

Seeking the Good Life in Fiji: Managing Educational Transitions

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ABSTRACT This article describes Kai Viti High School (KVHS), a rural school on Kadavu Island, Fiji. Ecological levels of analysis are used as the instruments to describe both the school and the context in which it functions. Recent political and cultural disagreements between indigenous- and Indo-Fijians has been partly attributed to their contrasting beliefs in business and education. Indigenous Fijians are less likely to own a business or attain the educational levels as compared with those of Indo-Fijians. A new discourse has arisen admonishing indigenous Fijians to re-evaluate those cultural beliefs and practices that are impeding their children from receiving an education. Students in rural areas are less likely to enter tertiary education due to poverty and a reluctance to leave their family and home village. Of those who do enter this arena, only approximately 25 percent successfully complete their studies, and some of this attrition has been ascribed to culture shock resulting from the jump from a rural to urban environment. It is suggested that a transition program to prepare students for this new environment would be beneficial in helping students to psychologically adjust prior to going off to further education, and therefore lead to greater success.

INTRODUCTION

This article describes Kai Viti High School (KVHS) (name changed to protect privacy), a rural school, on the island of Kadavu, Fiji. I begin with an outline of ecological theory and then an investigation and description of the educational, cultural and political macro-systems in which the school is embedded. This is necessary as Albee (1980) states community prevention strategies can only be effective when dysfunctional political and social circumstances are modified to limit their impact on people. Political and social struggles within Fiji are reshaping this nation, and KVHS is not only having to adapt to these changes but is also attempting to adjust to rapid change within the education sector, which is now emphasizing education as the key to bringing equality between Indo- and indigenous Fijians. The advancement of education as a key to development is proving problematic to schools in rural areas. High levels of poverty within these communities and poorly resourced schools are impacting on the ability of educational facilities to reach the goals stipulated by the Ministry of Education. KVHS faculty have found a primary obstacle for their students is the transition they must make from a rural to urban environment in order to continue their education, and attribute this to the 75 percent drop-out rate. Transition programs need to be incorporated into the school curriculum to prepare students psychologically to progress through to tertiary

education if this development strategy is to be successful.

COMMUNITY AND THE ECOLOGICAL METHOD

Heller (1984) posits that psychological illness is augmented through multiple, complex, concomitant factors. Intervention and prevention research must therefore be focused at numerous levels to determine the variegated agents that engender such illness (Heller, 1984). Albee (1980) states that prevention cannot occur unless we first recognize those things which we are trying to obviate, and then determine causation. Systems theory (Jason and Glenwick, 1984) suggests practitioners attend to understanding those things in settings which influence maladaptive behavior, moderate harmful factors and then positive transformation will result by cultivating efficacious structural elements. This involves analysis at three levels in communities, the natural environment, built environment and aggregate inhabitant characteristics (Jason and Glenwick, 1984). Social Systems Theory combines human and community development into the "one and the many" paradigm (Newbrough, 1992). This ideology has three components of research and intervention, equality, which encompasses resources; fraternity, referring to social development; and liberty, which is individual development. The

ecological perspective investigates behavior by examining the context that actors are embedded in and its impact (Dalton et al., 2001; Kelly, 1990), or the "person-environment transaction" (Trickett et al., 1993; Shinn and Toohey, 2003). Social relationships are studied at five ecological levels of analysis; individual, micro-system, organizational, community and macro-system (Dalton et al., 2001) and is guided by contextualist epistemological theory (Trickett et al., 1993). Human behavior can only be understood when political, cultural and sociometric history and relationships are understood, and will then determine interventions (Trickett et al., 1993; Moos, 1996). Kelly defines four ecological principles of investigation within each of the five levels (Dalton et al., 2001). The first is interdependence, or covarying sectors, that are affected by each other. Secondly, how resources are cycled within the system will identify affiliations and priorities. Adaptation, or the person-environment fit, is the third principle, and identifies skills and values. Lastly, succession, the history and change within the ecology will assist in furthering the understanding of the first three principles (Dalton et al., 2001). The paradigmatic shift from psychotherapeutic models of intervention to the multifaceted ecological archetype, integrates all levels of human diversity to a point where research and action are more germane to prevention strategies (Heller, 1984; Albee, 1980; Dalton et al., 2001). In order to apply these theories and strategies it is necessary to first, briefly describe, the wider historical and cultural contexts in which KVHS is placed and is both directly and indirectly influenced by (Shinn and Toohey, 2003).

HISTORY, CULTURE AND TRADITIONS

Fiji has a multiracial population, with two prominent racial groups, indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians (Bainivalu, 2001). Total population is 839,000, with indigenous Fijians comprising 51 percent and Indo-Fijians 44 percent (World Almanac, 2004). The Governmental structure is a Republic, and Fiji became independent from British rule in 1970 (World Almanac, 2004). Fiji now operates a democratically run government, but it has been said that this system is incongruous to Fijian culture due to its traditional chiefship hierarchy (Hereniko, 2003; Brison, 2003).

Political and racial struggles have been a prominent feature of Fijian life since the first *coups d'état* in 1987 and the third in 2000 (Gani, 1998; Williksen-Baker, 2002; Hereniko, 2003). Rivalry between indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians in both education and business, were attributed as major factors in the occurrence of these *coups* (Williksen-Baker, 2002; White, 2001). Current socioeconomic and living conditions of Fijians has an estimated 60 percent of households living below the poverty line [urban F\$120 per week and rural F\$90 per week] (Narain, 2002). Additionally, half of the eligible workforce is either unemployed or underemployed (Narain, 2002; Gani, 1998), and an estimated 23 percent of the population does not have access to safe water supplies (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Governmental expenditure for both education and health was reduced following the 1987 *coup* (Gani, 1998). A conservative estimate of 30 percent of children do not complete primary school due to financial constraints, and the primary factor for high school attrition is lack of finances (Narain, 2002). Rural to urban migration has increased, predominantly by the indigenous Fijian population (Bainivalu, 2001).

Indigenous Fijians, through their system of communal landholding, own in excess of 80 percent of Fiji's land, with the majority leased for economic endeavors (Katz, 1993). Indo-Fijians are primarily the lease holders, and their financial success has caused conflict between the two groups (Norton, 2000). Nearly all indigenous Fijians identify as Christians (*lotu*), the majority aligning themselves with the Methodist church (Katz, 1993; Toren, 1994; Tomlinson, 2002). Christianity plays an important role in the lives of indigenous Fijians, it permeates all levels of their culture, and is an extension of their communal lifestyle. Donations to churches often take priority over paying for school expenses (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Indo-Fijians identify as either Hindu (80 percent) or Muslim (15 percent) (Norton, 2000). The spiritual beliefs and practices of Indo-Fijians are also a central component of daily life and cultural practices, however, Christianity is characterized as the religion of the 'true' Fijian (Norton, 2000). Indo-Fijians are encouraged by political and religious leaders to nurture and reaffirm their faith, in an environment that appears to try and render it invisible (Norton, 2000). As can be seen, Indo-

Fijians and indigenous Fijians conflict on the levels of status and religion (Williksen-Baker, 2002; Hereniko, 2003).

Vanua, means land, but also refers to the relationship between land and people (Katz, 1993; Tomlinson, 2002; Williksen-Baker, 2002). Loss of land for indigenous Fijians is akin to losing both identity and culture (Hereniko, 2003). The basic living units of rural Fiji is the village, where agriculture and fishing are the predominant means of food supply, and cash crops supply finances to pay for school fees, clothing, kerosene and other necessities of life (Katz, 1993; Ulack, 1993). Rural life is shaped by kinship ties and the principle of reciprocity, or sharing and caring (Katz, 1993; Williksen-Baker, 2002; White, 2001). It prioritizes mutual respect and preserving tradition rather than financial economies (Brison, 2003). Identity is defined by the local context, for example, village affiliation and kinship (Brison, 2003). Food is distributed among all members of the village, whether a member has been a part of the provision or not (Katz, 1993; Williksen-Baker, 2002). Customary village life is hierarchically organized and based on a system of patriarchy. Respect is preferred to those who are of chiefly lineage and have seniority (Katz, 1993).

The drinking of *yaqona* (kava) is integral to *vanua*. Seating around the *tanoa* (kava bowl) reflects the hierarchical structure, and the ceremony itself is an outworking of customs and traditions (Lebot et al., 1992; Tomlinson, 2002; Williksen-Baker, 2002; Derrick, 2001). To drink *yaqona* by oneself is akin to witchcraft as it is explicitly a place of community and reciprocity (Tomlinson, 2002). *Yaqona* ceremonies can operate for days at a time, this time consuming factor and its economic impact is coming under scrutiny and criticism from various sectors in Fiji, with a challenge being issued to Fijians to reevaluate the efficacy of cultural practices in the twenty-first century (Williksen-Baker, 2002; Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). There are also criticisms that there is an increase in the misuse of *yaqona*, through breaching traditional customs in both preparation and consumption (Cawte, 1986). Opponents to the strength of the kinship system are also raising concerns (Williksen-Baker, 2002; Brison, 2003; White, 2001). The ex Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, stated "[Fijians should]...cut down on traditional obligations in order to let their children go to

school" (Williksen-Baker, 2002).

Capitalist economies are impacting the priorities of indigenous Fijians, with some choosing to relocate from rural villages to avoid financial responsibilities to kin (Williksen-Baker, 2002; Brison, 2003). An individualistic mindset is infiltrating and impacting upon the traditional communal sociology (Brison, 2003). Proponents of the new way are calling for a radical change in the education system (Williksen-Baker, 2002). They feel a need to teach the new generation the value of money, business and success to bring equality between Indo- and indigenous Fijians, while still holding to their traditional beliefs (Williksen-Baker, 2002).

Paradoxical ideologies (western influences versus traditional systems) are competing for Fijians' allegiance. The contradictory nature of these value systems are creating stress at the individual level, resulting in a conflict of self (Brison, 2003). Racial tensions, destabilizing of tradition, urbanization, globalization and a national power hierarchy inconsistent with culture are generating anxiety for indigenous Fijians (Brison, 2003; Norton, 2000). Clearly this is a nation in transition.

EDUCATION SYSTEM

Education is compulsory from the ages of 6 to 15 years (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). The education budget is 17 percent of governmental expenditure (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation Institute for Statistics, a), with 43.9 percent of this apportioned to secondary education (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation Institute for Statistics, b).

The Ministry of Education (MoE) governs education in Fiji on a cost sharing basis, in essence, it is a partnership between the Ministry and community (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Its roles include administration, registration and auditing of schools, subsidizing tuition, curriculum development, exam provision, training, licensing and placement of teachers, and in some instances, provision of grants for buildings (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000; Johnson, 1996). The majority of schools are owned and managed by religious organizations (White, 2001; Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Of the 154 High Schools in Fiji, only 12 are superintended by the state (Fiji Ministry of

Education, 2000). Tuition fee assistance for Government recognized schools is provided for Forms 3-4; Forms 5-7 receive no financial assistance (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Teachers receive 80 percent of their salaries and this absorbs 85 percent of the secondary budget (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Education providers view the budget as grossly inadequate and an attempt to cover the shortfall is made at the individual school level by levying school fees (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000).

Management of schools is via a management committee, headed by a voluntary Manager and committee members from the local community. Their mandate is to ensure the efficient functioning and development of financial and physical resources. The appointing of teachers by the MoE, is often a point of conflict between management and Ministry although the Principal is often chosen in a consultative process (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000).

Fiji is facing the dilemma of rapid urbanization, depleting rural areas of both human and financial resources. There is also no zoning of education in Fiji, and it is not uncommon for rural parents to send their children to urban schools (Johnson, 1996). This is creating an imbalance in education provision, with the rural schools having limited capacity to fund educational faculties and resources (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000; Asia-Pacific, 2000). Poverty in these areas is affecting school performance, and early school leavers are primarily from poor families (White, 2001; Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Fewer rural children attend secondary schools than their urban contemporaries and 2 percent do not attend at all (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Boarding schools have poor levels of nutrition with 90 percent of schools failing to provide appropriate levels of nutrition (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). In rural areas, teachers are provided with accommodation and utilities, however the quality of these accommodations is often so poor that teachers are reluctant to transfer to these areas (White, 2001; Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). School buildings and student dormitories are typically substandard, unhygienic and unsafe (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000).

The school curriculum places students under pressure, due to its focus on individual achievement, use of western models of education, and by providing lessons in English, their second

language (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Cultural confusion and anxiety can result as students try to blend two worldviews into their lives (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000; Johnson, 1996). At present, even if students are successful in attaining high school qualifications, less than 50 percent will be successful in finding paid employment (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000).

DESCRIPTION OF KVHS

KVHS is one of three High Schools situated on Kadavu Island, Fiji. Kadavu Island is recognized for retaining its chiefly system, which provides for strong village self-determination and retention of traditional values (Tomlinson, 2002). Established in 1865 by Methodist missionaries, it is one of the oldest schools in the Fiji islands (Thornley, 2002). It is located on the northern coast of Kadavu Island and is bounded by three villages and a government administered primary school. It is a private co-educational, day and boarding school, with a current roll of 208 students. KVHS has classes from Form 3 to Form 6 (ages 13 to 16). To advance to Form 7 students are required to relocate to *Viti Levu*. In addition to this, and in accord with the MoE report (2000) they opened a pre-school in 2002 which currently has 10 students and the school now also provides vocational studies to students who fail in the main stream curriculum. They currently have 15 students. Vocational studies are a relatively new service in Fiji, designed in partnership with the Fiji Institute of Technology (FIT). Students are taught subjects that will assist in gaining employment and for those who are unsuccessful in completing the high school curriculum. Subjects available at KVHS are construction, sewing, cooking, agriculture and tourism. Students are able to complete their first two years of study at KVHS, and if successful, can then progress to their third and final year at FIT on *Viti Levu*.

The students are housed in dormitories, sleeping on average 20 students. Female and male students are on opposite sides of the school compound, with teaching staff accommodation separating them. Dormitory conditions are poor, with problems such as holes in the roof, missing window boards, crumbling mortar, rusted guttering, holes in walls, missing doors, and lack of light. The condition of teachers housing is also substandard and are at times overcrowded

due to a shortage of staff accommodation.

There is currently no permanent electricity supply, however a generator provides two to three hours of power for the school residents in the evening. Water is supplied via a river that passes near the school. This water supply is polluted (Trobanakadavu, 2001) and is a major cause of illness to the school community.

School resources, such as textbooks, chalk, paper and so on, are inadequate and sometimes non-existent. School furniture does not exist in 50 percent of the classrooms, obligating students to sit on the concrete floors

As KVHS is a boarding school, meal provision is required. Students are fed three meals a day, consisting mainly of staple root vegetables, *cassava*, *dalo*, and yam. The school has an agricultural farm one hours walk up a hill from the compound. All students work on the farm Wednesday afternoons and Saturday mornings. This schedule changes at planting and harvesting times when more labor is needed. Women from both KVHS and surrounding villages act as volunteers to prepare the students meals.

Monday to Saturday students are up at 4.45am, completing duties such as cutting grass, food preparation, weeding and cleaning. Classes begin at 7am and finish at 3pm. Between 3 – 6pm, students wash their clothes, help prepare meals and study. Dinner is at 6pm and students are then required back in the classrooms at 7.30pm where they continue to study until 9pm. All students are required to be in bed by 9.30pm when the generator is switched off. Sunday is a day set aside for rest, for both students and teachers. There is a church at the school, and the national church body supplies a *Talatala* (Minister) and a Deaconess to act as spiritual leaders to the community. Students attend church up to three times on a Sunday.

Boarding students are allowed to return home during the two term breaks, and during Easter weekend.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

KVHS has a total population of 250 people, all of whom are indigenous Fijians thus, it is a homogeneous community. Currently there are 156 boarders, who originate both from Kadavu and Viti Levu. The majority of students originate from Kadavu and therefore are immersed in

traditional Fijian culture. There are 22 teachers, 14 male and 8 female. Additionally, there are 9 laborers. The gender mix is approximately a 50 percent ratio. Excluding the dormitories, there are 12 households.

The average length of tenure for the teaching faculty is 3-4 years. This is in accordance with the MoE report (2000), citing reasons for leaving as poverty, traditional culture constraints, isolation and overwork.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

The annual cost of running the school is F\$70,000, excluding salaries, and is funded through levying school fees. As previously stated rural areas have high levels of unemployment and minimal household income due to their subsistence living. This highlights the problems that educational facilities in rural areas face, an extremely difficult situation in a nation where education is purported to be the way ahead and an answer to their national problems (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000; Williksen-Baker, 2002). Previously when families were unable to meet these costs the school would send the students home until they were paid. However, this 'back fired' with the students not returning to school at all highlighting the attrition rate that rural schools face due to poverty (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). KVHS now encourages parents to drip feed the fees, or work as a laborer at the school, effectively working off the fees. There are currently seven laborers working at the school who receive no remuneration. As the principle of reciprocity functions in this traditional environment, this means that food is swapped and shared. Teachers will also use their personal finances to fund the education of students and school resources, again the principle of reciprocity, and obligations to *vanua* are in evidence. This is one reason given for the reluctance of teachers to be placed in rural schools (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000).

NEEDS OF KVHS AS A COMMUNITY

Current causes of concern for the community include a polluted water supply, non-payment of school fees, lack of teaching resources, inadequate nutrition, and heavy workloads for the teachers' which are resulting in tiredness and a drop in morale.

The primary need identified was for transitional programs to be designed for students entering KVHS and for those choosing to continue on to tertiary education. For the majority of students entering KVHS as boarding students, it is the first time of being separated from their families and communities. Disorientation, grief, anxiety and alienation often results for those students. On entering the school they stand as individuals, study as individuals and are graded as individuals, according to the Western education paradigm. They are taught in English, their second language. Upon entering a new community to be educated, one becomes stripped of communal identity and self, requiring them to become bi-culturally competent, having to stand in two worlds; the traditional and the Western.

For those who attend a tertiary institution the attrition rate is high, predominantly due to culture shock, that is, leaving a traditional rural environment and going to a westernized urban environment. Currently only 25 percent successfully complete their studies due to these stressors. Additionally, many students do not complete their tertiary studies as they are seen as taking too long, and many do not want to be away from their families.

Milestone events, such as transition phases, are viewed as having a high probability of arousing stress due to the need to learn new roles and norms of these new contexts (Heller, 1984; Eamon, 2001). Preparing populations to enter these new settings at specific periods is termed the milestone approach (Heller, 1984). Strengthening personal resources and skills, or inoculating people to the potential of such crises is a primary prevention strategy that if successful, can increase the capacity of the population to successfully navigate through future transitional phases (Jason and Glenwick, 1984; Sugai and Horner, 2002; Tseng, Chesir-Teran, Becker-Klein, Chan, Duran, Roberts et al., 2002).

TRANSITION PROGRAMS

Transitions in the education process can be a time of extreme stress for those entering these contexts (Timperley et al., 2003). Deterioration of psychological and / or academic capacities can occur when entering these new settings (Seidman, 1988; Power, 2003; Lettrello and Miles, 2003). The transition can be overwhelming, attenuating

coping skills, impacting self-esteem and diminishing motivation (Lettrello and Miles, 2003). If these stressors are inevitable, then preparing individuals to manage stress, solve problems, connect with resources and focus on goal pathways, are mechanisms that will weaken the negative effects of the changed environment (Johnson and Johnson, 2003; Heller, 1984). Engaging students in prevention programs while still in the school environment is an opportune time to mobilize their intrinsic resources to cope with the forthcoming adaptation (Smokowski, 1998; Maton, 2000; Power, 2003). Effective interventions reinforce protective influences and moderate risk factors, build competence, modify contexts and enhance symbiotic relationships (Power, 2003; Timperley et al., 2003). They must also be responsive to the goals, preferences and principles of the community (Johnson and Johnson, 2003; Power, 2003).

Failure of indigenous Fijians in the educational system is described as the "Fijian education problem" (White, 2001). Statistics show that by Form 7, differential achievement for indigenous Fijians is half that of Indo-Fijians (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Concerns have been raised regarding the focus on passing exams, the rote learning emphasis, inadequate consideration of teaching initiative, and a lack of creative or lateral thinking in students, which are needed for both tertiary education and the work environment (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000; Williksen-Bakker, 2002). The MoE comments that students are poorly prepared to make career decisions and to make the transition from secondary school to the tertiary education or work environment. They recommend that these factors become a focal point of the secondary curriculum (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). It was suggested that the University of the South Pacific (USP) should be involved in curriculum development to ensure requirements for programs are satisfied at the secondary level (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). Moreover, upon leaving secondary school, students do not have any formal acknowledgement of their educational attainments, and the MoE also recommends that leaving certificates be issued, and curriculum design should also include instructing students to formulate a *Résumé* (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000). These suggestions do not however, address the educational disparity

between indigenous and Indo-Fijians.

One common view in the educational sector is that rural students are unmotivated to pursue higher education because they have title to 83 percent of land and can remain in their villages rather than pursue skilled employment (Brison, 2003; White, 2001). Indo-Fijians do not share this advantage and are therefore reliant on the education system to provide the skills needed to survive and are more inclined to invest the requisite resources to reach this goal (White, 2001). Current rhetoric in Fiji focuses on these achievement differences between the two ethnicities, and a call for indigenous Fijians to view education as a "business enterprise". As commented by the now Prime Minister, Laisenia Qarase, "we must learn from the Indians" (Williksen-Bakker, 2002, p79). The ethnic stereotypes between the two aggregates can be understood in the discourse, values and culture espoused by each faction. Indigenous Fijians value mutuality, respect and a preserving of tradition as opposed to economic endeavors (Brison, 2003). Indo-Fijians believe themselves to be more civilized, individualistic and self-determining (Brison, 2003). For indigenous Fijians the Indians are both the cynosure of discontent and exemplars to be imitated (Williksen-Bakker, 2002). Kao and Thompson (2003) argue that cultural beliefs regarding the advantages of education will either augment or discourage its pursuit. Further, negative stereotyping is a threat to positive performance (Kao and Thompson, 2003). Indigenous Fijian students who are successful in their academic pursuits are sometimes referred to as *viavia* ('want to be big'), a derogatory term normally used in reference to Indo-Fijians. This is used as a humbling technique by peers, to realign the recalcitrant to the values of community and reciprocity – whereby the student will share their work with their peers (White, 2001).

Parents' educational achievement and socioeconomic status are also contingencies to students academic motivation (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2000; Kao and Thompson, 2003; Eamon, 2001; Smokowski, 1998; Power, 2003). The KVHS student population originate predominantly from rural, poor households, and have parents with minimal academic achievement who are engaged in subsistence living activities. Parenting practices are influenced by social and cultural role expectations (Eamon, 2001), and if

those contexts do not support educational success, then scholastic failure is the predicted outcome (Howse, Lange, Farren and Boyles, 2003). Human understanding is internalized by the individual as their ecology configures and delineates the realm of possibilities, and where that ecology transmits beliefs that restrict career prospects then failure to pursue advanced education is the likely outcome (Lapan and Kosciulek, 2003). Empirical research has found that educational aspirations are a significant predictor of educational and occupational status (Kao and Thompson, 2003).

The educational morphology has been heavily influenced by Western ideologies and is counternormative to the indigenous Fijian culture (White, 2001). Students are somehow left to merge these systemic differences without suffering anxiety or confusion over the conflict of values (Brison, 2003). Endorsement of culture can differ between individuals in a setting (Tseng et al., 2002), which is made salient by the education debate. KVHS faculty are in accord with educational discourse regarding focusing programs on indigenous Fijians' scholastic achievement needs, whereas the school is embedded in a fundamentally conservative, traditionally valued, context. Maton (2000) believes that culture is contemporaneously a moderating aspect of the environment and an element of potential innovation. The challenge is to design a culturally and contextually appropriate transition program that will meet the needs of KVHS students to confidently enter the new environments of tertiary education or work.

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