

times used to symbolize women, and the film follows this practice with its many references to *lehua* blossoms. In addition, water, leaves, and waterfalls create another symbolism that enhances the *kaona* throughout. Here, as in many films, the story is at its strongest when it is being told with images rather than words.

In general, the film succeeds very well as a good tool for teaching the Hawaiian language. Given its minimal funding and the limited experience among the cast and crew, this first attempt at making a feature-length film in Hawai'i with a completely Hawaiian-speaking cast and crew created many expectations. The film is very significant for the Hawaiian community in Hawai'i. One hopes it is just the beginning of a long and important legacy of filmmaking in our native tongue. As I wrote in a poem entitled "Empowerment":

Voices can be seen  
with the right lens  
Traditions can be perpetuated  
with the right love  
Films can be made  
with a feeling of Empowerment

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*In the Name of Growth—Fiji: A Story of Fisheries Development, Indigenous Women and Politics*, 53 minutes, VHS (PAL and NTSC), color, 2001. Filmmaker: 'Atu Emberson-Bain; assistant director, directory of photography, and original music: Michael Preston; editing studio: Digital Domain; distributor: Infocus Productions, Suva, Fiji. Individuals and local nongovernmental organizations US\$25.00 or F\$40.00; institutions or overseas nongovernmental organizations US\$45.00 or F\$65.00, plus postage and handling.

*In the Name of Growth* is the latest Infocus production by independent filmmakers 'Atu Emberson-Bain and Michael Rokotuiviwa Preston. Emberson-Bain is a member of the Fiji Senate and a graduate of Oxford and the Australian National University. Preston is a filmmaker, musician, actor, and sound engineer. The team's previous films (*Where the Rivers Meet*, addressing Fiji's ethnic relations, and *Caught in the Crossfire*, on women sex workers in Fiji) are both UNESCO award-winners. Emberson-Bain also produced *Na Ma'e! Na Ma'e! We Stand Until We Die*, documenting the conditions of indigenous Fijians working for the multinational Emperor Gold Mining Company. *In the Name of Growth* takes as its focus the situation of Fijian tuna cannery workers, this time subjected to poor wages and working conditions by fellow Fijians. The film exposes the human costs of a growth-driven economic model for workers in Levuka's Pacific Fishing Company (PAFCO) on the island of Ovalau.

The film begins with a historical overview of Levuka's economic development, weaving together the narratives of four individuals who experienced it. Through the memories of two members of the European community, Dora Patterson and Sir Len Usher, and two Fijian chiefs, Tui Cawaci and Tui Toki, we hear how European settlers thrived during the copra era, while Fijians served as indentured laborers on European plantations under slavery-like conditions. Once Levuka's copra industry crashed, the settler community turned to the local fisheries resources as their new trade. Indigenous women formed the new labor force. The Pacific Fishing Company began as a joint venture between a Japanese company and the Fiji government. Workers interviewed recall that the Japanese management provided better conditions than the Fijian management that took over after two coups in the name of indigenous rights in 1987. The Fijian management removed fans that kept the workplace cool, and the workers suffer under the heat and inadequate ventilation. "Culture" is a contested issue in the film, as a former acting general manager blames the company's losses on worker absenteeism, tardiness, "slackness," and even supposed late-night *yaqona* (kava) sessions. Workers, in turn, accuse management of misusing culture, in addition to their charges of mismanagement and corruption.

The continuity between the working conditions on Levuka's plantations during the indenture period, and contemporary conditions of work in the Fijian-owned PAFCO cannery, is striking. Tui Toki tells of having to produce 300 pounds of copra per day in the

1920s. European bosses shouted at the indentured workers to work faster. If a worker could not meet the target, the contract rate was cut, and if they lost or damaged equipment, the bosses cut their earnings yet again. Out of the 24 pounds per year contract rate, an indentured worker received just 5 to 9 pounds after all the cuts were made. Under the strict conditions imposed by the company's Fijian management, today's cannery workers have a target of cleaning 30 fish per hour, and a pay rate of F\$1.65 per hour. One worker testifies that it is only possible to clean 25 or 26 fish at most. Workers recount how deductions (such as a one-hour pay cut for arriving fifteen minutes late) eat away at their earnings, and what is left over is not enough to make ends meet. The similarity in the conditions of the two eras leaves the viewer wondering what lies ahead for Levuka's next generation.

Women cannery workers' testimonies offer further details about their working lives. Women's low wages prove inadequate to meet family needs, and PAFCO workers turn to the subsistence sector or to bank loans with a 16 percent interest rate to supplement their wages. Inadequate earnings mean children sometimes go without food, and school fees can be too much to afford, with implications for children's future employment prospects. PAFCO women recount a target system that forces workers to shorten their tea and lunch breaks, to run instead of walk around the factory, and to jeopardize their health by not going to the toilet. Workers speak of injuries due to accidents at work, and illnesses resulting from long hours standing and the repetitive nature of the work;

such injuries and illnesses prevent some women from returning to work. Management refuses to reduce the amount of standing and heavy lifting when a worker is pregnant. The PAFCO women who share their experiences in the film add their voices to the chorus of women protesting similar wages and conditions in labor-intensive, export-oriented factories worldwide.

The implications for local gender relations of women's entry into factory employment are also addressed. A PAFCO job presented a new kind of freedom for women—to earn a wage and to establish new social networks with other workers. Despite the reversal of usual dependencies with many women now being their family's principal wage-earner, men have proved reluctant to take on housework and caregiving tasks. The workers explain how PAFCO management, formerly understanding about women's need to stay home when a child was sick, no longer gives approval for such absences. Girls' education is affected as girls arrive late to school or leave early to carry out domestic responsibilities in lieu of their working mothers. In other cases, women workers must risk PAFCO reprisals and stay home to fulfill their caregiving roles. Some of the women interviewed in the film were among the sixty working mothers unlawfully dismissed for absenteeism in 1996.

*In the Name of Growth* focuses on the local context of how growth-oriented reforms, implemented by a government that claimed to be for "indigenous rights," eroded the working conditions of many Fijians, with repercussions throughout Fijian com-

munities on the island of Ovalau. The external pressures that prompt local free-market reforms—structural adjustment, globalization, and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund—do not receive specific mention in the film. Still, *In the Name of Growth* clearly adds to the evidence that a radical rethinking of structural adjustment and free-market policies is needed to give people's *well-being* primacy over considerations of growth in economic policy.

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*Where the Rivers Meet—Fiji: A Divided Community and its Struggle for Peace*, 36 minutes, VHS (PAL and NTSC), 1998. An Infocus Production for the World Council of Churches' Peace to the City Campaign. Written, narrated and produced by 'Atu Emberson-Bain; camera, sound, and music score by Michael Preston. Edited by Digital Domain. US\$25.00.

*Where the Rivers Meet* was written and directed by 'Atu Emberson-Bain for the World Council of Churches, and won the UNESCO gold medal for producers from developing countries at the New York Festivals Awards. Emberson-Bain has produced a number of important documentaries critiquing politics and development in Fiji—including *In the Name of Growth*, *Caught in the Crossfire*, and *Na Ma'e! Na Ma'e! We Stand Until We Die*—and this one looks at ongoing racial tensions. She presents