

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

some of the opinions and experiences of Indian and Fijian members of the People for Intercultural Awareness (PIA), the Interfaith Search, the Citizens' Constitutional Forum, and the Fijian Nationalist Party.

While the politics of race in Fiji are much more complex than the Indian-Fijian polarities presented here, especially since the 2000 civilian coup, it is a sensitive and moving portrayal of the struggle for peace in this Pacific nation. Emberson-Bain includes a brief look at racial stereotypes, the effect of the 1987 coups and ensuing political struggles, intercultural and religious understanding at the community level, and the tensions around landownership and tenancy. The Indians are generally portrayed as victims of the British colonial indenture system, a national policy of segregation until the 1960s, and racial violence and hatred since the 1987 coups. Most of those interviewed for the film are leaders in their own communities promoting racial tolerance, understanding, and a commitment to democracy. Many Fijian interviewees are converts who overcame their racism through increased awareness of the history and struggles of the *girmits* or indentured Indian laborers. Iliesa Duvulocu of the Vanua Tako-Lavo nationalist party is the only voice representing strong and continuing Fijian desires for what he calls "God-given" paramountcy.

After a look at the general racial divide, the film alludes to the growing alliances between groups at the level of class and labor organization. Academic Vijay Naidu and activist Amelia Rokotuivuna are shown at a trade union rally describing how

Rabuka's government is leading to increased poverty among all races. Mahendra Chaudhry briefly appears in one scene and one can't help but feel melancholy viewing this film after the 2000 coup that deposed him, the first Indian prime minister.

The film was produced in 1998 so it is interesting to reflect on people's efforts toward harmony then compared with the situation now. Many activists have become disillusioned since the 2000 coup. My only critique of Emberson-Bain's film is that it does not contextualize or situate its proactive goal more complexly. Racial intolerance and the motivations behind all the Fiji coups are far more messy than portrayed here. Politics and indigenous rights rhetoric are tempered by economic factors that are controlled mostly by powerful men from all groups including Fijians, Rotumans, Indians, Part-Chinese, Europeans, and Part-Europeans. In addition, few groups are united and Fijians in particular have been divided along provincial and tribal lines for centuries. There are also many different kinds of Indians living in Fiji, including Gujeratis who play major roles on the national scene and are not descended from indentured laborers.

However, the purpose of this film is not to consider national problems at the macro level. It is a close look at how difference is negotiated successfully by some people on the ground—everyday people, farmers, students, husbands and wives who have learned to articulate and overcome the racism they were raised with. The interviews and Emberson-Bain's narration are set against the familiar backdrop of these Pacific islands. The orange-gold sun

through gray clouds above a dark sea at sunset and the deep gold at day-break above the familiar volcanic mountains allude to potential peace. Scenes of people traveling by boat along the Rewa, Waimanu, Navua, or perhaps Sigatoka rivers on an overcast day invoke the possibility of journey, of meeting and sharing. The flowing rivers themselves are the central metaphor for racial harmony, described by PIA member Gyan Want as *sangam*, the coming together. Music and dance from both cultures fills the soundtrack, reminding us that music crosses many barriers. The potential power of nature to inspire humans to fulfill their humanity is contrasted with 1987 scenes of violence in the streets of Suva where Fijians beat up Indians outside the Suva Travelodge. A rainy night of traffic and neon city lights hints at the influence of so-called development. An anti-violence Fiji Women's Rights march through Suva streets illustrates grassroots activism.

This film reminded me of an experience I had at the age of twelve on the Kings Road between Nausori and Suva: My younger sister and I were on the Martin Motors Hyundai hill. We were clutching the wire fence, looking down at stalled traffic on the road below. A Fijian man jumped out of his vehicle, ran to the white delivery truck in front of him, opened the door, grabbed the Indian driver, threw him on the ground, and severely beat him. We stood in our blue Yat-Sen Primary School uniforms at the Martin Motors fence crying until our father dragged us away to the new car he was thinking of buying.

While I have seen terrible acts of racial hatred in Fiji, any portrayal of

the problems we have in that country should include an analysis of the material and ideological factors that shape how people treat one another and conceive a collective future. After the 2000 coup, the Fiji One television station continued to advertise mobile phones and washing machines while the very shops advertised were being looted and burned. Today, the symbols of power, sovereignty, and "rights" are land, money, houses, and four-wheel drives.

This film is a necessary look at some of the growing problems in Fiji and an illustration of potential community solutions. Many of us know it is far more complicated than race relations. After the 19 May 2000 coup we are far from any kind of democracy. But like Emberson-Bain and the World Council of Churches we hope and pray that one day understanding and generosity will prevail: "The road to peace is unlikely to be smooth, at least for some time to come. And solving the political problems will not on their own create a sense of national identity. It may well be that the real hope for Fiji lies in the ordinary stuff of human relations, down where the rivers meet."

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