

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Asian Development Bank. The Asian Development Bank does not guarantee the accuracy of the data presented.

Opening Doors to More Inclusive Societies: The Case of PICs

VIJAY NAIDU

Vijay Naidu is a professor at the University of South Pacific, Laucola Campus, Suva. This paper is to be delivered at the ***Asia and Pacific Forum on Poverty: Reforming Policies and Institutions for Poverty Reduction***, to be held at the Asian Development Bank, Manila, 5-9 February 2001.

I. Poverty Denial Syndrome

There are still people in the Pacific island countries (PICs), usually the relatively advantaged, who deny the existence of poverty in the islands. They maintain that in the islands "subsistence affluence" and sharing and caring prevail so that everyone has the basic necessities of life. However, as the *Fiji Poverty Report* (1997) has shown there is widespread rural poverty even with the combination of subsistence produce, traditional exchanges, and cash income. Traditional social safety nets have been disintegrating with population mobility and new demands on individuals and households. Large income inequalities have emerged among rural households.

Relative poverty has emerged with growing inequality between households. Living standard norms measured in terms of average household income are not enjoyed by more than 50 percent of the people of Fiji and the Solomon Islands. The *Pacific Human Development Report* (PHDR) of the United Nations Development Program (1994, 20) points out that by 1986, the top 10 percent of wage earners in Fiji received 50 percent of all incomes, while in Honiara, the capital of the Solomon Islands, 70 percent of total income of households accrues to less than two percent of the population. In Fiji the average weekly income in the highest 10 percent group of F\$760 per week was 20 times that of the lowest 10 percent group earning an average of F\$34 a week (UNDP and Fiji Government 1997, 17).

The failure of redistributive mechanisms including an absence of modern social security system in all PICs has resulted in larger numbers of individuals and families being unable to meet the basic necessities of life. Some 25 percent of Fiji's households are in absolute poverty and an almost equal number being vulnerable to weak (UNDP and Fiji Government 1997, 17).

Food poverty measured in terms of affording the least expensive but sufficiently nutritious basket of food for survival is becoming prevalent in the Pacific particularly in urban and peri-urban localities. Poverty of housing as in the presence of overcrowded and substandard housing has also become a feature. The expenses relating to education and health especially with the advent of "user pay" principle are beyond those in low-income categories. When other necessary expenses such as transportation costs and those relating to essential social obligations are taken into account, it is evident that many households in PICs do have considerable difficulties in surviving on a daily basis.

While poverty levels in the Pacific have not reach the squalor and misery of other developing regions, impoverishment is becoming increasingly apparent in beggars, street children, squatter settlements, tenements and in the increase in prostitution and destitution. Beyond these categories there are even larger numbers of islanders whose restriction to access to opportunities deny them fulfillment as human beings.

II. Poverty of Opportunity

Poverty of opportunity has been defined as the “inability of people to lead the kinds of lives they aspire to” (PHDR 1999, 34). Obviously, this has to be put within reasonable limits as aspirations can be well beyond individual capabilities. The PHDR 1999 noted that the notion of poverty of opportunity was first used by the South Asia *Human Development Report 1997* and that it can be usefully applied in the Pacific. The PHDR 1999 further noted that while the South Asia HDR 1997 measured poverty of opportunity with respect to education, health, and employment, it could also include material well-being, access to markets, job security, political and social freedoms, and other indicators that are more difficult to quantify.

It is evident that the concept seeks to capture the failure to fully develop human capital and the accompanying loss of social capital as the direct consequences of grossly unequal life chances of different social categories and classes of people in a society. In Oceania as elsewhere in the developing world, poverty of opportunity has spatial, gender, age, ethnic, status and disability dimensions. Island and archipelagic states have unique characteristics that make them vulnerable to both internal and external forces—anthropometric and environmental. High population growth rates have immediate impact on the small land masses of atolls. They are extremely small players on the world stage and have no control over global markets for the commodities they produce. Environmental disasters such as cyclones, earthquakes, droughts, floods, tsunamis, tidal surges, and rising sea levels can wreak havoc on all forms of life in island territories.

III. Oceania is Diverse

Although regarded as a region, the Pacific is characterized by diversity—geomorphological, environmental, and cultural. Continental and volcanic high islands on one hand and atolls and raised limestone islands on the other have different climatic conditions, degrees of ecological complexity, and widely variant resources. The former are relatively resource-rich compared to the latter. There is for instance, a world of a difference between the raised limestone island of Niue

(258 sq km) with its very limited natural endowments and the giant archipelagic state of Papua New Guinea (461,690 sq km). Niue has around 2000 inhabitants in contrast to Papua New Guinea's more than 5 million (SPC 2000). Niueans are Polynesians sharing a common language and culture. Papua New Guinea on the other hand has well over 700 languages and as many ethnic communities. Niue's physical resources are limited to a few inches of top soil on the "rock", some scenic places, and a pristine marine environment. Papua New Guinea has a rich diversity of land forms and ecologies from tropical mangrove systems to alpine forests, plentiful agricultural land, forests, and mineral resources including oil and natural gas and extensive marine resources. Niue's single major problem is to maintain a stable population so that it has a degree of sustainability. Its villages are deserted and many village greens are silent, thanks to the emigration of a great majority of Niueans to New Zealand.¹ Reduced to a MIRAB economy and society Niue's future is uncertain with the tightening of aid from New Zealand. Papua New Guinea by contrast has to curb its population growth rate of 2.3 percent. It also faces numerous socioeconomic and political problems.

The above comparison between just two countries shows the danger of generalizing about Oceania. Yet generalize we must, if we are to identify regional patterns in socioeconomic conditions and structures and processes including globalization that are impacting on and transforming PICs.

A word about the poverty/paucity of information and data, especially statistical data would be timely at this stage in the paper. Record keeping; research into and computation of systematic information on basic demographic trends; social indicators such as education, health, employment, and housing; economic statistics; and more technical information about public utilities and infrastructure are generally unsatisfactory and the available data grossly inadequate. Meaningful policy formulation, implementation, and monitoring under these circumstances is out of the question.

IV. Patterns in Poverty of Opportunity in the Pacific

Spatially and culturally Pacific-wide, it is evident from the inadequate data that are available that poverty of opportunity is more prevalent and pronounced in the resource-rich Melanesian states than in the resource poor states of Polynesia. Life expectancy in the former averages 61.5 years compared to an average of 69.4 years in the latter; literacy rates, both in terms of adult literacy

1. 8,000 Niue-born people have emigrated (ADB 1995).

(number of years spent in school) and school-age children in schools, indicate considerable variation (see Table 1). Women's literacy rates are also lower in Melanesia. Similar differentials exist in rates of employment in the formal sector. While noncommunicable lifestyle diseases are rising throughout the Pacific causing premature disabilities and deaths among 40-50-year-olds, infectious, diarrheal, and respiratorial diseases continue to afflict Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands. Malaria causes long-term debility and lowers productivity as well as causes deaths in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu.

Between 90 to 100 percent of Polynesians have access to safe water, compared to only 24 percent of Papua New Guineans and 64 percent of Solomon Islanders. Access to sanitation is widespread in Polynesia and limited in Melanesia. Much of Micronesia with the exception of Nauru and Palau also have sanitation problems. Micronesian and Polynesian island states are integrated into the labor markets of Pacific rim countries and have high rates of migration. The limited opportunity within these island economies is enhanced by the access to wealthier rim country economies. Until recently, Melanesian people did not have the inclination or the capacity (skills) to emigrate. Throughout the Pacific, the private sector is small and it is especially small in Melanesia and much of Micronesia.

Looking beyond these broad patterns, a closer examination of the different measures of poverty of opportunity is required. A person's life chances are determined primarily by his/her health, which in turn is influenced by the quality of nutrition, water, and his/her physical and social environment.

Table 1. Human Poverty Index for Pacific Island Countries

Country	Percentage of people not expected to survive to age 40 (P1)	Percentage of adults who are illiterate (P2)	Percentage of people without access to safe water (P3)	Percentage of people without access to health services (P3)	Percentage of children >5yrs who are under-weight (P3)	Combined P3 value	Human Poverty Index
Niue	6.7	3	0	0	2	0.7	4.8
Tonga	8.4	1	5	0	2	2.3	5.9
Cook Is.	6.4	6.8	5	0	10	5	6.1
Tuvalu	9.8	5	15	0	0	5	7.3
Tokelau	8.3	9	6	0	0	2	7.6
Fiji Is.	7.4	7.1	23	0	7.9	10.3	8.5
Samoa	10.3	4.3	10	0	17	9	8.6
Palau	7.3	8.6	14	20	8	14	10.8
Nauru	17.4	5	0	0	0	0	12.1
Kiribati	16.3	7.8	20	0	12.9	11	12.6
Marshall Is.	13.2	25.6	23.5	5	17	15.2	19.5
Federated States of Micronesia	10.5	28.7	56	25	15	32	26.7

Vanuatu	12.2	66.5	13	20	23	18.7	46.6
Solomon Is.	13.7	69.7	36	20	21	25.7	49.1
Papua New Guinea	22.6	71.8	76	5*	29	36.7	52.2

* This is the official figure; but many facilities lack essential drugs and personnel.

Source: *Pacific Human Development Report* (1999, 18).

V. Health

The 1995 Yanuca Island Declaration signed by the health ministers from PICs envisioned "the Healthy Islands" approach that perceived health in a holistic way: "healthy islands should be places where children are nurtured in body and mind; environments invite learning and leisure; people work and age with dignity; and ecological balance is a source of pride" (PHDR 1999, 71). Unfortunately over the last five or six years, the quality of the islands' physical and social environments has experienced deterioration. Rural areas continue to suffer from a lack of solid waste disposal services, inadequate provision of health services, and an absence of public and community health awareness. There is a scarcity of health personnel as they have increasingly moved to urban areas and to overseas destinations. There appears to be inertia in community and preventive health.

A two-tier health service has emerged in a number of PICs: an insufficiently resourced public health sector for the poor, and a private health sector with options for overseas treatment for the rich.

Over the last two decades the rural–urban drift has intensified as islanders in outer-islands and interior areas of large islands recognize their geographical disadvantage with respect to opportunities for education, employment, and better social services. Presently more than 35 percent of the PICs' population is urban, with 8 of the 22 PICs predominantly so. There are extremely high rates of urbanization in some PICs: 8 percent in Marshall Islands, 7 percent in Vanuatu, and 6 percent in Solomon Islands. Rapid urban population growth rates have resulted in congested towns and cities without adequate housing and basic utilities such as water supply and garbage and sewerage disposal. Informal housing or squatter settlements have mushroomed. In the Solomon Islands, in the mid-1990s, 23 percent of the population of Honiara lived in squatter and informal housing. The figure for Betio in Kiribati is higher at 25 percent (UNDP 1996, 23). Overcrowding extended to schools, health facilities, and infrastructure. Generally, urban planning, limited in the best times, is in crisis. The question is whether these squatter settlements are slums of hope or slums of ongoing impoverishment.

The disintegration of rural communities and transition to town dwelling has been accompanied by changing social behavior. There has been an increase in sexual promiscuity as evidenced by premarital teenage pregnancies, increase in sexually transmitted diseases, and

very worryingly, HIV/AIDS cases. Cancers of the cervix and breast are common among Pacific women. Anemia and malnutrition are also prevalent among women and children.

Lifestyle diseases have soared in Oceania. Increased sedentary occupations, the consumption of nontraditional shop-bought foods, reduced physical activities, and the consumption of alcohol and cigarettes have led to a shift in the causes of morbidity and mortality. In the last decade and a half, noncommunicable diseases such as diabetes, heart disease, hypertension, stroke, and cancer have come to dominate the health picture for adults.

VI. Education: Capacity-building or Debilitating

In a recent paper, Hezel (2000) identified three apparently contradictory objectives of education: manpower training, cultural preservation, and academic skills inculcation. He maintained that all three objectives can be included in the curriculum although culture is picked up at home and in the community and reinforced by school. He argued that there was a need for a new educational system that will meet new needs:

We are educating young people who, although they may seem to lack some of the public service employment options that those before them had, are presented with other choices that their forbears may not have had. Young people today may move in any of three very different directions: they may return to the village and live a life on the land, or they may live in town and look for what employment they be able to find, or they can seek their livelihood abroad. Our clientele today may move in any of these directions. They are the heirs of the global economy (Hezel 2000,14).

As we have seen, access to education has been limited in Melanesian countries. Although the number of school-age children has increased significantly in these countries, a good 25 to 50 percent of children between 10 to 14 years continue to be denied access to education in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, respectively. Moreover, with the possible exception of Cook Islands and Niue, statistics on adult literacy based on four years of schooling really do not mean that people are indeed functionally literate or numerate. Likewise, the impressive data on school attendance in the Pacific is misleading as they do not indicate the quality of education and training. Rural schools generally have unsatisfactory facilities and untrained teachers, and are poorly resourced and managed. Certain elite schools in each of the PICs are relatively well-endowed and service the educational needs of children from higher-

income families. Such schools boast of computer labs while rural schools may not have even basic amenities such as reliable safe drinking water, sanitary toilets, or libraries.

Generally speaking, schooling has retained its colonial objective of training a small elite to fill administrative positions in the public service even though Pacific societies now require a much more complex range of human resources. Pacific educational systems are out of synch with the labor market. They remain exam-oriented and exclusive. Schooling costs are prohibitive. School fees, school levies, school uniforms, bus fares, and school lunches are beyond the means of most families. Without state subsidies families with more children are compelled to keep some of them at home. Under such circumstances it is likely that female children are made to leave school. The "push out" rate remains high in most countries. In most PICs, 50-70 percent of children end their schooling between year 6 and year 8. There is a large attrition rate through secondary school and only between 2 to 20 percent go on to post-secondary studies.

In all Pacific countries there is an urgent need to reform education and training so that more quality and relevance can be introduced. There is an urgent need to provide for second and third chances to push-outs and drop-outs. Vocational and technical subjects need to be taught. Nonformal and distant education providing greater access and affordability need to be provided. Qualified and trained teachers are needed in all PICs.

VII. Employment

A number of studies have shown that there is imbalance in the labor markets. The lack of fit between knowledge and skills dissemination and the labor market is reflected in the very large number of people who are unemployed or underemployed. This manifestation of the lack of realization of the full potential of young Pacific islanders is also partly an outcome of stagnant island economies. The "Pacific paradox", highlighted in the mid-1990s by the World Bank, drew attention to the lack of economic growth in most PICs over the previous 10 years despite high per capita aid, access to preferential markets, and a relatively stable macroeconomic climate.

Most islanders emerge from schools without livelihood skills. Many aspire to white-collar public service jobs that have become scarce as a result of public sector reforms. It is estimated that anywhere between 5 to 12 persons will vie for a single job in Melanesia (Ahlburg 1997, 19). In Fiji it is estimated that 17,000 persons enter the labor market annually. Until 19 May 2000 it was estimated that 8,800 of these job seekers were absorbed in the formal sector each year. A

balance of 8,200 people is believed to have been absorbed into the informal sector as self-employed or irregularly/casually employed. The political turmoil since 19 May 2000 has led to a significant decline in the absorption capacity of these sectors. Indeed, 8,000 formal sector employers have lost their jobs, while others have been required to work fewer hours or on reduced pay.

Semisubsistence agriculture remains the main source of livelihood for most Pacific islanders. This is particularly applicable to PICs that have predominantly rural populations, such as Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu. Even for Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga, semisubsistence agriculture remains significant. However, socioeconomic policies generally and even agriculture policies are not designed to bolster subsistence livelihoods and productivity.

The low status given to small-holder farmers, uncertainty of land tenure arrangements, poor infrastructure, unreliable markets, fluctuating prices, limited access to credit, and real threat of natural disasters all make agriculture an unattractive proposition. There is a shortage of rural-agricultural labor in Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga, as remittances and alternative sources of income compete with farm work. Agricultural productivity, which is low in the region, requires increased output per capita as well as acreage. The need to generate revenue for the state lends support to the commercialization of agriculture in PICs. Arable land, never extensive and always unequally distributed, is becoming even more unequally accessible and controlled, to the detriment of groups that are landless, migrants, and women whose labor power is central to agriculture but who do not own land.

In Fiji, among those in poverty are seasonal agricultural workers particularly landless cane cutters. With the nonrenewal of agricultural leases, it is estimated that between 12,000 to 15,000 sugarcane farmers and their families will be deprived of their livelihoods. The impending collapse of the Fiji sugar industry will cause widespread unemployment and resultant social problems.

Customary or traditional forms of resource ownership have secured wider access and returns from land, mineral deposits, forest areas, and marine resources to Pacific islanders than would have been possible under a system of individual ownership. However, these forms of tenure have also impeded increased productivity and inhibited resource utilization by nonindigenous interests. Clashes between resource-owning groups have not been conducive to attracting investment.

In all countries of the Pacific, women are underrepresented in formal employment and remain largely confined to the (unpaid) domestic and subsistence arenas (see Table 2). They are particularly underrepresented in decision-making positions; higher paid jobs are prevalent in a number of occupational ghettos, including secretarial, clerical and service work, nursing, teaching, and more recently, factory work. The full potential of Pacific women is far from being realized despite well-intentioned policy statements on women's development and regional level commitment to a Pacific Platform of Action.

VIII. Social Exclusion

Social transformation in PICs has not empowered the broad masses of the people, instead it has concentrated power and wealth in fewer hands. Rural communities, squatters on marginal lands, rural and poor urban women, out-of-school youth, and the disabled have been marginalized and excluded. While in some situations of conflict as in Fiji and the Solomon Islands some young men may acquire a sense of power and importance, the reality is that those in already vulnerable positions are even further disempowered and disadvantaged.

Holders of state power have tended to use their positions to benefit their own immediate family and networks of friends and kin. Where the private sector has taken root it is not unusual for a nexus to emerge between business people, politicians, and senior bureaucrats. Lucrative contracts and subcontracts, membership in corporate and parastatal boards, and other benefits are shared in the close circle of the economically and politically powerful. Under these conditions vested interests emerge to corrupt the political system and undermine democratic political processes.

With very rare exceptions, women, young persons, and those with disability (physical, vision, hearing impairment) are not found in positions of decision making. In Fiji, ethnic Fijian youth (between 17 and 25 years) constitute almost 80 percent of the prison population.

Table 2. Employment Status of Pacific Island Women

Country	Women as % of overall population ¹	Women as % of economically active population ²	Women as % of people in paid employment ³	Women members of parliament	Women as % of people in administrative and managerial positions	Women as % of people in professional and technical jobs
Cook Is.	48.5	52	42	1	32	47
Fiji Is.	49.2	33	24	8	10	37
Federated States of Micronesia	49.0	35	32	0	15	32
Kiribati	50.5	43	46	0	9	42
Marshall Is.	48.8	27	22		7	32
Nauru	48.8	41	41	0	69	58
Niue	49.5	44	41	1	32	45
Palau	46.5	39	38	0	24	24
Papua New Guinea	47.2	42	18	2	12	30
Samoa	47.6	46	19	2	12	47
Solomon Is.	48.1	49	48	1	27	27

Tonga	50.2	51	21	0	19	44
Tuvalu	51.5	33	38	0	16	46
Vanuatu	48.5	49	46	0	13	35

Sources: *Pacific Human Development Report* (1999, 25); ¹SPC (1997a); ²1986-1991 round of censuses; ³Booth (1993a) and 1986-1991 round of censuses; Fiji from 1996 national census.

IX. Ethnicity and Racism

Colonialism has left behind a number of vexatious ethnic problems. Melanesian PICs have sought to build nationhood in the midst of an emergent competitive market economy. Ethnic identification and the sense of belonging to an ethnic group is accompanied by in-group/out-group consciousness, stereotypes, and prejudices. Unequal integration into the mainstream political and economic structures and processes has privileged certain ethnic categories over others. Interethnic competition over resources and opportunities (land, education, jobs, and political office) has, in some circumstances, spilled over into open conflict in the PICs.

Surprisingly, the problem of intergroup relations extends to monocultural contexts as a consequence of internal migration and urbanization. Under conditions of overcrowding and land scarcity, migrants and traditional landowners often live in close proximity with some discomfit, the latter denying access of new migrants to their land and marine resources.

X. Substance Abuse

Betel nut, kava, alcohol, cigarettes, marijuana, spirit, and moonshine have been part of people's lives. Cocaine and other hard drugs also seem to be entering PICs, as Fiji's recent experience has shown. Consumed excessively, these substances result in additional grave social consequences. Loss of livelihood and productivity, family breakdown, domestic violence and criminal activities, mental illness, and suicides are associated with substance abuse.

XI. Governance

Although the PICs have adopted Westminster-type institutions, systems of government, institutional checks and balances, and other mechanisms for ensuring the accountability of politicians and public servants are weak or do not function satisfactorily. Civil society organizations, the media, and the trade unions movement as well as political culture are still to evolve to a point where they can demand openness in government. In almost all PICs there have been well-publicized cases of corruption, abuse of office, and misuse of public funds, yet those responsible appear to be beyond the reach of the law. Moreover, a "culture of silence" permits traditional power-holders and those aligned to them to use public office for individual gain.

While the "large governments" of the 1980s are being reformed, shedding excess employees, reducing public expenditure, and becoming more transparent, there is a need to increase the effectiveness of constitutional offices such as the auditor general, ombudsman, human rights commission, and attorney general's offices. Sensitivity must be exercised in the reform process as it can lead to conflicts of the kind experienced in the Solomon Islands.

XII. Target Group

It is apparent that various degrees and forms of poverty are now found in the PICs. Absolute poverty is prevalent in Fiji and indicators such as grossly skewed income distribution, prevalence of malnutrition and anemia; substandard housing; growing numbers of street children and out-of-school and unemployed youth; and abandoned, elderly, deserted wives point to absolute poverty being widespread in the region. It is also evident that there is widespread denial of human opportunities to a broad mass of Pacific islanders. Those who are denied access to economic resources, education and health services, employment and credit, and infrastructure and markets, include:

- (i) Rural communities particularly rural children;
- (ii) Rural and working-class women;
- (iii) Out-of-school and unemployed youth—the push-outs and drop-outs;
- (iv) Landless people—outer island and inland migrants to coastal towns and cities; Indo-Fijians in Fiji;
- (v) Low paid wage workers—the working poor who comprise 86 percent of Fiji's absolute poor as they do not enjoy social security;
- (vi) Disabled persons for whom facilities for education, training, and rehabilitation, including opportunities for employment are limited;
- (vii) Destitutes comprising deserted wives, widows, single parents, chronically ill, severely disabled and the aged, whom societies need to have social safety nets for short-term or long-term need;
- (viii) Children of the poor who require special attention with respect to health care and opportunities to education and training if the cycle of poverty is to be broken.

XIII. Strategies

- (i) Provide state support for capital expenditure on infrastructure such as roads, ports, water supply, power, communication.
- (ii) Upgrade education and training institutions by pursuing higher quality and greater relevance in all levels from preschool to postsecondary.
- (iii) Provide second and third chances to out-of-school youth in the form of vocational and technical training.
- (iv) Improve access to economic resources for disadvantaged groups including the landless, women, and youth.
- (v) Make finance available to those seeking to establish small and medium businesses.
- (vi) Provide training support, advice, and marketing support for small businesses.
- (vii) Support informal sector entrepreneurship through outright grants, small financial credit, identification of opportunities, training, and marketing.
- (viii) Recognize that certain categories of extremely vulnerable persons would require societal care.

XIV. Conclusion

The PHDR (1999) states that "the poverty of opportunity that exists in the Pacific is not an inevitable aspect of our lives. All forms of poverty can fade with the determined application of political will and community action" (1999, 93). While periodic natural disasters and pestilence have caused widespread suffering among islanders from time to time, the maintenance of structures and mechanisms as well as cultures of exclusion that deny access to human opportunities to a vast majority of island people, particularly children, young people, and women, have caused and are causing long-term harm to individuals, families, communities, and society as a whole. Many have voted with their feet, shifting from rural communities to urban areas, while others have left island shores altogether for metropolitan rim countries in search of better opportunities for themselves and their children.

Pacific island societies pride themselves in being caring societies and indeed there is a strong traditional ethic of sharing and caring. However, contemporary realities have served to undermine or abuse the system of reciprocity and redistribution. A reversal to the ethics of a sharing

and caring community together with joint action and partnership of government, civil society, and business can arrest and roll back the prevailing reality of poverty of opportunity in PICs.

References

- ADB, 1995 *Human Resource Development: South Pacific Island Countries*, Manila
- Ahlburg, D. 1995 *Income distribution and poverty in Fiji*. ESHDP, UNDP, Suva, mimeo
- Barr, D. 1991. *Poverty in Fiji*. Fiji Forum for Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation, Suva
- Barr, K. 1993 'Poverty and affirmative action,' in *Report of Consultation on the National Agenda*, USP, 17-18 December 1993.
- Booth, H. 1994. *Women in Fiji: A Statistical Gender Profile of Men, Women and Children*. Department of Women and Culture, Suva.
- Bryant, J. 199 'Poverty in Fiji: who are the urban poor?' *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 1: 2, pp. 9-102.
- Cole, R. 1993. *Pacific 2010: Opportunities for Non-Formal Education in Melanesia*. National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.
- 1993 *Challenging the Future*. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
- Fiji Association of Women Graduates, 1991. *A study of families in two low-cost housing development schemes in Suva*. Fiji Association of Women graduates, Suva
- Fiji Food and Nutrition Committee, 1994. *National Nutrition Survey*, Government Printer, Suva.
- Forsyth, D. 1996 "Human Resource Development and the Labour Market" - draft paper, Mimeo Forum Secretariat, 1996. Labor market and human resource development issues in the South Pacific Forum Region. Working Paper 96/1, Economic Development Division, Forum Secretariat, Suva.
- Government of Fiji Islands, Ministry of Women and Culture, 1998. *The Women's Plan of*

-
- Action 1999-2004* Government Printer, Suva.
- Hezel, F.X. 2001 "What should our schools be doing", ESCAP, Vila
- Knapman, B. and *Reforms in the Pacific*, Asian Development Bank, Manila.
- Saldanha, C., 1999
- Lavett, A., Anne, A. 1999 (May) *Review of Social Welfare in Fiji*, Suva and Wellington.
- Moreira, C. 1999. 'Eradication of Poverty in the World: an Assessment on the threshold of the year 2000' in E. Bissio, et al., *Social Watch*, pp 43-53. Institute Del Tecer Mundo, Montevideo.
- Naidu, V. 2000 "Democracy, Civil Society in the State", paper presented at Social Transformation Asia Pacific Conference, Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies, CAPSTRANS, University of Wollongong, December 4-6, 2000.
- Naidu, V., Barr, K., 1999 (July) *Draft: Fiji's Poverty Alleviation and Eradication Strategy Framework*, UNDP (aid Ministry of National Planning), Suva
- Lee, R., Seniloli, K.
- Paterson, Jane H., 1994 Nutritional problems among Pacific Island children, *Pacific Health Dialog*, 1(2): 36-41.
- Rokosawa, M. 1996. Profile of families on the Poverty Alleviation Fund. Department of Social Welfare, Suva. Mimeo.
- Save the Children Fund Fiji, 1999. *Keeping Children in School: Fiji School Enrolments and Save the Children Fund's Child Sponsorship Scheme*. SCFF, Suva.
- Siwatibau, Savenaca, 1991. Some aspects of development in the South Pacific an insider's view. In Bauer, P.; Siwatibau, S.; and Kasper, W., 1991. *Aid and Development in the South Pacific*. St Leonards and Auckland: Centre for Independent Studies.
- South Pacific Commission, 1994. *Rethinking Sustainable Development for Pacific Women Towards the Year 2000*. Noumea: SPC.
- SPC 2000 (June) *Oceania Population 2000*, Noumea.
- ul Haq, M. 1998. *Human Development in South Asia: The Education Challenge*. Oxford University Press, Karachi.
-

UNDP 1999 (June) *Pacific Human Development Report 1999: Creating Opportunities*,
UNDP, Suva.

UNDP and Fiji Government, 1998. *Review of the Family Assistance Scheme for the
Government of Fiji and UNDP*, Suva.

UNDP and Fiji Government, 1997. *Fiji Poverty Report*, UNDP, Suva.

Varamu, J. *Non-formal education in Fiji* (Unpublished).

Walsh, A.C. 1996. *Informal Dwellings in Fiji*, a report for the UNDP Fiji Poverty Study, mimeo,
UNDP, Suva.

World Bank, 1995. *Pacific Island Economies: Building a Resilient Economic Base for the Twenty-
first Century*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.

World Bank, 1996. *Poverty Reductions and the World Bank: Progress and Challenges in the
1990s*. World Bank, Washington.

