UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Corporal destinies: Faith, ethno-nationalism, and raw talent in Fijian professional rugby aspirations

Guinness, D.

DOI

[10.1086/698267](https://doi.org/10.1086/698267)

Publication date

2018

Document Version

Final published version

Published in

HAU : Journal of Ethnographic Theory

License

CC BY-NC-ND

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Guinness, D. (2018). Corporal destinies: Faith, ethno-nationalism, and raw talent in Fijian professional rugby aspirations. *HAU : Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 8(1-2), 314-328. <https://doi.org/10.1086/698267>

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

UvA-DARE is a service provided by the library of the University of Amsterdam (<https://dare.uva.nl>)

ANTHROPOLOGIES OF DESTINY:
ACTION, TEMPORALITY, FREEDOM

Corporal destinies

Faith, ethno-nationalism, and raw talent in Fijian professional rugby aspirations

Daniel GUINNESS, *University of Amsterdam*

Many young *itaukei* (indigenous) Fijian men train daily in the hope of becoming professional rugby athletes, despite the difficulty of this unpaid work and the uncertainty of the overseas careers to which they aspire. Rugby players and their families draw on a sense of destiny grounded in three ideologies of success to understand and control their futures. First, many view rugby in terms of an indigenous warrior ideal imagined as innate to *itaukei* men. Second, most Fijians link godliness, moral discipline, and religiosity to professional success. Third, they increasingly draw on ideas of natural talent, genetics, and pedigree widely held in global rugby. Ethnography among Fijian rugby players both in Fiji and abroad shows that this sense of destiny includes the future orientation of hope, but adds a moral imperative for action. Reading these emic conceptions of the future in terms of corporal and spiritual destiny highlights their influence not just on individual aspirations but also on social and political life, revealing both the power and limits of destiny as an analytical tool.

Keywords: Fiji, rugby, Christianity, sports, masculinity, body, success, corporal destiny

*But those who hope in the Lord will renew their strength.
They will soar on wings like eagles; they will run and not grow weary,
they will walk and not be faint.*

—Isaiah 40:31

Some hopes for the future are so strong that people restructure their lives to work toward them, irrespective of the likelihood of success or failure. For Pio,¹ a twenty-four-year-old Fijian man with whom I trained in Suva in 2009, a career in rugby² was his hope and dream. He began each day with a long road run, alone at dawn; he trained with the rugby team each evening; and he

went to the gym whenever he could afford the modest fee.

After one gym session, while we lunched on tinned tuna and biscuits that I had to buy, I asked Pio why he kept on training for rugby, despite the difficulties and dedication that were demanded of him. “I have to trust in God’s plan for me,” he explained, “I know that anything is possible through him.” Then, paraphrasing Galatians 6:9, he told me that he was “preparing the field” in order to be ready for God to produce “a harvest of blessings” in his life.

In some ways, this possibility seemed proximate—one of his close friends, Seva, with whom we would walk to and from training each evening, had recently been recruited to the Fijian national team, was recognized by

1. All names are pseudonyms.

2. In this article I use *rugby* to refer to the sport of rugby union football, including both its 7-a-side and 15-a-side versions. I do not discuss rugby league football, despite some players being involved in both sports, principally because they have separate global and national structures and competitions.

strangers in the streets, and played in international tournaments (from where, it later turned out, he was recruited to a major professional French club).

However, for Pio, recruitment was a very distant possibility, as he was not part of any regional representative teams, nor did he have the dominant physicality of Seva (Pio was 170 cm and 85 kg compared with Seva's 184 cm and 105 kg) that might catch the eyes of scouts. Instead he had spent several years playing for a club along with 80 other young men, the large majority of whom would not end up overseas. He was unemployed, living with an aunt in a crowded housing block in a poor suburb of the capital city. He remained financially dependent on his extended family, who gave him some of their limited income to pay for food and gym, in the hope that he was destined for a lucrative professional career.

When I returned seven years later, he had given up hope of a rugby career and moved back to start a family in his rural village. However, there was a new group of young men eagerly training, ready to pursue a destiny they believed would be like that of Seva, and not Pio.

Rugby is the national sport in Fiji. It spread from its British colonial origins after it became popular among indigenous elites educated at prestigious all-boys' schools, run by churches and the colonial administration. From these elite origins the sport gradually became entwined with the chiefly system, established churches, military, and police (Presterudstuen 2010). Today groups of men and boys (and in rare cases, groups of women) enjoy the strenuous exercise and laughter of the informal rugby games that they play each evening in village fields, beaches, city streets, and sports fields. However, increasingly, Fijians regard rugby as a potential career as much as an enjoyable pastime.

Many young *itaukei* (indigenous) Fijian men today engage in frequent, difficult, unpaid rugby training despite the uncertainty of the overseas careers to which they aspire. Small villages assemble teams to train daily, and in the cities some young men leave regular employment to play for purely amateur clubs, many with a plan to launch rugby careers. Rugby careers require international migration, whether to the top tier clubs located in Britain, France, New Zealand, Australia, and Japan, or to teams in lower tiers of competition in countries such as Romania, Sri Lanka, and the United States. The desirability of Fijian rugby athletes and their impulse to migrate has resulted in several hundred Fijians currently playing overseas since the beginning of the millennium (Schieder 2014). Top professional contracts

can support large extended families, with athletes in the elite competitions earning between 4,000 and 20,000 euros a month, while a position in a development academy or lower tier club pays 500 to 1,000 euros a month (for comparison, the minimum wage in Fiji is FJ\$2.00/hour or roughly 150 euros a month). However, like other sports migrations, employment through rugby is unpredictable, dependent on recruitment by often unknown, unseen agents, contingent on seemingly chance encounters and luck (Besnier 2014; Besnier and Brownell 2012). Players and their families know that the vast majority of aspirants will not achieve the professional success of which they dream. Yet, many still prefer the uncertainty of rugby to the promises of education and even those of stable employment. How are anthropologists to account for such certainty of action in such uncertain situations?

I focus on three different ideologies of success through which aspirational rugby players and families understand and control their futures. First, many Fijians view the masculinized labor of rugby in terms of an emic warrior ideal of masculinity, imagined as innate to *itaukei* men. People commonly speak about a naturalness of rugby to *itaukei* bodies, and an inevitability of their success in this sport. Second, young men draw on an almost universally held belief in the power of a Christian God for a sense of higher purpose in their lives. Third, increasingly players, scouts, and coaches draw on the discourses of "professionalism" that dominate the rugby industry, including a widely held conception of individual potential built around ideas of natural talent, genetics, and pedigree. While these ideologies are based on different versions of what, precisely, success is and the forces that lead to its accomplishment, they overlap in the promise of a rugby career, which allows men to fulfill indigenous masculine roles, bring glory to God, and realize their potential as professional athletes.

Drawing on several periods of fieldwork with Fijian players based abroad, and particularly in three settings in Fiji—a village, a suburban club, and a national development team—I outline the different ideologies of success apparent in the rugby careers of young men. Each ideology of success, in different ways, evokes conceptions of outcomes that are predetermined, whether by God, ethnic identity, or genetics, forces that are (or seem to be) outside of the control of individual agents and collectives, but which benefit some individuals and not others. As Mary Douglas shows us, "beliefs which attribute spiritual power to individuals are never neutral or free of the dominant patterns of social structure" (1966:

113), and should be analyzed in relation to the structures of society. Success-biased beliefs, such as those discussed in this article, often vest power in authority and regard this power as contagious, thereby attracting increasing numbers of adherents, and beliefs become self-validating as these new adherents produce new successes (Douglas 1966: 112). These powers can lie outside of the establishment, but even in these cases this should be read in relation to the broader social structure, a sign of the relative weakness of authority, which allows anyone to access these spiritual powers. In this instance, each of the three ideologies of success is related to a different authority.

These emic ideologies operate as forms of destiny: ideas of unknown futures predetermined by forces outside of human agency. Destiny, like hope, can be distinguished from desire by its reliance on forces outside of the agent to shape events (Crapanzano 2003). Destiny is more certain than hope, and is often associated (in emic terms as well as in theoretical analysis) with faith in a divine being that determines events (although I have moved past the boundaries of purely religious instances of destiny in this piece). This has led Alice Elliot (2016) to identify two important features of destiny: it is fixed and unknowable. However, there is little fatalism in many conceptions of destiny, which instead motivate a huge individual and collective investment of time and resources in a “labor of hope,” work carried out to try to bring about hoped-for destinies and avoid undesired ones (Elliot 2016). These hopes generate enacted destinies, fixed, but needing people to realize them through individual and group action (Elliot and Menin, this issue; Nieswand 2010). To this end, people carry out “anticipatory actions” of both spiritual and material nature (Miyazaki 2004; Nielsen 2011; Reed 2011). Ideas of predestination are more than a “legitimizing or comforting device” (Mittermaier 2012: 258); they are also directly implicated in the ways that people act and interpret their actions.

Widely held ideas of destiny give meaning, postfactum, to events, which explains and justifies the success of one person or group—part of a broader moral framework—with implications for resource allocation, distribution, and exchange. Hence, they concern what Max Weber terms “theodicies of fortune and luck,” “the predicaments arising from producing, obtaining, or consuming sources of wealth or prosperity” (da Col 2012: 9; cf. Weber (1922–23) 1991: 271). Energy is committed to some activities rather than others, en-

abling investment but also limiting the horizons of individuals and social groups. Destiny can justify the present and motivate actions to bring about the future, in ways that reflect the values of individuals and the society they live in. But this begs the question about the relation between particular destinies and broader sociocultural frameworks.

The particular forms that destiny takes in Fiji reflect and contribute to the contemporary and historical sociocultural dynamics of the island nation, and those of rugby union globally. The 1995 decision of the international governing body (then called International Rugby Board, now World Rugby) to professionalize the game has precipitated major shifts in the structure of the global rugby industry. The resulting rapid development of overseas-based professional opportunities for the most talented athletes has coincided with an increased desire for overseas-based careers more generally in Fiji. Simultaneously, Fiji has experienced a period of strong ethno-nationalism. Rugby is deeply intertwined with contemporary identity politics, an activity through which itaukei differentiate themselves from the sizeable minority of Fijians of South Asian descent (Indo-Fijians) (Guinness and Besnier 2016). The contemporary moment is further complicated by the rise of Pentecostal Churches in a predominantly Methodist country. The different destinies emerge from divergent subjectivities prevalent in contemporary Fiji; the communalism of village life and Fijian Methodist practices, the more individualized teaching of Pentecostalism, and the bodily regimens of professional sport.

For young Fijian men who aspire to be professional rugby players, their destiny is bound to their bodies—revealed in them and realized through them. The particularly bodily nature of professional rugby is reflected in a focus on the care of and work on athletes’ bodies. Multiple audiences in Fiji and abroad read destiny and morality in the sinewy bodies and skillful performances of players, providing opportunities and support to some aspiring athletes, while limiting the ability of others to hope. It is through the bodies of aspiring athletes that divine and human agency play out in enabling or ending careers. I use the term *corporal destiny* to refer to ideologies of success that are defined by resources imagined within the body itself, whether this be constituted genetically, spiritually, or as ancestral inheritance. Corporal destinies are the embodiment of hope, as processes of training, effort, and care alter bodies, progressively incorporating longed for futures. By examining bodies, we

can see the boundaries of hoped for corporal destinies, which must be accommodated within the limitations of flesh and blood. However, sporting destinies are constituted by both the physical and spiritual.

Often scholars see sport and religion as separate topics for analysis, and disregard any incursion of religion into sports as “an anachronistic holdover because religious beliefs are assumed to be incongruous with the technical rationality of modernity” (Carter 2012: 148). In this understanding, religion and modern sporting practice are not at odds but rather relate to different domains; scientific sporting practices are used to control performance, but where there is still uncertainty and chance people employ magic (cf. Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard). Despite several excellent pieces on Fijian and Pacific Islands’ rugby, pointing out its crucial role in contemporary society (Dewey 2014), masculinity (Presterudstuen and Schieder 2016), and hopes for the future (Kanemasu and Molnar 2013), the importance of spirituality in the lives of athletes has been underexplored. I identify an emerging rugby theology, the collection of discourses, ideas, and practices that connect godliness, moral discipline, and religiosity to professional success in rugby. It is not only the case that religious elements persist in sport; an alternative professionalism based, in part, around ideas of divine potency in the world, spirituality, and worship through corporeal expression in sport is becoming influential.

This article begins by outlining the prevalent bodily ideas of masculinity in Fiji, and how these articulate with concepts of indigeneity to provide individual and collective resources for the future. I then contrast the different conceptions of future provided by Methodism and Pentecostalism in Fiji, which offer alternative temporalities and subjectivities. Finally, I show how these come together with the ideas of individualized corporal destiny that is dominant in professional rugby.

Destined to be warriors: Ethnic corporal destiny

In the political and material context of postcolonial Fiji, a career in rugby is regarded as the corporal destiny inherent in general population of indigenous men. Young itaukei men regard themselves as the literal embodiment of a warrior ancestry, their strength and resilience born from many generations of hard physical work and warfare. Indigenous Fijians reify histories of warfare, re-

producing tales of Fijian warriors and cannibals (Pigliasco 2015). A *bati* (warrior) ideology is taught to young men, and expected of them as adults (Teaiwa 2005). The ideology partly focuses on the development of bodily potential for physical size, athleticism, and powerful violence. It also requires the careful, culturally mediated control of their bodies, resilience in enduring discomfort, and a willingness to accept orders within a hierarchical system (Presterudstuen and Schieder 2016). The *bati* ideology provides a prevalent and highly valued identity for young men to aspire toward—an identity based in a past, embodied by Fijian men in the present, and expected of boys in the future. This promotes a cyclical temporality imagined through communal relations; that is, a future perspective that aims to recreate the past.

Professions in Fiji are markedly divided along ethnic and gender lines. Commentators both in Fiji and abroad commonly describe the nation as being made up of two ethnic groups, the itaukei (currently 54 percent of the total population) and Indo-Fijians (38 percent of the population). The simple division between Indo-Fijians and itaukei is emphasized over a reality that is significantly more complex (Kelly and Kaplan 2001). It ignores centuries of intermarriage and multiple ethnic minorities, notably the ethnically distinct population from the Fijian island of Rotuma (located several hundred kilometers north of the other islands), generations of migrants from neighboring Pacific Islands, descendants of early British, Australian, New Zealand, and European traders, people of Japanese ancestry, recent Chinese migrants and people of Chinese descent, and temporary migrants from many parts of the world. Moreover, itaukei are a heterogeneous group, who lead vastly different lives based on their rank in traditional structures, the island or village they reside in, and whether they live in the cities or rural areas, among many other parameters of social difference. Similarly, Indo-Fijians range from humble farmers to relatively rich entrepreneurs; they may descend from poor Southern Indian indentured laborers who arrived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries or successful Gujarati businesspersons who migrated freely before the mid-twentieth century; and they may practice Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, or Christianity of various denominations. The colonial period established ethnic divisions of labor, with itaukei confined predominantly to rural lives based on the exploitation of communal lands, while Indo-Fijians either cultivated leased land or partook in commercial and industrial ventures in urban areas.

These divisions persist today, with Indo-Fijians enjoying more success both in the agrarian sectors, and in commerce and industry in urban centers. Most pertinently, indigenous men dominate the military and police forces, which offer itaukei men a rare path to social and geographic mobility (S. Ratuva 2013; Tomlinson 2009; Teaiwa 2005, 2008). At a time when Fijians are increasingly aspiring to international migration, military and police careers now can lead to recruitment into international security forces or the British army, where several thousand Fijians currently serve (Ware 2012). Meanwhile, young Fijian women tend to work toward education-based professions in administration, health, teaching, and law. Many itaukei men regard themselves as particularly suited to work that requires gendered dispositions and bodies, specifically professional rugby and military service. The divisions of labor are self-reinforcing, with many pointing to uneven distribution of careers as evidence of natural ethnic and gendered predispositions.

The politics of decolonization have resulted in ethnized conceptions of nationalism. During World War II, the architect of modern Fiji, Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, stated: “Fijians will never be recognized unless our blood is shed first” (quoted in A. Ravavu 1983). In contrast, during World War II the Indo-Fijian population embraced the pacifism of Gandhi as a political maneuver, and joined the population of India in refusing to fight for an empire that did not recognize them as equals (see Kelly 2011). This led to an ethnic imbalance in the Fijian army, which is commonly tied to a perception that they lack the prerequisite physical strength and mental resilience (Teaiwa 2005: 206, 210), and used by some to call into question Indo-Fijian loyalty and masculinity: if they are Fijian men, why don’t they fight for the Fijian nation?

Today, many indigenous Fijians regard a soldiering form of masculinity as being natural and drawn from their ancestors. For instance, one interlocutor, Siti, reflects on his life as a rugby player and soldier:

Since I was a boy I have been told to be brave and to confront danger. Now, you know, I am working for the UN. I am doing the job that I am meant to be doing, that my family was always meant to be doing. It is not strange or difficult for me to do this job, because it is what I am meant to do. It is the same as being a Bati Leka [the clan that protects the region’s paramount chief]. It’s in me. It is part of me.

Rugby has become an important activity in the post-colonial indigenous self-image. Fijians have domesticated rugby to such an extent that it now plays an important symbolic and social role in the articulation, performance, and naturalization of a particular “Fijian” way of being (Dewey 2014; Guinness and Besnier 2016). However, rugby highlights the exceptionalism of indigenous Fijians. The national rugby team is made up of men regarded as prototypes of indigenous Fiji. Past teams included indigenous military and political leaders who established the nation-state along indigenous ideals, with the encouragement of colonial officials (Preslerudstuen 2010). Before each match the team performs the *bole*, an indigenous war cry, part of a broader system of publicity that links contemporary rugby players to indigenous warrior ancestors.

In the era of professional rugby, the sport also offers opportunities to exhibit itaukei values on the international stage (Kanemasu and Molnar 2013). The success in global rugby reinforces the supposed naturalness of itaukei moral and physical strength, with many Fijians understanding successful migration as a product of indigenous bodies, history, values, and communalism. Many Fijians explained that young indigenous men were inevitably successful in rugby because “Fijians are soldiers” and have strong and fast bodies because of their “warrior background.” In all, “being a man” for an indigenous Fijian man is bound to a bodily idea. By this logic, itaukei men have particular potential inherent in them, which can be expressed in rugby and soldiering. In fact, there is a prevalent myth in Fiji that most indigenous men would excel at rugby if they were just given the opportunities overseas. It is a myth that contributes significantly to the confidence with which young men undertake difficult trainings required to become successful athletes.

Particularly in rural Fiji, athletes regard their bodies as a product of care and love (*loloma*) from family, clan, and *vanua* (land and community, extended to “tradition” in general), and view their physicality as being produced communally rather than individually (Becker 1995). Young men are raised to regard themselves as part of a larger communal whole (Nabobo-Baba 2006). Kinship relationships are affirmed through regular visits between extended kin, and the sharing of resources, particularly food. Parents often name children after relatives or close friends whose characteristics they would like the child to inherit. The young men whose *yaca* (namesake) are prominent rugby players both strive to live up to the

name, and are also regarded by many as carrying some of that person's abilities and potential. The bodies upon which these young men's destinies rest are thought to be partly their ancestral legacy, partly bound up in kinship relations and care, and partly forged through hard work.

However, most Fijian men find that their ancestral heritage is not enough to guarantee them professional rugby careers, and, like Pio, are looking beyond collective explanations of success and failure, to understand and perhaps even control their individual fate and chances of success through Christian practices.

An emerging rugby theology

First of all I thank the Lord, he has been our source of strength. . . . We reminded each other of how God has taken us through the last two years, and that same God is here with us in Rio. . . . I told the boys "God called us to do this. He chose us, and when he chose us he justified us and brought us glory today."

—Osea Kolinisau, captain of the Olympic gold-medal winning Fijian rugby 7s team (A. Ratuva 2016)

The plethora of prayers, sermons, and spiritual discussions—so commonplace in contemporary Fijian rugby—have become prominent only in the last twenty years. Today, many players motivate themselves with Bible verses (such as the Isaiah 40:31 verse that begins the article), and emblazon their boots, clothes, and wrist strapping with "Philippians 4:13" ("I can do anything through Christ who strengthens me"), a practice first popularized by Waisale Serevi, the star of the Fijian team for the best part of two decades. Serevi was also the first rugby player to give a prominent public testimony (in the Pentecostal *Power Magazine*) attributing his excellence in rugby as a manifestation of God's power and love (Ryle 2010), a practice that is now widespread among elite athletes, exemplified in the above quote from Osea Kolinisau. While some coaches and former players remember fondly an era of beer and friendships rather than Bibles and professionalism, there is an almost ubiquitous use of prayers and hymns at elite and local training sessions.

The increase in the visibility of Christian practices in sport has coincided with the advent of professionalism and the rise of Pentecostalism in Fiji. While the theo-

logical approaches to rugby, religious rituals, symbols, and practices of preparation that circulate among Fijian clubs and Fijians contain influences from multiple denominations, it is principally based upon a combination of (often diverging) Methodist and Pentecostal thought.³

Fijian Methodism is closely associated with tradition and indigenous hierarchy structures. It was first established in Fiji in Lakeba in 1835. In the mid- to late nineteenth century, missionary work was focused in the island groups in the east of Fiji and eastern side of the main island of Viti Levu, due to material constraints of the church and strength of alliances in these regions. Much of the Evangelical work was done by Fijian ministers and teachers. The process required a large degree of slow adaptation of Methodism to indigenous beliefs and practices (Thornley 1979; Weir 2014). Missionaries often recognized that it was not so much their God as their awesome material wealth that was being coveted, and that people were converting due to the promises of eternal life, which had been mistaken for immortality and invulnerability (Tomlinson 2009; Kaplan 1995; Howard 1991).

Conversely, village chiefs who resisted the introduction of Christianity often did so as part of a larger stand against the power of eastern chiefs, led by the self-proclaimed ruler of Fiji, Ratu Cakobau, especially after an official visit by Cakobau and his sons to Sydney led to a measles outbreak in 1875 in Fiji, which caused the deaths of perhaps a third of the population; many saw these events as being a result of the Fijian conversion to Methodism and cession of power to Britain in 1874. Christianity, and above all the Methodist Church, was nevertheless able to link itself to the traditional social structures, through a translation of Christian ideas and texts into existing indigenous spiritual words and categories. The integration has been so successful that the missionary arrival is not remembered as a rupture with

3. Currently more than 90 percent of the indigenous Fijians are Christians (Tomlinson 2009), the majority of whom remain part of the Methodist Church, with its strong connections to chiefly power and traditional social systems. While the Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist, and Anglican churches are well established in Fiji, Pentecostalism and Methodism have become the most influential denominations in Fijian rugby theology.

the past but rather a revelation of the inherent Christianity (Methodism) of the Fijian people (Tomlinson 2009: 10).

Today, the Fijian Methodist theology revolves around community relations, morality, and salvation. The Methodist Church is regarded in much of Fiji as being inherently connected to the traditional Fijian way of life. Methodism and the chiefly system work together in the villages. For instance, the large contributions of the *turaga* (chief) to the church has established *lotu* (one Christian God, church, religious rites) within traditional authority and custom, while the prayer and presence of elements of worship at group events and ceremonies similarly sanction the chief's authority. Moreover, all chiefly tasks are said to be divinely appointed (Toren 1990: 17). Yet there is some tension between *vanua* and *lotu*, as chiefs derive their legitimacy from a past, while the Methodist Church sets itself up as protecting Fijians from past curses (Tomlinson 2009: 73). Fijians regard the pre-Christian past, the exclusive domain of the *vanua*, as dangerous but powerful, while the present is experienced with a "Fijian sense of loss" of potency and effectiveness (Tomlinson 2009: 6). Notably, there are stories of the warriors of the past being significantly larger than today's Fijians, power and size that are believed to have been lost due to societal weakness, as evidenced by a loss of chiefly authority and morality within communities (Tomlinson 2009: 74).

Fijian Methodist theology emphasizes communalism, pointing to the importance of the *vanua* itself as the locus of salvation (Bush 2000: 33). This belief system encourages commoners to behave respectfully, silent in the presence of chiefly authority, and to be *talai rawarawa* (easily sent) (Tomlinson 2006a). The grace of God is important, but it is manifested in relationships with one another, and is to be developed through the moral and physical cultivation of individuals by the group. Methodist sermons and the regular Bible study groups emphasize the need for contemporary Fiji to re-establish the communal relationship with God that they imagine existed at the moment of first conversion of the Fijian people (Miyazaki 2000, 2004; Tomlinson 2009). The hope for the future is one of restoring communal projects, traditional values in line with the past.

Fijian Pentecostalism is orientated differently both to the future and to *itaukei* traditions. Pentecostal Churches—which rapidly gained popularity in Fiji during postindependence 1970s and 1980s—were resisted in many villages, sometimes with violence, because of

their identity as global and non-Fijian and their emphasis on the relationship between God and each person as an individual (Ryle 2010). Pentecostal preachers emphasize that *lotu* should be considered as separate and superior to chiefly and state hierarchies. A key Pentecostal ritual is adult baptism, which marks a significant Christian rebirth, a rupture from the past (Newland 2004: 5; see Robbins 2004a, 2004b and Meyer 1998a, 1998b for discussions of rupture in Pentecostalism more generally). Pentecostalism disturbs patterns of subjectivities, encouraging what in a West African context has been described as the "new biopolitical subject that seeks its own autonomous salvation," both in spiritual and material ways (Piot 2010: 104). Indeed, Pacific Pentecostals preach individual salvation (Brison 2007).

This focus on the individualized spiritual relationship is problematic, even subversive, for the connection between God and the traditions of *vanua* (Morgain 2014). Church sermons challenge kinship practices such as *yaqona* drinking (communal sharing of a narcotic drink). Pentecostalist teachings emphasize that each individual is responsible for his or her own future, often imagined within a global community of interconnected churches—as opposed to the Methodist interest in traditional structures (Newland 2004; Ryle 2005).

Fijian Pentecostalism, like Methodism, emphasizes the importance of morality in shaping worldly events, but regards this power as residing in the individual and orientated toward the future (Miyazaki 2000: 36; Tomlinson 2006b, 2009). Pentecostals interpret much of their lives through a spiritual warfare framework of good versus evil that justifies particular moral codes and power structures (cf. Marshall 2009 on these dynamics in Nigeria). Difficult moments (in rugby or otherwise) are tests of faith or a result of moral failings. Only through faith, prayer, giving to the church, worship, and morality can they find the path set by God. In social media, church groups, and casual conversations many Pentecostals will attest (daily) to "blessings" in their lives, ranging from career advancement through to free taxi rides home from university on a hot day. However, they regard more significant events to be part of God's larger vision for each person—in Fijian "*na inakinaki ni Kalou*" (the will/intensions of God). This destiny is tailored to the particular "gifts" (talents/aptitudes) of the individual, and therefore the best possible thing for their lives—their purpose.

Adherents must carry out spiritual and material labor of hope to fulfill God's plan for them. Pentecostal

sermons and church groups encourage regular participation in all facets of the church as well as cultivating the individual spiritual life of careful moral discipline (e.g., sexual abstinence outside of marriage, avoiding intoxicating substances, particularly *yaqona* and alcohol), and the discipline of work. The prosperity gospel, widespread in global Pentecostalism (Coleman 2000), explains success as the blessing of God, the rewards for believers' faith and morality (Brison 2007). Some sermons explicitly account for health and prosperity in terms of individual relationships with an immanent and powerful God (Newland 2004: 5). Through their moral and corporal discipline adherents can influence the future, not by changing *na inakinaki ni Kalou* (the will of God) but by finding and fulfilling their purpose.

The Pentecostal destiny differs from the previously discussed *itaukei* corporal destiny. Purpose is in God's hands. Some speak in tongues, some prophesize, some preach, but each individual's purpose is in fulfilling God's will, submitting to His direction, and being content. If God has called someone to play rugby, then they do it to give glory to God; if they succeed in rugby terms they are confirmed in the knowledge that God has given them that opportunity and all praise is given to Him. For Kolinisau, as we saw in this section's epigraph, God's will brought the individual athletes together, and it was God's will that the team was victorious. Their election by God justified the players' work and sacrifices, and continues to justify the rewards that they receive, so long as they use their unparalleled platform to do His work. It is a conception of destiny that rests not on history and inherited bodily capabilities but on the grace of God to give (a group of) individuals sporting talent (on the connections between grace and authority, power, and status, cf. Pitt-Rivers and Peristiany [1992]). God has chosen some people for success, and in doing so has declared that success justified. This, then, is not an individualism that counters serving in a team, but neither is it destiny in communal terms. In contrast to ideas of corporal destiny, this purpose does not necessarily rest in the body, or tradition, but is rather part of God's larger plan for the individual Christian.

Fijian rugby today contains visible elements of both Methodist and Pentecostal practices, because teams contain men who are part of different denominations, and because men are learning practices and spiritual orientations to rugby from each other. However, these different Fijian conceptions of Christian destiny overlap

and contrast with the particular corporal conceptions of potential that are prevalent in professional sports.

Talent as a professional corporal destiny

The coaches of elite rugby clubs have developed their own models to predict which athletes will be successful and explain why. My experience playing professionally in several top tier rugby clubs and while conducting fieldwork in Argentina, Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, and France has shown me a remarkable level of similarity among professional coaching in different locations, as practices, knowledge, and people circulate between the clubs of global rugby. Almost all coaches, scouts, and professional managers are looking for players with what they commonly describe as "talent," an ability to play rugby at the highest level. Professional rugby academies (institutions for the development of young players) run a barrage of biomechanical tests on young recruits. These tests are repeated routinely, some daily, with the aim of carefully mapping the physical development of each individual's body. Clubs aim to determine quickly not only what each person can do but also what they will become. Success as a rugby athlete in many ways is understood as being predetermined by genetics and family pedigree—a professional corporal destiny. Individuals either do or don't have physical potential, and clubs invest a lot in those who they believe could be destined for success.

Coaches commonly imagine Pacific Islander athletes to have bodies that are naturally strong and fast, suited to playing rugby (Clément 2014; Besnier 2012; McDonald, Belanji, and Derham 2012; McDonald 2016). There is a belief that Fijians have "flair," "natural talent," the "x-factor," have rugby in their "blood," are "unbelievable athletes" and that, given the right opportunities and structures, can almost singlehandedly win professional matches. These conceptions reinforce the Fijian sense of their own corporal destiny. Fijians located at all levels of rugby, whether in France, Australia, New Zealand, or Fiji, draw on these ideas of their own "natural talent," often to form an optimistic interpretation of their position within the global market. Most notably, many aspiring athletes cite their innate talent when accepting opportunities to move to overseas amateur clubs, particularly those in New Zealand, with offers of manual labor jobs and accommodation rather than salaried employment. The discourse that "Fijians are naturally good at rugby" is so prevalent that many players are willing to move

overseas for no money in the belief that their natural talent will guarantee their future success.

The enthusiasm that coaches have for Fijian talent is tempered by their belief that Fijians are also “raw,” ill-disciplined on and off the field, incapable of integrating into the strict training requirements of professional rugby clubs. Stories of young Fijian players drinking to excess, fighting, and missing training circulate among professional coaches and overseas-based Fijian players alike. Many of the ideas about predetermined talent easily slip into a view of Fijians as being destined for problems and unfulfilled potential (Besnier 2015), a partial inversion of the Fijian understanding of their innate corporal destinies. Indeed, while many Fijians view the active participation of itaukei men in their family, community, and church lives as not only an important aspect of success but also crucial to the production of Fijian athletes, many professional coaches prefer men who have long been out of Fiji and in the systems that they trust to develop young players with potential into valuable rugby athletes.

Most clubs now require of all players “professionalism” in their approach to training, preparation, and playing. Each individual develops their athletic potential technically, tactically, and physically through meticulous preparation and years of training in selected schools, amateur clubs, and national rugby programs. The system promotes a player’s sense of responsibility for their career, and teaches players that they must alter many aspects of their lives in order to maximize their potential. Ultimately, each individual is in control of their own performance, a style of neoliberal governmentality prevalent in contemporary sports industries (Besnier et al. 2018), and a characteristic of neoliberal industries more generally (Gershon 2011). Many athletes internalize the ideology of professionalism. They channel their desires for success into hard work, and carefully manage their whole lives to enhance their rugby careers. Failure often generates a sense of guilt, which in turn motivates future action.

There are obvious parallels between the individual responsibility promoted by professionalism and Pentecostalism. Both rely on an idea that hard work, discipline, and dedication are required to bring to fruition talent latent in an individual. Both encourage young men to dedicate their time and resources to pursuing their talents or gifts. Both carefully examine evidence, whether blessings or physical tests, for signs of a rugby destiny in a young man’s body. As opposed to the sub-

jectivity promoted by Fijian Methodism, which encourages individuals to seek value, meaning, and direction from within family and village hierarchies, both Pentecostalism and professionalism encourage individuals to be entrepreneurs and to strive for worldly success through hard work and dedication. However, clear tensions emerge as religious practices, and particularly Pentecostal self-discipline, are incorporated into team cultures.

“But Samoans are praying too”: Tensions between corporal and spiritual preparation

The reason they [Fijians] don’t succeed in most things is that they will take the soft option every time and then they will hide behind God. They don’t put the work in and they don’t get the result, but they would just keep turning back to religion to explain this failing. I used to say to them, “boys, what’s going to happen today, we’re feeling good, Samoa is feeling good, we’re both praying to the same guy . . . so who do you think is going to win?”

—Non-Fijian Head Coach, Fijian Rugby Team 2006

Once we get our players to turn up, physically, mentally and spiritually, then we have a chance against the other sides. Physically we don’t match NZ or Australia. Mentally we are way behind, but the only place we can match these teams is spiritually.

—(Pentecostal Fijian) Head Coach, Fijian Rugby Team 2011

Christian conceptions of divine power have the potential to undermine some tenets of professional rugby. In the Fijian national development team, the focus of this section, the most promising amateur Fijian players, in Fiji and overseas, were brought together for a two-month tour of Australia and New Zealand. The mixture of practices that they were taught reflects the dynamic coming together of professional, Methodist, and Pentecostal perspectives. The 2006 coach, a New Zealand man, regarded the belief in divine determination as leading his players to cede responsibility for winning and losing games to God, by explaining away losses as divine will. For him, players “hide behind God” rather than carrying out the difficult physical training required to improve. He pointed out that Samoan players are “praying to the same guy.” Here, the logic was that even if God

were omnipotent, He would not be able to determine which team to help, and for that reason players should instead rely on professionalism and physical training to improve. (Of course, he remains oblivious to the fact that the same logic could be used to argue for an emphasis on spiritual preparation, given that the Samoa team uses very similar professional training methods as the Fijian team.) For the coach, the players' sense of divine determinism is instead fatalism. However, he did not recognize that the players were engaged in extensive religious preparations, rather than waiting for their fate.

"Samoans pray too," in different variations, is now widely referenced during theologically inflected discussions with rugby players in Fiji and abroad. Players use it to explain that being Christian and praying are necessary but not sufficient to secure victory. Indeed many players are equally quick to point out that many of the most successful teams in contemporary rugby are made up of predominantly non-Christian players. While professional approaches to failure (and success) focus on appropriate physical and mental preparation, or failings of skills and tactics, rugby theology advances three propositions: first, but least commonly, God has another plan to be revealed through prayer and Bible study (alternative destiny); second, failure is a result of insufficient commitment by athletes to spiritual or physical preparation (unfulfilled destiny); and third, failure is punishment by God for immorality.⁴ The second and third propositions are the most common, particularly in the short term.

By these logics, bad occurrences—whether losses, poor individual play, or injuries—are the result of insufficient religiosity within the team, or their actions against God. (Im)morality is also imagined as having an impact at a societal level—some of the players blamed the devastating earthquakes in Christchurch, which killed many people and leveled large portions of the city during the time of the tour, on a lack of religion in New Zealand and a widespread societal acquiescence to supposedly immoral practices, such as the legalization of same-sex marriage. Short-term problems, even catastrophes, are at least partly due to human failings. However, in general, athletes maintain their faith that a purpose exists for them through rugby.

4. There are parallels between the rationales rugby players offer for lack of efficacy of their spiritual practices and those proposed by other success-focused cosmologies for failed rituals (Douglas 1966: 175–77).

In rugby theology on the role of God in the outcome of rugby matches, the dominant perspective that emerges draws on ideas of enacted destiny (Nieswand 2010). God has a plan that Fijians cannot control, but they must do everything they can to fulfill their purpose. Yes, God has the power to determine the outcome of matches and yes, all success should be attributed to his blessings, but players should focus on the physical preparation of their bodies. Young men often cite a variant of the (nonbiblical) phrase "God does not help those who don't help themselves" to explain their heavy program of physical preparation. They use it to justify the time they put into physical preparation, and the incorporation of a broader regime of (Pentecostal) moral and physical disciplinary practices into their lives. Players regularly comment along these lines: "We believe that our strength comes from God. That is why it is important to pray every afternoon." Players, when discussing their own individual or group efforts, frequently utilize the rhetoric that it is only due to God's will that they performed well.

During the 2011 tour, when the head coach was a born-again Pentecostal itaukei man, spirituality became a core part of the team's preparation. He commented on the importance of maintaining their relationship with God, of "preparing spiritually for the game," and of being able to make up for deficiencies in material conditions and even skill through spirituality. The spiritual emphasis was sometimes in tension with that of two Australian assistant coaches who had been hired to develop players' professionalism, skills, and tactical awareness. While the Australian assistant coaches would prescribe training to focus on skills or tactical weaknesses, the coach would instead promote increased prayer, Bible reading, and communal worship sessions to improve the spiritual side of the game. At times, trainings were cut short for prayers, and the head coach encouraged players to get up before dawn to carry out their own Bible studies, which caused some to be tired for trainings. One player even noted that the coach said: "If you don't believe in God then you won't be on this team. That is one of the morals that we have. Other teams have other morals, but this is one for us." In this understanding, spirituality and God are active potent components of elite sporting practice.

The power of destiny

In Fiji, ideas of destiny intertwine with economic and social imperatives to shape each individual's day-to-

day choices about which future to work toward. The Baravilevu rugby club in Suva, Fiji's capital, provides an intermediary point for some aspiring athletes. Located in one of the city's poorest suburbs, many of club's players are living in households with little disposable income, often including relatives from villages and outer islands who have moved to Suva in search of opportunities. Baravilevu has a reputation for physical toughness and for producing athletes who played for Fiji and professionally overseas, built on success in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Today, there are an estimated twenty former members currently playing overseas, in schools, amateur teams, and professional clubs. Also, there are almost a dozen more who have gained employment in one of the state institutions that preferentially recruit rugby players (fire, navy, army, corrections, police), both for their presumed physiques and dispositions, and with the hope that they help these institutions win prestigious local rugby competitions. Like soldiering, these institutions offer long-term dependable salaries and value the itaukei bodies and masculinity, but do not fully capture the possibilities of the rugby dream, particularly the global mobility, high salaries, joy of mastery of the sport, and a prominent platform from which to testify.

Corporal and spiritual ideas influenced Pio's belief in his future rugby career. He had chosen Baravilevu because of the ongoing presence of professionalism at the club, in the form of former professional athletes, and the training practices they had introduced, which he followed as much as his limited resources allowed. His strength came from a belief in himself as a Fijian with natural talent, as a member of a supportive family who nurtured his rugby playing, and his faith in God. Although he was raised as a Methodist and attended the Methodist Church that neighbored the clubs—together with the majority of the team—since moving to Suva, he had obviously adopted the practices of physical and spiritual discipline prevalent among Pentecostal players, stating that in Suva he could not rely solely on family and he needed to “work hard and trust in God.” He enjoyed the Methodist hymns and sharing yaqona (in small amounts) with teammates, a practice that the club's Pentecostal president preached against regularly, and regarded as compromising players rugby and spiritual futures. He took confidence when the coaches told him that he had the potential to have an overseas career. For Pio the Methodist, itaukei, Pentecostal, and even professional ideologies of success over-

lapped and aided one another in promoting his dedication to becoming a professional rugby player. However, as he grew older without progressing in a rugby career, coaches no longer described his body as having the same potential. His dedication no longer seemed like the best way to fulfill his masculine potential or his duties to his family and community, and eventually he moved back to the village where pathways to professional rugby were perceived as being almost nonexistent.

For other men, the ideologies of success are always tension, contradiction, and competition. In fact, one young player at Baravilevu, Waqa, was so concerned about being led astray by the yaqona-drinking Methodists on the team that the moment trainings finished he immediately ran several kilometers to the Pentecostal Church where he resided. As he explained it, “I have to pray and be focused on serving God. . . . I'm not yet sure about my purpose. You know. If God has a purpose for me playing rugby or if it is ministry [he had trained as a church musician]. If I get distracted with the boys . . . drinking . . . grog . . . I will lose my path.” With unwavering discipline, Waqa was willing to train for rugby, with faith that if this were God's purpose for him, then he would be rewarded with a career. If not, he will see it as a test that strengthens his faith, and allows him to find his real purpose.

Conclusion

It is worth returning at this point to the coincidence of the rise in Fiji of both global professional rugby and Pentecostalism. A similar coincidence has been seen elsewhere; for instance, among Brazilian (Rial 2012) and Cameroonian footballers (Kovac 2016). In Brazil, star players embrace Pentecostalism because it provides to them a moral framework for the self-discipline and control required in the modern game, a cosmology that offers serenity in a highly stressful environment, and an understanding of success that allows a balance between asceticism and material consumption (Rial 2012: 153). Among Fijian rugby players, professionalism and Pentecostalism promote a vision of success dependent on a predetermined talent/purpose realized through constant work. It is a sense of Christian purpose that turns difficult training into individual moral imperative to a God who has elected elite players for success in rugby. In turn, rugby provides to Pentecostals a prominent and even global platform for public engagement and

testimonies about the power of God. These functional overlaps mean that preachers and coaches are actively engaged in Pentecostal rugby.

The Pentecostal focus on individual purpose and persistent work in the face of frustrations lends itself to the practical requirements of long periods of economic precariousness, in ways that parallel the protestant work ethic that Weber describes as an essential component of the capitalism system (Meyer 2004). In the Fijian position on the margins of global rugby, patience seems necessary. The coincidence of sport and religion then becomes indicative of larger processes in a time in which the changing realities of a neoliberal globalized economy undermine established social structures and economic patterns, a linkage between cosmology and social systems. Both global sports and Pentecostalism offer individuals and families new systems, hopes, and realities, ones particularly suited to contemporary societies. Indeed, part of the success of Pentecostalism globally comes from its provocation of a rupture—in time and morality—and subsequent provision of a ready-made solution (Robbins 2004b). However, Methodism and the belief in indigenous men's innate warrior nature add to the spirit that supports the economic and social structures of the global rugby industry. All ideas combine to enhance a man's sense that they are destined for professional rugby, but they each invite different responses, dependent on the types of subjectivities they hinge on, and the type of linkage between morality, divine power, and earthly consequences. As Weber (2010) observes, this spirit creates a drive for people to work, and justifies the exploitation of a willingness of others to work.

Furthermore, destiny offers a rationale behind the wild success of some people, while the majority of others struggle—election by God, ethnic heritage, or genetic pedigree can be powerful moral statements. Like Pentecostalism, rugby offers a vision for the future in which Fijians are engaged in the new global world they encounter, hopefully and with purpose. This is where destiny becomes important, by adding a sense of purpose to the futurity of hope. Both hope and destiny have a “prospective momentum,” by which individuals temporarily allow others or other forces to have agency in order to act in expected ways (Miyazaki 2004). People draw on a sense of destiny to build upon the past and present in ways that give their actions a sense of certainty that they otherwise might not have. Destiny is a powerful influence because it motivates not only through hope, but also by providing moral imperative for action and justification for individ-

ual or communal success, in this case through the discourses of God's grace, indigenous inheritance, and genetic talent. Destiny is an expression of a position of the world inflected with values—a moral position as well as a desire. Regardless of the particular value system, worldview, subjectivity, or temporality associated with a specific concept of destiny, it is this dual characteristic that gives destiny its power in practice. This same characteristic distinguishes destiny from hope, giving it an analytical power.

There are interesting depoliticizing effects to destiny. People reconsider the present and future in terms of their own morality, bodies, and heritage rather than see them as products of politics and material conditions, and because they see salvation in individual terms rather than as a reconfiguration of society. This has significant consequences for domestic economies, justifying and motivating the expenditure of wealth and resources toward certain projects, such as rugby, at the expense of others and their hopes. In Fiji, young men train for a rugby career at the expense of not only other opportunities in their lives but also those of their spouses and siblings. Many of the players in Baravilevu have no immediate employment prospects and rely on extended families for daily subsistence. Widely held ideas of destiny justify the pursuit of rugby to extended family, who materially supports players despite their limited resources. The general acceptance of these ideologies of success, which are embedded within broader cultural and religious frameworks, magnifies their influence on people's everyday lives and moments of profound decisions. Concepts of destiny are so powerful because they position certain pursuits and values as outside of debate, making them fixed, indisputable, and indeed timeless.

Corporal destinies are fixed within limits that don't apply to spiritual destinies. These limits are more visible, read into the flesh and actions of individuals—potential fades with age, dims when not acted on, and may vanish completely with serious injury. Corporal destinies encourage an engagement with the tangible and practical, requiring the constant care and attention of individuals and families. This has a temporal component, as bodies are experienced through time, produced through care and work, and in relation to histories and kinship (whether imagined as cyclical traditions or linear genetics). A person's spiritual destiny, at least in this instance, is less apparent.

Young Fijian men grow up in a world that provides to them multiple resources with which to imagine the

future. These include ways of life based upon ideas of traditional roles as well those that engage with the global economy in new and creative ways. These also include three prominent ideologies of success, which combine in the dreams of professional rugby: the secular and sacred come together, as apparently corporeal ideas such as genetic destiny reinforce the messages of sermons; this is an indigenous and a global dream, a place for itaukei masculinity and masculine roles. That is, until the moments of tension when they contradict. In Fijian rugby, religious and not-so-religious coaches and players alike find ways of negotiating between the spiritual and corporal methods of preparation, minimizing overt challenges to the authority of God, the confidence in itaukei warriorhood, or the efficacy of professionalism. The sometimes awkward balance shifts between different teams or as coaches and leading players change, but generally persists so long as rugby remains the primary mode of achieving success. However, at some moments tensions between different ideologies can seem like irreconcilable contradictions—Pio resigns himself to pursuing his spiritual and corporal destinies in the village, away from the possibilities of a professional career, while Waqa literally runs away from what he fears could place him along an itaukei path at the expense of his Pentecostal future.

Acknowledgments

This article is based on research conducted as part of my PhD dissertation, funded by a Rhodes Scholarship at the University of Oxford, and on research conducted as part of a project entitled “Globalization, Sport, and the Precarity of Masculinity” (2012–17), funded by the European Research Council under the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (Grant Agreement 295769). I thank my research participants in Fiji and elsewhere for the generous ways in which they shared their lives with me, as well as Niko Besnier, Patrick Guinness, Adnan Hossain, Mark Hann, Uros Kovac, Domenica Calabro, Susan Brownell, and three anonymous reviewers for their generous comments. I presented versions of this article at the 2016 AAA conference in Minneapolis and at the 2016 conference of the European Association of Social Anthropology, Milan.

References

- Becker, Anne. 1995. *Body, self and society: The view from Fiji*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Besnier, Niko. 2012. “The athlete’s body and the global condition: Tongan rugby players in Japan.” *American Ethnologist* 39, no. 3: 491–510.
- . 2014. “Pacific Island rugby: Histories, mobilities, comparisons.” *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science* 3, no. 3: 268–76.
- . 2015. “Sports mobilities across borders: Postcolonial perspectives.” In “Postcolonial sports: International perspectives,” special issue, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 7: 849–61.
- Besnier, Niko, and Susan Brownell. 2012. “Sport, modernity, and the body.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41:443–59.
- Besnier, Niko, Daniel Guinness, Mark Hann, and Uros Kovac. 2018. “Rethinking masculinity in the neoliberal order: Cameroonian footballers, Fijian rugby players, and Senegalese wrestlers.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 60, no. 4.
- Bush, Joseph. 2000. “Land and communal faith: Methodist belief and ritual in Fifi [sic].” *Studies in World Christianity* 6, no. 1: 21–37.
- Brison, Karen. 2007. “The empire strikes back: Pentecostalism in Fiji.” *Ethnology* 46, no. 1: 21–39.
- Carter, Thomas. 2012. “God does not play dice with the universe, or does he? Anthropological interlocutions of sport and religion.” *Religion and Society: Advances in Research* 3, no. 1: 142–62.
- Clément, Julien. 2014. *Cultures physiques: Le rugby de Samoa*. Paris: Éditions de la rue d’Ulm.
- Coleman, Simon. 2000. *The globalisation of charismatic Christianity: The spreading the gospel of prosperity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crapanzano, Vincent. 2003. “Reflections on hope as a category of social and psychological analysis.” *Cultural Anthropology* 18, no. 1: 3–32.
- da Col, Giovanni. 2012. “Introduction: Natural philosophies of fortune—luck, vitality, and uncontrolled relatedness.” *Social Analysis* 56, no. 1: 1–23.
- Dewey, Robert F., Jr. 2014. “Fiji and Pacific rugby research: The state of the game.” *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science* 3, no. 3: 186–201.
- Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. London: Routledge.
- Elliot, Alice. 2016. “The make-up of destiny: Predestination and courtship in a Moroccan emigrant town.” *American Ethnologist* 43, no. 3: 488–99.

- Gershon, Ilana. 2011. "Neoliberal agency." *Current Anthropology* 52, no. 4: 357–55.
- Guinness, Daniel, and Niko Besnier. 2016. "Nation, nationalism, and sport: Fijian rugby in the local-global nexus." *Anthropological Quarterly* 89, no. 4: 1109–41.
- Howard, Michael. 1991. *Fiji: Race and politics in an island state*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Kaplan, Martha. 1995. *Neither cargo nor cult: Ritual politics and the colonial imagination in Fiji*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Kanemasu, Yoko, and Gyoza Molnar. 2013. "Pride of the people: Fijian rugby labour migration and collective identity." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 48, no. 6: 706–19.
- Kelly, John D. 2011. "Shanti and Mana: The loss and recovery of culture under postcolonial conditions in Fiji." In *Changing contexts, shifting meanings: Transformations of cultural traditions in Oceania*, edited by Elfriede Hermann, 235–49. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- Kelly, John D., and Martha Kaplan. 2001. *Represented communities: Fiji and world decolonization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kovac, Uros. 2016. "Football dreams, Pentecostalism and migration in southwest Cameroon." *GLOBALSPORT* (blog), September 7, 2016. <http://global-sport.eu/football-dreams-pentecostalism-and-migration-in-southwest-cameroon>.
- Marshall, Ruth. 2009. *Political spiritualities: The Pentecostal revolution in Nigeria*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McDonald, Brent. 2016. "Coaching whiteness: Stories of 'Pacifika exotica' in Australian high school rugby." *Sport, Education and Society* 21, no. 3: 465–82.
- McDonald, Brent, Belinda Belanji, and Lisa Derham. 2012. "'It's in the blood': Negotiations of the Australian rugby 'field' by Pacific Islanders." Proceedings from the Australian Sociological Association Conference, 26–29. Sociological Association of Australia, Brisbane, November 2012.
- Meyer, Birgit. 1998a. "'Make a complete break with the past': Memory and postcolonial modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostal discourse." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 3: 316–49.
- . 1998b. *Translating the devil: Religion and modernity among the Ewe in Ghana*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- . 2004. "Christianity in Africa: From African independent to Pentecostal-charismatic churches." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33:447–74.
- Mittermaier, Amira. 2012. "Dreams from elsewhere: Muslim subjectivities beyond the trope of self-cultivation." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18, no. 2: 247–65.
- Miyazaki, Hirokasu. 2000. "Faith and its fulfillment: Agency, exchange, and the Fijian aesthetics of completion." *American Ethnologist* 27, no. 1: 31–51.
- . 2004. *The method of hope: Anthropology, philosophy and Fijian knowledge*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Morgain, Rachel. 2014. "Living water: Christian theologies and interethnic relations in Fiji." *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 15, no. 1: 65–84.
- Nabobo-Baba, Unaisi. 2006. *Knowing and learning: An indigenous Fijian approach*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Newland, Linda. 2004. "Turning the spirits into witchcraft: Pentecostalism in Fijian villages." *Oceania* 75, no. 1: 1–18.
- Nielsen, Morten. 2011. "Futures within: Reversible time and house-building in Maputo, Mozambique." *Anthropological Theory* 11, no. 4: 397–423.
- Nieswand, Boris. 2010. "Enacted destiny: West African charismatic Christians in Berlin and the immanence of God." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40, no. 1: 33–59.
- Peristiany, John George, and Julian Pitt-Rivers, eds. 1992. *Honor and grace in anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pigliasco, Guido. 2015. "From colonial pomp to tourism reality: Commodification and cannibalization of the Fijian firewalking ceremony." *Pacific Studies* 38, nos. 1–2: 140–81.
- Piot, Charles. 2010. *Nostalgia for the future: West Africa after the cold war*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Presterudstuen, Geir Henning. 2010. "The mimicry of men: Rugby and masculinities in post-colonial Fiji." *Global Studies Journal* 3, no. 2: 237–48.
- Presterudstuen, Geir Henning, and Dominik Schieder. 2016. "Bati as bodily labour: Rethinking masculinity and violence in Fiji." *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 17, nos. 3–4: 213–30.
- Ratuva, Anasilini. 2016. "In God we trust: Kolinisau." *Fiji Sun*, August 12, 2016. <http://fijisun.com.fj/2016/08/12/in-god-we-trust-kolinisau/>.
- Ratuva, Steven. 2013. "Coerced preferences: Affirmative actions and horizontal inequalities in Fiji." In *Affirmative action, ethnicity and conflict*, edited by Edmund Terence Gomez and Ralph Premdas, 95–125. London: Routledge.

- Ravavu, Asesela. 1983. *Vaka I Taukei: The Fijian way of life*. Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Reed, Adam. 2011. "Hope on remand." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17, no. 3: 527–44.
- Rial, Carmen. 2012. "Banal religiosity: Brazilian athletes as new missionaries of the neo-Pentecostal diaspora." *Vibrant* 9, no. 2: 128–59.
- Robbins, Joel. 2004a. *Becoming sinners: Christianity and moral torment in a Papua New Guinea society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2004b. "The globalization of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 117–43.
- Ryle, Jacqueline. 2005. "Roots of land and church: The Christian state debate in Fiji." *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 5, no. 1: 58–78.
- . 2010. *My God, my land: Interwoven paths of Christianity and tradition in Fiji*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Schieder, Dominik. 2014. "Fiji Islander rugby union players in Japan: Corporate particularities and migration routes." *Asia-Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science* 3, no. 3: 250–67.
- Teaiwa, Teresia K. 2005. "Articulated cultures: Militarism and masculinities in Fiji during the mid-1990s." *Fijian Studies* 3, no. 2: 201–22.
- . 2008. "On women and 'Indians': The politics of inclusion and exclusion in militarized Fiji." In *Security disarmed: Gender, race, and militarization*, edited by Barbara Sutton, Sandra Morgen, and John Novkov, 111–35. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Thornley, A. W. 1979. "Fijian Methodism, 1875–1945: The emergence of a national church." PhD diss., The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Tomlinson, Matt. 2006a. "The limits of meaning: Case studies in the anthropology of Christianity." In *The limits of meaning: Case studies in the anthropology of Christianity*, edited by Matthew Engelke and Matt Tomlinson, 1–38. New York: Berghahn Books.
- . 2006b. "Retheorizing mana: Bible translation and discourse of loss in Fiji." *Oceania* 76, no. 2: 173–85.
- . 2009. *In God's image: The metaculture of Fijian Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Toren, Christina. 1990. *Making sense of hierarchy: Cognition as social process in Fiji*. London: Athlone Books.
- Ware, Vron. 2012. *Military migrants: Fighting for your country*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Weber, Max. (1922–23) 1991. "The social psychology of the world religions." In *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*, edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 267–301. London: Routledge.
- . 2010. *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. New York: Scribner's Sons.
- Weir, Christine. 2014. "We visit Colo towns . . . when it is safe to go: Indigenous adoption of Methodist Christianity in Wainibuka and Wainimala Valleys, Fiji, in the 1870s." *Journal of Pacific History* 49, no. 2: 129–50.

Daniel GUINNESS is a researcher based at the University of Amsterdam. He received his DPhil in Anthropology from Oxford University in 2014. His academic interests are in the changing social relations, cosmologies, and masculinities in the context of globalized neoliberal labor markets, particularly sport migration in the global rugby industry. He has undertaken ethnographic field research in Fiji, Argentina, Australia, New Zealand, and France.

Daniel Guinness
University of Amsterdam
Department Anthropology
PO Box 15509
Amsterdam, The Netherlands
1001 NA
daniel.r.guinness@gmail.com