

HELPDESK

PROVIDING ON-DEMAND RESEARCH TO HELP FIGHT CORRUPTION

CORRUPTION AND ANTI-CORRUPTION IN FIJI

QUERY

Could you please provide an overview of corruption and anti-corruption in Fiji?

PURPOSE

This paper will assist the work of the European Union Delegation to the Pacific

CONTENT

1. Overview of corruption in Fiji
2. Governance structure and anti-corruption efforts in Fiji
3. References

CAVEAT

Recent literature and in-depth research on corruption and the impact of corruption on specific sectors in the country are limited.

SUMMARY

Fiji is situated below the global average in terms of its performance on international corruption measurement indicators and performs poorly in terms of the rule of law.

Like many Pacific Island states, political corruption and nepotism stand out as the main corruption risks in Fiji, whereas citizens' experience of bribery is low.

The interim government that took power in the 2006 coup used the anti-corruption discourse, together with the defence of multiracialism, to legitimize overthrowing the elected government. It has since systematically weakened the country's democratic institutions, reduced civil society space and silenced opponents and the media. Some positive developments are to be noted, slowly bringing the country back to the path towards full democracy.

////////////////////////////////////

Author(s)

Sofia Wickberg , Transparency International,
swickberg@transparency.org

Reviewed by

Finn Heinrich, Transparency International,
fheinrich@transparency.org

Date

Submitted : 22 January 2013

Responded : 5 February 2013

Number EU – 4

This document should not be considered as representative of the Commission or Transparency International's official position. Neither the European Commission, Transparency International nor any person acting on behalf of the Commission is responsible for the use which might be made of the following information.

This anti-corruption Helpdesk is operated by Transparency International and funded by the European Union.

1 OVERVIEW OF CORRUPTION IN FIJI

Background

Fiji's corruption and governance situation is embedded in its economic and geographical context as well as in its recent political history.

Fiji is classified as a lower middle income country, with a GDP per capita just under USD4500. The country's main income sources are the tourism, sugar and fishing industries. The sugar industry is going through a crisis after the 2009 flood and the end of the country's special access agreement to the European market. Fiji has recently started to attract mining companies, interested in exploring the country's potential resources of gold, bauxite, manganese, hydrocarbons etc. Fiji's economy was affected by the recent economic and financial crisis, coupled with the suspension of foreign aid (see below) and is starting to recover. The health of the country's economy is of concern for the region as a whole since many small island countries depend on Fiji for transportation and shipping (France Diplomatie, 2012).

Fiji became an independent member of the Commonwealth in 1970 and has experienced political tension and instability since, largely originating from the rivalry between indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians (Freedom House, 2012). The country was the scene of several coups in the last decades, the latest to date, in 2006, placed Commodore Bainimarama at the head of the country. Bainimarama's campaign was built around the leitmotiv of multiracialism and the need to "clean up" the country from corruption, which has since served to dismiss many existing public officials, to close civil society space, silence political opponents and slowly create an autocratic regime. The interim government dissolved the Parliament in 2006 and adopted the Public Emergency Regulations in 2007, authorizing security forces to arrest people without warrant and limiting civil and political rights. (US Department of State, 2011). In 2009, Bainimarama's government abrogated the constitution.

The international community strongly condemned the 2006 coup; Fiji was suspended from the Pacific Islands Forum, and donors reduced or suspended aid to the country (France Diplomatie, 2012). Consequently Fiji increasingly turned to China to stimulate foreign investments (Freedom House, 2012).

Recent improvements are notable, with the

revocation of the Public Emergency Regulations on the 7th of January 2013, negotiations around a new constitution and elections scheduled for 2014 (France Diplomatie, 2012).

Extent of corruption

The World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) place Fiji in the lower half of the percentile ranks, with a score of 38, on a scale from 0 to 100, in terms of **control of corruption**. Fiji's score has dropped significantly since 2002 (59) and has fluctuated since. Fiji's score dropped by almost 20 points between 2004 and 2005; and lost 10 points again between 2008 and 2009. It made a notable 20 point upswing between 2010 and 2011.

The country's score on **rule of law** (20) places the country in the lower quarter of the percentile ranks. It has dropped quite significantly since 2006 (52), which coincides with Commodore Bainimarama's military coup.

Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer 2010-2011 indicates that **citizens' opinion** on corruption is almost evenly divided: 53% thinking that the level of corruption decreased in the last year and 47% considering it has increased or stayed the same. Political parties, the private sector and public administration are seen by citizens as the most corrupt institutions of the country.

Forms of corruption

Petty and bureaucratic corruption

The US Department of State, in its Human Rights Report on Fiji, states that bureaucratic corruption in Fiji is systemic. According to the World Bank Enterprise Survey 2009, more than 35% of the firms polled consider corruption as a major constraint for doing business in the country.

Even though petty corruption and bribery happen in Fiji through small payments made to "grease the wheel" of local bureaucracy (Chene, 2010), they do not however appear as a significant problem in the country. Only 13% of the citizens surveyed by Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer 2010-2011 report having paid a bribe in the 12 months. Similarly, only 10% of the firms polled by the World Bank Enterprise Survey expect to give gifts to public officials "to get things done". Some areas of Fiji's administration appear more corruption-prone in this survey, such as the electricity or water suppliers.

The World Bank/IFC 2013 Doing Business report on Fiji does not indicate bribery as an extra cost for starting a business, dealing with construction permits, getting electricity, registering property or securing/enforcing a contract.

Grand corruption

Little information is available to assess the breadth of grand corruption in Fiji. The World Bank Enterprise Survey indicates that only 3% of the polled firms expected to have to pay bribes to secure a government contract.

In 2008, Global Integrity qualified the integrity of Fiji's procurement structure as weak. Procurement procedures in Fiji are governed by the *Fiji Procurement Regulations* of 2010, strengthening the existing legal framework. This text provides for the creation of a procurement office to oversee government procurement and advice ministries and departments.

According to the International Budget Partnership (IBP), Fiji provides limited information to its citizens on the country's budget. Fiji scores 6 on the IBP's Open Budget Index 2012, on a scale from 0 (no information) to 100 (extensive information).

Political corruption

Official and political corruption are a serious and widespread problem in Fiji. Politicians often engage in corrupt activities with impunity; this has been an a key challenge for governments ever since independence (US Department of State, 2011).

Since January 2013, political parties are strictly regulated by the Political Parties (Registration, Conduct, Funding and Disclosures) Decree. In an article published by Radio New Zealand International, Pr. Ratuva from the University of Auckland says that political parties in Fiji have contributed to political instability through ethnic mobilisation and interference with the administration; and that this new decree, instead of encouraging a more democratic system, severely limits access to the political process (Radio New Zealand International, 2013). For example, the decree requires signatures of 5000 citizens as members to be able to register as a party, among a total population of 868,400. In New Zealand, the requirement is to have 500 members, with a total population of over 4 million.

In Fiji, traditionally, distributing and offering small gifts to chiefs and voters, in a transparent manner, is "an integral part of election campaigns" (Larmour, 2012).

Freedom House states that Fiji is not an electoral democracy. Since the military coup in 2006 and the suspension of the Constitution in 2009, Bainimarama's interim government has systematically postponed elections and ruled by decree.

Lastly, the current political situation in Fiji led to a situation in which the Prime Minister, on top of being the head of government, had multiple portfolios, some of which present potential conflicts of interests: Bainimarama is also the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Information, the Minister of Land and Mineral Resources, the Minister of Public Service etc.

Nepotism and cronyism

Nepotism is common and widespread in Fiji. Appointments, recruitments and promotion in the civil service and state-owned enterprises oftentimes depend on ethnic or political affiliations and loyalty to Bainimarama's government (Global Integrity, 2008).

Nepotism and favouritism have a long history in Fiji and, prior to the 2006 coup, many affirmative action projects aiming at promoting indigenous Fijian and other marginalised groups were suspected to result in unethical and personal appointments, attribution of scholarships etc. (Transparency International, 2001).

Money laundering and organized crime

Fiji is not a significant regional financial centre but its geographical situation makes the country a regional hub for shipping and transportation to Australia, New Zealand as well as other Pacific Islands.

The general level of crime is rather low in Fiji (World Bank, 2006), but a number of notable cases of drug trafficking as well as human trafficking and migrant smuggling have been reported in the country, involving transnational criminal gangs operating in the country (US Department of State, 2012).

Commercial sexual exploitation of children and women is a continuous problem in Fiji. Fiji is a source country for children subjected to internal trafficking and a destination country for men and women subjected to forced labour and prostitution (US Department of State, 2012).

Little information is available on any money-laundering risks in Fiji.

Fisheries

Fiji's economy is largely based on the fishing industry, with an Exclusive Economic Zone exceeding 1 200 000km². Experts state that fisheries in Pacific Island Countries are increasingly becoming a site for corruption (UNDP, 2007).

Most problems that Fiji's fisheries industry faces are common to all Pacific islands. A study prepared in 2007 for the Australian National Centre of Ocean states the areas of fishing licensing, access agreements, and monitoring and inspection are the most vulnerable to corruption. The weak legal and administrative frameworks combined with discretion and a lack of transparency create significant corruption risks. Corruption occurs both at the "low level", where bribes in the form of fish, gifts, holidays, excessive per diems or tuition fees at academic institutions are given to public officials and their families; and at a higher level, involving large financial transactions, political interference in administrative practices and organised criminal behaviour (Hanish, Tsamenyi, 2007). In Fiji, allegations of corruption in the issuing of licenses are frequent, most of them in relation to foreign companies buying licenses in periods of over-fishing. In the mid-2000s a Committee of Inquiry was set up in the Ministry of Fishery to investigate corruption cases (Hanish, Tsamenyi, 2009).

Corruption in fisheries has a considerable impact on daily life and sustainable development in the region. On top of siphoning off revenues and resources, it threatens to deepen the issue of over-fishing and destruct customary fishing practices, mainly through incapacitating fisheries management institutions and circumventing existing fishing regulations (Hanish, Tsamenyi, 2008). The Pacific Islands are heavily dependent on fisheries for their economy but also as the main source of food (Hanish, Tsamenyi, 2007), making the issue even more crucial.

Mining industry

As mining becomes an increasingly important part of Fiji's economy, the country will have to set up safeguards to protect itself from the "resource curse". Currently, little information is to be found on Fiji's governance structure and corruption risks for the mining industry. Given the issues Fiji faces with regards to the issuance of fishing licenses, there could be significant concerns in relation to the potential impact of a corrupt mining sector on the environment, land administration and cultural heritage, amongst others.

2. GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE AND ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS IN FIJI

During the 2006 coup, Bainimarama systematically used the anti-corruption discourse and vowed to « clean up » Fiji's widespread corruption. Although many improvements were achieved since the interim government took the power, like the establishment of the Fiji Independent Commission Against Corruption, the ratification of the *United Nations Convention Against Corruption* etc., it is important to note that experts consider the anti-corruption campaign politically partial, arbitrary, vengeful and ineffective (Larmour, 2008).

Interestingly, Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer 2010-2011 shows that a vast majority (88%) of the polled citizens consider the government to be effective or very effective in fighting corruption.

Legal framework

International Conventions

Fiji is a state party to the **United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC)** since the 14th May 2008. Fiji was part of the first group of countries reviewed in the framework of the Implementation Review Mechanism and the executive summary is public and accessible on the UNODC website. The Convention is not self-executing in Fiji, meaning that it is not automatically transposed into national law, and there is no one piece of legislation that implements the Convention as a whole into domestic law.

Fiji is also, since 1993, a state party to the United Nations **Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs** and Psychotropic Substances of 1988.

The country is however not a state party to the 2000 **Palermo Convention** on transnational organised crime or its supplementing protocols.

National legislation

Fiji's *Crimes Decree* of 2009 and *Prevention of Bribery Promulgation* (POBP) of 2007 cover bribery offenses. Fiji has criminalised **passive and active bribery** of public officials; the POBP and Crimes Decree forbids the act of offering, giving and promising a bribe (active bribery), and the act of soliciting, asking for, agreeing to and accepting a

bribe (passive bribery). Fiji's legislative framework covers the use of intermediaries and third parties in bribery. It is unclear whether bribery of foreign officials is criminalised in Fiji: the POBP covers conduct both within and outside the country, but its definition of public officials does not specifically refer to foreign public officials. Similarly, there is a lack of clarity about the liability of legal persons for bribery since there is no guidance on the circumstances under which a company is deemed responsible of the act of a natural person. Besides the lack of clarity, the OECD points to the insufficient sanctions under the POBP that would not discourage large corporations from engaging in corrupt practices (ADB/OECD, 2011). **Money-laundering** is a crime under the *Proceeds of crime Act of 2004* and the *Financial Transactions Reporting Act of 2004*.

Fiji's *Penal Code* and *Crimes Decree* criminalise misappropriation, **embezzlement** and other diversion of property by public officials. However, regulations regarding **conflicts of interest** are limited in Fiji. The POBP mentions illicit enrichment, but the disclosure of interests and assets is not required by law. For a time, members of parliament and government officials would file their declaration of assets with the Prime Minister, at his demand, but these declarations were not publicly available. The country has not adopted any specific legislation or regulations regarding gifts and hospitality.

Political financing is heavily restricted since January 2013. The *Political Parties (Registration, Conduct, Funding and Disclosures) Decree of 2013* bans all foreign contributions to political parties and individual candidates as well as any corporate donations. Only individuals are allowed to make donations to political parties and candidates, and these cannot exceed FJD10 000 per year. Parties and candidates ought to disclose the identity of their donors and must submit a financial report to the Registrar of the Fiji Elections Office within 30 days from the end of the financial year, as well as a statement of their assets and liabilities 30 days before an election (IDEA, 2012).

No information could be found indicating that Fiji has adopted proper **whistleblower** protection legislation or established mechanisms through which corruption can be safely and anonymously reported. The Fiji Independent Commission Against Corruption (FICAC) acknowledges the importance of whistleblower protection on its website and the FICAC Promulgation of 2007 guarantees the confidentiality of whistleblowers without further provisions.

Fiji does not yet have an **access/freedom of**

information law allowing citizens and media to access government information.

Institutional framework

Financial Intelligence Unit

Fiji's Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU) was established in 2006 under the *Financial Transactions Reporting Act of 2004*. The FIU is hosted, funded and administered by the Reserve Bank of Fiji. The role of the FIU is to receive all Suspicious Transaction Reports, analyse the information and develop intelligence, refer information about potential money laundering activities and offenses to relevant law enforcement agencies and assist the investigation and prosecution of cases, issue policy and guidelines, and provide training and education.

The FIU is formally independent but the administrative and financial support it receives from the Reserve Bank of Fiji challenges its independence.

Fiji's FIU is rather efficient. In 2011, it analysed 728 suspicious transaction reports, handled over 600 000 cash transaction and electronic fund transfers reports, disseminated 318 intelligence reports to law enforcement, issues six notices to financial institutions about suspicious persons, assisted a number of investigations etc. (Fiji Financial Intelligence Unit, 2011). The FIU has a functioning and up-to-date website featuring the unit's annual reports.

Fiji's FIU is a member of the Egmont Group of Financial Intelligence Units.

Judiciary

Fiji's judicial system is independent by law but in practice, the reality is often different. Since the military coup of 2006, the interim government has systematically interfered with the judiciary's independence (US Department of State, 2011).

When the constitution was suspended in 2009, the judges in exercise were dismissed and replaced by appointees of the interim government, seriously challenging the independence of the judiciary (Freedom House, 2012). As mentioned above, the interim government has, since 2006, ruled by decree. It has adopted the Administration of Justice Decree in 2009, prohibiting the judiciary from investigating cases relating to the 2006 military coup and from looking into the acts of the interim government, the

abrogation of the constitution as well as any government decree the end of 2006. A 2010 amendment to this Act further limits the jurisdiction of the country's courts on decisions made by the executive power (US Department of State, 2011).

The Heritage Foundation echoes this concern about the lack of independence of Fiji's judiciary. It states that the respect for the rule of law has significantly worsened and that country does not have an effective and independent legal system. Fiji also experiences significant judicial backlog making the judiciary slow and augmenting impunity. Moreover, political interference has risen and judicial corruption has become a major challenge to Fiji's governance structure (Heritage Foundation, 2012).

Anti-Corruption Commission

The Fiji Independent Commission Against Corruption (FICAC) was established after the adoption of the *FICAC Promulgation of 2007*, with the mandate to spearhead the fight against corruption in Fiji and the promotion of integrity, accountability and transparency. FICAC was set up to investigate and prosecute corruption and bribery cases, to guide the government's anti-corruption efforts and to raise awareness and educate citizens. It is notable that the *FICAC Promulgation* was adopted, in the absence of Parliament, by a government decree without parliamentary debate (Larmour, 2008).

FICAC proclaims its independence from the government but, in practice, it is seen as answering to the president. In a 2008 report, Larmour quotes a civil society representative questioning the independence and impartiality of an institution that does not report to a representative body; he points to the recruitment procedures that could challenge the independence of FICAC and to the risks of personal grudges interfering with the entity's decisions.

FICAC is truly more concerned about prosecuting corruption than preventing corruption, Larmour says. The promulgation gives the FICAC the mandate to arrest suspects without arrest warrant and to prosecute them without the prior agreement of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

The executive summary of Fiji's 2012 review of implementation of UNCAC states that FICAC does not have sufficiently experienced and trained prosecutors and investigators, and lack qualified forensic auditors.

Supreme Audit Institution (SAI)

The Office of the Auditor General was created by the *Audit Act* of 1971. The independence and prerogatives of the Auditor General were further strengthened by *Constitution Amendment Act* of 1997 and the *Audit Amendment Act* of 2006.

According to Global Integrity's 2008 Integrity Report Card, the Office of the Auditor General is sufficiently protected against political interference. In 2008, however, the Auditor-General announced that, in the absence of a Parliament, the audit report would be submitted to the cabinet and would not be made publicly accessible (US Department of State, 2011). This practice has been maintained ever since and seriously challenges the independence and credibility of the institution. The International Budget Partnership qualifies Fiji' SAI as weak, indicating that the agreement of the legislative or judicial power is not required to dismiss the head of the SAI, that the institution does not have full discretion to decide which audits should occur, and does not have sufficient financial and human resources.

As of January 2013, it was impossible to access the Office of the Auditor General's website. This paper can therefore not assess the transparency of the institution and the amount of information available to the public.

Fiji's Office of the Auditor General is part of the Pacific Association of Supreme Audit Institutions (PASAI) which gives its 25 member states a space to exchange and support each other with regards to their Supreme Audit Institution.

Office of the Ombudsman

Fiji's *Ombudsman Act* of 1998 provides for the establishment of the Office of the Ombudsman to investigate abuse and misadministration in government departments.

However, since the abrogation of the constitution in 2009, the resources allocated to the Ombudsman have been drastically reduced, making the institution ineffective (US Department of State, 2011). Publicly available information does not indicate any recent activities involving Fiji's Ombudsman's Office.

Elections Office

Fiji has not held any elections since 2006, making the Elections Office irrelevant. The country has however scheduled elections to be held in 2014, after the drafting and adoption of the new constitution planned for 2013, reinstating the need for an electoral oversight body.

Fiji's Elections Office is now functional and receives funds from donors to undertake its multiple tasks. Fiji has initiated an Electronic Voters Registration system and the recent efforts of the government to allow for democratic elections in 2014 are welcomed by the international community.

The Elections Office is placed under the Attorney General, who is also the Minister of Justice, which presents certain challenges to the independence of the institution. Very little information is available with regards to the integrity and efficiency of the Elections Office.

Other actors

Media

The Constitution of Fiji provides for freedom of speech and freedom of the press but the text was abrogated in 2009 and in practice the military government does not respect these rights. The press is systematically censored by the government (Freedom House, 2013). Reporters Without Borders rank Fiji 107th out of 179 on its Press Freedom Index 2013.

The Media Industry Development Decree was adopted in 2010, giving the government the right to seize any documentation, material and equipment in newsroom on the basis of ambiguous complaints. It also creates the Fiji Media Industry Development Authority as well as a special tribunal to impose sanctions on journalists considered against the "public order" (Freedom House, 2012).

Media outlets in Fiji cannot be foreign-owned to more than 10%, and in 2010 Richard Murdoch was forced to sell the *Fiji Times* to a local company. The editorial team, strong critics of the government, was then replaced. (Pacific Journal Review, 2011).

There is no government restriction on the internet but the government monitors the traffic on the internet to track criticisms of the government in the blogosphere (Freedom House, 2012).

Civil society

The abrogated constitution provided for the right to freedom of assembly and association, but these have not been respected by the government since the 2006 coup. The Public Emergency Regulations¹ severely restricts civil society space; it gives the

power to the government to forbid marches and events organised by civil society, and to regulate the use of public and private space for political meetings involving more than three individuals. The government does not restrict the right to participate in the activities of NGOs but oftentimes forbids them from holding meetings (US Department of State, 2011).

CIVICUS indicates that there have been signs of civil society strengthening in the last years, with civil society organisations forming alliances and organising joint activities (CIVICUS, 2010).

¹ Uplifted on the 7th of January 2013

3. REFERENCES

- ADB/OECD, *The criminalisation of bribery in Asia and the Pacific* (2011), <http://www.oecd.org/site/adboecdanti-corruptioninitiative/46485272.pdf>
- Chene Marie, *Corruption challenges in small island developing states in the Pacific region* (2010), U4, <http://www.u4.no/publications/corruption-challenges-in-small-island-developing-states-in-the-pacific-region/>
- CIVICUS, *A Civil Society in Transition: CIVICUS Civil Society Index Report for Fiji* (2010), <https://cswatch.org/user/37/article/civics-civil-society-index-country-report-fiji>
- CMI, *Income and assets declarations: Issues to consider in developing a disclosure regime* (2009), <http://www.cmi.no/publications/file/3396-income-and-assets-declarations.pdf>
- France Diplomatie, *Présentation des Iles Fidji* (2012), <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/pays-zones-geo/iles-fidji/presentation-de-fidji/article/presentation-36687>
- Fiji Times, *Political party questions decree criteria* (2013), <http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=222646>
- Freedom House, *Freedom in the world Fiji* (2012), <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2012/fiji>
- Freedom House, *Freedom of the press Fiji* (2012), <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2012/fiji>
- Global Integrity, *Fiji: Integrity Indicators Scorecard* (2008), <http://report.globalintegrity.org/Fiji/2008/scorecard>
- Hanish Quentin, Tsamenyi Martin, Teo Feliti, *A collective approach to the Pacific Islands fisheries management: Moving beyond regional agreements* (2009)
- Hanish Quentin, Tsamenyi Martin, *Addressing corruption in Pacific islands fisheries* (2007), Australian National Centre for Ocean, <http://www.illegal-fishing.info/uploads/IUCNfishcorruptionpacificdraft.pdf>
- Heritage Foundation, *Index of Economic Freedom* (2013), <http://www.heritage.org/index/country/fiji>
- IDEA, *Political finance database Fiji* (2012), <http://www.idea.int/political-finance/country.cfm?id=75>
- International Budget Partnership, *Open Budget Index 2012*, <http://internationalbudget.org/what-we-do/open-budget-survey/country-info/?country=fj>
- Larmour Peter, *Interpreting Corruption: Culture and Politics in the Pacific Islands* (2012), http://repository.usp.ac.fj/4953/1/Interpreting_Corruption.pdf
- Larmour Peter, *Culture and corruption in the Pacific Islands: Some conceptual issues and findings from studies of National Integrity Systems* (2006), The Australian National University, <http://www.crawford.anu.edu.au/degrees/pogo/discussionpapers/PDP06-05.pdf>
- Radio New Zealand International, *Fiji political party decree flawed, says academic* (2013), <http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=73513>
- Reporters without Borders, *Press Freedom Index 2013*, http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013_1054.html
- Transparency International, *National Integrity System Fiji Country Report* (2001)
- Transparency International, *Global Corruption Barometer 2010-2011*, <http://gcb.transparency.org/gcb201011/>
- UNPD, *Corruption in Pacific Island Countries* (2007), http://www.undppc.org/fj_resources/article/files/Corruption_in_PICs.pdf
- US Department of State, *Human Rights Report Fiji* (2011), <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/186483.pdf>
- US Department of State, *Trafficking in persons reports Fiji* (2012), <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,...FJI.,4fe30ccb2.0.html>
- World Bank, *Detailed assessment report anti-money laundering and combating the financing of terrorism Fiji* (2006), <http://www.apgml.org/documents/docs/17/Fiji%20DAR%20Final.pdf>
- World Bank, *Worldwide Governance Indicators* (2012), http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/sc_chart.asp
- World Bank, *Enterprise Survey* (2009), <http://www.enterprisesurveys.org/Data/ExploreEconomies/2009/fiji>
- World Bank/IFC, *Doing business Fiji* (2013), <http://www.doingbusiness.org/>