

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY



---

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

**Jack Sugden**

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

## **DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY**

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 Information derived from the published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given in the bibliography in accordance with the standard referencing practices.

Signed

Production Note:  
Signature removed prior to publication.

---

Jack Thomas Sugden

This research was generously supported by the UTS Presidents Scholarship and the UTS International Research Scholarship.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would like to begin by thanking my supervisors Prof. Nico Schulenkorf and Assoc. Prof. Daryl Adair for their tutelage, friendship and for seeing some potential in a Belfast pub. To Assoc. Prof. Deborah Edwards for lighting the way through stormy seas and Dr. Stephen Frawley for steadyng the ship, I am also most grateful.

- I thank UTS itself and the Business School for not only their financial assistance but also for providing an excellent and supportive environment in which to work and grow.
- I offer thanks to the rest of the staff and students at the Business school, especially my fellow candidates, for their help, support and their inappropriate humour and friendship.
- Many thanks also to Dr. Mohit Prasad and Dr. Yoko Kanemasu for their invaluable help and advice on Fiji and all those at the University of the South Pacific for enabling this research.
- Thank you also to the wonderful men and women who helped build UTS F.C. you are a group and a story I will never forget. Up the uni!
- To my wonderful girlfriend and partner in crime Aisling, widowed by this process, I also thank you for keeping me smiling and moving when it mattered most.

I would like to thank my father John for his inspiration and for acting as a soundboard for ideas. Next I offer my deepest gratitude to my brilliant mother Christine who is surely the most wonderful dragon Wales has ever produced. Last but not least, a heartfelt thank you to Moji, Val, Mona, David, and little Theo Finau for putting up with me and to all the wonderful people of Fiji, your kindness, wisdom and spirit made this work possible and taught me so much. I hope these pages do you justice.

*Vinaka vakaleuv!*

## PREFACE

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

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

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

## ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY .....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	iii
PREFACE .....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES .....	x
ACRONYMS .....	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	1
1.1 The problem .....	1
1.2 The context .....	3
1.3 The research focus .....	4
1.4 Theoretical and Methodological Underpinnings .....	6
1.5 Delimitations .....	7
1.6 Thesis Outline .....	8
1.7 Summary .....	8
Chapter 2: Literature Review .....	9
2.1 Introduction .....	9
2.2 Conceptual Framework .....	9
2.3 Theories on Intergroup Relations and Identity .....	10
2.3.1 Intergroup Conflict .....	12
2.3.2 Social Identity Theory .....	14
2.3.3 Identity Complexity .....	16
2.3.4 Stereotypes .....	17
2.3.5 Ethno-Racial Formation .....	20
2.3.6 Ethnocentrism .....	21
2.4 The Intergroup Relations Continuum .....	22
2.5 Improving intergroup relations .....	25
2.5.1 The Contact Hypothesis .....	26
2.5.2 Group Categorisation and Identity .....	27
2.6 Sport and the Nation .....	35
2.6.1 Sport and Identity Maintenance .....	38
2.6.2 Sport and Hegemony .....	39
2.6.3 Sport Policy .....	40
2.6.4 National Sport Organisations .....	43
2.7 Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) .....	46
2.7.1 Sport for Development .....	47
2.7.2 Sport for Peace .....	49
2.8 Sport and Integration (SAI) .....	52
2.9 Summary .....	55
Chapter 3: Context .....	56

3.1 Introduction.....	56
3.2 The context of Fiji.....	56
3.3 From Sugar to Separatism.....	57
3.3.1 Coup Culture .....	60
3.3.2 ‘Democratic’ Fiji and Bainimarama .....	62
3.4 Contemporary “Fijian” identity .....	63
3.4.1 Ethnic Identities .....	64
3.4.2 Cross community relations.....	65
3.5 Rugby and Indigenous Fiji.....	67
3.5.1 Rugby, Christianity and Power .....	68
3.5.2 “Fijian” Rugby Sevens.....	70
3.6 Soccer and Indian Fiji .....	71
3.7 Soccer and the iTaukei.....	74
3.9 Sport policy in Fiji .....	74
3.10 Sport Organisations.....	76
3.11 Summary .....	76
Chapter 4: Methodology .....	78
4.1 Introduction.....	78
4.2 Research paradigm.....	79
4.3 The Instrumental Case Study .....	81
4.4 Methodological Framework .....	82
4.5 The Macro, Micro and Meso levels of analysis .....	84
4.6 Methods of Enquiry .....	85
4.6.1 A Need for Multi-method .....	85
4.6.2 Ethnography .....	86
4.6.3 Policy analysis .....	90
4.6.4 Reflexive Field Notes.....	90
4.6.5 Talanoa Method .....	91
4.7 Research Strategies .....	93
4.7.1 Building Access and Creating Opportunities.....	93
4.7.2 Making collaborative connections .....	94
4.7.3 Maximising Time .....	95
4.7.4 Sampling .....	96
4.8 Data Analysis .....	98
4.9 Ethical considerations .....	100
4.10 Limitations .....	101
4.11 Summary .....	103
Chapter 5: Findings.....	104
5.1 Introduction.....	104

5.2 Indigenous and Indo-Fijian identities: rugby and soccer .....	104
5.2.1 Fijian Rugby: the national landscape .....	104
5.2.2 Rugby: Indigenous Fijian Dimensions.....	108
5.2.3 Rugby: Indo-Fijian Dimensions.....	113
5.2.4 Rugby and Sport Policy .....	116
5.2.5 Fijian Soccer: the national landscape .....	117
5.2.6 Soccer: Indo-Fijian aspects .....	118
5.2.7 Soccer: Indigenous Fijian aspects .....	125
5.2.8 Soccer and Sport Policy .....	130
5.3 Fijian intergroup relations: rugby and soccer.....	131
5.3.1 The Ethno-Racial Landscape .....	133
5.3.2 Cultural Mindset and Beliefs .....	138
5.3.3 Rugby: separatism.....	143
5.3.4 Soccer: separatism .....	145
5.3.5 Rugby: towards integration.....	147
5.3.6 Soccer: towards integration.....	150
5.4 Dialogue: sport and (dis)integration in Fiji.....	154
5.4.1 Government Policies: official sport policy .....	155
5.4.2 Sport Policies: Outreach.....	156
5.4.3 Sport Policies: National Sports Day.....	158
5.4.4 Community Voices: status quo .....	160
5.4.5 Community Voices: change and challenges .....	164
5.5.6 Outlook .....	169
5.5 Summary .....	170
Chapter 6: Discussion .....	171
6.1 Introduction.....	171
6.2 Identities in Coexistence .....	172
6.2.1 Hegemony in Fijian Sport.....	172
6.2.2 Separate Identities .....	175
6.3 Intergroup Relations.....	177
6.3.1 Imagined Distance .....	177
6.3.2 Categorisation through Sport .....	178
6.4 Opportunities: Change across the Macro, Meso and Micro.....	180
6.4.1 Sport policy .....	180
6.4.2 Sports Organisations .....	182
6.4.3 School Sport .....	184
6.5 Summary .....	187
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....	189
7.1 Introduction.....	189

7.3 Sport and Integration: Tool, Method and Theory .....	189
7.3.1 Tool: The IRC .....	190
7.3.2 Method: adapted ethnography.....	191
7.3.3 Theory: SAI .....	193
7.4 A research agenda: SAI, Fiji and beyond .....	195
7.4.1 Indo-Fijian Women in “Fijian” Sport .....	195
7.4.4 Broader Research into SAI .....	195
8.1 Final Comment.....	197
Appendix 1: Breakdown of interview participants .....	198
Appendix 2: Interview Guide.....	201
REFERENCES .....	202

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework .....	10
Figure 2: Intergroup Relations Continuum .....	23
Figure 3: The Fiji Islands .....	57
Figure 4: A road saftey billboard, Prime Minister Bainimarama watches on.....	62
Figure 5: One of the many banners depicting the flag debate.....	66
Figure 6: Local rugby game on Taveuni, ‘the garden island’ .....	67
Figure 7: Football Association Club Tournament (FACT) in Nadi.....	72
Figure 8: Methodological Framework .....	83
Figure 9: Kava vendor in Nadi that enjoys consistent trade .....	92
Figure 10: Immersed in the ‘Suva Team’ (middle bottom) after my last training session.....	94
Figure 11: Sign on a local postbox depicting the local attitude towards time .....	95
Figure 12: This group of women waited six hours in the rain for a glimpse of their sevens heroes...	106
Figure 13: The Suva Team gets serious before a big game .....	109
Figure 14: The Suva Team’s warm up ritual .....	110
Figure 15: Fans at the football association club tournament (FACT) overwhelmingly Indo-Fijian...	120
Figure 16: Soccer ball/kitchen in the soccer-mad town of Ba .....	123
Figure 17: Training with Lambassa men’s 1 <sup>st</sup> team .....	129
Figure 18: The IRC revisited .....	132
Figure 19: Woman and her daughter after our conversation that lasted hours - in Bouma village.....	137
Figure 20: Ethnically mixed Lambassa F.C. huddle before training .....	152
Figure 21: Bouma village school .....	167
Figure 22: The Intergroup Relations Continuum Revisited.....	175
Figure 23: An optimistic local artist paints the road ahead for Fiji .....	187
Figure 24: The IRC .....	190
Figure 25: Methodological Framework .....	192

## **ACRONYMS**

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