rubin, L. B. (1994). *Families on the fault line: America's working class speaks about the family, the economy, race, and ethnicity.* Oxford: Harper Perennial.

Ruta, M. (2005). Economic theories of political (dis) integration. *Journal of Economic Surveys, 19*(1), 1-21.

Ryle, J. (2005). Roots of land and church: The Christian state debate in Fiji. *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church, 5*(1), 58-78.

Ryle, J. (2012). *My god, my land: Interwoven paths of Christianity and tradition in Fiji.* Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Ryle, J. (2016). *My god, my land: Interwoven paths of Christianity and tradition in Fiji.* London: Routledge.

Sabatier, P. A., & Weible, C. (2014). *Theories of the policy process*. Boston: Westview Press.

Šafaříková, S. (2012). The influence of football on the personal development of children in Uganda. *Sport and Health Science*, 1, 173-177.

Sage, G. H. (2015). *Globalizing sport: How organizations, corporations, media, and politics are changing sport*. London: Routledge.

Saguy, T., & Chernyak-Hai, L. (2012). Intergroup contact can undermine disadvantaged group members' attributions to discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48*(3), 714-720.

Saguy, T., Tausch, N., Dovidio, J. F., & Pratto, F. (2009). The irony of harmony: Intergroup contact can produce false expectations for equality. *Psychological Science, 20*(1), 114-121. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02261.x; 10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02261.x

Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: *Vintage, 1994*

Said, E. W. (1993). *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Vintage.

Saldaña, J. (2012). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London: Sage.

Saldaña, J. (2015). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London: Sage.

Sam, M. P. (2015). Sport policy and transformation in small states: New Zealand's struggle between vulnerability and resilience. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 7*(3), 407-420.

Samie, S. F., Johnson, A. J., Huffman, A. M., & Hillyer, S. J. (2015). Voices of empowerment: Women from the global south re/negotiating empowerment and the global sports mentoring programme. *Sport in Society, 18*(8), 923-937.

Sang, K. J., Joy, S., Kinge, J., Sayce, S., & Ozkazanc-Pan, B. (2012). Postcolonial feminist research: Challenges and complexities. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal, 31*(5/6), 573-591.

Sanou, D., O'Reilly, E., Ngnie-Teta, I., Batal, M., Mondain, N., Andrew, C,. Bourgeault, I. L. (2014). Acculturation and nutritional health of immigrants in Canada: A scoping review. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 16*(1), 24-34.

Saperstein, A., Penner, A. M., & Light, R. (2013). Racial formation in perspective: Connecting individuals, institutions, and power relations. *Annual Review of Sociology, 39*, 359-378.

Schall, C. E. (2014). Multicultural iteration: Swedish national day as multiculturalism-in-practice. *Nations and Nationalism, 20*(2), 355-375.

Schatz, R. T., & Lavine, H. (2007). Waving the flag: National symbolism, social identity, and political engagement. *Political Psychology, 28*(3), 329-355.

Schausteck de Almeida, B., Bolsmann, C., Marchi Júnior, W., & Souza, J. (2013). Rationales, rhetoric and realities: FIFA's world cup in South Africa 2010 and Brazil 2014. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport,* 50(3), 265-282.

Scheyvens, R. (2014). *Development fieldwork: A practical guide*. Thousand Oaks, Cal: Sage.

Schieder, D. (2011). Rugby in Fiji. *Pacific Geographies, 7*(5), 23-28.

Schieder, D. (2012). Rugby in Fiji: Unifying and dividing a multi-cultural society. *Pacific News, 37*(1), 23-28.

Schieder, D. (2014). Fiji islander rugby union players in japan: Corporate particularities and migration routes. *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science, 3*(3), 250-267.

Schieder, D., & Presterudstuen, G. (2014). Sport migration and sociocultural transformation: The case of Fijian rugby union players in japan. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 31*(11), 1359-1373.

Schlesinger Jr, A. (1991). The cult of ethnicity, good and bad. *Time, 138*(1), 12-24.

Schulenkorf, N., Sherry, E., & Rowe, K. (2016). Sport for development: An integrated literature review. *Journal of Sport Management, 30*, 22-39.

Schulenkorf, N. (2010). Sport events and ethnic reconciliation: Attempting to create social change between Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim sportspeople in war-torn Sri Lanka. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 45*(3), 273-294.

Schulenkorf, N., & Adair, D. (2014). *Global sport-for-development: Critical perspectives*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schulenkorf, N., & Frawley, S. (2017). *Critical issues in global sport management*. London: Routledge.

Schulenkorf, N., Sugden, J., & Burdsey, D. (2014). Sport for development and peace as contested terrain: Place, community, ownership. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 6*(3), 371-387.

Seippel, Ø. (2017). Sports and nationalism in a globalized world. *International Journal of Sociology, 47*(1), 43-61.

Semyonov, M., & Lewin-Epstein, N. (2011). Wealth inequality: Ethnic disparities in Israeli society. *Social Forces, 89*(3), 935-959.

Shain, Y., & Sherman, M. (1998). Dynamics of disintegration: Diaspora, secession and the paradox of nation-states. *Nations and Nationalism, 4*(3), 321-346.

Sherif, M. (1961). *The robbers cave experiment: Intergroup conflict and cooperation*, USA: Wesleyan University Press.

Sherif, M. (1967). *Group conflict and co-operation: Their social psychology*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Sherry, E., & Schulenkorf, N. (2016). League bilong laif: Rugby, education and sport-for-development partnerships in Papua New Guinea. *Sport, Education and Society, 21*(4), 513-530.

Shor, E., & Yonay, Y. (2011). 'Play and shut up': The silencing of Palestinian athletes in Israeli media. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 34*(2), 229-247.

Shore, C. (1996). Anthropology's identity crisis: The politics of public image. *Anthropology Today, 12*(2), 2-5.

Shore, C. (1999). Fictions of fieldwork: Depicting the "self" in ethnographic writing (Italy). In. C.W. Watson*, Being there–Fieldwork in Anthropology,* (pp.25-48) Thousand Oaks, Cal: Sage.

Silverman, D. (2010). *Qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Silverman, D. (2011). *Interpreting qualitative data*. London: Sage.

Silverman, D. (2013a). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. London: SAGE Publications Limited.

Silverman, D. (2013b). *A very short, fairly interesting and reasonably cheap book about qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Simmel, G. (2010). *Conflict and the web of group affiliation*. Oxford: Simon and Schuster.

Singh, S. (2010). Life under decree no. 29 of 2010: The Fiji media development decree. *Pacific Journalism Review, 16*(2), 147.

Skelton, J. (2013). Winning the peace or playing at development? *PRDU Working Paper Series,* 1, 1-32.

Skille, E. Å. (2008). Understanding sport clubs as sport policy implementers a theoretical framework for the analysis of the implementation of central sport policy through local and voluntary sport organizations. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 43*(2), 181-200.

Slatter, C. (2014). Building 'Shared societies' in pacific island states: Prospects and challenges. *Development, 57*(1), 104-111.

SMH. (2016). Julie bishop in her first official talks with Fiji's frank Bainimarama following elections. Retrieved from http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/julie-bishop-in-first-official-talks-with-fijis-frank-bainimarama-following-elections-20160314-gnikms.html

Smith, E. R. (2014). Social identity and social emotions: Toward new concepitualizations of prejudice. In D. M. Mackie, D. L. Hamilton (Eds.) *Affect, Cognition and Stereotyping: Interactive Processes in Group Perception,* (pp. 297-312), San Diego: Academic Press.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed books.

Smith, L. T. (2014). Social justice, transformation and indigenous methodologies. In E. Bliss, J. Fisher (Eds.) *Ethnographic worldviews* (pp. 15-20). London: Springer.

Smithson, M., Sopeña, A., & Platow, M. J. (2015). When is group membership zero-sum? Effects of ethnicity, threat, and social identity on dual national identity. *PloS One, 10*(6), e0130539.

Sofo, S., & Baba, J. (2013). Perspectives on physical education and after-school sports in Ghana. *Global Perspectives on Physical Education*, 4(1), 13-26.

Sohmer, S. H. (1984). Idealism and pragmatism in colonial Fiji: Sir Arthur Gordon's native rule policy and the introduction of Indian contract Labour. *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 18, 140-155.

Somekh, B., & Lewin, C. (2011). *Theory and methods in social research*, London: Sage.

Spaaij, R. (2012). Beyond the playing field: Experiences of sport, social capital, and integration among Somalis in Australia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 35*(9), 1519-1538.

Spaaij, R. (2013). Cultural diversity in community sport: An ethnographic inquiry of Somali Australians' experiences. *Sport Management Review, 16*(1), 29-40.

Spaaij, R., & Jeanes, R. (2013). Education for social change? A Freirean critique of sport for development and peace. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy, 18*(4), 442-457.

Spaaij, R., Magee, J., & Jeanes, R. (2014). *Sport and social exclusion in global society*. London: Routledge.

Spencer, S. (2014). *Race and ethnicity: Culture, identity and representation*. London: Routledge.

Staiger, A. (2004). Whiteness as giftedness: Racial formation at an urban high school. *Social Problems, 51*(2), 161-181.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, Cal: Sage.

Stake, R. E. (2000). Case studies. In N. Denzin (Ed.) *Sage, handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 12-32) Thousand Oaks, Cal: Sage.

Steenveld, L., & Strelitz, L. (1998). The 1995 rugby world cup and the politics of nation-building in South Africa. *Media, Culture & Society, 20*(4), 609-629.

Stephan, W. G., & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threat in intergroup relations. In R. Stewart (Ed.) *From Prejudice to Intergroup Emotions: Differentiated Reactions to Social Groups,* (pp.191-207), London: Sage.

Stewart, D., & Shamdasani, P. N. (2014). *Focus groups: Theory and practice*. London: Sage Publications.

Stewart, F. (2016). *Horizontal inequalities and conflict: Understanding group violence in multiethnic societies*. NY: Springer.

Stidder, G., & Hayes, S. (2011). *The really useful physical education book: Learning and teaching across the 7–14 age range*. London: Routledge.

Stockton, R. (1994). Ethnic archetypes and the Arab image. In B. Martins (E.) *The Development of Arab-American Identity,* (pp.119-153) NY: Springer.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures for developing grounded theory. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Stringer, E. (1999). *Action research, 2nd*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stringer, E. (2007). *Action research*. London: Sage.

Stuckey, H. L. (2015). The second step in data analysis: Coding qualitative research data. *Journal of Social Health and Diabetes*, *3*(1), 7 – 24.

Sugden, J.T., & Spacey, G. (2016). Football 4 peace: An activity-based community relations and reconciliation initiative. In D. W. Conrad A. (Ed.), *Sports-Based Health Interventions: Case studies from around the world* (1st ed., pp. 117-128), London: Springer.

Sugden, J.T. (2011). *Civil society and peacebuilding in the Israel/Palestine conflict: Football for peace and the view from the bottom.* (MA Thesis). Submitted to Queens University, Belfast.

Sugden, J. snr (2008). Anyone for football for peace? The challenges of using sport in the service of co-existence in Israel 1. *Soccer & Society, 9*(3), 405-415.

Sugden, J. snr (2010). Critical left-realism and sport interventions in divided societies. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 45*(3), 258-272.

Sugden, J.snr (2014). The ripple effect: Critical pragmatism, conflict resolution and peace building through sport in deeply divided societies. In. N. Schulenkorf, D. Adair (Eds.) *Global Sport-for-Development: Critical Perspectives,* (pp.79-92). London: Palgrave Macmillan

Sugden, J.snr, & Bairner, A. (1999). *Sport in divided societies*. London: Meyer & Meyer Sport.

Suhrcke, M., & de Paz Nieves, C. (2011). *The impact of health and health behaviours on educational outcomes in high-income countries: A review of the evidence* World Health Organization, Regional Office for Europe Copenhagen, Denmark.

Syed, I. U. (2013). Forced assimilation is an unhealthy policy intervention: The case of the hijab ban in France and Quebec, Canada. *The International Journal of Human Rights, 17*(3), 428-440.

Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science Information/Sur Les Sciences Sociales,* 4(1), 121-134.

Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations.* London: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. (2010). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 1*(2), 149-178.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations, 33,* 47-63.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Taras, R., & Ganguly, R. (2015). *Understanding ethnic conflict*. London: Routledge.

Tatz, C. (1995). Racism and sport in Australia. *Race & Class, 36*(4), 43-54.

Taylor, M. (2013). *The association game: A history of British football*. London: Routledge.

Taylor, R., Carter, K., Naidu, S., Linhart, C., Azim, S., Rao, C., & Lopez, A. D. (2013). Divergent mortality trends by ethnicity in Fiji. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health, 37*(6), 509-515.

Teaiwa, T. K. (2005). Articulated cultures: Militarism and masculinities in Fiji during the mid-1990s. *Fijian Studies: A Journal of Contemporary Fiji, 3*(2), 201-225.

The Guardian. (2017). Qatar spending $500 million a week on world cup projects. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/football/2017/feb/08/qatar-spending-500m-a-week-on-world-cup-projects-2022

The World Bank. (2007). *World development report 2007: Development and the next generation.* (Public No. 35999). Washington DC: The World Bank.

Theeboom, M., Schaillée, H., & Nols, Z. (2012). Social capital development among ethnic minorities in mixed and separate sport clubs. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 4*(1), 1-21.

Thomas, N. (1989). Material culture and colonial power: Ethnological collecting and the establishment of colonial rule in Fiji. *Man, 24*(1), 41-56.

Thomas, N. (1990). Regional politics, ethnicity, and custom in Fiji. *The Contemporary Pacific, 4*(2), 131-146.

Thornton, A., & Clutton-Brock, T. (2011). Social learning and the development of individual and group behaviour in mammal societies. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London.Series B, Biological Sciences, 366*(1567), 978-987.

Ting-Toomey, S. (2015). Identity negotiation theory. *The International Encyclopedia of Interpersonal Communication,* Published Online - DOI: 10.1002/9781118540190.wbeic129

Tomlinson, M. (2007). Everything and its opposite: Kava drinking in Fiji. *Anthropological Quarterly, 80*(4), 1065-1081.

Tonts, M. (2005). Competitive sport and social capital in rural Australia. *Journal of Rural Studies, 21*(2), 137-149.

Toomer, R. (2015). Jamaica. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 7*(3), 457-471.

Trnka, S. (2008). *State of suffering: Political violence and community survival in Fiji.* Ithica. NY: Cornell University Press.

Tuohey, B., & Cognato, B. (2011). Peaceplayers international: A case study on the use of sport as a tool for conflict transformation. *SAIS Review of International Affairs, 31*(1), 51-63.

Turner, J. C. (1981). Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. *Cahiers De Psychologie Cognitive/Current Psychology of Cognition, 3*(2), 10-22.

Turner, J. C. (1988). *A theory of social interaction.* Palo Alto, Cal: Stanford University Press.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory.* London: Basil Blackwell.

Uddin, N. (2011). Decolonising ethnography in the field: An anthropological account. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 14*(6), 455-467.

UNDP. (1997). *Fiji poverty report.* 217. Suva, Fiji: UNDP.

United Nations. (2016). *International migration report 2015.* (Migration report No. 375). New York: Department of economic and social affairs.

UNOSDP. (2015). 2015 international day of sport for development and peace. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/newsandevents/news/template/news_item.jsp?cid=426 23

Vaioleti, T. M. (2016). Talanoa research methodology: A developing position on pacific research. *Waikato Journal of Education, 12*(1), 21-35.

Vakaoti, P. (2016). Young people's participation in Fiji: Understanding conceptualizations and experiences. *Journal of Youth Studies, 3*(1), 1-16.

Van Laar, C., Bleeker, D., Ellemers, N., & Meijer, E. (2014). Ingroup and outgroup support for upward mobility: Divergent responses to ingroup identification in low status groups. *European Journal of Social Psychology,* 44(6), 563-557

Van Oudenhoven, J. P., Groenewoud, J. T., & Hewstone, M. (1996). Cooperation, ethnic salience and generalization of interethnic attitudes. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 26*(4), 649-661.

Van Sterkenburg, J., & Knoppers, A. (2012). Sport as a contested racial/ethnic discourse: Processes of racialization in Dutch sport media and sport policy. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses, 7*(2), 119-136.

Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin, 134*(4), 504.

Vázquez, A., Yzerbyt, V., Dovidio, J. F., & Gómez, Á. (2016). How we think they see us? Valence and difficulty of retrieval as moderators of the effect of meta-stereotype activation on intergroup orientations. *International Journal of Psychology,* 1, 1-9.

Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2015). Dual identity, in-group projection, and out-group feelings among ethnic minority groups. *European Journal of Social Psychology,* 46(1), 1-16.

Victoroff, J., Adelman, J. R., & Spanovic, M. (2012). How policies impacting intergroup relations may escalate or de-escalate political aggression. *Countering Terrorism: Psychosocial Strategies,* 14(2), 355-368.

Vivian, J., Hewstone, M., & Brown, R. (1997). Intergroup contact: Theoretical and empirical developments. In Y Amir, R Ben-Arî, Y Rich (Eds.) *Enhancing Education in Heterogeneous Schools: Theory and Application* (pp. 13-46), Israel: Bar-IIan University Press.

Voigt-Graf, C. (2008). Transnationalism and the indo-Fijian diaspora: The relationship of indo-Fijians to india and its people. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 29*(1), 81-109.

Vorauer, J. D., Main, K. J., & O'Connell, G. B. (1998). How do individuals expect to be viewed by members of lower status groups? Content and implications of meta-stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75*(4), 917.

Wade, P. (1997). *Race and ethnicity in Latin America.* New York: Pluto Press.

Wagner, W., & Dreef, S. (2014). Ethnic composition and electoral system design: Demographic context conditions for post-conflict elections. *Ethnopolitics, 13*(3), 288-307.

Waldzus, S., Mummendey, A., Wenzel, M., & Boettcher, F. (2004). Of bikers, teachers and Germans: Groups' diverging views about their prototypicality. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 43*(3), 385-400.

Wallace, M. (2014). Fiji: Case study of a paradox. *Australian Humanist,* 115, 16-32.

Walsh, D. (1998). Doing ethnography. *Society and Culture,* 1(1), 217-232.

Waltz, K. N. (2001). *Man, the state, and war: A theoretical analysis.* Columbia University Press.

Ward, S. (1997). Being objective about objectivity: The ironies of standpoint epistemological critiques of science. *Sociology, 31*(4), 773-791.

Watson, N., Weir, S., & Friend, S. (2005). The development of muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and beyond. *Journal of Religion and Society*, 7, 1-21.

Welty Peachey, J. W., Borland, J., Lobpries, J., & Cohen, A. (2015). Managing impact: Leveraging sacred spaces and community celebration to maximize social capital at a sport-for-development event. *Sport Management Review, 18*(1), 86-98.

Weber, M. (2009). *The theory of social and economic organization.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Weiner, M. (2015). *Sons of the soil: Migration and ethnic conflict in India*. NJ: Princeton University Press.

Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., & Waldzus, S. (2008). Superordinate identities and intergroup conflict: The ingroup projection model. *European Review of Social Psychology, 18*(1), 331-372.

White, C. M. (2002). Language, authenticity and identity: Indigenous Fijian students and language use in schools. *Language Culture and Curriculum, 15*(1), 16-29.

White, C. M. (2014). Deficit thinking redux: Cultural deficit discourse and an urban community and school in Fiji. *Social Identities, 20*(2-3), 155-170.

White, F. A., Harvey, L. J., & Abu-Rayya, H. M. (2015). Improving intergroup relations in the internet age: A critical review. *Review of General Psychology, 19*(2), 129.

Williams, M. (2001). In whom we trust: Group membership as an affective context for trust development. *Academy of Management Review, 26*(3), 377-396.

Williamson, D. L., Choi, J., Charchuk, M., Rempel, G. R., Pitre, N., Breitkreuz, R., & Kushner, K. E. (2011). Interpreter-facilitated cross-language interviews: A research note. *Qualitative Research, 11*(4), 381-394.

Willis, O. (2000). Sport and development: The significance of mathare youth sports association. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue Canadienne D'Études Du Développement, 21*(3), 825-849.

Willis, P., & Trondman, M. (2000). Manifesto for" ethnography". *Ethnography, 1*(1), 5-16.

Winker, M. A. (2004). Measuring race and ethnicity: Why and how? *Jama, 292*(13), 1612-1614.

Wirtz, C., van der Pligt, J., & Doosje, B. (2016). Negative attitudes toward Muslims in the Netherlands: The role of symbolic threat, stereotypes, and moral emotions. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 22*(1), 75.

Wittenbrink, B., Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (2001). Spontaneous prejudice in context: Variability in automatically activated attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*(5), 815.

Wodak, R., & Boukala, S. (2015). European identities and the revival of nationalism in the European Union: A discourse historical approach. *Journal of Language and Politics, 14*(1), 87-109.

Wolff, A. (2011). Sports saves the world. *Sports Illustrated, 115*(12), 62-74.

Woodcock, A., Cronin, O., & Forde, S. (2012). Quantitative evidence for the benefits of moving the goalposts, a sport for development project in rural Kenya. *Evaluation and Program Planning, 35*(3), 370-381.

Worchel, S. (1979). Cooperation and the reduction of intergroup conflict: Some determining factors. In. W. Austin, S. Worchel (Eds.) *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 262-273), Monterey*,* CA: Brooks/Cole.

Worchel, S., & Coutant, D. (2001). It takes two to tango: Relating group identity to individual identity within the framework of group development. In M.A. Hogg, S. Tindale (Eds.) *Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology: Group Processes* (pp. 461-481), London: John Wiley and Sons.

WPRO. (2002). *Fiji NCD steps survey*. Suva, Fiji: WPRO.

Yablon, Y. (2007). Contact intervention programs for peace education and the reality of dynamic conflicts. *The Teachers College Record, 109*(4), 991-1012.

Yin, R. K. (2003). Case study research (vol. 5). Thousand Oaks, Cal: Sage.

Yin, R. K. (2011). *Applications of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, Cal: Sage.

Yoshida, M., Gordon, B., James, J. D., & Heere, B. (2015). Sport fans and their behaviour in fan communities. *Sports management and sports humanities*, London: Springer.

Young, R. J. (2005). *Colonial desire: Hybridity in theory, culture and race*. London: Routledge.