



The Resilient Landscape:

Fijian Village Gardens in the Age of Commercial Agriculture*

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Commercial agriculture in the Pacific has typically resulted in increased monoculture, reliance on purchased food, and environmental degradation. This is particularly the case on Taveuni Island, Fiji, a well-known hotspot for commercial taro enterprises. Using ethnographic data on the agricultural landscape in an indigenous Fijian community there, I demonstrate how the community maintains a degree of crop diversity and flexible land-use arrangements despite the sweeping effects of export-based farming practices. The capacity for diversity and flexibility, I argue, is sustained in a landscape consisting of hilly terrain with fragmented gardens, which enables the community to respond resiliently to the disciplining influence of commercial agriculture, even while engaging in many of its practices. I also point out that the everyday acts of walking and seeing in the rugged landscape are neglected aspects of farming that allow the villagers to maintain a profound connection to an environment filled with meaning, memories, and a sense of time. This agricultural landscape

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is forever a complex social space, rather than a place defined solely by commercial productivity. The results of this study show how resilience may be cultivated in indigenous agricultural systems even given the impact of globalization.

Keywords: Fiji, landscape, commercial agriculture, land tenure, walking and seeing

韌性地景：商業性農業時代下的 斐濟村落農田

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當代商業性農業活動對環境造成的影響已經為許多研究所討論。在太平洋島嶼社會中，作物單一化、對購買食物的依賴、以及森林與土壤品質的惡化是常見的狀況。特別是斐濟有「花園之島」雅號的塔妙妮島（Taveuni），在肥沃的火山土壤與溫暖多雨的氣候的外衣下，其實已開始因大規模的商業芋頭外銷事業而出現相關的環境問題。同樣地在村落農田中，儘管耕作規模偏小，但由於芋頭與卡瓦胡椒等現金作物帶來的經濟收益，使得其中栽培的作物也開始以市場重視的品種為主。農民為各自家戶生計努力，在自己的農地上使用除草劑與化學肥料耕種、估算每棵作物能帶來的收入。

本文以島上一個村落為例，指出看似橫掃全島的商業性農業活動，其實並沒有摧毀地方的作物多樣性，也沒有將村民規訓成理性算計的獨立農人。在村落農田中，儘管市場品種的確為大宗，但對傳統儀式性品種的種植仍未間斷。而在村落各家戶旁的小菜園、邊界的沼澤區、以及山區森林河川谷地這些不明顯的地方，不同歷史過程中引入的作物或野生的品種也在各個角落生長著，持續提供村民食物的來源。在土地利用方面，以父系世系群為主的官方土地制度下，其實有許多不同名字且使用權具有相當彈性的土地區塊。村落的農田散佈在這些區塊中，接納鄉村複雜的人群移動。除此之外，傳統共作活動也還在進行。

我認為這些多樣性與彈性是被當地崎嶇的地形、碎裂交錯的農田、與從村落延伸到森林的連續面所包容著，使得重視效率與一致性的商業性農業事業無法順利運作。更重要的是，本文提出這些複雜多樣的生計行為與人群移動，是由村民每日在地景中上下走動與觀看的感官活動所聯繫起來，使得一

個包含過去與未來、記憶與情感的全貌環境得以浮現在村民眼前、不斷地被感知。我將之稱為一種韌性地景：它並非對全球化的反抗，而是讓村民在參與商業性農業事業之餘，仍能保持與土地、社群的連結，而這正是斐濟土地 (*vanua*) 一詞的精髓。

關鍵詞：斐濟，地景，商業性農業，走動與觀看，土地制度
