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DECOLONISATION OF THE FIJI HISTORY CURRICULUM: A CRITICAL REFLECTION

by

Susan Sela

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the

Requirements for the degree of

Masters of Arts

School of Social Sciences

Faculty of Arts, Law and Education

The University of the South Pacific

November 2019

DECLARATION

Statement by Author

I, Susan Sela, declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published, or substantially overlapping with material submitted for the award of any other degree at any institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text.

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The research in this thesis was performed under my supervision and to my knowledge is the sole work of Susan Sela.

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ABSTRACT

The teaching of Year 11 and 12 History in Fijian high schools underwent major changes between 2009 and 2015 with the revision of an imported History curriculum and the creation of four new History textbooks. This was part of a broader aim to decolonise an outdated high school curriculum that was introduced by New Zealand in late 1960s. This thesis focuses on the collaborative group responsible for writing the new textbooks and uses a critical reflection methodology to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the writing process and the materials that were produced. Comprised of teachers and education administrators, the group placed a heavier emphasis on relevant Fijian topics, and created learning materials designed to counter content-driven "chalk and talk" teaching methods. Although this was an important step forward to decolonising History in Fijian schools, a critical reflection of the assumptions that underscored the writing process suggests that decolonising the minds of the teachers and administrators remains a more challenging task for the future development of History teaching in Fiji.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CAS	Curriculum Advisory Services
CDU	Curriculum Development Unit
DESD	Decade of Education for Sustainable Development
EFA	Education For All
FNCF	Fiji National Curriculum Framework
FSLC	Fiji School Leaving Certificate
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NCEA	National Certificate of Educational Achievement
NZSCE	New Zealand School Certificate Examination
NZUE	New Zealand University Entrance Examination
RPEIPP	Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative for Pacific Peoples
PHA	Pacific History Association
SED	Society and Economic Development
SPBEA	South Pacific Board for Education and Assessment
STAR	Strategic Total Academic Review
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USP	The University of the South Pacific

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PREFACE

As a new graduate in 1997 teaching Form 6 History, I was involved in a national History workshop organised by the Fiji Curriculum Development Unit where the idea of changing the then Fiji School Leaving Certificate History curriculum was first discussed. At that time, the idea of change was overwhelming for teachers like me, as we were not used to deciding such important matters. However, the enormity of the task changed for me when I joined the College of Foundation Studies at the University of the South Pacific as History coordinator in 1999. The seed was actually sown after I completed the writing of my first textbook for a preliminary history course in 2002 titled *HYP01: The Pacific and World War II*. As the units of this course began taking shape, I could see the real possibility of Fiji History textbooks for students in Years 11 and 12, complete with notes, readings, photographs, maps and related activities in the hands of students and teachers. In the years 2002 to 2010, the History department of USP made several attempts to work with the History section of the Fiji Curriculum Development Unit, in an effort to assist students in acquiring strong History study skills before entering university. I saw that this could be possible if we produced textbooks particularly on Fiji themes in which we could include these important history study skills. The other fundamental issue was the content of the curriculum, which I felt needed to be more Fiji focused especially after studying Pacific studies courses at the time when the university was considering introducing a generic Pacific studies course for its undergraduate level.

As a member of the team involved in changing the curriculum in 2009 to 2015 and writing a series of new textbooks for Years 11 and 12, the process and textbooks inspired me and this thesis is an attempt to record and examine this process. Since this curriculum is yet to be reviewed and needs to undergo further changes, future teachers and administrators can learn from our experience for the purposes of improving the materials. In addition, it is

important for teachers to know that they too are equally capable in revising the curriculum and preparing teaching materials as it is becoming clear that this work has to be done by the people of this country.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

It is almost three decades since the Fiji Islands introduced its own senior secondary school curriculum, the Fiji School Leaving Certificate (FSLC), for Years 11, 12 and 13 across all subject areas in 1988. This symbolic act of sovereignty after 18 years of independence was even more significant when topics in Fiji history were also introduced for the first time at this level of study. The year 1987 also marks the year of two coup d'états carried out by the Fiji military which resulted in Fiji becoming a republic and losing its dominion status in the British Empire. The Fiji Islands, a group of 300 islands in the South Pacific, is governed today under a constitution adopted in 2013. Until 1987, Fiji was a dominion and member of the Commonwealth and ruled under its 1970 constitution.

Teachers of History have relied solely on one major textbook as text for teaching Fiji history, *Fiji in the Pacific* by G.J.A Kerr and T.A Donnelly, first published in 1967 and then a new edition by Max Quanchi in 1994.[1] Teachers tended to rely solely on this text despite other important references specified in the syllabus prescription, because they were not easily accessible. In response to this situation, a collaborative effort of the Ministry of Education Curriculum Development Unit (CDU), the Fiji History Teachers' Association and the department of History of the University of the South Pacific (USP) as well as its College of Foundation Studies sought to revise the national History curriculum and textbooks. These two significant tasks of changing the curriculum and writing the course materials were carried out in two phases over a span of nearly two decades, beginning with meetings in 1997, the establishment of the Fiji History Association, and a second phase later in 2009 which involved workshops and the creation of writing groups. By 2015, teachers and students of History in Fiji could access specific Fiji history course materials

[1] Terry A. Donnelly, Max Quanchi and Gavin. J. A. Kerr, *Fiji in the Pacific: a history and geography of Fiji* (Milton Queensland, Jacaranda Press, 1994).

on prescribed themes and topics related to the curriculum. That same year the CDU of the Fiji Ministry of Education released four textbooks which are currently used throughout schools in Fiji, two for Year 11 and two for Year 12. The Year 11 sub-strands for which textbooks were written were titled "Cultural Interaction and Integration", and "Governance and Government", and the Year 12 textbooks were titled "Diplomacy and Fiji" and "Imaging the Pacific". This study will focus on the process of revising the Fiji History curriculum, which began in 2009 and culminated in the publication of four textbooks by 2015. It was a complex and extended process, which involved extensive consultation between academics, teachers and education administrators. Such a process has never been documented before in Fiji's history, and this thesis offers a historical and educational perspective of the decisions that were made and the reasoning behind them. A critical reflection methodology is employed to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the writing process and evaluate the materials that were produced. This thesis also questions whether the authors of the textbooks were successful in their mission to decolonise the Fiji History curriculum.

One of the key challenges was the compilation of new Fiji History textbooks complete with notes, readings, photographs, maps and related activities. These were essential documents for teachers and students to adapt to the new curriculum. The actual process of creating four textbooks did not begin until 2010, after the disruptions caused by three changes in the leadership in the History department at the CDU. Nevertheless, when the change process did get underway it ran unhindered, resulting in a revised curriculum for both the FSLC and the Fiji Form 7 Examination including the production of textbooks for both levels of study.[2] Not only did the group change the FSLC curriculum from what was

[2] Before 2016, the indicators of school stages were Classes 1 to 8 to mark the first eight years at primary level and Forms 3 to 7 to mark the four years in secondary level. This changed in 2016 when the Ministry of Education in Fiji decided to use Years 1 to 13 to mark a person's education journey from primary through to secondary.

previously offered, but also when the books were written and printed CAS was directed by the Ministry to implement the new curriculum immediately. A quick glance back in history will explain this urgency. Fiji had had an Education Commission Report in 2000; an Education Summit in 2005, and in 2007 the Ministry of Education announced the National Curriculum Framework. The strong call for a change in the curriculum was echoed across these seven years not just in Fiji but also in the South Pacific region.

The change in the curriculum was a part of the decolonisation process at the time which reflected the nation's desire to create a curriculum that was more relevant and nationally oriented. Decolonisation is regarded as a political process that involves "the withdrawal of colonial powers from direct legal and constitutional control over their territories".[3] Fiji with other Pacific Island countries gained political independence in the period of the 1960s to the 1990s after the United Nations Resolution on self-determination of all peoples. For many countries, becoming politically decolonised involved, gaining a new constitution, a national flag, national anthem and in some cases a new national name. It was also a process of "transferring legal and constitutional power from colonial elites to the elites of the newly formed sovereign states."[4] Between 1962 and 1994, 14 Pacific Island countries gained independence with countries such as Samoa, Nauru, Fiji, Tonga, Papua New Guinea, Tuvalu, Solomon Islands, Kiribati and Vanuatu gaining full sovereignty and Niue, Cook Islands, Tokelau, Marshall Islands and Federated States of Micronesia choosing to keep free association with their colonial powers.[5] Despite attaining sovereignty, for a number of these countries, the decolonisation process did not proceed past attaining national names and flags and a constitution. For many, the education system, from Primary schooling through to Secondary and Tertiary, retained the language and vestiges of the introduced

[3] Stewart Firth "Decolonization" in Robert Borofsky (ed.), *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 2000), 314-332.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

colonial curriculum.

At the tertiary level, the desire to recapture and rethink an education that was distinctly indigenous resonated in conferences, educational forums and movements. One such movement was the Rethinking Pacific Education Initiatives by the Pacific Peoples Movement (RPEIPP) which first started in 2001. It has since been renamed Rethinking Education across the Pacific (REAP) with the aim of addressing and changing an inherited education system that continued well after Pacific countries had attained independence.[6] As a movement it has continued to this day addressing various aspects of Pacific education from pre-school to tertiary level. The desire to restore national knowledge and ways of learning is evident from the titles of conferences and educational events that have been held in USP and member countries since the 1990s. This yearning comes strongly from Pacific Islanders who themselves have been educated and are now fully aware of the impacts of colonisation on their people and are at the forefront of reconceptualising education in their countries. Younger graduate teachers also raised questions about the nature of the curriculum that they were teaching and joined the collaborative group to be involved in the process of designing a History curriculum that is relevant and meaningful to the lives of students.

In the area of curriculum reform in the Pacific, one of the first projects aimed at producing locally contextualised curricula for Forms One to Four was carried out in 1970 to 1975 by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and USP.[7] This was followed by a meeting of Pacific curriculum personnel and educationists in 1992 in Rarotonga. The purpose of this meeting was to assess work that had taken place in Pacific Island countries

[6] Unaisi Nabobo Baba, "Transformations from within: rethinking Pacific Education Initiative, The development of a movement for social justice and equity" in *The International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives*, Vol.11, No.2, 2012, 82-97.
[7] Ibid., 84.

as a result of this first initiative. After an examination of curricula in several Pacific Islands in 1993, Tongan academic Konai Helu Thaman said she,

> *found that the school curricula was culturally undemocratic and were largely Eurocentric as it largely failed to take learners' cultures into consideration*.[8]

This same reason of having an irrelevant curriculum among others was identified as a contributor to deteriorating education in the Pacific through a survey conducted by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in the late 1990s.[9] Such thinking was echoed in the work of another Pacific educationist, Ana Taufe'ulungaki, who emphasised a keenness to see a "more culturally inclusive curriculum that enshrined the core values of society" and that also includes the "need to make the curriculum more inclusive of the students and their home cultures and address important national and global issues".[10]

In 2001 at the USP Laucala Campus, Pacific educationists, scholars and researchers came together to rethink and analyse the systems of education so that they could identify what Pacific Islanders needed in order to attain education that is relevant and endowed them with necessary skills and attributes to contribute meaningfully to their communities.[11] Curriculum development in Fiji has since fallen in line with these developments.

In Fiji the first formal school curricula were introduced by missionary educators in the nineteenth century. Christian missionaries from Europe built schools in Fiji for the purposes of spreading the Christian message and training local missionaries. As Carmen White in a paper titled "Schooling in Fiji" concluded, "The introduction of mission schools

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[8] Konai Helu Thaman, "The need to rethink Pacific Curriculum" in Kabini Sanga and Konaiholeva Helu Thaman (eds.), *Rethinking Education curricula in the Pacific: Challenges and Prospects,* (Wellington, He Parekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Maori and Pacific Education, 2009), 13.
[9] Hamidhan Bibi, "Pacific Education is deteriorating" in *USP Beat* Vol.3, No.6, May 5 2003, 7.
[10] Thaman, "The need to rethink Pacific Curriculum", 13.
[11] Baba, "Transformations from within", 87.

heralded a type of education that differed as much as in form as in content from anything that Fijians had before."[12] She was referring to the introduction of reading and writing to a people who had rich oral traditions but nothing akin to the introduced style of learning. With the cession of Fiji to Great Britain in 1874, other curricula were introduced for the purposes of educating young chiefs in schools such as Queen Victoria School and Adi Cakobau School, which differed from that offered to children of colonial officials and expatriates who were accommodated in schools such as Levuka Public School and Suva Grammar School. These schools were segregationally organised in the way they catered for children of Europeans and sons and daughters of chiefs. With the Indian indenture system ending in 1921, the increase in numbers of Indian children and their demand for education saw a steady rise in new schools. The colonial government was not prepared to provide education for Indian children or for that matter, indigenous Fijian children. Apart from the Indian communities who built their own schools, in Suva it was missionaries such as Hannah Dudley and the Marist Brothers who responded to the plight of urban Indians and challenged existing colonial attitudes that were reluctant to provide education to this growing section of the population.

By the mid-1920s, New Zealand's colonial presence was felt not just in its League of Nations mandates in the Pacific but also in Fiji where it had informal political and economic interests. New Zealand played a particular influential role in Fiji in the area of education. A paper in 1987 titled "New Zealand in the Pacific: Exporting education, some trends and consequences" authored by John Barrington, Joy Clark and James Irving, examined New

[12] Carmen White, "Schooling in Fiji" in Craig Campbell and Geoffrey Sherington (eds.), *Going to School in Oceania* (London, Greenwood Press 2007), 85.

Zealand's involvement in education in the Pacific.[13] Through the establishment of the "Scheme of Cooperation" with Fiji in 1924, many New Zealand teachers came to Fiji to teach in its primary and secondary schools.[14] The peak years for recruitment of teachers from New Zealand was 1967 to 1973. The important aspect of this scheme was that the New Zealand curriculum was introduced into Fiji with teachers.

> *The presence of New Zealand teachers meant the importation of New Zealand teaching methods, ideas, materials, resources and examination.*[15]

This meant that Fijian students were required to complete the New Zealand School Certificate Examination (NZSCE) as well as the New Zealand University Entrance Examination (NZUE). The NZUE replaced the Cambridge Overseas Examination.[16] Barrington, Clark and Irving noted that increasing demand from the PICs to provide a more relevant curriculum led to New Zealand responding, "in 1969 by offering to provide alternative school certificate papers in some subjects".[17] Later in 1973, New Zealand funded and developed an alternative and more relevant school certificate prescription and examination with a South Pacific Option and a Fiji Option. By 1976, the Fiji Option School Certificate and University Entrance Examinations were in place and remained so until the end of 1987 when the last candidates for NZUE sat the Form 6 examination. In 1989 the FSLC was introduced – it was a two-year program that replaced both the NZSC and NZUE.

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[13] John Barrington, Joy Clarke, and James Irving, "New Zealand in the Pacific: Exporting education some trends and consequences in *Directions: Journal of Educational Studies,* Vol.9, No.1, 1987.
[14] Ibid., 13.
[15] Ibid. Barrington, Clarke and Irving note that the close proximity of New Zealand to Fiji and other Pacific Islands, the familiarity of the teachers with the curriculum and examinations, and the availability of scholarships and further studies in New Zealand, contributed to the growth of New Zealand examinations in Pacific schools for both Form 5 School Certificate and Form 6 University Entrance.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., 18.

Many Fijian teachers at the time welcomed the new curriculum but were conscious that it did not venture too far from its predecessor in topic coverage and examination format. The new Fiji History topics in this curriculum were named "Cultural Interaction", "Economic Development" and "Social Welfare".[18] But these topics had to be studied alongside other countries under the same theme which meant that topic coverage could be as short as five to six weeks. This curriculum was offered for the next 26 years without any changes.

For teachers who had sat the NZSC and NZUE, teaching the FSLC History was like teaching what they had studied in high school with the exception of the Fiji topics. These Fiji topics were very difficult to teach as there were no textbooks that dealt directly with issues in Fiji. The report of the Education Commission of 1968 spoke strongly against the use of "chalk and talk" teaching methods but this habit persisted because teachers and students did not have access to textbooks or course materials.[19] So teachers of History preferred teaching topics such as the unification of Germany and Italy, the Japanese economy and apartheid in South Africa as these topics were well documented and even had class notes and revision tests that were easily accessible in bookshops. On the other hand, the Fiji topics had a limited selection of prescribed sources which were not always readily available. Some could only be accessed within the Pacific Collection of the USP library or at the National Archives of Fiji in the capital, Suva. Teachers relied heavily on the single textbook titled *Fiji in the Pacific* by Kerr and Donnelly for almost 30 years, and it was fortunate that the 1994 revised version included important contemporary events, such as the 1987 coups. Since its revision, Fiji has undergone another set of coups in 2000 and 2006 as well as revisions and abrogations of the 1970, 1990 and 1997 constitutions. Without regularly updated and relevant teaching materials, such significant events could

[18] Ministry of Education, *Fiji School Leaving Certificate History Prescription* (Suva, Government Printer 1988).
[19] Fiji Education Commission, *Education for Modern Fiji: Report of the Fiji Education Commission 1969* (Suva, Government Printer 1970).

not be appropriately considered in Fiji's secondary schools.

Since the 2000s the Fiji Government has established a Fiji National Curriculum Framework (FNCF) to standardise education.[20] Yet there is insufficient data about the teaching of History in Fiji schools, and there are numerous variables which confuse attempts to measure education quality. Staff qualifications are different, school resources are varied, and teaching quality is inconsistent. It is also difficult to make judgements of student performance because testing conditions have frequently changed, and in the past students have been offered different options of History subjects to study within the national curriculum. Studies of Fiji's History topics from the perspective of students and teachers is needed. Dinesh Naidu's MA thesis on Indo-Fijian students' reluctance to study History is an important first step to acknowledging student preferences.[21] This thesis will address how teachers collaborated to revise the Fiji History curriculum and textbooks.

Reforms and revisions to the teaching of History in Fiji have occurred on an ad hoc basis, and have historically been initiated from the top down. This has meant that it has been difficult for educators and policymakers to assess the effectiveness of these reforms for students and teachers. There is a strong sense of the need to look back or reflect on what has been achieved and how it was achieved. There is also the even more pertinent question of the extent to which the curriculum has been decolonised. This thesis uses a critical reflection methodology to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the writing process and the materials that were produced. Reflecting on one's work is a practice, according to Donald Schon, of professionals or people who wish to improve what has been done. It

[20] Ministry of Education, *The Fiji Islands National Curriculum Framework: Education for a Better Future* (Suva, Ministry of Education 2007).
[21] Dinesh Naidu, "Indo-Fijian Students' Reluctance to Study History: Perceptions and influences affecting student choice in six Nausori high school" (M.A., University of the South Pacific 2017).

involves one questioning his or her role in an activity. Karen Lowenstein noted that a culture of thinking like a teacher involves the process of critical reflection in teaching, because it serves as a way for teachers to think of their practice in light of issues of equity.[22] The issue of equity is very important in Fiji, a country with diverse communities spread across multiple islands, many of whom are underdeveloped and have limited means to access quality education. This is something which the Fijian teachers who were involved in the curriculum revision process, myself included, were painfully aware of and passionate about resolving. In the tertiary sector too, the question of equity in access to learning materials has been part of USP's regional mission for students in its member countries by ensuring this happens through the production of print and online learning material. The use of critical reflection will provide a thorough understanding of the processes that were used to decolonise the curriculum and write learning materials for the new curriculum. It will argue that although some parts of the curriculum were decolonised, more work still remains to eliminate the colonial biases and preconceptions of the past. Although much work was done to decolonise the texts, decolonising the minds of the teachers and administrators remains a more challenging task for the future development of History teaching in Fiji.

This thesis comprises six chapters. Chapter Two will provide a literature review that covers the history of education in Fiji, the process of decolonisation as advocated by island-centred histories and an exploration of theories of critical reflection. Chapter Three explains the critical reflection methodology used in this thesis. This autobiographical approach is a blend of techniques proposed by John Dewey, Donald Schon and Stephen Brookfield to search for the underlying assumptions that underscored the History curriculum revision process. It draws on my personal experiences as a participant in the process, as well as the

[22] Karen Lowenstein and Andra Brill, "A Culture of Thinking Like a Teacher: the role of Critical reflection in Teacher Preparation" in *Journal of the National Association for Alternative Certification,* Vol.5, No.2, 2010, 9-22.

experiences of the collaborative group. Chapter Four describes the process of decolonising the History curriculum and writing the textbooks from late 2009 to 2015. Chapter Five provides a critical reflection of the content of the four textbooks. This chapter evaluates each book by first describing its contents, identifying the paradigmatic assumption that provided the basis for the choice of the topic and then proceeds to critically reflect on both the History content and the teaching of History. The concluding chapter is a summary of the findings in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO: Education, Pacific History and Critical Reflection

This chapter aims to reveal the importance of this study through a discussion of its key elements: the nature of imperial or colonised curriculum and decolonisation of curriculum, the history of education and curriculum development in Fiji, inquiry based learning and its underpinnings, the development of island- and islander-centred historiography and critical reflection. In surveying the history of education and curriculum development, the significance of the work done by the collaborative group is accentuated, as it illustrated the need for the development of a home-grown curriculum and the production of students' textbooks. Navigating through the development of island- and islander-centred historiography, served to provide a beacon for the analysis of the decolonised curriculum and history textbooks. The works of founders of reflection and critical reflection revealed those relevant aspects of this practice to form a framework for examining the entire process and outcomes (decolonised curriculum and textbooks). It also revealed that within the process of creating the history textbooks, the group was itself continuously engaged in critical reflection as it met each time to assess newly completed chapters and interrogate notes and sources

Imperial/colonised curriculum and decolonised curriculum

It is critical at the outset to define the nature of an imperial or colonial curriculum. Such a curriculum will not be the same for every colonised country but the principles that underpin it do not vary greatly. Throughout much of the world, the beginnings of formal education were founded on Christian mission schools. According to Robert Woodberry:

> *They generally provided the first formal education-which spurred later demand. They trained many of the teachers who staffed non-missionary schools. They*

pioneered education for women and poor people. They were the major early teachers of European languages, Western Science and western medicine.[1]

This trend included Fiji and other Pacific island countries that were colonised in the late 19th century who first received formal education through missionaries, and whose intention was to train new local missionaries to propagate Christianity. A colonial curriculum is one that is imposed by the coloniser and that orients the minds of the colonised in the ways of the coloniser. The consequence of years under colonialism, internalising colonial ways of knowing and being through introduced curriculum and knowledge systems are not easily substituted and has taken former colonies much longer to replace. From South Africa, Catherine Manathunga discusses how "Northern knowledge continues to claim universality across space and time" and begins by highlighting works of scholars regarding this:

Scholars such as Connell (2007), Chen (2010) and Alatas (2006) have provided ample evidence of the ways in which epistemologies, knowledge systems, theories, research and publication practices continue to be controlled by Northern, Western and neoliberal capitalism.[2]

Lesley Le Grange in "The Curriculum Case for Decolonisation" states that:

"decolonisation is a necessary response to first and second generation-colonialism and neo-colonialism" that resulted in the denigration and decimation of indigenous knowledge".[3]

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[1] Robert.D.Woodberry "The Social impact of Missionary Higher Education" in *Christian responses to Asian Challenges: A Glocalisation View on Christian higher education in East Asia.* Philip Yuen Sang Leung and Peter Tze Ming Ng(eds.)Hong Kong:Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society,Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2007.

[2] Catherine Manathunga, "Decolonising the curriculum: Southern interrogations of time, place and knowledge", *Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in the South,* Volume 2, Issue 1 April 2018, 95.

[3] Lesley, Le Grange, "The Curriculum Case for Decolonisation." In *Decolonisation in Universities: The Politics of Knowledge*, edited by Jansen Jonathan D., by Parker Grant, 29-48. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2019. Accessed June 30, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/10.18772/22019083351.7,

Le Grange describes how scholars such as Poka Laenui of Hawaii, Baegele Chilisa of Botswana and Linda Tuhiwai Smith of New Zealand, who represent indigenous peoples have rediscovered, recovered, deconstructed, reconstructed and reimagined their own histories, language, culture and identities.[4] According to Patti Lather:

Tuhiwai Smith urges researching back and disrupting the rules of the research game toward practices that are more respectful, ethical, sympathetic and useful vs racist practices and attitudes, ethnocentric assumptions and exploitative research.[5]Suellen Shay in her response to the debate regarding "decolonising the curriculum" after the statue of colonialist Cecil John Rhodes was removed from the University of Cape Town's campus in South Africa, stated "that statues fall, fees fall but curricula don't fall".[6] In Shay's explanations of the many challenges faced in trying to decolonise a university curriculum, she identified six, some of which were similar to those that the collaborative group recognised in the Fiji secondary school History curriculum. "An appropriate curriculum, real world relevance and power plays" are three relevant challenges that Shay lists which the collaborative group attempted to address in its efforts to decolonise the Fiji Year 11 and Year 12 Fiji History. In the Pacific, Brij Lal and Doug Munro in a series of essays, demonstrate how Pacific History has been decentred away from European Imperial narratives to an island centred approach to writing History. That is Pacific history as it emerged in the 1950s has been decolonised with the focus being on islanders as the main players in the event.

[4] Ibid.p.32
[5] Patti Lather, "Praise for the first edition" in *Decolonizing methodologies: In research and in indigenous peoples* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith.London, 2nd edition, Zed Books Ltd. 2012
[6] Suellen Shay," Decolonizing the curriculum: it's time for a strategy" in *The Conversation* https://worldpece.org/sites/default/files/artifacts/media/pdf/decolonising_the_curriculum-_its_time_for_a_strategy.pdf

A history of education, curriculum and teaching in Fiji

The British colonial government in its first thirty years of rule in Fiji did very little to provide History education for the people. Development of formal education in Fiji was initially the work of missionaries. According to Helen Tavola, "By 1900 due to the efforts of missions, there were schools in most Fiji villages offering up to four years of education".[7] An early investigation into mission schools was carried out in 1935 by C.W. Mann, who came to Fiji at the request of the Methodist Church in Australia. Mann made an interesting statement at the time about the curriculum saying that there was a need to "recast the old curriculum so that what is taught will bear more fully upon the interests of the people of the colony".[8] He clearly stated that what the people needed was a curriculum that would:

> *minister the present and future needs of the population, a curriculum made in the Colony by men and women expert in their profession and familiar with the racial, social, political and economic conditions of the Colony.*[9]

In 1969, on the eve of Fiji's independence, an education commission was tasked with carrying out an investigation into education in Fiji. The ensuing report of this commission addressed curriculum development by defining what it meant by curriculum, and highlighting its role and significance in the nation's education system. The commission asserted that there was a need to revise the curriculum and that:

> *The reformed curriculum should be oriented to the Fiji environment and to the needs of the people of Fiji but should at the same time relate to the need for international understanding*

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[7] Helen Tavola, *Secondary Education in Fiji: A Key to the Future* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1991).
[8] Cecil W. Mann, *Education in Fiji* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1935), 137.
[9] Ibid., 137-138.

and cooperation. It must not be parochial. It should be Fiji oriented in form but universal in value.[10]

The 1969 Education Commission report was critical of teachers who continued with "chalk and talk" teaching practices.[11] This referred to teachers relying on student notetaking as the primary method of learning. This reflected the colonial nature of education in Fiji at the time. Paulo Freire in his work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* identified the "banking concept of education as an instrument of oppression" whereby education becomes an act of depositing in which the student is the depository and the teacher is the depositor.[12] The report also pointed out that the "acute shortage of books was responsible for this great reliance on the teacher's notes". Towards this end, the report strongly recommended the use of textbooks for students with the emphasis that books were "indispensable". The commission report asserted that the "chalk and talk" method, if continued, "will have an inhibiting effect on the implementation of the reformed curriculum". Ultimately, the commission reinforced the idea that a new curriculum should be "Fiji oriented in form and universal in value."[13]

In response to the commission report, in the 1970s a major curriculum project was initiated and funded jointly by UNDP and UNESCO to create curricula, write textbooks and learning materials for Pacific Island countries. This was led by the newly established Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) within the Fiji Department of Education. At this time, History was included with Geography under the title "Social Sciences" and so the curriculum

[10] Fiji Education Commission, *Education for Modern Fiji: report of the 1969 Fiji Education Commission* (Suva, Fiji Government Printers, 1969), 15.
[11] Ibid., 16.
[12] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* translated version by Myra Bergman Ramos (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1972), 46.
[13] Fiji Education Commission, *Education for Modern Fiji,* 16.

officer responsible had to coordinate two curricula for all levels of secondary schooling simultaneously. In a critical review of this project twenty years later, Alisi Vudiniabola in her MA thesis examined how the project contributed greatly to the development of educational resources, enhanced teaching resources and allowed for the use of innovative ideas in curriculum development in Fiji and other Pacific countries.[14] However, she noted that the impact of such innovations and the introduction of new teaching methods such as discovery and inquiry methods did not create a lasting impact because of "the pervasiveness of a deterministic examination-based system."[15]

This examination-based system was reinstated by the Ministry of Education after it was removed from Years 6, 8 and 10 from 2010.[16] Vudiniabola's thesis is important as it portrays the entire development of formal education from its colonial inception to its early stages of development right up to the point of indigenous educationists providing their views of what their own national curricula should be like.

The next significant review of Fiji's education system occurred in the 1980s. Clive Whitehead, who studied British colonial education policy in the different colonies, carried out a number of studies on British education policy in Fiji. His first publication was in 1981 and was followed by a second more comprehensive study in 1986. In the 1981 publication titled *Education in Fiji: Policy, Problems and Progress in Primary and Secondary Education in Fiji 1939 – 1973,* he was of the opinion that the government needed to take a "more direct and firm control over the development of schools and the curricula of the

[14] Alisi Talatoka Vudiniabola, "A Critical Review of the UNDP/UNESCO Regional Secondary Schools Curriculum Project: 1970-1975" (M.A., University of the South Pacific, 1999).
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ministry of Education Heritage and Arts, *2015 Annual Report,* Fiji Ministry of Education, Heritage and Arts, 2015, 10.

schools".[17] In his second publication, he again addressed government's role in education and was deliberate in his concentration on aspects of quality and quantity. In discussing curriculum, Whitehead related how Dr Ahmed Ali, then Minister of Education in Fiji, criticised the "dependency mentality evident in some schools".[18] The reason that teachers were dependent on CDU was they lacked teaching resources.

In the wider Pacific region, the rethinking of Pacific education began with an initiative of three Pacific academics in December 2000. Konai Helu Thaman, Kabini Sanga, and 'Ana Maui Taufe'ulungaki wanted to see major developments and changes occur in Pacific education that would be more Pacific oriented, led and driven.[19] This initiative known as Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative for Pacific Peoples (RPEIPP) "was borne out of the need to ensure indigenous and Pacific peoples increased ownership of the processes of education and to re-examine curriculum processes".[20] One view presented at the time emphasised the need for culturally sensitive curricula that recognised cultural identity and self-knowledge in order to prepare students for the kind of societies they would live in the future. There was also a strong call for curricula to be grounded within the cultural contexts of the Pacific nations.

Another endeavour by a regional organisation, namely USP, occurred in 2004 to provide assistance in the learning and teaching of History in Fiji. History academics at USP reached out to the CDU with an invitation to *talanoa* (meaning "dialogue") and hear feedback from Fijian teachers about whether they needed assistance and how they wanted assistance to be delivered.[21] At this first meeting with teachers of History from different parts of Fiji two

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[17] Clive Whitehead, *Education in Fiji: Policy, Problems and Progress in Primary and Secondary Education in Fiji 1939 – 1973* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1981), 193.
[18] Clive Whitehead*, Education in Fiji since Independence; a study of government policy* (Wellington, New Zealand Council for Education Research, 1986), 53.
[19] Cherie M Chu, "A Vaka journey in Pacific Education: Become an Academic Mentor", *Waikato Journal of education,* Vol.23, No.1, 2018, 8.
[20] Baba, "Transformations from within", 83.
[21] Morgan Tuimalealiifano, personal interview, Laucala, August 18th 2016.

issues were prominent: firstly, teachers felt they were not prepared to teach the current History curriculum because it was different to what they had studied in university; and secondly, that the Fiji topics were difficult to teach because of a lack of teaching materials. There was also a concern that what was being taught closely resembled the old curriculum that they themselves had studied in high school.[22]

USP's consultations with teachers pre-empted a wider national review by the Ministry of Education which resulted in *The Fiji Islands National Curriculum Framework* in 2007 which was revised in 2013.[23] As a result of the FNCF, CDU was restructured and placed under the authority of Curriculum Advisory Services (CAS) in 2009. The new structure reflected the FNCF with subject areas being categorised according to their "Key Learning Areas".[24] The FNCF was followed by the *Fiji EFA (Education For All) Progress Report for 2000-2015.*[25] These two reports confirmed the views of the RPEIPP and provided direct pathways for the development of new curricula. These two documents were also informed by other earlier national reviews and government plans such as the *2000 Education Commission Report*, *2007-2011 Strategic Development Plan*, *the Roadmap 2009-2014*, the People's Charter, the Fiji Constitution, Fiji Education Acts and corporate plans of the Ministry.[26] These meetings and reports resulted in a national curriculum framework that also addressed key international and regional conventions ratified by the Fiji Governments such as the

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[22] Meeting of teachers and History Department USP in 2004 chaired by Professor Ian Campbell at which I was present.
[23] Ministry of Education, *The Fiji Islands National Curriculum Framework: Education for a Better Future* (Suva, Ministry of Education, 2007).
[24] Eparama Veivuke, personal interview, University of the South Pacific, August 15th 2017.
[25] Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts, *Fiji EFA Progress Report for 2000-2015* (Suva: Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts 2015).
[26] Ibid., 8-10.

> *UNESCO Delors' 4 Pillars of Education; related Millennium Development Goals(MDGs)…Education for all Framework for Action (EFA) and the Decade for Education for Sustainable Development 2005-2014 (DESD) …and at the regional level, it includes the Pacific Education and Development Framework(PEDF) 2009-2015, the Pacific Education for Sustainable Development Framework (2006) and its Action Plan among others.*[27]

In the summing up section of the *Fiji EFA Progress Report,* it is stated that a significant role of education "is the building of social cohesion and national identity in all communities."[28] The reforms in education were to address the requests for a "responsive curriculum which would be better able to meet the economic and development needs, socio-cultural expectations and moral and intellectual development needs of the changing education environment of Fiji."[29]

Fiji's EFA goals were based on previous international and global education initiatives, in particular the UNESCO Delors Report titled *Learning: The Treasure Within* outlined four "Pillars of Education" ("learning to know, learning to do, learning to be, learning to live together"). The "pillars of education" were subsequently cited in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), as well as the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD 2005-2014) influential global initiatives.[30] A response to the Delors Report by Zhou Nan-Zhou, former president of the UNESCO Asia Pacific Network for

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[27] Ministry of Education, *The National Curriculum Framework: Quality Education for Change, Peace and Progress* (Suva: Ministry of Education, 2013), 1.
[28] Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts, *Fiji EFA Progress Report for 2000-2015*, 43.
[29] Ibid., 53.
[30] Jacques Delors, *Learning: The Treasure Within-Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century* (Paris, UNESCO Pub, 1996).

International Education and Value Education, emphasised the need for textbooks in the learning process. He stated that:

> *Numerous research studies have shed light on the main factors affecting or accounting for learning achievement, or quality of education. In an input process-outcomes framework, curriculum content, textbooks and learning materials, are among the major school inputs (UNESCO, 2004). The concern to review curriculum has been at the heart of the worldwide efforts in improving the quality of education for all.*[31]

The need for up-to-date Fiji History textbooks for schools was not addressed by the Ministry of Education until 2009 when the collaborative group saw it as an integral component of the new curriculum. Despite the changes in Fijian education over the decades, the changes did not really filter down to individual subject areas such as History which still retained old topics from the former NZSCE. The collaborative group wanted to make changes that would address content and pedagogy.

Modern inquiry based historical pedagogy

Equally important alongside the creation of up-to-date Fiji History textbooks was the need to decolonise historical pedagogy from one that was an input-based curriculum to one which was outcome-based. Through the provision of textbooks on Fiji topics, the intention of the collaborative group was to enable a more inquiry-based approach to teaching and learning. Some of the major underpinning principles to inquiry-based learning are firstly the recognition and acknowledgement that "the core learning outcomes are the overarching determinant of the nature of inquiry" and that learning and teaching requires a student centred approach.[32] The pedagogical underpinnings therefore would involve changes to the

[31] Zhou NanZhao, "Four "Pillars of Learning" for the Reorientation and Reorganisation of curriculum: Reflections and Discussions" in *International Bureau of Education UNESCO*, 2005, 1.
[32] Jenny Naylor, *Inquiry approaches in Secondary studies of society and environment key learning areas, (*Brisbane: QSCC), 2000,p.3.

way the classes and teaching is organised. The classroom orientation as discussed by Naylor, who referred to the work of Brian Hoepper and Ray Land in *Studying Society and Environment* edited by Robert Gilbert, would be inclined more towards the Liberal and Socially critical orientated classrooms.[33] The "Liberal" classroom is characterised by the teacher who is both leader and facilitator with students "actively engaged in inquiry with the emphasis in understanding reasons for social phenomena"and the "Socially critical classrooms would have more "democratic relations between teachers and students with high levels of collaboration".[34] Inquiry based learning, which centres learning around the student and the achievement of learning outcomes by the student, is an ideal approach to decolonising of the curriculum and learning and teaching.

Island-centred and Islander-centred History

The revised History curriculum in Fiji was shaped by two significant changes in Pacific historiography. The first was the idea of island-centred history, which emerged in the 1950s. The second was the work of some of Fiji's first trained historians who emerged soon after and began to challenge colonial representations of Fiji's history.

In the 1950s, the work of historian J.W. Davidson lay the foundations for a major shift in the study and research of history. What is today known as Pacific History did not exist as a body of knowledge on its own seventy years ago. In a paper titled "The Problem of Pacific History" by Davidson, founder of the Department of Pacific Studies in the Australian National University in 1949, he explained how Pacific history at the time was largely contained within imperial histories:

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[33] Jenny Naylor, *Inquiry approaches in Secondary studies of society and environment key learning areas,* p.3. Brian Hoepper and Ray Land, "Planning investigation" in *Studying Society and Environment: A Handbook For Teachers, R. Gilbert* (ed.) (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1996),pp.80-101.
[34] Ibid.

> *It is in imperial history that Pacific history has its more immediate origin…Modern historians, more than most scholars, live close to the current of thought and feeling which dominate their times….The great body of imperial history has been concerned with the growth, as an imperial power, of the nation of which the historian has been himself a citizen.*[35]

He pointed out that if one were to try to use imperial histories to learn about the Pacific Islands and Islanders there would be limitations. He went on to suggest that the Pacific Islands and their people should be the focal point of Pacific history. Davidson argued that a study of Pacific history would be about cultural interaction. He began the process of decolonisation in academia by "breaking Pacific History out of its matrix of imperial history and established it as a specialised branch of the subject of history."[36]

Since the 1950s, Pacific historiography has changed to become not just island-centred but also more islander-centred. Kerry Howe in a 1979 paper titled "Pacific Islands History in the 1980s: New Directions or Monograph Myopia" took up these suggestions of Davidson.[37] Howe argued that since Davidson, modern studies of Pacific Island History had become too specialised and narrow rather than keeping the broader picture of the islands in perspective. He maintained that the approach to studying and researching Pacific History as first delivered by Davidson is that the historian must position himself or herself in the islands and look outwards. In this way he argued the islands were to be the focal point from which events were to be interpreted. Islander-centred history must therefore draw from Islander sources, which are mainly oral and have been passed down by word of mouth through song, dance, weavings, tattoos and carvings, rituals and beliefs. Howe argued that the histories should also be of the islands as a whole, such as a history of the

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[35] J.W. Davidson, "Problems of Pacific History" in *The Journal of Pacific History,* vol.1, 1966, 5-6.
[36] David Routledge, "Pacific History as Seen from Pacific Islands," *Pacific Studies,* vol.8, no. 2, 1985, 81-99.
[37] Kerry Howe, "Pacific Islands History in the 1980s: New Directions or Monograph Myopia?", *Pacific Studies,* vol. 3, no. 1, 1979, 81.

Solomon Islands, to provide an overview that is understandable. He was critical of what scholarship had achieved up to the 1970s, arguing that researchers had been so diligently publishing detailed findings that they had lost a basic sense of direction of Oceania as an entity, a whole embracing narrative.

Pacific historian, Francis Hezel in "New Directions in Pacific History" stated in 1988:

> *But island oriented history, which gained universal acceptance in academic circles, is today regarded as only a partial corrective of the Eurocentric history of the old. Island-oriented history must give way to what is sometimes called islander-oriented history, many apologists assert, if local people are to be given their rightly place in the history of their islands.*[38]

Hezel also goes on to say this is not an easy task to accomplish as accounts of the past are mostly written by Europeans. However, he does admit that Pacific Islanders do have their own ways of recording and presenting historical information that are Islander-oriented such as dance and other performances. He stresses that Pacific History written by non-Islander historians should not be discouraged.

The analysis of a collection of what is termed "foundational texts" in Pacific History that was published in 2006 provides an account of the development of Pacific historiography. *Texts and Contexts* edited by Doug Munro and Brij Lal marked the "special moments in the growth and development of Pacific islands as a gauge of its varied journeys and transformation over the last half century or so."[39] The shift as portrayed in *Texts and Contexts* is one made from general histories of the Pacific such as the work of Douglas

[38] Francis X. Hezel, "New Direction in Pacific History" in *Pacific Studies*, vol.11, no.3, 1988, 101.
[39] Doug Munro and Brij V. Lal (eds), *Texts and Contexts: Reflections in Pacific Islands Historiography*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 9.

Oliver to historiography that was specialised using approaches such as anthropology, images, biographies, trade, labour trade and close studies of islands.[40] Many of these new histories of the Pacific aligned with the views of Davidson. Among the works analysed is that of Bernard Smith who was the first historian to look at images of the Pacific painted by artists who voyaged with early European explorers.[41] The importance of Smith's work is that for the first time images were used to learn about what the Pacific Islands and Islanders looked like which influenced European views of the Pacific. Smith realised that the early artists did not always paint exactly what they saw but at times what they thought of Pacific Islanders and this point is emphasised in the fourth textbook written for the new curriculum, *Imaging the Pacific,* that will be discussed in Chapter 5. New Zealand historian Andrew Sharp proposed that the Pacific Islands were arrived at by accident.[42] His work was strongly disputed by David Lewis who used anthropological evidence and his own experience of navigation in Micronesia to prove Sharp incorrect on the account of one way accidental voyages or drifting based on the assertion that navigational vessels were not suitable for such oceanic journeys.[43] Despite the debate, it was Sharp who first used studies of early navigation to produce Pacific History. The works of Dorothy Shineberg and Harry Maude were among the first to focus on early trades in the Pacific as part of the new Island-centred focus in Pacific historiography. Shineberg in particular is noted as one who first wrote a detailed study of the sandalwood trade in the Pacific.[44] Clive Moore's history of

[40] Douglas Oliver, *The Pacific Islands* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).
[41] Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850: A study in the history of arts and ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992).
[42] Andrew Sharp, *Ancient Voyages in the Pacific* (Wellington, Polynesian Society Memoir, 1956)
[43] David Lewis, *We, The Navigators: The ancient art of land finding in the Pacific* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1972).
[44] Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: a study of the sandalwood trade in the southwest Pacific 1830-1865* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967).

the Pacific labour trade is also useful for Fiji secondary school history because of the important role that Melanesian labourers played in Fiji's early plantation economy and the impact of this labour trade on Fijian society. Moore argues for a more Islander-centred history which recognised Pacific labourers as active agents rather than passive tools of colonial empire.[45]

An example of a close study of a group of islands discussed in *Texts and Contexts* is that of Greg Dening's *Islands and Beaches.* This study is based on an ethnographic inquiry from the archives of the Marquesan people. Dening's work is a cross disciplinary account of the Te Enata (the Marquesan people) of the Marquesas (Te Henua) and those who came to the islands (Te Aoe). Dening explained that the title of his book, "is a metaphor for the different ways in which human beings construct their worlds and for the boundaries they construct between them." [46] He saw the islands as the cultural world of the Te Enata and the beaches as the cultural boundaries they and the Te Aoe crossed. The interpretation of these events had to be from the perspective of how they affected the Islanders and in addition, how the Islanders influenced the Europeans.

In decolonising the curriculum, an important decision that was made by the group was the production of textbooks for each of the new Fiji Topics. Howe makes a point about academics being disdainful towards popular books about Pacific history:

> *Most popular books about Pacific islands history are rightly disdained by the academics, but how many of them have bothered to write for the layman, or even for undergraduate students?*[47]

Although there are Fiji history books available, they are not easily accessible by students

[45] Clive Moore, *Kanaka: A history of Melanesian Mackay* (Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, University of Papua New Guinea, 1985), 146.
[46] Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas, 1774–1880* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), 3.
[47] Kerry Howe, "Pacific Islands History in the 1980s", 23.

in high school which is why it was decided to write Fiji History textbooks that can be easily read and understood by students of Fiji. Some Pacific historians have recently returned to the production of general histories of the Pacific rather than the more specific Island- and Islander-centred histories. Matt Matsuda admits that writing about the Pacific is a "daunting challenge" because of the questions of "what, where and when is Pacific history?"[48] In answering these questions regarding Pacific history his work, draws in stories from "Asia, Oceania and the Americas".[49] Matsuda argues that the Pacific has an "episodic history with "a collected set of characters and experiences" and it is also "trans-local because these stories take on full meaning when linked to other stories and places".[50] This work does not focus on any one island or group of islands but works at including, all those people, places, stories and histories that make up the worlds of the Pacific.

Though ideas of Island-centred history and decolonised history were popular, it was not clear how this would look when applied to Fiji's history. The work of Fijian scholars like Brij Lal, Robert Nicole and the work of Teresia Teaiwa on the teaching of History are considered as part of the process leading up to the changing of Fiji's History curriculum.

Described as "one of two foremost historians of Fiji", Brij Lal has written widely on the history of indenture in Fiji, and many other works that have woven into the social and political fabric of contemporary history of Fiji.[51] Lal extended the work of Ken Gillion in his first book, *Girmityas: the Origins of the Fiji Indians,* by addressing the background and identity of Indians in Fiji. This work looks at the circumstances in India that contributed to the thousands of Indians signing up to come to Fiji during the 37 years of indenture from 1879 to 1920. Lal was not convinced that all Indians who came did so because they were

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[48] Matt Matsuda,"The Pacific." *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 2006 758-80. 758

[49] Matt K Matsuda. *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures*. (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 5.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Doug Munro, "Indenture and contemporary Fiji" in Doug Munro and Jack Corbett (eds), *Bearing witness: Essays in honour of Brij V.Lal* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2017), 14.

easily deceived. The global phenomena of capitalism with the spread of colonialism and the direct impact on India as a result of British colonial agrarian policies had a significant role in the migration of labour whether forced, fraudulent or voluntary. Lal examines how these policies contributed to increasing poverty, increasing numbers of people living in debt, and increasing numbers of people displaced as a result of the closing down of traditional handicraft industry and landless labourers.[52] These factors contributed to pushing out of India:

> *Indentured migrants from all strata of Indian society, including the higher and middling castes which irrespective of their place in the social hierarchy were deriving their livelihood largely form the land as proprietors, petty cultivators, tenants, landless labourers or simply as sewaks of their masters.*[53]

This is an important contribution to the history that has been taught in the junior (Years 8-10) Social Science and History curriculum in Fiji as it provides a fuller context of the indentured labourers. It is clear that although changes had occurred in Pacific and Fiji historiography, these changes were not reflected in the Fiji History topics of the secondary school curriculum. Brij Lal's *Broken Waves* described by Martha Kaplan as "the first real history of Fiji as a nation" and the "first truly synthetic and actually modernist version of its past, present and future" is a social, political and economic history of Fiji.[54] Doug Munro, in *The Ivory Tower and Beyond: Participant historians of the Pacific* identified Lal as playing an important role in the development of Pacific historiography and noted Lal's personal connection with the history that he writes (as a descendent of indentured

[52] Brij V. Lal, *Girmityas: The origins of the Fiji Indians* (Canberra, Journal of Pacific History, 1983).
[53] Ibid., 130.
[54] Martha Kaplan and John D. Kelly, "Constituting Common Futures: Reflecting from Singapore about decolonisation in Fiji" in Munro and Corbett, *Bearing Witness,* 156.

labourers). The coups of 1987 which saw the removal of the democratically-elected Bavadra government had impacted on him and became the subject of his second book, *Power and Prejudice.*[55] Quoted in the prologue of Munro's *The Ivory Tower,* Lal says, "I have a commitment to my discipline and profession…but my greater commitments are to the subjects I write about."[56]

Robert Nicole's recently published history of Fiji titled *Disturbing History,* is also a work that addresses the Island-centred and Islander-centred History. Nicole's study of the resistance to colonial rule in Fiji is an important work in addressing the omissions and biases in mainstream colonial histories of Fiji.[57] This is another work that must feature in the new History curriculum as it highlights an aspect of Fijian life that was omitted from mainstream history. This omission or silenced resistance led to misconceptions about the way early Fijians responded to colonial rule as the generalised thinking is that all Fijians and women accepted it without question. Nicole's study highlights some critical examples of reported resistance that have been archived but absent from mainstream history. For students of today examining such examples of resistance is important for nurturing critical responses to injustices particularly if they are enshrined in the constitutions of societal organisations.[58]

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[55] Brij V. Lal, *Power and Prejudice: the Making of the Fiji Crisis* (Wellington: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 1988).
[56] Doug Munro, *The Ivory Tower and beyond: Participant Historians of the Pacific* (Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 10.
[57] Robert Nicole, *Disturbing History: Resistance in early Colonial Fiji* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2011).
[58] Ibid.

A similar postcolonial approach was taken by Fijian-raised scholar Teresia Teaiwa, a teacher of Pacific History and Pacific Studies. Her approach to teaching about the Pacific is to use a variety of approaches and contexts that are flexible and interdisciplinary which are encountered by both students and teacher simultaneously and that contribute to "deep learning" experiences.[59] In her address to History teachers at a national conference in Fiji organised by CDU, Teaiwa raised several important points about the teaching of History and ways of decolonising History. Her speech addressed two main points of historiography and pedagogy. She emphasised the importance of asking the "right" questions in historiography if teachers were to fully grasp the meaning of the histories they were teaching. A matrix outlining the different historiographies clearly explained who the makers of those histories were which led to her next critical question, "can ordinary people - women, men and children make history?"[60] This was followed by an equally significant question of where History was to be found, and whether it was only found in books, archives and libraries. In pedagogy, her focus was on the teaching of History and in particular Pacific History where she underlined that her approach was not top down but more of cooperative learning where to some extent she was dependent on students for their own knowledge and contribution to the teaching and learning of History. These are critical points for the analysis of the process and outcome of the collaborative group in decolonising the History curriculum and writing the textbooks. These changes in Pacific historiography contributed to the overall process of decolonising the Fiji history curriculum as the group worked with awareness of the work of Teaiwa, Nicole and others. The preparation of content and activities allowed for students to participate in

contributing to writing histories and sharing historical findings.

Reflection and Critical reflection

Critical reflection as a research methodology has been defined in many ways and within various frameworks. Names such as John Dewey, Donald Schon, Jack Mezirow and Stephen Brookfield are strongly linked to reflection and critical reflection.[61] In 1910, John Dewey wrote, *How we think*, a work that lay the foundation for literature on reflection and its use in the professions.[62] One of the first perceptions that Dewey had about critical reflection is that it is difficult to define and the author has not been alone in holding such a view. Patricia Lucas describes it as being a "difficult and contested terrain that appears to be attractive on paper but difficult to put into practice".[63] It has been mentioned by Watson that there is "widespread confusion" about critical reflection.[64] The confusion stems from what Jack Mezirow, who first articulated the "Transformative Learning theory", suggests is involved in critical thinking, such as "identifying, acknowledging and unearthing our presuppositions, assumptions and beliefs, as a larger process of reflecting back on our prior learning to determine whether they are now justified under present circumstances and context".[65] Other questions have been asked about whether the process is self-reflection,

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[59] Teaiwa was one of several contributors to the special edition of the *Journal of Pacific History* on teaching; see, Paul Darcy, ed. "The Teaching of Pacific History", *The Journal of Pacific History,* vol. 46, no.2, 2011, 197-256.
[60] Teresia Teaiwa, "Learning to love it: Some thoughts on teaching history" in *Directions: Journal of Educational Studies*, Suva, Institute of Education, vol.18, no.2, 1996, 48.
[61] Michael Cohen, "Critical reflection among school psychologists: an examination of content, cognitive style and cognitive complexity" (PhD, University of California, 2010).
[62] John Dewey, *How we think* (Boston, D.C. Heath & Co., 1910).
[63] Patricia Lucas, "Critical reflection. What do we really mean?" in *Proceedings of the 2012 Australian Collaborative Education Network National Conference* (Melbourne, Australian Collaborative Education Network (ACEN), 2012):163.
[64] Gavan P. Watson, Natasha Kenny, "Teaching Critical reflection to Graduate Students" in *Collected Essays on Learning and Teaching,* vol.7, no.1, 2014:56.
[65] Jack Mezirow in ibid.

reflection, contemplation, or introspection.[66] Indeed when faced with such difficulty and confusion, the answer lies in going back to the original writings about the practice for clarity of understanding and keener perception of reflection.

Dewey's Criteria for Critical Reflection

In 2002, Carol Rodgers systematically analysed Dewey's four criteria of reflection "to make his thinking more accessible", which indeed it has, in a paper titled "Defining Reflection: Another look at John Dewey and Reflective Thinking."[67] Dewey, she argues, provides four criteria of reflection. The first criteria, is that it must be a "meaning-making process that moves the learner from one experience into the next with deeper understanding"; the second is that "it is a systematic and disciplined way of thinking" made up of several phases; thirdly, "reflection needs to occur with other people" as it will then reveal the strengths and weaknesses in one's thinking; and the final criteria is that reflection is about "having an attitude that values one's own personal and intellectual growth as well as those of others".[68]

As this thesis is a reflection on a collaborative curriculum revision project, it is important that all four criteria provided by Dewey be discussed fully. Rodgers explains that within this definition it is important to see how Dewey defines experience. Dewey sees it more than just participating in an event because it also can be interacting with an object such as reading a book. He argues that experience is the interaction between the person and his or her environment. Through his interaction between a person and the environment, there is a change not only in the self but also in the environment: "Through interaction with the world we both change it and are changed by it".[69] The experience is continuous and brings about

[66] Ibid.
[67] Carol Rodgers "Defining Reflection: Another Look at John Dewey and Reflective Thinking" in *Teachers College Record*, vol.104, no. 4, 2002, 844.
[68] Ibid., 845.
[69] Dewey in ibid., 846.

change. Therefore, in applying the process of decolonising the curriculum and writing the textbooks, the collaborative group was involved in a meaning making process that brought about changes. They shared similar experiences relating to the teaching of History in secondary schools in Fiji. These experiences and their own reflections on the teaching of History together with further reflections brought about through meetings with the History academics of USP, resulted in the changing of the History curriculum and writing of new textbooks as teaching resources for teachers and students.

The movement of this experiential learning is progressive and the intelligent action is considered not impulsive and is shaped by the gathering of information to address an "unfair privilege and unfair deprivation, not to perpetuate them".[70] The unfair privilege that was addressed by the collaborative group was the lack of teaching resources for the teaching of Fiji History. Dewey claims that experiences alone are not sufficient as what is critical is the ability to "perceive and weave meaning among the threads of experience".[71] According to Rodgers, the role of reflection is to make meaning, to make the connections between relationships and continuities, that is to:

> *formulate relationships and continuities among the elements of an experience, between that experience and other experiences, between that experience and the knowledge that one carries and between that knowledge and the knowledge produced by thinkers other than oneself.*[72]

The second criteria is reflection as a way of thinking, a particular way of thinking and not just contemplating over something in an undisciplined manner. Rodgers goes on to say that

[70] Dewey in ibid.
[71] Dewey in ibid.
[72] Ibid., 848.

Dewey does not ignore these other kinds of thoughts such as stream of consciousness, invention and belief which also contributes to the definition of reflection. Stream of consciousness, the first kind of thinking, is involuntary whereby ideas flow through the mind while reflective thought on the other hand is made up of clearly defined units that are connected to a common end.[73] The second kind of thinking, invention, is a form of imagination. While reflection requires the thinker to recall a past experience, imagination is important within reflection as the thinker will need to "draw on past experience, 'image-ing' other events that are similar to or different from the experience being inquired into".[74] This thesis is about pondering over the process of decolonising the curriculum in a disciplined manner, drawing on experiences that occurred before the collaborative group was formed but which fed into the work of the collaborative group. These were mainly individual experiences. Believing is the third type of thinking identified by Dewey and he describes this type of thought as prejudgments or preconceptions as they are not based on any process of observing, collecting and examining data even if they happen to be correct. Reflection on the other hand is about, "Active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support the further conclusions to which it tends."[75]

The third criterion is reflection in community, which emphasises the importance of sharing one's thoughts with others. In sharing one's thoughts they would have to be carefully formulated and would have to "assimilate imaginatively" something of the other's experience in order to share one's own experience. Thinking without having to express what one thought is seen by Dewey "as an incomplete act".[76] In this sharing of thoughts,

[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid., 850.
[75] Dewey, *How we think*, 6.
[76] Rodgers, "Defining Reflection", 856.

one's field of experience broadens and Rodgers explains how in her own experience she has identified three factors that "highlight the benefits of collaborative reflection". These are "the affirmation of the value of one's own experience, seeing things in a new way which is a result of others providing their insights and understanding and the support to engage in inquiry with others and the feeling of responsibility to the group".[77] The process of decolonising the curriculum and writing the teaching materials involved sharing of thoughts that enabled members to see the value of their experiences in teaching Fiji history from the old curriculum and prescription. This then contributed to their desire to be involved in the process of changing the curriculum and writing the units of work for students.

In her discussion of the fourth criterion of reflection, Rodgers explained that Dewey believed that the attitudes a person brought to bear upon the act of reflection could work in favour of the learning or it could prevent it from happening. This criterion requires that the individual come with "open heartedness, directness, open-mindedness and responsibility and this will enable the reflection result in broadening of one's knowledge and awareness".[78] This is the set of attitudes required for reflection to be successful.

In this discussion of Dewey's four criteria of reflection, Rodgers did not comment specifically on History education. At a teaching development workshop titled "Becoming a reflective practitioner" in 2012 at Waikato University, New Zealand, Pip Ferguson explained the historical theoretical background behind the movement of reflective practice by focusing on John Dewey. She stated that Dewey claimed that reflection action came

[77] Ibid., 857.
[78] Ibid., 858.

from work by educators who were active; who "persistently and carefully considered how they practiced and what they were teaching and was often the result of a need to solve a particular problem".[79] Dewey, she argued, believed that if teachers did not operate reflectively, they risked basing their practice on prejudice and uninformed or outdated thinking: "Improvement comes with critical reflection on their practice and open-mindedness to better ways of operating and passion for their work".[80] This is exactly the experience of the collaborative group, which led to the writing of new teaching and learning materials for Fiji history in Years 11 and 12 in the Fiji education system.

Schon's theory on being a reflective practitioner

A prominent work on reflective practice is that of Donald Schon's *The Reflective Practitioner* (1983). What is of interest in Schon's work is his discussion of "knowing-in-action" and then "reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action". In explaining what "knowing-in-action" is, Schon suggested:

> *When we go about the spontaneous, intuitive performance of the actions of everyday life, we show ourselves to be knowledgeable in a special way. Often we cannot say what it is that we know. When we try to describe it we find ourselves at a loss ...Our knowing is ordinarily tacit, implicit in our patterns of action and in our feel for the stuff with which we are dealing. It seems right to say that our knowing is in our action.*[81]

This is similar to the way that professionals work. They may go through their day-to-day practice making many judgments of quality for which they cannot provide adequate criteria. In such cases he asks us to set aside "Technical Rationality" which may lead us to

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[79] Pip B. Ferguson, "Becoming a Reflective Practitioner", *Teaching Development Wāhanga Whakapakari Ako* (New Zealand, University of Waikato, 2012), 4.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Donald Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals think in action,* (London, Arena Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1983), 49.

think of intelligent practice as an application of knowledge and suggests that knowing is inherent in intelligent action.[82] He provides examples of a tightrope walker and a sportsman applying their knowledge in order to execute what they do. He explains that professional practitioners often think about what they are doing, sometimes even while doing it. He distinguishes between the two ways of reflecting as the activity or experience that is taking place and uses the expression of "thinking on your feet" or "learning by doing" as illustrative of reflection-in-action.[83] But prior to reflection-in-action, Schon talks about reflection-on-action which is about making sense of an action after it has occurred, learning something from it and extending one's knowledge base in relation to that action.

Schon also adds that in reflection-on-action there can also be reflection-in-action. He uses the example of baseball when a pitcher has learned to pitch effectively and they would express this as "finding the groove" which he argues is "a particular kind of reflection".[84] This kind of reflection occurs as the game is going on and it is about how the pitcher has adjusted his play so that he actually gets it right. Reflection-in-action can happen very quickly or over a period of time. Schon suggests that when something happens as expected, we do not tend to dwell on it. It is only when something happens unexpectedly that one tends to reflect on the occurrence. On reflection-in-action Schon suggests that, "when someone reflects-in-action, he becomes a researcher in the practice context," not relying on proven methods and received wisdom but developing strategies and theories as he or she goes along.[85] "Thus reflection in action can proceed because it is not bound by the dichotomies of Technical Rationality".[86] This is exactly what happened during with the History collaborative project. The collaborative group developed its own strategies and to

[82] Ibid., 50.
[83] Ibid., 54.
[84] Ibid., 54.
[85] Ibid., 68.
[86] Ibid., 69.

some extent, some theories as it went decolonised the history curriculum and wrote course materials.

Thomas Hewitt in *Understanding and Shaping Curriculum* states that reflection is the conceptualising of what is transpiring or is ongoing. Using Schon's concepts of reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action he elaborates that to reflect in practice is to think as if one is involved in an activity and to reflect-on-action is a review of what has happened with the aim of understanding the process that was engaged, the outcomes sustained and the reactions of those involved. Hewitt goes on to say that:

> *The actors, their actions and each act of the play or activity are the particulars; the experiencing of it renders it whole and it can be revisited both as to its particulars and as a completed entity*.[87]

Brookfield's critical reflection and hunting for assumptions

This thesis is a critical reflection of actions that have taken place. There is much literature on the use of critical reflection in teaching and learning and in particular in the area of adult learning and higher education. These focus on the fields of medicine, law, psychology, engineering and sports, but not on History.[88] Brookfield's work is important for critical reflection studies because it discusses assumptions that are often responsible for the way we behave. He insists that "In many ways we are our assumptions".[89] According to

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[87] Thomas Hewitt, *Understanding and shaping curriculum: what we teach and why* (California, Sage Publications, 2006), 74.

[88] Miriam Catterall, Pauline Maclaran, and Lorna Stevens. "Critical Reflection in the Marketing Curriculum." *Journal of Marketing Education* vol. 24, no. 3, December 2002, 184-192; Michael Cohen, "Critical reflection among school psychologists: an examination of content, cognitive style and cognitive complexity" (PhD, University of California, 2010); Clare Rigg and Kiran Trehan. "Critical Reflection in the Workplace: Is It Just Too Difficult?" *Journal of European Industrial Training* vol.32, no. 5 2008, 374-84; Ortrun, Zuber-Skerritt, and Eva Cendon, "Critical Reflection on Professional Development in the Social Sciences: Interview Results." *International Journal for Researcher Development* vol.5, no. 1 2014, 16-32.

[89] Stephen Brookfield, *Becoming a Critically Reflective Teacher* (San Francisco, Jossey Bass Inc.,1995): 2.

Brookfield "hunting" for assumptions is a practice of identifying and examining those "taken for granted beliefs about the world and our place within it".[90] He puts forward three types of assumptions: paradigmatic, prescriptive and causal. Paradigmatic assumptions are the most difficult to uncover as they are not easily recognisable as assumptions mainly because they are the beliefs or tenets that have ordered our world into fundamental categories.[91] Prescriptive assumptions are those assumptions that we think ought to be happening in a particular situation. An example of prescriptive assumption as discussed by Brookfield are those associated with "how we think teachers should behave" or "what obligations students and teachers owe to each other."[92] Prescriptive assumptions are linked to paradigmatic assumptions and can also be difficult to uncover.[93] The easiest to uncover are causal assumptions as they are usually stated in predictive terms, for example if we increase contact hours for our students, their academic performance is assumed to improve. An important point made here by Brookfield is that these causal assumptions when examined more thoroughly lead to prescriptive and paradigmatic assumptions.

To critically reflect means to identify and scrutinise the assumptions that undergird how we work and Brookfield is careful about defining critical reflection by arguing that "reflection is not by definition critical as it is quite possible to teach reflectively while focusing on the nuts and bolts of the classroom process".[94] He provides the example of teachers reflecting about the timing of coffee breaks, whether to use the blackboard or flip charts, the advantages of using an LCD panel or whiteboard, or how rigidly teachers stick

[90] Ibid., 2.
[91] Ibid., 2.
[92] Ibid., 3.
[93] Ibid., 3.
[94] Ibid., 3.

to a deadline for submission of students' assignments. Brookfield says reflection becomes critical when there is the purpose of understanding "how considerations of power undergird, frame and distort educational processes and interactions".[95] Tied to this, is the other purpose of "questioning those assumptions and practices that seem to make our teaching lives easier but actually work against our own best long term interests".[96] He argues critical reflection makes teachers more aware of the dynamics of power that permeate all educational processes and this awareness helps us realise that forces present in the wider society always intrude into the classroom. He describes classrooms as contested spaces. Through critical reflection, "We start to explore how power over learners can become power within learners".[97]

The practice of critical reflection is a process of inquiry whereby practitioners try to discover and research the assumptions that frame how they work. The means by which practitioners do this is through four complimentary lenses: firstly, the lens of their own autobiographies as teachers and learners; secondly, "through the lens of learners' eyes", thirdly, their colleagues' experiences; and finally using research and theoretical literature.[98] These will form an important basis in the way the reflective process will take place in this thesis.

So the collaborative group in their efforts to decolonise the curriculum and write textbooks were involved in the practice of reflection as they each came to the planning and writing meetings with their own experiences. The outcome they desired was a curriculum that would benefit the students with relevant knowledge and skills.

Conclusion

[95] Ibid., 4.
[96] Ibid., 8.
[97] Ibid., 9.
[98] Stephen, Brookfield. "Critically Reflective Practice." *Journal of Continuing Education in the Health Professions* Vol.18, no. 4, 1998, 197.

As this thesis involves the disciplines of History and education and more specifically critical reflection, the literature review has shown that much has already been accomplished in the area of decolonising the national curriculum through the establishment of a national curriculum framework in 2007, which provided the springboard for decolonising the History curriculum by 2009. To draw the work of the collaborative group together, critical reflection is used and it is essential to understand that the work of the collaborative group in creating the textbooks also involved reflective practices when critiquing completed work. The development of island- and islander-centred historiography aligns with the intentions of the FNCF. The works on reflection and critical reflection when considered carefully provide a pathway to documenting the process followed by the collaborative group and evaluating the curriculum and textbooks. However, previous research does not specifically address the decolonising of a history curriculum or a critical reflection of the process of carrying out a national History curriculum revision. The process that was followed in Fiji between 2009 and 2015 to change the curriculum and write the four textbooks involved a series of spontaneous and improvised planning, meetings and workshops, mostly held at the USP campus.

The meetings that began in late 2009 first involved planning the process of changing the curriculum. This was then followed by the textbook writing meetings that included breaking down each book into its subtopics (called units) and teams of writers were identified to write these units. Once the coverage of each book was decided with time frames set out for each unit, the team began writing. Keeping a close watch on due dates of units of books were Drs. Max Quanchi and Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano from USP's History Department. This was not a simple task as many of the writers were full time History teachers working in secondary schools or postgraduate History students. As units were completed, the writers had to submit their work for others to critique and edit. This

was done by projecting the unit on a screen for the team to view and comment. The writers had to defend their work or accept the criticisms and return to revise their units taking heed of the feedback that was provided. With the approval of the group, the writer or writers then submitted their work to the Instructional Designer who checked it for pedagogical alignment, formatting and feedback to the writer. Although the group did not have a strict review and editorial structure set in place, there was an understanding of a procedure to be followed so that in cases when one was absent others would step in to ensure the process of writing and editing continued. The process had an open editorial approach and all who contributed units of work had their work scrutinised in this open fashion. An element that affected the work of the collaborative group was that of time. The first edition of the FNCF was published in 2007 therefore by 2009 the necessary changes expected by CDU were long overdue. As will be demonstrated later using a critical reflection methodology, this pressure contributed both positively and negatively to the quality of work produced.

This research, which was conducted in a critically reflective way, began by identifying through an autobiographical approach the origins of the journey taken to decolonise the curriculum. Through critical reflection, I was able to distinguish when the journey changed from one that started alone to one that then included a group of likeminded people. When the research moved to the collaborative group of which I was a member , I became aware of dual role I played of being both an insider and outsider. This enabled me to provide information on how the group worked to decolonise the curriculum and write the textbooks. Reflecting on the work of the collaborative group enabled me to recognise that the group had used critical reflective practices and this was more evident when critiquing completed textbook units of work.

CHAPTER THREE: From Self to Collaboration

It is obvious from the literature on critical reflection that it is a widely used and favoured practice as it encourages practitioners to gain insight into their own professionalism through their experiences.[1] It is also evident that in the field of education and teaching, critical reflection is viewed as an essential practice. However, there is no literature on critical reflection being used in the area of History curriculum revision and the production of learning resources prepared for the delivery of a newly revised curriculum. Critical reflection appeared the best approach to analyse what was done, why it was done and how it was carried out. The ways in which these changes were decided and decisions made regarding the new curriculum were guided by how teachers felt and what they thought should be in place. One could say that the team was guided by both paradigmatic and prescriptive assumptions. Adopting a critical reflection approach to analyse the process involves identifying those assumptions that undergirded the new sub-strands of the curriculum and the textbooks.

To begin with, this thesis is predominantly about making meaning of a series of meetings, consultations, writing activities, editing processes and decisions that resulted in the decolonised curriculum and accompanying textbooks. There was some documentation of the collaborative group project between 2009 and 2015 but not enough to be able to trace the entire process systematically from beginning to end so this thesis will also be reflecting-in-action as well as reflecting-on-action as articulated by Schon.[2] In reflecting on this process, the thesis will "hunt" for those assumptions relating to issues surrounding curriculum revision and the introduction of new topics.[3] Using Brookfield's four lenses of

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[1] Patricia Lucas, "Critical reflection. What do we really mean?" in *Proceedings of the 2012 Australian Collaborative Education Network National Conference* (Melbourne, Australian Collaborative Education Network (ACEN), 2012):164.
[2] Donald Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals think in action,* (London, Arena Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1983).
[3] Brookfield, *Becoming a Critically Reflective Teacher*.

critical reflective practice will involve questioning those assumptions that guided the shift towards a more island-centred History curriculum. Mezirow, who sees critical reflection as a basis to transformative learning, is also essential. His ideas led to "correcting distortions" in the way we think about what should be studied in a History curriculum.[4] The transformation in thinking evolved from the experience of being taught a foreign curriculum and later teaching the same curriculum and being involved in the decision making process to change the History curriculum which resulted in the decision of the team of teachers and lecturers to design a new History curriculum.

As much as this was a collaborative journey of likeminded people, it began as a personal journey which then culminated in the revision of a curriculum with its accompanying textbooks. Since there are only minimal records of the curriculum revision meetings existing, historical data must be found by first recalling details through an autobiographical narrative. This is the first of the four complementary lenses identified by Brookfield as ways of viewing practice. Brookfield argues:

> *Recalling emotionally charged dimensions of our autobiographies as learners helps us understand why we gravitate towards certain ways of doing things and why we avoid certain others. Preferences that seem instinctual can often be traced back to situations in which we felt inspired or demeaned as learners. When we are trying to uncover our most deeply embedded allegiances and motivations as teachers, a useful path of analysis is to study our autobiographies as learners.*[5]

In using my autobiography as a learner, I will focus on critical points in my life beginning with my years as a History student in high school to my position as the History and Politics coordinator at the College of Foundation Studies at the USP. In doing so I will reflect on the practice of my former teachers of History as well as my experiences as a learner. In

[4] Jack Mezirow, "How Critical Reflection Triggers Transformative Learning." *Fostering critical reflection in adulthood* Vol.1, no. 20, 1990, 1.
[5] Brookfield, *Becoming a Critically Reflective Teacher*, 198.

many ways, my experience of education as a History student and a teacher of History was typical of many Fijians in the decades after Fiji's independence.

A Career Progression

In 1976, I was a Year 11 student in St John's College in Cawaci, on the island of Ovalau in the Western group of islands of the Lomaiviti group in Fiji. I was taught by Catholic priests of the Society of Mary, a missionary society that began in Lyons, France in 1836.[6] By 1844, the Marists began their missionary work in the Lau group of islands in Fiji and by 1855 had established themselves in Levuka on the island of Ovalau.[7] The school at Cawaci originated first as a centre for preparing catechists in 1893 after the land was purchased from Thomas Wilson in 1890 by the Trustees of the Catholic Mission in Fiji, Reverend Fathers Jean Baptiste Brehret, Joseph Leberre and Ephrem Marie Bertreaux.[8] Between the years 1893 and 1952, the area of Cawaci underwent many changes as the Marists set up various training centres for catechists, seminarians, teachers and then a boys college in 1952. In a place called Loreto near the Village of Tokou in 1897, the Marist Sisters set up a school for girls which later merged with St Johns College in 1973.[9] I first entered St John's College in 1974 as a Year 9 student. Many Fijian families sent their children to similar types of boarding schools or schools that were run privately by missionaries. Apart from having priests and nuns as teachers, this school also had good facilities and programmes for studying which were not available in the villages and homes of the students. Entering St John's College gave me a bed and a shared study desk with another

[6] Oceania Marist Province :Our place in the worldwide Society of Mary", accessed 1/9/2019 from https://www.maristoceania.org/en/contact-omp
[8] Alfred Deniau, *The Catholic Church in Fiji:1844 to 1886,* Suva, John Crispin. 2013.
[9] St John's College, "Schools in Cawaci", accessed on 2/4/2019 from http://www.sjcawaci.school.fj.

student in a room of our own. Upon reaching Year 11, one was considered a senior and therefore had their own room with bed and study facilities. In Cawaci, I studied English language and literature, History, Geography, Mathematics and Biology. The curriculum of Years 11 and 12 followed the NZSCE and NZUE. As discussed in chapter 2, this was the curriculum agreement between the colonial government of Fiji and the New Zealand Education department.[10] The NZSCE was a one-year program with subjects taught in the various disciplines from the pure sciences to social science. In order to be admitted into the program, a student needed to pass the Fiji Junior Certificate Examination. Subjects taught in the Fiji Junior curriculum included those that were taught in the New Zealand curriculum which meant that a student had to complete Biology, Chemistry, Physics, History, Geography, English and Mathematics. Upon admission into Year 11, a student could choose five subjects from this list.

I enjoyed studying History in Year 11 and 12 mainly because it was a subject in which I excelled. It was a subject that required a large amount of memorisation of content which I was comfortable with. The subject taught then was one that was chronologically organised, and focused on key individuals who were mainly men and the main events that they were involved in or that evolved around them. I admired my teachers who taught these histories of Europe, Great Britain, Japan, the World Wars and the involvement of America. When I was 17, I recall thinking my teachers were geniuses and this was how I also wanted to be. I wanted all that knowledge carefully organised in my head with facts ready to produce when and where necessary. History was taught as stories to be remembered as if there were no other versions and that their version was truth. This I believed was the main reason for studying History, to come to know of these countries and their leaders, the decisions and actions taken, events they initiated or were involved in. A country was almost synonymous

[10] Barrington, Clarke, and Irving, "New Zealand in the Pacific", 1987.

with some of the leaders like Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, the Meiji of Japan, and Winston Churchill. To be able to speak of these countries and events were also admirable traits for a student at the time. The education system in those days made one feel removed from one's country. Students quickly learnt that regurgitating information in a fashion similar to the way it was delivered earned one high scores in exams. I learnt history by internalising knowledge and then reproduced this same knowledge in essays, interpreting and applying it to cartoons, photographs and maps. It was always a wonderful feeling to be able to quote dates, names and figures correctly as this confirmed for me that I would do well in the NZSCE or NZUE.

In 1978, I was awarded the Public Service Commission (PSC) Scholarship to study Foundation studies at the USP after passing the NZUE the year prior. At that time, I was not aware of the controversy surrounding this government scholarship. This scholarship was part of the affirmative action taken by the ruling Alliance government to address the prominent disparity of iTaukei Fijians and other ethnic Fijians in the professions and higher managerial posts.[11] Fifty percent of these scholarships were set aside for iTaukei Fijians and the other fifty percent were to be shared amongst the other ethnic groups. Some political scientists have seen this as a contributing factor to the widening schism between the Alliance party and the National Federation party that represented the Indian population in Fiji.[12] The scholarships controlled entry into Foundation Studies or Preliminary II at USP which was offered from 1968, the year that the university was first established.[13] There were two main streams of Foundation Studies, Foundation Social Science and Foundation

[11] Whitehead, *Education in Fiji since Independence.*
[12] Steven Ratuva, *Politics of preferential development: Trans-global study of affirmative action and ethnic conflict in Fiji, Malaysia and South Africa* (Canberra, ANU E Press, 2013).
[13] Whitehead, *Education in Fiji Since Independence.*

Science. Along with many other students, our first encounter with Pacific History was in the Foundation Social Science programme. It was taught by a Catholic priest who emphasised the "fatal impact" theme, which portrayed Pacific Islanders as the victims of imperialism and colonialism.[14] The style of learning continued in the same way as in high school. The only difference was the assessment method – regular assignments replaced the traditional three-hour examination at the end of the year, so many students experienced failure in early assignment tasks.

By 1978, the USP was in its tenth year of existence as a regional university serving twelve member countries. The founding of the university was the outcome of "a complex process as 11 Pacific countries discussed the idea in their respective parliaments" in 1965.[15] By 1968, Laucala Campus was officially opened and the teaching of Preliminary classes and degree classes were planned to begin in 1969.[16] The student population of the university was diverse with students from Cook Islands, Samoa, Tonga and Kiribati and Niue. The teaching qualification programme that I enrolled in with about thirty other students was the Diploma in Education majoring in Arts. There was also a Diploma in Education with Science majors. The aim of these diploma programmes was to have trained teachers out in the field within three years in order to meet the growing demand for teachers. This qualification was targeted to provide trained teachers for the growing number of Junior Secondary Schools in the country. It was government policy in the 1970s to promote such schools that had only offered Years 7 to 10 education.[17] These schools were established mainly in rural areas that were quite far from the main secondary schools. These schools

[14] Alan Moorhead, *The Fatal Impact: The Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767-1840*. (New York, Harper Row, 1966).
[15] University of the South Pacific, "Treasures of the Past-the Humble beginnings of USP" accessed on 9/2/19 from https://www.usp.ac.fj/news/story.php?id=2826.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Helen Tavola, *Secondary Education in Fiji: A Key to the Future* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1991), 96.

then fed into the Senior Secondary schools after students had successfully completed Year 10 by passing the Fiji Junior Examination. The USP Diploma in Education programme was for three years with Foundation Studies making up the first year. The second and third years of study included the complete first year courses of the Bachelor's degree programme and the education and teaching practicum courses. The intention was to have experienced teachers return to university to complete the full Bachelor's degree programme in two years. After completing the Diploma in Education majoring in Arts, from USP in 1980, I was posted to a newly established secondary school, St Bede's College, (which was named after the first school that the Marist Fathers set up in Cawaci, Ovalau) on the island of Vanua Levu, the second largest island of the Fiji group of islands. The school was owned by the Archdiocese of Suva and is located in the Catholic mission of St Andrew's Parish, close to the local town of Savusavu. The New Zealand curriculum was still in place and I started teaching what I had learnt in Year 11 and 12. The Marist religious order played a key role in the leadership and teaching. I felt that I was mimicking my past teachers, such as Sister Mary Brennan's teaching style and reusing Brother John Blewman's History notes that he had prepared in 1969. It certainly was easy teaching histories that had notes already prepared. I found myself increasingly imitating my former teachers, feeling that if I could teach like they did, being able to walk into the room and talk about these histories as if they were my stories, then I would be a great teacher. I taught as if these histories were mine and in turn, I wanted the students to be able to give back this same information in the same manner that I did. I devoured this knowledge and taught it to my students with a passion. I wanted to enthuse them with these histories in the same way that I was enthusiastic as a high school student. I felt comfortable teaching world history from a British perspective and the recommended textbooks were mainly written by former British colonial officials. The emphasis of such histories stressed the importance of India for the British Empire by

illustrating how the new agrarian reforms were viewed as being good for the production of indigo, cotton and spices. In retrospect, it was in many ways what Freire referred to as a situation where the oppressed were not aware of being oppressed by education.[18]

Towards the end of the 1980s, the New Zealand secondary education system underwent changes and shifted towards an education system that recognised competencies and skills.[19] This meant the phasing out of the NZSCE, the NZUE and the New Zealand University Bursary examinations.[20] Fiji now had to work at changing its curriculum and this provided an opportunity to localise subjects in the Social Sciences at the senior secondary level. The new Fiji curriculum for Years 11 and 12 became known as the "Fiji School Leaving Certificate" (FSLC). The new History curriculum now included Fiji topics, with specific case studies in the areas of economics, cultural interaction and social welfare. Apart from the inclusion of comparative case studies on these topics, content remained the same as the NZSCE. This new FSLC curriculum was implemented in Fiji over the next 26 years. As a teacher of this subject I felt little had changed. New Zealand had changed to a new skills-based curriculum, the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA), but Fiji was not moving ahead in its curriculum design. Having your own country as a topic studied under three different themes was a small step forward in my view. My views on this curriculum as a teacher in high school remained much the same as when I first started teaching. I had not begun to question anything about the curriculum until I returned to USP to complete my Bachelor of Arts majoring in History, Politics and Literature in 1995. My degree studies started the process of realising the impact of such a curriculum. This realisation was prompted by different schools within the university, from the Literature

[18] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.
[19] New Zealand Quality Authority, "History of NCEA", accessed 16/10/2018 from https://www.nzqa.govt.nz/ncea/understanding-ncea/history-of-ncea/
[20] Richard Guy, Toshio Kosuge, and Rieko Hayakawa, *Distance Education in the South Pacific: Nets and Voyages*. (Suva University of the South Pacific 2000). The New Zealand Bursary examination guaranteed direct entrance into a degree programme at the University of the South Pacific.

department in the form of courses that introduced Third World literatures, and theories of post colonialism and orientalism. In the History and Politics department, I was able to witness these theories unfold in Pacific histories and colonial government policies in Pacific colonies.

However, after graduation I found that the Secondary School History curriculum had not changed. Much to my dismay, I realised the topics were embedded in colonial rhetoric and non-Fijian perspectives. The Fiji topics had to be taught by scrounging for resources as the only textbook available was the 1994 edition of *Fiji in the Pacific*.[21] As a teacher, I found teaching non-Fiji topics easier due to the availability of various textbooks, study notes and worksheets in New Zealand correspondence workbooks produced by Massey University. For these reasons, I found it hard teaching the Fiji topics with the same enthusiasm that I did with foreign topics. I found myself using much of the class time to write notes on the blackboard for students to copy, which reduced discussion time, group work or student centred activities that I had become aware of during my degree studies.

In 1997, I was part of a group of History teachers who presented at the Teaching the Pacific Forum (TTPF) workshop that was held in USP. It was at this workshop that I got my first training in textbook writing with the help of Australian historians, Drs Max Quanchi and Grant McCall. After presenting our different papers, we were then shown how to break the information into lessons accompanied with activities.[22] My journey towards the changing of the Fiji History curriculum began to take shape here as the week-long exercise which continued after the workshop involved the creation of a textbook.

After 17 years of high school teaching, I took up a new position as a subject coordinator in

[21] Kerr, Donnelly and Quanchi, *Fiji in the Pacific.*

[22] The outcome of the 1997 Fiji workshop was, Topics from Oceania: Units for Junior secondary School History, edited by Hannah Perkins, Max Quanchi and Samantha Rose, Brisbane: PHA/AAAPS/SPINF/FIHA, 2010, available online on the PHA and AAAPS websites until 2015. History teachers from across the region wrote the 44 units of work grouped under five themes. Fijian teachers, Pulotu Rika, Jacqueline Low, Tokasa Gray and Susan Sela contributed. See; Susan Sela, "Unit 18; Fiji, Suva – from one village to another".

History and Politics at USP. My interest in this work began when I took up a part time marker position at the Foundation level with the department of History and Politics in USP. By 1999, the University had created a separate section that was solely dedicated to the delivery of Foundation and Preliminary Programmes. At the end of 1999 I resigned from the Fiji Ministry of Education to take up this new role. This event was to mark a critical point in my later involvement in the revision of the Fiji senior history curriculum. One of the first tasks I had to carry out in my new position as subject coordinator of History and Politics was to write a Pacific History course that was suitable for Year 12 or Form 6 that was equivalent to the USP Preliminary level. The topic that the History department and I settled on was "The Pacific and World War II". This History course was to be written with the intention of centring the Pacific Islanders in their involvement during this global event. Apart from finding the material interesting and exciting, I became more convinced of the possibility of writing Fiji textbooks in the same way that the USP coursebooks were written.

In 2009, I enrolled in the Masters in Pacific Studies programme as I was interested in the interdisciplinary nature of the courses that were part of this programme. I wanted to know more of the works of Pacific historians and thinkers and I began to develop a keen interest in Pacific epistemology. It was the study of one of these courses titled DG409: "The Moving Pacific", that I put forward this idea to my classmates of decolonising the History curriculum of the then FSLC. This is where I clearly recalled how difficult it was teaching the Fiji History topics from limited resources. The lack of resources on Fiji history compared to the wealth of material on other countries reinforced the view amongst students that Fijian history was less valuable or important.

Another strong influence in motivating me to ensure that change occurred in the Year 11 and Year 12 History curriculum was the much-acclaimed work by Epeli Hau'ofa titled "A

Sea of Islands".[23] It had, and continues to have, a monumental impact on decolonising Pacific or Oceanic consciousness and action by emphasising the ways in which the Pacific was connected and all-encompassing rather than isolated and small. Hau'ofa's work takes on board those earlier proponents for having the Pacific Islands and Islanders as the focal point of their histories by unearthing those assumptions that had been internalised by the world and Pacific Islanders themselves. He offered an Oceanic philosophy grounded in an integration of disciplines and more specifically in indigenous cultural practices. He also overturned the assumption that people of Oceania today are dependent on their relatives who live abroad. He did this by illustrating with specific examples that all people of Oceania recognise as their way of life, that reveal the culture of reciprocity that existed forever as a result of the basic economic principle of supply and demand. For many younger Pacific historians and anthropologists, this work became the guiding light and provided the springboard that was needed to accomplish in a more effective way the thoughts of Davidson and Howe.

Hau'ofa's essay was an integral reading in one of the courses that I taught in Foundation politics. I became more and more convinced that something needed to be done about the FSLC History curriculum. Increasingly, as discussions for a Pacific studies course for USP were underway, I became convinced that real steps had to be taken to address the FSLC history curriculum. The USP was itself trying to address this imbalance in the education of all its graduates as it became quite clear during its Strategic Total Academic Review (STAR) process that not all students graduated with knowledge of the region and its culture.[24] Instead of trying to encourage a "Pacific consciousness" (one of the seven new

[23] Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our sea of Islands" in Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu and Epeli Hau'ofa (eds.), *A new Oceania: rediscovering our sea of islands* (Suva, School of Social and Economic Development University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House, 1993).

[24] Through STAR, USP established a graduate learning outcome of 'Pacific Consciousness' and one way the university could ensure that students would acquire the learning outcomes was by having a compulsory course at 200-level called 'Pacific Worlds'.

graduate learning outcomes) in all courses, the university created a single generic course that would ensure that all graduates entered the working world with knowledge and skills relevant to themselves as Pacific Islanders. This move by the university convinced me even more that Fiji must teach more of its own history to its young people through a History curriculum that was more Fiji-focused.

In 2009, a new History Senior Education Officer was appointed in the place of the retired officer, Tokasa Grey. The new History officer, Mikaele Vakasilimiratu, immediately contacted me and supported my ideas for the decolonisation of the Fiji History curriculum. I realised that from this point forward, the strategy would be to write books to accompany the changes that would be made to the curriculum as I had experienced first-hand with other teachers the difficulty of working without readily available textbooks. As was the practice, many used the chalk-and-talk method that mainly served to perpetuate memorising information. I had also experienced the positive impact of using coursebooks or textbooks in schools that have franchised the USP Foundation and Preliminary programmes.[25] Several secondary schools from the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Tonga and Kiribati applied to become a part of the USP School Based Foundation Programme from 2005 and have continued with the programmes to this day. Discussions with the teachers and Director of Catholic Education in Tonga in 2006, highlighted an important fact that teachers did not wish to leave this programme and return to the Tonga National Form 7 or the SPBEA South Pacific Form 7 Certificate.[26] The main reason given was that USP produced and provided coursebooks that were complete with notes, activities, and historical sources. Many teachers said that they had more time to prepare lessons as they were not caught up with

[25] The franchise of USP Foundation and Preliminary programmes began in 2004 when the South Pacific Board for Education and Assessment (SPBEA) no longer offered the New Zealand University Bursary examination. Secondary schools in countries that did not have a national Year 13 curriculum chose to use the USP Foundation programme which was equivalent to the Year 13 and Year 12 curriculum.
[26] Meeting with teachers in Api Fo'ou College, Nukualofa Tonga, September 2006.

the task of writing notes on the black board. Another important point raised by the teachers was the relevance of the course to their students. The Foundation History course titled "Introduction to Pacific History" was to be taught over 14 weeks. The teachers expressed their appreciation of the course and in particular were happy with the way students responded to subtopics that had readings and case studies from their own country. In the case of Tonga, a study of the origins of the three ruling lines in Tongan aristocracy was greatly appreciated by both teachers and students.[27] In Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, readings by Judith Bennett on the Big Man system and labour recruitment by Clive Moore with stories of Malaitan recruiters cast a different slant on both the students and teachers' perception of history.[28]

All these experiences combined, served to convince me that the Fiji history curriculum needed to be decolonised and that it could be done. I believed that I had been prepared through higher education, the experience of participating in curriculum related conferences and through my work as a History coordinator in USP. Together with the History department of USP, decolonising the curriculum appeared an achievable task.

My individual experience shaped my involvement in the collaborative group, which was formed between the CDU of the MOE of Fiji, the USP History Department and the College of Foundation Studies History department in 2009. In many ways, my experience of education as a History student and a teacher of History was typical of many Fijians in the decades after Fiji's independence. This explains why many members of the collaborative group felt the same and wanted to see changes occur to the system. Their collective experiences of education in Fiji, both positive and negative, provided the basis for the

[27] A History teacher at Api Fo'ou Secondary School Tonga was adamant that they remain with the programme because of the provision of coursebooks. He mentioned that the problem of looking for History sources to teach from and create notes from no longer existed.

[28] Judith, Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons: A History of a Pacific Archipelago, 1800-1978*. (University of Hawaii Press, 1987); Clive Moore, *Kanaka: A history of Melanesian Mackay* (Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, University of Papua New Guinea, 1985).

discussions about revising the curriculum, and shaped the decisions that took place in 2009 and the ensuing years.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Group and Process

Several grassroots attempts to discuss and revise the FSLC History curriculum were started in the late 1990s. Though many Fijians agreed that changes needed to be made, it was not until 2009 that sufficient momentum led to a desirable outcome. The FNCF provided guidance for any curriculum change that would occur for the subjects of History, Geography, Economics and Accounting. This guidance was achieved by specifying a single Key Learning Area (KLA) called "Society and Economic Development" (SED) with the outcome:

> *to explore and express relationships between people and events in relation to their culture, resources and environment and apply their knowledge and skills to become responsible and productive citizens.*[1]

SED was intended to provide children with:

> *Opportunities to investigate people and events in relation to their culture, resources and environment, which will enable them to gain better understanding of how individuals and groups interact with each other and their environment.*[2]

The subject of History definitely lends itself well to such an outcome with opportunities for students to investigate people and events in relation to their country and environment from the past and relate it to the present day which will provide a better understanding of Fiji.

This chapter will critically reflect on the group that was formed in 2009 to decolonise the curriculum and explain the collaborative process that occurred based on my observations, some records of meetings, recollections of discussions and subsequent interviews with other members of the group. This chapter will show how different individuals who shared the same passion and aspiration for teaching History in schools in Fiji, were drawn together

[1] Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts, *Year 11-12 History Syllabus* (Suva, Ministry of Education, 2013), 2.
[2] Ibid.

to form a collaborative group that then became the officially recognised team that addressed the national need of changing the curriculum. It will demonstrate how the group functioned with the primary aim of revising curriculum and writing learning materials unchecked by "technical rationality" but driven by their own professional experiences and passion.[3] The chapter will show how the group deliberated and reached an agreement on the kinds of changes that should occur in the new History curriculum. It will also describe the process that the group used to write and edit the learning materials. It will show how the group was continuously involved in what Schon describes as "reflecting in and on practice" for the purposes of achieving the desired decolonised curriculum.[4]

Community Collaboration

In reflecting on the nature of the collaborative group: how it was formed, the initial failed attempts at revising curricula in the late 1990s and the outreach from the USP History department from 2004, it is evident that the more successful attempts at changing the Years 11 and 12 History curriculum occurred after the first edition of the FNCF in 2007. Key individuals involved in the earlier attempts in the 1990s had been in contact with each other after international History conferences such as the Pacific History Association conference that was held in Hawaii in 1996. Tokasa Vitayaki who was the CDU History Officer at the time attended this conference and the following year she organised a national History Teachers' workshop that brought together History teachers from most Secondary schools in Fiji. Two university lectures and historians were invited to that workshop, Dr Teresia Teaiwa from USP and Dr Brian Hoepper from the Queensland University of Technology. Teaiwa was guest speaker and Hoepper facilitated the assessment preparation activities and the use of History sources as teaching material. Teaiwa raised critical issues about the

[3] Donald Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professional Think in Action* (Arena Ashgate Publishing Limited, England,1995)
[4] Ibid.

teaching of History and about the general attitude that students had towards the subject. She posed questions about history that made the teachers think about the curriculum that they were teaching: "Who do I believe makes History? Is it only God? Or, only great men? Can ordinary people – women, men and children make history?"[5] She also raised the question of decolonising history, and how it could be done. She reminded the teachers that:

> *Although many of us here this morning are products of a colonial or colonially influenced education, some of us have not forgotten our own indigenous ways of seeing the past and the opportunity is still open to the rest of us to decolonise our histories.*[6]

At the time many of us were unable to envisage how indigenous ways of seeing the past could be brought into the History curriculum although I was attracted to the idea and knew that the curriculum needed to be changed.

Another important project that contributed to the formation and training of History teachers of Fiji and other Pacific islands was the Sasakawa-funded Teaching the Pacific Forum (TTPF). This project was led by Professor Grant McCall, of the University of New South Wales and Dr Max Quanchi of QUT. One of the aims of TTPF was to decolonise the history curriculum taught in the Pacific countries. The narrative of this project, stated that most of the History textbooks that were used in the schools of Pacific island nations were from New Zealand, Australian or the United states and that: "The people of the Pacific islands wanted to describe their own histories and their own cultures for themselves."[7]

Fiji History teachers joined History teachers from across the region at TTPF workshops on "Decolonizing the History Curriculum" from 1995 to 2000, including Vitayaki and Nemani

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[5] Teresia Teaiwa, "Learning to love it: Some thoughts on teaching history" in *Directions: Journal of Educational Studies*, Suva, Institute of Education, vol.18, no.2, 1996, 48

[6] Ibid.49-50

[7] Sasakawa Peace Foundation, "Project: Teaching the Pacific Forum" accessed on 3/1/2019 from https://www.spf.org/spinf/projects/project_16804.html

Drova who was Director of CDU, Paula Motu (President of the Fiji History Teachers Association) and myself. TTPF also published articles from the Fiji delegates including Teaiwa's workshop address in 1997. The TTPF held two workshops for History teachers in Fiji. The first was held in 1997. The participants in this conference were required to present on a heritage site of their countries and later turn that presentation into a series of lessons with activities. I was a participant and learnt how to turn the paper that I presented into a teaching resource. This was eye-opening for me as I realised that this was how student textbooks could be written. In 1998, there was a follow up CDU workshop where I was invited to present my paper and learning materials to History teachers and this was followed by discussions geared towards changing the curriculum. The difficulty experienced then was changing the European topics inherited from the obsolete NZSC examination. Generally, the majority of teachers who were present were happy to retain the European topics and not change any of the foreign topics. The main argument to defend their stance was the easy availability of teaching resources. It was agreed that it was the Fiji topics that needed to be looked at and this led to the forming of teams to write notes and activities for the Fiji topics using the TTPF approach that I had shared with them. Unfortunately, even this attempt at improving the curriculum with the addition of learning materials for the Fiji topics was unsuccessful as teachers found it difficult to access the archives after working hours and many were tied down with heavy teaching loads. The process was not planned out so that the members could commit to the project. Teachers soon got busy with their own teaching and Vitayaki was heavily involved in school visits around the country. Nothing was forthcoming because there was no continuity of meetings and leadership of the whole project was lacking. The second TTPF workshop coincided with the PHA Conference that was also held in USP in 2008.

Between 1998 and 2009, there appeared to be a lull in the activities of CDU with regards

to the History curriculum revision. In addition, the CDU History officer had changed three times and these changes did not help in propelling the work forward. In 2004, USP reached out to CDU in an effort to assist in addressing problems related to the teaching of History in secondary schools by inviting the teachers to a talanoa session in Laucala campus. This meeting was followed by a series of other meetings with History teachers in different parts of Fiji, initiated by USP. I attended a few of those meetings and it was clear that teachers were in need of teaching materials especially where the Fiji topics were concerned and they also reiterated the need to change a very old curriculum. The USP History department together with the College of Foundation Studies were heavily involved in these meetings. These meetings were welcomed by CDU History officer, Tokasa Grey and the spirit of collaboration began to take shape and grew stronger. In 2009 the fourth change in the CDU History officer took place heralding in Mikaele Vakasilimiratu. By then the task of changing the curriculum was becoming more urgent and critical as the first edition of the FNCF was already in existence.[8] As explained by the current CDU History Officer in an interview, the role of the CDU is to prepare curriculum documents for all levels and subjects of schooling.[9] Many stakeholders such as teacher training colleges, religious organisations with vested interests in education, national teachers' unions, the Fiji Council of Social Services, the Fiji Chamber of Commerce and the USP contributed to the creation of the FNCF.[10] The new national curriculum framework set out the philosophy and structure of the curriculum from early childhood education to Year 13.

Being new to the position of CDU History officer, and at the same time aware of the responsibility to revise the curriculum and align it to the new FNCF, Vakasilimiratu

[8] The first edition of the Fiji National Curriculum Framework was published in 2007 and was followed by a 2nd edition in 2013.
[9] Interview with CDU History Officer, Eparama Veivuke held at USP Communications Building Level 2, August 2016.
[10] Ministry of Education, *The Fiji Islands National Curriculum Framework: Education for a Better Future* (Suva, Ministry of Education, 2007).

approached the College of Foundation Studies for assistance. With the arrival in late 2009 of Dr Max Quanchi as lecturer at USP, plans were set in place to get the revision of the curriculum underway. A meeting held in November 2009 began the process of laying definite plans for a workshop to revise the History curriculum in December of that year. Vakasilimiratu agreed "that the workshop should be used to discuss the current syllabi and get opinions and views on a revised curriculum".[11] It was also at this meeting that it was agreed that the work of this collaborative group should include the production of History materials that could be used nationwide. It was agreed that volunteers from the group be actively involved in the production of these materials.[12] The December workshop would also set the plans for a conference that would be held in the May school holidays of 2010 when all teachers would be available and they would be informed of the imminent changes.

Curriculum revision

On 10th December 2009, the first workshop for the revision of the FSLC was held at the Southern Cross Hotel Conference Room in Suva. The attendees included a core group of members from CDU, History teachers from several schools in Suva, the USP History Department and the College of Foundation Studies History Department. Attending as a guest speaker was Aisake Casimiro representing the Fiji Council of Churches in an advisory capacity. There were two other guest speakers, Dr Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano and Dr Christine Weir. The program was simple – input from invited speakers was gathered and activities were held with the aim of getting the members of the workshop to revise the curriculum. The program (Table 1) and set of discussion questions (Figure 1) enabled the group to decide what to remove and add in the new curriculum.

With decolonisation as its aim, the workshop began with input from lecturers of History

[11] Minutes of FIHA meeting, November 17 2009
[12] Ibid.

from USP with focus questions on the then current History prescription. This was followed by input from the Fiji Council of Churches and a dissection of the prescription with participants providing their input on what should be changed, removed or added. After lunch there was guidance on how to write learning materials for students and then further work was carried out regarding the new History curriculum.

Table 1: Conference Program, 10 December 2009

Time	**Session and Input**	**Activity**
9.00am	"The importance of studying history" by USP lecturers Dr Christine Weir and Dr Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano	Focus question on the current Fiji School Leaving Certificate.
10.30am	Morning Tea	
11.00 am	Religion in Fiji by Aisake Casimiro (at the time Pacific Conference of Churches Programme Coordinator)	Dissection of the History Curriculum, cutting, trimming and adding.
12.30pm	Lunch	
2.00pm	Writing for our students by USP lecturers Dr Max Quanchi	Putting it all together: the new look curriculum I
3.30pm	Afternoon Tea	
3.45 – 4.30pm	Discussing the new curriculum	Putting it all together: the new look curriculum II

Figure 1: Conference discussion questions, 10 December 2009

Section 1 Content

1. Is there a repetition of topics within FSLC and FSFE?
2. Can topics be improved?
3. Are History skills being properly catered for?
4. Do we need to have many options in the syllabus?
5. What are some improvements that can be made to the FSLC examination paper?
6. What should the FSLC prescription say about the number of hours that History should be taught in a week?
7. How can the number of Fiji topics be expanded and developed?
8. Is the FSLC skills-driven?

Section 2 Professional development and other issues

1. How can the subject be made attractive to students?
2. What appropriate professional development is necessary after the release of the new FSLC?
3. What should be done in preparation for the conference in the May or August holidays 2010?
4. How can FIHA help?

By the end of the workshop, a draft of the new prescription was completed. Table 2 outlines the old prescription, where teachers were expected to teach five themes and ten topics. It was compulsory to teach two from each section and the fifth to be chosen from either Section A or Section B. Table 3 outlines the new prescription, and Tables 4 and 5 give a more detailed breakdown of the scope and content of the new History topics.

Table 2: The Fiji School Leaving Certificate History Curriculum 1987-2013

Section A Year 11		
Theme	**Country**	**Topic**
Cultural Interaction	- Fiji - South Africa	Fiji since 1874 Segregation to Apartheid 1919-1961
Economic Development	- Fiji - Japan	Fiji since 1930 Japan 1918- 1970
Social Welfare	- Fiji - New Zealand	Fiji since 1945 New Zealand 1891-1970
Conflict	- China - Palestine /Israel	China, 1921-1949 Palestine/ Israel 1945-1967
Section B Year 12		
Theme	**Country**	**Topic**
Government	- Britain - USSR	United Kingdom, 1832-1868 Russia, 1927-1957
Imperialism	- India - Europe and Southern Africa	India, 1857-1947 Europe and Southern Africa, 1870-1915
Nationalism	- Italy - Germany	Italy, 1848-1871 Germany, 1848-1879
International Relations	- Origins of WWI - Origins of WWII	Origins of WWI, 1879-1915 Origins of WWII,1919-1941

Table 3: The new Year 11 and Year 12 History Curriculum 2014-present

Social Science History Strand	**Year 11 History Sub-strand**	**Year 12 History Sub-strand**	**Link to Other Subjects**
History of Fiji – Cession to Independence (1874-1970)	• Cultural Interaction and Integration • Government and Governance • Leadership • Race Relations	• International Relations	• Geography • Economics • *Vosa Vaka Viti* • Hindi
Fiji's Independence	• Cultural Interaction and Integration • Government and Governance • Leadership • Race Relations	• Diplomacy • Imaging the Pacific	• Geography • Economics
Post-Independence	• Cultural Interaction and Integration • Government and Governance • Leadership • Race Relations	• Crisis in the Solomon Islands	• Geography • Economics • Agriculture

Table 4: The New Fiji History Curriculum, Year 11: Scope and Content

Year 11 History		
Term	**Sub-strand**	**Scope and Content**
First Term	Fiji: Cultural Interaction and Integration	1. Origins of Fiji's people 2. Cultural Interaction prior to Independence 3. Ethnic and Cultural Policy Development after Independence 4. Religious Groups in Fiji 5. Leadership: Working for Integration 6. Education: Agent for Integration 7. Sports and Recreation: Agents for Integration
Second Term	Fiji: Government and Governance	1. Types of Government 2. Administration: Traditional and Modern 3. Constitutional Development 4. Voting 5. Fiji's Political Parties 7. Legal System in Fiji
Third Term	Leadership (choose one)	These are topics from the FLSC History Curriculum. 1. Leadership in China 2. Conflict in the Middle East, Palestine and Israel 3. Race Relations in South Africa

Table 5: The New Fiji History Curriculum, Year 12: Scope and Content

Year 12 History		
Term	**Sub-strand**	**Scope and Content**
First Term	International Relations	World War 1 and World War II
Second Term (choose one sub-strand from the three provided).	Diplomacy	1. Introduction to Fiji and the World 2. Fiji and New Zealand 3. Fiji and the Two Chinas 4. Fiji and Australia 5. Fiji and India 6. Fiji and the European Union 7. Research Topic
	Imaging the Pacific	1. Images: A history of Pacific Art, photography and film. 2. Early Art of the Voyages 3. Pantomime 4. Photography 5. Film 4. 6. Postcards
	Crisis in the Solomon Islands	1. Increasing law and order 2. Problems: rising incidences of disregard for rights to property and personal security 3. Increasing abuse of public office 4. Widespread allegations of nepotism in the public service 5. The Crisis 6. Honiara Peace Accord
Third Term	Revision	In preparation for Year 12 Examinations

In reflecting on the process it appeared that major revisions to remove particular themes from the curriculum were more easily agreed upon at this 2009 meeting than in the attempts made in the late 1990s. It was agreed that there were too many topics to be covered in the two-year period and that more focus should be given to studying Fiji. Therefore, the approach of having two country topics studied under one theme was changed to studying Fiji as the only case study in two school terms Year 11. This change meant that more time was dedicated to studying Fiji with the intention of enabling a deeper and broader knowledge of Fiji.

Changing the Year 11 curriculum occurred without any major difficulty in 2009 but when it came to the Year 12 curriculum, discussions were intense as teachers still defended some of the old topics that had been taught since NZSC was introduced. They argued that these topics should remain untouched. One of the teachers, who preferred to remain anonymous was interviewed later regarding this process, felt that they were "bullied" by the university team into removing some of these favourite topics. She said that the team from the university dominated those who represented the high schools.[13] There could be truth in this as the teachers were defending their favourite topics against the position taken by their former university lecturers. The CDU History officer on the other hand stressed that the changes had to be made because the national curriculum itself had undergone a major overhaul.[14] As a teacher who once taught these topics, it was easy to see why teachers preferred teaching European and British colonial topics. These topics had many teaching resources available, which included summaries and activities. Since a number of History teachers had been teaching for over ten years at this point they had developed their own notes and teaching plans over the years and could teach them easily without textbooks.

[13] Interview with History teacher who wished to remain anonymous, April 2016, Bureta St, Suva.
[14] Interview with CDU History Officer Mikaele Vakasilimiratu, November 2009, Southern Cross Hotel Conference Room.

The long-standing topics were interesting "with colour and action" as described by the teacher who was interviewed. She enjoyed teaching the "Unification of Italy and Germany" under the theme of Nationalism and explained that having to teach a new sub-strand such as "Conflict in the Solomon Islands" posed challenges for her.[15] Many teachers had to look for materials and had to learn about the Solomon Islands of which they generally knew very little. The underlying belief that governed practice at the time was that the teaching and learning of history is centred on knowing the facts, dates, names of people and the significant events. Furthermore the role of the teacher in the classroom was still being viewed as the "sage on the stage" and not as the "guide on the side".[16] Thus, the main concern among a number of teachers was focused on how to find the basic facts, relevant individuals and events, to present new content. The prospect of changing topics meant that their lack of familiarity with new Pacific topics such as the crisis in the Solomon Islands would be challenging.

The contributions of USP History lecturers, Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano, Christine Weir and Max Quanchi were significant as the USP History department was also revising its own degree course structure by removing ethno-centric and imperial narrative courses and placing more emphasis on the Pacific. This change flowed on to a fourth year Postgraduate Diploma course, which several members of the collaborative team were also enrolled in as postgraduate History students

In the May 2010 workshop which was a collaborative workshop with CDU and USP, I reported on the changes that would be occurring in the History curriculum. The remainder of the workshop focused on accessing online learning materials and sessions on being effective History teachers. Following the May workshop were a series of meetings to plan

[15] Interview with History teacher who wished to remain anonymous, April 2016, Bureta St, Suva.
[16] Alison King, "From Sage on the Stage to Guide on the Side." *College teaching,* vol.41, no.1, 1993, 30.

the writing of the new Fiji textbooks. It is to be noted that by this time a few teachers who had shown great interest in the developments thus far had dropped out of the group at various times in the process of writing for a variety of reasons. Some were Senior History teachers of their schools or the only History teachers and therefore had heavy teaching and marking loads. One or two did not agree with the direction of the newly revised curriculum. This was to be expected as earlier experiences of trying to bring about change were not successful. It was obvious too at this stage that the CDU History department was not going to turn back because the new curriculum framework demanded a change that would bring about relevant learning experiences for the students.

Textbook production – Planning and writing

The textbooks of the new components of the curriculum were planned to reflect the contents of the new curriculum. In total four new textbooks were written by the collaborative group. A number of considerations were taken on board before the actual writing took place. The first textbook to be written after the adoption of the new curriculum in 2010 was *Cultural Interaction and Integration.* [17] The initial name put forward for this theme was "Multicultural Interaction". After some discussion, the collaborative group came to an agreement on a different title which included the word "integration" as it was believed to have a more positive connotation when Fiji's unstable political history was taken into consideration. It was published in 2012.

The collaborative group agreed that the new textbooks would be structured in the same way as the Preliminary and Foundation course books of USP. One or two authors were selected or volunteered for each unit of work. The first textbook therefore comprised seven units of work and had seven writers. Some units were written by single authors while others had

[17] Ministry of Education, *Cultural Interaction and Integration.*

two authors. A unit of work was broken down into six to eight forty-minute lessons that could be covered in one to two weeks as shown in Table 6. This period was decided to allow ample time for teaching and learning. The subtopics of each unit were developed with each unit beginning with a study organiser. The study organiser page listed the sections of the unit, learning objectives of each section and the activities that would assist achieving the learning objectives. The journey a student took in that one or two weeks was mapped with content and learning objectives that addressed the KLA. An introductory statement to the study organiser informed the student of the knowledge and skills they would be able to perform and apply after completing the unit.

Table 6: "Fiji: Cultural Interaction and Integration" topic breakdown

No.	No. of Weeks	Topic	Principal writer
1	1 Week	Origins of Fiji's people "Kilakila an kena qele"	Dr Morgan Tuimalealiifano USP lecturer
2	1 week	Cultural interaction prior to independence "Da tuvata ga vuvu na wai"	Dr Morgan Tuimalealiifano Dr Max Quanchi QUT lecturer
3	1 week	Ethnic and Cultural Policy development after Independence "E da sa mai tarai Burotu sara"	Dr Morgan Tuimalealiifnao Dr Max Quanchi
4	2 Weeks	Religious groups in Fiji and integration " Dua ga na ua"	Willie Baleinabuli Senior Teacher (Secondary School) Dr Christine Weir USP Lecturer
5	2 Weeks	Leadership; working for integration "Dau vakaua ga na yamotu"	Nemani Drova Director CAS
6	2 Weeks	Education: Agent for integration 1800 – 2010 "Na Nomu i qasiqasi ga Nau"	Susan Sela USP Foundation History Coordinator Taraivosa Daucakcaka Senior History Teacher
7	2 Weeks	Sports and Recreation: agents for integration 1970 -2006 "Dui mate ga ena nona ucu ni vatu"	Mikaele Vakasilimiratu Senior Education Officer History (CDU)

The structure of a core Topic or Sub-strand had three sections. The first section comprised the introductory text that provided definitions and introduced students to the main concepts and subtopics to be covered. The second section was made up of two sub topics, providing a historical background of the main topic on government policies relevant to the theme. Subtopics in section one and two were designed to take a week each for classroom coverage. The remaining subtopics in the third section comprising four or five units were each allocated two weeks for coverage to provide enough time for thorough teaching of learning skills and opportunities for writing projects and longer pieces of work that would require research skills. This is a major change from the previous curriculum that prescribed content coverage of two different country topics to be covered in 14 weeks.

At this stage of the process the group followed a format so that subtopics were uniform throughout the book. Many members of the team were conscious of the fact that they had never written a textbook and that History textbooks were usually written by academics. So it was essential that a format be followed. The authors were provided with an outline of what a draft topic would look like as illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Year 11 and 12 Curriculum Revision Format Guide

1. Topic
2. Suggested number of weeks/lessons
3. Key Question
4. Three sub questions (which need to be answered in order to answer the key question)
5. Learning objectives contained in a matrix that had subtopics, objectives to be achieved and activities to ensure achievement of objectives.
6. Text (notes for student to read) - 4-8 pages (or in dot points at this stage)

    Format

    i. Open with a short story, incident or problem to spark student interest (half page)

    ii. For each section, use around 400 words as notes under a sub heading

    iii. Include both primary and secondary sources; provide three in the topic section (historian's interpretations) and questions based on the source

    iv. Finish with a half page answer to key question/conclusions/further research

7. List: supporting illustrations, cartoons, maps diagrams, statistics and include set of questions based on each
8. Further Activities (Skills based projects, visits, debates, AV media, dance /drama etc)
9. Suggested essay questions one or two examples

Source: 19.3.2010 by Mikaele Vakasilimiratu, Susan Sela and Max Quanchi.

The emphasis agreed upon was to abandon the content-driven text to be copied and regurgitated in assignments and final public examinations, and to engage students in interpretative analysis of data and their own histories where applicable. It was a student-centred approach which employed an islander-centred historiography.

As core sub-strands, "Cultural interaction and integration" and "Government and Governance" were designed to be studied in the first two terms of the three school terms of Year 11. In the Fiji school year, the first and second terms comprise fourteen weeks, while the third term comprises thirteen weeks. It was agreed that the subtopics in each textbook would be prepared with relevant texts and a variety of sources and a series of accompanying activities to assist students achieve the desired outcomes and skills. The collaborative group went a step further in decolonising the curriculum by using the *iTaukei* language in the first textbook. An idiomatic saying in the *iTaukei* language was placed as an opening line to the subtopic of each unit of work and had the purpose of providing the students with a profound thought on each topic. This approach was taken to give the textbook a local flavour.

By July 2010, the first three topics of the theme "Cultural interaction and integration" were presented to the collaborative group for critiquing and editing. Advice given to the principal authors included template design and page layout which was to be handled by designers, the linking of objectives to activities, ensuring that objectives were measurable, inclusion of new and difficult words in a glossary, suggested links to previous and following units, and a list of references (see Figure 2). Authors were also advised against using the passive tense when preparing notes as the active tense gave the reader a greater sense of being directly involved. Since the book was being written for students, use of the personal pronouns "you" and "we" was encouraged to make the text friendly and relatable to students. In sections where there was a lot of information on a given subtopic but with different dates and places, the author was advised to place the information in a matrix or a flow chart, rather than use lengthy paragraphs. Numbered or bullet point lists were preferred to large sections of text. Timelines were also advised to provide background information. Maps and photographs were also recommended in places where it was felt

they would be more effective than lengthy explanations and to provide relevant information. Activities were also scrutinised for ensuring that they would actually help students achieve the stated objectives. The proposed draft was scrutinised on a screen with "red-pen" corrections and additions, which were the result of vocal objections, approval and open questioning of content and structure. At first, this process was noisy and threatening to the authors whose draft work was under the microscope, but it slowly evolved into an effective operational approach for all four books that would cost $10,000. The author had to take notes on changes that were to be made and the amended topic was presented multiple times to the team until all were satisfied that the topic was ready.

This process was long and demanding on some members of the team and there were times when just a few members were present because of work commitments. When the team had reached halfway through the first textbook, plans to write the second book were set in place with units given to individuals or small teams to write. This enabled editing and writing to happen simultaneously. The first book *Fiji: Cultural interaction and integration* first appeared in print form in 2012. It was realised when the team of authors were writing their topics that there was a need to bring professional help in the formatting and layout of each topic. To achieve this, the History department of USP put forward a proposal to the Faculty of Arts and Law requesting funding of $10, 000 to pay for the services of an Instructional Designer. With these allocated funds, the Instructional Designer for Foundation and Preliminary courses, Katarina Foliaki, was hired, as she had relevant experience. Foliaki worked with each completed unit ensuring that there was uniformity in appearance and at times provided the author with queries relating to pedagogy. She was careful to seek the approval of the team where design issues were concerned and her experience as a USP instructional designer soon transformed the work of the team into a wonderfully presented pupil's textbook. The first two textbooks underwent the critical eye of the instructional

designer, *Cultural Interaction and Integration* and *Government and Governance* while the remaining two books on *Diplomacy and Fiji* and *Imaging the Pacific* were produced without instructional design input but modelled to the first two books.

In critically reflecting on the process, it is evident that many members of the team at the start of the project did not feel competent enough to write their topics. As a high school teacher and also a USP staff member, some members confided in me during breaks that they felt uncomfortable or inadequate as writers of these units. This was precisely the same feeling I had first experienced when I took up the position of History and Politics Coordinator in the College of Foundation Studies and had to write two new courses. Textbooks and in particular History textbooks were assumed to be the work of higher-level academics from other countries. For the writing team, writing a textbook was a task that at first appeared insurmountable. A reason for this is that where the subject of History is concerned, textbooks of History topics taught at these levels were imported from New Zealand and Australia. Many members of the team were accustomed to receiving notes and collecting books and information to assist them in their teaching of the subject but not creating the learning resources themselves. This is how the CDU was seen by most teachers, as a place to collect information for teaching, and teachers who taught in rural schools and even those within urban areas often came to Suva with this purpose. It is obvious that the collaborative group comprising the three different groups of Secondary School History teachers, History lecturers and coordinators of USP and the CDU History department staff, had a more organised approach with plans on how each topic was to be completed. The plans also included a timeline for presentation to others for scrutiny and the professional and technical expertise provided by USP.

During the course of writing some of the authors relayed to me that they began to feel more empowered and capable as they received feedback on how to improve their initial drafts.

In reflecting on how the teachers gained confidence in writing the topics, the three History lecturers of USP played a significant role. All three of them had taught many of the group members when they were studying History at USP, and so they occupied a position of power. This meant that those members of the group who were once their former students treated them with respect and in some cases, deference. Tuimaleali'ifano and Quanchi volunteered to write the first three topics which meant that they would be the first to have their work scrutinised by the team. Being a seasoned editor and prolific writer himself, Quanchi took the lead in providing feedback to his two colleagues on the topic they had written. The reception of feedback by the colleagues was critical for the rest of the team as it showed them how criticism was to be received and that one should not be defensive or feel that one was not capable. Being open and responsive to the criticism began to be seen as the way to produce good learning materials. Importantly, Tuimaleali'ifano and Quanchi strongly criticised each other's drafts in a jocular, good-natured approach, that created a cooperative and professional editorial atmosphere that reduced the anxiety of the teachers who were unused to being criticised in an open dialogue in front of their peers. This was new for the participants as traditionally one did not correct one's elders since they are viewed with respect and seen as the wise ones of the community. As I had already undergone such an experience with the writing of my own coursebook for Preliminary History, I also did not hesitate to express my thoughts on the work of the three senior lecturers. Occasionally and where relevant, I shared the similar experiences and type of feedback I encountered in the writing of my own Preliminary course. This action on my part, I soon saw, served to spur teachers that I had once taught with, to also speak their minds about anything they thought needed to be changed even if it were written by their former lecturers. This exercise was democratic in nature and liberating for the teachers and in particular for those who had taken on topics as author or co-author.

Quanchi was instrumental in moving this whole project forward because he was a senior lecturer who had vast experience in writing and editing textbooks in Australian schools. There were times when members of the team felt he was too forceful and hasty in decisions made, leaving very little space for discussion. But when confronted, he did pause to discuss and look at the situation with an open mind. Despite that, he maintained momentum for the group, so that even as the team was involved in scrutinising the first of the books, he initiated work on the second book, suggesting chapters to interested writers.

It is to be noted that the collaborative group only wrote learning materials for the three Fiji sub-strands and the sub-strand on "Imaging in the Pacific". The optional topic on "Crisis in the Solomon Islands" utilised an already published chapter in an Australian textbook.[18] The team initially did not plan to write on other topics as they first wanted to write the Fiji textbooks since these were the topics that teachers had the most difficulty with finding teaching resources. "Imaging the Pacific" was a topic of interest of Quanchi and he had done substantial research in this area, therefore he chose to write this textbook to support the optional topic for Year 12.[19]

Conclusion

Any real move to decolonising the curriculum and writing textbooks became possible after the first edition of the FNCF in 2007, as this spurred the CDU History officer into contacting the USP History department. This move was welcomed by the History lecturers who were already involved in working with History teachers. Involving the secondary school History teachers into workshops to help them with their current work and enlisting their assistance in writing the textbooks was a critical move in forging ownership of the

[18] Max Quanchi, "The conflict within: Crisis in the Solomon Islands", in *Global Voices: Historical Inquiries for the 21st century*, edited by Brian Hoepper, et. al., (Brisbane: John Wiley, 2009): 119-166.
[19] For example, his seminal work *Photographing Papua* (Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars 2007), and Max Quanchi and Susan Cochrane (eds.), *Hunting the Collectors: Pacific collections in Australian Museums, Art Galleries and Archive* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars 2007).

process and resulted in one of empowerment for them. The meetings of late 2009 and early 2010 led to the emergence of the decolonised curriculum and the writing of its textbooks. An important aspect of this collaboration is its process and other unplanned benefits of this project. The team of secondary school teachers and lecturers who made up this collaborative team became a team focused on the single purpose of improving the teaching and learning of Fiji History in Fiji's secondary schools. This process of critically reflecting on what was the curriculum and what it should be and how it could be represented in the form of textbooks, was no longer a solo journey, as summed up by Brookfield: "Although critical reflection often begins alone, it is, ultimately, a collective endeavour".[20]

As a collective endeavour, the achievements of the team were consultative and substantial. Bringing their work to the table for scrutiny and for the purposes of improvement was at first difficult but later welcomed as the writers could see that such a collaboration helped improve one's work. It must be understood that this project unfolded over 2009 to 2015 with some changes in membership but with a core group from USP and CDU, remaining in the leadership of the project. The writing of the first two books did undergo a more organised approach in comparison to the two books that were produced later. The textbook on diplomacy was similar to the first two books with multiple authors while the last book was largely the work of one author. Therefore, there are major similarities and differences among the four books which will be looked at in detail in the next chapter.

Spanning six years, the work of decolonising the curriculum, was consultative in nature involving various groups such as the CDU History officers over a period of time, secondary school history teachers and the USP History department that included the Foundation History section. The process of decolonising the curriculum resulted in a new curriculum

[20] Stephen Brookfield, *Becoming a Critically Reflective Teacher* (San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Inc, 1995), 36.

that gave a heavier emphasis to Fiji topics designed to be studied over full 14 week terms with much emphasis placed on an inquiry based approach to teaching and learning. This was a major change as it moved away from the previous practice where the Fiji topics were optional. The decolonised curriculum gave Fiji topics a central focus in their being made compulsory topics. Although there were power differences in the composition of the collaborative group and earlier instances when some members of the group felt they were marginalised or not given an opportunity to voice their reservations about the removal of the conventional European based topics, for the most part there was democratic participation of its members.

CHAPTER FIVE: Four New Fiji History Textbooks

This chapter will provide a critical reflection of the four textbooks that were written as learning resources for the new History curriculum of Years 11 and 12, *Fiji: Cultural Interaction and Integration; Fiji: Government and Governance; Fiji: Diplomacy* and *Imaging the Pacific*. In critically reflecting on the content of these books, this chapter will first describe the History content of each book, analyse the activities provided for effective engagement of students, reflect on current historiography and identify the paradigmatic assumptions that underlie each of the new curriculum History sub-strands or themes of study. As defined by Brookfield, paradigmatic assumptions are difficult to identify because they have "ordered our worlds into fundamental categories" and we do not even view them as assumptions.[1] This analysis will refer to the sections of the textbooks as "units". Each case study will conclude with a brief account of significant findings.

Case Study 1: *Fiji: Cultural Interaction and Integration*

The first of the textbooks to be written was *Fiji: Cultural interaction and integration* based on the new curriculum sub-strand of the same title, "Cultural interaction and integration in Fiji". This sub-strand was carried over from the previous curriculum that was first taught in 1989 but revised with new content. The topic starts with pre-colonial migrations to Fiji and then it focuses on the "First Fijians" and "Indians in Fiji".[2] These sections are one to two pages in length and give students a quick overview in order to get a broad perspective of the different ethnic groups that have become part of the Fiji population. With the first unit of work laying the background to the demographical composition of Fiji, the next two units of work, "Cultural interaction prior to independence" and "Ethnic and cultural policy development after independence" provide evidence of the impact of British colonial

[1] Stephen Brookfield, *Becoming a Critically reflective teacher* (San Francisco, Jossey Bass, 1995), 2-3.
[2] Ministry of Education, *Cultural interaction and integration* (Suva, Curriculum Development Unit, Ministry of Education 2012), 1.11.

policies that kept the two major races separated. Students are informed of British colonial policies that separated the ethnic groups such as the native policy of Sir Arthur Gordon and how the Indians were confined to the sugar cane plantations during the indenture system. For example the text presents the following scenario:

> *Before Indians arrived, iTaukei Fijians were already confined to villages in their provinces by the 1876 Native Affairs Ordinance. When the Indians arrived, they were confined to the plantation under the watchful eye of the overseers and planters. Fijians could not leave villages without passes and Indian labourers required passes or tickets of absence to leave the plantations.*[3]

The two units explain that Fiji did not experience any major ethnic-based conflicts in the periods from 1870 to 1970 and from 1970 to 1986. There were, however, cases of dissent and protest against various sections of the colonial government such as the public works department, the Colonial Sugar Refinery Corporation and the government itself, that involved one or both of the major ethnic groups. In the years after independence, unit three shows that although there was harmony there was still very little evidence at government level to show that there were major moves being made to bring the ethnic groups closer together. Language use by historians, journalists and the government, regarding the racial composition of the Fijian population reflected the nature of race relations in the country in the 1980s which was peaceful in nature but not noticeably integrated. The unit highlights that historians and political scientists are of the opinion that it is only in the political arena that race relations are strained and the occasions when the two major ethnic groups become polarised is during times of elections as their main political parties were founded along ethnic lines. This view was also declared by the late Ratu Joni Madraiwiwai, former Vice President of Fiji:

[3] Ibid., 1.17.

> *The 2006 election confirmed the polarization in the country that has been extant for much of voting history. The process has tended to ebb and flow at critical periods, with little sign of any sustained development towards integration.*[4]

Students are also made aware of other issues that have contributed to these racial tensions such as the unequal distribution of scholarships, land issues and the promotion of the iTaukei identity rather than a national identity. Despite these, the unit notes that Fiji had remained peaceful particularly when compared to other countries where genocide had occurred before and after the achievement of independence.[5]

Unit Four is a case study of religious groups in Fiji. It begins with information on iTaukei traditional religious beliefs and proceeds to discuss the emergence of Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and other religions. The unit concludes with a section on "Peaceful coexistence of religious groups in Fiji" highlighting how Christian organisations have surfaced during periods of political crisis in Fiji offering solutions to enable peaceful coexistence. Organisations such as the Assembly of Christian Churches (ACCF) and Ecumenical Centre for Research, Education and Advocacy (ECREA) are discussed and shown to promote ecumenism and interfaith pluralism.[6] The fifth unit of work is titled "Leadership: working for integration" and examines political leadership in phases, beginning very briefly with leadership prior to independence, the first ten years after independence from 1970 to 1980, the challenges faced in political leadership from 1980 to 1987 and it ends with the new leadership from 1987 to 2006. This unit also mentions a member of the ruling Alliance party in 1975, Sakeasi Butadroka, who pushed for separation

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[4] Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi "An election retrospective" in Jon Fraenkel and Stewart Firth (eds.), *From election to Coup in Fiji: the 2006 Campaign and its aftermath* (Canberra, ANU Press 2007), 399.
[5] Ministry of Education, *Cultural interaction and integration,*3.14.
[6] Ibid., 4.16.

of ethnic groups specifically Indians from Fiji. He moved a motion in parliament to "send Indians back to India".[7] Butadroka's proposal was rejected by the Alliance government and he later founded the Fijian Nationalist Party in 1976. Unit Six titled "Education: Agent for integration" provides a brief history of formal schooling, identifying how the British education system encouraged a separation of ethnic groups according to Fijians, Indians and Europeans. The kind of curriculum offered in the early missionary schools for indigenous Fijians shows the overall missionary purpose for education which was evangelisation and for continued existence in the village environment. The Fiji government made a deliberate move to remove ethnic labels from school names for the purposes of promoting social and cultural integration. As reported in the Fiji Government media in 2011, schools that had distinct ethnic names were requested by government to "do away with names that denote racial affiliations" in order "to build social cohesion".[8] Fifty schools underwent this name change , 49 primary schools and one secondary school. The secondary school was Indian College which was renamed Jai Narayan College.[9] Other secondary schools that had earlier undergone similar name changes were Central Fijian School that became Sila Central School and Lami Fijian School that is now known as Lami High School.

The final chapter covers recreation and leisure activities that are a crucial part of society which reflect the changes in cultural interaction and integration throughout history. The chapter shows how introduced sports were historically dominated by Europeans and then

[7] Ibid., 5.7.
[8] The Fijian Government Media Centre "School change of names" accessed 16/8/2018. https://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Centre/News/Schools-change-of-names
[9] Ibid.

changed to either become dominated by iTaukei or by Indians. As the market economy in Fiji was largely dominated by Europeans during the colonial period, leisure spaces, sporting activities and club memberships were centred on the planters and farmers who made up the early European business community.[10] For example, athletics began during World War II with the presence of the New Zealand servicemen who were based in Laucala Bay, and the Royal Suva Yacht Club was a recreational club first set up for Europeans only.[11] Rugby was introduced in Fiji in the 1880s with expatriate teams that gradually changed as Fijians learnt the sport. This example was chosen for students because rugby is a widely popular sport in Fiji today, yet it has been dominated by iTaukei. It was not until 2005, that Fijians of Indian origin played in the national team. Similarly, soccer was introduced by Europeans, but eventually became an Indian-dominated sport, though it is more integrated than rugby by comparison. The chapter focuses on how sports and leisure activities have changed in their ethnic composition over time and on the indirect role they play at bringing all ethnic groups together.

Taking into consideration the move towards island-centred histories and islander-centred histories the chapters of this text do to a large extent reflect current historiographical debates. To begin with, many historical sources are used to provide historical information on the topics of the chapters. There is no single voice or text that dominates the chapters. For every unit there is an average of ten to twelve history sources that have the people of Fiji as the subject of the history. Examples of such texts are Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano's *Samoans in Fiji: Migration, identity and communication,* Teresia Teaiwa's "Rabi and

[10] Vijay Naidu, *MRG Report- Fiji: the challenges and opportunities of diversity* (UK, Minority Groups International, 2013), 10.
[11] Ministry of Education, *Cultural Interaction and integration*, 7.5.

Kioa" and Bessie Ng Kumlin Ali's, *Chinese in Fiji.*[12] These are some of the sources used in Unit 1 that addresses the "Origins of Fiji's people". It is also to be noted that the subject of the chapters also determines the historiography of the chapter. Chapters two and three examine cultural interaction before and after independence. The sources that are consulted to make up these chapters range from primary sources such as reports written during the colonial era, speeches, photographs, and relevant local newspaper articles. Unit Four tends to focus more on providing information about the different religions in Fiji and it is only towards the end of the chapter that some reference is made to the integration of various religions and Christian denominations in organisations such as the Fiji Council of Churches or its research arm, ECREA. Further explanation of the role of religion in integrating cultures and the ethnic composition of Christian churches in Fiji would have strengthened this chapter. Incidents in Fiji's history of temple burnings and robberies would have provided students with insight into how political unrest can reverberate in the religious arena. The historiography of leadership tends to focus more on political leadership with a small section addressing non-political leaders. In the final section, students are provided with a list of leaders who championed integration and are asked to conduct research projects on how these leaders and their organisations promoted cultural integration and integration. The unit on education is a clearer reflection of current historiography with both primary and secondary sources ranging from photographs of some of the first schools to be established, to research articles on the nature of curriculum and education in the colonial

[12] Ibid., 1.23. Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano, *Samoans in Fiji: Migration, identity and communication* (The Institute of Pacific Studies, the University of the South Pacific, Suva, 1990); Teresia K. Teaiwa, "Rabi and Kioa: Peripheral Minority Communities in Fiji", *Fiji in Transition,* 1 (USP, Suva, 1997); Bessie Ng Kumlin Ali, *Chinese in Fiji* (The Institute of Pacific Studies, the University of the South Pacific, Suva, 2002).

days and newspaper features of these same schools. An extract from Brij Lal's *Broken Waves,* serves to highlight the lack of involvement of the colonial government in the education of non-Europeans and its preference to leave education to the work of missionaries and communities.[13] The case studies of the establishment of the first multiracial school in 1936 and a school for children of Indian labourers in 1897, provide insight into the work of missionaries addressing the education needs of the non-Europeans referred to by Lal. The final unit on sports and recreation also features current historiographical trends, with a variety of historical sources that includes photographs, newspaper articles and extracts from historical texts.

Pedagogy

As a coordinator and course writer, I have experienced working with the Course development team from the Centre for Flexible Learning (CFL) at USP, whose major concern in the development of a course book is pedagogy. The purpose of this approach, is to ensure that a student will actively engage in learning through the print material. From the late 1990s up until today CFL continues to strive to give the students the best learning experience. Since pedagogy was also the major concern that motivated the team to write textbooks, the team decided to follow closely the course book format used by USP as it was felt that the style and format was student friendly and encouraged effective learning.

The format of the textbook is deliberately arranged to allow students to engage with the text through reading and completing sets of activities. Lined spaces are provided for the students to write their answers or thoughts. Engaging with History in this textbook begins with the self and moves out into the community, nation and the global context. The activities range from personal observations, responding to texts and photographs and

[13] Brij V. Lal, *Broken Waves: A History of the Fiji Islands in the Twentieth Century*. Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 11, (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1992).

carrying out independent research activities. The research activities are presented in the form of speeches, essays and research project reports. Under the subtopic of "Origins of Fiji's Peoples", students are invited to make observations of their own communities to identify migrant communities that may be present.[14] The activity that follows draws the students back into their personal family history where answers to questions of origins and family movement will help students recognise that their ancestors have likely migrated from elsewhere. The activities of Unit Two, "Cultural interaction prior to independence" and Unit Three, "Ethnic and Cultural Policy Development after independence", encourage students to engage with primary and secondary sources of History such as colonial government policies and website information. Oskar Spate's 1959 report, *The Fijian people: economic problems and prospects*, provides the background to the conflict that occurred later as Spate warned the government that although inter-relations were good at the time, "the equilibrium is unstable".[15] The activity that follows will help students make the connection between economic welfare and a stable society. They are encouraged to examine government and civil society's efforts to integrate the people of Fiji such as festivals and national holidays. Students are led to the conclusion that the purpose of these events is to bring the nation's people together in common celebration.

Unit Four, "Religious groups in Fiji", is largely informative with comprehension activities based on primary and secondary extracts provided. With the inclusion of examples of religious tensions experienced almost two decades ago students are given insight into the nature of ethnic relations during a time of political crisis and activities are constructed around these incidents to create more awareness of how religion is used adversely in such times.

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[14] Ministry of Education, *Cultural Interaction and integration.*1.22

[15] Oskar H.K.Spate, *The Fijian People: economic problems and prospects (*Suva, Government Press, 1959), 5.

In Unit Five, "Leadership: working for integration", students are first given a simple matching activity, comprehension task and inquiry into the lives of traditional indigenous leaders. Examining and interpreting photographs in Unit Six, provides students with visual evidence of the nature of schools during the colonial era and the ethnic composition. Taking a look at pre-colonial and colonial curricula provides insight on the views of different ethnic groups. Reading newspaper articles on jubilee celebrations of older schools such as Queen Victoria School and Suva Grammar School is a good method of providing both historical and current information. Since past pupils or alumni are usually involved in these celebrations, they are able to provide personal historical information. An example is the former student who was chief guest of the Golden Jubilee celebrations of Suva Grammar School in 2010, saying that during his time at Suva Grammar from 1943 to 1949, the school was mostly for Europeans or part-Europeans.[16] Photographs of sporting teams in 1895, 1948 and 1952, reveal to students how ethnic groups interacted and integrated in sports and recreation. To have added extracts on the origins of social clubs as they were then and the membership today would have given students a keener sense of the changes that have occurred in the integration of ethnic groups in such leisure activities.

Assumption

The assumption that was prevalent in 1989 when the FSLC history curriculum was created is that knowledge and understanding of the different ethnic groups that make up the Fiji society is important for young people in Fiji. This assumption can be viewed as a reaction in Fijian society to a long history of segregation and racial discrimination in Fiji by the British colonial government. It must also be read within the political context of the 1980s, following two coups which accentuated racial divisions in the nation. The belief continues today that teaching about ethnicity at high school level or creating awareness of

[16] Ministry of Education, *Cultural Interaction and integration*, 6.21.

multiculturalism through the inclusion of this theme in History and other subjects such as English would help to promote cultural harmony and tolerance. The 2008 FSLC English examination paper had the topic "Cultural tolerance brings peace" as an option for expository essay writing.[17] I clearly recall preparing students for similar topics in the late 1980s and early 1990s for the FSLC English examination in formal essay writing.

The textbook could have returned to the roots of cultural interaction, when some of the early European arrivals and interactions between Fijians then and visitors from neighbouring Pacific Islands occurred. Tongans had "been voyaging to Fiji for centuries, coming in significantly greater numbers from the closing years of the 18th century for canoe building and canoe building materials".[18] An important aspect of Tongan presence and influence in Fiji is the colonisation of Eastern Fiji by Tongans in the person of Enele Ma'afu.[19] This early long term presence of Tongans in the Lau group and the province of Cakaudrove had a socio-political impact on the history of these islands. Samoans and Niueans also came in the 18th century as boat builders for Tongans.[20]

The arrival of early Europeans in the form of beachcombers and castaways who would later form an important link between Fijians and traders resulted in an interaction that also contributed to the changing nature of the local population where they lived. The effects of interaction worked both ways. Steven Hooper and Jane Roth talk about how the lives of

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[17] Ministry of Education, *FSLCE 2008: English* http://www.education.gov.fj/images/EXAM_PAPERS/2008/FSLCE/PDF_English_QP.pdf accessed on 15th April, 2018.

[18] Peter Nuttal, Paul D'arcy and Colin Philp, "Waqa Tabu-Sacred ships: The Fijian Drua" in *The International Journal of Maritime History,* Vol.26, No.3, 2014, 427-450.

[19] John Spurway, *Ma'afu, Prince of Tonga, Chief of Fiji: The Life and Times of Fiji's First Tui Lau*. (ANU Press, Canberra, 2015).

[20] Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano, "Unit 1: Origins of Fiji's Peoples" in Ministry of Education, *Cultural Interaction and integration.*

these early Europeans also changed upon settling in Fiji. These early arrivals, few in number, were mostly castaways, adventurers and beachcombers who traded in sandalwood, beche de mer and firearms and adapted their lifestyle to that of the Fijians amongst whom they lived.[21] A sandalwood trader William Lockerby, in the early 1800s recorded in his journal:

> *At Port Jackson, we were informed that sandalwood had been found in the Feejee Islands; which is an article of great value in the Chinese market, the natives making use of it on account of its strong smell, to burn on their altar and over the bodies of their deceased friends. We therefore were determined to go to these islands for a cargo of this wood.*[22]

This trade was to signal the beginning of European trading in Fiji. Routledge's description of relations between ships' crews and chiefs and their people shows the dependency of the crew on the hosts to identify the much-needed tree in the bush, their labour to carry logs to the beach and then boats and from boats to the ship. Underlying this need of assistance from the local people was distrust as previous experience had been of the overtaking of ships by warriors.[23] Accounts of such early interactions reveal a similar trend of need, distrust and fear for one's life. The next tropical item to be hunted and gathered for trade was beche de mer. "Where sandalwood had required the cooperation of hundreds of men, the beche de mer ships needed thousands."[24] This meant that there was more interaction between the Europeans and indigenous people. By 1900 Europeans were engaged widely in commercial agriculture, planting those needed tropical products that Europeans had by now become accustomed to such as cocoa, bananas, copra and cotton. The abolition of slavery in 1835 also forced planters to look elsewhere for labour supplies, thus the

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[21] Jane Roth and Steven Hooper (eds.), *The Fiji Journals of Baron Anatole Von Hugen 1875-1877* (Suva, Fiji Museum, 1990).
[22] Sir Everard Im Thurn and Leonard C Wharton (eds.), *The Journal of William Lockerby, Sandalwood Trader in the Fijian Islands During the Years 1808-1809,* (Suva, The Fiji Times and Herald Ltd, 1982).
[23] Ibid.
[24] David Routledge, *The Fiji and New Caledonia Journals of Mary Wallis: 1851-1853*. (Suva, Institute of Pacific Studies, 1994).xviii.

indentured labour trade in the Pacific was born. Between the years 1870 and 1914, thousands of Melanesians were recruited to work in plantations in Queensland, Fiji and Samoa. An important point made by historians who focused on this trade and details surrounding the use of Melanesians as labourers is that the trade was not slavery and the labourers were not kidnapped. They saw it as demeaning to the intelligence of these Melanesians who availed themselves as labourers in these plantations abroad to be regarded as people who allowed themselves to be kidnapped.[25]

In Fiji, descendants of Solomon Islander labourers have settled in areas such as Lami with two main settlements, Matata and Kalekana. According to Tuimaleali'ifano, they also settled in Naviavia in Savasavu, Wailailai and Wainiloka and ni-Vanuatu settled in Newtown.[26] In addition Moore does not view the labour trade as slavery after carefully examining the conditions of this labour trade in Queensland.[27] In Social Science studies in primary school in the late 1960s and early 1970s, I recall coming across for the first time the word "blackbirder" and it's association with the Melanesians being brought forcefully to work in places like Australia and Fiji. As a primary school pupil, I was not able to see the relevance of this study in my life. I did not make connections with people from Matata or Kalekana to blackbirding. In addition, I never questioned the presence of Samoan and iKiribati children from the Wailekutu and Veisari settlements. The primary school I attended was also run by a Marist community of nuns and the school was multi-ethnic in make-up with children from Naboro, Veisari, Wailekutu, Kalekana, Qauia, Matanisivaro, Matata, the main streets of Lami town Nukuwatu, Lami Koro, Vugalei and Delainavesi. These were the main settlements of the Lami area whose children attended Marist Convent

[25] Clive Moore, *Kanaka: A history of Melanesian Mackay.* (Port Moresby, Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, University of Papua New Guinea, 1985), 146.
[26] Tuimaleali'ifano, "Unit 1: Origins of Fiji's Peoples" in Ministry of Education, *Cultural Interaction and integration.*
[27] Moore, *Kanaka: A history of Melanesian Mackay*.

School. During lunch and recess at that time we would curse each other using ethnic origins derogatively so that if a student of Melanesian origin angered another, the curse would be "kai Solomone" as if it were a bad thing to be of this ethnicity. In some cases, these same students would reply with "kai Viti" meaning "you are a Fijian" also as if it were a bad thing to be a Fijian. But differences in ethnicity was further compounded in education when students were always divided along racial lines in the school records. In my childhood neighbourhood, I grew up beside a family whose parents were both descendants of the islander labour trade and the indentured labour system introduced in Fiji by Arthur Gordon. The mother of the family was a Solomon Islander with roots going back to Malaita and whose siblings lived in the Matata settlement in Lami. Her name was Mereoni but known as Oma and she had married Charlie Shankar of Indian origins. Our relationship with their children was generally very good as our parents were good friends. There were times when fights would take place and name calling using ethnicity was used but these occurred mainly in our childhood years. In the early 1980s, the entire family migrated to Canada where they live to this day. Charlie and Oma Shankar and my own family, unbeknownst to me at the time, were a part of this phenomena of a capitalist driven colonialism. These growing up experiences provide an opportunity for young people today to learn of the origins of the different ethnic communities in Fiji and thus develop empathy and tolerance as a result of being informed of the historical social and political context responsible.

The content of the textbook *Cultural interaction and integration* although quite comprehensive, still reveals after careful scrutiny, the need for more examples of instances of unequal treatment that resulted in ethnic-based decision making and discussions in parliament. The 1977 scholarship distribution was one such issue that caused much political discontent between the two major parties and within the Indian population of Fiji. The reasons for the introduction of this scholarship system and the effects are a good example

of a cultural issue for students to discuss. Another area that has been left out of Chapter 1 is coverage of the other ethnic groups such as the Banaban, Rotuman, Tuvaluan and Solomon and Vanuatu groups who have now made Fiji their home and whose personal histories provide a different perspective of living in Fiji. In a way, this omission reflects the way in which these communities have historically been overlooked in Fiji. Attention to these minority groups should be visible throughout the chapters as Fiji is today an even more multicultural society. Another area that could be greatly improved is the use of current histories of Fiji that raise the voices of those who have remained voiceless throughout Fiji, a good example being the gender voice. Robert Nicole's work *Disturbing History* provides a critical perspective of Fiji history that is not available in the mainstream national History and social science that has been taught in the junior and senior levels of secondary schools. This mainstream history has largely been told from above focusing on chiefs and government officials and does not take into account any of those individuals who dared to be rebel or contest the colonial and chiefly authorities. *Disturbing History* is a good source to be considered for this sub-strand and the sub-strand on government and governance as it shows that dissatisfaction with colonial rule, or rule of government including the rule of chiefs was not new, but was never included in the mainstream history. It also reflects the important message of democratisation in the writing of history. Through archival research he gives voice to these individuals who have shown their dissatisfaction with colonial rule and the government or church supported chiefly rule. This work is a good example of how to give voice to those who have been left out of mainstream history. He has given voice to women who opposed the colonial administration in a chapter titled "women's resistance".[28]

[28] Women's resistance is a chapter on iTaukei women resisting traditional authority and Indian women resisting plantation authority. Robert Nicole, *Disturbing History: Resistance in Early Colonial Fiji* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2011).

"Cultural interaction and integration" is an important sub-strand for all young people in Fiji, for it is a history that they should be able to relate to as it is about the different ethnic groups that make up the Fiji population. As more minority groups settle to make Fiji their home such as Koreans and Chinese, the textbook can be amended to have activities that will embrace any new group.

Case Study 2: *Government and Governance*

The second sub-strand or theme in Year 11 history was one of the newly introduced themes in the changed curriculum titled Government and Governance. A textbook was written by the collaborative group a which provides students with an opportunity to examine various perspectives of government and governance within the historical period of 1870s to 2006. The key assumption of this book is that the group felt that it was important for young people to know the history of political power in Fiji particularly prior to the political instability experienced since 1987.

The textbook has six units and opens with the unit titled "Types of government: tradition and democracy".[29] The aim of this unit is to help students differentiate the different types of government systems that existed in Fiji, including indigenous governing systems. With the differences that existed in each vanua, it was decided to provide a generally accepted type of traditional ruling system to show students how chiefs directed the welfare of their chiefdoms.[30] An example of how chiefs exerted their power, fought for power and manipulated each other for power is presented in an extract taken from the text *Fiji in the Pacific*.[31] The extract explained how the Fijian chiefdom of Bau was challenged by a Tongan prince, Maafu, and how through the intervention of his cousin, Taufahau Tupou 1st

[29] Ministry of Education, *Government and Governance.* (Suva. Curriculum Development Unit, Ministry of Education, 2012).
[30] Ibid., 1.7.
[31] Gavin, J. Kerr, Terry Donnelly and Max Quanchi, *Fiji in the Pacific: A History and Geography of Fiji,* (Milton Qld. John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 1994).

of Tonga, Cakobau was converted to Christianity to gain the support of the visiting Tongan leader in fighting the Battle of Kaba.

In contrast to chiefly leadership, a timeline diagram showing the various developments of democratic-type leadership from 1874 to 2011, beginning with the representative-type government, followed by the seventeen years of a democratically elected government, is presented under the subtopic "Democratic government in Fiji".[32] In this flowchart a drawing of the Deed of Cession scene in Nasova Ovalau is used to show the arrival of British rule in Fiji. This drawing derived from *The Fiji Times* of 10th October 2010 was part of the newspaper feature on Cession and independence. To cover events up to 1963, a table lays out the information chronologically to show the various changes that took place in government leading up to independence. The use of the flow chart, drawing and then a table were approaches taken to condense historical information that spanned over a hundred years into three pages.

This technique enabled the introduction of the next subtopics of "interim governments" and "multiparty government" as the purpose of the chapter was to provide students with information on the various types of governments that Fiji has undergone from post cession. Unit Three, "Administration: traditional and modern", covered Sir Arthur Gordon's introduced native administration used to govern the indigenous people and how he simultaneously established the British government system. This arrangement of the native administration that was headed by the Great Council of Chiefs coexisted with the bicameral parliament of the Government of Fiji from independence to 2006. "Constitutional development" follows with the aim of providing students with information on the development, changes, amendments, and abrogations of constitutions from 1963 to 1997. From the creation of the 1970 constitution of independent Fiji, which involved the input of

[32] Ministry of Education, *Government and Governance*, 1.11.

a few people, the students' attention is drawn to its replacement, the infamous and short-lived 1990 constitution that was set in place by a strong nationalist line-up immediately after the 1987 coup. This constitution was met with strong opposition domestically and internationally, illustrating to students that such a constitution was not acceptable in Fiji or in the international arena. This is supported by the setting up of the Constitution Review Commission that was tasked with consulting the people of Fiji for their views of what they think should be included in the constitution. The commission was led by Sir Paul Reeves, Professor Brij Lal and Tomasi Vakatora.[33] The changes in the creation of a constitution is an important aspect of this chapter and this is where students are provided insight into the different ways that constitutions were created in Fiji.

Unit Four, explores the different voting systems that Fiji underwent because of the different constitutions from 1970 to 1990. The content of this unit covers the purpose of elections, Fiji's electoral system, election campaigns, voting and representation. The current constitution of 2013 is not addressed in this textbook, however in the event of a review of the curriculum it should be included as new content. Unit Five addresses political parties looking at their foundations, political ideologies and representation, the membership and leadership of parties and campaigns and elections.[34] The final unit of this textbook is "Fiji's legal system" which begins with a description of the court system, provides information on the role of the different legal officers including other roles within the nation's legal system, and then outlines the procedure of a trial.

Since this is a textbook about government and governance, the sources used varied from textbooks, to academic journal articles, newspaper articles, cartoons and articles taken from relevant websites such as the *Pacific Islands Report*. The textbook, *Fiji in the Pacific* was

[33] Ibid., 2.15.
[34] Ibid., 5.3.

consulted in the section on the development of colonial administration from representative to responsible type government and the changes in representation of people in the colonial government.[35] This information was transferred into a table for quick and easy reference for the changes. Summary biographies of leaders such as Jai Ram Reddy and niVanuatu founding Prime Minister, Fr Walter Hadye Lini, are included in the section on party leaders. Such stories enhance and give life to this history and provide students an example of the type of information required for their own research on government leaders.

Pedagogy

Pedagogically, the sources and activities were arranged to enable active engagement. An example in Unit 1 provides students with a list of names and photographs of the Fiji Interim Civilian Government of 2000. Students are to choose one of the ministers and carry out individual research to find out more about the minister's work and present their findings in a poster to the class. Another example in the same unit is an examination and interpretation of two photographs of the Fijian Parliament House, one of the exterior and the other of the interior. Students are asked to look for elements of Fijian custom and tradition in both photographs and are asked to explain the division of Parliament into two major seating groups. Comprehension exercises based on short informative readings is also an active way for students to learn new information rather than being given notes on the blackboard. These activities work by asking students for information from the text and from their own knowledge and experience. There are short research project activities that require students to work in groups and present their findings in poster form. Other activities involve interpreting cartoons in the unit on voting and political parties and doing role plays as candidates visiting a polling booth provide students with opportunities to discover more about the political history of their country. In carrying out these many diverse activities,

[35] Kerr, Donnelly and Quanchi, *Fiji in the Pacific.*

students are involved in using historical sources, analysing viewpoints and providing their own perspectives and arguments on historical sources and information.

Assumption

Inherent in the offer of this sub-strand is the paradigmatic assumption that young people need to know the history of political power in their country especially with the experience of Fiji's political system being unstable particularly from 1987. This assumption also includes the idea of the importance of civic education. The problem that many young school leavers have left formal schooling with very little knowledge of their country and government system forced the collaborative group to seriously search for ways of addressing the gap. The need to educate young people in the mechanics of their government system is more pertinent today since the latest constitution of 2013 has reduced the voting age to 18 years.[36] The group decided that the inclusion of this topic would be beneficial to young people growing up in a Fiji that is now steeped in three decades of coup culture. The editorial group also felt that many young people were not aware of the merits and characteristics of democratic rule. These included the ability to criticise government without fear of reprisal, the benefits of having an unrestricted media which was permitted to voice concerns against those in power, and the ability to publicly protest and put pressure on governments to change policies or laws. This sub-strand is about empowering young people with knowledge not just of the history of their government system and constitutional development but also of aspects of a democracy that have not been visible in the government since 1970. The collaborative group gave a lot of thought to this sub-strand and believed that it had a duty to provide young people a history that would help them make sense of the current political situation of their country.

Understanding the role and place of chiefdoms in the history of Fiji assists in the grasping

[36] *Constitution of the Republic of Fiji.* Clause 55, 48.

of a broader picture of Fiji's political history. Indigenous Fijian traditional political systems or power structures are broadly similar to that of its nearby neighbours Tonga and Samoa, and are characterised by chiefly ruling lines. These ruling lines were closely connected to confederacies, provinces, districts and villages and reflect the linkages between land and chiefly titles.[37] In 1876, Sir Arthur Gordon's Native Affairs' Ordinance was an attempt to parcel the different titles and classes of chiefs into a single structure with the intention of administering all of Fiji. Peter France, one of the earlier historians to document the formation of this native administration, was critical of these actions of Fiji's first Governor. He argued that Gordon established a set of traditions to govern all of Fiji that did not exist but that he had created himself from the limited knowledge he had of Fiji. Since Gordon only associated himself with the high-ranking chiefs and saw himself as the highest ranking, France accuses him of "setting himself apart from the people" and "placed himself out of communication with all but the highest levels".[38] Such behaviour is similarly found among those chiefs who had become more powerful in his administration. Nevertheless, this colonially imposed structure is still in existence in Fiji today, lasting over 140 years. It divided the whole of Fiji into the thirteen provinces that exist today. It was the origin of the iTaukei Affairs Ministry that exists today and the Great Council of Chiefs that was dissolved in 2006 by the Bainimarama-led government. Alumita Durutalo claims that creating a Great Council of Chiefs was responsible for creating a powerful elitist group of Eastern chiefs. Durutalo also claims the Great Council of Chiefs was a cause of discord amongst the chiefs in the western and northern sides of Fiji. In the early days of its existence many of these chiefs held positions of

[37] R.R.Nayacakalou, *Leadership in Fiji*, (Suva, IPS, University of the South Pacific, 1978), 10.
[38] Peter France, *The Charter of the land: custom and colonization in Fiji* (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1969).

authority in the native administration as Roko in provinces where they did not have any blood ties. Durutalo claims that this would not have been possible prior to cession and had led to uprisings such as the Colo wars of 1876. Nicole provides a deeper insight into these early cases of dissent against the colonial government illustrating the struggles of some sections of Fiji against colonial administration.[39] Crucial to any study of political history in high school should be the element of opposition or resistance, which was not the case with the Fiji history that students over the last half a century have been studying. The history of Fiji that we studied and that Nicole contests is one which also contributed to the acceptance of the status quo until the coup of 1987 occurred. Nicole said:

> *My conceptual image of Fiji's past was of a country which had excelled under British tutelage, where the different villagers obeyed the wise rule and exemplary leadership of their chiefs and where Indian laborers toiled tirelessly in the sugar plantations to build the colony's economic prosperity.*[40]

That such a picture was accepted by many for many years, shows that certain aspects of Fiji history were internalised and assumed to be true and one of these was that Fijians were not rebellious. Thus the notion of the obedient villager or obedient Fijian was held by both the non-Fijian and the Fijian. The real struggles of the indentured labourers and their individual hardships and difficulties were never part of the mainstream history and so they too were marginalised from the start in the Fiji history that was taught all those years.

It must be noted that a Social Science curriculum offered as part of a curriculum project introduced in the 1970s, provided teaching modules on governance and how organised

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[39] Robert Nicole, *Disturbing History: Aspects of Resistance in Early Colonial Fiji, 1874-1914* (PHD thesis, University of Canterbury, 2006).
[40] Nicole, *Disturbing History.*

protest could impact government decisions and policies. This project was undertaken by the UNDP from 1970 to 1975.[41] It involved the University of the South Pacific as this is where a Curriculum Development Unit was set up in 1970. The role of the University in this project was to train teachers at Diploma and Bachelor levels to teach this curriculum. This project resulted from a request by several Pacific Island countries who after independence wanted to have their national curriculum.

As a young teacher in the early 1980s, this was the curriculum that I taught in Social Science in Year 10. Students also learnt of how non-government organisations and pressure groups could impact policy and legislation by the pressure they could put on government of the day. A very interesting topic studied in this curriculum was the drawing up of constituencies and gerrymandering. After 1987, the curriculum changed and such topics were no longer taught. As a teacher of Social Science in the 1980s, I often used the example of 1978 when as a young student of Foundation Studies in USP, I was involved in the first student strike of the university. The USP Students' Association (USPSA) and its student leaders (who later became leaders in their different fields in their different countries) led the entire student body through the city of Suva to the government buildings to present our petition for a higher student allowance to the Minister for Education. The Fiji Government responded to the petition by increasing the student allowance. Another good example of pressure being placed on government by the USPSA was the 1995 march in protest against the renewal of French Nuclear testing in Murorua. I considered this a good example to use as it was led by two women, the USPSA President Agnes Kotoisuva, and the Minister for Education Taufa Vakatale. Also joining the march were USPSA students some of whom

[41] UNESCO Report for the Governments of British Solomon Islands Protectorate, Cook Islands, Fiji, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, New Hebrides, Niue, Tokelau Islands Kingdom of Tonga and Western Samoa, "REGIONAL-Secondary School Curriculum Development Project, University of the South Pacific, Fiji: Project findings and Recommendations", Paris, April, 1976.7 accessed on 15th September, at https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000019321

hailed from the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia together with supporters of the Fiji Anti-Nuclear Group. The march started at the government buildings and ended at the office of the French ambassador. The significant and telling outcome of this march was the demotion of the Minister for Education Taufa Vakatale by the then Prime Minister Major General Sitiveni Rabuka. The main reason given was the support that the government was getting from France and so it was not a surprise that Vakatale was demoted. "This was hardly surprising as official relations between France and Fiji had become much closer in these years particularly after a bilateral aid agreement which saw the French government inject over $FJD10million into Fiji's national coffers."[42] But with pressure from other countries in the Pacific nuclear testing ended.[43] There have also been many industrial strikes that can be used to show students the importance of pressure groups in the governing of a country.

Findings

The political changes that occurred between 1987 and 2010 can be described as erratic. Despite these changes occurring over a span of over two decades, the Fiji history topics remained the same until the changes that were introduced from 2013.The textbook *Government and Governance* is in need of more work. There are sections that are incomplete in coverage particularly that of constitutional development. This book was completed in 2012, a year before the Head of State President Josefa Iloilo gave his assent for the new 2013 Constitution to come into effect. This constitution replaced the 1997 Constitution that was abrogated on 10th April 2009.[44] Year 11and 12 students are in the age

[42] Nicole George, *Situating Women: Gender Politics and Circumstance in Fiji* (Canberra, ANU E Press, 2012).
[43] Ramesh Thakur, "The Last Bang before a Total Ban: French Nuclear Testing in the Pacific." *International Journal* Vol. 51, no. 3, 1996: 466-86. French nuclear testing ended with the sixth and final test conducted at Fangataufa Atoll on 27th January 1996.
[44] Anita. Jowitt, "The Qarase V Bainimarama Appeal Case." *Journal of South Pacific Law* Vol.13, No. 1, 2009: 24-31.

category where they are a few years away from being eligible to vote. Therefore, having a good grounding of the mechanics of government, elections and choice of leaders is essential knowledge for any young person growing up in Fiji today. Since the current government has been visiting schools in Fiji and consulting with students on the national budget, it is important that students know how a government is elected and how it functions.

In addition, understanding the role of political parties, being analytical of their manifestos and how an election is contested are essential for good citizenship. Today, the government and political parties appear to be expecting more of young people and this is evident in the youth wings of political parties. They form a large portion of the voting population and are being targeted by political parties. It is the intention of the textbook *Government and Governance* to teach this history and prepare young people for the next phase in their lives by equipping them with knowledge and analytical skills in the area of politics. In that interview carried out with the teacher who withdrew from the collaborative group, she admitted that she appreciated the change of the curriculum to include government and governance as this book was released at a time when the new constitution was promulgated and summaries of it were made available to the public. She found that her students were greatly interested in the voting process.[45]

Case Study 3: *Diplomacy and Fiji*

The study of diplomacy is usually regarded as a tertiary level topic and therefore it is an assumption that such a study would be too difficult for Year 12 students. In the new curriculum it is offered in a way that students can follow easily especially when the learning material is provided in the form of a textbook with a sequence of units of work. This book has seven units beginning with "Fiji and International relations" as the introductory unit.[46]

[45] Elisabeth Naigulevu, Personal interview carried out 16 April 2017, Tamavua, Suva.
[46] Ministry of Education, *Diplomacy and Fiji* (Suva Curriculum Development Unit, Ministry of Education 2015), 5.

This unit sets the scene for the rest of the textbook, by providing a brief introduction to Fiji's relationship with other nations touching on the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and "its signatory role in the signing of the many international treaties laws, treaties and conventions."[47] The perspectives of Fiji's place in the international and regional spheres are provided to enable students to see Fiji's place in the world and in the Pacific region. When compared to huge powers such as the United States, India and China, Fiji is a tiny nation, but within its regional location among smaller Pacific neighbours of Tuvalu, Nauru and Niue, Tonga and Samoa Fiji is seen as one of the leading Pacific nations.

The units which follow, address the historical relationship of Fiji with New Zealand, the "two Chinas", Australia, India, the European Union and the final unit is a research activity which provides a range of topics that requires students to present their findings in a genre of their choice (such as written reports, journal writing or debates, speeches and presentations). The unit on Fiji and New Zealand deals with a relationship that "has a long history and is a close relationship".[48] New Zealand's involvement in Fiji and with Fijians is portrayed covering many spheres such as military training and presence during WWII and education support through the provision of curricula and teachers. One of the ties with New Zealand that was forged in 1877 was that of banking with the Bank of New Zealand (BNZ). An extract is taken from the 100th Year commemorative booklet of BNZ to show how far the bank had spread to almost every major town in Fiji. This commercial relationship changed hands in 1990 when ANZ bought out BNZ. Tied into this 100-year relationship are the lives of former employees and related services that have impacted on the development of the nation and its people. There is focus on those who were educated in New Zealand in the late 1880s and early 1900s such as prominent leaders like Ratu

[47] Ibid., 7.
[48] Ibid., 25.

Sukuna who later played a critical role in the lives of the indigenous Fijians. An important communication infrastructural development in the 1930s was decided in a meeting in New Zealand and resulted during WW II in the construction of the two airfields in Nadi and Nausori in 1941. The historical connections between New Zealand and Fiji also includes rugby and students are provided with a full page of notes on this significant connection that has continued to this day with Fijians migrating to join international clubs including rugby clubs in New Zealand.

An important distinction made at the start of the text on Fiji's relationship with China is the diplomatic relations that Fiji has with the two Chinas, the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Republic of China (ROC). It is noted that Fiji was the first Pacific country to establish diplomatic relations with the PRC and the ROC in a joint communique signed in November 1975 and the establishment of the embassy in Nasese, Suva.[49] The connection and interrelations with the two Chinas begins with the story by Bessie Ali of two Chinese individuals coming to the Pacific and Fiji in the early nineteenth century. The ship, the *Eliza* that they came on was here for sandalwood.[50] The unit also addresses the "Look North Policy" of the current Fiji regime with China and identifies that the nature of the relationship was one concerned with aid for economic development.[51] Information from the Chinese news agency Xin Hua on the Look North Policy details the reasons for this relationship with China. The provision of aid in the form of loans, economic aid and investment to Fiji and other Pacific island countries competitively by the two Chinas to gain economic favours has often been criticised by Australia and New Zealand as "cheque book diplomacy".[52] Another section of the text provides information about how the Fiji

[49] Ministry of Education, *Diplomacy and Fiji*, 43.
[50] Ibid.,44.
[51] Ibid.,48.
[52] Ibid.,53.

government encouraged migration of Chinese business people after the emigration of Indian business people following the coup of 1987. The next unit focuses on the relationship with Australia which signifies another "long and close relationship" like that with New Zealand. The introduction provides two lists summarising relations with Australia. The pre-independence actually includes the Colonial Sugar Refinery (CSR), the Emperor Gold Mine, the Banks of Westpac and ANZ banks, the Australian curriculum that was taught in private schools, the Australian dominated inflow of tourists, and the Australian contributions to USP as the major donor. The post-independence list mentions trade unions, churches and schools, links between political parties, sporting visits, trade, tourism and migration, joint membership of regional organisations and scholarships to study in Australia. These lists provide students with a broad view of the nature of relations with Australia. The rest of the chapter focuses on two main events that occurred in Fiji, the coups of 1987 and 2000. The reactions of Australians to the coups are presented in the form of political cartoons showing varying views and opinions of the coups, the hostage crisis of 2000 and the role of the Great Council of Chiefs in these events. The impact of events on the economy is highlighted with special attention to tourism and in particular tourists from Australia. The last section of the unit shows the change in the nature and level of interest in Fiji by Australia from the 1970s through to 2000.

The unit on Fiji's relationship with India first begins by comparing the sizes of the two nations, one with more than a billion people and the other with less than a million people and then identifies the common factor which is that they were both British colonies. The list of historical links presented to students include the indenture system which brought in more than 60,495 indentured labourers to Fiji in the late nineteenth century, the involvement of both countries in WWI and WWII on the side of Britain and the historical

fact that by 1980s over half the population in Fiji were people of Indian descent.[53] After independence, the relationship with India continued under new arrangements with links between political parties, trade unions, churches and schools, medical exchange schemes, trade, tourism and migration, membership of international organisations including the British Commonwealth of Nations. The coverage of this unit dwells on what the two nations say about their relationship with each other and this information is taken from the home pages of both countries' High Commissions and a newspaper article on flood relief funding by India to Fiji in 2012 is used to confirm this relationship.[54] The larger section of this unit addresses the involvement of the Indian-dominated National Federation Party and the Fijian-dominated Alliance Party in their moves to self-government.[55] The involvement of India in the moves towards independence are mentioned here to signify the importance of the relationship between India and Fiji as they tried to tackle the issue of common franchise that was being encouraged by Britain and desired by the Federation Party but was regarded with much anxiety by the indigenous Fijians. The unit closes with accounts of ministerial visits by both nations to each other between the years 1987 to 2000.

The final unit focuses on Fiji and the European Union (EU). It begins with the historical Lome Convention that was signed in 1975 soon after independence. Such a co-operation meant funds were allocated to Fiji for development, particularly its sugar industry. The relationship of cooperation is not without its expectations on the partners as shown by a news article reporting the axing of $43 million dollars from support for the sugar industry.[56]

[53]Ibid.,90.
[54] Ibid.,92.
[55] Ibid., 94.
[56] ibid.,115.

Following this, the students are provided information on the EU under the headings of trade agreements, aid and development and liaison, negotiation and diplomacy. The diplomatic relations with the EU and with member countries is the responsibility of the Fiji Mission to the EU that has its office in Brussels. The head of this mission holds the title of Ambassador to Belgium.[57] The unit concludes with an explanation on how through the EU the Fiji government of 2006 has had to make commitments to meeting the essential elements of the revised African Caribbean Pacific-European Community (ACP-EC) Partnership agreement which addresses human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law. Although banned from loans and trade treaties, the EU Council decided in 2007 to begin enhanced political dialogue with Fiji and established a framework for future development. Such an example is ideal as an illustration of the nature of diplomacy.[58] Absent from this textbook are countries such as the USA, Japan, Korea, South Africa and Pacific Island countries.

Pedagogy

The history of diplomacy in Fiji, as presented in this textbook, began in the late nineteenth century. Providing the historical basis of diplomatic relations with countries and organisations provides students with the development of connections from the past to the present. The presentation of historical information included the use of primary and secondary sources, internet sources, newspaper articles, cartoons, posters, speeches, and extracts taken from textbooks.

Delving into national governments' and organisations' websites for information on diplomatic relations can be engaging for those students who have access to internet, as this enables them to view the various ways that countries relate and work with each other.

[57] Ibid., 118.
[58] Ibid., 120.

Students will find some of the questions easy to answer such as multiple choice, ticking of boxes and some open-ended questions based on articles and photographs. There were other activities that would require higher-level thinking and responses as students were asked for their opinions on certain issues. An example is Fiji's relations with other Pacific Island nations where two short readings on Fiji's relations with Pacific Island countries and countries on the Pacific Rim are discussed. The activity asks students to rank the most important work of diplomacy for Fiji:

> *Activity 2 Questions based on Topics A and B*
>
> *1. Which is most important work of diplomacy- this is your own opinion! (Rank from first (1) to fifth (5)*
> *() relations with near neighbours (e.g. Tonga)*
> *() relations with Rim nations Australia and New Zealand*
> *() relations with Superpowers (e.g. USA and China)*
> *() relations with Europe (e.g. European Union and Great Britain)*
> *() relations with Asian nations* [59]

Reminding students that their choice is their opinion encourages them to think through these choices based on the information provided in the two readings of Topics A and B. Such an activity provides the teacher with room for planning to get students to present and defend their ranking in an oral presentation.

The pronounced use of cartoons to highlight Australia's relations with Fiji invites students to interpret the cartoons providing them with an opportunity to think and articulate their opinions on the nature of the relationship between the two countries. This involves higher intellectual activity and language development and is therefore cognisant with learning at this level.[60] The use of cartoons, allows students to see variety in the relationship between Fiji and Australia varies from newspaper to newspaper, suggesting to students that newspapers and readers have varying opinions about their own government and of its

[59] Ibid.
[60] Teaching Standards, "Five Standards of Effective Pedagogy" accessed on 6/3/2018 from ttps://www.tolerance.org/professional-development/five-standards-of-effective-pedagogy

relationship with another country.

The choice of having an individual research topic as the last unit provides opportunities for both the student and teacher, as it provides guidelines to writing their research findings in various genre from which they are to choose one. This approach allows students to select their genre according to what they are familiar and comfortable with. As a former coordinator of History at Foundation level, I have found a richness in the responses from students when they are allowed to choose from various genres to present their work. The genres provided for them to choose from to present their findings are:

1. *A research report on Fiji's relationship with USA*
2. *Journal writing about Fiji and the Middle East*
3. *Web-search on Fiji and the Republic of South Africa*
4. *Debate the historic relationship of Fiji and Africa*
5. *Time Lines: Fiji's involvement in rugby and World Sport*
6. *Mini-Biography on the PNG Prime Minister, Mr Michael Somare*
7. *Speech/Oral presentation on UN Military duty.*[61]

Such a variety of topics and genres in which to present findings also provide students with an avenue of providing each other with interesting information to their peers since the seven topics each deal with different countries, organisations or individuals.

Assumption

It has been the assumption in the Social Sciences that for many small Pacific Islands nations, independence was by name only as these new nations remained dependent on other larger countries and international organisations for their survival in a world that has now become more global and interdependent. In addition, in the Fiji secondary school system the teaching of Fiji diplomacy was never considered as a topic to be taught at Year 12 level. Neither was it taught at Year 13, even though in the previous Year 13 curriculum under the study of Pacific History, regional cooperation was one of the sub topics covered. It could

[61] Ministry of Education, *Diplomacy and Fiji.*

be that the assumption was that such a topic was to be studied at higher levels. Therefore, the inclusion of Fiji Diplomacy challenges this assumption. The collaborative group was of the belief that Fijians are global citizens and that Fijians do not live in isolation of the rest of the world. In the previous sub-strands students learnt of these changes and how they influenced the socio-political evolution of Fiji. Prior to the establishment of Fiji as a colony, the interactions of the local population in the different parts of the country with migrants from neighbouring Pacific Islands, castaways, beachcombers, traders, planters, settlers, labourers from Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, missionaries and then the arrival of Indian indentured labourers, all laid the foundations of future interactions that would later involve Pacific island neighbours in regional cooperation and diplomatic relations with individual nations and international organisations.

Findings

The textbook *Diplomacy and Fiji* demonstrates the changes that have occurred in Fiji's relationship with some key players in the greater Pacific region and in the global arena with larger foreign powers such as China and India. Including these two emerging economic powers is a suitable choice in light of recent efforts by both countries to exert influence in Fiji. The nature of the coverage allows for many opportunities for students to carry out further research into the general histories of countries covered in this topic. The connection with India is deeper and stronger than with any other nation due to the 19th century indenture system. It is critical therefore, that students are aware of the continued relations between Fiji and India and that this was not confined to the colonial period. Despite these, there are some obvious missing elements to this textbook that should be mentioned.

The first of these is the absence of a section on Fiji's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the role that it plays within the country and in countries where Fiji has embassies and consuls. There have been many incidents including natural disasters in countries where Fiji has

embassies and consuls and it is from them that Fiji has waited for information regarding the safety of Fiji nationals working, studying and living in those countries. A study of these will enlighten students on the importance of diplomatic ties. An ideal activity would have been a case study that highlighted a diplomatic incident such as that which occurred between Fiji and Tonga over the Minerva reef in 2011 when Fiji destroyed navigational beacons erected by Tonga on the reef.[62] The resolving of this incident also involved the United Nations.

An aspect the book ignores is the use of internet for research projects. Asking students to use the websites of embassies to find out more information would work very well for those schools that have strong internet connectivity but not for those schools that do not have internet access. Therefore, the inclusion of a wider spread of documents and photographs that depict the historical diplomatic relations with each country would be more beneficial to students in ensuring that they all have access to enough learning materials. Until such time when all students have access to internet connectivity, these resources must be added to ensure there is equality and equity in learning.

Case Study 4: *Imaging the Pacific: A History of Pacific Arts, Photography and Film*

The last textbook takes students in Year 12 away from Fiji into the Pacific region. Titled *Imaging the Pacific: A History of Pacific Arts, Photography and Film,* the book comprises seven units with the first unit introducing the main concepts and the last providing opportunities for revision of the main concepts. This textbook was the only one submitted by a single author, Quanchi, but it went through the same review and editorial process as the other three textbooks. This book takes students as far back as the 1600s to the time of early European voyagers through to the onset of colonialism in the late 19th century. It

[62] Elisapeci Samanunu Waqanivala "The Spirit of Minerva: Notes on a Border Dispute in the Pacific" *Eurasia Border Review* Vol 9, No. 1, 91-112.

focused on the use of paintings, photography and film to capture images of the islands and the islanders the Europeans encountered. The units provide students with opportunities to examine examples of early paintings and pantomime that resulted from these early contacts with Pacific Islanders, photography that brought about major changes to representation, the use of film, movies and documentaries and the use of postcards. In examining these genres, students will come to understand how imaging affected Western perceptions of the Pacific and Pacific Islanders. Students will be in a stronger position to discuss and analyse the ways in which these genres provided visual evidence in History. When students complete studying this topic, they are expected to distinguish between documentary and artistic recording of events and interpret them thoroughly for historical information. The key assumptions of this text is that images are a useful historical source along with written documents, and that students need to be aware of this important historical source.

The introductory unit begins with a 1606 painting of "natives on the Southern shores of New Guinea" painted by Diego Prado de Tovar which according to historian Bernard Smith, was one of the first attempts to draw Pacific island peoples.[63] This painting and others fall in a category of painting known as the "art of the voyages" which were mainly created in the period 1750 and 1850.[64] However, the students are also told that historians have said, "that these early images were partial, inaccurate and misrepresented Oceania."[65] This statement prepares students for other forms of representations of Pacific islanders that they will encounter in later units such as paintings, pantomime, photographs, movies and postcards. With accompanying explanations, descriptions and questions, the textbook aims to assist students distil information about the past bearing in mind the context that within which these images were creation. The introductory unit sets the scene for the subsequent

[63] Max Quanchi, *Imaging the Pacific: A history of Pacific Arts, Photography and Film* (Suva, Ministry of Education Fiji, 2013), 4.
[64] Ibid., 5.
[65] Ibid.

units.

The second unit titled “Early Art of the Voyages” introduces students to some of the paintings from early voyages that depicted what the voyagers saw or what they thought they saw. These paintings were representations of the people and places seen during the early voyages. Historians note that the artists were unable to accurately, replicate colours, light and distances of the Pacific.[66] An interesting piece of historical information mentioned in this chapter is that the early voyagers to the Pacific had on board a draughtsman or artist who “drew sketched and painted the people and places they had caught glimpses of and these were completed on the long voyage home”.[67] The artists followed European art school conventions in the way they placed the subjects of their work in their paintings. As these paintings served to inform those who had no preconception of the Pacific Islanders and their environment, they tended to draw their conclusions of the Pacific islands and Islanders from these paintings. There was also mention of the fact that the artists imagined many scenes and examples of such paintings are provided to show that they were not accurate records.[68] Portrait painting was also a very popular style and appeared in early reports and books about an explorer’s journey. Portraits of Pacific Islanders were popular because they gave Europeans back home more details on the appearance of the subject, facial features, hairstyles, tattoos and even personality. Thus Europeans tended to see these portraits as being representative of a whole population.[69] There were also paintings of the encounters of Pacific Islanders and Europeans, many of which took place on the beach. The

[66] Ibid., 4.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., 24.
[68] Ibid., 24.
[69] Ibid., 34.

work of Greg Dening was introduced to students in this section as the historian who described these beach encounters as "theatre" because of their performative nature. Dening sees the beach as a site that is crossed by Europeans to enter the islands and a site crossed by Pacific Islanders, when they leave the islands.[70] It is on the beach that the cultures encounter each other.

The next section of this chapter jumps ahead by 130 years to 1905 after many scientific expeditions and voyages of exploration to discuss the work of the artist Norman Hardy of the early 1900s.[71] A painting that was described as one of the first paintings of the 20th century in Vanuatu is discussed in some detail. It shows a trader sitting on his verandah receiving coconuts from the Islanders who remain at the bottom of the steps. An analysis of this painting raises some important points about the relationship between traders and the local people. The trader sits at the top of the steps above the people of Aoba who remain at the bottom of steps. This position signifies the "typical unequal racial and social division of the master-worker and European-islander relationship".[72] Artists were also an integral part of promoting commerce and trade of the early 20th century. This would be of great interest to students who are today exposed to high-tech marketing and advertising. An example of a Burns Philp & Company Ltd tourist brochure published in 1913 is presented for students to analyse. The painting titled "Picturesque Travel,"[73] is a conglomeration of images that are iconic of different tourist destinations in the early 20th century.

Unit three focuses on "Pantomime" illustrating a form of entertainment that was rare and is almost non-existent today. Pantomime was described as a form of theatre that had a standard set of characters and costumes. It is drama where there was action and miming but

[70] Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* 3.
[71] Quanchi, *Imaging the Pacific.*
[72] Ibid.,41
[73] Ibid., 45.

no spoken word. In Europe in the 1770s this form of entertainment was a popular type of theatre and the themes that were depicted were those of power struggles and stories of love and war. These pantomimes used comedy and were often satirical as they commented critically on well-known people and political affairs.[74] The unit examined a particular pantomime whose main subject was a Tahitian called Mai (named Omai in England) who had been taken to England by Captain Furneaux on the ship *Adventure* in 1773.[75] Mai who was from Huahine Island in the Society Islands was dressed as a stage character as a chief or noble of Tahiti despite the fact that he was not of chiefly status During his three-year stay in England, he experienced the life of a well to do English family. In 1776, Mai was taken back to Huahine and it was after his return that a pantomime based on him titled *Omai: or a trip round the world* was written by John O'Keeffe. The show was popular and was staged many times across Europe because of its entertaining nature. There were however some conflicting views by historians about the pantomime because of the lack of historical facts, inaccurate portrayal of the Tahitian queen and the exoticisation of Tahitians.[76] The importance of this coverage of pantomime for students is that it introduced another form of art that contributed to the imaging of Pacific peoples and Pacific Islands. Such an art form brought to life some of the early paintings of images of Pacific peoples and islands. The sceneries, many of which were painted by John Webber who had accompanied Captain Cook on the last of his three voyages into the Pacific, provided a sense of realism to theses repeated performances.[77] One can expect therefore, that with the

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Rudiger Joppien, "Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg's Pantomime 'Omai, or a Trip round the World' and the Artists of Captain Cook's Voyages" in *Captain Cook and the South Pacific,* (Canberra ANU Press, 1979).
[76] Quanchi, *Imaging the Pacific,* 61.
[77] Joppien, "Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg's Pantomime".

many instances of staging this pantomime, which "illustrated and animated one of the most notable incidents in British and indeed world history: the spread of European exploration in the Pacific", more people gained knowledge of the Pacific and its people.[78] In relation to pantomimes, Greg Dening says that in watching such performances, the audiences thought "they were seeing history as it happened".[79] Therefore having knowledge of pantomime and how they were produced, would assist students understand how the work of artists and early writings of explorers of the Pacific provided information about Pacific peoples and islands and how they contributed to some of the distorted perceptions of Pacific society in Europe.

Photography was covered in the next chapter and students learn that it was a form of representation that was portable, easy to operate, able to be reproduced and printed in newspapers, magazines and books. Images of the Pacific could now be viewed by more people and by the Pacific Islanders themselves. Photography also enabled the spread of images that often promoted colonialism in a positive light and the colonised Pacific islanders and islands unconstructively or pessimistically. The camera allowed the photographer to create the image of the Pacific islander that he/she wanted to create even if it were not real. The photographer or the person who controlled the photographer could request a certain seating arrangement or positioning of subjects to portray the image that was preferred. A set of questions that historians would use to interrogate such photographs is provided for students to use in interpreting sample photographs. The questions referred to the date and place where the photograph was taken, the reason for the photograph, the people in the photograph, the place where the photograph was published, who would have seen this photograph and where the photograph was stored and available today.[80] The work

[78] Ibid.
[79] Quanchi, *Imaging the Pacific,* 64.
[80] Ibid.

of an Australian photographer, Frank Hurley is discussed for his use of juxtaposing aspects of Pacific cultures against the modern European culture, such as forms of transport. Just as paintings and costumes were manipulated to get the image and setting desired by the artist for the purposes of promoting ideas and beliefs about his subject, the photographer also used similar techniques. As colonialism spread, the camera became an important tool for documentation of significant events, people, including buildings and monuments in promoting the power of the coloniser. The power relations of colonialism are often revealed in photographs. Such photographs often depict white men standing in uniform and usually in white, beside boats, planes, buildings, at parades to illustrate this point. A range of photographs was provided for interpretation using the suggested questions that historians use for interrogating photographs.

Unit Five focused on movies and documentaries. It began with a lengthy explanation of the differences between documentaries and movies. It discussed the ways movies used stereotypes borrowed from novels such as "the bossy missionary, the carefree beachcomber" and "a love affair between a pretty native girl and an American trader who arrives on the island".[81] Students learn that many early movies that were made had Pacific settings that were not actually shot in the Pacific but in countries with similar physical environments. Other movies used the Pacific because of its vibrant colours, blue lagoons, dense green jungles, and open spaces and, endless ocean and surf breaking over reefs. Most movies were not about Pacific Islanders, but about Europeans. Hurley's work is also discussed in this section as he was one of the early Australian film makers who made movies on a number of subjects. Among these were love affairs between European men and Pacific women which at the time was judged as controversial. He also made movies on

[81] Ibid., 119.

the world wars and on various aspects of life in Dutch New Guinea in the 1920s.

A list of these motion films is provided bearing titles such as, *Pearls and Savages* in 1921, *Headhunters of unknown Papua* in 1924, *The jungle woman* in 1926 and *Hounds of the Deep* a film about the Torres Strait islands produced in 1926. The posters advertising two of these early movies are also included as they contain images and language use that suggest a backwardness in technology or infrastructure in Papua New Guinea society in comparison to Europe. One such poster had in the foreground a leaf hut on the beach with a crowd of Papuan natives watching a plane looming up over the waves towards them. Movies are presented as being the most responsible of the art forms discussed for the misrepresentation of the Pacific and its people.

In addressing documentaries, the unit first defines it as a record of actual or real events. Robert Flaherty whose work was examined in the film section was identified as the first person to create one of the first documentary films of the Pacific titled *Moana in 1926.*[82] In the study of film documentaries, reference was made to the website *Moving Images of the Pacific Islands* which is an online database of films and videos about the Pacific.[83] In summary, this unit takes students into the past through the study of images provided through movies and documentaries. They were given the historical background to these two forms of recording the past. Posters of these early movies were provided for further information about the movies. But more importantly they were provided with a set of questions to interrogate these movies and information that will help them view any movie they watch with a more critical eye. Some such questions regarding the posters of these movies are,

1. *List the features of Papuan life and culture shown in the poster for "Lost Tribe"*

[82] Ibid.,135.

[83] Centre for Pacific Islands Studies, "Moving Images of the Pacific Islands: A guide to Films and Videos", University of Hawaii website http://www.hawaii.edu/oceanic/film/ 1986.

2. List the features of a modern Western world shown in the poster for "Lost Tribe"

3. In source 5 (Tabu) would the poster have been more effective using a photograph instead of an artwork? Give your opinion (one sentence).

4. There is text or information all over the "Jungle woman" poster (Source 8). This was common in the 1920s. It also has three images. List the three images.

5. Apart from the word "jungle" in the title, is there anything in the poster (Source 8) to suggest the film is about the Pacific?[84]

Examining the posters and how the two cultures were portrayed using the questions above depicted in the poster, engages students in reflection on how the cultures are portrayed. They will also discover the stereotypical imagery that was used in the past to differentiate between cultures.

The next unit addressed a form of communication that is still used today, but nearing redundancy, due to social media and communication technology, and that is, the postcard. Postcards which were seen as souvenirs from the time they were first created, also contributed to the transmission of early images of the Pacific Islands and its people. This unit specifically focused on postcards sent between the years 1900 and 1930 from Noumea in New Caledonia. These postcards were from the private collection of Max Sheckleton, a historian and postcard collector. There was an explanation of how the purchase and sending of postcards was a commercial activity and the images on them are seen as a source of information for historians. A question was raised about the interpretation of postcards and the opinion or view derived by the interpreter and how it may not have been the intended meaning, for example in 1907, when the card was first sent. Today with the multiplicity of meanings that readers do make of any text or created image, it is difficult to determine the intention of the author who is no longer around to explain his or her intention. For the

[84] Quanchi, *Imaging the Pacific,*126.

purposes of getting historical information, students were given a list of guiding questions based on the images, captions, dates and the message of the sender of the postcard.

The final unit of the textbook, which is a revision unit, brought the different art forms together using a series of images that were presented in their units. The revision was thorough as it took students back to the examples of images for each of the covered genre and provided questions that would make them rethink what they had earlier learnt. Students were reminded of the philosophical questions of truth and reliability and how historians can use these early images to acquire historical information.

Pedagogy

A common complaint about the teaching and learning of history is the reliance on written sources, which meant that students are involved only in copying notes off the board and in reading. This book can also be seen as addressing this complaint by providing students with instructions on interpreting images for the purposes of extracting historical information. In the same way that the other three books were written, this case study outlined each unit's learning objectives with a list of activities intended to achieve the named objectives. The personal pronoun was used to draw the student into the unit notes and activities with the effect of making the reader feel that the book is indeed written for them. At the start of the book, students may find extracting information from images difficult, but the accompanying activities ensure they acquire skills necessary for interpreting images. Careful attention to the provision of analytical approaches to the images that will equip students to be more critical of images of the Pacific they may encounter. These activities were designed beginning with simple then more difficult questions accompanied with guiding hints. An example of this is Activity 1.4 Questions, based on an article about a painting and the painting concerned:

1. *Arthur William was a "draughtsman"- what sort of art did a draughtsman draw?*

2. What was the main difference between Devis and the 'two or three young men"?

3. Bernard Smith claims that Devis painted Abba Thule as having "nobility" – how is this shown?

- *Does he wear a crown?*
- *Is he ordering people about?*
- *Does he carry a special spear or sword?*
- *In your own words write one sentence which explains why Abba Thule shown in the painting is "noble"?*

4. Bernard Smith claims this painting shows "intelligence". Do you agree or disagree? Write one sentence giving your opinion.

5. This is an engraving based on a painting- does it matter? The readers of George Keate's book in 1788 did not think one version was more truthful than the other. What do you think? Write one sentence praising or criticising the engraving.[85]

In all the units, activities often included a question requesting the students to give their opinions and explanations. This is imperative for students as it shows them that in some instances there were no right or wrong answers and that their interpretation and views were valuable. The inclusion of a glossary after every unit in this case study is necessary and provides important assistance to students. This textbook opens up a completely new area of historical study that provides students with new knowledge and skills that will help them become more analytical when faced with similar images.

Assumptions

One of the initial assumptions underlying this sub-strand and textbook is that images are just as important as the written text in the provision of historical information. Increasingly

[85] Max Quanch, *Imaging the Pacific,* 14.

today, images are used to relay messages in every aspect of life. Young people, as mentioned by Pegler-Gordon in "Seeing images in History" are already "immersed in technology and visual ways of learning."[86] History textbooks have also been written with images dispersed throughout the text, However these images have been viewed by teachers and students alike as being illustrative of the textual history that is written and therefore are often not the subject of student based activities. Consequentially this textbook focuses primarily on images as text to be read for historical information. When presented as such, the power of images is more explicit since the activity questions are based on the images provided and not necessarily on written text. Recently more historians have been paying attention to visual images in both their research and teaching.[87] In this textbook, Quanchi refers to the collections of photographs and paintings that historians have been collecting and publishing as sources of historical information.

Another assumption behind the textbook was that was that students consider images as truthful depictions and therefore they need training in how to critically assess images and interpret them for historical information. Tied to this is the notion of reality and being present at the time of the event to create a portrait or painting of it or to capture the event on camera. Since the camera captures everything in its view, it is associated with reality, hence the tendency to accept photographs as accurate and true of images of Pacific peoples and islands.[88] Thus photographic images in particular can be "misleadingly perceived as truthful" because it is quite easy to forget the influence of the photographer who "has made crucial compositional and stylistic decisions."[89] The textbook discusses these staged

[86] Anna Pegler-Gordon, "Seeing images in History" in *Perspectives in History* Vol.44, No. 2, 2006, accessed 27th May 2019 from https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/february-2006/seeing-images-in-history
[87] Ibid., 1.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Lydia Butler "Imaging and Imagining the Pacific: A journey through myth, beauty and reality" Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, 2010. accessed 26/5/2019 from:https://www.canterbury.ac.nz/media/documents/oexp-library/Imaging-and-Imaging-the-Pacific.pdf

photographs which really are the images desired by the photographer. For each of the genre covered in the units, there were reminders of the contextual background that contributed to the creation of these images. Therefore, the question of reality and accuracy are even more pertinent where photography is concerned. This textbook therefore is a critical inclusion because it allows students to learn how to interpret these images.

Of equal significance to accuracy or inaccuracy and reality, is the assumption that there is little awareness of the transmission of subtle messages of power relations in these paintings, photographs and postcards or other forms of images. These images may portray Pacific peoples and their islands but there is also the undeniable presence of more powerful latent forces of western culture. Janine Bruce in an article on Representations of "The Other" in photography, quotes from Terence Wright who claims that:

> *On the one hand, the reality of the photograph is considered largely unproblematic, allowing "transparent" access to subject matter; on the other, the language of the image is regarded as conventional, highly constructed, its understanding determined by Western culture.*[90]

In her article, Bruce refers to this claim regarding photography, as a "double barrel gun that can illustrate an objective reality" and at the same time involves "an underlying ideology that informs the creation and interpretation of photographs".[91] One of the main objectives of the Year 12 textbook is that upon completion, students will be able to discuss with better understanding the role played by art, film and photography in the different perceptions of the Pacific.

Therefore, for this reason it is critical for students to be aware of and skilled in interpreting

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[90] Terence Wright cited in Janine Bruce, "The Double Barrel Gun: representation of the other in Colonial photography" in *Imaging and Imagining the Pacific A journey through myth, beauty and reality,* edited by Emilie Sitzia, Canterbury: University of Canterbury/MacMillan Brown Library 2010, (n.p.). Bruce discusses the work of Terence Wright's claims that colonial photography on the one hand depicts reality of colonial societies while on the other the language that comes through in the image is one that affirms the perceived superiority Europeans had of their race over other ethnicities.

[91] Ibid.

images of their own people and islands because through technology and digital means, the creation of similar images is now being utilised for the purposes of political power, tourism, and other commercial activities that could involve the use of natural resources such as land, forests and ocean.

Findings

Imaging the Pacific: A History of Pacific Arts, Photography and Film is a totally new addition to the Fiji History curriculum and one that works to decolonise the minds of students particularly where images of Pacific peoples and islands are concerned. Although the activities and guiding questions do provide students with tools to be critical and analytical in their responses to the paintings, photographs, pantomime and movies, there is a need to add a technique to analyse the images for the purposes of extracting more information other than what is obvious. This deeper analysis needs to include a closer reading of the images for issues of "symbolism and authorial intention." Questions should tackle what is not included in the images and what these absences might signify.[92] A question that would help in this direction is enquiring about the intention of the photographer or artist in deciding what to include and exclude. The answers to these questions would help students to not only understand the origins of Western perceptions of Pacific peoples and islands but also their perceptions of themselves.

Apart from the use of two images of Fiji – the first a series of scenery images taken from the *Sydney Mail,* 1895 depicting the hurricane in that same year and the second a photograph taken by the Governor's daughter of the welcome of the British Admiral Viscount Jellicoe which shows the presence of European, part European and barely discernible *iTaukei* war veterans – the absence of early images of Indians in Fiji and

[92] Pegler-Gordon, "Seeing images in History".

iTaukei Fijians is strongly evident in this textbook which seems to focus more on images of other Pacific islanders. This is a result of the collections that have been used. The question that arises here is the purpose of having such a textbook that is determined by what the author has access to or what is considered important for students to access and analyse. Having photographs and paintings of early *iTaukei* Fijians and early Fijians of Indian origins would certainly contribute to making the topic more relevant for Fijian students despite its regional nature.

Conclusion

In examining the assumptions that underscored each of the four textbooks, it is evident that they are linked to each other with the objective of assisting students achieve the outcome of the key learning area of the new curriculum, "Society and Economic Development".[93] The outcome of this KLA is intended to provide students with

> *Opportunities to investigate people and events in relation to their culture, resources and environment, which will enable them to gain better understanding of how individuals and groups interact with each other and their environment.*[94]

The assumptions evident in *Cultural interaction and integration* are based on the importance of acquiring knowledge about the different ethnic groups that make up the Fijian population, their contextual origins and how Fijian society is impacted socially, politically, economically and spiritually. *Government and Governance* rests on the key assumption of addressing perceived gaps in the history of political development in Fiji as the main textbook that continues to be used was last edited in 1994. The significance of Fiji functioning in a global economy and having bilateral and multilateral ties with countries

[93] Ministry of Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts, *Year 11-12 History Syllabus* (Suva, Ministry of Education, 2013).
[94] Ibid.,2.

and international organisations is one of the key underlying assumptions of *Diplomacy and Fiji.* The provision of an alternative approach to studying History through early images in engraved portraits, sceneries, paintings, pantomime, photography, film and postcards, highlights the assumption of another essential gap in knowledge, skills and critical thinking. Together these assumptions have guided the collaborative group in their provision of textbooks they believed were suitably prepared for students of Years 11 and 12. To ensure that the textbooks were student friendly and pedagogically fit for purpose, they employed the expertise of an instructional designer from USP's Centre for Flexible learning, who had the relevant experience in preparing materials for these levels. Unfortunately, the same standard of work could not be maintained for all four books for a number reasons, some of which were beyond the control of the core members of the group. These and other critical findings will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion

This thesis used a critical reflection methodology that examined colonial curriculum, the history of education and curriculum development in Fiji, modern or inquiry based historical pedagogy and the developments in Pacific historiography. It examined the process that was followed by a collaborative group comprising USP History academics, Fiji CAS History Senior Officers, FIHA members and USP Foundation History coordinators and facilitators, to decolonise the Fiji History curriculum by producing the textbooks for the Fiji and Pacific topics in the new curriculum. A critical reflection methodology was used to question the extent of decolonisation and the use of current Pacific historiography, detecting and examining the assumptions that underscored the new themes and the pedagogical approaches inherent in the new textbooks. This chapter will review the key findings of the critical reflection and explain the critical areas that can be further strengthened in the future.

It can be asserted that the collaborative group did decolonize the curriculum to an extent by replacing imported content with topics that were localised and relevant to the lives of young people growing up in Fiji. It was clearly their intent to design a curriculum that gave students at least three sub-strands or themes of study on the history of their own country, with the added advantage of having enough time in class to discover and learn through the activities. Paulo Freire in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* considers education to be oppressive when it serves the oppressor by treating the oppressed as objects to be possessed.[1] The History curriculum that was passed down from the colonial administration in Fiji was one that served the oppressor, in that it was a history that was typically about the merits of the British Empire which blinded the oppressed from recognising their oppression. This study revealed that the collaborative group, in its workshops and meetings

[1] Paul Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* translated version by Myra Bergman Ramos (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1972).

between 2009 and 2015, reflected on the "nature of oppression" and decided to produce new textbooks that challenged dominant colonial narratives to empower students and foster independent learning. This response could be considered a "fight for liberation" to use the terminology of Freire.[2] The process of writing the books was a liberating exercise for the authors, many of whom had only known school textbooks to be written by foreigners.[3] In addition to having easy access to histories of foreign countries, teachers and students now have easy access to History books of their own country written by their own people.

One of the key successes of the process was that it allowed for direct teacher input to ensure that adequate teaching time was allocated to each topic and sufficient teaching material was provided to support teachers and students. This has resulted in a new curriculum that now has three Fiji topics designed to be taught over 12 to 14 weeks allowing time for content and skills to be taught and learnt. This is in direct contrast to the old curriculum that was based on the assumption that students were already equipped with some of these essential study skills by the time they reached Years 11 and 12. Consequently, it prescribed students to study two full country topics with a maximum of seven weeks to cover each country as a comparative thematic study. The heavy emphasis on the study of Fiji in this new curriculum is intended to reinforce among students that learning about their own country is critical and of personal and national significance.

Clearly, classroom application was a strong consideration and feature of these textbooks because the pedagogical model of the USP Foundation and Preliminary coursebooks was adhered to very carefully. For the group involved in planning and writing these textbooks, including myself, we saw this as a great opportunity to put an end to writing notes on the

[2] Ibid.
[3] Discussions with Mikaele Vakasilimiratu, CDU History advisor, 2009- 2013, after the completion of the first book in 2012.

blackboard, or photocopying from a variety of sources and instead, creating student friendly textbooks on Fiji History that were accessible. The group succeeded in breaking away from the overused *Fiji in the Pacific* text and instead creating our own Fiji textbooks that provided notes, extracts for reading activities followed by questions, photographs, maps and tables for interpretation for further information. Although these were not new approaches to teaching as they were to be found in other textbooks on foreign topics, they definitely were new ways of presenting information about Fiji topics in Fiji's schools.

Moreover, having those editorial meetings where the group critiqued each other's completed units was an integral part of the process. Everyone was put on the spot and had to defend their work and respond to constructive criticism to improve their completed units. Some units were written by teams, while others were written by individuals. For some of us, watching our former lecturers undergo the criticisms of their fellow academics was secretly comforting as it revealed that no one was perfect. These "red pen" criticisms were easier to handle in a team environment because there was follow up support from each other to help the work progress. Evidently, after getting feedback on each unit, much reflection went back into the work to ensure that improvements were addressed. Having taught from an outdated prescription from the 1980s to the early 2000s, nearly all the teachers in the collaborative group welcomed the idea of having new textbooks that pedagogically sound. The structured units of work carefully mapped out how students would achieve unit objectives that would lead to the achievement of topic outcomes and ultimately the outcomes of key learning area, "Society and Economic Development" as articulated in the FNCF.[4] In short, I found this to be a very practical and valuable experience in working together as a team for the production of teaching materials.

[4] Ministry of Education, Heritage Culture and Arts, *The Fiji Islands National Curriculum Framework*

In reflecting on the strengths of the collaborative group, it is evident that the group contributed a variety of knowledge and expertise for the work that was required. Although the academics had superior content knowledge and some pedagogical expertise, the teachers came with their practical experience of teaching at the grassroots level. At times they would request simpler language and remind academics to break down lengthy sections and explain complex topics. My role in the university then as coordinator of History in Foundation Studies was critical as I had experience teaching in the high school environment as well as experience writing coursebooks for USP. Thus I was able to bridge the divide between the teachers and the academics. Despite these strengths we still needed further expertise and that was provided by the instructional designer who provided us guidance on the selection of online sources to use and suggestions to the units that prevented the overuse of notetaking and ensured a good spread of evidence and sources followed by activities. Foliaki's expertise flowed into making the textbook student friendly and engaging. The composition of the collaborative group was certainly conducive to achieving the planned outcomes.

Since the textbooks were produced locally, they also provide many opportunities for students to study History differently and for teachers to explore other ways of presenting History to a diverse range of students and cultures. With the time saved by not having to write notes on the board or creating handouts, the textbooks allow for the planning ahead of activities that can take the teaching of History out of the classroom and into other spaces. The work of Hanlon in reconceptualising history and its practice in Oceania elaborates on this as he explained how the teaching of history of Oceania ought to change:

> *We will have to make our classrooms more open and hospitable to expressions of history that are exhibited, performed or crafted. We will have to look beyond our classrooms to see the histories in our landscapes, seascape and faces of the people around us… We will*

have to encourage the doing of history in ways that are different, varied, and that do not privilege the written word. We will have to recognize too that our students can also be our teachers.[5]

The activities in the four textbooks particularly those in the end sections of each unit have "Further Activities" that provide students with opportunities for inquiry based learning and for teachers to take the teaching of history beyond the classrooms. In the first textbook, *Cultural Interaction and integration,* the unit on "Origins of Fiji's people" has a research activity into family origins. The activity asks the students to

Conduct an interview with your family elders. Ask them

a. *If your ancestors included migrants;*
b. *Where they came from;*
c. *What did they come for;*
d. *Did any return;*
e. *Was contact maintained with the original home; and*
f. *Have there been any return visits?* [6]

Such an activity is a practical way of engaging with history and in particular, personal history. This activity is certainly about "making history emotional, taking it personally" as suggested by Hanlon.[7] In its current status the textbook does not amplify on the presentation of findings but to be in line with current historiography, the teacher could try weaving in traditional ways of presenting knowledge such as using traditional chants, carving, weaving or *masi* design and motifs. In leaving the choice of genre open to students to choose from their ethnic backgrounds the teacher can be certain of learning from the students and students learning from each other and such is the nature of modern inquiry

[5] David Hanlon, "Beyond 'the English Method of Tattooing: Decentering the Practice of History in Oceania," *The Contemporary Pacific* vol.15, no. 1, 2003, 31.
[6] Ministry of Education, *Cultural interaction and integration,* 1.22.
[7] David Hanlon, "Beyond the English method of tattooing".

based learning.

Hunting for Assumptions

In this quest to critically reflect on the process and outcomes of the project of decolonising the Fiji History curriculum, Brookfield's approach of "hunting for assumptions" was used to understand the norms that underscored the topics and textbooks that were produced by the collaborative group. Being able to identify the assumptions and examine them on the basis on which they originated opened the way for assertions that accurate content may have been omitted or content removed that did not fit in with the prescribed sub-strand. This is one of the major purposes for critical reflection, to improve on professional practice, in this case, the teaching of History. Using Brookfield's proposition of hunting for assumptions, this thesis questions the particular assumptions that may have influenced the ways in which the authors approached each sub-strand during the writing process. These assumptions reflect the context of the time, when content was chosen for its apparent importance or relevance for young people in Fiji.

Since Fiji is multi-ethnic in its population composition, retaining the topic "Cultural Interaction and integration" was inevitable. The assumption on which this topic is based is the belief that it is essential for young people to know of the history of cultural interaction in Fiji. The revised version addresses certain areas not addressed in the FSLC curriculum. In dedicating an entire unit to the origins of the people of Fiji, the unit addresses those ethnic groups that were left out in the previous curriculum. The provision of activities that direct students to account for their own family history further encourages students to share their histories and claim their space in the fabric of Fiji history. It contributes to addressing those gaps that often occur with minority groups from neighbouring Pacific islands, who have had a longer history with Fiji, than Britain and India.

The assumption that many young people graduated from high school unaware of their country's political history is also what spurred the group to include the second sub-strand on "Government and Governance" as a way of addressing this gap. With some of its members having lived experiences of Fiji's key political developments such as Fiji's independence and subsequent elections and coups, the group believed that young people needed to be aware of this history to help them better understand the different factors contributing to government and governance in contemporary Fiji.[8] In focusing on these major political events, the textbook addresses them within the perspectives of tradition and democracy, native administration, constitutional development, voting system, development of political parties and the legal system in Fiji.[9] In addressing these perspectives, such as the voting system, political parties and legal system, the assumption here is also that students who are approaching the voting age will be better prepared to understand and participate in the electoral process.

The third textbook that address Fiji's diplomatic relations with both the regional and international community was identified as another major area for students to be introduced because of the influence of major powers and organisations in the evolution of Fiji's socio-political history. The consensus therefore was that it was important for young people to be aware of their nation's links to the global community particularly when Fiji has many diplomatic ties with other nations and organisations which are highlighted in both local and international news.

The added regional component of the curriculum was presented in *Imaging the Pacific*, which adds a new dimension to the curriculum as this theme concentrates on how images were used to provide information about the Pacific and its people from the 1800s. Paintings,

[8] This was key issue raised at the discussions in the November 2009 meeting.
[9] Ministry of Education, *Government and Governance.*

photographs and movies are familiar concepts to students of today while pantomime and postcards may not be so common or familiar. Nevertheless, the concept of representation is of much significance today and teaching students to be more critical of images of Pacific islanders is necessary. Recalling the work of early artists which resulted in these early images that contributed to the stereotypic images of Pacific peoples and their environment, clearly indicates the importance of having this background knowledge to better discern similar images that continue to be produced.

Lessons Learnt

Through critical reflection, gaps have been identified in a general sense in all four textbooks. These gaps suggest there are ways that the writing group process between 2009 and 2015 could have been improved. Future reviews of the curriculum and textbooks might wish to consider four issues in particular: consistent formatting and presentation of content; incorporating local languages; producing a teacher's guide; and allowing adequate time for writing and revising the textbooks.

From a general perspective, although the books were prepared following the USP coursebook format they have not undergone the USP process of a minor amendment process. This process follows the first delivery of a new course or course that has just been revised. It is in the delivery that inconsistencies, errors and changes for improvements are considered.[10] Since the group had decided to use the USP format of preparing the textbook it was equally important that they follow up with the minor amendments after seeking feedback from the teachers and students. This feedback could be acquired through a survey and such information would contribute to effective revision.

Some of the major inconsistencies include the different layout of the textbook *Diplomacy*

[10] The Centre for Flexible Learning Course Development Process always includes minor amendments after a major revision of a course has been carried out or a new course has been written. After this process, a course book is reprinted unrevised for three to five years before it undergoes another major revision.

and Fiji which is not student friendly. It does not allow spaces for students to write answers to activities in a number of units like the first two textbooks. Students generally prefer a familiar system of navigating through their learning materials online and in print, therefore it is important at this level of schooling to provide uniformity for familiarity and ease of study.

In addition to the inconsistencies in layout and formatting, there were gaps in the content of *Government and Governance*. The third unit on "Constitutional Development" has incomplete sections that did not address the 1997 Amendment Act, the 1997 Constitution and the abrogation of the 1997 Constitution, the People's Charter and the 2013 Constitution. These developments remain to be included as they depict an essential aspect of constitutional development in Fiji. Since the Constitution has changed several times, more information is needed for teachers and students to better explain how and why Fiji's Constitution has been changed. The topic on *Diplomacy and Fiji* also has significant incomplete sections about regional cooperation (in particular the Pacific Community and Pacific Islands Forum), and Fiji's diplomatic relations with China and the USA. In the follow up amendment to the books and the curriculum, these inclusions will need to be made.

Attempts to decolonise the Fiji curriculum could be further encouraged by the incorporation of other non-English languages in the textbooks, such as *iTaukei* dialects or Fiji Hindi. For example, the collaborative group did consider using *iTaukei* idiomatic sayings to enhance or localize the coverage of each unit of work in the first textbook, *Fiji: Cultural Interaction and Integration.* These pithy sayings are placed just beneath the title page of each unit of work. These are carefully selected sayings that amplify the significance of the unit topics and how they are connected to people, their beliefs, values and the environment. This approach taken in decolonising the History curriculum was borrowed from the New

Zealand Social Science Curriculum that uses the vernacular Maori language in the welcome and introductory sections of its online pages.[11] The collaborative group decided that this would be a good practice to use in the designing of the new textbooks as it would give textbooks a distinctive local essence. An inconsistency apparent in this approach is that idiomatic sayings were not included in the other three books. Though using *iTaukei* language would be useful, one must consider that there is more than one *iTaukei* dialect and more than one language in use in Fiji, and so not all students would understand these idioms. Therefore, a future task in the revision of this textbook and the other three textbooks would be to provide English explanations beneath each idiom and perhaps an activity to be included at the end of the study that clarifies students' understanding of its relevance.

A critical aspect of this entire project is the absence of a teacher's guide to accompany the textbooks. Again, by using the USP template for writing these textbooks, it was assumed that the textbook was primarily for the student and that each student would receive their own copy to keep and write in. This was the case for many university students who were located in other Pacific islands without access to face-to-face teaching, and so the book was a substitute for the teacher. However, when the new high school textbooks were printed to be used by teachers, many of the teachers were unfamiliar with them and not aware of how these books were to be used to facilitate learning. I recall being surprised and disappointed to learn in a meeting held in 2015 that some teachers were completing a topic faster than was prescribed. It was also reported that due to printing shortages some students were not given their own textbook copies – instead textbooks were reused each year or teachers wrote content from the textbooks on the blackboard for students to copy into their exercise books.[12] This signals the need for a teacher's guide for each textbook so that lesson

[11] The Ministry of Education,"The New Zealand Curriculum online- Social Sciences", accessed 19/11/2018 from http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/The-New-Zealand-Curriculum/Social-sciences

[12] Discussion with the current History CDU advisor in early 2016 when he had returned from school visits.

planning guidance can be provided. These guides could provide more information on how activities can be used, where group work will be more relevant, and suggest excursions to enable acquiring of historical information from landscapes, seascapes and communities as suggested by Hanlon.[13] This guide can also include lists of websites that teachers can access for relevant videos (on pantomimes for example) and images, relevant historical movies or footage that can be used in the teaching of these topics. The opportunities for bringing History closer to the students are numerous especially with the use of technology. With a teacher's guide, more planning can be done ahead of time to make the teaching of these histories more experiential and meaningful and not just an exercise of making notes, taking notes or simply answering questions.

A critical factor that worked against the collaborative group was time. By the time the team began writing, the second edition of the FNCF was being prepared and the CDU advisor for History was under pressure to deliver a revised curriculum quickly. The group members had to work under significant time pressure and this is evident in the quality of two of the four books. The incompleteness of the second book and third book and the hurried appearance of the third book are evidence of this pressure. Another factor that contributed to the weaknesses highlighted is the fact that many writers were full-time teachers and this included the CDU advisor who had to carry out other responsibilities during this period. Such important work should be given the time and attention necessary to ensure errors are minimised and quality content is produced.

Ultimately, the process to produce Fiji's first "home-grown" History textbooks for high school students was a project of collaboration that was the first of its kind, and so this process of critical reflection was necessary to evaluate its achievements and its flaws. The collaborative group was motivated by the need to address an imported and outdated History

[13] Hanlon, "Beyond the English method of Tattooing".

curriculum that did provide enough resources or time for understanding Fiji's History. The study has revealed the achievements of the group to revise the curriculum and produce learning resources with a heavier emphasis on Fiji content and sources. Electronic copies of the four History textbooks allows information to be shared easily across Fiji's many islands and schools today. With the Fiji National Curriculum now in place, regular revisions will be needed in the future to consider improvements to the materials based on teacher and student feedback. This critical reflection has shown that collaborations between government, teachers and universities are important, and that future efforts to revise the curriculum will need to consider the assumptions and contexts which shape the way that History is presented. For now the four textbooks provide a solid foundation for Fijian high schools to consolidate and expand certain topics of Fiji history for Years 11 and 12 or replace them with topics that might be more pertinent and relevant in the future.

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