CONNECTING IDENTITIES AND RELATIONSHIPS THROUGH INDIGENOUS EPISTEMOLOGY: THE SOLOMONI OF FIJI

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ABSTRACT

Oral tradition is a significant aspect of the lives of most indigenous communities. Myths, legends, dances and songs have been passed down orally throughout the generations. Such indigenous knowledge needs to be documented if any indigenous community chooses to maintain it for future generations.

This study examines the traditional relationship and identity of Solomon Islanders living in Fiji by tracing its place through indigenous knowledge, Pacific epistemologies and discourses. This thesis explores the notion of *tauvu* (springing from the same ancestor) relationship between the Solomoni and the indigenous Fijians living in Fiji by reflecting on how it came about and how it has been maintained throughout Fiji.

This research utilises ethnography and participatory action research including the use of appropriate Fiji and Solomon Islands cultural protocols to enable access for interviews and community groups.

The study has not only helped to identify the important aspects of the *tauvu* traditional relationships but it has also clarified and described the history and depths of the relationship between the *taukei* (indigenous Fijians) and Solomoni. Having such a cultural knowledge has helped the *taukei* to be accepting and accommodating, thus enabling the Solomoni to assimilate, integrate and intermarry into the Fijian culture and custom.

This study hopes to encourage people whether individual or collective in any indigenous community to connect to their history and identity which would enable them to value their stories.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my grandfather and his brothers, those unsung Solomoni heroes who came as labourers to Fiji and our ancestors who braved the rough seas.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

This thesis is my own work except those sections which I have explicitly acknowledged. It has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other university or institution.

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Eseta Mateiviti-Tulavu

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<u>Na vakavinavinaka levu.</u>

<u>Veidela ni Yavu Vakaturaga e Viti.</u>

Au taura saka na gauna dokai oqo meu vakavinavinataka na veidela ni yavu vakaturaga e Viti kau a laki vakadidike kina vakavuli ena yabaki 2010. Sa sega saka na vosa e rakorako ka matau me vakavinavinakataki kina na veiciqomi vakaturaga ko ni a vakayacora vei au. E da raica votu na talei ni veiwekani kei na kena maroroi vinaka tu nai talanoa ni vanua ka sereki kina na noda sala ni veiwekani vakavanua makawa ka ra se tekivuna mai na qase ka yacovi keda saka mai na gauna oqo ka vaka kina na veigauna vinaka e vakarautaka na Kalou ka tu mai ki liu.

<u>Ena yasana vakaturaga saka o Ra.</u>

Na vanua vakaturaga saka o Naqeniganivatu ena yavusa vakaturaga o Naqeniganivatu vei ira saka na "Tui Vunivau" ena koro vakaturaga ko Nayaulevu ena tikina makawa ko Tokaimalo. Sa sega saka ni guilecavi na koro vakaturaga e rua ko Vunisea kei Maniyava naba rua vei ira saka na noqu matavuvale

ka ra sa lesuva tale na neimami yavutu ko Maniyava naba dua ena ruku ni delana levu ko Delai Nakauvadra.

Ena yavusa vakaturaga saka o Bua vei ira saka na "Sau kei Bua" ena koro vakaturaga saka ko Vitawa. Vei ira saka talega na "Tu Navatu" ena vanua vakaturaga o Naisogoliku ena koro vakaturaga ko Vitawa ena tikina makawa ko Raviravi kei Rakiraki.

Na yavusa vakaturaga saka ko Matarua ena koro vakaturaga ko Navitilevu ena dela ni vanua vakaturaga saka ko Nacobicibici vei ira saka na Turaga Bale na Vunivalu na Tui Nalawa.

Na noqu vakavinavinaka levu ena loma ni yasana vakaturaga saka o Ra,vei kemuni saka na vei Turaga Bale ena veidela ni yavu vakaturaga ka sa noqu masu me vakalougata na Kalou na dela ni vanua vakaturaga ka vaka kina kivei ira na kena kawa bula tabu saka yani ena veisiga ni mataka.

Na vakavinavinaka levu kivei kemudou saka na veiqaravi ena Vale ni Volavola ni yasana vakaturaga ko Ra. Vei ira saka na Turaga Roko Levu, sa ka levu na vakavinavinaka ena yalo vakaturaga ni veiciqomi ena i lakolako vaka vuli kei na vakadidike ka lai vakayacori yani ena loma ni nodatou yasana.

<u>Ena yasana vakaturaga saka ko Lomaiviti.</u>

Na vakavinavinaka levu ena vanua vakaturaga saka ko Lovoni vei ira saka na turaga bale na "Tui Wailevu" ena koro vakaturaga ko Lovoni ena tikina ko Lovoni.

Na yavusa vakaturaga saka ko Gavo vei ira saka na turaga na "Tui Gavo" ena koro vakaturaga ko Nukutocia. Sa ka levu na vakavinavinaka ena kena tauri saka mai eso na itukutuku makawa ni nodatou veiwekani vakavanua.

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yalo vakaturaga ka vaka kina na i talanoa ni veiwekani makawa ka mai semata o "Bu" ena nodra loma ni vale saka na "Tui Wailevu" mai Lovoni.

Ki Valelevu saka e Nacotube vei ira saka na turaga bale na "Ratu kei Moturiki" ena koro vakaturaga saka ko Naicabecabe. Sa ka levu na vakamuduo kei na vakavinavinaka ena kena ciqomi nai lakolako vakavuli e yaco saka tiko yani ena dela ni vanua vakaturaga. Vei ira saka turaga kei ira na cauravou era veikau cake ena kena butuki na nodra yavutu na turaga na Ratu, sa ka levu na vakavinavinaka ena yalo vakaturaga ni veiciqomi kei na veikauwaitaki.

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Ena noqu loma ni koro vakaturaga ko Wainaloka au sa vakavinavinaka vakalevu sara ena yalo ni veiciqomi kei na veivakataudeitaki ko ni dau veitokoni voli kina vei au ena i lakolako vakavuli kei na vakadidike kau a vakayacora ena loma ni nodatou yasana ena yabaki 2010. Vinaka saka vakalevu na veimasulaki keina veikauwaitaki ka sa noqu masu me na vakalougata taki kemuni na Kalou ena veigauna kece sara.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This thesis centres relationships as the crux of Pacific identity. It examines the traditional relationship and identity of descendants of early Solomon Island settlers living in Fiji, tracing its place through indigenous knowledge, Pacific epistemologies and discourses. This study explores the notion of *tauvu* (springing from the same ancestor) between the Solomon Islanders living in Fiji and the indigenous Fijians. It recognises that relationships forged centuries ago still resonate in contemporary Fijian life. It emphasises that when people speak of the Solomoni position now it underscores the significance of the fact that the first Solomoni settlers perhaps around the 16th century, before the labourers arrived in the 19th century, forged a *tauvu* relationship with the *taukei* (native/indigenous Fijian) who had lived in Fiji centuries earlier. The *tukuni* (historical narratives/myths/legends) of the Solomoni continued to be told, although most of the early settlers extensively integrated into the contemporary Fijian society.

The thesis also focuses on the *mana* (a word with many meanings, including be effectual) of the *tauvu* relationship in Fiji which ensured the integration of the Solomoni living in Fiji into the various local communities in relation to issues of socio-economic developments within the provinces. It also tries to give a voice to the *tukuni* (historical narrative/myth/legend) of a *yavu* (first or original settlement site) which was said to belong to people of Solomoni ancestry in Nayavulevu, Ra. With indigenous research methodology like *tukuni* (historical narrative/myth/legend) and *talanoa* (chat, storytelling, formal or informal conversations), this research will seek to investigate the narratives relating to the relationship between Solomon Island identity and the Fijian culture based on some identified localities.

In this thesis, I will be using the terms "the Solomoni" or "a Solomoni," the Fijian version of Solomon Islander. The Solomoni is plural and a Solomoni is singular. I could have used the term "kai-Solomoni" instead of Solomoni but I chose not to because of the negative connotation that comes with it. The term *kai*, as in Kai-Solomoni means from or belonging to the Solomon Islands and sometimes can be

used in an offensive way. The same can be said about terms like *kai-Viti*, (literally 'from Fiji') or *kai-Idia* (from India) which can be used in a derogatory sense especially when framed as a racial stereotype. For example, some one might say *mataloaloa vaka na kai Solomoni* (black face like a Solomon Islander).On the same note, I will be using *taukei* rather than *kai-Viti* for 'Fijian' because *taukei* means native or indigenous Fijian whilst the term *kai-Viti* or from Fiji can be offensive.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives of this research are to:

a)   Explore the use of the *tukuni* (historical narrative/myth/legend) as an indigenous research methodology in connecting the narratives of some Solomoni and *itaukei* communities about their *tauvu* relationship;

b)   Examine how the *tukuni* provides voice for the Solomoni identity and how this identity has been shaped by the Fiji experience;

c)   Examine and define the *tauvu* relationship and genealogical links through the *yavu* between certain Solomoni and *taukei* communities and how these have been kept alive   over the years;

1.3 Research questions

This study will be guided by the following questions:

a)   How can *tukuni* be used to connect the narratives of some Solomoni and *taukei* communities about their *tauvu* relationship?

b)   How does the *tukuni* provide a voice for the Solomoni identity and how has this identity been shaped by the Fiji experience?

c)   What are some characteristics of the *tauvu* relationship and genealogical links through the *yavu* between certain Solomoni and *taukei* communities and how have these been kept alive over the years?

1.4 Rationale

a)   The value of indigenous narrative is often considered marginal in mainstream social science discourse and this thesis is an attempt to privilege indigenous epistemology sometimes expressed in the form of mythology (*tukuni)* and how it provides meaning, justifies and sustains relationship between the Solomoni and *taukei,* two distinct groups of people;

b)   Being a small minority, the *tukuni* of the Solomoni diaspora in Fiji is a way of defining its identity but this is fast disappearing. This research is an attempt to provide public access for some of the indigenous knowledge and their significance in the contemporary world;

c)   In a society where ethnic identity is a major basis for socio-political demarcation and tension identifying and priviledging the Solomoni identity is a way of contributing to multi-ethnic understanding. Often the Solomoni are looked down upon and stereotyped as being inferior foreigners by many *taukei* and it is important to highlight some of the genealogical connections between the two groups as a way of reshaping intercultural understanding;

d)   For me as a researcher, one of the challenges is to move beyond the dominant western knowledge paradigm and use the indigenous epistemological discourse to unearth deeper philosophies about genealogies and people's sense of existence (ontology). As someone with mixed Solomoni and *taukei* blood, the intersecting space between two cultures provides a rich area of investigation into people's identity and relationships. This will hopefully contribute to a greater understanding of indigenous epistemologies and discourses in the Pacific.

1.5 Significance of Research

The significance of this research is in terms of how it brings to light an old traditional *tauvu* relationship between some Solomoni and *taukei* tribes narrated through *tukuni* and passed down over the years. Although there have been early works on the *tauvu* relationship amongst the *taukei* by Rokowaqa (1929) and Thomson (1908) there has been no work done on the tauvu relationship between the Solomoni and *taukei*. Also while research have been done on the social, political and economic conditions of the Solomoni (Kuva, 1971; Halapua, 1993) there is still a lack of research on the *tauvu* relationships between the Solomoni and the *taukei* living in Fiji. This work seeks to contribute to

addressing this gap and attempts to further enhance the role of indigenous Pacific epistemology in understanding relationships.

1.6 The Researcher: A Life Journey

Growing up as a teenager, I was always intrigued and curious about a lot of things relating to my community. Some of these include my identity as a third-generation Fiji-born Solomoni living in Fiji; secondly, the story of the Solomoni *tauvu* relationship with the people of Ra and Tukuta, that is similar to the relationship which some of the indigenous Fijian tribes have with each other; thirdly, a *tukuni* of the Solomoni *yavu* of the Solomoni on the western side of the island of Viti Levu, Fiji.

My grandfather, Deve Baita, left Malaita, Solomon Islands, at the tender age of 16 during the labour trade days between 1864 and 1911 (Scarr, 1990). Being the youngest boy in the family, he was sent with a mission to find out whether his two older brothers, Steven Alopeti and Joji Robo, who were recruited during the late 1890s, were still alive. If they were, then he was to find a way to bring them home so that they could till the family land and continue the family lineage. When Deve Baita failed to return, his family in the Solomon Islands assumed that all the brothers had died with no living descendents. It was not until the early 1980s that Tomu Maqarani, from Wailailai, Ovalau, in Fiji decided that he should go back to Malaita to trace the relatives of his father, Steven Alopeti. In Sulufou, Malaita, his father's last two surviving sisters were surprised and were full of emotion when he introduced himself and told them who his father was. Upon returning to Fiji, he brought with him our genealogical tree and this was shown to only a few senior male members of the family. One of these few men was my father. This genealogy tree was not even discussed in front of women. It was hard to understand why, but 20 years later, going on a field research to the Solomon Islands helped me to reflect and understand the importance of a genealogy tree and the taboos associated with it. This is one of the events in my life which helped me to understand my Solomoni identity.

Growing up in Matata in Lami, a Solomoni settlement in Fiji, was just like growing up in any Fijian village. In saying this, I observed that a lot of the marriages, children's rites of passage and funerals that happened in Matata followed the Fijian traditional customs. When I travelled to various Solomoni

settlements such as Wailoku, Wainaloka, Kalekana, Nabunikadamu, Naviavia and others I found that they were like any Fijian village. However, I realised that all of my perceptions and thinking that the Solomoni settlements were the same as Fijian villages were very superficial as I learnt more about the political situation in Fiji when I entered the University of the South Pacific in 1991.

Before indepence in 1970, the Solomoni were categorized as *taukei* but this changed after the 1987 nationalist coup when under the new 1990 Constitution, they were re-categorized as 'Others' (Ravuvu, 1991, p. 51). Most of these changes made me aware of the discrimination which existed in terms of my identity. I suddenly came to realize that:

a)   Those places which I thought were villages just like Fijian ones were actually Solomoni settlements;

b)   I am a Solomoni/Fijian young girl entering USP;

c)   I am from an ethnic minority;

d)   I am labelled as 'Other' through my birth certificate and when filling out any form for any Fiji government department;

e)   I am *tauvu* to certain areas within Fiji and with certain clans/tribes;

f)   I have a *yavu* which connects me to the people of Ra whose connection was sometimes never acknowledged by chiefs and people who know of the *tukuni*.

All these and other things which were happening around me encouraged me to research more about the *tauvu* relationship and the Solomoni *yavu* located on the western part of Viti Levu.

1.7 Context of Study

There are two different contexts of research for this thesis and three different case studies. Two of the three case studies used in this thesis were carried out in Fiji. I investigated firstly the *tukuni* of the Solomoni *yavu* in Ra, on the western part of Viti Levu and secondly, the *tukuni* of the *auapu/tabusiga* (a lady of high rank) from Malaita in the Solomon Islands who settled in Levuka on the island of Ovalau. The third case study was in the Solomon Islands.

Before discussing how this research came into being it is important to look at the two different contexts first.

Fiji

Fiji is a group of 330 islands and islets in the South Pacific situated between latitude 12º and 21º south of the equator and longitudes 178º West and 176º East. It has a total land area of 18,272 square kilometres with two major islands, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu and several small ones.[1] The 2007 census suggested that 80% of the total population of 837, 271 lived on Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. Out of the total, 57% were Fijians, 37% were Indo-Fijians,[2] and the last 6% included all the other ethnic groups who have made Fiji their home.[3] Fiji is rapidly urbanizing with about 51% of the total population living in urban areas. Indo-Fijians who live in the rural areas are predominantly sugar-cane farmers while the *itaukei* live in communally styled villages in the rural areas. The *taukei* own 87.9% of the land while 3.9% of the land belongs to the State, 7.9% is freehold land and 0.3% of the land belongs to Rotuma.[4] Fiji's central position in the Pacific as on the map shown below:

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[1] Viti Levu: 'viti' ('vitika' in full) means cutting down branches and 'Levu' means big. Vanua Levu means 'big land'. http://www.britannica.com/EBcheckedtopics1579185/Fiji-Year-In-Review-2009

[2] Indo-Fijians - Fiji Indians, descendants of indentured labourers who came from India and worked in the sugar industry in the western side of Viti Levu and also in Vanua Levu. This also includes Indian businessmen who came in later to set up their businesses in Fiji.

[3] These figures are taken from the Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics - http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj. The other races include the other ethnic minorities such as Samoans, Tongans, Chinese, Solomoni, Ni-Vanuatu, Kiribati,etc.

[4] See http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/ for further details.

Figure 1.1: Maps of the South Pacific and Fiji

Source: www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/oceania

Fiji has a warm tropical maritime climate with the warm season running between November and April and with a cooler season from May to October. It is during the warm season that Fiji is bound to expect high rainfall and humidity which develops into a depression forming tropical cyclones. In Fiji life expectancy is 72 years for women and 71 years for men and 90% of the population are able to read and write.[5]

According to Roth, the dialects of Fiji belong to the Oceanic or Malayo-Polynesian group of languages (Roth, 1951). There are two main indigenous languages (West and the rest of Fiji) and there are 14 provinces. The *taukei* largely identify with their tribal identities and kinship is an important mode of relationship.

Solomon Islands

The Solomon Islands is an independent country made up of six main islands and a large number of smaller islands. This island grouping is situated in the South Pacific and lies 5º - 12º south from the equator. It has a total land area of about 28, 400 square kilometres. The six main islands are Choiseul,

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[5] For more details see http://www.ftib.org.fj

New Georgia, Santa Isabel, Guadalcanal, Malaita and Makira. The map below of the Solomon Islands shows where Malaita is situated in relation to the other Solomon Island groupings (Kenilorea, 2010).

Figure 1.2: Map of the South Pacific and the Solomon Islands

Source: www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/oceania

In 2006 the population of the Solomon Islands was estimated at 552,438 with 94.5% Melanesians, 3% Polynesian, 1.2% Micronesian and two other significant groups. Although there have been many changes in the past, about 80% of the Solomon Islanders still live a traditional way of life. About 75% of the labour force is engaged in subsistence agriculture and fishing. Other people who make up the remaining 25% of the labour force work in the Solomon Islands capital, Honiara (Guadalcanal) and the smaller towns of Gizo in the western Solomons and Auki on Malaita.

1.8 Conceptualizing Research: *Kunekunetaki*

The word *kunekunetaki* means conception and this is a reflection on how the research topic emerged and was formulated. During the final semester of my degree at the University of the South Pacific in 1994 I took a paper on Population Studies under Dr Kesaia Seniloli. In my final project paper I came across the historical story of *Nakauvadra* (name of a mountain range in Ra). After marking my paper Dr Seniloli told me that I should think deeply about pursuing that story further if I continued studying. The story was on an old recording of an elderly man from Ra (western Viti Levu/Fiji). In this recording

he mentioned the relationship that the people of Ra have with Malaitans from the Solomon Islands. It was this story that intrigued me the most.

In 2006 at the University of Auckland I enrolled for some Pacific Studies papers while I was with the Sociology Department studying towards my Postgraduate Diploma paper. Dr Eve Coxon, who was the postgraduate advisor for Pacific Studies at that time, advised me after looking through my papers to move to the Centre for Pacific Studies since most of my assignments focused on the Solomoni in Fiji. Taking that advice to heart, I switched to Pacific Studies and did a dissertation towards my MA degree on my own identity as a 'Solomoni' living in Fiji.

In 2008 after getting my Master's degree, my head of college asked me if I wanted to pursue a PhD degree. It took me six months to eventually say yes after I had thought long and hard about a topic which I would be able to research. After looking through my assignments and dissertation I made up my mind to explore the Melanesian connection and relationship that Fiji has with the Solomon Islands. This means looking at the *tauvu* traditional relationship which the Fijians have with the Solomoni. This looks at not only the traditional identity and relationship between the *taukei* and the Solomoni but also at how this identity and relationship has changed the cultural and ethnic identities of the Solomoni in Fiji.

Initially, I thought that the fieldwork for this thesis would be conducted in Fiji amongst the Solomoni and indigenous Fijians living in Fiji. However, one of my supervisors suggested that I needed to also go to the Solomon Islands to connect that story with the one which is told in Tukuta in Lovoni on the island of Ovalau. The story speaks of how a daughter of a high-ranking chief from Malaita, Solomon Islands was taken to Fiji and had settled down in Lovoni. After listening to this advice, I decided to do a preliminary research of both places before the actual research took place.

1.9 Use of Key Terms

At the outset, it is important to clarify some of the significant indigenous Fijian terms which will be used quite often in the thesis—these are shown below.

taukei	-	a term used to refer to indigenous Fijians
itokatoka	-	a term used to mean a collection of household or a lineage
yaqona	-	a dried and powdered form of piper mythesticum or *kava* and water that are used in traditional Fijian ceremonies
koro	-	traditional Fijian village
mataqali	-	a sub-clan; subdivision of a yavusa; land - owning tribal unit
sevusevu	-	presentation of *kava* during any traditional Fijian ceremony or function
Solomoni	-	from the Solomon Islands, a term used to refer to the descendants of Solomon Islands labourers living in Fiji
talanoa	-	having a conversation, telling or relating a story or stories
tauvu	-	originating/springing from the same ancestors
tukuni	-	oral historical narratives/myths/legends
vanua	-	a people, their chief, a defined territory land, socio-cultural system
yavu	-	first or original house foundation of the founding ancestor
yavusa	-	clan, tribe or the largest patrilineal kin grouping in the Fijian society

Many people are generally knowledgeable about the traditional relationship between various *yavusa,* however, one may not always be knowledgeable about how the connection came into being. The *tauvu* relationship has its roots in one common ancestor. Thomson (1908) defines the *tauvu* relationship as 'sprung from the same root or of common origin' but he does not give any example of this. On the

other hand, Hocart gave a different definition of the *tauvu* relationship (Hocart, 1913) focusing more on joking relationships. In this relationship, people may play jokes on certain people and there is no barrier or line drawn as to how far those jokes or pranks are played. This is similar to the *veitabani* relationship which has many levels within a *vanua, koro* or *yavusa*.

As with other traditional relationships there are *tukuni* which come with it. The majority of the *tukuni* involve the ancestral god from one *vanua* relating to that of another *vanua*. Most involve joking, flirting and competitiveness between the ancestral gods from different *vanua, koro* or *yavusa*. This is why people who have this relationship can joke, flirt, tease and even play tricks on each other. They can even help themselves to each other's property without asking. However, actions undertaken should not leave the other in despair or distress, but whatever is done to the other should be done out of enjoyment and fun.

The *veibatiki* relationship like the *veitabani* relationship also has a *tukuni* about the reasons why it exists, in different levels within a *vanua, koro* or *yavusa*. An example of a *veibatiki* relationship within a *vanua* is one between the *bati* (warriors) and *turaga* (chiefs). While the *bati* (warriors) were in the front line to guard the *vanua* to whom they are loyal, the *turaga* would provide food in return. There are other reasons which result in this relationship. Ancestral gods of two *vanua, koro* or *yavusa* made a covenant with each other, to look after each other, to respect each other's food etc, and this is why this relationship is also referred to as *veitabuki,* which means that the covenant is about respecting and observing certain taboos. For example, the *turaga* (chief) whose *kakana vakaturaga* (chiefly food) is pork will not eat pork in the presence of the *bati* (warriors), but their *kakana vakaturaga* will be eaten by the *bati* and vice versa for the *bati*. The *bati* whose *kakana vakaturaga* is fish will not eat fish in the presence of a *turaga*, but it would be eaten by the chiefs. Like the *veitabani* and *veibatiki* relationship, the *tauvu* relationship is established when any two *koro, yavusa* or *mataqali* come from one common ancestor. This common ancestor was a man and woman of high rank who were married and who were the first to be in a locality. Thus, their descendants became *tauvu* to the people who were connected through their maternal ancestor.

However, Rokowaqa and Thomson agree that the *tauvu* relationship is applied to two or more tribes who may live in different islands, speak different dialects and have nothing in common but their ancestor, while Rokowaqa claims that people who have the *tauvu* relationship are descendants from brothers, sisters, fathers and sons who come from a common ancestor. Thomson, on the other hand, tries to reveal the root of such a relationship by explaining that it can be traced back to the marriage of the sister/daughter of a high ranking chief to a high-ranking chief of a distant clan (Thomson, 1908). This is similar to the *tukuni* which was brought about through the relationship between the *auapu* from 'Are 'are in Malaita, Solomon Islands and an ancestor from Lovoni, Ovalau, which is the subject of my research.

The characteristics of the *tauvu* relationship and identity are articulated by Rokowaqa, Thomson and Hocart differently. While Rokowaqa feels that the *tauvu* relationship and identity are heavily laden with values that should be practised by those who have that relationship, Thomson and Hocart feel that *tauvu* relationship is an antagonistic relationship. It is clear that both Thomson and Hocart are referring to the characteristic of another traditional relationship in Fiji. Hocart tries to explain the *tauvu* relationship from evidence which he has acquired by talking to people and giving examples of its existence with reference to a number of different locations in Fiji. Both Rokowaqa and Thomson clearly speak about the history of the *tauvu* relationship and identity, but Rokowaqa identifies which *vanua* (land/locality) is *tauvu* with which other *vanua,* while Thomson does not give any such examples.

The *tauvu* relationship and identity is not the only way that the Solomoni are connected to the *taukei*. Another way is through the *yavu* which is located on the western side of Viti Levu. This *yavu* was said to be one of the sites that certain Solomoni had settled on but from which they were later banished. This will be referred to in detail in a later chapter. Through the *yavu* connection, the later arrivals of Solomoni have traditionally been granted permission by the Fijian custodians of the land to settle on the land because it was said to have been settled by a Solomoni ancestor. Through the different connections in terms of the *tauvu* relationship and the *yavu* identity, *mana* was seen to manifest.

With renewed interest in the *tauvu* relationship and the *yavu* identity, I was challenged to research and document such issues, which has implications on the issue of land ownership for the Solomoni. Other contemporary literature regarding the Solomoni in Fiji mostly focuses on the lives of the Solomoni in general. This thesis seeks not only to identify the important aspects of the *tauvu* relationship but to also clarify, describe and elucidate the history of the *yavu* and the depths of such identity. I hope to also highlight the *mana* (effect) of this *tauvu* relationship and *yavu* as a Solomoni identity.

1.10 Methodology

The research employed a mixed approach. The first was the use of ethnographic fieldwork. This was preceeded by preliminary fieldwork to survey the research field, familiarize myself with the social and cultural setting and ask permission from the community. The fieldwork involved focus group and individual face-to-face discussions using the *tukuni* method. The *tukuni* approach is a traditional Fijian form of storytelling involving the passing down of myths and legends from the past over generations. It is a way of keeping oral history, sense of relationship with ancestors and maintaining a sense of identity and being of the community. I have reconceptualised and used *tukuni* in this research to refer to sharing of mythology and narratives, listening, recording and analysing of stories. While *tukuni* can be used as a verb to refer to a process of dialogue and discursive engagement, it can also be used as a noun to refer to the story itself.

The second approach involved the use of formal questionnaires to supplement the *tukuni* approach. These were to gauge the participants' knowledge of particular aspects of *tauvu* relationships. The third was the use of participant observation approach. I spent some time with the communities, participated in their daily lives while we engaged in *tukuni.*

Fieldwork Preparations: Na Vakavakarau

In December 2008 I went to Fiji to attend a history symposium held at the University of the South Pacific. Since I would be there for three weeks I thought that it would be ideal if I could conduct part of my preliminary research then. After the history symposium I went to Wainaloka, my *koro* (village) on the island of Ovalau, to sit down with some elders of the village and listen to their *talanoa* (stories).

Sitting down and listening to the elders' *talanoa* meant that I had to follow a traditional protocol to negotiate my space to *talanoa* with them. Recognising that I needed someone to act as my protocols officer, I asked my brother who took up this role. After he presented my *sevusevu*[6] and was well received by the elders, I started asking about the *tauvu* identity and relationship which exists between the Solomoni and the people of Lovoni. The *sevusevu* is done through the offering of *yaqona* or *kava* (Piper methysticum) on my part. However it may also be done in other forms such as through the offering of a *tabua* (whales tooth) or *magiti* (raw or cooked food) and all this depends on whichever traditional custom is celebrated. The *yaqona* is made from either the plant or the dried and powdered form. This is presented to the people in the house or village as one enters. It is a way of negotiating one's space, and it is also a way of respecting and honouring those who live there.

It was through this *talanoa* session that a cousin of mine told me that it would be better for me to go to the gate-keepers of the story. It was then that I was told that this *tauvu* relationship does not involve the whole of Lovoni but only the people of Tukuta or Nukutocia who live on the island of Ovalau and who are the direct descendants of the Malaitan *auapu/tabusiga*.[7] From the village of Wainaloka, we were on the road with a cousin of mine on our way to Tukuta at about 6am the following morning. With our *sevusevu*, water bottles and bags in our hands we walked to Tukuta, Lovoni. It took us an hour to reach Tukuta. We went across the bridge to Tukuta and went straight to a cousin's place to request whether her husband could become our protocol officer. After we presented our *sevusevu* to the head of the *yavusa* (clan) he responded in a very emotional manner upon receiving our *sevusevu,* saying *'au vakavinavinaka vakalevu ni dua ga na wekai bu e sana vola vaka i vola na kena i talanoa o bu, io sa ke na gauna beka'* (I am grateful that a relative/blood relative of my maternal ancestor/ grandmother is here to document her story, this is the right time to get that done). After a few *talanoa* sessions we were provided with lunch and by the afternoon we were on our way back to the village. Before we left

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[6] A *sevusevu* is one's offering to the place which one is going to. This is honouring the *vuvale* (household) *turaga* (chief), *koro* (village), etc and the people to whom the sevusevu is offered to would reply with another *sevusevu*.

[7] *auapu* is the 'Are'are term for a lady of high rank who is never let out to wander around like any common girl in the village but is always told to stay home. 'Are'are is a name of an area in South Malaita. *Auapu* has the same meaning as *tabusiga* - *tabu* means sacred,not allowed, and siga means day or sun, a lady who is not allowed out into the sun.

he said I should call him *tukai* (grandfather) and for me to let them know whenever I am coming so that they could pull some *dalo* (Colocasia esculenta – a staple root crop), from their plantation to take back with me. While walking back to the village I was at peace knowing that I had been there and that they knew that I would be coming back for when I came back next time. As I was on the boat heading back to Suva, I started thinking about the Solomon Islands and the possibility of going there before the actual research began.

Preliminary Research in the Solomon Islands

Through the help of the Reverend Stephen Kapu, a Solomon Islands student at the University of Auckland's School of Theology, I was able to get some contacts and a place to stay for a month. As I arrived at the Solomon Islands airport, Rev'd Stephen Kapu and his family were already waiting to receive me. I was taken to the residence of the Anglican Community of the Sisters of the Church, which was to be my home for a month. I was worried that I might not find anyone who would know the story. During the first week, I started with the Anglican Church by talking to people during the various church functions. By the second week I began using my University of the South Pacific contacts and I was told by John Wasi, a close friend of mine, about Sir Peter Kenilorea.[8] John told me that Sir Peter would know something about the story I was looking for and that his recent publication had a name of the lady that I had mentioned to him. Georgina Buro, another colleague of mine from USP and I decided to contact Sir Peter but were told to speak to Professor Clive Moore during the USP graduation the following week. After doing so, I met another colleague of mine, Paul Kori. It was Paul who opened up about the story that I was searching for, and an added bonus was that he told me that he was married to my niece from Matata, a Solomoni settlement I grew up in. That evening, Paul and Merelita, my niece, came to visit me at the convent and brought some food with them as a token of their visit. We went back to their place and talked throughout the night about my research. It was here that I came to realise that I had come to the right place and there was a story about a Malaitan *auapu* (high-ranking lady) who left Malaita to go to Fiji with two Fijian men.

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[8] Sir Peter Kenilorea led the Solomon Islands into independence and was the first Prime Minister after independence from 1978 - 1981 and he was also the first speaker of the house and became Prime Minister again from 1984 - 1986.

Having heard the *tukuni* about the *tauvu* links between the Solomoni and the people of Lovoni and especially Tukuta, I decided to find some time during my provisional year to go there and see whether it was worth researching it or not. I had also heard about a Solomoni *yavu* called Maniyava in the Tokaimalo district. With both of these places in mind I decided to go and find out about the *tukuni* which surrounds such a relationship and identity. Encouragement from my supervisors to also find the connection to the Solomon Islands in terms of the *tauvu* relationship and identity made it even more exciting.

Fieldwork approach

I used the *vanua* protocols when entering Tukuta and Maniyava. This was in part inspired by Nabobo-Baba's *vanua* methodology (Nabobo-Baba, 2006). The story-telling process adopted here involves a formal request for the stories by presenting a *sevusevu* (presentation of *kava*). It also involves listening, interpreting the stories, actively sharing them with the storytellers and then re-telling them to show how they have been understood to re-check for validity of content and emphasis. A *sevusevu* is an act of making people feel comfortable and it is also a way of telling people the purpose of the visit. Once the *sevusevu* is accepted, the visitors are welcomed and then the purpose of the visit is accommodated. At the end of each session there is a traditional presentation of the *vakavinavinaka* (thanking the story teller through gifts). A researcher entering a place where people specifically observe their culture and customs should take some factors into consideration. These factors, as Nabobo-Baba suggests, is the use of respectful language, the appropriate choice of words, correct gifting and respectful deportment (Nabobo-Baba, 2006).

In Tukuta, Ovalau, I spoke to the head of the *yavusa* Namara and to some elders from Nukutocia village and I also spoke to some who lived in Suva who belonged to the same *yavusa*. When I went to Tukuta and Nukutocia, I always had a group of young men who were my relatives taking me. This was important as they became my spokesperson and negotiated my space when we reached these two research destinations.

In Ra, Viti Levu, there are two Maniyava. The place where the *yavu* is located and from which the Solomoni were banished is known as Maniyava No. 1 and Maniyava No. 2 is a place where the Solomoni were allowed to settle at a later stage. In Maniyava No. 2, I spoke to all the elders and the people who live there. One of the elders took me down to Nayaulevu to present my *sevusevu* before I spoke to the elder who lives close to the *yavu*. Again I had a group of elderly and young men who accompanied me on this journey. In every place I went to I had a group of men who were well versed in the cultural protocol accompanying me. This also happened in the Solomon Islands, but instead of taking *kava* I took some cash in addition to goods such as tobacco, biscuits and some foodstuffs.

As well as to the focus group I also randomly gave out some questionnaires to Solomoni in the settlements and the *taukei* from different villages and in the workplace. I did not specifically choose a village or settlement or certain people to fill in the questionnaires. I gave them out randomly as I wanted to know whether people generally had some knowledge of the *tauvu* relationship and identity between the Solomoni and the *taukei*.

1.11 Theoretical approach

As detailed in Chapter 2, this thesis uses the social constructivist approach to the study of identity. This entails understanding the way in which identity is constructed in response to changing circumstances. In the case of this thesis, the contact between the Solomoni and *taukei* has created new forms of relationship, intra-communal perception and identity over the years. The *tukuni* by the two sides provide the means by which records of these relationships are maintained, crystalized and passed down from one generation to another.

1.12 Some Challenges faced in the Research

a)   Getting clearance for research from the Ministry of Indigenous Affairs proved to be a daunting affair as they sent their reply to Auckland when they knew very well that I had hand-delivered my request letter.

b)   As I was a woman and of an ethnic minority status in Fiji, I felt marginalised when I went into the Ministry of Indigenous Affairs because I knew no one there, and I was asked a lot of questions as to

why and how I came up with the topic. Not only that, but when I was asked to go and see the questioner as scheduled, he was not there. It was not until I met someone who is a *vasu* (one whose mother is from that area) of Lovoni,[9] who understood and knew the area of my research, that I felt at home.

c)   Another problem I encountered was trying to get to see some files in the Native Lands Commission, because I found that I would get access to it if I was an ethnic Fijian or if I enlisted the help of the *yavusa* or someone who is a *taukei*.

d)   Yet another problem was getting my consent letters from the Lomaiviti Provincial Office and Rakiraki Provincial Office, which took them a year to send to the University of Auckland.

1.13 Research Assumptions

Many *taukei* living in Fiji and around the world do not have any knowledge of the *tauvu* relationship between the Solomoni and some *taukei* in Fiji. Of significance is the lack of understanding of claims by the Solomoni to a *yavu* in Ra.

The *tauvu* relationship discussed here can be understood by connecting a certain *tukuni* from East 'Are'are, Malaita, Solomon Islands and that of Tukuta, Lovoni, Ovalau. The connections are in terms of the similarities of certain issues within the *tukuni* such as names of people and places and certain things taken on the journey from the Solomon Islands to Fiji and the existence of Solomoni *yavu* in Ra, originally thought to be extinct, in the Native Lands Records.

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[9] This was after I had come back from the field that I met this person. I guess I was researching something that is part of him, because in the Fijian mentality your mothers village and kinsmen are very important to you.

1.14 Claim to Originality

This thesis makes an original contribution to Pacific epistemologies and discourses by:

a)   Researching the *tauvu* relationship, which is a form of traditional Fijian relationship and identity, and demonstrating that it does not exist only between the *taukei* themselves but also between the *taukei* and the Solomoni.

b)   Privileging the use of *tukuni* (historical narratives/myths/legends) as a means of articulating traditional knowledge across two closely related communities, in this case the Solomoni and *taukei.*

Throughout my studies at the University of Auckland, I have become aware that most of the time we tend to document the contemporary issues which affect us and leave aside things that we need to hold on to, such as our history, identity and traditional relationships. Our traditional relationships and identity in the Pacific need to be documented. If we want leave something for our future generations to treasure and to hold on to, then the documentation of our traditional relationships and identities is something that we need to dialogue about.

1.15 Outline of Thesis

Chapter 2 discusses the theories of identity in general and how they can be used to contextualize the Solomoni identity in Fiji. It examines the different approaches to understanding identity focusing particularly on the primordial, social constructionist and situational theoretical debates. It also discusses the notion of indigenous epistemology and *mana* including the notion of common ancestry and implications on the *tauvu* relationship between the Solomoni and the *taukei*.

Chapter 3 discusses in detail my research journey by examining in detail my use of the indigenous methodology, in particular the *tukuni* approach as part of the broader eclectic framework, which also includes ethnography, participant observation and the use of questionnaires. There will also be detailed discussion of the three case studies, namely Nayaulevu, Ra (western Viti Levu), Tukuta, Lovoni (Ovalau) and 'Are 'are, Malaita (Solomon Islands).

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the early Fijian society and consolidation of *taukei* identity. Chapter 5 discusses the labour trade and how the Solomoni labourers were brought to Fiji. It also discusses the different areas where the Solomoni settlements are located within Fiji. It is argued that the Solomoni settlements, as they were in the past, are still reliant on the Anglican Church in terms of settling land issues and education for their children. In this chapter it is also be argued that the Anglican Church not only accommodated the Solomoni needs by finding land for them to settle on, but was also a great contributor towards assimilating the Solomoni into a new cultural identity.

Chapter 6 discusses the evolving identities of the Solomoni in the context of internal and external identification. Chapter 7 discusses the importance of indigenous epistemology in reproducing Solomoni identities and relationships with the *taukei* in Tukuta and Ra. It also explores how *mana* has manifested itself in the *tauvu* relationship between the Ra and Solomoni people.

Chapter 8 discusses how the *tukuni* and *talanoa* of the early Solomoni *tauvu* relationship with some *taukei* communities have become universalized to include the later arriving Solomoni labourers. The chapter discusses how this *tauvu* relationship is linked to the descendants of the Solomon *auapu* who now live as the *yavusa* Namara around the various places in Fiji. The Ovalau and Ra communities will be discussed in detail as case studies.

As conclusion, Chapter 9 will provide an overview of the main strands of issues relating to the Solomoni and *taukei tauvu* relationship and discusses some of the challenges relating to the Solomoni identity in Fiji.

CHAPTER 2: THEORISING IDENTITY, INDIGENOUS EPISTEMOLOGY AND *MANA*

2.1 Introduction

An individual's identity is made up of a number of elements and these are clearly not as restricted to the particulars set down in an official record. The majority of these factors may include allegiance to a culture, religion, ethnicity or it may even be a profession, an institution or a particular social milieu. The list may be much longer and it may even become virtually unlimited. A person may feel a more or less strong attachment to a *yasana* (province), *mataqali*, *koro*, a sport, a group of friends, neighbours, a parish, a community of people with the same passion and the list could go on forever.

It is thus important to critically analyse the aspects of identity that are crucial to the Solomoni living in Fiji because of their special situation as subaltern diaspora in Fiji. There is a prevailing perception that to be Solomoni is to be subjected to discrimination and prejudice. It also means living on the margins when it comes to socio-political developments.

This chapter seeks to explore the issue of identity to contextualize some of the dilemmas faced by the Solomoni in relation to their group identity. Firstly, the chapter examines some features of identity and how people construct their social and collective identities. Secondly, the chapter examines the primordial, social constructionist and situational theoretical debates. Thirdly, the terms "national identity" and "nationalism" will be explored in detail in terms of the Solomoni. The notion of common ancestry as a feature of ethnicity and ethnocultural nationalism will also be explored as this is the main feature that connects the *taukei* and the Solomoni. This connection will be highlighted through indigenous epistemology and *mana*.

2.2 Theorising Identity

Different nations, institutions, groups and people, whether as an individual or as communities, define their own identities in different ways (Mateiviti, 2007). For some it is about visualisation and symbolisation. That is, identity is what one visualises oneself to be, or it is the manifestation of those

symbols used or understood by someone to be representative of themselves at certain point in time. According to Woodward, identities present a link between the person – that is, individuals taking up identities – and their social frameworks of meaning. It is the social situations which people find themselves in, including social roles, everyday interaction with others and the language used, which give them meaning (Woodward, 2004).

Developing an identity does not only involve copying it, it also means being actively engaged and taking that identity into oneself. Having the ability to identify the individual 'I' as a person or as part of a group collectively would mean being immersed into a social identity. Woodward claims that identity presents the interface between the personal – what is going on inside our heads, how we as individuals feel about who we are – and the social scripts (Woodward, 2004).

The social and personal aspects of identity and identification may either be chosen or imposed. The way identity is chosen or imposed is influenced by an individual's or group's historical, socio – political, gendered, class, religious and sexual experience. These experiences influence one's roles, everyday interaction, conversations, encounters and identity formation processes. As Woodward (2004) states, the society into which one is born presents one with a series of roles, which are patterns of behaviour and routines. The roles, patterns of behaviour and routines give one the basis for forming their conscious and unconscious cultural, ethnic and personal identities. Everyday interactions, conversations and encounters help in exploring how one understands the identities of others. It is also about how one presents and understands oneself. Within these social interactions different individuals draw their own conclusions as to who belongs or who does not to a group. In this sense there is a boundary which defines group membership. There are markers that characterises an individual who belongs or does not belong.

2.3 Ethnic and Cultural Identity

A person's sense of ethnic identity involves the significance of historical and cultural attributes. Historical study looks at the myths of descent and historical memories. Culturally, an ethnic identity will exhibit certain characteristics of a culture. Each individual has an ethnic group to belong to and

this comes about through an individual's ability to identify which group he/she belongs to. According to Smith, the concept of ethnicity can be explored further by analysing the different approaches and characteristics that an ethnic group has (Smith, 1991). Smith states that for some it has a primordial quality while for others it may be seen as situational or social constructionist, and this will be explored further in this section.

According to Weber, ethnic groups are 'human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both; or because of memories of colonization and migration' (Weber, 1997, p. 17). Lewis defines ethnicity as 'a group or community that is assumed to share common cultural practices, history, religion and language' (Lewis, 2004, p. 124). Eriksen also argues that ethnicity is an aspect of social relationships between agents who consider themselves as culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have minimum interaction (Eriksen, 1997). Smith more specifically lists the six main attributes of an ethnic community, some of which are similar to those mentioned by Weber, Eriksen and Lewis. These are: it should have a collective proper name; there should be a myth of common ancestry; the community should have a shared historical memory; it should still have an association with a specific homeland and it members should have a sense of solidarity (Smith, 1991).

Furthermore, Ratcliffe suggests that 'the significance of ethnicity lies in its salience for group consciousness and collective action' (Ratcliffe, 1994, p. 6). Therefore, the group consciousness that Ratcliffe suggests here is more internal rather than external.[10] However, Bulmer and Smith offer a definition of ethnicity which is seen as one that is more inclusive (Bulmer, 1986; Smith, 1991). So the internal and external definition really depends on the social relationship and interaction between individuals and groups. According to Ratuva (2000), 'ethnicity is fundamentally transactional in two ways: first are the processes of internal definition where members of a group collectively define their own individual and group identity in relation to some recognisable culturally specific practices; and

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[10] Here Ratcliffe is more focused on the term 'ethnicity' in his study of ethnic relations in London and how racialism came about,i.e.,majority vs minority.

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second is external definition where individuals and groups are collectively defined by 'others'' (Ratuva, 2000, p. 16). This is specifically seen in the *tauvu* relationship externally between the Solomoni and the *taukei* and internally between the *taukei* themselves. Individuals approach the term "ethnicity" differently and in different ways. However, there are common concepts that individuals refer to from time to time to explain their situation. Some of the common concepts that individuals refer to from time to time when trying to define the term ethnicity are: a collective identity, shared historical myths, memories and still having the connection to a homeland.

Ethnic identity shapes the character and boundaries of a nation. An ethnic identity may be one in which an individual knows which ethnicity he/she belongs to and as a result he/she wants to be separate from the rest. Therefore, ethnicity is often attached to the feelings of nationhood. According to Brown, 'ethnic identity may in some circumstances be taken for granted by those concerned and need not necessarily generate claims to political rights' (Brown, 2000, p. 6) However, it can be argued that once the button is pushed and what an ethnic community regards as legitimate claims of self-determination are made, then ethnicity has become transformed into nationalism.

However, a discussion on the primordial, social constructionist and situationalist theories of ethnicity becomes instructive here. The primordial theorist Geertz claims that ethnicity is ascribed by birth and cannot be changed (Geertz, 1963). This understanding comes through the conflict and violence which characterise modern nationalist politics arising from national communities who feel that they deserve to get political autonomy. This creates a post-colonial consciousness. Geertz is also aware of the changes and nature of primordial bonds. He argues that the strengths of these 'primordial bonds' differ for each society and for each individual through time.[11] A primordialist theory also offers a more innate, organic and natural explanation which is static but not fluid. It does not consider the changing patterns in a society, organisation, identity and culture. According to Brown the primordialist argument that ethnic

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[11] Geertz at the time of his writing was influenced by his ethnographic research in the the various countries he had been to, that is in South East Asia and North Africa. These were new states that slowly struggled to free themselves from colonialism by taking on the nationalist approach. He was also greatly influenced by Wittengenstein and Weber. He was fascinated by Weber's interpretative social science. His ethnographic research helped him to ask general questions of ethnic diversity and its implications in the modern world.

and national identities are emotionally powerful and ascriptively fixed is so widely accepted because it accords with the consciousness of those involved (Brown, 2000).

The social constructionist approach argues that ethnicity is cultural, based on shared meanings, is fluid and is a form of social identity. A variant of this is the situationalist approach which explains ethnic and national identities not as natural instinctual ties to organic communities, but as resources employed by groups of individuals for the pursuit of their common interests. Therefore, as people's opportunities are threatened, they may change their options and their responses. Thus, both the utility of ethnicity and nationalism, and the form they take, will vary in response to changing situations. As Brown explains, the primordialist approach seeks to validate the notion of natural inheritance, while social constructionism is based on assumptions about cultural practice and situationalism as the manifestation of rational interests (Brown, 2000, p. 6). This relationship is depicted in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: The relationship between the different theories

Social Constructionist

Culture/Practical/Actions   Knowledge/Interpretations

Social action

Emotional loyalty   *Interest*

Instinct   Rational Perception

Primordialist   Situationalist
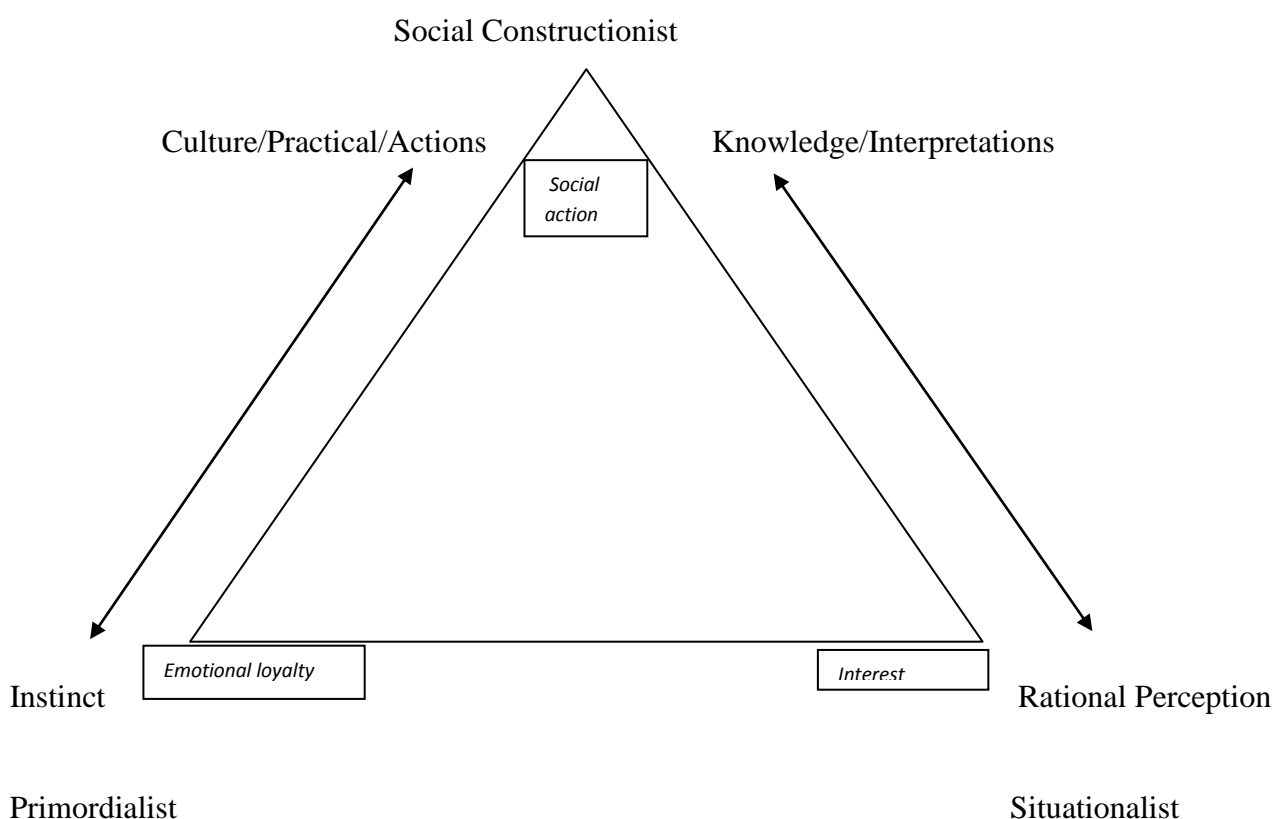
Source: Brown, 2000, p. 6

Culture is a significant marker in ethnic identity. It relates to people's way of life and is something that is learned and which gives an individual a sense of belonging. To be acculturated or enculturated one must be exposed to a culture or many cultures. In exploring a cultural identity one must explore the socio-cultural processes, institutions and structures existing in society that produce and reproduce cultural identities. The method (how) and the environment (where) one is socialised and acculturated are very important to the development of a cultural identity.[12] This is how society and its culture perpetuate themselves (Gellner, 1983).

2.4 Assumptions about the primordialist view

Geertz and Brown state that the primordialist approach to identity assumes that one is born into a particular linguistic, racial or homeland community and therefore feels an overwhelming emotional bond with that community (Brown, 2000; Geertz, 1963). Primordialists believe that social organisation, identity and culture never change and one is born into them. Similar sentiments are echoed by Shaw, who does agree that there might be a genetics or instinctual mechanism leading him to favour kin over non-kin (Shaw, 1989). Thus, this explanation would apply to those communities who are defined on a racial basis.

According to Van De Berghe, as human beings we are programmed to favour those who appear to be genetically related, on the basis of similar languages and culture (Van den Berghe, 1995). Similar sentiments are expressed by Campbell who suggests that primordialism may refer to the inheritance of a collective memory, an 'archetype of the collective unconscious' (Campbell, 1976), thus giving rise to a more ingenious version of primordialism which proposes that the natural, organic basis for nations derives, not from a genetic base but from the innate power of cultural affinities of languages, religion

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[12] In Fiji the ethnicity or race one belongs to helps an individual to define culture, how to make sense of the term 'culture', one's knowledge of culture and what is cultural. The institution of the church, the family and school also help to give one a sense of cultural belonging.

and custom. Both Black and Sandel agree that such group memories are better explained in terms of the overwhelming influence of the primary socialisation processes, whereby the culture of a society is transmitted through the generations (Black, 1988;Sandel, 1982).

A primordialist might see ethnicity and culture as one and the same as they do not change but remain static throughout one's life. Therefore, primordialism suggests that members of the ethnic community see themselves as having prior moral responsibilities to each other, over and above any responsibilities or duties they owe to other communities. Furthermore, this would mean that the minorities will be the ones left behind when nationalistic consciousness sweeps in. As Brown states, 'so long as the state employs authoritarian controls, it can hope to suppress minority ethnic claims in order to maintain national unity and order' (Brown, 2000, p. 11)

Assumptions of primordialism in the Fiji Solomoni context

In the Fijian community, the *bula vakaviti* or *bula vakavanua* (Fijian way of life/customary path) is often seen as primordially designated.[13] The primordialist concept of prior moral responsibilities to each other is often seen as a primary binding force. When one is married outside of one's community or *koro* one owes some moral responsibilities to one's husband's or wife's *koro*. This would be the same if one has married outside one's ethnic grouping. Emotional loyalty is paid to one's own kind, race, *mataqali vata* (same sub-clan/ landowning unit), *koro vata* (same village) and the list would go on. Because of their minority status, the Solomoni often pay their emotional loyalty to their own settlement. Sometimes it may go to a Fijian *koro* that they have become attached to through marriage or one that may be close by to their settlements. An example is Wainaloka, a Solomoni settlement on the island of Ovalau. The people there are very close to the people of Bureta and Lovoni (both Fijian villages). They are close through marriage relationships,[14] they are also close in distance as Bureta is

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[13] In the Fijian sense, the land is the people and the people make up the land. To them it is their culture and customs that are of the land.

[14] An elderly man from from Wainaloka whose wife died married another woman whose brother is a chief of Bureta. They now have two teenage daughters. People of Lovoni like the people of Bureta are related to the people of Wainaloka through marriage.

just the next village from Wainaloka and Lovoni is up the hill from Bureta. The Solomoni of Wainaloka always acknowledge the village of Bureta, especially their chief and people, and they would always support Bureta and Lovoni whenever there is a need or when there is a traditional ceremony happening in either of the villages. The support given is always in the form of traditional gifts of *ibe* (mats), *tabua* (whales tooth) or *kakana* (food) such as root crops or a cow or pigs or even a gift in monetary form. The result of this support is that in Fiji, especially for the Solomoni of Wainaloka, shouldering responsibilities for these other villages' means that their future generations would be guaranteed a *taukei* status when entering their villages. Through this the Solomoni will never be classified as a minority in those villages. Through the western lens, it might appear that this is a form of power over the less privileged or a serf versus lord relationship. Through the eyes of traditional indigenous epistemology, following one's tradition and customs and looking through the lenses of individual people in the community, village and settlement, that relationship once established will go on forever. The weight of the traditional values of *veikauwaitaki* (mutual caring), *veilomani* (mutual love), *veirokorokovi* (mutual respect), *veirogorogoci* (mutual listening), *veiqaravi* (to serve) is much more than what is implied by just a western discourse of power, or serf vs lord, type of relationship. Here are three communities who work together and complement each other because of traditional relationships and relationships created through marriage. This relationship which was started by the early Solomoni settlers has been reinforced by the later arrivals of Solomoni.

For the Solomoni in Fiji, part of their social and cultural security is to identify and reinforce what they would view as primordial links with the *taukei*. The blood links are certainly quite strong but the big question is social and political acceptance. This begs the question then of how the Fijian would define and incorporate the Solomoni.

2.5 Assumptions about the social constructionist view

Social constructionism is the way in which individuals and groups participate in the creation of their perceived social reality. It sees ethnicity and culture as relational. The ethnic identity of a person will help him/her to interact with the members of his/her ethnic group and it is through this ethnic group

interaction that he/she is able to learn the culture and custom of his/her ethnic grouping. As Burr suggests, 'the goings-on between people in the course of their everyday lives are seen as the practices during which our shared versions of knowledge are constructed' (Burr, 2003, p. 4) Burr suggests that it was Berger and Luckman's theory of social construction which suggested that human beings together create and sustain all social phenomena through social practices. They saw the relation between individuals and society as operating in both directions with human beings continuously constructing their social world, which then becomes a reality to which they must respond. Within this interaction they identified the process of externalisation, objectivation and internalisation (Burr, 2003). This process is linked to the postmodern movement which stresses the on-going mass-building of worldviews by individuals in a dialectical interaction with society (Burr, 2003).

Assumptions of social constructionism in the Fiji Solomoni context

Within a Solomon Islander's worldview one should know his/her culture or traditional custom. However, a Solomoni living in Fiji does not remember nor follow any Solomon Islands culture or traditional custom practices. A Solomoni's social reality comes from his/her interaction with the *taukei* of Fiji. A Solomoni's social interaction has helped him/her not only to take on board the Fijian culture and customs but also to practice the Fijian culture and customs. A Solomoni living in Fiji may have no idea of the Solomon Islands tradition and culture. Assimilation, integration and accommodation and the passing of time have helped the Solomoni to take on board Fijian cultural practices.

Externally, the Solomoni have been helped by educational and religious institutions to be able to integrate into a Fijian worldview. Primary and secondary schools which teach the Fijian language have reinforced their use of the Fijian language and knowledge about the Fijian traditional culture. In addition to this, within each Solomoni settlement the Anglican Church, with the help of the colonial government, imposed the Fijian social structure so that there could be some control over what went on in the settlements.[15] According to Tapu the church sought the help of the colonial government to

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[15] This does not mean that the 'Solomoni' were hostile and lawless, but some control had to be put in place so that the rule of law was followed.

impose guidelines for the community and the residents were then asked to choose a settlement leader, in order to follow the pattern of leadership within a typical Fijian village (Tapu, 1987). The *turaga-ni-koro* (village headman) was the chairman of the settlement council.[16] Most Solomoni men in Fiji have married Fijian women. Intermarriages has facilitated their Fijian worldview and has also assimilated them into the Fijian way of life. Culturally and socially all Solomoni living in Fiji are well versed in the Fijian traditional culture and customs rather than the Solomon Islands culture and customs. Is it the environment or the situation which brought about these changes? The *tauvu* relationship between the Solomoni and *taukei* which this thesis focuses on is a result of the way the two groups have constructed their relationships over time as a result of changing circumstances.

2.6 Assumptions about the situationalist view

The dominant explanation for a situationalist begins with a liberal assumption: one that suggests that an individual seeks in general to advance his/her freedom, self-fulfilment or self-realization and that this is manifested in his/her continued engagement in something that is of interest to him/her. However, Brown argues that in general we would expect that the 'more central the interests are to the pursuit of self-realisation, and the more intense the threats, the greater would be the conscious sense of individual identification with the interest group' (Brown, 2000, p. 14). This seems to suggest that options are open to individuals who might sometimes feel that they are restricted by external structures. Thus, instead of taking the primordial approach which looks at the instinctual responses, the situationalist approach looks at the extent to which such situations could be manipulated and changed to suit individual responses. So, individuals follow a way which seem to them to be useful in terms of their interests, according to their circumstances. As Hechter explains:

> …rational choice considers individual behaviour to be a function of the interaction of structural constraints and the sovereign preferences of individuals. The structure first determines, to a greater or lesser extent, the constraints under which individuals act. Within these constraints,

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[16] This was done for all the 'Solomoni' settlements throughout Fiji and each settlement still has a *turaga-ni-koro* or village headman.

individuals face various feasible courses of action. The course of action ultimately chosen is selected rationally (Hechter, 1986, p. 268)

Thus there is a general assumption that equal interactions with others will benefit the individual, leading one to identify a community which is suitable and to their liking. On the other hand unequal interactions will create a barrier and will lead individuals to identify reactively, into 'us' and 'them' communities, as is Hechter's view that 'unequal interactions between core and peripheral regions within a country would promote reactive nationalism' (Hechter, 1986, p. 269). However, according to Brown, 'individuals do in fact identify in varying degrees and in varying situations, with a wide range of groups based on ideology, occupation, class, gender or locality; as well as affiliations of ethnicity and nationalism' (Brown, 2000, p. 15). So individuals use these identities as the situation demands or when they are threatened, and the utility of these would greatly depend on identifiable markers. Some markers are often seen in the language or the clothes that individuals wear and it is these that may be used to facilitate political mobilisation. Individuals also rely on information from 'elite' activists who can explain the nature of the situational threats or opportunities to them and at the same time mobilise support. Therefore it is generally proper to say that ethnic identities are mobilised in response to certain situational factors and these factors are useful in trying to find a way to understand the ways in which ethnic identities are constructed and employed by politicians.

Anderson states that one's identity is 'imagined because even the smallest members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them' (Anderson, 1999, p. 6). Similar sentiments were echoed by Horowitz as he argues that 'one's identity is not situationally variant but is also a repository for and partly a function of exogenous contemporary factors both material and ideological - an essence of "imagined" and/or "fictional" creation' (Horowitz, 1985, p. 59). Similarly, Hereniko points out that cultural identity 'is process, not product' (Hereniko, 1994, p. 407). He argues that 'outside one's island of birth, identity becomes variable and more susceptible to manipulation' (Hereniko, 1994, p. 406).

Assumptions of situationalism in the Fiji Solomoni context

The second, third, fourth and fifth generation Solomoni living in Fiji now would be more of a *taukei* (indigenous Fijian) than a Solomoni. Every Solomoni living in Fiji now can fluently speak the Fijian language and is also practising the Fijian traditional culture and custom. The majority of the Solomoni can trace back their relatives to the Solomon Islands and the islands/village they come from but they have no knowledge of the language, let alone the culture and customs. All Solomoni now living in Fiji have been born in Fiji or other countries around the world depending on where their parents were living when they were born. Most Solomoni in Fiji would be either *vasu-taukei* (one whose mother is of the land) or daughters who are of Solomoni parentage may be married to a *taukei*. All these interactions have one way or the other facilitated a change in their ethnic identity. As mentioned before, some *vasu-taukei* would take the chance of having their name recorded in the VKB[17] if their situation made it possible. However, if a person chooses to change, it may be because he/she feels that the situation is not favourable or they are threatened by the happenings around them.[18] In addition to this, there would be other situations that would demand the change in identity. In Fiji, the Solomoni are a landless class and for a *vasu-taukei* to become part of the *mataqali* would indeed be a privilege. This is because it would mean that the *vasu-taukei* could now own part of the land and may use it to build a house. This can be allowed if the *vasu-taukei* is taken to the village regularly and his/her mother (who is from that village) is always there whenever there is a traditional ceremony happening for her *mataqali*. If she wants her children whose father is a Solomoni to be registered to her *mataqali* then she has to take her children regularly to the village and she has to make sure that the children also shoulder the responsibilities of the *mataqali*. The Solomoni often feel the ethnic tension caused by the situations that they face daily. The transformation of the ethnic identity of a Solomoni to that of a *taukei* would not only depend on how the Solomoni handle the responsibilities but also on how accommodating the

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[17] VKB - Vola ni Kawa Bula is a register which registers the names of all indigenous Fijians. This register is kept in the Native Lands Commission.

[18] Many Fijians feel that the 'kai-Solomoni' are not part of them in any way.This is seen in the way they use derogatory remarks when commenting on someone as having a 'mata loaloa vaka na 'kai-solomoni' (black face like a Solomon Islander). There was once a Fijian girl who went home and told her parents that her boyfriend would be coming to see them to ask for her hand in marriage. The girl's mother did not want her daughter to marry her boyfriend after finding out from her daughter that he was a 'kai-Solomoni'.

members of the *mataqali* would be, as some members of the *mataqali* may feel that one should have the innate, organic and emotional primordial bond about which I have written in order to be a member of the *mataqali*.

The connection between the Solomoni and the *taukei* needs to be understood in the context of indigenous epistemology, in particular how knowledge of genealogy is passed down from generation to generation.

2.7 Indigenous epistemology

Epistemology is not only knowledge in general but the theory of knowledge and how it is theorized (Fuller, 1988; Goldman, 1999; Landesman, 1997). Indigenous epistemology is knowledge used by indigenous peoples over the ages to enable them to sustain their way of life and socio-cultural relationships. Gibbs claims that indigenous people are those who are known as the first people (Gibbs, 2010) or as Thaman argues are people who recognize that they are the first inhabitants of a place (Thaman, 2006). The term indigenous is also attached to traditions, culture and customs. This, as Gegeo states, includes the sources of knowledge, nature of knowledge, frameworks of knowledge and limitations of knowledge (Gegeo, 2006).

Semali defines indigenous knowledge as the dynamic way in which the residents of an area have come to understand and how they organize the folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs and history to enhance their lives (Semali, 1999). Msuya defines indigenous knowledge as a systematic body of knowledge acquired by local people through the accumulation of experiences, informal experiments and intimate understanding of the environment (Msuya, 2007). Gegeo views indigenous epistemology as a cultural group's ways of thinking, creating, reformulating and theorizing about knowledge through traditional discourses and media of communication, anchoring the truth of the discourse in culture (Gegeo, & Gegeo, 2001). Johnson identifies, the following characteristics of indigenous knowledge: it is locally bound or indigenous to a specific area; it is culture and context specific; it is transmitted orally and undocumented; it is not static and changes as society changes socially, economically and culturally; it belongs to the community (communally owned) (Johnson, 1992).

Pacific indigenous epistemologies have existed, changed, informed and connected Pacific people to each other and their environment through time immemorial. Gegeo (2006) defines Pacific indigenous epistemologies as ways of constructing or theorizing knowledge which is 'rooted' in and 'unique' to a Pacific Islands indigenous culture. He characterizes Pacific indigenous epistemologies as practice oriented; communal, dialogic and situated; based on rationalism (reason) and empiricism (experience) inextricably connected and mutually informing each other; uses the five senses (sight, touch, hearing, smell and taste); memory, reflection, introspection and based on dream, revelation, intuition and telepathy (Gegeo, 2006).

Tukuni itself is an agent of indigenous epistemology and this happens when elders of any tribe pass on their knowledge to the members of the *mataqali* (sub-clan/landowning unit) through a 'sacred space'. A sacred space is created when members of the *yavusa* or *mataqali* sit around a bowl of *kava* to listen to their elders share historical narratives of how they began as a *yavusa* or *mataqali*.

2.8 Solomon Islands - Kwara'ae epistemology

Gegeo (2001) in replying to the reviewer's comments about indigeneity and epistemology defines and uses indigenous in terms of epistemology. When using the term indigenous epistemology, Gegeo simply tries to explain indigeneity, culture, place and space by looking through his Kwara'ae lenses. First, he discusses the notion of space in relation to Kwara'ae indigenous epistemology and identifies nine significant aspects:

- *Kula ni fuli* – 'place situated in source or place of one's existential foundation i.e physical location of Kwara'ae district on Malaita

- Genealogy – i.e. one's location in Kwara'ae kin group, past, present and future

- Land – unconditional rights of access to land in Kwara'ae through genealogy and marriage

- Positions based on genealogy and marriage from which one may speak

- Fluency in Kwara'ae language that is in both registers, that is *ala'anga kwalabasa* (informal/unimportant speeches) and *ala'anga lalifu* (formal register)

- Being knowledgeable about Kwara'ae culture, history, cosmology, ontology and epistemology.

- Fulfilling kinship obligations and responsibilities

- Sharing Kwara'ae perspectives – ontology and epistemology Gegeo, 2001: 493-494).

For Gegeo, a person's space, for the Kwara'ae is for eternity or until you disappear from the face of this earth. Gegeo argues that a Kwara'ae person can live in the diaspora for a long period of time and is still seen as an indigenous person. This is known as *kula ni tua* which is a Kwara'ae term for space. On the same note Chapman (1991; 1992) sees that space as belonging to an individual in motion. This means that no matter where or how far a person travels or how long the person is absent from home his/her space will always be there. The way Gegeo defines space in terms of epistemology is the way the people of Nayaulevu in Fiji also define space. This is seen in the way the chiefly *yavusa* of Vunivau have acknowledged and accepted that the *yavu* truly belong to the Solomoni and anyone of Solomoni blood has the right to use and even settle on that land.

Gegeo also argues that many Pacific Islanders who are at the diaspora feel that they can no longer claim their indigenousness or 'nativeness' and this is due to several factors: they have been living away from home for long periods of time or permanently; they were not born in the Pacific; they have acquired different behaviours, ideas and values; and they have become bicultural or multicultural. However, Gegeo makes a Pacific Island reader feel secure when he argues that one's space in a village or community does not disappear and one's 'connection to a place or indigeneity is still there' (Gegeo, 2001: 494). Gegeo says this is because he has seen that when Solomon Islanders migrate to the metropolitan countries for work or educational purposes, they often return to the village and immerse themselves into their traditional culture and try to fulfil their responsibilities and obligations. This does not happen only in the Solomon Islands but in the Pacific as a whole. Many people return to the islands when they retire and get back to fulfilling their cultural obligations and responsibilities to make up for the time they have been away from their *koro* or communities.

2.9 Implications for relationships and identity

Epistemological writings of Gegeo (1994; 2001) can inform Pacific Islanders about connecting to their native or indigenous identity. While Gegeo's writings maybe very encouraging for the Fiji-born Solomoni, most know that even though their space may always be available for them it would be hard to even go back to the Solomon Islands and reclaim that space back. Most of the Solomoni in Fiji are aware that their land is still there in the Solomon Islands and no one will claim it, let alone use it, unless permission is granted, because most of the labourers who came were male. It is through the male line that land is inherited, especially for the people of Malaita. Most Fiji-born Solomoni have been totally immersed into the Fijian culture, customs, language and traditions and their families has been living in Fiji for over a century now.

This is not to say that it will not be possible for young part-Solomoni girls who are married to Solomon Islanders to go back with their husbands and immerse themselves in the Solomon Islands traditional culture and customs. For example: Raijeli a part-Solomoni from Matata near Suva married a Malaitan man who came from Wairokai, west Malaita. She has been with her husband Ken for over 15 years now. She is familiar with the Malaitan culture and customs and is multilingual, being fluent in the Malaitan language, Solomon Islands pidgin, Fijian and English.[19] Raijeli is not the only part-Solomoni girl who has been totally immersed in this way into the Solomon Islands culture and custom. As for the Kwara'ae, the epistemology of place is a significant form of identity for a *taukei* (native/indigenous Fijian). For a *taukei* Gegeo's theory of place is very relevant for identity in terms of his/her *yavu*. A *yavu* is a place of one's foundation, access to land is through genealogy and marriage. Secondly, having a *yavu* brings about a sense of belongingness, and to be able to connect to one's *yavu* one must be knowledgeable about Fijian protocols, culture, ontology, history, epistemology and cosmology.

The Solomoni connection to their *yavu* Maniyava which is through the *tukuni* speaks volumes about their belongingness. Ryle argues that having a *yavu* indicates a 'sense of belonging and of being rooted to a particular place' (Ryle, 2010, p.36). *Yavu* literally means the original house site of the founding

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[19] The names have been changed.

ancestor (Capell, 1991). Most *taukei* respect and speak highly of their *yavu*. According to Ryle, in pre-Christian Fijian practice, the dead were buried beneath their house foundations or close by their house. This is done, as Ravuvu argues, so that they feel comfortable because they are close to their deceased kin's spiritual power (Ravuvu, 1983). Trompf reiterates this in his study of Melanesian societies when he claims that the dead are almost conceived as remaining part the society, which makes it a community of both the living and the dead (Trompf, 1995). Fugui also states that belief in an afterlife ensured that part of the dead was retained and still had a place in the affairs of the living (Fugui, 1989). But, more importantly, Ryle argues that such practices take place so that the kinsmen can still maintain their link to their *yavu* and the *mana* of ancestral spiritual connections, in death as in life, linking place and people, past, present and future (Ryle, 2010).

2.10 Epistemological space and identity

For native Solomon Islanders who come from the Solomon Islands, their space in relation to who they are in the various villages they come from is always there. For Fiji-born Solomon Islanders, their space back in the Solomon Islands is also there in addition to the space they have in Fiji. The epistemological space for the Solomoni in Fiji in relation to that country is deeply rooted in the *tukuni* of the *yavu* or *yavutu* in Ra and the *tauvu* relationship and identity. Adaptation, integration, intermarriage and accommodation by the later arrivals have helped their descendants to connect to that epistemological space, thus strengthening the *mana* for future generations and bridging the gap between the *taukei* and Solomoni. The *mana* of knowing what is in that epistemological space has encouraged the Solomoni to connect to an identity which had always been swept under the carpet.

For Gegeo, epistemological space as a form of identity is something that is bound to you, till death. Epistemological space for any indigenous person can also be a space that is filled with the different kinds of indigenous knowledge such as oral history/narratives, language, tradition, culture, customs, songs and dances. One can never fill that space that has been alluded to by Gegeo unless one has all of those layers of what makes one a *taukei*, Samoan, Maori, Tongan, Solomon Islander and so on. Being entitled to claim that space by descent is not enough. In order for one to claim that space one must be

able to speak the language of that place which is one of the most important aspects. It is only when one is able to speak the language that one will be able to communicate and participate in communal gatherings and will also be able to fulfil one's traditional obligations and responsibilities. When one is able to speak the language then one will be able to become knowledgeable about one's traditional culture and custom. It is, after all this is done, then a person can make legitimate claim to that space.

For the Solomoni in Fiji, connecting to that space is about acknowledgement and acceptance from the people of Ra and Tukuta because of the *tauvu* relationship. The Solomoni need to be well versed in the cultural protocols and the acknowledgement from the people of Ra is through their acceptance of the traditional protocol which the Solomoni followed. When there is acknowledgement and acceptance in that space, the bond between the Solomoni and the people of Ra is stronger.

2.11 The notion of *mana*

The concept of *mana* is important when it comes to Pacific culture, custom, folklore, epistemologies, ontologies and even to some individuals daily affairs. In this contemporary period *mana* is fundamental to Pacific Island worldview. Sometimes *mana* as a concept may be difficult to understand individually or collectively. This is clearly seen in the mid 1800's when scientist tried to define *mana* according to what they see.

Over the years sociologists, anthropologists and missionaries have attempted to understand the concept of *mana.* Codrington, a missionary anthropologist, in 1891 defined *mana* as supernatural power or influence. Codrington's concept of *mana* was based on his observation and study of the Melanesian religion, in Fiji, Solomon Islands, Santa Cruz, Banks Islands, New Hebrides (Vanuatu), New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands (Codrington, 1891, p. 1). Codrington's encounter with the concept of *mana* can be seen in his letter to Professor Max Müller in 1877 in which he writes 'The Melanesian mind is entirely possessed by the belief in a supernatural power or influence, called almost universally *mana*. This is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature; it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to

things and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation' (Codrington, 1871, p. 118-119).

Codrington gives an example of how certain words which are used in chants or songs have power, and using the words is called *mana.* Thus, Codrington found that *mana* is exhibited by a man's excellent use of skill.[20] Codrington seeks to explain that *mana* is not rigid and it can be manifested in anything, but spirits and ghosts have *mana* and can direct it to effect what a man desires and it depends on the individual person to generate or introduce it, through various forms of medium.

Codrington claims that for the Melanesians *mana* can also be seen through a man's power politically and socially. He gives examples, such as 'if a man has been successful in fighting, it is not because of his strength but it is due to the *mana* of a spirit or deceased warrior', and if a man is a successful piggery or yam farmer, it is because he has a special medium that enhances his success (Codrington, 1971, p. 121).

Codrington's assessment about the concept of *mana* is debatable. Firstly, Codrington's research and writings about *mana* are based on his observation of and enquiries about the Melanesians who were taken to Norfolk Island for schooling.[21] Codrington stated 'I have endeavoured as far as possible to give the natives' account of themselves by giving what I took down from their lips and translating what they wrote themselves' (Codrington, 1871, p. vii). However, Firth notes that Codrington did not base his exposition on the analysis of examples which he actually recorded or observed but composed some of them for his own purpose (Firth, 1967, p.178). It was from Codrington's time that the term *mana* became a 'pan-Oceanic' word or concept.

Like Codrington, Hogbin, an anthropologist, maintains that within the Guadalcanal religion *nanama,* which means 'revealed by results', is also a term used when speaking of *mana* (Hogbin, 1964). Hogbin also argues that like Codrington's supernatural force, *nanama* or *mana* is a result of forces from the

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[20] In most Melanesian rituals and customs the men were considered to be more involved with the concept of mana.

[21] These were Melanesians from Banks Islands (Vanuatu), Santa Isabel, Gela, Santa Cruz and Sa'a, South Malaita.

other world. However, Hogbin does not agree with the concept of *mana* as a universal term. Hogbin's claim is based on his study on the Polynesian outliers (Ontong Java) in the Solomon Islands and the people of Wogeo, Schoutern Islands, Indonesia. Hogbin states the concept of *mana* is not universal and cannot be used as a foundation for a general theory of primal religions not only within the Pacific culture but the region as a whole (Hogbin, 1936).

Another well- known anthropologist, Kessing, argues that Codrington's view of *mana* is a European invention which is drawn from his European cultural metaphor of power and theories of nineteenth century physics (Keesing, 1984). Codrington's conclusions and understanding of *mana* are based on his lack of ethnographic and linguistic knowledge of Oceanic indigenous epistemologies and language.

Anthropologists and other scholars who have assessed the concept of *mana* in terms of its validity and use are now focusing on how it is used in terms of the context it is used in. Firth notes that as a result of this scholars who were studying the concept of *mana* came up with three methods:

- By attempting an exact 'translation' of the word concerned and trying to get a precise verbal equivalent for the native idea.

- By examining the relationship in native thought between the *mana* idea and other concepts of the same native community; by obtaining linguistic explanations of the *mana* concept from the natives themselves.

- By studying the actual usage of the word as employed in the course of normal behaviour and activities, and obtaining native linguistic comments on usage (Firth, 1967, p174).

Shalins defines *mana* as the 'creative power and making visible what is invisible' (Shalins, 1981). Hubert and Mauss, two anthropologists characterize *mana* not only as a force or a being but an action, a quality and a state (Firth, 1967, p. 175). It can be seen that the meaning of *mana* was theorized according to where it might fit in terms of its grammatical use in whatever the context may have been. This, as Firth argues, has been responsible for 'much laborious theorizing' (Firth 1967: 175).

However, the many attempts in trying to define *mana* have been Eurocentric because the emphasis has been laid on trying to find some European verbal equivalent for the oceanic concept (Keesing, 1982). Within the oceanic context, the Polynesian concept of *mana* is connected to beliefs, customs and generally culture as a whole is extremely diverse. There is difficulty in trying to find an exact or precise universal translation of the word.

From his observation of the Kwaio people of Malaita, Solomon Islands Keesing sees *mana* as a verb. Keesing notes that when *adalo* (ancestral spirits) are pleased with the living they *nanama-ize* (Kwaio term for mana) them. For Keesing it is not something magical or mystical, but it is the ancestors watching over them or making sure their efforts are successful or come to fruition (Keesing, 1982). For example: If the root crop farm and piggery goes well and is successful, it is the protection and blessings of the *adalo* (ancestral spirits) that ensures its success. Burt claims that *mamana* (Kwara'ae term for mana) is the *ngasingasi'anga* (ghost or spirits) having an effective and faithful relationship with them (Burt, 1994). According to Burt the Kwaio people define the term *mamana* as something that is 'true'.

To Keesing, *mana* in the Oceanic languages is not a noun but a transitive verb; things, human enterprises and efforts are *mana* (Keesing, 1982). *Mana* is transitive verb because ancestors and gods *manaize* people and their efforts. *Mana* then is a state of efficacy, success, truth, potency, blessing, luck, realisation – an abstract state or quality, not an invisible spiritual substance or medium. In trying to clarify his grammatical stance in defining *mana*, Keesing examines it further by exploring the term in a number of languages and meanings as suggested by other anthropologists. These are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Meaning of *mana* in the different Pacific languages

Countries	-	word	meaning
Solomon Islands (Malaita)			
Tobaita		mamana	be true, real, fulfilled, be successful, impart, spiritual or magical power
Lau		mamana	be efficacious (medicine), grow well (trees), be good, be prosperous, lucky in good health, be true, come true, be fulfilled
		mamana'a	spiritual and magical power
Baegu		mamana	be holy, true, effective
Kwaio		nanama	be effective, fulfilled, confirmed, realized, "work",
		nanama'ngaa	support, protect, blessing, success, realization
'Are'are		nanama	be strong, powerful in metaphysical sense
		nanama'ini	give power, empower of ghostly action
Sa'a		nanama	be powerful
Western Solomons			

Guadalcanal	nanama	be powerful
	nanama-ni	empower

Central Solomons

Gela	mana	be efficacious, from spiritual power, success, power, authority
	mana-ngi	to make successful, efficient, to empower, authorize, to rule over

New Hebrides (Vanuatu)

Mota	mana	to have an invisible spiritual force or influence, to work upon
	mana-gi	convey mana to, make to be mana, influence with mana
Fiji	mana	be effectual, realized, efficient, true as a remedy, wonder working, word used in addressing heathen deity: so be it, let it be so
Ponape	manaman	magical, mysterious, spiritual, official
Marshall Islands	monmon	having supernatural powers
Tonga	mana	supernatural, superhuman, miraculous, attended or accompanied by supernatural

	mana-i	to bewitch, to cause something to happen to another
Tikopia	mana	efficacious
	manu	efficacious, potent, powerful, successful, realized
Hawaii	mana	powerful, strong, influential, able to produce effects, divinely powerful
	mana	to give mana to
Maori	mana	effectual, binding, authoritative, having influence or power vested with effective authority, be avenged, support

Source: Keesing, 1982: pg 140-143

Keesing's work on *mana* began when he realized that his own interpretation and translation of *mana* did not fit somehow. His re-examination and re-interpretation of *mana* changed when he saw the uniformity of the description of *mana* according to the diverse Pacific contexts. These relate to the idea of *mana* as being true, effective, power, authority, success and so on.

Most anthropologists who have written and tried to explain the term *mana* do so on their own terms, from how they hear and see *mana* works without considering other aspects of indigenous knowledge and how the people they have studied know what they know. As Keesing claims, 'the real problem here is that scholars and anthropologists when faced with a somewhat pragmatic philosophy of *mana* with very little metaphysical framework, have constructed a coherent and systematic philosophy based not on Melanesian logic but European (Keesing, 1982, p. 147). This is not only true in terms of the studies of Melanesians but other indigenous communities are also feeling the brunt of such Eurocentric views.

While scholars and academics are still trying to find their way around the concept of *mana*, the indigenous people of Oceania know how significant the concept is in relation to their epistemologies and daily affairs. Understanding the concept of *mana* is necessary if one has to gain a holistic view of any indigenous community in the Pacific. Mana is spiritual, social and physical. People believe that there is mana in a person when physically it manifests itself through people's lives. The Malaitan *mana* is visible when the *auapu* took all she needed to take with her on her journey, here *kastom* is followed but mana manifests itself when, whatever she took with her on that journey is still visible till today. This makes mana ontological, it exists in some spiritual form and manifests itself through people.

It is believed that an individual person's life is full of *mana* if the spirits favour him/her. However, it is quite clear that *mana* cannot develop on its own. *Mana* is a community concept which is further enriched through relationships and identity. In the context of this thesis, the notion mana is deeply embedded in the *tauvu* relationship. *Mana* is passed down through inheritance of land, relationship and culture. It is affirmed through the *tukuni* as an agent of epistemological transmission. Knowing one's relatives and fulfilling one's obligations and responsibilities brings recognition and reinforces *mana*. Recognition within one's family circle has to exist before the *mataqali* and *yavusa* recognise the individual for fulfilling such obligations and responsibilities. Being recognised is evidence of one's having an effect on the community. When the things that one does around the community have affected other people and have brought about recognition it shows the depth of one's knowledge of his/her own community in terms of kinship ties in fulfilling traditional roles and responsibilities. Recognition and acknowledgement will be given when his/her *'mana'* is manifested in the way he/she goes about his/her roles, duties and responsibilities.

The idea of common ancestry or the *tukuni* of having the same ancestor speaks volumes of the traditional relationship which exists between the *taukei* and Solomoni. This *tauvu* relationship which existed when the earlier Solomoni settlers came into Fiji has been reinforced and given more *mana* by the later Solomoni who came to Fiji through the labour trade. It is a relationship which has a historical memory and this is shared by Fijians whose maternal ancestor comes from Malaita, Solomon Islands.

This historical memory narrates a journey based on the empowerment of a woman whose chiefly status and power supersedes that of her husband, leading to her descendants acknowledging her over her husband.

This acknowledgement can be seen in the different ways it manifests itself. People who are descendants from this relationship, that is the people of Malaita and Lovoni, Malaita and Moturiki, Malaita and Ra have always honoured each other in the way they relate to each other. This is a 'joking relationship' in which one tries to make sure that one is a step ahead of the other. It is also a joking relationship. In a joking relationship one can tease and make fun of the other and the other will take no offence. Brown-Radcliffe argues that 'a 'joking relationship' is a relationship between two persons in which one is by custom permitted, and in some instances required, to tease or make fun of the other, who in turn is required to take no offence (Brown-Radcliffe, 1965, p. 90). This behaviour if done in any other context may create hostility but it is not meant to be taken seriously. The *tauvu* relationship is brought about through marriage. Marriage can be a form of social conjunction and social disjunction. Social conjunction can be seen in the form of attachment and social disjunction is seen in the form of separation. So, the *tauvu* relationship brought about by the marriage of not only one Malaitan *auapu* but also of many other marriages has established this relationship and created a situation if shared *mana* between the two communities.

2.13 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide a theoretical discussion on the issue of identity, ethnic and cultural identity, national identity and nationalism and the myth of common ancestry.

These aspects are important in understanding the Solomoni identity historically and currently. The Solomoni themselves have their own view or understanding of their own identity and how it has changed in terms of political, social and economic circumstances. Ethnically, they know that they are still regarded as being in the *vulagi* category when they are politically labelled as 'other'. Nationally, Solomoni national identity can be seen in the way they patriotically serve in the army or have represented Fiji in the sporting arena. The identity of a Solomoni has changed according to the context over a period of time. Smith's, Horowitz's and Brown's feature of common ancestry in terms of ethnicity and nationalism need to be recontextualised so that it can provide a framework of a Solomoni identity in Fiji.

Most indigenous Fijians understand the Solomoni identity as belonging only to those from the Solomon Islands. Some look at the Solomoni and quickly link them to the *kawa ni bobula* (descendants of slaves), while for others a Solomoni is like a brother or sister because of the *tauvu* (springing from the same ancestor) relationship which exists between them. This traditional relationship which came through the *tukuni* of the early Solomoni settlers in Fiji has been strengthened and reinforced by the later arrivals of Solomoni labourers.

CHAPTER 3: INDIGENOUS APPROCHES, INDIGENOUS EPISTEMOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF *TAUKEI* AND SOLOMONI *TAUVU* RELATIONSHIPS: *NA GAUNISALA NI VAKADIDIKE*

3.1 Introduction

Methodology is the how, why and what when it comes to the process of research. It is the technique, mode or procedure of conducting research, whether it is qualitative or quantitative research that is carried out. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the indigenous approach used in this research. I used the *tukuni* approach to capture myths, legends, oral stories as well as the *talanoa* approach as basis for informal conversations, participant observations, case studies and questionnaires. The chapter also critiques the use of *talanoa* and the *vanua* methodology as a methodology. I will also discuss the purpose of using a qualitative mixed method in this research and the significance of the *vanua* protocol in this research.

The *tukuni* approach involves the use of *veitarotarogi* (interviews) and *veitalanoa* (focus group discussion). The act of *veitalanoa* or *tukuni* can be regarded as part of ethnography because there is so much going on within that sacred space of *veitalanoa.*

3.2 Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative research is about providing a better understanding of certain social issues which statistics may not be able to measure. As Silverman states, 'methods used by qualitative researchers exemplify a common belief that they can provide a deeper understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from a purely quantitative data' (Silverman, 2000, p. 8). Bryman and Bell (2003) add that some of the main characteristics of qualitative research are: that it generates rich data and interaction within human settings, seeks to understand the creation of social order through interaction, acknowledges that subjectivity is inherent and gains access to the inner reality of human beings (Bryman and Bell, 2003). Halfpenny (1979) agrees when he looks at the features of both qualitative and quantitative methods as seen in table 3.1 below (Halfpenny, 1979, p. 799):

Figure 3.1: Methods of qualitative and quantitative

Qualitative	Quantitative
Soft	Hard
Flexible	Fixed
Subjective	Objective
Political	Value-Free
Case Study	Survey
Speculative	Hypothesis testing
Grounded	Abstract

Source: Halfpenny, 1979.

In addition to this, Hammersley (1992) feels that most qualitative researchers share a set or preferences and these are:

- A preference for qualitative data which is simply understood as the analysis of words and images rather than numbers.

- A preference for naturally occurring data which is observation rather than experiment.

- A preference for meanings rather than behaviour which attempts to document the world from the point of view of the people studied.

- A rejection of natural science as a model.

One thing that is common to all the above preferences is that there is flexibility in the research design. As Hubberman and Mile agree, flexibility in research design allows for the exploration of new issues and developments (Hubberman and Mile, 1994), and it concentrates on both the research process and outcomes. It also acknowledges the effects of the research process on the research situation.

The qualitative research process uses the interpretive technique to describe, decode, translate and create meaning. According to Cooper and Schindler, qualitative research is also based on data which provides

a detailed description of events and peoples interactions with each other during those significant events (Cooper, 2006). Qualitative research is also a socially constructed reality which is dynamic over time. Qualitative research acknowledges and describes the value which people place on their experiences and their interaction with the outside world. However, the description of a person's interaction with the outside world depends on a researcher's methodology. The eclectic or mixed methods approach is used in this research and its main purpose is basically to capture people's stories in terms of the context, taking into consideration the culture and custom of the place. Within this eclectic or mixed methods approach I will be using *tukuni* and *talanoa* in the context of semi-ethnography, case studies and questionnaires. To be able to record the *tukuni* and *talanoa* one has to follow the *vanua* protocols. This will be discussed in the next section before I discuss the approach in this research in a more detailed manner.

3.3 Vanua protocols

Vanua is a Fijian term which refers to land, people and the broader cosmology. Within the Fijian cultural system *vanua* consists of various social units such as *yavusa, mataqali, itokatoka* (extended family) and *vuvale* (nuclear family). Therefore people who belong to a clan or land owning unit are the *vanua* themselves. Knowledge can be accessed from the *vanua* through the use of cultural protocols. As Nabobo-Baba states, '...*vanua* research...derives its data and validation from the *vanua* and also affirms protocols of knowledge accessed and it acknowledges the role played by the *vanua* in shaping the process and product of study' (Nabobo-Baba, 2005, p.142). However, according to Tuwere, *vanua* has a literal and a symbolic meaning' (Tuwere, 2002). He claims that while the literal meaning of *vanua* is land, it also has other meanings (Tuwere, 2002, p. 33). 'In its very broad sweep, it encompasses many things and includes earthly turf, flora and fauna of a given place, rivers and mountains, fishing ground (*vanua ni qoliqoli*) and more'.[22] According to Tuwere (2002) the three geographical areas that bear the literal meaning of *vanua* are:

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[22] Tuwere says it can simply mean place and it can also be used for one's country, district or village. When used in terms of actual turf, it includes practically everything on it.

- *Yavu* - the original house site for the founding ancestors on which no one from outside the family can build.

- *Qele ni teitei* - arable land with clear boundaries which can be given to another person to plant on.

- *Veikau* - Forest which includes uncultivated land

Another literal meaning seen by Tuwere is that *vanua* can also refer to people. The symbolic meaning of the *vanua* as viewed by Tuwere can be described in four ways as:

- A means of livelihood

- Making sense of time and event

- Traditions and memories of the ancestors

- Reassuring a sense of identity

The *vanua* protocols are customs and traditions of the place which a researcher in Fiji has to follow, to access information from the participants. The *vanua* protocol is the doorway to derive information from the keepers of knowledge or *tukuni*. The *vanua* protocol starts from within and goes outwards. By this I mean starting from my own family before going to the participants who were out there in the different areas that I had to go to for research. As a person from Fiji I had to present my *sevusevu* in the form of kava first to my parents, before I could get into the business of the issues of my research. It is customary for me to present my *sevusevu* to my parents first, as it is from them that I would get all the advice, support and encouragement I would need during my research journey. For it is from here that my mother, who is a *taukei*, would advise me on dressing, language and deportment when entering a *vanua*. It is through observing the *vanua* protocols that I would get a lot of *loloma* (love), *veivakarokorokotaki* (mutual respect), *veikauwaitaki* (mutual support) and *veiciqomi* (mutual acceptance) and *yalo vinaka* (good spirit) from others. Within the *vanua* protocols there is always reciprocity between the visitors and the villagers whether they are researcher or any other *vulagi* (visitor).

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In her *vanua* research, Nabobo-Baba argues that the way to access data is through the use of the *vanua* protocols, and for anyone doing research in Fiji it would be referred to as *vanua* research (Nabobo-Baba, 2005). Out of respect for Nabobo-Baba's *vanua* research, the protocols followed by any person or researcher conducting research in Fiji are those which any person in Fiji would do when entering a land, village or tribe for the first time. Smith argues that any researcher entering a community would have to work within the existing structure of the community (Smith, 1999). Within any community there is not only an existing structure but a community, indigenous or *vanua* knowledge which any person or researcher has to acknowledge before entering the place of research. Any person or researcher would not have succeeded if they enter a place of research without prior knowledge of what may work and what may not work. Nabobo-Baba's *vanua* research is not only about the *vanua* or place she is *vasu* (mother's place of origin) to but about the *vanua* protocols which she has to follow. These are protocols or customs which one has to follow in order to get access to the information one needs like that of the *tukuni*.

3.4 Tukuni

Tukuni is usually used as a collective narrative of a group rather than an individual. It is validly used in the private domains when the collective or a tribe talk about their historical narrative or their beginning as a group. It validly becomes a private domain when individuals who belong to that clan try to make or put right the wrongs that have been committed by their ancestors so that they can be free from the wrongs of their ancestors. However, it rightly becomes a public domain when the collective or tribe ethically consent to it being used in a research when it involves an issue of identity.

Tukuni is a form of engagement which politically connects people together. Individually or collectively people negotiate their space by presenting a '*sevusevu*' (presentation of kava/piper mythsticum). The *sevusevu* is like an ice breaker as it makes people feel at home and there is a reciprocity of *talanoa* before the actual *tukuni* is told. The presentation and receiving of the sevusevu allows people to know the purpose of the collective or individuals presence. The *tukuni* would be told after the kava is served to the teller of *tukuni*. As the narrator tells the *tukuni* the house would be silent and it is after the *tukuni*

is told that people are then allowed to talanoa with each other. Having prior knowledge of the purpose of the visit will either make the narrator change or stick to the tukuni that he/she is supposed to tell. When it comes to the tukuni about an identity of the collective or individual, people know that it would be about claims making.

Tukuni is a noun meaning legends and stories and *talanoa* is also a noun which means a discussion where people are free to talk/chat or speak their minds openly. *Tukuni* refers to narratives about the past (*talanoa makawa*), myths or legends or *talanoa makawa*. *Tukuni* can also be a verb; in its verbal form it refers to story-telling about past or mythical happenings. The verb form of *talanoa* is *veitalanoa* or *talanoataka* and to talk about *talanoataka nai talanoa makawa* refers to formally or informally chat/talk about myths and legends. The essence of *tukuni* is transmitting the past to the present and giving the past a sense of relevance and legitimacy. It is one way of passing down stories of the movements of people, relationships, traditions, culture and customs.

Usually Fijian myths and legends talk about important lessons that people can learn from, about significant traditional relationships or why certain things are the way they are, or certain symbolisms. Often *tukuni* teach people certain lessons and values. Others teach people about why there are traditional relationships like *veitabani* (traditional relationship of power)*, veitabuki* (traditional relationship of food taboos) or *veitauvutaki* relationship and why certain symbolism exists in Fiji. These symbolisms, some of which are in the form of old forts or *yavu* can be seen throughout the various islands in Fiji and are now tourist sites.

Within these *tukuni* there are values and lessons that people can learn from. Like all these and other *tukuni* the *tauvu* relationship between the Solomoni and *taukei* is one *tukuni* that this research would like to acknowledge. The *tukuni* of the so-called Solomoni *yavu* is also one that helped me as a researcher in trying to establish the connections and how these connections were brought about. This *tukuni* is about how the early Solomoni settlers in Fiji had become widely integrated into the early Fijian settler community that brought about this *tauvu* relationship which has been sustained when the later Solomoni arrivals came to Fiji in the late 1800's to early 1900's.

Within the process of getting the *tukuni* itself there are various ways and means of extracting them if a researcher happens to feel that there is a puzzle with some pieces missing. This is known as *taro,* which means to ask, and this is normally done at the end of the story - telling session. The process of questioning, responding and discussion of responses is referred to as *veitarotarogi* or formal interview.

Veitarotarogi (interviewing)

Veitarotarogi is a formal way of extracting information through interviews. It has an agenda or a set of questions to be asked by the researcher in order to get the information that he or she needs from the participant. Throughout the interview, there is a 'space' between the researcher and the participant. It is a sacred space. It is sacred because only the participant and the researcher will be interacting, since other people will be just sitting around listening. It is also sacred because no one is allowed to speak apart from the participant and people who are there will respect that space. As in the *tukuni*, in the *veitarotarogi* the participant will speak only when the researcher asks questions. However, in the *tukuni* the researcher has to allow the participant to tell the story and will ask questions only at the end. Within this formal sacred space the *veitarotarogi* between the researcher and the participant is between the two only and no other person is allowed to ask or answer any question.[23] This means that the participants need to have prior knowledge of the researcher's main area of research and that the researcher would have told them about it, and arranged a set date and time for the session. This allows the participant ample time to prepare her/himself. After this formal session there is usually a semi-formal session of *veitalanoa*.

Veitalanoa and veitalanoataka

Veitalanoa is simply a semi-formal session after the *veitarotarogi*. *Vei* is a prefix which means 'to' and *talanoa* here means 'tell' or 'talk'. *Veitalanoa* means to tell or talk about the topic. Here the conversation is semi-formal and involves more than one person or a group of persons. However, there is an agenda and the conversation is mostly centred round the research topic. The word *veitalanoa* is to

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[23] People in any village or settlement know that within the *veitarotarogi* only one person speaks and that the researcher is interested only in what the participant has to say. Everyone else present will not speak, unless spoken to or unless the participant is unsure when he/she may ask the others present, but then this will become a *veitalanoa*.

give the sacred space to the researcher and a group of people to allow that conversation to happen. The *veitalanoa* opens up space for open discussion and storytelling. This means that people are ready to engage in conversation. *Veitalanoataka* brings out some of the issues that may have been left out during the *veitarotarogi* that others may know or some things that the participants may have little or no knowledge of.

While *talanoa* may bring up some issues which are important in my research, using *tukuni, veitarotarogi* and *veitalanoataka* as part of this research is just as important. *Talanoa* as a methodology on its own is not enough so the use of ethnographic observation and analysis in addition to this is important to provide more depth and *mana* for the research. *Mana* is seen in the successful way the research is carried out in terms of the outcome of the fieldwork research as a whole. Denzin argues that qualitative researchers are more likely to confront the constraints of the everyday social world (Denzin, 1994). However, at the end of the day, what is most important is the way it is done, the different types of methodology used and how the data will be used. As Creswell states, 'unquestionably, the backbone of qualitative research is an extensive collection of data, typically from multiple sources of information' (Creswell, 1998, p. 19).

3.5 Talanoa: An overview

Talanoa is a Fijian/Tongan/Samoan term which refers to formal and informal discussions, big stories, small stories, narratives and so on. *Talanoa* naturally belongs to the qualitative methodological framework. Halapua defines *talanoa* as *tala* meaning talking or telling stories and *noa* meaning zero or without concealment (Halapua, 2003). For Vaioleti, *tala* means to inform, tell, relate, command, ask or apply. *'Noa'* means any kind of ordinary, nothing in particular, purely imaginary or void' (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 23). Cappell defined *talanoa* in the Fijian dictionary, *talanoa* as 'to chat, to tell stories, it can be a story or a legend' (Capell, 1991, p. 215). *Talanoa* ranges from an open chat to storytelling which connects two people anywhere and at any time.

There are no limitations to *talanoa* when it comes to time, place and people. *Talanoa* as a process may not only bring together two families who are in conflict with each other but may also help two political

parties understand each other more.[24] As Robinson states, that 'one thing which both the *talanoa* and Maori *hui* have in common is its emphasis on process rather than outcome' (Robinson, 2005, p. 2). Both help us to build bridges in terms of our relationship with each other, our *vuvale*, *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *vanua*.

Talanoa is multi-layered in so many ways. The different layers of *talanoa* depend on the person one is chatting/talking to, and the place and time. As Havea argues, *'talanoa* is popular amongst interactive people, in the many paths of life-at homes, offices, schools, plantations, fishing or ceremonial grounds and so on' (Havea, 2007, p. 13). Interaction through *talanoa* may differ according to gender, age, status or one's position in society or family relationships. According to gender and age, women, young people and children who go for family or village meetings within the Fijian context are not allowed to speak during meetings. Even though women are excluded from such *talanoa*, they are the ones who often motivate male members of their family by telling them what to do and say. If there is a woman involved in the *talanoa* then her space[25] is negotiated through a male member of her family. As Robinson states, not only are women and young people excluded from the *talanoa* they also do not have a voice in many areas of Pacific life and culture (Robinson, 2005). However, what Robinson did not take into consideration are women who are paramount chiefs. The *talanoa* situation is different when dealing with women of high social standing. She will be accorded distinct customary practices as are accorded to male high chiefs and she will be the first one to *talanoa*. Language used during the *talanoa* will also be different towards people who are talking and the ones receiving the *talanoa*. Within the normal family *talanoa*, language use would not be as formal as that used in addressing a chief. The *talanoa* used with the chiefs more or less uses the *vosa vakaturaga* (honorific language) where *vakarau vakaturaga* (special deportment) and *vakarokoroko* (respect) are accorded. Names are not used in addressing a high chief but the titles of *Ratu* for a man or *Adi* for a woman is used when

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[24] As in Fiji's case which had a *talanoa* session convened by Dr Sitiveni Halapua. This was the *talanoa* between the two major political parties (Soqosoqo Duavata ni Lewenivanua Party and Labour Party) in 2004 - 2005.The purpose was to bring them to work together to move Fiji forward, and when this did not happen, Commander Bainimarama and the Fiji Military Forces took over the government again in December 2006.

[25] Space here is the time that she is given to *talanoa*. A woman has to negotiate her space by asking the person who is in charge of the *talanoa* to give her a time to speak.

addressing them throughout the *talanoa*. The word *saka* (sir/madam) will be used when replying to questions on issues throughout the *talanoa*. Having a *talanoa* with a high chief in a formal situation is different from one in a not - so - formal situation. In traditional gatherings the one-to-one *talanoa* with a high chief is very rigid as there are traditional customs that have to be observed, whereas if one meets the high chief in the market, in a sports event or on the street it is a different context and relationship altogether. The *talanoa* is more informal and people are at ease when talking if they know the people they are talking to or if the high chief meets a common villager in town.

On another level, formal *talanoa* will be seen and experienced differently in different contexts in Fiji. At the family level there are sometimes formal exchanges of *talanoa* depending on who is present and how they are related to each other. When there are in-laws present there will always be a line drawn throughout the exchange of *talanoa*. This is the same with uncle/aunt vs nephew/niece relationship. There is often a taboo relationship between father-in-law and daughter-in-law/son-in-law or between mother-in-law and son-in-law/daughter-in-law and between uncle/aunt vs nephew/niece. This taboo is observed at all times and can be seen when the *talanoa* is done indirectly through other relatives or children. The taboo is more formally observed between in-laws than between uncle/aunt and nephew/niece. Between uncle/aunt and nephew/niece it is more semi-formal depending on the context. All these *talanoa* happen when people come together for traditional social functions. People get together culturally for various reasons and it is in these gatherings that people *talanoa*. *Talanoa* creates a great potential for people to interact and engage in any conversation at any level. As Vaioleti states, *talanoa* allows people to engage in social conversation which may lead to critical discussions or knowledge creation that allows rich contextual and inter-related information to surface as co-constructed stories (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 24). When people are able to interact and engage in social conversations freely, a number of normative conditions arise; these are *tadola ni yalo*[26] (openness), *dauvosota* (tolerance) and *vakarokoroko* (respect). Robinson (2005) reiterates that *talanoa* is centred on the open style of deliberation focusing on respect, tolerance, flexibility, openness and fairness (Robinson, 2005, p. 15). The style of *talanoa* depends on the way the questions of 'who, what, when

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[26] *Tadola* means being able to be open and readily share in the *talanoa*.

and where' are addressed. This means that the levels of *talanoa* are based not only on status but also on the kinds of people present during a *talanoa* session. The more focused and agenda driven types of *talanoa* are *bose* (formal meeting) or *veivosaki* (semi-formal dialogue/conversation).

3.6 Talanoa – An indigenous and qualitative methodology of research

Talanoa is widely regarded as an important Pacific indigenous research approach. As Smith argues, as 'indigenous peoples we want to tell our own stories, write our own version, in our own ways, for our own purposes' (Smith, 1999, p. 28). Indigenous methodological framework can be seen in Thaman's *Kakala* methodological framework. *Kakala* is a Tongan term for fragrant flowers and leaves woven together to be worn around the waist or neck during special ceremonial occasions. The making of a *kakala* involves 3 stages: Firstly, *toli* means to select and pick the different flowers for making the *kakala* or *lei*. The research procedure equivalent of this is knowing the research problem or question, choosing the participants, collecting and analysing data. Secondly, *tui* means to sort and arrange the flowers according to their relative importance before weaving them together. The research procedure is arranging the data and information according to their relevancy. Thirdly, *luva* means giving the *kakala* to the special guest or a dancer. The research equivalent is gifting the written research paper or thesis back to the community or institution to be used for further research (Thaman, 1997).

Throughout the *kakala* methodological framework, Vaioleti situates *talanoa* at the beginning, middle and end (Vaioleti, 2006). When defining the process of weaving the *kakala* Vaioleti recognises that *talanoa* determines the community researched at the beginning. Secondly, during the sorting and arrangement of flowers *talanoa* are encountered spiritually and emotionally. Thirdly, the *talanoa* is then gifted back to the community in the case of this thesis, this relates to the use of the protocol in the form of *i vakavinavinaka,*[27] and it can be used for further research. Comparatively, the *kakala* metaphor is related to being Tongan, *Kaupapa Maori* is related to being Maori, *talanoa* on the other hand is related to being Pacific. As Prescott argues, *talanoa* is a popular and preferred means of communication that captures the traditions and protocols of the Pacific Islands (Prescott, 2008).

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[27] Thanking the research community in the form of *kava* or *tabua* (whale's tooth) together with the thesis or research findings.

Prescott sees *talanoa* as a method of collecting information in the business world and defines *talanoa* in terms of traditions and protocols as significant in terms of being a woman researcher.

As a woman researcher looking for *tukuni* I have to be responsible in getting those *tukuni*, and this can only be achieved by following traditions and protocols. Traditions and protocols are different for different contexts. In Fiji to get to the gatekeepers one must present a *sevusevu*. Respecting and knowing a society's traditions means a lot if one is to get a positive feedback or a good *tukuni*. Unlike Fiji, for the Solomon Islands it is not the *sevusevu* which gets you to the gatekeepers, it is gifting your interviewees. For example: when speaking to Pourara, an elderly man who used to write about the stories or *tukuni* which the chiefs of Malaita talk about when they meet, I had to take tobacco, biscuits and cash. As we climbed up that hill to reach Pourara's residence he was ready to leave to go to the other side of the island to settle a land dispute case and had asked us to wait for him. Paul (my protocol officer) slowly asked me to take out the tobacco, biscuit and money while he explained the reasons of our being there. As I did this, Pourara paused and said that he would tell us the story about the Malaitan *auapu* (lady of high rank) who was taken by the two men from Fiji.

Talanoa or *tukuni* as a two-way process is a give-and-take between two people who are responsible towards each other. The researcher has to first negotiate his/her space before the research subject or participant responds in a responsible manner as requested via the *sevusevu* or gifting. Now throughout the story telling or conversation a *talanoa* or *tukuni* may be:

- A short topical story about a particular event with specific characters which maybe an encounter with a friend, boss or doctor.
- An extended story about a significant aspect of one's life such as schooling, work, marriage/divorce or a participation in a war or social movement.
- An entire life story from birth to the present.

As Creswell states, the 'data collection consists of "conversations" or stories, the reconstruction of life experiences as well as participant observations' (Creswell, 1998, p. 80). According to Bruner,

Gubrium, Holstein, Hinchman, Laslett, and Polkinghorne a narrative is about one's own and other's actions of organising events and objects into a meaningful whole and of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time (J. Bruner, 1986; Gubrium, 2001; Hinchman, 2001; Holstein, 2000; Laslett, 1999; Polkinghorne, 1995). In trying to tell a story, it is important to get organised first by knowing the where, why and how of one's context of research. Having prior knowledge of your gatekeepers means being able to connect and relate the research questions to what is being researched. Using *talanoa* or *tukuni* and connecting it to the life-history of a traditional relationship between two different ethnic groups is important if it can be substantiated by a relationship which has lasted over a period of time.

Describing this relationship through the *mana* (success, effective) of the *talanoa* would situate *talanoa* as part of ethnography. Describing the details of how the *talanoa* or *tukuni* went and people's reaction to such *veitalanoa* is ethnography. This will be described in detail in the next section.

3.7 *Veitalanoa/Tukuni* – a part of Ethnography/Autoethnography

Using *talanoa* or *tukuni* as a qualitative methodology is not only about getting stories but it is about doing or accomplishing something. Chase argues that 'when someone tells a story, he or she shapes, constructs and performs the self, experience and reality' (Chase, 2005, p. 652). *Talanoa/tukuni* is told year in and year out and migrates from one person to another. A researcher when hearing these *talanoa/tukuni* wants to be in the context to get and experience these *talanoa/tukuni* first hand. Seeing, knowing and experiencing what exists in the context first - hand tells the researcher whether those migrating *tukuni*/*talanoa* are either true or have changed little by little as they have been related from one person to another. Narrating and documenting them first - hand by purely describing every detail as the *talanoa/tukuni* is told acknowledges the story and storyteller. Within the Fijian and Solomon Islands context, acknowledging the story and storyteller also includes the *vanua, yavusa, mataqali* and *itokatoka*. This is especially important for the leading *yavusa*. Bauman, Briggs and Mishler agree that a *tukuni*/*talanoa* is done through a narrator and listener, whether it is just a chat or is an interview taking place in a fieldwork (Bauman, 1986; Briggs, 1986; Briggs, 2002; Mishler, 1986). Therefore,

talanoa/tukuni are socially situated in a particular setting, for a particular audience and purpose. Within Fiji and the Solomon Islands context the head of the *yavusa* (clan) would receive the *sevusevu* (*kava* or *koha* (gifts)) on behalf of himself and his clan if he either allows or disallows the research to go on.[28] For example: and what is it I wish to document. As we got into Tukuta, this is what he said as he negotiated my space on my behalf:

> '*Tukai se caka mada yani e dua na ka lailai qo. Vakaturaga saka tiko i Kubuna vua na turaga na Vunivalu na Tui Kaba, vakaturaga saka tiko i Burebasaga vua na gone marama na Roko Tui Dreketi, gone turaga na vunivalu, vakaturaga saka tiko vei iratou na veiwekani qaqa na Tovata, vakaturaga i Namara vua na gone turaga na Rokotuiveikau, vakaturaga i Wai vua na gone turaga na Tui Wai, e dua saka nai qaiqai malumalumu e qai tiko mai ena siga e daidai. Nai qaiqai qo e dua ga nai qaiqai ni sasaga vakavuli me rawa kina ni dikevi ka cereki nai talanoa baleti nodatou Bu. Na gone yalewa dou mai raica saka na turaga e dabe tiko qo e gole tale tikoga mai na vanua e kawa mai kina na budatou, gone yalewa ga ni nodatou koro mai Wainaloka. E vuli sara tiko mai Niusiladi ia e saga tiko o koya me dikeva na nodatou i Sema Vakaveiwekani, ia ni sa oti oqo e sana gole sara tiko yani ki na yatu Solomone me qai lai tinia kina na nona vakadidike. Kerea me keirau lomani na wekamudou ena i qaiqai malumalumu oqo ni lailai na veika keirau yadia tiko mai. Yaba ni yaqona vakaturaga me sa rai donu ki valelevu ena loma ni yavusa ko Namara, a soso ra tu.*

'Grandfather, could we please present something small to you. To the chiefs of Kubuna, especially to the great high chief of Kaba, to the chiefs of Burebasaga and especially the lady high chief of Dreketi (Rewa) and to the high and powerful chiefs of Tovata, to the chief of the Namara clan especially to the Rokotuiveikau, to the high chief of Wai: The journey we have made here today is an educational one, one which seeks to investigate and bring to light the stories of your maternal ancestor and how that traditional relationship between your people and

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[28] In here the head of the clan would do either after he receives the *sevusevu*. If he disallows the research he would say it there, when he receives the *sevusevu*, if he allows the research he would do the same thing.

the Solomoni still exists today. The young lady you see sitting here is a descendant of the people who come from the island that your maternal ancestor came from, she is from Wainaloka. She is studying in New Zealand and when she finishes here she will go to the Solomon Islands to connect your stories with the ones in the Solomons. We would like to humbly request that you look at us with a lot of love for whatever small token we have brought with us'.

Through this small exchange of *veitalanoa* it is clear that even though the *sevusevu* is addressed to the chief of the clan, it takes into consideration the people present and the various places they come from, including, therefore, a chief, leader or a person of another clan even if one does not belong to that clan. When the *sevusevu* is addressed, acknowledging the various places they come from is very important as one is not only representing oneself but one's *yavusa, mataqali, itokatoka* and one's *vanua* as a whole. The chief is the embodiment of the people and the land or *vanua.* It is through the *i sevusevu*, the *talanoa* which takes place through the exchange of words with people who are present, that we were able to make that connection in terms of who and what are there and why they are there. The words used in the *sevusevu* connect a researcher's point of entry to whether the chief on behalf of one's clan has received the *sevusevu* by either saying yes or no, and stating the reasons for his answer.

In the beginning of the *sevusevu* my protocols officer referred to the head of the *yavusa Namara* who has the chiefly title of *Rokotuiveikau* as *tukai* (grandfather). For someone who is totally from a different ethnic group to call someone from another ethnic grouping *tukai* or grandfather means that they must be related through marriage or blood. A relationship between a grandfather and grandchild is a close bond. The term *tukai* is used only by people who have that emotional bond with that person. This emotional bond can also be referred to as the primordial bond. This primordial bond is one that people are born and socialised into. This bond that my protocols officer has mentioned right at the start shows how close the people in my settlement are to the people of Tukuta, Lovoni. This attachment is through the blood ties of their maternal ancestor who came from Malaita. Ever since our grandparents who came during the labour trade days moved to Wainaloka, there has been a close tie and relationship with

the people who are descendants of the Malaitan *auapu/tabusiga* (lady of high rank) whom I have referred to previously. In the end of our *sevusevu* the head of the *yavusa* Namara said to me *'au talega e dua na nomudou tukai, mo dau tukuna mai na gauna o dau lako mai kina'* (I am one of your grandfathers, you need to let us know beforehand when you are coming). He said this as he was receiving our *sevusevu*. Having said what he had said when he received my *sevusevu* I was deeply touched and felt more like an insider than an outsider. Therefore, those short *talanoa* carried out through a *sevusevu* establish a more permanent and emotional bond as it seeks to answer the questions who, why, where and what? Chase states that researchers are interested in how people communicate meaningfully through a range of linguistic practices, how their stories are embedded in the interaction between researcher and narrator, how they make sense of personal experience in relation to culturally and historically specific discourses and how they draw on, resist, and/or transform those discourses as they narrate their selves, experience and realities (Chase, 2005). Narrating life stories of an individual or community through the use of language and culture is inter-disciplinary in nature.

Psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists and other social science disciplines at times narrate a life-story/history through active research which would bring about change in the life of a community. There are two approaches that anthropologists use in terms of narrative inquiry which clarify the way I have used *talanoa/tukuni* in addition to semi-ethnography. Firstly, the use of narrative ethnography is something that is in line with the use of *talanoa* in addition to ethnography. Chase defines this as a long-term involvement in culture or community, like life history which focuses heavily on an individual or on a small number of individuals (Chase, 2005). Tedlock reiterates that narrative ethnography is distinct in that both the researcher and the researched "are presented together within a single multivocal text focused on the character and process of the human encounter" (Tedlock, 1992, p. xiii). *Talanoa/tukuni* can be referred to as part of narrative ethnography because it is multilayered in terms of the context and its participants. Narrating a small *talanoa/tukuni* and the traditional custom of acquiring a small *talanoa/tukuni* brings out the realities which exist in the field. It is documenting by describing these realities within a *talanoa/tukuni* which brings out the ethnography part. Secondly,

autoethnography is a research methodology in which researchers give a detailed account of themselves and their interactions with others. Crawley, Ellis & Berger, Ellis & Bochner, Ellis & Flaherty argue that in this methodology researchers write, interpret and/or perform their own narratives about culturally significant experiences in the field (Crawley, 2002; Ellis, & Berger, 2002; Ellis, & Bochner, 1996; C Ellis, & Flaherty, 1992). *Talanoa* within ethnography is evident through both of the methodologies mentioned because it is about the researcher, the researched and the researcher's interaction with culture. This interaction is not only talked about during the seminar presentations but also documented in the thesis. *Talanoa* takes place through the short chats that the researcher has with his/her supervisors, or through seminar presentation or through conversations any other individuals who take an interest in what the researcher has to say about his/her research. The researcher chats or has a conversation not only about his/her research but also about the cultural protocols and hardships of being in the field. There are many ways in which people *talanoa* or narrate happenings/stories when a researcher is in the field. *Talanoa* is not limited to storytelling, it can also be based on a relationship in an interview between a narrator and a listener.

The *veitarotarogi* (interview) through *talanoa* in terms of relationship between a narrator and a listener is developed from an interviewer vs interviewee relationship. The researcher begins by telling his/her own story and this may ring a bell for the interviewee about his/her story. For example: When I was in the Solomon Islands during my first year of fieldwork on my doctorate, I met George Ahikau. I started telling him the story of the Malaitan *auapu* and at the end I mentioned the things she took with her to Fiji. I mentioned that two men took her but not their names, but Ahikau did mention them. He then paused and slowly related the story as it was told to him by his father from the beginning to the end. He mentioned certain parts of the story which I found to be part of the missing puzzle from the Fiji story and this for me as a researcher was something I did not expect.

Atkinson and Silverman mention that 'the open-ended interview offers the opportunity for an authentic gaze into the soul of another' (Atkinson, 1997, p. 305). Such small open-ended *talanoa/veitarotarogi* would bring out particular stories within that story as a person understands them or according to what

s/he has been told by his/her grandparents. In doing this the researcher needs to be knowledgeable about the context and part of the story as well. As Chase states '....it requires knowing what is "story worthy" in the narrators social setting...'(Chase, 2005, p.662). However, knowing what is story worthy and being able to articulate broad open questions, a researcher needs to be prepared to invite a story. Burgos argues that 'a story comes off successfully when its narrator exercises her power upon the person who is ostensibly conducting the interview by derealising his interventions, capturing his attention, neutralizing his will, arousing his desire to learn something more than what would be allowed by the logic of the narrative itself' (Burgos, 1989, p. 33). Narrative interviewing is thus like a paradox. The researcher needs to be well prepared to ask questions or tell an open-ended story which will invite the other's story on the one hand, but on the other hand, the very idea of a particular story is that it cannot be known in advance. For example: While in the Solomon Islands, I met up with a group of three men who were interested in my story. I prompted them by telling them part of my story. All started talking about a woman missing from their genealogy tree, about power and wealth, as I listened intently, expecting them to say something about the men who took her. Later in the evening as I reviewed my recording I realised that even though they were emotional about having found that maternal ancestor, their story did not give any clues about what I already knew. They were telling their stories from a different perspective. Their *tukuni*/*talanoa* did not link or connect to those I already had.

Veitalanoa and Troubled Identities

A researcher on narratives should focus particular attention, as Chase argues on the 'subject positions, interpretive practices, ambiguities and complexities which exist within each narrator's story' (Chase, 2005, p. 663). A narrator's identity always changes from one environment to another. There are no fixed, authentic selves and listening to people telling their stories suggests that narrators construct "nonunitary subjectivities" "revised identities" "permanently unsettled identities" and "troubled identities" (Bloom, 1995; Josselson, 1996b; Gubrium, 2001).

Carr states that 'sometimes we change the story to accommodate the events; sometimes we change the events by acting to accommodate the story' (Carr, 1997, p. 17). The *veitalanoa* would have been

changed to suit the more powerful and respected in a good light. Bruner argues, that 'narratives are not only structures of meaning but structures of power as well' (Bruner, 1997, p. 269). For example: While in Fiji I travelled to Moturiki, an island off the coast of Ovalau (in which Levuka, the old capital of Fiji was located). It was from this island that Vulalevu came from. Vulalevu or Vaula was one of the two men who brought the *auapu* to Fiji. Now, the story has it that the *auapu* was in love with Vaula, as he was quite handsome and was of a fair complexion. However, it was Rakavono who ran away with her in the end and had two children whose descendants are known as their descendants all over Fiji now. In Naicabecabe, Moturiki, the story was different. An elder of the village told us the story of how Vaula went back to Lovoni and brought the *'auapu'* back. In the end I asked if they had any children or descendants. The answer they gave me was 'No'.

Now, here is a classic example of a 'troubled identity'. The people of Moturiki are not sure of how or whether they are connected or are *tauvu* to the Solomoni. Therefore, *taukei* narrators tell the *tukuni* as it is for them and this gives the people reason to believe that:

- Their *tukuni* is the reason for them to claim their connection of *tauvu* with the Solomoni.
- Their identity rests with the *tukuni.*
- It will enable them to be dominant over the other. The *tukuni* that their ancestor Vaula ran off with the *auapu* to Moturiki is a way to tell the people of Lovoni that they were more powerful because they ran off with her in Rakavono's territory.

The *tukuni* has been told by the people of Moturiki in a way that justifies their belief that they rightfully own the Malaitan *auapu* and in the way they believe it was told from the beginning, and it was a way to redress the powerlessness of their ancestral god. However, it must be realised that the *talanoa/tukuni* does not belong to only one individual, but belongs to the *vanua, yavusa, mataqali, itokatoka* and the community as a whole. The *tukuni* that the individual from Moturiki offered is not his but that of the Naicabecabe village on the island of Moturiki. The question is then: what happens to *tukuni/talanoa*

which belong to the community and how does the community offer it to the researcher. This will be described in the next section.

Veitalanoa: Insider/Outsider Dilemma

What a researcher does to be able to get *tukuni* widely and openly from people can make a researcher either an insider or outsider. The question of who decides this unconsciously goes through any researcher's mind if s/he feels that it plays an important role in his/her research. It is the community which is researched that decides. However, even the researcher would to some extent feel or even know whether he/she is insider or outsider if he/she is familiar with the various circumstances which academics feel are influential. According to Robson (2002) there are various ways for a researcher to become an insider. These are:

- The researcher may be a member of the community he/she is studying.
- The researcher may become an accepted member after living with the community for a period of time.
- The researcher and the subject may both be actively involved in carrying out the research.

For example, in researching my own identity, which is the *tauvu* identity which the Solomoni living in Fiji have with the *taukei*, I am an insider. This is because I am a descendant of a Solomoni from Wainaloka, an insider to the people of Ra and Tukuta because of the traditional ties we have with them. The primordial bond which I share with the people of Ra and Tukuta makes me an insider when researching in their context. In the Solomon Islands I am also an insider because my grandfather is from there. Even though I don't live there, my blood ties or the primordial bonds which I share with the people of Malaita make me an insider.

Robson goes on to explain that to be an insider a researcher from outside has to become an accepted member of the community after living with the community for a period of time (Robson, 2002). There are levels and ways that researchers are seen and accepted as one of the community or as insiders. Within Fiji if a researcher wants to be seen as an insider s/he has to know and follow the *sala*

vakavanua (customary way of a place). This means being knowledgeable about the Fijian traditions and protocols. Therefore a researcher has to:

- Know when to present a *sevusevu*

- Know how to sit/ where to sit

- Make sure that he/she does not cause any form of disrespect

- Know how to dress (especially when in the village/attending social functions)

- Know how to speak/when to speak

The *sala vakavanua* means acknowledging the traditional custom of that place. Acceptance into the Fijian community will slowly come about when the researcher is able to fit him/herself into the community. This has to be done with a lot of:

- *Dina* (honesty)

- *Veirokorokovi* (mutual respect)

- *Veirogorogoci* (mutual listening)

- *Veidokai* (honouring the other first)

- *Veikauwaitaki* (mutual caring/support)

The above values and other values which are yet to be mentioned help the researcher to be able to discern what to do, when to speak, what to say and how to carry himself/herself. In all my case studies I had to listen more and speak very little. Having a protocols officer when going to the various places around Fiji is very important, and keeping one's protocols officer in line is also important. I had to carefully explain to my protocols officer what the research was about, since he was going to be my mouthpiece as he negotiated my space on my behalf when he presented my *sevusevu* to the chief or elders of the village. What he said would prompt them either to receive or to reject my *sevusevu*.

There are advantages and disadvantages of insider research. Some of the advantages are:

- That insiders already have a huge amount of knowledge

- That participants are at ease during *talanoa/veitarotarogi* sessions

- That participants *talanoa* openly about almost anything and everything

- That the *talanoa/tukuni* in the sacred space is treated with respect through the *veitalanoa* and *veitarotarogi* and the only people who speak are the people who have some knowledge about what is being discussed, while the rest listen with great respect.

Already having a huge amount of knowledge is enhanced by the open informal sessions throughout the *veitalanoa* sessions. However, the difference in the various *talanoa/tukuni* can be easily felt and seen in the different case studies in my research. The main concern is the changes in the *talanoa/tukuni* in regards to the context.

For example: In 'Are'Are, Malaita, the story has been told throughout the generations and it has been told along the same lines ...... 'that the *auapu* was in love with one of the Fijian men and vice-versa, so she was given to him to be his wife with the blessing of her parents and her people'. But in Tukuta, Lovoni, the *tukuni/talanoa* was different. '...in the middle of the night while the whole village slept, the men ran off with the *auapu'*.

The two *tukuni* are different in their own way. Each comes from a different context and is told in a different setting. Explaining the differences and taking one as valid would make me an outsider to the other. There are times when the participants prefer to *veitalanoa* off the record. It is through these off-the-record *veitalanoa* that I would sometimes get those *talanoa/tukuni* which I did not anticipate would come out. For example in Honiara, Solomon Islands when I was having a *talanoa* session with Ahikau, he got a bit emotional. He expressed his emotions as he talked about the part when the Malaitan *auapu's* older brother anointed her with powers of protection...[29] For Ahikau, a man, to express and show his emotions tells me as a researcher that he was comfortable as he related his *talanoa* to me. As a researcher I knew that the *auapu* was said to have arrived in Fiji with two things, the *niu damu*

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[29] This was later confirmed by Chief James Apato.

(yellowish coconut) and a yam, and this he confirmed. But for him to come out and say that she had been anointed with other powers for protection was something that I did not expect to hear.

However, as well as the advantages, there are some disadvantages. Firstly, the question of the validity of the research and whether it does correspond to an objective reality. Rooney states that neopositivists and antipositivists would argue that complete objectivity is impossible (Rooney, 2005). Neopositivists and antipositivists believe that a true and complete description of things should be quantifiable or measured. However, this would depend on the context, the *talanoa* or *tukuni* and the audience. In the different narratives in my case studies, knowing the plot and the identity markers for different *talanoa/tukuni* helps me not only to comprehend the *tukuni/talanoa* but to also make sense of the missing pieces from the *talanoa/tukuni*. Objectivity is a challenge in insider research and the best one can do is to engage identity markers as guide. This happens if the 'other' is a *vulagi* (visitor/foreigner). For example: The *tukuni* from 'Are 'Are, Malaita, Solomon Islands, for me speaks of a lifestyle or a custom and this was seen in the way the *auapu* was anointed with different powers to equip her in her journey, even the place where all this happened,[30] whereas the *tukuni/talanoa* from Tukuta, Lovoni, Fiji, may have changed to suit the two men. The identity of the *auapu* from 'Are 'Are and the power she brought with her were never heard or spoken of in the *talanoa/tukuni* from Tukuta, because the two men were powerful in their own context. For them to talk about the *mana* (power) that the *auapu* brought with her would mean, '*O rau lai vaqara na mana se kaukauwa*' (they went to search for mana or some sort of power). Since they were ancestors of Lovoni and Moturiki this would not make them look powerful or great ancestors of their people.

The extent of objectivity within insider research will depend on the people in the story, the audience, context and time. Smith states that 'insider research has to be ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical as outsider research' (Smith, 1999, p. 139). She adds that the 'complexities of an insider research approach can be mediated by building support structures' Smith, 1999, p. 139). For me as an

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[30] The island is now known as a sacred place and no women are allowed there. Only certain people with blood ties to the 'auapu' are allowed there.

insider my support structure was already there when I went into my own village (Wainaloka), and I was told after I did my *sevusevu* that my protocols officer would be the *Turaga-ni-koro* (village headman) who together with a group of men would accompany me to the various villages that I would go to.[31] This arrangement was something that was already in place in the village. Smith adds that it is more useful to work with an existing governing body Smith, 1999, p. 139).

3.8 Talanoa/Tukuni and the sacred space

Listening to the different *talanoa* in terms of history, the narrative conception of experience, action and existence is relevant to "human reality" socially. *Talanoa/tukuni* told metaphorically or literally is a social activity involving people's interaction with one another. Storytellers or researchers sometimes claim a story without acknowledging the source or the different groups of people who are part of a *tukuni* or narrative from the beginning. The *tukuni* or narrative as Carr argues 'belong to us; it is not my experience but ours, not I who act but we who act in concert' (Carr, 1997, p. 18). The community and the individual exist through the way they mutually recognise and acknowledge each other. The 'other' (participant/story teller) is regarded or treated with great respect. Here, the individual exists because of the *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *vanua* as a whole. Carr adds that 'narration as the unity of the story, story teller, audience and protagonists, is what constitutes the community, its activities and its coherence in the first place' (Carr, 1997, p. 22). Therefore, a *talanoa/tukuni* does not exist only with an individual but from a community, settlement, village, clan and other collective agencies which are oral in nature.

Different communities have different *talanoa* or narratives. Some *tukuni/talanoa* talk about their beginning as a village, *yavusa, mataqali*, some are about power, while others are about lessons that an individual can learn from. However, *talanoa/tukuni* are also told by different communities or *koro* (villages) with the purpose of honouring or respecting the people in that *talanoa/tukuni*. For an individual to *talanoa* on behalf of a community, *koro, yavusa, mataqali* or *itokatoka* is about giving space and allowing interaction to take place in a safe environment. Halapua states that *talanoa* provides a safe atmosphere for interaction and honours the numinous (Halapua, 2008, p. 64). Interaction is

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[31] These young men were my brothers, cousins and nephews.

about listening and taking in the silent interactions, and respects and gives space for them all. Any person who has a *tukuni* to offer will gladly offer it during an allocated time. However, the person who has to offer the *tukuni* would have been told prior to the meeting the agenda of the meeting. This can allow the unfolding of either a sense of positivity to unfold in terms of interaction or else one of mistrust which would lead to giving false information. While the sacred space is being used for dialogue and interaction, hospitality is offered in the form of mixing kava for the visitors and offering food, and the positive behaviour from the participant tells the researcher the eagerness of the participants to participate in the meeting. It is this hospitality offered which becomes the main reason for the formation of community. For example, when I went into my village of Wainaloka and offered my *sevusevu* to the village elders, I felt at ease when my *sevusevu* was gladly received. During my stay in my brother's house, there was always someone coming in during the week with a plate of food during the morning, lunchtime or evening. Even when I went to a house for a session of *veitalanoa,* people there would sit down and mix a bowl of kava and offer a plate of food. This would continue till the time I left. Upon my leaving the village there would be some raw food to take with me and cartons of tuna or mandarins or mangoes to take with me. This also happened when I went to Tukuta, Lovoni and Maniyava, Ra.

Veitalanoa and the Community

The hospitality offered by the community or village to someone visiting or anyone who has been away from the village for a very long time says much about how well they honour and respect an individual. The honour and respect is also seen in the way the community, *yavusa*, *mataqali* or village engages in the *talanoa*. This engagement is seen as a way of maintaining relationships within the *koro, yavusa, mataqali* and *itokatoka.* Offering hospitality also comes with a lot of excitement and anticipation. When the community or *koro* know that they are the main community or *koro* being researched there is a lot of buzz in the air, which creates a lot of excitement. For some it is something that they have waited long for. For example, when I went into Tukuta, for the first time no-one in the village knew me, even though they all knew my father and my cousins who accompanied me that day. I already knew that a cousin of mine was married to someone from there, but we had not met. However, my

cousins knew the house and led us there. It is of course important and customary for one to *rai i liu ena nona lomani vale* (to go first to a close relative's house) before going to present our *sevusevu* to the chief of the clan. When my two cousins and I presented our *sevusevu* there were tears in his eyes as he spoke. As he received it he said that he had waited for someone who is close to his maternal ancestor to research and write about her journey from Malaita to Fiji. The story had been written by one of his grandchildren who was doing a school project, but for someone to come from an overseas university who is of Malaitan blood was an added bonus. He later said 'Well today is the day when what I have thought about and have waited long for will be fulfilled....'

This was something he had anticipated would happen. The same can be said for the people in the Solomon Islands. Chief James Apato even wanted a documentary done. He wants this so that the world would know that their maternal ancestor who went to Fiji was a great lady of *mana* (sacred power). He wants the world to know that there has been an ongoing relationship which was established well before colonialism. Thus, *tukuni/talanoa* is about respecting and honouring people through listening and interacting. Respect, honour, listening and interaction come alive in that sacred space. It is the dialogue between the storyteller and listener in that sacred space which brings *mana* as there is no coercion but rather *veirogorogoci* (mutual listening), *veirokorokovi* (mutual respect), *and veikauwaitaki* (mutual caring /hospitality) and *loloma* (love). Hospitality offered through this discourse shows the *mana* of the community, which can be seen in the way they openly tell you about their story and how they felt that spirit even before you arrive. For example:

The day I arrived in Tukuta, the chief was already in his plantation and I knew I was too late. The chief later said that he felt that he had to go back home but later confessed he had no idea why. As he walked into the village, one of his sons told him that I was there and he said '*Isa! Na gone qo e vakavuna na noqu lesu tale mai'* (Isa! This child was the reason I came back). He later said '*E vaka ga e dua e tukuna vei au meu lesu tale mai'* (it was as if someone had told me to come back)

Similar examples could be given for Ra. When I went got back and started looking through my field-work *talanoa* and findings I found something was missing as I looked through the Native Lands Commission (NLC) records. I started talking to a few *taukei* here in New Zealand who knew about land issues in and how to read the written Native Lands records. So I decided to go again to Ra, except this time it was to a different place named Vitawa, and someone said to me '*Dodonu me ratou sa kida tiko mai Vitawa?*' [32] (the people of Vitawa should by now feel that you are about to come). When I arrived in Ra I was told that the man I needed to talk to worked for the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Ra and my protocols officer thought that it would be better for us to go there. When we reached the MOE, we were lucky that he was free and he invited us into their small meeting room. As we went in he started to talk to the men I came with and I could sense that these people seemed to be very close to him. Now, before entering his office my protocols officer had already explained to him why we were there and the *talanoa* I hope to get from him. As I settled down he started his *talanoa* about his people, the Solomoni, their *yavu*, the land and the *tukuni* that have been told throughout the generations. In the end he said to me, '*Au a vakarautaka tiko e dua nai lavelave ni talanoa au sa qai talanoataka oti ga qo vei iko*' (I have already prepared a paper of the stories that I have just told you now). He added, '*Au sega ni kila cava na vuna au a vakarautaka tu kina, au a nanumi ira ga na gone me so na ka me volai tu me baleti keimami kei na neimami tekitekivu*' (I did not know the reason I prepared the paper but I thought of the children as they might need something written about us and our origins). Then he got up and printed out a copy and gave me a copy of that paper. I asked him if he could explain about a few of the unclaimed lands, and he got out a map. I also brought out my map and it turned out that our maps were exactly the same. As he went inside to get a pencil the words that I had heard before leaving Auckland echoed in my head again, '*Dodonu me ratou sa kida tiko mai Vitawa*' (the people of Vitawa should by now feel that you are about to come). When researching a *yavusa, mataqali, itokatoka* or the *vanua* as a whole one has to be aware of the spiritual connection and *mana*, which happen when the research occurs in a cultural environment which recognises the people*, yavusa, mataqali* and *itokatoka*. The

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[32] Vitawa is a village in Ra and people who live here originally lived in Nakauvadra, which is said to be the place where the first Fijians settled. All the clans and land owning units who own land in Nakauvadra now live in Vitawa.

spiritual connection and *mana* can be felt only when the cultural protocols are correctly followed. Acknowledgements that are due to gatekeepers should be a priority and made accordingly.

Implications of talanoa in this research

While *talanoa* as a research methodology may be useful as a tool in some people's research, *talanoa* in this research plays a minor role in facilitating people's stories by helping to fill in the gaps and by allowing people to raise questions, and there is no set agenda that people must abide by when trying to extract information and stories from people. As Halapua, Vaioleti and Robinson would argue, since *talanoa* is about telling, relating and open chat, the major emphasis is on the process rather than the outcomes (Halapua, 2003; Vaioleti, 2006; Robinson, 2005). However, this thesis is about process and it also acknowledges the outcomes of the research.

The process within a research project is about extracting the correct information that is really needed, and in extracting information one must make sure that the process and protocols are followed. It is not only about telling or chatting but it is about hitting the right nails on the head through *tukuni* (narratives), *veitarotaroqi* (interviews) or *veitalanoa* (focus groups), which is all done with an agenda. With an agenda the sacred space is open to those who have something to contribute towards the *tukuni* through the *veitalanoa*.

Even though *talanoa* is sometimes used in very informal situations, it does not play a major role in this research since the narratives from the case studies take place through the *tukuni, veitarotarogi* and *veitalanoa. Talanoa* is used when all the formalities are completed and people just sit around a bowl of *kava* talking and chatting, and all sorts of topics come up, which range from politics, sports and even religion sometimes. There is no agenda and anyone can openly say anything they want to say.

3.9 Case Studies

Case study is a form of qualitative research which is used when studying individuals, or having a focus group or any other group as a whole. Stake says that a case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used (Stake, 2000, p. 435). Such a study may be either simple or

complex, functional or dysfunctional, rational or irrational, but it requires a system. A system has a conceptual structure and research data is therefore collated through interviews or questionnaires, participant observation and any relevant form of ethnography. Stenhouse defines case study as a process of inquiry about a case and the product of that inquiry (Stenhouse, 1984). Stake identifies three types of case studies and these are:

- Intrinsic case study – one in which the researcher seeks for better understanding of the case.

- Instrumental case study – one in which a particular case is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue.

- Collective case study – one in which a researcher studies a number of cases jointly

in order to investigate a phenomenon, population or general condition (Stake, 2000).

In this research, two of my case studies are 'collective' case studies and one case study is an 'instrumental' case study in Stake's terms.

The two collective case studies are mainly focused on the previously mentioned *tukuni* (narrative) which is known in Lovoni, Fiji and Malaita, Solomon Islands and is about an *auapu* from Malaita who went with two men from Fiji and became the maternal ancestor of the Namara tribe who now live in Fiji. This will be explained in further detail in another chapter. The main purpose of looking at the two case studies from the two different countries is to find out if the story does exist in both Malaita, Solomon Islands and Lovoni, Fiji. The purpose of the instrumental case study is to find out if there is a story about the Solomoni *yavu* and how it has become instrumental in the settlement of descendants of Solomoni labourers in Ra, the western part of Fiji. All these case studies are very important in the identity of the Solomoni living in Fiji now as they are:

- Markers of the traditional relationship which exists between the Solomonis in Fiji and the *taukei*.

- Markers of the old *yavu* which exists in Ra, western Viti Levu.

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The reason why some Solomoni settlements have been included in some districts such as the Solomoni settlement of Wainaloka in Ovalau, which is now included in the district of Bureta in Ovalau, and Nabunikadamu in Bua, which is now included in the district of Wainunu, Bua:

- Markers of the closeness between the Solomoni and the *taukei*

The *tauvu* relationship between the Solomoni and the *taukei* of Tukuta, Nukutocia and Lovoni are the reasons why I have two case studies to explain the nature of the cases, their historical background and other information which is related to the *tukuni* from both cases. Stouffer in Stake states that case researchers tend to draw from the following:

- The nature of the case

- The case's historical background

- The physical setting

- Other contexts (economic, political and legal etc)

- Other cases through which this case is recognised

- Those informant through whom the case can be known (Stake, 2000, p.438-439).

The case study in Ra is important in the lives of the Solomoni in Fiji since landlessness is an issue that the Solomoni have been faced with through the generations. This study is about a *yavu* of the Solomoni which some elders in Ra said was one of the first settlements in Ra. This settlement is known as Maniyava and most people in Ra know that it was one of the very important *itokatoka* during the time of Degei.[33] This household name of Maniyava is listed in the Native Lands Commission records as extinct.

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[33] Degei is an ancestral god of Fiji who settled in Nakauvadra.

Case Study 1: Ra

Ra is one of the fourteen provinces in Fiji, occupying the northern end of Viti Levu. Viti Levu, the largest island in Fiji, has eight provinces.[34] Ra (which literally means west or down) has a population of 29,464 and a land area of 1,341 square kilometres.[35] It has four districts: Nalawa, Nakorotubu, Rakiraki and Saivou which have their own paramount chiefs and are similar to some provinces in Fiji. Their chiefly titles are *Tui Nalawa* (Nalawa), *Turaga na Gonesau* (Nakorotubu), *Tui Navitilevu* (Rakiraki) and *Ratu ni Natauiya* (Saivou). The province of Ra is administered by the Ra Provincial Council through the Ministry of I Taukei Affairs (Indigenous Affairs).

Maniyava number two or Manuyava is a new village in the old district of Natokaimalo. Maniyava number two was a place given to the Solomon Islanders whose ancestors came into Fiji to work in the plantations. This piece of land was given after thorough research was done on the old ties that the Solomoni have with the people of Ra. After the Solomoni performed a traditional ceremony of *carasala* (clearing the path) in 1994 to the chief of Nayaulevu, they were taken up to a piece of land given by the Vunivalu, *Na Turaga na Lei Navunivau* to settle on. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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[34] See Map 1
[35] Population census - 2007

Figure 3.2: Location of Maniava in the province of Ra

Source: http://www.googlemaps.com
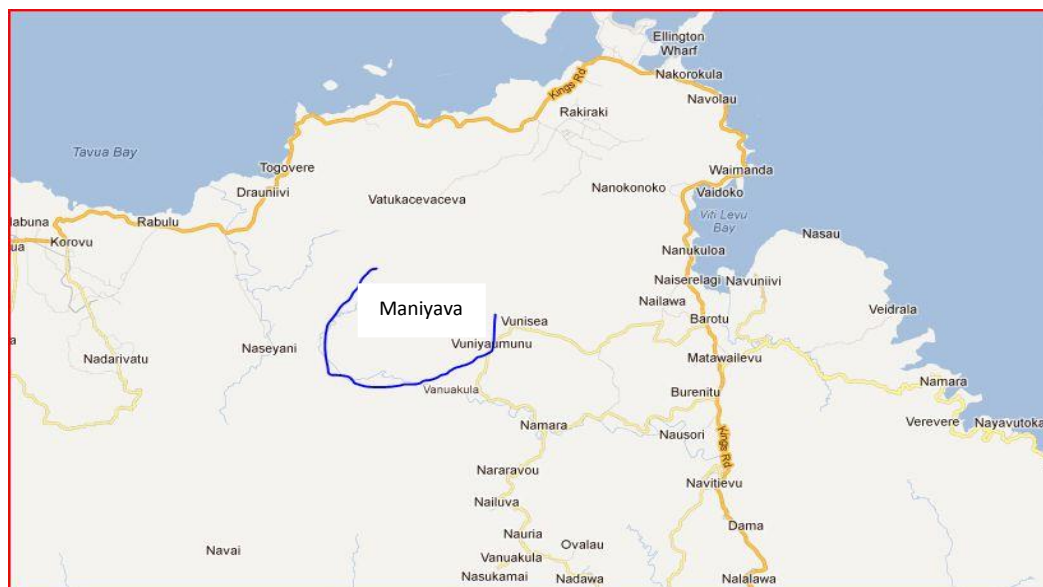
Case Study 2: Tukuta, near Lovoni, on Ovalau

The island of Ovalau is located within the central eastern part of Viti Levu in the Lomaiviti group of islands. It is situated 17.70° south and 178.8° east of Viti Levu. It covers a total area of 102.3 square kilometres and has a population of around 9,000 which is approximately half of the Lomaiviti province's population.[36]

Ovalau has a rugged terrain and topography but is flatter in the centre of the island which is called the Lovoni valley.[37] Within the settlement of Tukuta everyone belongs to *yavusa* (tribe/clan) Namara and *mataqali* (sub-clan/landowning unit) Namara. Tukuta is a *koro ni vakagalala* (a settlement that is away from the village) which comes under the jurisdiction of 'Tui Gavo'[38] in the district of Lovoni. The *yavusa* Namara's maternal ancestor is the *auapu* (lady of high rank) from the Rauahu tribe, Malaita, Solomon Islands.

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[36] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ovalau_(Fiji)

[37] See Map 2. Located on the Map is Tukuta, Moturiki and Wainaloka (a Solomoni settlement)

[38] Gavo is the name of the vanua or land which belongs to the people of Gavo who come under the rule of the chief of Gavo or Tui Gavo. Since the majority of the Namara tribe live on Tui Gavo's land in the village of Nukutocia they come under the vanua of Gavo and are therefore listed in the NLC under the vanua of Gavo. All of the Namara tribe then come under the vanua of Gavo as listed in the NLC records.

Figure 3.3: A map showing the locations of Tukuta and Lovoni on the island of

   Ovalau

Case Study: 'Are 'Are, Malaita – Solomon Islands

The island of Malaita is one of the largest provinces of the Solomon Islands. Several different language and dialects are spoken in different parts of the island. According to Kenilorea, Malaita is actually two islands which are separated by the Maramasike Passage and have a population of 120,000 (Kenilorea, 2008).[39] One of the largest language areas is the 'Are 'Are region which is located in the southern part of the main island.

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[39] This does not include the 50,000 or 60,000 or so Malaitans living throughout the rest of the Solomon Islands.

Figure 3.4: A map showing the location of 'Are 'Are on the island of Malaita
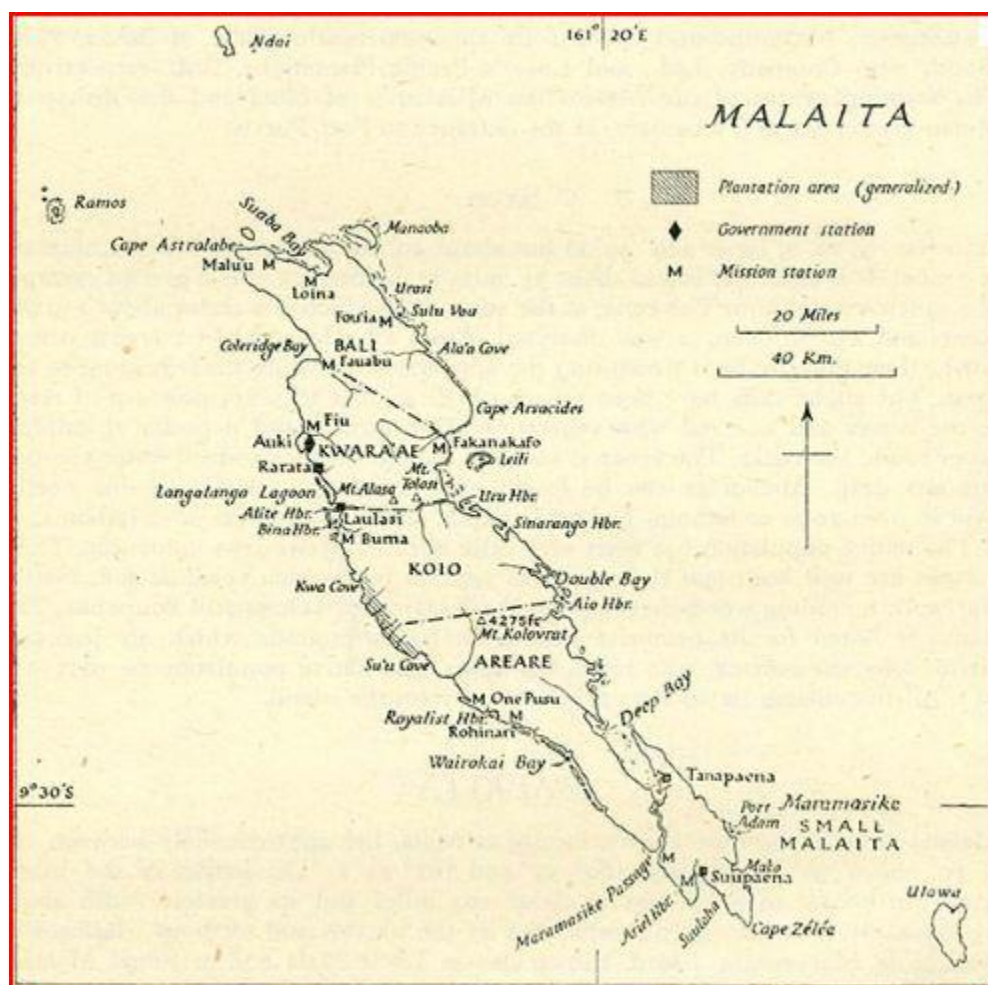
Most 'Are 'Are people are able to survive through subsistence farming and children learn life-skills and values through daily observation. Myths, legends, stories, customary land rights, tribal genealogies, rights and obligations are easily passed on from one generation to another. Kenilorea states that the meaning of 'Are'Are is 'our society' (Kenilorea, 2008). Each language area has its own traditional customs. According to Kenilorea and Keesing parts of 'Are'Are, particularly in the southern part, have a chiefly society where leadership is mostly inherited, such as the chief *Hahuarahana* of *Mareho* dialect who is known as the *Araha*. Other dialects are *Are*, *Aiaisi* and *Tai* as shown below on figure 3.5.

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Figure 3.5: A map showing the 'Are 'Are language areas on the island of Malaita
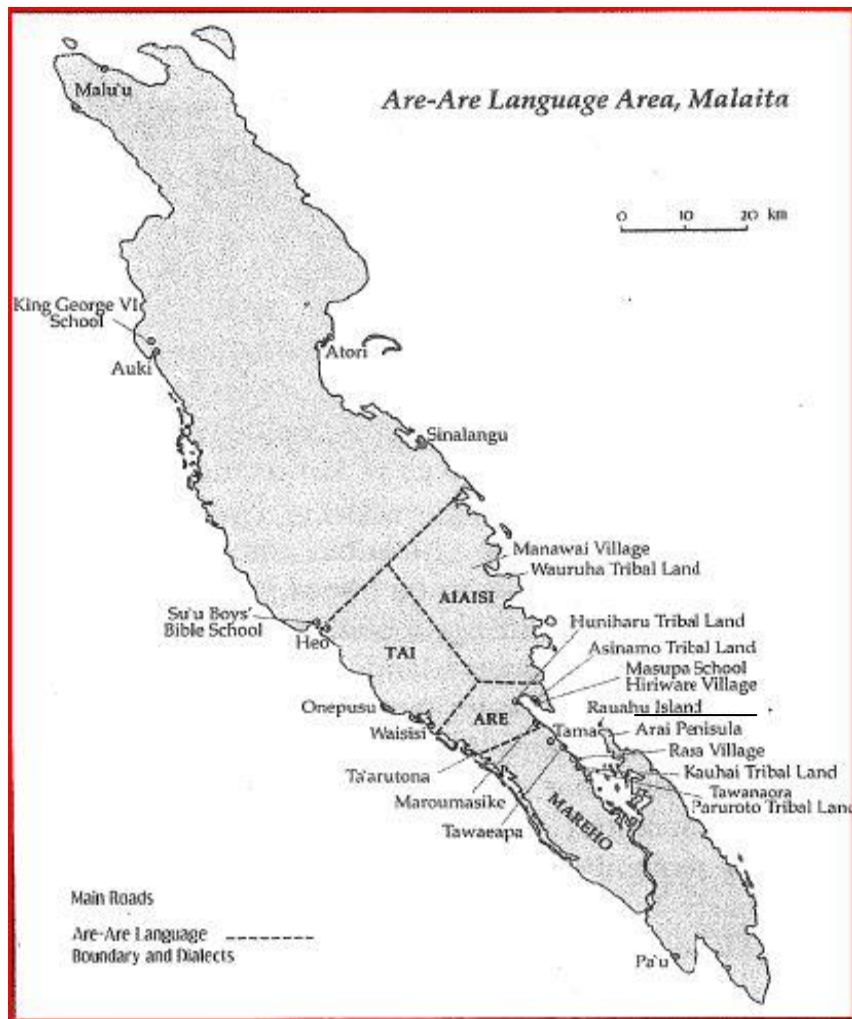
Source: Kenilorea, 2008, p.9

Kenilorea states that the 'Are dialect is spoken in the northern part of Mareho as far as Takataka Bay and the Aiaisi dialect extends north from Takataka Bay to the eastern boundary between the 'Are'are and Kwaio language and social units (Kenilorea, 2008). In addition to this the Tai dialect runs along west 'Are 'Are from its southern boundary at Waisisi to its northern border of Heo, north of Hauhui village. Now, my case study is located within the Mareho language area, namely on Rauahu Island.[40]

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[40] See Map 4 - locate Rauahu Island

3.10 Questionnaires – Survey Research

Tolich and Davidson stated that qualitative researchers seek a greater depth of information on people rather than breath (Tolich and Davidson, 1999, p. 80). In seeking a greater depth of information, researchers would go to great lengths to make sure that every aspect of what is being researched is thoroughly covered. Such questionnaires are mainly used in market research, where people are mailed or emailed questionnaires. Tolich and Davidson argue that some commonalities which exist in survey research are:

- It involves a standard questionnaire (everyone in a survey gets asked the same question in the same way).
- People are selected to take part in a survey by means of some kind of random selection.
- It involves much larger sample sizes.

However, questionnaires used in this thesis or research slightly differ because of the context of research. Instead of emailing or mailing the research questions, they were given to people completely randomly. I used questionnaires because I wanted to find out if people really:

- Know the definition of *tauvu* relationship.
- Know whether the *tauvu* relationship does exist.
- Know of some *tauvu* relationships which exist within Fiji.
- Do apply the *tauvu* relationship to the people they are *tauvu* to
- Realise the importance of this relationship
- Know of the *tauvu* relationship between the Solomoni and the *taukei* (indigenous Fijians)

The questionnaires were distributed randomly. There were 50 questionnaires for the Solomoni and 50 for *taukei*. The questionnaires for the Solomoni are different from those for the *taukei* but are the same for all the Solomoni across the board. For the Solomoni, the questionnaires were given to those who

live in the Solomoni settlements around the capital, Suva, the province of Ra and the island of Ovalau. These settlements are:

- Wainaloka   (Ovalau)

- Maniava/Manuyava   (Ra)

- Wailoku   (Suva)

- Newtown   (Suva)

- Tamavua-i-wai (Suva)

- Caubati   (Suva)

The questionnaires for the Solomoni were distributed when I went out into the field for the various *veitalanoa* sessions and were collected when I came back to verify the *tukuni/talanoa* with the participants. With most of the settlements around Suva I had contact almost every month, as Suva was my home for the seven months I spent in Fiji, while I was in Ra twice (mid June 2010 and in May 2011), and I was on Ovalau on three occasions (mid July, mid September and mid November 2010).

The questionnaires for the indigenous Fijians were given randomly to indigenous Fijians who worked or studied at:

- The University of the South Pacific (Staff and Students)

- St John's Theological College (Students – Suva)

- Civil Servants

- The Theological College of St John the Evangelist, Auckland, New Zealand[41]

- Indigenous Fijians who live in Tamavua-i-wai[42]

The reason for randomly giving out questionnaires to the indigenous Fijians is because I did not want to confine myself to using only one village or province but to find out whether indigenous Fijians

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[41] Also includes Rev'd Dr Tuwere and his wife, who are not students but staff members of Trinity Methodist College.

[42] Tamavua - i - wai is one of the Solomoni Settlements in the greater Suva area.

in general understand the term *tauvu* and the *tauvu* relationship. I also wanted to find out about the indigenous Fijian perception of Solomoni living in Fiji. To get all those in a *koro* (village) or a Solomoni settlement to fill in the questionnaires would not justify the claims of the *tauvu* relationship if it were shown that those people perceived that it existed. As a researcher I did not specifically ask a certain number of people from each province or village as I wanted to find out whether people generally understood this traditional relationship. As a result of this an individual's name was optional in the questionnaire but was compulsory in the consent form. An individual's name was optional in the questionnaire because I wanted my respondents to respond openly. I also did not feel that gender mattered as what I really wanted to find out was people's knowledge of the *tauvu* concept. The questionnaires are set out in a thematic way which is focused on the *tauvu* identity and relationship. Both the questionnaires were centred on the following themes:

- Narratives/*talanoa*

- *Tauvu* concept

- *Tauvu* relationship and identity between the Solomoni and an *taukei* (indigenous Fijian)

- Identity of anyone born in Fiji regardless of who they were and how they identified themselves in the diaspora.

- Solomoni/*taukei* perspectives of the Solomoni

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter began with an explanation of qualitative methodology and why it provides a clear understanding of social issues, narratives and stories. Qualitative methodology has helped researchers to clarify the research method used and the purpose of using such a methodology or methodologies. When researchers use any methodology, whether it is qualitative or quantitative, they must be mindful of the context they are studying. In any context in which people are studied, those people have a way of life, culture or protocol that any visitor or researcher has to be clear about. In this research, the *vanua* protocol or custom had to be followed or upheld at all times in my place of research, whether it was in Fiji or the Solomon Islands. This chapter then specifically explained the *vanua* protocols used in this research before the actual *tukuni*, *veitarotaroqi* (interview) and *veitalanoa* (formal/informal talk/chats) sessions began. *Talanoa* is used in this research, but not frequently since going into the *tukuni*, *veitarotaroqi* and *veitalanoa* mode means having an agenda and abiding by it, whereas a *talanoa* or chat or talking may not have an agenda. Talanoa happens when the formal research procedures are over and people are just sitting around for an informal chat. This chapter also clarifies the use of case studies and survey research through questionnaires. Using the eclectic or multi-method approach has helped me as a qualitative researcher to make sure that every avenue in this research is covered.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore the history of early human settlements in the Pacific, especially taking note of the early settlements in Fiji. Exploring the history of the early settlements in the Pacific and Fiji is not only to note the chronology of events but also to engage in the narratives attributed to these events. Firstly, it will explore the accounts of the movements and voyaging of people and how the Pacific was accessible because the islands were in close proximity and accessible because the sea level was low. Furthermore, it will describe the life of the early Fijians, the establishment of villages, taking into consideration certain cultural attributes and identity which enabled Pacific people to integrate and assimilate into another Pacific culture. It also seeks to explain the different traditional relationships that exist in Fiji as a result of the movements of people and prowess during tribal wars. This section also focuses on the similarities in the lives of the Solomon Islanders and indigenous Fijians, looking in particular at the reasons why the Solomon Island labourers who were taken to Fiji were able to adapt and integrate so easily.

4.2 Movement and Voyaging

According to anthropologists, the first Pacific settlers came from Asia through the western Pacific (Melanesia). The first people into the Pacific migrated from Indonesia into western New Guinea. According to Crocombe, the water spaces between Indonesia and New Guinea were then much narrower than today because the sea level was much lower and land was visible throughout (Crocombe, 1989). As Austronesian immigrants from Asia moved they took with them things which would enable them to survive. Crocombe states that 'most of the people, plants and animals in Oceania until the last century originated from Asia in the distant past' (Crocombe, 2001, p. 5). Kiste also explains that 'the main settlement of the Pacific occurred with the eastward movement of peoples from South East Asia (Kiste, 1994, p. 6). Evidence of the Asian connection includes cultural similarities and genetic links. Kiste, contends that in pre-European times, the flora and fauna of the islands were almost entirely derived from Asia. Examples are: coconuts, breadfruit, pandanus, bananas, papaya, taro and yams.

Throughout the different waves of migration people took with them whatever they needed to survive, from domesticated animals to agriculture. However, there is also biological evidence of the Pacific Islands' connection to Asia. Biologists and researchers have been researching the 'Slow Boat' hypothesis which is derived from evidence that 94.1% of Polynesian Y chromosomes and 99.8% of Polynesian mtDNA is of either Melanesian or Asian origin, and this suggests that Polynesians have this dual genetic origin (Kayser, 2006). This shows the movement of people from Asia to New Guinea, then to the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Caledonia, then to Fiji. All these movements were made possible by the low sea level and the closeness of the land masses, as most of the islands joined together.

Kirch stated that 'the Kilu rock shelter on Buka Island, dated to about 28,000 years BP firmly establishes that humans had crossed into the northern part of the Solomon Islands when many of the central Solomon Islands were joined due to the low sea level' (Kirch, 1997). This account supports the opinions of Howe, Kirch and Spriggs about the use of bamboo rafts or bark canoes of sufficient size (Howe, 2006; Spriggs, 1997). Pourara points out that when the water level was low, people who sailed from their respective islands could easily go back and forth at any given time (Pourara, 2010). Friedlaender, Howe, Kirch and Spriggs believe that this is how Near Oceania (Papua New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago, Manus, Mussau and the Solomon Islands) were first settled (Friedlaender, 2007; Howe, 2008); Kirch, 1997; Spriggs, 1997). Scholarship has noted that the islands of Near Oceania were settled by the hunting and gathering populations for at least the past 50,000 years.

People continued to move and expand beyond the Solomon Islands and moved into Remote Oceania (New Caledonia, Vanuatu, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa) which are groups of islands to the south and South-east. Kirch argues that the continued expansion of the Lapita people beyond the Solomon Islands and into Remote Oceania is not due to the search for new trading opportunities but is due to population pressure, sibling rivalry and banishment (Kirtch, 1997). The latter two are commonly heard of in oral histories and even cited in written histories by Routledge and Tippett in the case of Fiji (Routledge, 1985; Tippett, 1980). Whatever incentives there may have been for discovering other islands, the

relationship between clans and brothers has never disappeared, as people historically carry with them names of their clans, tribes, totems and even personal names. As populations grew on individual islands, people became locally specialised, there was increased adaptation to environmental opportunities and some were even transformed culturally and linguistically.

After most of eastern Polynesia had been settled there was a lull in the voyages of discovery. Campbell agrees that in the period of colonization and settlement, oceanic voyaging was quiet and various island communities settled down to develop their own cultural patterns (Campbell, 2003). Through the movements of people between the different islands people integrated, assimilated and kept moving. This meant that different people had mixed and mingled and they spent a considerable amount of time in the different islands they came across. Fiji was a transit point for Tonga, Samoa and other Pacific islands. Fiji's position in the Pacific meant that it was accessible north, east, south and west. Fiji's position and how the early Fijians settled in Fiji will be discussed next.

4.3 The Early Fijians

There are competing stories among the *taukei* about the early settlers of Fiji and in many ways are often aimed at establishing the 'original' identity of indigenous Fijians. In some cases these stories are used to determine tribal membership and connections. To a *taukei*, identity is related to being born a Fijian and belonging to a *koro*, *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *itokatoka*. This bond is believed to be primordial in the sense that it is something they believe will never change or be taken away from them and is rightfully theirs. This emotional bond is also shaped by the situations that people face in an environment and influence the way people try to connect to a traditional relationship and identity.

For the Solomoni in Fiji it is about connecting and relating to their *yavu*. It is this connection which is orally passed down by the *taukei* to their children and it is a *yavu* in Ra or the descendants of Solomoni *auapu* in Tukuta, Lovoni, which makes that connection. This will be explored in detail in the next chapter.

However, it important at this stage to examine the literature in terms of the archaeology and anthropology of the first inhabitants of Fiji. Brewster (1922) feels that the early settlers were Polynesians, while Gifford (1952) feels that the early settlers were Melanesians. Gatty (2010) believes that there were four waves of migration to Fiji. The first wave were the Lapita people who were "ocean-going", sailors from South-East Asia who went on to Rotuma, Samoa, Tonga and part of French Polynesia. Kumar (2004) also argues that these people settled along the coast of Moturiki, Naigani, Sigatoka (Bourewa), Natunuku, Beqa and Vatulele in Fiji. She highlights this in her evidence from archaeological excavations with Dr Paddy Nunn in all of those areas mentioned above. The question is why the Lapita people did not move inland. Nunn describes how for the past 17,000 years the sea level has been generally rising and would gradually have displaced coastal dwellers (Nunn, 1996). These coastal dwellers, the Lapita people, would probably not have moved inland because of the fear of the hostile reaction they would get from the inhabitants who live inland and so the only option would be to turn to the sea. Kumar pointed out that the Lapita people may have feared that there would be people inland and decided not to go there. From here the Lapita people sailed east from Bourewa, north from Naigani and east from Moturiki right through to Mago and Lakeba and then to Tonga.

Secondly, there were the migrants who came in small expeditions from the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu). These as Gatty believes were the real settlers of Fiji. This was later argued in terms of customs, traditions and physical make up of the indigenous Fijians.

Nunn (1996) argues that the Lapita settlement was followed by a wave of settlement by the original inhabitants of the western Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. He suggests that these early settlers of Fiji were bush people and because the sea level was low, they had crossed with large rafts made from *bitu kau* (thick bamboo). In addition, Gatty argues that these early indigenous Fijians populated the western coast and highlands of Viti Levu. Gifford (1952) agrees that it is the people who had settled in Ra/Nadi (western coast of Viti Levu) and the Namosi, colo-east[43] and colo-west (highlands of Viti Levu) had already settled in Fiji well before the next wave of migrants arrived.

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[43] Colo means inland or mountain country.

Rokowaqa contends that when the people who came on the 'Kaunitoni'[44] landed on the western side of Fiji, there were already people waiting for them and as they approached the island of Viti Levu they could see smoke rising from island (Rokowaqa, 1929). Brewster adds that the common people arrived before the chiefs, points out that when these Polynesian adventurers came upon the scene they found the Melanesians already in possession of the countryside (Brewster 1922).

This third wave of migrants as Gatty argues is one whose origins are uncertain. Rokowaqa highlights how and where these *Kaunitoni* migrants came from. Rokowaqa states that they trace their roots right back to Tanganyika. The story has it that due to a drought that happened in Egypt people moved from there in search of a place that would enable them to survive. They decided to move down to the African continent and settled for a long period of time along the Tanganyika river until they became restless and decided to move closer to the sea. They built two boats, one named *Rogovoka* (*rogo* means to listen, *voka* means the tides) and the other named *Kaunitoni* (*kau* means wood *ni* out *toni* submerged in water). Both the boats are said to have come through Madgascar, Ceylon, Asia, Papua, New Britain, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and then finally to Fiji. It was said that the first boat went through Fiji and straight to Tonga to drop off the first Tui Tonga.[45] Some came back to Fiji and settled there. However, the *Kaunitoni* did not follow the first boat, but the people on it decided to make Fiji their home.

Furthermore, Rokowaqa pointed out that the name Viti comes from the word *Vitika* which means to "break off". When the *Kaunitoni* migrants landed, there were people already there, ready to show them where they should settle, and it was these early inhabitants who *vitika*[46] (broke off) the branches while taking them to the Nakauvadra ranges.[47] Rokowaqa also argues that the *Kaunitoni* migrants came in large canoes and brought with them their social systems and aristocracy, which are more or less similar

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[44] The Kaunitoni is a boat that was believed to have landed in Vuda, the western side of Viti Levu. See Gilford (1952).

[45] Tui means King or High Chief

[46] They broke off the branches so that it would make a way for those going up to Nakauvadra.

[47] Most 'itaukei' or native Fijians feel that their 'yavu' or ancestral home or first house site is in Nakauvadra.

to the Tongan traditional customs. These migrants settled on the coastal areas of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu to which people from Verata, Tailevu, Rewa, Lau, and people along the coasts of Vanua Levu claim lineage. This story was part of the curriculum in primary schools and was taught as part of social science.[48] Since the story of the *Kaunitoni* migration has been part of the educational curriculum many people have believed that it is the true story of the coming of the first Fijians in Fiji. However, France argues that the *Kaunitoni* migration story was created during a story-telling competition in the mid to late 1800s Lorimer Fison was investigating the origins of the early Fijians (France, 1969).

The fourth wave of migrants is said to have come from Tonga. According to Gatty, the Tongans came to Fiji in search of red feathers and also came to recruit men to fight for them. The island of Vanua Levu is seen as having been heavily influenced by these later Tongan migrants. Names of places or names of kin-groups in Tonga are a reflection of the Fiji influence. The Tongan influence spread across Fiji from the mid-1700s to the mid-1800s when Ma'afu's[49] power became a threat to Fiji (Derrick, 1940). Apart from Ma'afu's power, the Tongans would come to Fiji for large canoes as the wood to build those large canoes was readily available in Fiji. The Tongan-Fijian interaction has been a continuous process.

4.4 Some ethno-cultural characteristics

According to Gabel, Fijians are predominantly Melanesian with Polynesian affinities which vary with locality (Gabel, 1958). The terms Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia have been used to categorize cultural groups in the Pacific. Melanesia, which has the largest land area means 'dark or black islands', Polynesia means 'many islands' and Micronesia which is distinctive in having many atolls means 'small islands'. According to Kiste, these three culture areas have provided points of reference for Europeans, but most Pacific Islanders have their own names for boundaries, tribes or villages (Kiste, 1994). Crocombe argues that Fiji can be regarded as being part of Melanesia or Polynesia or of both (1989). This is clearly seen in Viti Levu, for example: the Fijians from the interior of Viti Levu have

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[48] We were taught this in class 4 or year 4 and it is still being taught in the various primary schools in Fiji.

[49] Ma'afu was a Tongan prince of royal blood who had challenged the supremacy of (chief) Ratu Cakobau.

more Melanesian traits; they are short, dark, with narrow shoulders and chests, broad noses and thick lips. Those from the central Lau islands can be more Polynesian in appearance with lighter skin tone, greater stature and heavier in build. Gabel points out that the coastal people of Viti Levu are intermediate between the two or are similar to the tribes of north-west Viti Levu, the supposed landing place of the *Kaunitoni* migrants (Gabel, 1958). France adds that the Fijians on the western side of Viti Levu are physically like the Melanesians of the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands while the inhabitants of the south and east of Fiji physically resemble the Polynesians of Tonga and Samoa (France, 1969). Roth adds, that there is a continuous string of Polynesian place names in Samoa and Tonga which resembles the names in the east-south-east of Viti Levu, running up to Ovalau, Gau and out to the Lau group of islands and north towards Taveuni and parts of Vanua Levu (Roth, 1953).

4.5 *Koro/Yavusa/Mataqali* – Establishment of villages and tribal units

Ravuvu argued that the early Fijians lived as a family unit or as dependents of a larger one which later became a more powerful social unit (Ravuvu,1987). According to Roth the earliest forms of Fijian society were those groups of families united by ties of cognate blood and living in close proximity, each group having their own village and being ruled by the most senior male (Roth, 1953). He adds that the early Fijians were tillers of the soil and each group had their own defined and recognised arable land. Roth also adds that land was owned by all members of the family. Every son had to work on the land and offer the first fruits of their labour to the most senior male member of the family (Roth, 1953). Ravuvu echoed this in a village workshop that, "*mai i liu se bera na gauna vaka koloni, o keda eda dau dui tu ga vaka vuvale ena noda dui qele, na koro eda tiko kina ena gauna oqo era tara ena gauna ni koloni, me vaka rawarawa taka na nodra cakacaka na kovana*" The translation is: "before colonisation we used to live in family units in our own land, this village was set up during the colonial days to make it easier for the colonial governor's work (Ravuvu, 2007).[50]

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[50] Ravuvu echoed this in his village workshop in 2008 when he talked about the history of how his village (Nakorosule) became a village.

Over time, small family groups extended and a number of separate, unrelated and cognate families came under a single leader. However, they tended to work with their own groups but paid homage and remained loyal to the bigger group. This bigger group became known as the *yavusa*. The *yavusa* is the largest patrilineal kin grouping in Fijian society. Roth states that a *yavusa* is a collection of unrelated and cognate families joined together for the primary purpose of defence (Roth, 1953). The *yavusa* is made up of a number of agricultural family groups or *bure* (house).

Traditionally, for the people who live in the highlands or interior of Viti Levu, a *bure* is a house where men lived apart from the women and children (Ravuvu, 2008). A *bure* was fundamentally a house used by males in the pre-colonial era if they were unmarried; if married they would frequent it for food and sleep (Roth, 1953). However, *bure* is also used to mean a family, a nuclear family. According Ravuvu (1987) the 1912-1914 Native Lands Claims Commission merged some *bure* to form a *mataqali*. However, as the *bure* sites became abandoned, the *bure* individually became known as the *itokatoka* (lineage/direct patrilineal descendants/households). Therefore the official structure can be summarised as follows; one main *vanua* may consist of a number of *yavusa,* one *yavusa* may consist of a number of *mataqali*, one *mataqali* may consist of a number of *itokatoka.*

Figure 4.1: Diagram showing the socio-cultural structure of a Fijian community

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                          VANUA
              ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
           YAVUSA                        YAVUSA
        ┌────┼────┬────┐           ┌────┬──┴──┬────┐
        │    │    │    │           │    │     │    │
           MATAQALI                    MATAQALI
        ┌───┼───┐                   ┌───┼───┐
        │   │   │                   │   │   │

      (TOKATOKA)                  (TOKATOKA)
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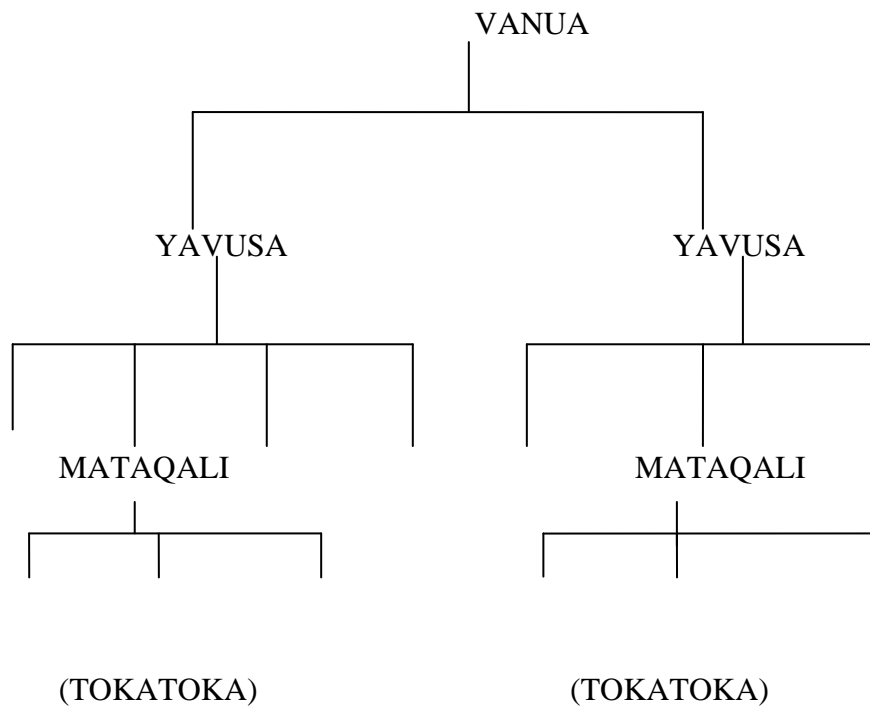
All *yavusa, mataqali* and *itokatoka* have a close relationship with their *vanua*. This relationship is a custom which is still practised in this contemporary period. This will be described in detail in the next topic.

4.6 Totemism

The *taukei* are very closely connected to the *vanua* just as much as they are connected or related to one another. According to Tuwere a Fijian has two views of the *vanua*, the literal meaning and the symbolic meaning (Tuwere, 2002). In the Fijian mind the *vanua* includes everything on the land, including villages, district or country. Tuwere explains the literal meaning of the *vanua* by defining three geographical terms, and these are the *yavu*, *qele ni teitei* and *veikau*. Tuwere also highlights the symbolic meaning: the *vanua* is a means of livelihood, it helps a Fijian to make sense of time and event in terms of agricultural land use, it has traditions and memories of the ancestors, and it ensures a sense of identity. In terms of the *vanua* having embedded within it the traditions and memories of the

ancestors it should also be acknowledged that there exists a totemic relationship that Fijians have with their flora and fauna.

According to Brown-Radcliffe, totemism refers to special relation between groups in society and and one or more classes of natural species of animals or plants (Brown-Radcliffe, 1965). It is the practice and belief of symbolically identifying humans with non - human objects (animals or plants). According to Rivers, the totemic relationship has three main characters (Rivers, 1914). Firstly, there is the connection of a species of animal or plant, or of an animate object or a class of inanimate objects, with a definite social group of the community or clan. Secondly, there is a belief in a relationship between the members of the social group and the animal or plant or object is a frequent form which this relationship takes. Lastly, respect is shown to the animal or plant or object and the typical way of showing this respect is that the animal or plant may not be eaten, while an inanimate object may not be used at all or only with certain restrictions (Rivers, 1914). Brown-Radcliffe (1965) adds that a society imposes on its members a certain attitude towards their totem and this attitude has some measure of respect expressed in a traditional mode of behaviour with reference to that object. According Rivers, in Fiji this relationship especially exists amongst the highland people of Viti Levu, where there are certain animals or plants that are associated with the *yavusa* as a whole or with certain divisions of the *mataqali*. Matararaba states that there are two types of totems: the principal or original totem and other, or secondary totem (Matararaba, 1987). He gives the example of the clan VunaQumu which uses the *qumu* plant (Acacia richii) as its tree totem and *duna* (eel/ Anguilla) as its animal totem. This illustrates that sometimes names of tribes can be derived from the totem itself. Some tribes may have only one totem, while others may have two or three. Roth argues that totems seem to be numerous amongst the social units living in the highlands of Fiji. Roth gives an example of Nadaravakawalu village which has five *yavusa* (clan) and each of them has an animal, a bird, a tree, a vegetable or a fish as their totem.

For example:

Clan	Tree totem	Bird totem	Animal totem
Navitilevu	sou (Solanum uporo)	collared kingfisher (Halcyon chloris)	lele (titmouse)

Totems served an important function for the early Fijians. According to Vakabua, totems are also a symbol of custodianship which maintains the link between the community and environment (Vakabua, 2007). Matararaba states that the totem was consulted during the war – it was a sign of life or death, good or bad fortune, according to the place or manner of its appearance (Matararaba, 1987). It is these aspects that the early Fijians have a lot of respect for and respect is especially offered towards their principal totems. Therefore, Fijians are not allowed to cut their tree totem but can wear it on themselves during important ceremonial occasions.[51] However, respect given to secondary totems is less than that owed to the principal totem. According to Matararaba it consists not in a prohibition on eating them, but there is a certain kind of worship in the way it is cooked.[52] Totems that are edible have to be both cooked and eaten in a certain way.[53] Totems that are edible are eaten by visitors but for some tribes they can be eaten by members of the tribe and for other tribes they cannot. Visitors who partake of the taboo food are not allowed to mention the name of the food. As Roth explains the practice of showing respect for a totem is normally observed by both men and women but the men are careful to refrain from mentioning the totem of any social unit in the presence or hearing of a women member belonging to that unit.[54]

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[51] This is usually done during weddings. For example those whose tree is the *yasi* or sandalwood would scrape off the bark of the sandalwood and wear it around their hair.

[52] For example, the yam *'botia'* is the yam totem of the Nasoroiwaca people. Women of that tribe cooking it do not peel the skin nor cut the tuber of the yam but cook it as it is.

[53] For example, those whose totem is the prawn have to eat prawns with the skin on and so do those who eat prawns in front of those whose totem is the prawn. To take off the skin is to show disrespect.

[54] This is also due to the assumption that the totem is an ancestral god and that it is also used to indirectly mean the sexual reproductive organs of members of the tribe.

Even if people migrate to other areas of Fiji, the totemic relationship founded by their ancestors is something that they take with them. When there are *yavusa* or *mataqali* of one *vanua* whose totems are similar to those of another *vanua* this may suggest that they had previously belonged to the same *vanua*, *yavusa* and *mataqali*. This may suggest some primordial attachments they have with each other. Geertz argues that primordial attachments derive from "assumed givens" in terms of the way they exist socially (kin, territory and social practice) (Geertz, 1973). This totemic relationship is a bond many indigenous peoples around the world have with their environment. This bond and attachment is of a spiritual nature. Geertz points out some factors of primordial attachments, and one of these is that spiritual affinity in the congruities of blood, speech, custom etc. are seen to have ineffable and overpowering coerciveness (Geertz, 1973). This means that those indigenous communities that have this bond with their environment have this deeper sentiment which cannot be easily erased because of its spiritual nature. This is seen in the way the traditions and customs are followed when one comes across one's totem. Within the *itaukei* world view people are obliged to take special care (*vakamareqeta)* and keep the name of their plant, animal and fish totem a secret (*maroroya na yacani nomu kau, manumanu kei na ika*). The sacredness and mana associated with one's totem is the reason why people choose to be very careful about observing customary practices, especially when going to traditional functions.[55] People's acknowledgements of their totems differ according to context and locality.

According to Rivers, the people who live in the interior of the two big islands of Fiji (Viti Levu and Vanua Levu) have a different set of totems from those that live along the coast (Rivers, 1914). Roth adds that respect shown for totems today is more obvious amongst the highlanders than anywhere else in Fiji and there is more general knowledge of the totem of a given social unit among them than among the coastal Fijians (Roth, 1953). However, there are some places where totems of both a coastal and highland tribe are the same and this is mainly due to the movement of people and the inter-marriage

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[55] When indigenous Fijians go to solevu or traditional functions, they have to be careful when eating or having a conversation with anyone, since this is the time when people of different vanua come together and within these exist the 'veitabani', 'veitabuki' and 'veitauvutaki' relationships.Between one traditional relationship and another certain food taboos are involved.

that happened during those times. As people move they take the names of their totems with them. People make this traditional connection whenever there is a funeral or wedding or any other traditional function. Making this connection means that they were one before the moving and mixing of people began. People may have moved because for example, they could not handle pressure by their families because of tribal wars or because they had probably broken a traditional or customary law or through marriage.

4.7 Language

All languages change and the process of change is gradual and perpetual. Even though a modern language is recognisable as the 'same' language as an earlier written version, there would have been some change. Related languages share a number of similarities in vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar. As Lynch points out, linguists look for similarities between various languages and if the similarities are numerous enough, they assume that the languages involved are related (Lynch, 1998). If languages are related it tells us that their respective ancestors originally came from one place or there is a historical connection between the people. As Lynch argues, the fact that languages are related implies that they have a common origin. For example: in Rivers' study of the kinship relationship terms between Fiji and the Solomon Islands (Malaita/Gela) he found that they were similar in many ways (Rivers, 1914, p. 13-257).

Figure 4.2: Table showing the similarities in the Fijian, Malaita and Gela languages

English	Fijian	Malaita	Gela
Father	Tamaqu	Amaku	Tamanggu
Mother	Tinaqu	Teitei	Tinanggu
Brother/Sister	Taciqu	Asiku	Tahinggu
In-laws	Vugoqu		Vunonggu
Brother/Sister relationship	Ganequ/Veiganeni	Iniaku	Vavinenggu

Kiste, states that language is a reflection of the ancient migrations into the Pacific region (Kiste, 1994, p. 10). The linguistic diversity in the Pacific greatly reflects the duration of human settlement in the different island groups.

Fiji is the only country in the Pacific which reflects the arbitrary nature of the boundaries between culture areas. For example, most Fijians are primarily Melanesian in physical appearance but have more in common with Polynesia culturally. However, one thing that is common in Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia is the way stories or narratives of each island are handed down throughout the generations. These oral accounts have become a marker of identity which could be told or sung and danced to over a period of time.

People in any given community have a story to tell and a song to sing, a story that speaks of the history and tradition which the community has lived with through the generations. This "handing down" has always been done by word of mouth. Mageo explains that memory tales are obviously a site of the historical transit between the past and the present (Mageo, 2001). The story of the past would have an account of the origin of the world, the creation of human beings and the appearance of their kind.

According to Tuwere such accounts are transmitted through myths and legends. 'Fijians have their own story about their beginning as a people and how their ancestors first occupied their land: Viti' (Tuwere, 2002, p. 20).

4.8 Names

Rokowaqa pointed out that the early Fijians had two ways of transmitting oral tradition (Rokowaqa, 1929). Firstly, *ai vola tamata* (stories written/seen/heard through people). In the Fijian sense elders are like a book. Everything about life in terms of customs, traditions and all the stories about life are there with them in their hearts. They tell and retell these stories at great length to prepare their children and descendants fulfil a tradition which needs to be passed on. This *ai vola tamata* is further expressed in four ways. *Ai vola tamata* is firstly expressed through *talanoa* which are passed from the old to the young;[56] secondly, through *tukuni* (oral narratives) about past events; thirdly, by naming a child after someone, usually a member of nuclear family;[57] fourthly, the transmission of oral history or narratives through *serekali* (poems) and *meke* (traditional dances). Lyrics and verses from these two genres narrate histories, past, present and to some extent future events.[58] The second way of transmitting knowledge within the Fijian context according to Rokowaqa, is *ai vola gauna* (written/seen through time). It is the way in which the elders teach the young how they can make sense of time by looking at their environment, by looking at the times the trees bear fruit, time for planting, harvesting, the time when fishes spawn and the time the ground should be left fallow allowing nutrients to replenish the soil again.[59] During this contemporary period, there are also instances where a child is named after an event or a chief. Names are not only given to people but also to *yavu*, *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *itokatoka*.

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[56] These *talanoa* and historical narratives are usually bedtime stories. These are stories which help the young ones learn a lesson which speaks at great length about their history.

[57] Within most Fijian naming traditions, if the eldest male has a boy he will be named after his paternal grandfather and if it is a girl she will be named after her paternal grandmother.

[58] A poem about how Nakauvadra was settled is seen in Thomson's book titled 'The Fijians: A study of the the Decay of Customs', pg 7-8

[59] There is a 'vola ni vula vakaviti' (Fijian calendar)which is used by elders to teach the young children in terms of planting, weeding, harvesting, waiting for a certain kind of fish, or when the fruits on the trees are plentiful and by remembering when and how it happened in the previous year they would tell the young children how to know that a hurricane is about to strike.

The name of a *yavu* reveals much about people's identity. House platforms have names and a family often takes its name for its senior line from that of the platform of the house. When people move and decide to set up another new *yavu*, they use the name of the old *yavu* to name the new one so that they can keep the ancestral spirit name alive. Doing this helps them remember their identity and also keeps the ancestral *mana* with them at all times. This is seen in the way they usually take some stones or some mounds of earth to put in the new *yavu* to maintain the relationship between ancestor and descendant and this is a source of *mana*.

Names of *yavusa, mataqali* and *itokatoka* are also important when people are trying to remember their historical narrative or stories. There are some *yavusa* which have the same name but are in different provinces or *vanua*. This helps people trace back their ancestral family tree or narratives. Some have the same names in terms of their *mataqali* and even their totems as well as their *yavusa*.

People who in this way have names in common in terms of their *yavu*, *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *itokatoka* tend to establish a relationship because they realise that their forebearers come from the same place. Establishing and connecting that relationship can go further by the arrangement of marriages between a *yavusa* or *mataqali* with the same name.[60] This will cement their relationship which will continue for generations to come. Knowing that part of one's kin and clan live in another *vanua* makes one feel comfortable and at home when going to that place for *solevu* or other traditional ceremonies. Names of *yavusa* or *mataqali* are sometimes used to name a dwelling-place or house. Naming a house means a lot to members of the *yavusa* or *mataqali* as it reminds them of a *tukuni* or historical narrative, *talanoa* or story of how that name came about. It also reminds them of their beginning as a people and the place where they began as a *yavusa* or *mataqali*. Carr, argues that 'narration, as the unity of the story, story-teller, audience and protagonist, is what constitutes the community, its activities and its coherence in the first place' (Carr, 1997, p).

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[60] Historically, girls from one *vanua* or province would marry into another *vanua* but that of a clan which has the same name as theirs in order to cement their relationship. This is mainly done so that they can keep their relationship alive and so remain connected to each other through such stories.

Names help people to reclaim the past, reconnect with the present and move forward into the future. Historical narratives are also an important part of that connection. They can be substantiated by the evidence on the ground. For the Solomoni, the *tukuni*, *talanoa* or stories heard are evidenced by the *yavu* seen in Nayaulevu in Ra, (western part of Fiji) and the descendants of the previously mentioned Malaitan *auapu* who now live around Fiji, in Tukuta (Lovoni), Nukutocia (Ovalau), Namara (Tailevu), Namara (Yasawa), and Kavala (Kadavu). All these places come under the name of one *yavusa* except for Kavala (Kadavu) since the people of Kavala are descendants of the Malaitan *auapu's* only daughter (Adi Matanisiga).[61] Jolly argues that the ancient story of movement and settlements connects places and people through the spatiotemporal language of kinship; it plots origins and destinations, connections and disconnections in the relation of divine beings and past ancestors to living descendants (Jolly, 2007, p. 514). These *yavusa* who are descendants of this Malaitan *auapu* have kept in contact and visited one another through the traditional custom of *carasala* (making the path clear for the present and future generations). This will be discussed in later chapters.

When *carasala* takes place, bales of cloths, drums of kerosene, food (taro/pigs), *yaqona* (piper mythesticum) and *tabua* (whales teeth) are taken to the place where the ancestral god's home is and in this instance it is Tukuta in Lovoni (Ovalau). Revisiting and knowing one's *yavu* is very important, as this is part of one's identity. The *yavu* will be further explained in the next section.

4.9 *Yavu/Yavutu* – Original /First House Foundation

According to Roth, place names are sometimes derived from a natural or geographical phenomenon, sometimes from an incident in local history or from some legend (Roth, 1953). Historically, names given to a locality or land which was settled on came from the *vu* (original settlers). This establishes a connection between the land and human society. This original settlement was known as *yavu*. Tuwere stated that a Fijian does not think of himself or herself as belonging within certain frontiers but originating from the place where the founding ancestor landed and after which the land was named

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[61] The people of Kavala (Kadavu) know of the story about their maternal ancestor (the auapu's daughter) and the mana she brought with her to Kadavu. Since she married their well-known ancestor of Kavala she became part of his yavusa and mataqali.

(Tuwere, 2002). Ryle adds that 'all Fijians trace their lineage and history back to the "house mound" or "house foundation" *(yavu)* of their founding ancestor (Ryle, 2010, p. xxix). Furthermore, the *yavu* having a genealogical and spiritual link in the land is known as the *vanua tabu* (sacred/forbidden land). According to Rosenthal, the "ancient *yavu* stands as the very foundation upon which the everyday world of an *taukei* in Fiji is built" (Rosenthal, 1991, p. 21). Ryle stated that she was told by a Reverend Viliame repeatedly said 'If there is no *yavu* there can be no house. *Yavu* is our beginning; the beginning of life' (Ryle, 2010, p.xxvii). The *yavu* or *yavutu* is the source of Fijian identity and power. Since, the *yavu* is the spot where the founder god emerged and was established, it is also seen and believed to be the link between the dead and the living. Another belief is that the ancestral spirits dwelt permanently over the traditional house sites of each family. In this way these earthen mounds of stone became sacred spots. According to Rosenthal (1991) the *yavu* not only cements the relationship between ancestor and descendant they also serve as an active source of power.

This active source of power is a two-way relationship between the individual and the voice of the individual who may be a chief or the most senior member of the tribe. A chief's power is conferred upon him by his followers through their acts of recognition and homage and at the same time the chief is the voice of the individual to the gods. This duality is similar to the Hawaiian context. Valeri argues that it is a genealogical notion – the belief that status is prescribed through a vast ramage in which genealogical distance from the core line should ideally determine the rank and rights of everybody (Valeri, 1985). Thus in theory it is continuously vested in a line that reaches back to the gods. In the Fijian context, the dual notion as seen by Rosenthal (1991) is through the concept of *i vosa mana* (the sacred and powerful voice of a person) through the authority of his/her descent from the gods; and the *sau* (power which is conferred upon a chief by the people). So the sacred *yavu* are rooted upon the *i vosa mana* and the *sau*. The *yavu* being the ancient house platform is a place where the past, present and future come together. When a person talks about his/her *yavu* he/she does not mean an individual 'I' but he/she would be speaking of a collective 'I'. The collective 'I' means his/her *mataqali* and more

particularly means his/her ancestors and descendants. Ravuvu states 'the past lives in the present generation and the spirit world is acted out in this mortal existence' (Ravuvu, 1985, p.256).

In this contemporary era a Fijian thinks of himself/herself as originating from a *yavu,* a physical structure, which serves as the platform for building a house. This is an important aspect of Fijian identity. Rosenthal states that to be without such a source of origin in Fiji is to be lacking in identity. This identity can be seen whenever there is a traditional Fijian ceremony. Within this Fijian traditional ceremony there is a traditional exchange of words and both sides start off by naming the other's place of origin and title. The Fijian term for this is *i cavuti*. According to Tuwere, the term "*cavu* refers to something that has to be pulled from below. The verb *cavuta* means to pull up and it also means to pronounce or name" (Tuwere, 2002, p.49). Sahlins adds that house platforms have names and a family often takes its name from the name of the house platform of its senior line or the *kawa ni ulumatua* (Sahlins, 1962*).* The senior resident is known by his titles as *Komai, Taukei* (he of) such and such a particular residence. Therefore, the place of origin or *yavutu/yavu* would always be mentioned within the *i cavuti*.

For the Solomoni in Fiji their *yavu* is one that their ancestors who came during the labour trade days settled on. These are areas around the Central Business District of Suva and other areas where they are now settled. However, this is not to say that the *tauvu* relationship is a relatively recent traditional relationship which came about only through the labour trade days. The existence of the *tauvu* relationship between the *taukei* and the Solomoni became apparent after it was established that around Ra, there are *tukuni* of early Solomoni settlers and their *yavu*. All these *tukuni* have been handed down throughout the generations orally and the connection between the tukuni of the Solomoni and those of the indigenous Fijians is seen in the similarities of the customs, traditions and place names. This also reveals that there is *mana* (sacred power) between the Solomoni and *taukei* (indigenous Fijians) during this contemporary *tauvu* relationship. It was the early Solomoni settlers who established the *tauvu* relationship but this was further supported and reinforced by the later Solomoni arrivals.

4.10 Traditional Relationship

People's movement and intermarriage with different families have enabled individuals to forge new relationships. They are forged between the *itokatoka, mataqali, yavusa*, and *vanua* as a whole. It is through this intermarriages and the intra-migration of people that the *tauvu* relationship is formed. In Fiji the Solomoni have this relationship with some parts of Fiji.

A *tauvu* relationship or bond is one that is kin-connected. This relationship is often assumed to have primordial links and involves communities connected not only through language, religion and tradition but also through clan or kinship ties (Smith, 1999). According to Geertz, a primordial attachment comes through kin connection (i.e. being born into a community/*koro* (village)/*vanua*) and sharing the same social, customary and traditional practices (Geertz, 1963). Internal and external *tauvu* relationships have customary and traditional practices which come through kin connections. Internally the indigenous Fijians may refer to another Fijian from another *vanua*, *yavusa* or *mataqali* as *tau* (short form of *tauvu*) because their ancestors are brothers and sisters. Externally, indigenous Fijians from Tukuta[62] in Lovoni would call the Solomoni from Malaita who have made Fiji their home *tau* because the *auapu*, their maternal ancestor comes from Malaita, Solomon Islands. However, this relationship has spread to Kavala, Kadavu, Namara, Tailevu, and Namara, Yasawa. Bacova states that one of the characteristics of assumed primordial links is common history and ancestory (Bacova, 1998). *Tauvu* relationship is created through kinship ties from nuclear families to *yavusa, mataqali*, and *vanua*.

Tauvu relationship is defined and described by a number of authors in different ways. Thomson, defines *tauvu* as 'sprung from the same root or of common origin' (Thomson, 1908, p.5). According to Thomson, the *tauvu* relationship is applied to two or more tribes who may live in different islands, speak different dialects and have nothing in common but their god. Rokowaqa argues that a *tauvu* relationship means descendants of brothers and sisters, fathers and sons who come from a common ancestor and are living in various places within Fiji. These are people who have gone to other *vanua* or

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[62] Tukuta is not the only place that the Solomoni are tauvu to, but they are also tauvu to the descendants of the auapu that are living all over Fiji.

koro and married people of that *vanua* or *koro*. According to Thomson, the bond of one particular *tauvu* relationship is traced back to the marriage of the sister/daughter of a certain high chief with the head of a distant clan. 'Her rank was so transcendent that she brought into her husband's family a measure of the godhead of her ancestors and her descendants have always reverenced her forefathers over her husband's' (Thomson, 1908, p.5). This is very much the same as the Solomoni *auapu* relationship.

Rokowaqa (1929) reported that the *tauvu* relationship is one that demands *veirokorokovi* (mutual respect), *veinanumi* (honouring others first), *veikauwaitaki* (being concerned for others), *veiwali* (joking) and *veirogorogoci* (mutual listening). Thomson on the other hand argues that the *tauvu* relationship manifests itself in the way a tribe that has this relationship with that of another may run riot in the village, slaughtering its animals and ravaging its plantations. It is obvious that Thomson's example of the *tauvu* relationship is not at all the *tauvu* relationship that a Fijian would know and what Thompson is describing is a *veitabani* relationship.[63] Both the *veitabani* and *tauvu* relationship are not only relationships between two individuals or people but a relationship between two *vanua* and both are traditional relationships which have a *tukuni*.

The *tauvu* relationship exists internally and externally. Internal *tauvu* relationship exists among the indigenous Fijians themselves and external *tauvu* relationship exist between the Solomoni living in Fiji and those living mostly in Malaita in the Solomon Islands. This external relationship will be explained in detail in other chapters. People's perception of contemporary issues in terms of traditional relationship has changed very much. Within the *tauvu* relationship and identity most elderly people would know which *vanua* is *tauvu* with which other *vanua*. This has changed for younger people as a result of either people having little knowledge of the *tauvu* relationship between the different *vanua* or people not passing down that knowledge. People who have a *tauvu* relationship with each other must be able to substantiate that relationship with a historical narrative of how that relationship came into being. An example of this is the story about how the chiefly Vuanirewa clan of the Tui Nayau in Lakeba in the province of Lau became a *tauvu* to the chiefly clan of Bure ko Noco, a village in the province of Rewa.

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[63] The '*veitabani*' relationship is summarised by Ravuvu in his book titled 'Fijian Ethos'. The '*tauvu*' relationship is also a jokeful relationship but there is always a boundary or line drawn in terms of the extent of the joke.

It is a story of how a daughter of a chief, Adi Keletu, from the chiefly family of Nayau, was swallowed up by a big fish while she was bathing and it vomited her on to the shores of Bure ko Noco. She was taken into the village and married the high chief of Bure ko Noco. This is how the people of Nayau in Lau and Noco became *tauvu*. Over the years, this relationship has extended and now the people of the whole of the Lau group of islands have referred to the people of the province of Rewa as their *tauvu*. Originally, anyone from Nayau in Lau can call someone from Rewa *tauvu* if that person's mother or father is from Noco and vice-versa. However, today it has changed very much to include the whole province of Lau, as if all the people of Lau have this relationship with Rewa, and it is no longer according to the narrative. This pattern of extended *tauvu* relationship is the same with other places in Fiji.

The way people tend to practice this identity and relationship in this contemporary period is different from the way it was in earlier times. *Tauvu* is a relationship between two ancestors from two different *vanua* sealed through marriage. So, *vanua, koro, yavusa* and *mataqali* should know that *tauvu* is about ancestors who are brothers and sisters and linking with another *vanua, koro, yavusa* and *mataqali* through marriage. Therefore, when two *vanua, koro, yavusa* and *mataqali* are related through marriage the bond will be close and in practice members of one group will take care of those of the other just as if they were brothers or sisters. In this period people who have this relationship may turn it around into a so-called "joking" relationship, but one in which jokes can be vulgar and harsh. Most people who do this do not have any knowledge of the real meaning of *tauvu*, in which jokes can be exchanged but in a respectful manner, and there is always a line drawn between people during the exchange of jokes or words. When jokes are more direct and vulgar this is more like a *veitabani* relationship. According to Ravuvu, *veitabani* or *vitabani* relationship is one in which two *vanua* or *yavusa* who relate to each other through the defender/defended relationship have the freedom to tease, joke and even play tricks upon each other (Ravuvu, 2007). The members of each group will always try to outdo the others in various activities, even publicly. Competition and rivalry are the norms between such groups but there is always that bond and friendship throughout. Ravuvu argues that members of one group can help

themselves to the property of the other without asking and this should be acceptable because of a spirit of fun and enjoyment between the two parties. For the Solomoni in Fiji it is a historical narrative and the story lives on through the descendants of the Malaitan *auapu* who live in various parts of Fiji. It is through this Malaitan *auapu* that the Solomoni have a *tauvu* relationship with the people who live in Tukuta (Lovoni), Nukutocia (Ovalau), Namara (Tailevu), Namara (Yasawa) and Kavala (Kadavu). Some people in Ra also claim this relationship with the Solomonis except that they always say *o kedatou edatou sega ni veitauvutaki o kedatou veiwekani voleka sara* (we do not have the *tauvu* relationship but we are closely related). By this they mean they cannot joke with each other or jokes are minimised. However, there are others in Ra who claim that they have a *tauvu* relationship with the Solomoni. For those in Ra who do not have the *tauvu* relationship a certain amount of mutual respect is shown, while for others who are *tauvu* there are jokes, but there is always respect shown. This will be discussed in detail in other chapters.

However, most people these days are not aware of the differences in some of the traditional relationships that exist in Fiji and the practices which come with it. People have always assumed that because they are certain people's *tauvu* they can joke with them, or since Nayau and Noco have the *tauvu* relationship with them it goes for the whole of the provinces of Lau and Rewa. Most do not question the validity of such a relationship in terms of its history or mannerisms or why people have a relationship at all. It is important that elders or parents teach their young children about the validity of any traditional relationship, be it *tauvu, veitabuki* or *veibatiki*.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to focus on the movement or migration and the voyaging of people from the west into the Pacific. It has discussed the different waves of migration into Fiji and how certain Fijian cultural relationships developed. This chapter has also discussed the traditions and customs of the early Fijians as written by other anthropologists, missionaries and archaeologists. Some traditions are known and still remembered better in some parts of Fiji than in others. It has also discussed how kinship as a form of primordial bond and attachment forms the basis for traditional relationships such as the *tauvu* identity and relationship. Fiji's central position is clearly seen in the similarities in certain cultural and customary aspects of the Melanesian and Polynesian group of islands. Fiji's contact with the world may have altered the way oral traditions, culture and customs have been handed down throughout the generations. Historically, Fiji's contact with the outside world in recent centuries came through sailors, traders and missionaries. Circumstances resulting from colonisation also brought Pacific island neighbours to its shores. This meant that Fiji became the 'melting pot' of the Pacific, when Pacific Islanders were recruited to work as labourers in the plantations around the Pacific. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.1 Introduction

Missionaries, traders and sailors entered the Pacific over a number of centuries since the sixteenth century. The movement was in the different phases beginning with the sailors and traders. With trade, sugar, cotton and copra plantations were set up in Queensland, Fiji and Samoa. As these plantations needed labourers, a large reserve of labourers was taken from the Solomon Islands, New Hebrides (Vanuatu) and Kiribati. Within the Solomon Islands, most of the labourers originally came from around the coast of Malaita. Later, Guadalcanal became a new place to recruit from for a small number. The murder of Bishop Patteson[64] brought about a new labour recruitment law. As well as this most plantation masters in Fiji were finding it too expensive to recruit more labourers from the Solomon Islands and decided to go for a group of people who were vulnerable to diseases and would be less expensive. The recruitment of labour was an expensive affair since most plantations were running at a loss due to the high death rate amongst the labourers in plantations. When the indentured labour recruitment came to an end, the Solomon Islanders were given the choice to either stay in Fiji or to return home to the Solomon Islands. Those who stayed back in Fiji either still worked for their plantation masters until their contract expired or started moving into the urban areas to find employment. Most moved into Suva and stayed with their respective relatives. However, after seeing how overcrowded it was becoming the colonial government, together with the Anglican Church, decided to help the people by offering an area called Wailoku which was to become a central settlement. Other Solomoni did not want to move to Wailoku and decided to stay where they felt comfortable and sought the help of landowners, who gave them land to live on because some of the men had married women from the *yavusa* or *mataqali* of the landowners. This also happened for those who lived on the western side of Viti Levu and in Vanua Levu. Those who decided to stay also sought the help of the Anglican Church, which became a trustee not only for most of the Solomoni settlements around the greater Suva area but also for those in Vanua Levu.

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[64] Bishop John Patteson was murdered as a form of retribution for the kidnapping of a son of a chief from Nukapu.

5.2 European Contact and Labour recruitment

According to Campbell and Scarr the first navigator/sailor to cross the Pacific in 1521 was Ferdinand Magellan, a Spaniard (Campbell, 2003; Scarr, 1990) . This exploration was to be followed by that of his fellow countryman Alvaro de Mendana forty years later. However, unlike Magellan, who did not make landfall, Mendana attempted to settle and establish a colony in the southeast Solomon Islands, but it failed. A century later three Dutch traders enhanced their geographical knowledge by discovering that there were other islands in the southern hemisphere. Campbell reported that Schouter (1615-16) and Tasman (1642-43) passed through and discovered Tonga, New Guinea, New Zealand, Fiji, Samoa and the Tuamotus. Banner relates that in the late 1760s, Captain James Cook was sent to the Pacific not only to observe the transit of Venus across the sun, but also to chart the islands that he came across on his voyages. It was not only the islands that he was asked to write about but the people as well (Banner, 2007). According to Campbell, Cook's journals are the starting point for all studies of history and culture of the four main groups in Polynesia (Society Islands, Tonga, New Zealand and Hawaii) and of the eastern part of the Pacific, namely Australia, New Hebrides and New Caledonia (Campbell, 2003).

By the 1800s there was a scramble for colonies between Britain, France, Germany and a few years later the United States of America. Harris and Scarr adds that the general pattern was that most of the islands south of the equator and east of New Guinea were shared by Britain and France (although Germany and USA divided Samoa between them). Germany assumed control of most of the western groups (Micronesia and north-east New Guinea) while USA held authority over the greater part of Hawaii, Guam and the Line Islands (Harris, 1966; Scarr, 1967).

When Europeans came into the Pacific, so did various agents that brought about change. One of these changes was the process of religious conversion and political centralisation in Tahiti, Tonga and Hawaii. When the first wave of missionaries settled into certain parts of the islands their influence ended civil war and established a form of law and order. Campbell pointed out that apart from the establishment of a settled government in these places, missionaries were also asked about the constitution and law. Many were asked to help out in providing law and order in the form of a

constitution because the Bible was seen as a blueprint[65] of how law and order could be brought about in the Pacific. However, such stories were unheard of in the western Pacific. In the western Pacific stories of martyrdom of missionaries spread like wild fire. While the missionaries were successful in the eastern Pacific, they were not so successful in the western Pacific. The missionaries blamed the traders for the slow progress of evangelism as the result of the traders' unfair and unruly treatment of the people in the western Pacific. Many such incidents were described by Scarr (1967) and he reported that when islanders were aggrieved by changing circumstances following a European contact, they resorted to violence.[66]

Traders came into the Pacific via Hawaii in the 1830s for sandalwood and into the western Pacific (New Hebrides and Fiji) in the 1840s and 50s. As the sandalwood trade was entering its last stage in Hawaii, stories were told of how the same kind of fragrant wood was also found in New Hebrides and Fiji. This prompted a great rush and renewed the traders' contact with the western Pacific. This came to an end in the 1850s when the volume of sandalwood declined, paving the way for a new business venture, agricultural plantations. According to Campbell and Corris, while the sandalwood trade was dying in the late 1850s, Robert Towns, a well-known sandalwood trader in the western Pacific, expanded his economic interests in Australia by pursuing his commercial opportunities in cotton planting (Campbell, 1989; Corris, 1973). After a trial run of cotton farming, Towns found that cotton thrived well in Queensland's hot and humid climate. Having worked with the Melanesian labourers before, Towns knew their working habits and decided to recruit Melanesians. At this time the recruits who had already had a taste of material goods after their first stint in the plantations knew what to expect when they were recruited a second time.[67] Through his recruiting agent, Levin, Towns recruited from Eromanga and Tanna in the New Hebrides. It was evident that other people who had watched

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[65] Cannibalism, tribal wars and polygamy came to an end in some Pacific countries because the missionaries preached that such acts were abominations in the eyes of God.

[66] For example islanders would kill or fight when deals went wrong or when one of their relatives did not return or died during the journey to the plantations.

[67] Earlier they were coerced into going to the plantations, but others who had worked on ships as deck hands had come back to their families as the ships returned to their islands. Therefore, by the time other ships came to recruit, those who had worked on ships before or on plantations decided to sign up and go.

Town's success with cotton copied his lead and decided to employ other Pacific Islanders from the western Pacific, especially from the Solomon Islands and New Hebrides. These imported labourers not only worked in the cotton plantations but in the sugar cane plantations as well in Queensland and Fiji.

Leckie points out that in Fiji in the early 1860s plantation production was to form the backbone of Fiji's colonial economy and there had been experiments with cotton (Leckie, 1990). Small sugar plantations were also experimented with in various parts of Fiji, but it was not until the 1870s that larger ones were established under the Colonial Sugar Refinery (CSR) of Australia. Wherever the plantations were established, whether it was in Queensland or Fiji, what the planters really wanted was a good number of hardworking labourers.

In the next section some questions that will be seeking answers are where did all the labourers come from? When did the recruiting start? Who did the recruitment and how often were they recruited? The next section will focus on the recruitment of labour in the Solomon Islands.

5.3 Labour Recruitment in the Solomon Islands

Labour recruitment in the Solomon Islands was well under way during the late 1850s when whalers frequented the islands for supplies. It was during this interaction that the islanders came into contact with European goods such as metal tools, weapons, cloth, tobacco and matches. These were used to trade for local food – pigs, vegetables and fish. According to Corris, the introduction of tobacco, which was not known in the Solomons before European contact, broke down their self-sufficiency and made them dependent on the ships' visits (Corris, 1973). Three decades later a few Solomon Islanders started working as crew on board whaling ships and started travelling to Australia and beyond. Upon their return home, some of these men capitalised on their experiences by acting as guides and interpreters for European visitors. However, recruitment began later on, and there were stories and testimonies of enticement and kidnapping. This was of course the initial phase of labour recruitment. Some of these stories are still told in the Solomoni settlements around Fiji. The first recruits for the Queensland cotton and sugar cane plantations came from the New Hebrides and recruiting later moved north to include the Solomon Islands. Moore reported that between 1863 and 1906, Pacific Islanders were the staple labour

force in Queensland's sugar industry with 62,000 contracts issued under the Masters and Servants Acts (Moore, 1990).

In Fiji, the planters found local labour expensive, unproductive and difficult to manage. Because Governor Gordon who was the Governor of Fiji from 1875 to 1880 had a policy of keeping the Fijians in their villages and preserving their 'Fijian way of life,' labour had to be sought from elsewhere (Derrick, 1940). Eventually, labourers were brought in from Kiribati, Tuvalu, New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands. Corris (1973) describes the methods of recruitment while Scarr (1967) states the reasons for the methods used. He argues that while the French, Germans, Americans and others were allowed to recruit labourers from various colonies for Queensland and Fiji plantations, British ships' masters and settlers were not allowed to do so. Therefore, British ship owners and planters would recruit under other nations' flags.

According to Scarr, there were 27,000 labourers in Fiji from Kiribati, Tuvalu, New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands between 1864-1911 (Scarr, 1967). In the Solomon Islands recruitment was carried out in the Lau lagoon of north Malaita, Buka, San Cristobal, Guadalcanal and Bougainville. Recruitment methods varied. Some relied on their passage masters while others had to rely on the two parties negotiating the deal – community elders and passage masters. Bennett stated that elders and passage masters with the recruiters lined the coastlines of Malaita, Guadalcanal and San Cristobal trying to see which 'beach payment' was the best (Bennett, 1993). 'Beach payment' was the advance payment to the elders of the village for the absence of their relatives. This was usually in the form of muskets, cloths, tobacco and metal tools. Recruits signed up for various reasons. Kuva maintains that recruits signed up due to social, political and religious pressure at home and that a quarter of newly enlisting Melanesians had already worked in Queensland, Samoa or Fiji and not all labourers were enlisting for the first time (Kuva, 1971). Halapua points out that most of the recruits who were recruited between 1863 and the early 1900s were already Christians[68] (Halapua, 2001).

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[68] Their early conversion in the Solomon Islands before coming to Fiji made it easier for the Church of England to offer pastoral care not only to the planters and settlers but also to the Solomoni labourers.

In Fiji, most of the labourers worked on cotton plantations in Levuka, copra plantations in Taveuni and Vanualevu and sugar plantations on the western side of Vitilevu and Rewa. Their terms of contracts differed. Some had short-term contracts, others long-term, and most labourers were aged between 15 and 35.

5.4 The End of Indentured Labour for the Solomon Islanders

The end of formal indentured labour migration to Fiji for the Solomoni occurred as a result of two main issues. Firstly, there was an increase in the mortality rate. Shlomowitz has pointed out that this was due to poor living conditions on the vessels, plantations and farms and harsh treatment by European employers (Shlomowitz, 1990). Secondly, planters saw that it became an expensive affair to continuously recruit labourers who were susceptible to diseases. They decided to supplement their Pacific Island labour force with people from the Asian labour market, so they looked to India. Halapua and Shlomowitz argue that the reason the Indians were favoured was because they came from an environment of many diseases and would be more likely to have immunity to most of them, whereas the Melanesians were a 'virgin soil population' which made them vulnerable to diseases to which they had little or no immunity (Halapua, 2001; Shlomowitz 1990). The Melanesians came from an environment where they had not had any contact with the outside world, let alone worked for other people. However, what Halapua and Shlomowitz did not take into account was that there was not only the change in the environment but there were also other cultural matters which the colonial government did not consider before recruiting them. Within the Solomon Islands custom, men have their own house known as an *Oha*, inside which only men are allowed. Secondly, within the Malaitan custom, the head of the family who is also a *kastom* (custom) priest has his own house and there are cultural taboos in terms of the boundaries related to the kastom priest's house. For example, women are not allowed to pass the *kastom* priest's house or even go near it. When the colonial government decided to establish a central settlement in Suva and when the Solomoni came together in Wailoku the Solomoni men decided to have a men's house in each area (Wai, Bali, Marata, Vataleka and Koio). Building a men's house was significant as this was part of their culture and custom. Apparently, they did not have such a house when they were out in the plantations since they were all mixed groups of people from various

places in the Solomon Islands. Coming together at Wailoku meant a stronger network and the ability to do the things which they used to do at home. Building an *Oha* meant that they could sing, dance and tell their stories as they used to.

Another reason for bringing Indians to Fiji to work was because the Solomoni were becoming friendly with the *taukei* (indigenous Fijians). This friendliness led to intermarriage and living the social life of the Fijians. Through this, they learnt to consume kava and developed lax work discipline. An example is this story told by some of my Solomoni uncles whose grandparents worked in the plantations in Taveuni. Mr Miller (not his real name), a British planter, had a huge copra and cocoa plantation in Taveuni. Every weekend the workers would go to the nearest Fijian village to socialise and drink kava and would return after the weekend. Every time a new week would begin Mr Miller could sense that on the first day of the working week, there seemed to be no work done. During the first day, he would give his men work and leave to attend to other parts of his plantation to give men there some work.   Every time he came back to the first plantation it seemed no work had been done, though the men tried to pretend that they had been busy working. Since he wore glasses, he decided to take them off and said to the men, 'I am going to leave my eyes here to look after you, so when I come back my eyes will tell me what you have been doing'. After a while he came back, put on his glasses and said to the men 'Oh! My eyes have told me that you have been working very hard and are doing wonderful work'. He said this after he saw that they seemed to work faster and better if someone was there with them to supervise them all the time. In the Solomon Islands there had been certain cultural taboos observed whereby men did not work in the plantations and just sat in their house observing the work, as it was the women and children who always looked after the plantation. All the cultural taboos they had brought with them had to change because they were in new environment and culture and had to be able to integrate and assimilate into the Fijian culture in order to survive. Being able to assimilate and integrate happened at a greater cost, one which meant one's children and descendants had to face up to the issue of displacement in Fiji. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

5.5 Establishing roots: Solomoni in Fiji

By 1919, when the recruitment of labour came to an end, the then Resident Commissioner of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate insisted that the local planters needed their local labourers to develop their plantation system. The British Colonial government in Fiji decided to send back those Solomon Island labourers who wanted to go home. Those who stayed in Fiji were mostly those who had married local Fijian women or those who decided to find employment in the urban areas of Suva, since by then there were more indentured Indian workers working in the sugar plantations.

Halapua notes, that 'the concentration of indentured Indian workers in the sugar plantations from about the end of the 19th century made room for more Melanesians in general to find work in the urban areas of Levuka and Suva, where they were employed as crew on boats, as servants in the bank, in the houses of civil servants, as workers in the hospitals and in the Colonial Secretary's office and as labourers for the Colonial administration - building bridges, maintaining cemeteries and working on the wharves' (Halapua, 2001, p.39) Work of this sort, according to Halapua, had more incentives, was safer and highly paid.

Historically, being introduced into the commercial world by selling their labour as a means of survival became a choice after the material goods they brought home were favoured by many. Becoming a labourer as a means of survival led to social problems for the Solomoni as they tried to survive in another country. Social disorder was a result of social conflict. This conflict could not be satisfactorily addressed by the Solomoni because of their minority status, their poor material conditions and their lack of resources. According to Marx, individuals' perceive reality indirectly, through the conceptions, ideas and attitudes of the dominant classes (Marx, 1975). Historically, the ideology of the Solomoni was affected by being seen through the distorted lenses of conceptions, attitudes and ideas arising from material relationships. Their ideology became distorted because their ideas and beliefs grew out of their social relations. The Solomoni brought with them their language, traditional culture and customs. All these were altered as a result of the change in their environment and the social relationships they had developed in their environment.

Marx argues that our apprehension of the real world is always conditioned by the terms under which we produce and the roles we play in the economic world (Marx, 1982). For the Solomoni this has meant that the environment under which they have worked to survive has affected their perception of the world, so that their apprehension of reality has been influenced by their location within a social class. The struggle they have had to be recognised and appreciated for the work they have done in and for Fiji has conditioned them to be the kind of people they are now.

Their social interaction with the colonial government during the colonial days was not good. When the Solomoni labourers' plantation contract expired most moved to the greater Suva area to find work and most ended up living around Flagstaff, Nasese, Rewa St and Samabula. They had trouble with the colonial government as a result of their occupation of the land around the Central Business District of Suva. This social relationship became a source of social conflict which was eased during that time through the help of the Anglican Church. The Solomoni have always struggled with being pushed about because they are labourers and also have a *vulagi* (foreigner) status, and because they are a landless and displaced population. Marx's theory of emancipation of the oppressed is unlikely ever to apply to them, as the Solomoni being a minority may never be liberated from their struggle as a displaced population in Fiji because of the lack of political means to fight for and leverage their interests. "Freedom" can be partially achieved through acceptance by the *taukei* and if they are able to connect their identity to the land and *yavu* which belonged to their ancestors who made that journey from the Solomon Islands to Fiji. The historical narrative and seeing what's on the ground is important if that connection is to be made. This will be discussed in a later chapter.

With the background of the history of how they came to Fiji, it is appropriate at this stage to look at the Solomoni settlements around Fiji and how they have formed and maintained their current relationship with the indigenous population. Since their status is historically one of landlessness it is highly important to look at how they managed to acquire land to settle on and how the Anglican Church played a major role in providing pastoral care for them, since most of them are under the care of the Anglican Church.

Figure 5.1: A map showing the location of the Solomoni settlements around Fiji

Map key

Location of the Solomoni settlements:

1. Wailailai, Levuka	8. Matata, Lami	15. Naviavia, Cakaudrove
2. Wainaloka, Levuka	9. Waidradra, Navua	16. Natakea, Savusavu
3. Newtown, Nasinu	10. Yalava, Sigatoka	17. Cawaira, Macuata
4. Caubati, Nasinu	11. Nadrala, Sigatoka	18. Dromuninuku, Taveuni
5. Wailoku, Tamavua	12. Navutu, Lautoka	19. Lavena, Taveuni
6. Tamavua-i-wai, Tamavua	13. Maniyava, Ra	20. Qamea
7. Kalekana, Lami	14. Nabunikadamu, Bua	

5.6 The Solomoni Settlements

Some Solomon Islanders who chose to remain in Fiji kept working for their plantation masters in Levuka, Vanua Levu (copra) and in the western part of Viti Levu (sugar). In the central-eastern part of Viti Levu, especially around the Suva area they became labourers in urban areas making roads, laying pipes etc. Halapua in his findings states that between 1863 and the early 1900s most of the Solomon Islanders who were from the Malaita districts of Koio (Kwaio), Vataleka (Fataleka), Marata ('Are 'Are), Balibuka (Toabaita) and Wai (Ngwai The people of the Lau Lagoon coastal areas of northeast Malaita were already Christians when they were recruited (Halapua, 2001, p. 51)).

Labourers in Levuka – Wailailai, Onivero

All of the Solomoni labourers had to go through Levuka, the old capital on the island of Ovalau, before being bought and taken by their plantation masters, who came from Levuka, Vanua Levu, Taveuni and Nausori. In Levuka, after the plantation masters let them go during the late 1890s, some joined kinsmen who were already living in some of the scattered settlements. Others moved into the urban areas of Levuka and Suva. Wailailai is on the land that is known as Onivero and this is how Wailailai came into being as a Solomoni settlement:

The settlement at Onivero, Wailailai is on a hill, at the top of Vagadaci, and it is close to Levuka town. William Floyd, an Irish Anglican priest, was the pioneer priest of the Anglican community in Levuka. Floyd, who became an ordained priest in Melbourne in 1870, took up his first posting in Levuka towards the end of 1870. He had to provide pastoral care to both the white settlers and the Solomoni who had to attend church at the same time. However, it was clear from the start that it would take time for the white settlers and the Solomoni to accustom themselves to sitting, worshipping and having communion together. According to Tapu, at first the Solomoni had to sit in a different part of the church and had to wait until all the settlers had received Holy Communion before they received theirs (Tapu, 1987). Later, after the foundation stone of the Levuka Church was laid in 1899, the situation changed slowly. Tapu reported that the second church which was built by Floyd sat on a ridge and it was leased by the pioneer labourers from the church. Even though these pioneer labourers had a part to

play in leasing the land, it was the church who acted as a trustee of that leased land, in order that the church could help the Solomoni to lease the land so that it could settle the Solomoni and build a church. The settlement was referred to as Wailailai (small water) due to the problems of supplying water to the area since it is situated on top of a hill.

Because of population pressure, water problems, overcrowding and the hilly track to the settlements being dangerous at night, people decided to move out. Some moved to the urban areas while others moved to other plantations around Fiji. It was this move which the Anglican Church made for the Solomoni which got the Anglican Church thinking that there was a need to set up a central settlement in Suva so that people would not move to other urban areas looking for land to settle on. Land became an issue during this time because most Solomoni decided not to go back to the Solomon Islands and became displaced around the Suva area. As the colonial government could not offer them or find them land to settle on, most of these Solomoni settled wherever they felt they could set up home. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

Figure 5.2: Map showing the location of Wailailai and Wainaloka on the island of

   Ovalau.

Source: http://www.googlemaps.com

Wainaloka

Looking for a central settlement in Levuka was the only way the Anglican Church could help the

Solomoni and reduce the movement of the Solomoni into the greater urban area of Suva on Viti Levu.

The Anglican Church felt that when people started moving into the urban areas land would be an issue,

as the Solomoni had become displaced and were not landowners by right. It also meant that the church

had to extend its pastoral care to the urban areas, as the Methodists and the Catholics recognised that

the Anglican Church would take pastoral care of the Solomoni. The Anglican Church became

paternalistic in its relationship with the Solomoni. Tapu points out that the efforts of the church in the

early 1960's to persuade the government to buy a piece of freehold land nine and a half miles from the

main town centre fell on deaf ears (Tapu, 1987). However, in 1965 the World Council of Churches and

the Anglican Church of Australia gave a grant to the Anglican Church in Fiji.[69]   This enabled the

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[69] During this time the Anglican Church's mission came from Australia. Much later the Diocese of Polynesia was formed and allied with the New Zealand Anglican Church.

Anglican Church in Fiji to purchase the 460 acres of land south of Levuka, build houses and give each family eight acres for planting root crops and vegetables.

However, for some the shift was just too much because of the distance from school and church. During this time the Solomoni children were already attending St James Anglican School in Levuka, which was built in 1952 to cater for their educational needs. Therefore, the move to the new settlement, now called Wainaloka was deemed too expensive. While some Solomoni moved to the new settlement, others did not feel the need to move and stayed at Wailailai. Then again there were others who moved across to Suva to find employment, while others moved north to Vanua Levu to try and find employment in other plantations.

Solomoni in Suva

The Solomoni seemed to have found urban labour preferable to working in plantations. As with any person moving from a rural area to an urban one, the reasons for the Solomoni to move were better wages and better health facilities. This as Halapua argues is reinforced by poor progress in the plantations and the collapse of some of them. Therefore the number of Solomoni living in the urban areas of Levuka and Suva slowly grew even though recruiting for other plantations around the Pacific continued.

Levuka expanded but there was not enough space to accommodate the ever growing population. Derrick describes the town: 'Levuka is situated on a narrow strip of flat land, backed by steep foothills that rise sharply to the mountain behind' (Derrick, 1943, p. 145). In addition to this scarcity of land and lack of space for expansion, all the best land was already occupied by religious organisations such as the Wesleyans and Catholic Mission. Suva was seen as a site for a new capital as it offered more room for expansion, a safe harbour and easy access to the Rewa delta.[70] As the colonial government moved the capital from Levuka to Suva, it meant that more labourers would be needed to set up Suva as the

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[70] More room for expansion in terms of setting up businesses and putting up more buildings. During this time Rewa was important in part of the colonial economy especially in setting up sugar plantations. Having Suva as the capital meant easy access to the location of the Rewa sugar industry.

new capital, to do such work as building roads, laying pipes for drainage, working as house-keepers, putting up new buildings for businesses etc. It was in these places of employment that the Solomoni found work and moved into Suva from the plantations.

In Suva many Solomoni established themselves according in tribal groups and lived in small settlements around the main town centre. Living with their tribe was a way of maintaining their identity and a means of survival. Halapua stated that 'most of these Solomoni settlements were on low-lying land, cliffs and isolated locations' (Halapua, 2001, p.63).[71] Furthermore, each tribe negotiated their stay through verbal agreements with the landowners for land to build their small settlements.[72] Halapua reported that in most cases the initial negotiation was for two or three extended families. However, over the years, as intermarriage between the *taukei* and Solomoni continued the settlements grew in size and the number of people living in each of them increased. Rabukawaqa stated that in many cases, the Fijians began to outnumber Melanesians in the various settlements (Rabukawaqa, 1967). Urbanizing indigenous Fijians were slowly moving into the Solomoni settlements through intermarriage. This movement meant that not only the couple moved into the settlement to settle but the whole *taukei* extended family also moved in with them. Most *taukei* extended family moved into the Solomoni settlements around Suva because it was too expensive to find a house to rent and it was easier and more convenient. It would have been hard for a Solomoni to move in with any *taukei* family living in the greater Suva area because most of their relatives live there. It would be different in a *koro* setting where some families are used to living with their extended families.

Since the Solomoni were landless and did not have enough money to build a decent house, they would use any cheap building materials to build one. They were also unable to provide education for their children. Settlements which became over-populated and lacked supervision and regulations became squatter settlements. In 1940 the Assistant Colonial Secretary described the conditions of the

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[71] Their requests for land were due to their landlessness which together with displacement and low wages made it impossible for them to purchase land and they had no choice but to lease it.

[72] These negotiations happened during the colonial period and are still happening now.

Melanesian settlement at Nasese as "...shocking and a disgrace to the town, and in my opinion –

whatever the hardships to those now living there – the settlement should be condemned at once as unfit

for human habitation" (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1940). Hands, who was more sympathetic about

their improverishment, describes them as 'a pathetic community with no land of their own and very few

possessions of any other kind' (Hands, 1929, p. 58). The Colonial Secretary's Office records clearly

reveal the widespread poverty amongst the Melanesian settlements in Flagstaff (Kaunikuila), Kalekana

(near Rewa St), Nasese, Namara, Caubati, Kadawa, Lami, Laqere, Rogovosa, Veiwakau, Vunidilo,

Vunimoli, Wainimarama and Wairua (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1920-1930). As the poverty of the

Solomoni grew the colonial administration found it hard to look after them. The colonial state unloaded

some of its major responsibilities in respect of the Melanesians onto the Anglican Church because of

the Church's pastoral involvement with them. Since the Anglican Church saw that the colonial

government had initially wanted to develop Suva into a Central Business District it promptly came up

with the idea of a central Solomoni settlement in the early 1940s. The Anglican Bishop in Polynesia

wanted to make sure that there was enough water supply, access with a road reservation and a lease

price which was possible for the Solomoni to pay (CSO Report 1940 No 50/81). The Church also wanted

to develop a more efficient role in terms of its work with the Melanesians since it was felt that this

would equip the Solomoni to participate in development as Halapua (2001) notes.

Before the move to Wailoku, the Anglican Church had established a Solomoni school, St John's School

at Selbourne Street in Suva, in 1925.[73] With the school established in 1925, the Anglican Church went

further, building a hostel near the school to accommodate the Solomoni children who lived far away.

By 1929 the hostel was completed. Two Melanesian Brothers from the Solomon Islands who were

taught by Bishops Selwyn and Patteson in Norfolk Island were brought in to be in charge of the hostel

and to teach at the school.

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[73] This idea developed from the weekly Sunday Schools which the Anglican Church operated within the nearby settlements
and they were extended to become a day school.

Wailoku

Since the majority of Solomoni had become destitute they were becoming a burden to the Colonial Government and the proposal by the Anglican Church to establish a central settlement was promptly addressed by the colonial administration. The settlement would become a new haven for the 24 scattered settlements around Suva. This would bring all the Solomoni living in Suva together.

Wailoku settlement became a reality in 1941 when a 99-year lease was granted by the government to the Anglican Church. The majority of the Solomoni and their families were relocated to the land in 1942. Through the urban building regulations set up by the colonial administration, St John's School and hostel had to be relocated as well. Upon reaching Wailoku settlement, the Solomoni were settled according to their tribes. The decision to do so was made by the Solomoni together with the Anglican Church after carefully considering the history and languages. The villages which were set up were Marata, Koio, Balibuka, Wai and Vataleka. Halapua states that another site within the settlement which was to be named Kalekana did not materialise because the people selected for the site were Methodists from Guadalcanal descent who declined to live alongside Anglicans from Malaita (Halapua, 1993). The new villages and the respective settlements from which people came are shown below.

Tribal groups and settlements;

Marata   -   Laqere, Caubati and Namara

Koio   -   Kadawa, Tacirua, Vunidilo, Navesi and Wairua

Balibuka   -   Kaunikuila, Waitabala and Lorima

Wai   -   Rogovosa, Vunidilo and from Nabua

Vataleka   -   Auvoli

Kalekana   -   Gela   (did not eventuate)

Source: Halapua (1987)

Thus the church became the main authority to supervise the running of the affairs of the settlement. This was supported by the colonial administration when it decided that medical care and more planting grounds for food crops should be provided (CSO Report, 1940, 50/81). However, instead of talking to the settlers about leadership, the colonial government decided to go ahead with enforcing a Fijian type of leadership structure 'where there is a headman for each community being given the powers similar to the headman of Fijian villages' (CSO Report, 1940, 50/81). The *Turaga-ni-koro* (village headman) in each village is elected by the villagers themselves. In any Fijian village a *Turaga-ni-koro's* roles and responsibilities are: co-ordinating the activities of the village; representing the village in the wider community; co-ordinating the village in weeding generally; maintaining the graveyard (Sanegar, 1976). However, the role and responsibilities of a *Turaga-ni-koro* in a Fijian village differs from those in Wailoku. In a Fijian village the position is created by law whereas in Wailoku the position was created by the Anglican Church in order to maintain law and order.

Four years after the settlement was established the Anglican Church felt that there was a need for the Solomoni to develop a healthy and caring attitude towards their surroundings. Through the help of the government the Anglican Church was able to establish a hospital in 1945. Halapua states that the Anglican Church provided the hospital building, which was originally a part of the Hostel of St John's School in Selbourne Street, while the government provided a Fijian-trained nurse, simple drugs, dressings, surgical instruments and linen.[74]

Having Wailoku as a central Solomoni settlement and moving St John's School to Wailoku in 1945 helped the Solomoni children to gain a primary level education. However, there were problems of low attendance, high drop-out rates and parents not having the initiative to encourage their children to attend school. The church establishing a school and health centre acted paternalistically but it did so because the Solomoni had become landless and displaced. In addition, the government had largely washed its hands of taking care of the Solomoni, though there were times when both worked together to see that the Solomoni had a place to live and survive.

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[74] The hospital was named the Lucy Bull Memorial Hospital. See CSO Report and Halapua (1993)

Halapua argues that even though 'the church constantly preached the need to dismantle the structures of paternalism, its own hierarchical nature led the Church to be oppressive at times and to project an image of aloofness' (Halapua, 2001, p. 117). This paternalistic behaviour of the Church could be a reason why the Solomoni have not been able to take care of themselves independently. The effects of paternalism on the Solomoni are similar to those of colonialism and imperialism on indigenous communities around the world. For some of these communities and countries it was relatively easy to become independent, but for others it took time. For the Solomoni it will still take time because most of them rely on the Church to help them.

Also, most Solomoni have experienced an environment where they have been discriminated against and criticised for being the descendants of Solomoni labourers. This discrimination takes its toll on the Solomoni psychologically and has an evident effect on their educational background. Those Solomoni children who would have aspired to greater heights fail because there is no funding that would enable them to do so. Most end up doing the same sort of menial jobs that their parents or grandparents have done. Therefore, this paternalistic behaviour the Anglican Church towards the Solomoni means a great deal to them.

However, paternalism can be multi-layered in terms of its interpretation and meaning. From a western point of view it might be regarded as a temporary situation leading to independence but under a 'Solomoni' lens it would be different. *Veivakatamani* (paternalism) in the Solomoni sense implies a permanent relationship. Even though paternalism is oppressive at times it involves much *loloma* (love), *dauveikauwaitaki* (mutual caring), *dauveinanumi* (putting the other first), *dauveiciqomi* (mutual acceptance) and other Fijian or Pacific values. From the perspective of the Church, paternalism means taking care of the Solomon, but for Solomoni it means being safe and secure in a country in which they are *vulagi* (foreigner). This act of paternalism on the part of the church has helped many Solomoni to fulfil their dreams and aspirations. However, only 5-10% of Solomoni are living such a life while the rest are still trying to live a better life than their grandparents. Even though paternalism is practised with a lot of love and respect, it has also oppressed the Solomoni. Oppression can be seen in the way it

tries to dictate how the Solomoni should run their respective settlements. This undermines the leadership of the Solomoni. It takes an educated Solomoni to speak up and be responsible when it comes to leadership issues.

Living in an environment surrounded by one's own *yavusa* means that everyone experiences all the hurts and pains of everyone else. To live in a central or any other settlement for a Solomoni is the same as it is for a Fijian living in his/her own village. Everybody is related to everyone else and the community comes together for any *solevu* (traditional function).

There were some Solomoni settlements whose people did not move to Wailoku. These were Kalekana, Kaunikuila, Vunidilo, Nasese and Lerua. However, these settlements made verbal agreements with the landowners or got the Anglican Church to secure their land leases before moving to a new proposed site.[75] In other places like Caubati, Namara, Rogovosa and Kadawa only a handful moved to Wailoku, while others stayed, and they and their descendants are still there till now.

Kalekana in Lami

Before the move to Lami, the people of Kalekana had settled in Rewa St, and after the move to Lami, they decided to retain the name of their settlement as Kalekana. The Solomoni of Kalekana were Methodists who mostly came from Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. Most settled along Rewa St in Suva before they were relocated to Lami, which occurred after their settlement around Rewa Street was badly destroyed by a hurricane in 1952. Instead of moving to either Wailoku or Nasinu on the outskirts of Suva, they chose to settle in Lami since they feared that both the settlements were dominated by the Anglican Church and were concerned about the presence of Solomoni of Malaitan descent. The Solomoni of Kalekana thought that if they moved in with the Malaitans they would have to become Anglicans. Secondly, most felt that they were better off on their own because of the differences in

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[75] All the Solomoni had to make sure that the proposed site of settlement was safe and secure before they settled down. Most of these people moved to Newtown, Caubati, Laqere or Lami and only Kalekana maintained its name when its people moved to Lami.

language and customs. Thirdly, most knew that if they moved to either Wailoku or Nasinu they would be outnumbered in terms of the decisions made in the settlements.

The Anglican Church, after seeing that their houses and dwellings were completely destroyed by the hurricane, proposed to the colonial government that it would look after them as it did for those who settled in Wailoku (CSO 1940 50/81, Part 2). There was a total of 44 Solomonis and 206 Fijians. The Anglican Church applied for a loan to assist in the relocation of the people from Kalekana in Rewa Street to the new Kalekana in Lami and the Solomoni from Kaunikuila to Nasinu. This was approved by the colonial government which also gave a grant of £1,500 to assist in the construction of permanent houses, £50 per household and £1,500 which would be controlled by the District Commissioner Southern (CSO 1940 50/81, Part 2). Housing materials for 30 houses were supplied by the colonial government to be built by individual households in accordance with a village plan. However, since the Methodist Church refused to be responsible for them the Commissioner Southern became the trustee of the settlement (Standing Committee on Finance, 1953). The Methodist Church refused the responsibility because it was responsible for the indigenous Fijians so the Anglican Church offered to look after them.

Jale Suva stated that one of the reasons for moving was that the area was close to the sea and people could easily walk down to the seashore to get shellfish and catch fish (Suva, 2010).[76] They could now easily find employment at the cement factory, on fishing vessels and at the nearby hotel.[77] The Anglican Church not only helped them move from Rewa Street to Lami but also helped them to build a church, which is the present-day Methodist church in the settlement.

Newtown

After the Solomoni from Rewa Street were relocated to Lami, the colonial government together with the Anglican Church also sought to find a way of relocating the Solomoni from Kaunikuila, the old part of Flagstaff in Lerua. Most of the Solomoni living in Flagstaff felt that moving would mean being far

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[76] These Solomoni were seafaring people and had always lived off the sea in the Solomon Islands.
[77] Jale Suva is one of the elders living in Kalekana now. He was only a child when the move to Kalekana took place.

away from their workplaces since most of them worked in Suva and at the wharf. Secondly, according to Mercer the Solomoni believed that moving to a new location would bring death to the family (Mercer, 1976). However hard the Anglican Church and the colonial administration tried to relocate them to Wailoku, it was to no avail. When the hurricane of 1952 struck the Colonial Government saw this as a blessing in disguise and with the Anglican Church's help did not waste any time in trying to find land to which to relocate the Solomoni. The initial settlement was within the town boundary and the Colonial Administration had been able to make open spaces in accordance with the Town Plan for Suva (Standing Committee on Finance, 1952). A piece of land six-and-a-half miles east of Suva in Nasinu was found by the Director of Lands who had it cleared and levelled in 1946.[78]

However, the settlers at Nasinu differed from those at Wailoku in that, apart from a few old men, all of them were in regular employment. They also made a monthly contribution towards the building materials to build their homes, and the work was done mostly during the weekends and a brief period of daylight after the men had finished their daily work (Our Mission to Melanesians, 1953). Halapua highlighted that in the report of the Superintendent of the Melanesian Mission, 169 Solomonis were settled in 26 new houses (Halapua, 1993). The majority of the Solomoni who were relocated on that day from Kaunikuila decided to discontinue using the name and chose instead to name it Newtown.

The Anglican Church built a school in 1968 to cater for the educational needs of the Solomoni and the New Hebrideans who have also made Nasinu their home. It started with a *bure* (a traditional Fijian house made from bamboo and dried grass) and the Anglican Church gave £450 for the materials. The parents in Laqere, Namara, Caubati and Newtown worked for a year on building the road.[79] Later, the U.S. Episcopal church gave £2,400 to eventually construct a concrete building. This school was later named Bishop Kempthorne Memorial School. There is a close relationship between the Solomoni and

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[78] They had to cut down trees and level the land up so that it could be used to build houses for the Solomoni

[79] This information was in a newsletter brought home by my son who attended Bishop Kempthorne Memorial School in 2006 before joining his parents at Auckland in December 2006.

New Hebrideans living in Newtown. This relationship was forged through intermarriage and through their integration in the various plantations they had worked in.

Tamavua-i-wai

Tamavua-i-wai is located along the Tamavua River. This is the river which flows into the Suva Harbour right past Tamavua-i-wai settlement and to Wailoku. Rabukawaqa (1967/8) stated that 'there are several groups of houses, the majority of which are on a freehold land, scattered along the eastern bank of the Tamavua River between Corbette's abattoir and Wailoku'.

The early settlers in this settlement were the indentured labourers whose contracts with their plantation masters had expired, causing them to drift into town and find work elsewhere.[80] Others were people from other settlements within the Suva area who had been forced out or evicted. Halapua argues that these Solomoni traced their forebears to Vunidilo in Flagstaff, who moved out when it became overcrowded and its occupants were threatened with eviction in the 1920's. Some moved to Vunimoli, one of the settlements in Tamavua-i-wai, while others moved into the settlement because their *wantoks* (those who spoke their language) were there (Halapua, 1993). As shown in below, the Tamavua-i-wai settlement like Wailoku is divided into groups according to the different tribes they came from.

Tribal divisions of the Tamavua-i-wai settlement[81]

Kadawa	-	Vataleka	(Fataleka)
Rogovosa	-	Wai	(Ngwai)
Auvoli	-	Orobuli	(Orobuli)

(Source: Halapua, 1993)

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[80] My grandfather was one of the ones who had to move into Suva with his family after his contract had expired and he ended up staying in Tamavua-i-wai (Rogovosa)

[81] The first column is the name of the groups and the second column is the Fijianised spelling of the tribal names from the Solomon Islands which are given in brackets.

According to Halapua (1993), Tamavua-i-wai was first settled in the early 1920s with the first dwellings at Auvoli, and other people came in later. However, throughout the years the rights of the Solomoni settlers of Tamavua-i-wai's to the land they have settled on have been questioned by the different landowners who have owned that land.

Caubati

Caubati is five miles to the east of Suva. The Caubati settlement is on a piece of native land which was settled by the Solomoni on a verbal agreement of reciprocity with landowners. According to Halapua the settlers were first generation Solomoni who left Laqere settlement in 1910 because of overcrowding (Halapua, 1993). When Wailoku was first settled, the Solomoni of Caubati were assigned to join the village of Marata. This did not eventuate as they were enjoying the space at Caubati and it was much easier to travel to Suva if one had to go to work. Thirdly, there were cultural inhibitions about shifting residence. They believed that their spiritual wellbeing was surrounded by the place they had chosen to settle in, and that to move from that place meant being cut off from that protection and this might mean death.

The Solomoni at Caubati know that the only way they could retain the goodwill of the landowners is to participate in every *vakamau* (wedding) or *somate* (funerals) and any other *solevu* (traditional gathering) of the landowners. Therefore, even though the Solomoni of Caubati have been verbally promised the use of the land and have reached an agreement with the landowners, there were setbacks to those agreements in the 1980s. This happens whenever there is a new leader of the *yavusa* of the landowners who has no idea about the history and agreement their ancestor had with the Solomoni.

Matata

Matata is located along the boundary of Wailada Industrial subdivision in Lami west of Suva. According to Halapua the area of the settlement is 8 acres with a population of approximately 120 in 1985 – 1986 (Halapua, 1987). The settlement was first settled by two brothers, Aliki Arivue and Denisi

Toutou, who moved from Catilua in the late 1920s. However, when the two brothers died, one of their sons, Aliki Peni, became the leader of the settlement.

Being the leader and spokesperson he made arrangements with the Trustees of the Anglican Church. Halapua stated that he liaised with the Trustees of the Anglican Church to enable them to register the title of the Matata lease in the Anglican Church's name. Like Caubati, some of the land that the Solomoni have settled on in Matata involved some form of reciprocity. This required that people who pay no leasehold rent must attend *solevu* and contribute towards them. Secondly, some Solomoni men and women married into the clan of the landowning unit. Attending those big ceremonial functions is a form of reciprocity which makes it acceptable for people to settle on the land with the approval of the elders of the clan of the landowning unit.

5.7 Solomoni in Western Viti Levu

Apart from the Solomoni who live in eastern Viti Levu, there are also Solomoni who live in western Viti Levu. These are people who live in the province of Ra, Lautoka and Nadroga. These are the settlements of Maniyava in Ra, Navutu in Lautoka and Nadrala and Yalava in Sigatoka.

Maniyava in Ra was settled during the 1994 after it was found out that there was a *yavu* that belonged to the Solomoni ancestor who settled there in the pre-labour period.[82] The Solomoni who are now in Navutu, Lautoka went there as labourers for the sugar plantations and have been relocated to Drasa, as have the Solomoni in Nadrala and Yalava in Sigatoka.

5.8 Solomoni in Vanua Levu

The Solomoni not only settled around Viti Levu but also settled around Vanua Levu and in the outer islands as well. Within Vanua Levu, the two main settlements where the Solomoni have settled are Naviavia in the Cakaudrove province, and Nabunikadamu in the Bua province. There are other smaller

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[82] This will be discussed later in this thesis.

settlements like Natakea[83] and Cawaira.[84] There are Solomoni settlements on the islands of Taveuni and Qamea as well. These settlements are Dromuninuku, Naba and Lavena on Taveuni and Vatusoqosoqo on Qamea. However, I would like to concentrate on the two main settlements of Naviavia and Nabunikadamu.

Naviavia

As the labour trade came to an end in the early 1900s most of the labourers who had worked in the plantation at Rabi had no place to settle. Rabi is an island off the eastern coast of Vanua Levu now inhabited by the Banaban community who came from Ocean Island in Kiribati when their island was mined for phosphate by the British Phosphate Commission. The majority of them moved over to Vanua Levu and found odd jobs to do around the main town centre. By the early 1940s most were scattered along the Savusavu coast as far east as Vunilagi. However, the church was gifted some land by an Anglican planter named Campbell, and the church encouraged the Solomoni to use part of it as a settlement.[85] Whonsbon-Aston states that the Hon. Robert Campbell, a very wealthy land-holder from Australia, had given the undeveloped part of his Natoavatu Estate to the church to establish an endowment for a Bishop of Fiji (Whonsbon-Aston, 1970).

Both Halapua and Kuva state that Natoavatu Estate became a settlement for the Solomoni in 1947 and became known as Naviavia. Unfortunately, the Diocese had no funds to develop the nearly 6,000 acres of land further into productive agricultural land. About 300 acres of this land was given to the Solomoni scattered around the Savusavu coast to settle on. However, with a great deal of compassion from mission partners from the Diocese of Massachusetts, Natoavatu Estate was slowly developed with the help of capital and modern equipment to build roads and houses for labourers. Robbie Haynes, his

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[83] Natakea is a Solomoni settlement which sits within the boundary of the Cakaudrove province and it is close to Savusavu town. The land was given to the Solomoni who were *vasu levu* (whose mother was from that place but belonging to the landowning unit who came from the chiefly household) for them to settle on.

[84] Cawaira is also a Solomoni settlement which sits within the province of Macuata and is close to Labasa town.

[85] This is one of the first stories that we as a family heard from one of the elders of the settlement as we went with my father on one of his visits when he was serving as the Archdeacon of Vanua Levu and Ovalau during the early 1990s.

son Raymond and wife Judith helped to make Natoavatu Estate and Naviavia a better place to live in (Vockler, 1966).

By 1950 the villagers through the help of the Anglican Church built a school, named St Pauls. The school was built with the help of the Government of Fiji, the Diocese of Melanesia and the Australian Board of Missions. The head teacher from St John's School, Wailoku, Tome Enikosuna, was sent over to help run the school and he became St Paul's first head teacher.[86]

Nabunikadamu

Vockler, states that 'across the bay an uncertain boat journey away is Naviavia, the largest of the Solomoni settlements in Vanua Levu, but even more hazardous is Nabunikadamu, another Solomoni settlement which is very isolated' (Vockler, 1966, p.7). Nabunikadamu sits east south-east from Naviavia in the province of Bua and is located between the villages of Daria and Nabunikadamu.

This land was given to the Solomoni to settle on because many of the local women from the villages of Wainunu, Daria, Nakawakawa, Navakasali and Nakoriki had married Solomoni men. The Solomoni men and those who had settled on that land were obliged to reciprocate by making gifts during *vakamau* (wedding), *somate* (funeral) and any other *solevu* (traditional ceremonies) which happened in the village of the landowners. Most of the children who grew up around Nabunikadamu married people in the villages nearby and brought their families into Nabunikadamu, and this caused the settlement to grow.

Later on the Anglican Church decided to help the Solomoni secure the land that they were living on. This was done by helping them secure a land lease. The land was leased out to the Rev Maika Mua who had established the settlement and was also greatly respected as the *Turaga-ni-Koro*. Toy (2008) stated that the Rev Maika Mua was a highly respected member of the community since he was a member of

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[86] Tome Enikosuna was one of the boys from the Solomon Islands that was under the care of Bishop Patteson to be educated in Norfolk and New Zealand. He was later sent to Fiji to help Mrs Hands with educating his own people when the move to Wailoku became apparent.

the Bua Provincial Council and a committee member of the Ratu Luke Memorial School board (Toy, 2008).

5.9 Solomoni at the Margins

Being at the margins is nothing new for the Solomoni as it has been part of their existence since arriving in Fiji. Land has been an issue that these displaced people have struggled with ever since the time they made their home in Fiji. Realistically, while *solevu* reciprocity should have entitled them to own or use a piece of land, the Solomoni were always marginalized in the name of development. This is seen in Matata, as Halapua highlights. When the Wailada Industrial development commenced in the late 1970s, a large area of land was subdivided and taken up by different companies (Halapua, 2001). It was this subdivision that cut into some of the lease of the Matata Settlement. Some of the land leases had expired, and this left people in no position to argue.

Most of these Solomoni Settlements are neither proclaimed Fijian villages nor do they have secure land tenure. While Matata is only one example, it should also serve as a warning to other Solomoni settlements such as Wailoku, Caubati, Newtown and Tamavua-i-wai. Halapua pointed out that in January 1987 those Solomoni who lived in Caubati were informed that they were in illegal occupation of the land and were served with eviction notices (Halapua, 2001). This also happened to the Solomoni living in Tamavua-i-wai when eviction notices were slapped on 16 Solomoni families who lived on the land which belonged to Ocean Estates Limited. There are several other issues apart from the land that the Solomoni have to deal with and one of these is whether entering politics would be an advantage for them. One or two Solomoni have tried to do so but have not succeeded. So far there is no evidence to indicate whether taking part would help the Solomoni improve their living conditions.

The Anglican Church together with the colonial government may have also hindered rather than helped the progress of the Solomoni. This can be seen firstly in the location of the Solomoni settlements in Fiji which are away from the sea. This is very different from their environment in the Solomon Islands where the sea is part of their environment and surroundings. Secondly, instead of all family units looking after their own respective families, the Anglican Church through the help of the colonial

government introduced a framework of local government. For example, Kuva states that Wailoku, a Solomoni settlement, is similar to a Fijian village in that it has an elected *Turaga ni Koro*. Within a Fijian village the *Turaga ni Koro* is responsible or answerable to the *Roko* (a native officer in charge of a district) whereas the *Turaga ni Koro* in Wailoku is the responsibility of the Anglican Church and is not included in any *tikina* (district). Marginalisation is also associated with dependency which further hinder the progress and development of Solomoni life.

Even though there has been a lot of intermarriage with the indigenous Fijian population, the Solomoni still retain their distinct identity. Although they are trying to improve their livelihoods, they have no land rights and are in no position to assert themselves politically because of their minority status. However, this minority status was not the case in the 1966 and 1972 elections when the Solomoni were entitled to vote as Fijians. During this time voting lines were only between the *taukei* and the Indo-Fijians. The Solomoni were not classed as 'other' or belonging to a minority. Kuva sees this as politically significant and a more favourable status, and states that 'after independence in 1970 the new constitution safeguarded the interests of the minority in terms of access to land....'[87] However, all this changed after the elections in the early 1990s and when the government reviewed the constitution in 1995. In the early 1990s the Solomoni were included under the "general" category or "others". This is when the Solomoni began to feel that they had been disadvantaged socially, economically and politically. Socially, for example, in terms of applying for scholarships for tertiary education, they are lumped together with the Indo-Fijians, Chinese, Part-Europeans and people from other ethnic groups who have made Fiji their home. Scholarships for these groups are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Multi-Ethnic Affairs.

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[87] See Minority Rights Group International http://www.minorityrights

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the history of Fiji's early contact with the outside world and how it became a 'melting pot' of the Pacific. It has not only highlighted and examined the labour migration and movement from the Solomon Islands to Fiji but also how and whether the Solomoni are able to get land to settle on. It has discussed how the Solomoni as a group have made Fiji their home and how the Anglican Church took care of them pastorally. Assimilation, accommodation and integration have helped the Solomoni living in Fiji to handle the pressure of being a displaced and minority group. How they have become marginalised politically, socially and economically has also been highlighted

CHAPTER 6: CHANGING SOLOMONI IDENTITY IN FIJI

6.1 Introduction

The Solomoni as a group were known in certain parts of Fiji before the later arrival of Solomoni labourers. The early arrivals' extensive integration became known through the *tukuni* throughout Fiji, but with specific reference to Ra and Lovoni. However, it is important to note that the *tukuni* is not only about the historical happenings but more about the oral historical narratives or mythological narratives which preceded the later arrivals and how the later arrivals, "the Solomoni labourers", reinforced the *tukuni* which was responsible for the sense of belonging of the Solomoni in Fiji during this contemporary period.

The *tukuni* helped the Solomoni in this contemporary period to be aware of their belongingness and their Solomoni in Fiji. However, before looking at the Solomoni identity in Fiji there is a need to define the term Solomoni and what it means to be a Solomoni in the early 1800s arriving in Fiji and being a Solomoni in the plantations. I will also discuss why the Solomoni, like other Pacific Islanders, preferred to be with their own people (those from the same tribe in the Solomon Islands) once they left the plantation environment and settled in settlements of Wailoku. As the Solomoni became integrated into the Fijian community they had to re-define and re-negotiate their identity through ever-increasing adaptation, accommodation, integration and intermarriages. Since, they had progressively lost their original language the Solomoni had taken up the Fijian language as their main language more readily than any other ethnic minority. In the context of this transformation, I will try to discuss the different agents responsible for this change. Identity changes or transformations are bound to happen to any individual or group of people who have left their homeland as a result of migration. Most Solomoni whose home is Fiji would give reasons why they still identify themselves as Solomoni though some would chose not to, depending on the experiences that they have been through. This is manifested through their external identity which is evidenced when the social and internal identity come into play.

The denial of Solomoni identity will cease to exist only when the *taukei* accept the Solomoni as they are.

6.2 Construction of a "new" Solomoni Identity: From the Solomon Islands to Fiji from late 1800s to early 1900s

Before looking at identity change in respect of the culture and the customs of the Solomoni in Fiji, it is appropriate to first explore the culture and customs of the Solomon Islands, as it was these that the Solomon Islands labourers brought with them to Fiji. Within the Solomon Islands there are about 120 indigenous languages, but the medium of communication between the different tribes, districts and provinces is Solomon Islands pidgin as well as English. Within Malaita itself, there are at least twelve languages and dialects representing different local cultures. Burt states that Kwara'ae, which is a district of Malaita has 'more than 19,000 speakers and is the largest language group and the most southern of a group of six or seven closely related languages and dialects spoken in the northern district of Malaita (Burt, 1994, p.15).

Solomon Islands culture and customs

People from Malaita claim that they are descendants of one ancestor who inherited the land and had children who then established themselves in the different villages starting from Kwara'ae, Kwai'o, 'Are'are (South), Fataleka, Baelelea, Tobaita and Lau (north). It has generally been acknowledged that "all Kwara'ae, if not all Malaitans, are descended from one man" (Burt, 1994, p23). It was from here (central bush, Kwara'ae) which was their home that his sons and grandsons dispersed and settled in other areas around Malaita. Others moved in to other neighbouring islands and their descendants populate the islands they settled in (Mateiviti, 2007).

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor-worship is an important part of life for Malaitans and they take pride in it. This form of worship according to legends began with their first ancestor who with his family arrived in Kwara'ae guided by a sacred staff that the Kwara'ae people still keep today (Mateiviti, 2007). The storty is that 'he landed first in Guadalcanal but was directed by the sacred staff to move to the centre of Malaita. It

was here that he settled and built a great shrine called *'Siale'..'* (Rukia, 1989, p. 2) Furthermore, the rules of how to worship their ancestors, how to respect one another and how to run their day to day affairs were written in their own language on a stone tablet. After the founding ancestor died his descendants worshipped him by burning animal sacrifices and this continued until the arrival of the missionaries (Rukia, 1989).

Ancestral worship for the people of Malaita was a way of seeking support and protection from dead ancestors through prayer and sacrifice. It was believed that prayer and sacrifice cemented the relationship between clans, their ancestors and land. The men of the clan have a strong sense of solidarity and identity, which comes through the times when they gather together in their men's house (*Oha*) for worship and sacrifice. The men seek support and protection by sharing a sacrificial meal with their spirits at the shrines marking the land they claim. According to Nairokobi, most Melanesians believe that 'spiritual beings occupy particular localities within the general territory' (Nairokobi, 1989, p. 15). Sacrifices made to their ancestors in Malaita are generally performed by those who are descended from the male line. Fox also states that a 'a man from Malaita would keep some hair or a tooth of anyone who died and kept this in a carved wooden fish box and would use them when someone was sick' (Fox, 1924, p. 15).

Totems

In South-East Malaita, a shark man could call his shark and send it to sink the canoe of his enemy and bring the enemy to him to be killed (Mateiviti, 2007). It was not only ancestor-worship that the people of Malaita believed in, but they also believed in spirits which lived in things you could see and touch. Thus, each clan was connected to a sacred animal and this could not be eaten because it was believed to be their ancestor. Fugui argues that 'most communities identified with a totem animal' (Fugui, 1989, p. 80). As mentioned before, a totem is a bird, animal, plant or natural phenomenon with which members of a group, such as a clan, have a religious or ritual relationship with. Most people generally believe that when people die their ghosts transfer into the body of some creature of the land, air or sea, and in times of danger or accidents the totem assists the people (Fugui, 1989).

'Oha' – Men's House (South Malaita)

Every clan has a men's house (*Oha*) and the building of such a house ends with a great feast. It is normally built together with a shrine and is *tabu* (taboo) to women and children. No women should cross in front of the house as it may anger the ancestral spirits. The house is built uphill from the dwelling house and all men and boys who have reached the age of puberty spend most of their time in the *oha*. Most people from Malaita believe that ghosts or ancestral spirits have authority over their priests, priests over their kinsmen and men over their women (Fugui, 1989). A priest who constantly deals with the ancestral spirits has to be the senior male member of the clan. Within the house the priest has a separate room where he keeps ritual objects and relics of the dead and everything associated with ghosts must be kept clean. There are three important rituals or customs that are observed in the Solomon Islands when it comes to the life cycle of an individual person. Marriage, birth and death are strictly observed with ceremonies throughout Malaita (Fox, 1924; Burt, 1994).

Marriage and Shell Mani

Shell *mani* or money is a type of shell (olive carneola shell) which is laboriously ground into beads, smoothed, drilled and threaded on strings (Mateiviti, 2007). It is also used as a bride price, for funeral feasts and for compensation. Larger types of beads which are used throughout the northern districts of Malaita are mostly made by the saltwater people of the Langalanga lagoon and to a lesser extent of Lau, who exchange with the bush people for food (Fox, 1924; Burt, 1994). Shell money is used in a Malaita traditional marriage where there is an exchange between families. The bridegroom's side 'buy the girl' by exchanging a gift of shell money for her sexual and economic services and for the children that she will bear for his clan. Burt states that the principal 'bride wealth' gift is the hanging up of the shell money *(daura'ai)* which the bride's family come to collect in a formal ceremony. The quantity of bride wealth is negotiable and when the bride's father agrees then he takes the shell money away and distributes it amongst the bride's relatives. In return for all this the bride's family is obliged to provide a marriage feast *(tolonga)* for the bridegroom's side. However, the bride wealth may have to be returned if there is a divorce because the woman does not conceive or she is unfaithful. But if the newly

married couple do have a child there are also customs and rituals which are followed according to the child's gender.

Custom of a new born baby in Malaita

There are customs and rituals of a new-born baby in Malaita. Fox (1924) adds that a week after the birth comes the naming of the baby and that there is no ceremony at this time. The baby and mother are kept in the house and are not allowed to go outside for some time. When the mother and baby first go outside there is a feast prepared and the mother bathes the baby holding shell money over him so that he may be rich (Fox, 1924; Burt, 1994). Close attention is also paid to the gender of the baby. Feasts are held in honour of the baby if he is a boy because he will one day carry the family lineage. When the child does things for the first time such as prawning, fishing, climbing a tree, fetching firewood or planting a garden, there are also feasts held to mark the occasion (Mateiviti, 2007)

Funeral Rituals

For Solomon Islanders in Malaita funerals are also very important. Historically, people would be buried according to whether their totem is of the land or the sea. If their totem is a sea creature then he/she would be thrown into the sea and if it is an animal which is of the land then he/she would be buried on the land (Fox, 1924; Burt, 1994). However, now everyone is buried on the land.

Funerals prepared for priests or senior men are treated with utmost importance, then those for women and children. As Burt (1994) states, priests and senior men rather than women and children would receive the most elaborate funerals. During this period there are certain taboos observed, such as no bathing, staying away from social gatherings or eating certain food such as taro, pig or betel nut till the mourning period is over (Mateiviti, 2007). Fugui argues that 'those who had touched the body of the priest and buried it were not permitted to stay with their wives and would live in the *oha* (men's house) throughout the mourning period' (Mateiviti, 2007). However, the funeral for insignificant or less important people would end with a feast and gifts of shell money from the family to mourners to lessen their grief. A death in any village of Malaita meant that there would be no clearing of new gardens, no lighting of fire places or forests, the village would be expected to remain silent as a mark of respect and

there would be suspension of normal village activities. However, all these customs and rituals ceased to exist for the recruits or labourers who left for Fiji in the late 1800's.

6.3 Solomoni identity in Fiji in the late 1800's

The Solomoni identity in Fiji during the late 1800's would have been evident at that stage, since, of course, they brought with them their language, culture, historical memories and beliefs as mentioned above. Their language, culture and custom would thus have set them apart from the *taukei*. Even though most recruits came from Malaita there were still great differences in terms of language and historical memories, depending on where they came from. There were similarities are seen in their beliefs, but each place had its own language and historical memories which made it distinct from the others. Most of the recruits who came during this time were from:

- Kwaio   -   Koio (Fijian spelling)

- Ngwai   -   Wai

- Fataleka   -   Vataleka

- 'Are'are   -   Marata

- Guadalcanal   -   Kalekana (from Guadalcanal, the other main island)

Those Solomon Island labour recruits that came were predominantly male and only 7-8% were women (Kuva, 1971). With their distinct differences in language, customs and historical memories, life together on board the boat or ship which was taking them to Fiji or Queensland was bound to be difficult. These difficulties stemmed from the fact that each group lived within its own environment and boundaries. Tribal wars and head-hunting in the early 1800s made it difficult for them to integrate with each other. This meant their feelings about other tribes would still exist and would have to be altered in some way or the other eventually. As Kuva states the labour recruits found that on the two to three month voyage, 'tribal' feelings tended to dissolve because they had to accommodate and integrate with each other in their daily activities when they were on board the ships (Kuva, 1971). All had to become Solomon Islanders with a common purpose and a common identity which they would not have

recognised at home. Socially the Malaitan society is generally centred on custom and tradition that values the aspects of collective life and gender-oriented way of life.

The custom of defined spaces for the Solomoni on board the ship was very hard for recruits to break away from. Female recruits were kept in separate room and men would object if women walked on deck when the men were below deck (Kuva, 1971). Even though the environment was different the Solomoni labourers would have persisted in following whatever custom they had back at home. Some of the older recruits were priests. While language differences may have been a barrier for the recruits, shared customary practices seemed to unite them while they were on board. Integration, assimilation and adaptation helped them to take up a common identity, that of their shared culture and customary practices. They took this common identity with them to the plantations.

6.4 Conditions which shaped the Solomoni identity in the plantations.

Most Solomoni recruits who were in Fiji in the late 1800s were recruited to work in the plantations in Taveuni, Buca Bay, around the Nausori areas and certain sugar cane plantations in western Viti Levu. Which plantation a recruit might work in would greatly depend on the plantation masters who were the owners of the plantation. The plantation masters would choose the number of men who he felt would work for him in his plantation. Many of the Solomoni recruits were brothers, cousins and tribesmen who had expected to work alongside one another in the plantations that they would go to so that they could look out for one another. However, what they did not know was that where each would go to would depend on the plantation masters. In fact fellow tribesmen, brothers and cousins would be separated from one another. Separation from fellow tribesmen or relatives meant learning to work and live alongside other men from other tribes and other islands, and from other neighbouring Pacific Islands as well. Other neighbouring Pacific Islanders also recruited to work in Fiji during the late 1800s were from Kiribati and Vanuatu (Campbell, 1989).

Life on the plantations

Solomoni labourers worked in various plantations around Fiji. These were Taveuni and Savusavu (both in the northern island, Vanua Levu), Sigatoka River valley, Nadi and Lautoka (in western Viti Levu),

Lau (group of islands south-east of Suva), Makogai (in the Lomaiviti group of islands) and Rewa (on Viti Levu). Some labourers did not survive their three-year contract period after contracting dysentery or measles either on the boat or in the plantations. Scarr found that the reports of the Fiji Immigration Office for 1883 and 1884 state that death in the plantations occurred from physical exhaustion due to overwork, measles and dysentery, particularly in Rewa, Navua, Ra, Lau and Taveuni (Scarr, 1970, p. 120).

Most labourers worked extremely long hours and there were times when they were flogged for not obeying their plantation masters or ran away from the plantation because the promise of a passage home which did not eventuate. Young states that in 1867 when labourers who belonged to planation owners Underwood and Burt ran away from their plantation and Burt, who was unusually cruel, would flog them, sting their backs with nettles, stuff their mouths with hot peppers and gag them when he got hold of them (Young, 1970, p. 170).

On other occasions the labourers on the plantations would be attacked by the *taukei*. Such attacks would take place when labourers were seen flirting with Fijian women or when labourers were seen to own any sort of trade goods. Young stated that the Fijians did not take kindly to plantation work, objected strongly when they saw trade goods which they valued were being received by imported labourers, so Fijian attacks upon imported labourers were common (Young, 1970).

It was the hardship which the labourers faced in the plantations that prompted all the Solomoni labourers in the Fiji plantations to come together as one in terms of their life in the plantations. This integration would foster a common new identity for the Solomoni labourers irrespective of the place they came from. One aspect of common culture which the Solomoni had was their identity of culture and belief. Harrison argues that 'the construction and negotiation of social boundaries and identities seem to involve not only a politics of difference but also an (albeit sometimes more veiled and covert) politics of resemblance' (Harrison, 2006, p. 12). Thus, the group identity of being a Solomoni in the

plantation setting is defined in terms of the common attributes of culture, belief and customs. However, this would change totally once a Solomoni came out of the plantation setting.

Impact of the labour system on the Solomoni life

The labour system had a great impact on the life of Solomoni labourers for a number of reasons:

- Living and working in an unfamiliar environment brought about isolation as their kin were a source of strength, but these men were away from their family and homeland.

- Being thrust into the global labour market meant that there was a change in the environment, and this also brought about a change in diet.

- Most of the labourers were not immune to diseases and easily contracted dysentery and measles. This led to an increase in the mortality rate of the labourers in the various plantations.

- The Solomoni labourers were not able to practise their own culture and custom because men from various places were thrown together on board the ships and in the various plantations.

- They were not able to maintain their mother tongues because they were separated from each other and became integrated with other labourers from Vanuatu and Kiribati when they were in the various plantations.

- The labour system forced many into intermarriage with *taukei* women and this has not helped in the maintenance of the culture, customs and language.

- The labour system led to their being landless. This landlessness made them heavily dependent on the Anglican Church.

6.5 Solomoni Identity in the Settlements

Within a plantation setting a Solomoni was part of the Solomoni labourers group but when he came out of the plantation setting he looked for his own tribesmen or men who came from the place he came from in the Solomon Islands. Harrison suggests that groups define themselves through contrasts, not just with any others at random but with specific others with whom they represent themselves as having certain features of their identities in common (Harrison, 2006). In the early 1900s the formal indentured labour migration period came to an end. Scarr, Halapua and Shlomowitz argue that it was the result of

many Solomoni labourers dying from dysentery and influenza pneumonia and it was getting too expensive to get island labourers (Halapua, 2001; Scarr, 1990; Shlomowitz, 1990). Furthermore, in 1911 the then resident Commissioner of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate wanted all Solomon Islands labourers to return home and develop their own plantations. This motivated the British colonial government in Fiji to send home those labourers who wanted to go.

The Solomoni labourers who stayed behind were those who had married local Fijian women. Integration and intermarriage enabled those who stayed behind to survive. When work on the plantations was no longer available, most moved to Suva to find work and settle with their own tribesmen in areas surrounding Suva. When they left their plantations, the Solomoni took up their tribal identity again as they settled with their fellow tribesmen. This identity became apparent when the Anglican Church helped to move them to a central settlement named Wailoku five miles from Suva. Wailoku was divided up according to the different tribes and places that the Solomoni came from (See Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Map of Wailoku
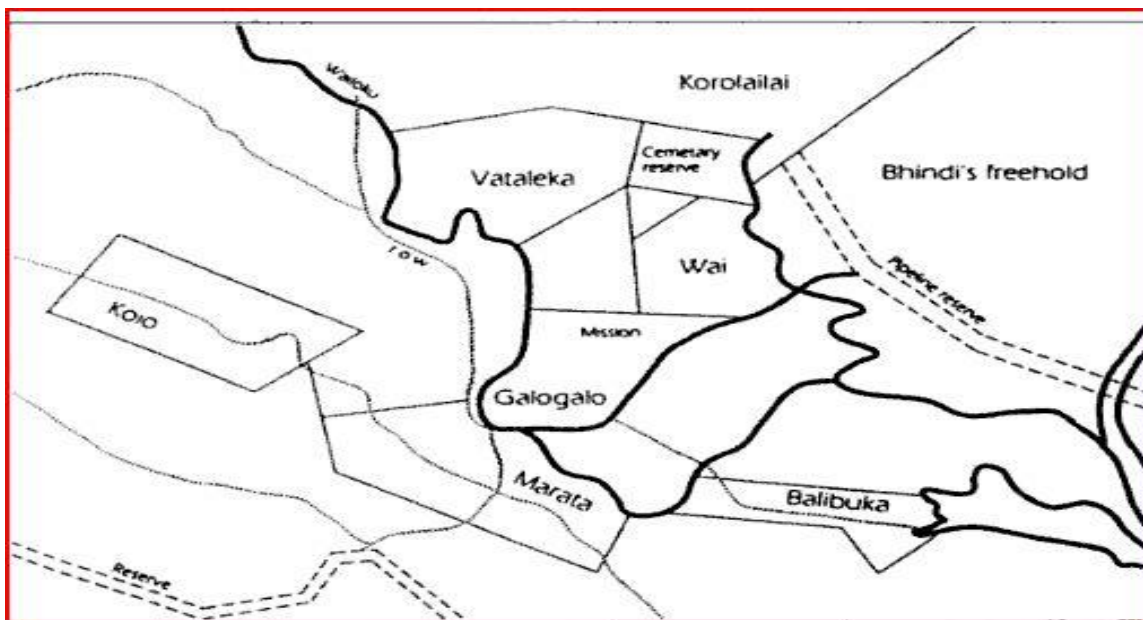
Source: Halapua (2001, pg 75). The main tribal allocations are: Koio (Kwaio), Vataleka (Fataleka), Marata ('Are'are), Balibuka (Tobaita) asnd Wai (Ngwai).

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When the Solomoni labourers were away from their tribesmen, they took on the collective identity of Solomoni, but when they were with their fellow tribesmen they preferred to be distinct from other Solomoni who came from other places or tribes. Harrison (2006) argues that the members of any collectivity will tend to represent themselves, not simply as distinct from others, but as distinct in regular and quite specific ways that imply some form of identification with those others. Another reason for men to stay attached to their fellow tribesmen or to people who come from the place they come from was to enable the maintenance of tribal identity, and they felt secure when they were with their own kind.

Within the different places in Wailoku, the Solomoni know the tribes they come from within their districts. For example, in Wai (Ngwai) there are the following tribes: Sureina, Moliana, Manaoba and Beu-Baita.[88] Collectively the Wai, Vataleka, Balibuka, Koio and Marata people live together in the respective areas allocated for them, but when it comes to social gatherings, in terms of the different places they come from, individuals go to their own tribe.[89] For example, on 6 November, 2010, a Wai Day was held in Wailoku to raise funds for the completion of their hall. In this event, each tribe had its own stall and every Wai man and woman who lived around the Suva area came to help their own tribes.

Culturally, all the tribal units no longer have any idea of the Solomon Islands culture and customs and do not practise them. This can be said of the Solomoni in Vataleka, Balibuka, Koio and Marata who live in Wailoku and in the various places around Fiji. Tribal names, historical memories and genealogy are the only identity markers that the Solomoni still refer to. There are some descendants of Solomoni labourers who marry Solomon Islanders who come to Fiji to study, but the number is very small. These are the only ones who have become well versed in the Solomon Islands language, culture and customs.

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[88]This is clearly seen when there is a special gathering like a soli which was held in 2010 at Wailoku.

[89] People only go to their tribal gathering for certain special events.

6.6 Evolving Identities

For people who had lived in collective tribal environments which were rich in the different languages, culture and customs, being recruited to work in the Fiji or Queensland plantations had a devastating effect on the Solomoni labourers' socio-cultural identity. Most decided to be recruited so that they could work alongside their brothers and kinsmen. However, separation during the time of recruitment into the plantations meant being marginalised in their respective language and culture, because the use of their mother tongue was very limited, and this increased as they moved from one plantation to the next. Other customary traditions such as congregating of men in a men's house also ceased to exist as recruits were separated on recruitment days by the various plantation masters.

At the plantations the individual Solomoni identity of the places or tribes they came from was limited, as there were other labourers from Vanuatu and Kiribati. However, since the Solomoni labourers integrated with others from other places or tribes, the change in their identity largely depended on any shared or collective cultural practices or beliefs they had. Friedman states that where a group in question is fully integrated in the larger system, its identity is essentially dependent on a set group of symbols broadly defined as ethnic, anything from colour to language to common descent to a set of shared cultural practices or beliefs (Friedman, 1994). For the Solomoni labourers it was their cultural beliefs, customary practices and common historical experiences that would hold them together as Solomoni. Rather than say that they were from different places (Kwaio, Ngwai, etc.) in the Solomon Islands to people who had no idea about such a place, they would all simply say that they came from the Solomon Islands. A person who did not know the culture, custom or anything at all about the Solomon Islands would not ask. However, someone who was born and brought up in the Solomon Islands would ask another Solomoni about the tribe or village that he/she comes from. The environment and the people that they came across within and outside the plantation led to more integration, intermarriage and adaptation. The change in environment also meant a change in lifestyle, diet and views about other people. As they moved from one plantation to another, their language, whether Kwaio, Ngwai, 'Are 'are or other language, and previous world view would increasingly fade away.

Increased integration and adaptation in the different plantations would have fostered the evolving or change and transformation of the Solomoni labourers' social identity. The social identity is what the Solomoni would have developed over time in their interaction and how they related to other people. The Solomoni labourers' male social identity at home in the Solomon Islands would have been a very traditional, conservative chauvinistic male one. Their social boundary and identity would have been predominantly male oriented. Culturally, a Solomoni boy would go through culture and customary rituals from puberty to becoming an adult male. When a boy reaches puberty he is encouraged to spend a lot of time in the men's house, especially when certain rituals and ceremonies are observed (Fox, 1924). While the men congregate around their house in the Solomon Islands, the women are at home looking after the family and their gardens. For the Solomoni male labourers coming to work in Fiji, all this would change, as there would be no men's house where they could tell their stories and observe certain rituals. The Solomoni labourers would have observed from the time they entered a Fijian village setting that a Fijian family would all sleep under one roof and there was no separate sleeping space or house for men. Thus their socialising as men and observing certain rituals and ceremonies would have been increasingly limited or would have ceased to exist at all, and the Solomoni labourers would have had to find an alternative. This would be found through integration and socialising with men from the nearest village around the *tanoa*. Sitting around the *tanoa* (large wooden mixing bowl) of *kava* is another way of getting together as men. However, in Fiji it is not only the men that sit around the *tanoa*, but there are women as well. There is also no special house in which the *kava* sessions take place but *kava* is prepared and consumed within the family house, right in front of the family members. While the men drink *kava* the women are doing such things as sitting around weaving mats, feeding the children or preparing the children's bed (Roth, 1953).[90]

Increase in intermarriage has meant expansion of the social space and change in social identity of the Solomoni. Accommodation and integration became common once they came to live in plantations and closer to Fijian villages. Friedman argues that 'this can occur in situations of cultural continuity or

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[90] I have discovered that some Solomoni men do consume *kava* now and there is a place called *Kavachino* where people could meet to drink kava. But I do not know if they did back then.

discontinuity, that is, where a cultural identity has been preserved in transformation or repressed in favour of an alternative identity 'imported' from the center' (Friedman, 1994, p. 87).[91] For the Solomoni it is more of a cultural discontinuity whereby part of the Solomoni identity has been taken over by the Fijian cultural identity in the form of language and observing Fijian traditional customs.

By the early 1900s when the labour trade ended and a central settlement was set up in Wailoku, those who had moved there could do very little to maintain and pass on their language, culture and customs. This was seen when Kuva interviewed the last nine recruits in the early 1970s. Kuva found out that five still knew their language, and two had lost some of the vocabulary, while the rest knew less of their own language than Fijian. It was apparent that all used the Fijian language daily in their homes and the children born out of these marriages spoke fluent Fijian and became more Fijian than Solomon or Malaitan. In terms of culture, four could sing their own songs while five could remember some native dances and two had completely forgotten them. While four claimed to remember their traditions, three had forgotten their traditional history and legends (Kuva, 1972).

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[91] Kuva in his book 'Solomonis in Fiji' had summarised the number of Solomoni labourers that were left and interviewed them about how much they knew about their culture and custom; I have decided to put the data in a table form so that the figures are more clearer.

Figure 6.2: Table showing how much the last nine labourers remembered about their culture, history and language in the early 1970s.

Type	Yes	Partly	No
Language (Mother Tongue)	5	2	2
Traditional songs	4	-	5
Traditional dances	5	2	2
Traditions	4	2	3
History and legends	6	-	3

Source: Kuva, 1972

The table shows that in the early 1970s the number of the nine Solomoni recruits who retained any form of the Solomoni identity was decreasing. Kuva also highlighted that the number of Fiji-born Solomoni who partly spoke the language of their fathers, who were Solomoni labourers, was only about a dozen, which is only a small number compared to the number of Solomoni living in the settlement and the surrounding Suva area. Thus, the Solomoni labourers had passed very little of their Solomoni identity (language, culture and customs) to their off spring. Their socio-cultural identity was given up in favour of the Fijian socio-cultural identity because of integration and intermarriage. But there are also other reasons for the transformation of their language, culture and customs.

6.7 From Solomoni to *taukei*

It is evident from their cultural practices and customs that the second, third and fourth generation descendants of the Solomoni labourers living in Fiji are more *taukei* than Solomoni because they associate themselves more with the *taukei*, thus having become the most 'Fijianised' of all immigrant groups. Transformations, modifications or even to an extent loss of identities can be questioned in a number of ways. Questions raised would greatly depend on the history, context, relationships and agents of such transformations. Hall argues that 'identities are constantly in a process of change and transformation, they are also the subject of a radical historicization' (Hall, 1995, p.4). The history of the Solomon Islanders who came into Fiji in the 1860's during the labour trade years is an early thrust into

the commodification of labour that is now known as 'heading for greener pastures' with or without pressure from the home environment. Meijl and Miedema also claim that 'identities in the context of recent historical changes have revolutionized the relatively steady societies of most people, particularly the worldwide migration of peoples and objects which has brought about a global quest for identity' (Meijl and Meidema, 2004, p.4).

Another reason for their transformation is the way the church handled their situation when they settled in the centralized settlement of Wailoku and in other settlements (Mateiviti, 2007). When the majority of the Solomoni settled in Wailoku one of the major objectives of the Church was to maintain their cultural heritage, but this did not eventuate. A major reason for this was the leadership structure of Wailoku, which was handled by the Anglican Church, but not in the way the Solomoni felt it should be, as mentioned before in the historical section (Halapua, 2001).

The similarities between Solomoni and Fijian culture and customs were another reason for transformation and change. One such similarity is the totemic relationships that both the Fijians and the Solomoni have with their fish, plants, birds or animals. For example, for the people of *wai* (Ngwai) their totem fish is the shark, while the people of certain parts of Cakaudrove in Fiji have the same totem fish.

Another aspect that may have also caused the Solomoni to change is that their maternal *taukei* relatives go out of their way to accept them into their *mataqali*. This act signifies the *vasu* concept (children of a woman are *vasu* to their maternal uncle and have certain privileges in relation to their maternal relatives) and it can be done on the request of the mother to her *mataqali*. Being accepted into a *mataqali* may mean being able to have one's name entered into the *'Vola-ni-kawa-bula'* (VKB), a book in which the names of all the *taukei* people are registered. However, such privileges do not come easily as there are certain *veika vakavanua* (traditional customs of the land) that one has to fulfil. For a mother, the children have to be *vaka-matautaki* (familiarized) to the mother's village to know their relatives. This slowly opens the door to acceptance and children come to realize that with such

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privileges come the responsibilities of being able to contribute to marriages, funerals and other celebrations within the *mataqali*. Having the ability to contribute cements one's relationship with one's maternal relatives and one can then be positive about being a *butuka tu* (standing on the land indefinitely) This makes one a *taukei* or a native rather than a *vulagi* (foreigner or visitor).

Transformation and change are bound to happen to a person or a group of people through time and space. As the years have gone by the Solomoni have been able to find the space to reflect on the past and seek answers to questions which have haunted them through the generations. These are questions of their self identity and reasons why certain individual Solomoni seek to change their identity.

6.8 Fiji-born Solomoni – Self Identity

Boyd claims that the public version of one's self is impacted by the internalized version which in turn evolves based on one's experiences (Boyd, 2002, p. 21). Most of those who are Fiji-born and are of Solomoni descent view themselves as Solomoni, even if they have Fijian blood. Their Solomoni identity stems from the fact that their great-grandparents, grandparents and parents on one side are of Solomoni blood. Keleti Bauro from Wainaloka said 'I am a Solomoni lady because both of my great-grandparents from my father's side came from the Solomon Islands' (personal communication). Like Keleti there are others who not only give the reason for being a 'Solomoni' as due to the place where their ancestors came from but also the settlement they live in. Joe Temo from Wainaloka said 'I am a Solomoni man because my maternal and paternal grandparents came from the Solomon Islands and I also live in a Solomoni settlement' (personal communication). Other Solomoni say that they view themselves as a Solomoni because they are categorised as 'Other' in their birth certificate. Aliki Kae says 'I am a Solomoni man because my birth certificate classifies me as 'Other' and not a Fijian' (personal communication). However, there are others who beg to differ. Deve says 'I am a Fijian because my ancestors' *yavu* is here' (personal communication). Similar sentiments were expresses by Ema who says 'I am a Fijian because I was born here and I am very fluent with the language, culture and customs of Fiji' (personal communication). However, for some Solomoni who believe that they are

Solomoni because their genealogy and ancestors come from the Solomon Islands, it would be hard to say that they are *taukei.*

Being a Solomoni as viewed by Fiji-born Solomon Islanders when trying to explain and describe their identity is a social construct. Defining or constructing oneself as a Solomoni originates from the primary socialisation process. Psychologically parents instil into their children who they are, where their forebears came from, how it has come about that they are living there and who they are related to. Being able to connect or affiliate themselves to a country and ethnicity is the first conscious encounter a Solomoni child would experience. Such affiliation and intrinsic identity are ones that parents begin to instil into their children from their early childhood days. However, for those Solomoni who feel differently their Solomoni identity depends on their daily experience. These constructions would enable people to shift their ethnic identity according to the situation that they encounter, as I shall explain.

Stereotyping/Labelling of Solomoni

When a Solomoni encounters certain unfavourable situations he/she may chose to shift or conceal his/her identity to suit the context and time. This can be caused by stereotyping, labelling or derogatory remarks one may experience. Being subjected to such remarks has prompted some to conceal their identity, and even to deny it. Thus, social constructionism through stereotyping has created a situation which causes some Solomoni to hide or change their identity. Some such derogatory remarks used to label Solomoni in Fiji are:

Sega na nomuni qele	you have no land
Ucu lamu	pierced nose
Kawa ni bobula	descendants of slaves
Daliga lamu	pierced ears
Mata loaloa	black face

Kawa ni dau vakatevoro	descendants of people who practise witchcraft
Kaisi	low rank and status
Kakamora	dwarf people

Words like *ucu lamu* (pierced nose) and *daliga lamu* (pierced ears) to the Solomoni are used to indicate that they are barbaric, wild and uncivilised. Expressions like *sega na nomu qele* (no land/landless) means one does not belong here, and it also raise the question of identity and belongingness. Being labelled *kawa ni bobula* (descendants of slaves) make Solomoni see themselves as people who have no choice, bonded, servants of the rest or as people very low in rank, as does being called *kaisi* (of low rank and status). Words like *kakamora* (dwarf) and *mata loaloa* (black face) are words which discriminate against the Solomoni in terms of their physical make-up and skin colour.

The derogatory remarks and belittling words used to label Solomoni or part-Solomoni people may be heard in any social situation. They are uttered by people who have no understanding of an ethnic minority's world view. The history and experiences that most Solomoni go through cause them to either deny or accept their identity as Solomoni.

Some Solomoni would take hold of the opportunity if they were given the chance to change their identity. Wame from Nadawa said 'Some Solomoni get registered in the Vola ni Kawa Bula (VKB) because their mother is an *taukei*. However, this does not mean that one automatically gets registered as a *taukei* if one is *vasu*. There are certain criteria one has to fulfil to enable that to happen. One has to *colata nai colacola ni yavusa se mataqali* (shoulder the responsibilities of the tribe or land owning unit). These responsibilities mean being able to contribute to the traditional gatherings of the *yavusa* or *mataqali*. Having fulfilled one's duties and responsibilities towards the *yavusa* or *mataqali* means that the *yavusa* and *mataqali* in turn accept one to be part of their *yavusa* or *mataqali* when requested. On

the other hand some have had their names registered in the VKB upon their maternal uncle's request as there were no living male members of the family left to carry on the legacy of land ownership.

However, having one's name registered in the VKB is not plain sailing. There are times when one's identity is hurled back in one's face when one's opinion is not needed. This mostly happens during *yavusa* or *mataqali* meetings. If one is *vasu* then it is better to remain silent and speak only when asked. Having one's name registered in the VKB does not guarantee one an equal status or speaking rights during meetings. Sometimes the question of *O cei o iko?* (who are you?) is thrown back to a Solomoni with an assertive comment like *O iko vasu walega i ke* (you are here because your mother is from here)or *E sega ni dua na galala e soli vei iko mo vosa* (you have no freedom or right to speak). The acceptance or rejection of a Solomoni to speak during a formal meeting would depend on the *turaga ni yavusa* (leader/head of the tribe). Acceptance will have to be seen to have been granted and comes with a lot of responsibilities, as mentioned before.

In order to change people's perception of the Solomoni the *taukei* need to acknowledge and accept the Solomoni as part of them. This would mean a dual identity for Solomoni who have had their names registered in the VKB. A Solomoni would embrace his/her *taukei* identity when living with his/her mother's people or attending his/her mother's traditional gatherings but would take on a Solomoni identity when he/she is with his/her father's kinsmen. However, there are some Solomoni who would say that even though their names are in the VKB they would always want to be known as a Solomoni until they die. But then there are some who would like to remain anonymous and conceal their Solomoni identity altogether.

A Solomoni who denies him/herself as a Solomoni may do so because he/she feels insecure around a *taukei*. Insecurity stems from the way a Solomoni views him/herself within the structures of society in relation to others socially, economically and politically. Hogg and Abrams seek to clarify, that 'the social categories in which individuals place themselves are parts of a structured society and exist only

in relation to other categories in terms of its power, prestige, status and so on' (Hogg and Abrams, 1988, p. 14).

Socially, the Solomoni are discriminated against in terms of their socio-political status as 'others' and as a minority in a society that they helped to develop socially. In the 1970's constitution the Solomoni were classified under the *taukei* category but were re-classified as 'others' in the 1990 constitution, thus given minority status. This minority status became clear in the sphere of education where the Solomoni are grouped together with the Indo-Fijians when it comes to applying for tertiary scholarships. The outcome of social discrimination is not being able to attain a good level of education and get a good job. As a result of this most Solomoni settle for low-paid jobs or just end up staying home as an unemployed individual. When the Solomoni are being pushed to the margins, as a result of being discriminated against in the socio-political arena and of being belittled or labelled with all sorts of negative comments, their self-esteem is low and this encourages them more to deny their Solomoni identity. For example, when Maca,[92] who is a young Solomoni girl, attended a Fijian students association meeting at the University of the South Pacific, she introduced herself and told everyone present that she was from Lau.[93] Her fair complexion could let her pass as a girl from Lau. However, what she did not know was that there were other part-Solomoni sitting there who knew who she was.[94]

Maca deliberately denied or hid her identity as a Solomoni because of her experiences with her friends.[95] They would make derogatory and belittling remarks to Solomon Islands students who were studying at the University of the South Pacific. Whenever her friends would make such remarks to the people Maca identified herself with, Maca would pretend that she did not hear anything. Boyd states that 'history, experience and interaction provide the model by which individuals can give meaning to

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[92] Not her real name

[93] Lau is a group of islands in Fiji.

[94] Maca's parents are both Solomoni who come from a Solomoni settlement in Fiji, both of her maternal and paternal grandparents are Solomoni and are second- generation Solomoni living in one of the Solomoni settlements.

[95] This story came to light during one of those kava sessions at home when we were talking about why some Solomoni would hide or conceal their identity and someone in the group who also attends USP told us the story as an example because he was present in that meeting.

the physical, psychological, philosophical and moral aspects of their identity'. (Boyd, 2002, p. 21) Maca's internal identity was constructed and maintained by Maca herself but her social identity was manifested in the way she expressed and presented herself. As Boyd reiterates that 'while one's social identity emerges from one's internal identity, its display is read in light of the body channelling it and the situation in which it is being channelled is perceived as her external identity' (Boyd, 2002, p. 22).

A Solomoni's external identity manifests itself through the constant interplay of the social identity and the internal identity. Sometimes a Solomoni accepts who he/she is in public when asked about his/her identity. For example, Ropate, a Solomoni, who is a student of the University of the South Pacific, was seen by his friends to be hanging out with a few Solomon Islanders. When asked why, he replied openly by saying that he was part-Solomoni. He told his friends that his father was a fourth-generation descendant from a line of Solomoni labourers and his mother was from Vanua Levu.[96] In this situation, Ropate's friends had noticed that when he was not with them, he was with a group of Solomon Islanders. This prompted Ropate's friends to ask certain questions. Boyd claims that 'in order to socialize, people take specific aspects of their internal identity, project it into their social identity and use this to construct a performance that will allow them to negotiate social situations' (Boyd, 2002, p.22). Ropate's reply to the questions showed that he was proud and accepted his identity as a part-Solomoni. Ropate's acceptance of his Solomoni identity could have been due to his past experiences, possibly including acceptance from his group of friends. When Ropate's friends knew his identity, they would perhaps have been careful not to make belittling or derogatory remarks about any Solomoni, and about their friend in particular.

For some Solomoni being registered in the VKB means erasing their Solomoni identity altogether and introducing themselves as *taukei,* stating their names together with their maternal *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *itokatoka* when introducing themselves. In doing this some would go as far as changing their Solomoni name to an *taukei* one. Litimai from Naviavia said that some Solomoni who do not want to be known as Solomoni change their name so that they will not be identified as such.

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[96]This is a real situation but not his real name.

Being a Solomoni means that one is always discriminated against or stereotyped while being an *taukei* means being able to access avenues in terms of socio-political development. On the other hand there are some Solomoni who are registered in the VKB but who never shy away from saying that they are Solomoni. With this in mind it is also significant to consider how the *taukei* perceive the Solomoni.

6.9 *Taukei* perceptions of the Solomoni Identity

In general, the *taukei* feel that the Solomoni who came during the colonial period have paved the way for the second, third and fourth generation Solomoni for whom Fiji has been their home, they have noted how most Solomoni have married and integrated well with the *taukei* since the labour trade days, enabling the descendants to be well versed in the language and cultural protocols of the *taukei*. As Paula Sotutu said, 'How can you say that you are a 'Solomoni' when you know nothing of the culture, traditions and language of the Solomon Islands' (personal communication).[97] Matai Tagicaki, a school teacher, added 'It is obviously clear that the Solomoni are more Fijian because they have married Fijian women and some of them know more of the Fijian traditional culture and protocols than some *taukei'* (personal communication). Aporosa, a church minister, also said 'All of the Solomoni are more Fijian culturally since they are born here, speak the language and practise the Fijian culture and traditions. It is hard to see or come across someone who can speak the dialect of the places their ancestors come from' (personal communication).

As well as this some *taukei* feel that given the close connections the Solomoni have with some *taukei* tribal groups, they should be counted as *taukei* and not as 'others'. These *taukei* feel that counting Solomoni as 'others' is a sign of disrespect towards the *tauvu* relationship and identity. When there is socio-cultural and blood bonds, attachment and kinship there is no reason that one should be labelled or seen as 'others'. To see one's kinsmen as 'others' means that they do not belong to the country they are born and live in, let alone helped to develop socially. Vilimone said 'It is like a child who gets pushed

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[97] Paula Sotutu is a friend of my father and this is the conversation he had with my father just before we boarded the same flight to Auckland from Nadi in 2009.

out of his family, even some of us do not acknowledge the contribution our Solomoni brothers have made towards the development of Fiji' (personal communication).

Another way that the *taukei* would identify a Solomoni is the name of the settlements they come from. People from villages within the Tamavua area which surround Wailoku and those who have relatives living there all know that Wailoku is a Solomoni settlement and that someone who comes from there is a Solomoni. This is not so for those who know nothing of the area and those who have not lived ther,e let alone know the history of the Solomoni people. Those outside who know nothing of it and see a Solomoni for the first time would not know that he/she is a Solomoni. The situation is similar for the other Solomoni settlements around Fiji. Bale, a *taukei* civil servant, said 'All Solomoni settlements should be known as villages legally'. Bale feels that naming and making all Solomoni settlements like Fijian villages would mean treating everyone as equal, thus ending discrimination.

Still other *taukei* feel that most of the Solomoni do not look like the Solomon Islanders from the Solomon Islands. Tura, a civil servant, said 'I cannot tell the difference between a *taukei* and a Solomoni who was born and raised here' (personal communication). What he meant was that the Solomoni are physically more like a *taukei* than a Solomon Islander from the Solomon Islands. Taito Raione says 'One cannot tell the difference between them and us as most of us have the same build, physically' (personal communication). However, this is not to say that one can rule out the language, culture and customs. These similarities are due to intermarriage and other factors which have contributed to the way Solomoni are today. Figure 6.3 shows the broad timeframe for the changes.

Figure 6.3: Timeline of the Transformation of the Solomoni Culture and Custom

Year	Solomoni and Changes
1880s	Solomoni labourers with their Solomon Islands language, culture and customs
1900s	Intermarriage, Integration, Blend, Conformity, Assimilation, Accommodation, Respect, Submission, Acculturation, Formation, Obedience, Adaptation
2000	All are Fiji born and raised, speak fluent Fijian or other dialects such as the Bua, Naitasiri, Tailevu etc.and are fluent in the Fijian culture and custom

The diagram shows the broad transformation of Solomoni life in Fiji. Most Solomon Islanders who came in as labourers in the 1800s knew nothing of the Fijian language, culture and customs. For some time they remained well versed in the Solomon Islands languages, culture and customs. However, during the 1800's and 1900's, as the years passed by most Solomoni have married *taukei*, integrated, blended, conformed, assimilated and adapted to the *bula vakavanua* (traditional culture and custom of the land) of the *taukei* and each generation became more like an *taukei*. So, by the year 2000 all descendants of Solomon Islands labourers born in Fiji have been totally immersed in the Fijian traditional culture, customs and language.

For most *taukei* their being able to speak the language and following the Fijian culture and customs means that the Solomoni have embraced the Fijian culture and customs. They feel that having done this the Solomoni should not be seen as Solomoni but should be accepted as a *taukei* and should have their names written in the VKB. Sosiceni Rokotuiviwa says 'the Solomon socio-political status should now be changed to that of a *taukei* and people should not refer to them as Solomoni, because we have a traditional relationship with them which is deeply rooted in our history' which one should be familiar with from growing up in Fiji' (personal communication).

For some *taukei* knowing your Fijian identity is about knowing who you are related to maternally and paternally. It is about knowing your traditional culture and custom. However, it is also about knowing your beginning as a *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *itokatoka*. It is also about being knowledgeable about the different traditional relationships and the *tukuni* which come with it. When a *taukei* is well versed in his/her *tukuni*, totems, culture and customs he/she will not make insulting comments about other people he/she in fact related and connected to. As Ilaitia Tuwere says, 'there are times we look down on the Indo-Fijians and we do that for the Solomoni too and this is because we do not know our traditional relationships and identity. We do not know our *tukuni* which is part of our identity at all times' (personal communication). When one truly knows his/her beginnings as a *koro, yavusa*, *mataqali* and *itokatoka* one will not be threatened by people one is related to nor treat them differently.

Most *taukei* have always had an indifferent feeling towards the Solomoni because most Solomoni have had a good relationship with them. As Sakiusa Tubuna Snr says 'The Solomoni are not a threat to us because I can never tell a Solomoni apart from a *taukei*, and because most of them are born here in Fiji, and know the language, culture and customs, we have a good relationship with them' (personal communication). In a similar vein Lanieta says 'The Solomoni will not be a threat to us as most of them have married local men and women, so through this there is a relationship with the various villages they are married to' (personal communication). The Solomoni are also able to integrate with any individual irrespective of ethnicity or colour. This is seen in the way they have been able to openly become acculturated into the Fijian culture, which is totally different from those of other ethnic groups. Mereani Dikula says 'The Solomoni have integrated and have adapted themselves to the Fijian way of life, but other ethnic groups like the Indo-Fijians, have chosen to completely segregate themselves and this allows them to practise and maintain their culture and custom' (personal communication).

Even though the Solomoni are not a threat to the *taukei* this does not mean that they are not discriminated against. Most *taukei* feel that it is discrimination against the Solomoni that sarcastic and insulting remarks are made to them, that they are landless and that they are not even considered as a *taukei*. As Ruveni says, 'The Solomoni always face discrimination when sarcastic words are uttered by a *taukei'* (personal communication). Merewalesi added that 'they face discrimination when they are landless and are not registered in the VKB' (personal communication), and Perina says, 'They are always discriminated against because they are always treated as a *vulagi* (foreigners) and it is as if they are not born here let alone belong here at all' (personal communication).

However, there are some *taukei* who feel that there is no discrimination whatsoever against the Solomoni. Verenaisi says, 'There is no discrimination because everyone is treated equally, I feel that the difference is in the name that is Solomon Islanders and Fijian' (personal communication). Aseri says 'there is no discrimination since the Solomoni are more Fijian in their way of life, culture and customs, the only things which separates a *taukei* from a Solomoni is the VKB' (personal communication). The VKB itself is discriminating because it makes it look as if the non-Fijian races

do not belong, because it registers only the names of the *taukei*. This means that if one is to belong or to gain access to land, funding, scholarships etc, one has to be a *taukei*. For the Solomoni being politically labelled as 'other' or from a minority means that one is a *vulagi* (visitor/foreigner). Therefore, the socio-political identity of the Solomoni shifts all the time.

6.10 Conclusion

Most Pacific Islanders living in the Diaspora have an identity issue when it comes to identifying which ethnic categories they belong to, as did the Solomoni after having lived in Fiji for two or three decades. The shifting of the socio-political identity of the Solomoni during the late 1800s and the early 1900s was caused by the changing circumstances.

Identity construction or reconstruction can sometimes be violent and dangerous, as it was when the Solomoni were taken or moved from their original environment and locations to the ships taking them to Fiji. Life on the ships brought about accommodation, adaptation and integration. There were no defined or gendered spaces on board for customary rituals. The only preparatory ground for what was ahead in the different plantations was what they experienced on the ships. Putting a number of Solomoni from different areas and places on a ship helped the Solomoni to begin to develop forms of accommodation, adaptation and integration with people who were different.

Acknowledging their shared common identity helped them to establish their social identity in the various plantations they went to. However, the social identity through the internal identity manifested itself in the Solomoni when they showed who they were in terms of their external identity after coming out of the various plantations. This was unavoidable in the centralised settlement of Wailoku.

The internal identity of a Solomoni also depends on the different life experiences of each which will make him/her either deny or accept his/her Solomoni identity. When a person becomes or feels discriminated against, he/she will internalize the experience. Some conceal or change their Solomoni identity as a result. Situationalism may make a Solomoni either stand up and be counted as a proud Solomoni or deny his/her Solomoniness.

However, most *taukei* recognize that all Solomoni have become totally immersed into the *bula vakavanua* and feel that they should not be categorised as a minority. Most are also familiar with and acknowledge the *tauvu* and *veiwekani* relationship with the Solomoni and have the impression that this

should carry weight in changing their *vulagi* status to that of a *taukei*. If this took place, it would result in putting an end to the socio-political discrimination at all levels.

CHAPTER 7: NARRATIVES/ STORIES AND THE BEGINNING: *NAI TALANOA KEI NAI TEKITEKIVU*

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the three *tukuni* from Fiji and the Solomon Islands in relation to the origin of the *tauvu* relationship between the two communities. According to oral narrative, the *tauvu* relationship is a traditional relationship which can be traced back through a marriage of an *auapu* or *tabusiga* from an island or village to a high chief of another island or village. With the *tauvu* relationship and identity there is a *tukuni*. The story of the *tauvu* relationship and identity is one which connects the two groups together.

The *tauvu* relationship is specifically between the Solomoni from 'Are'are, Malaita and the *taukei* from the *yavusa* Namara who live in Tukuta, Nukutocia (Ovalau) and Tailevu. This also includes the descendants of Adi Matanisiga, who is the daughter of the *auapu* (high ranking lady from 'Are 'are, Malaita) who married a chief from Kavala, Kadavu, in Fiji.[98] These descendants are also *tauvu* to the people of the *yavusa* Namara in Tukuta in Lovoni and the Solomoni from 'Are'are, Malaita. This will be told through the *tukuni* in this chapter.

There are different ways of interpreting and analysing data. In this chapter I used a hermeneutical and discourse analysis because hermeneutical analysis looks at how a researcher not only tries to make sense of the text but how the knowledge is built up over time. Discourse analysis is also more interactive in nature and therefore sits well with how the *tukuni* is told and the *veitalanoa* is constructed.

I specifically focus on the three *tukuni* from Nakauvadra, 'Are'are, in Malaita, Solomon Islands and Tukuta in Lovoni on the island of Ovalau. The *tukuni* from Nakauvadra tells of the early Solomoni

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[98] This will be told in this chapter in the story by Eparama Druguta.

settlers in Ra and the *tukuni* from 'Are'are and Tukuta happened at a time after the early Solomoni settlers were banished from Nakauvadra, but it was the arrival of the later Solomoni settlers that reinforced the *tauvu* relationship and identity.

All of these *tukuni* are stories of relationships and connections that the Solomoni have with the *taukei*. The last two *tukuni* when analysed together (Sections 8.6 and 8.7) help to clarify the contexts and what has become of the *auapu/tabusiga* descendants and the *mana* which the *auapu* brought with her. The *tauvu* relationship and identity was said to have developed through this bond (Sections 8.8 – 8.9) but was strengthened with the later arrivals of Solomoni labourers during the late 1800's. This is apart from the internal *tauvu* relationship which exists among the Fijians themselves. For people who have this *tauvu* relationship there is a story behind it. With the two ways of interpreting and analysing the stories in the background, the stories will be discussed in the next section. It is appropriate to look first at the *tukuni* from Nakauvadra before going to the Solomon Islands and then to Lovoni.

7.2 Tukuni 1: Nakauvadra – The beginning

Nakauvadra is a name given to a mountain range in the province of Rakiraki on the north- western side of Viti Levu. It is approximately 40 kilometres from Rakiraki Town and it takes 45 minutes by car to reach the village of Vatukacevaceva before entering Nakauvadra. Anyone wanting to go to Nakauvadra has to get permission from the Turaga na Tui Nacolo[99] of Yavusa Nacolo in Vatukacevaceva. Vatukacevaceva is a village which is located on the northern side of the Nakauvadra ranges (see map below) while Nayaulevu and Maniyava (case study) are located on the southern side of the foot of the Nakauvadra ranges.

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[99] Turaga na Tui Nacolo is the chiefly title which is given to the leader of the Nacolo tribe who live in Vatukacevaceva village.

Figure 7.1: A map which shows Vatukacevaceva on the northern side of the Nakauvadra ranges

Source: http://maps.google.co.nz
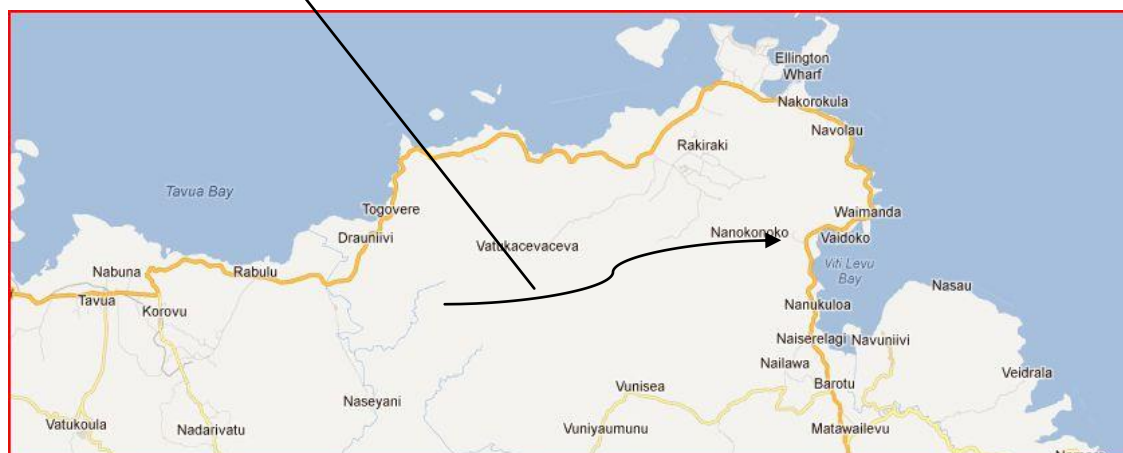
Figure 7.2: A satellite map showing the Nakauvadra ranges marked in red.

Source: http://maps.google.co.nz
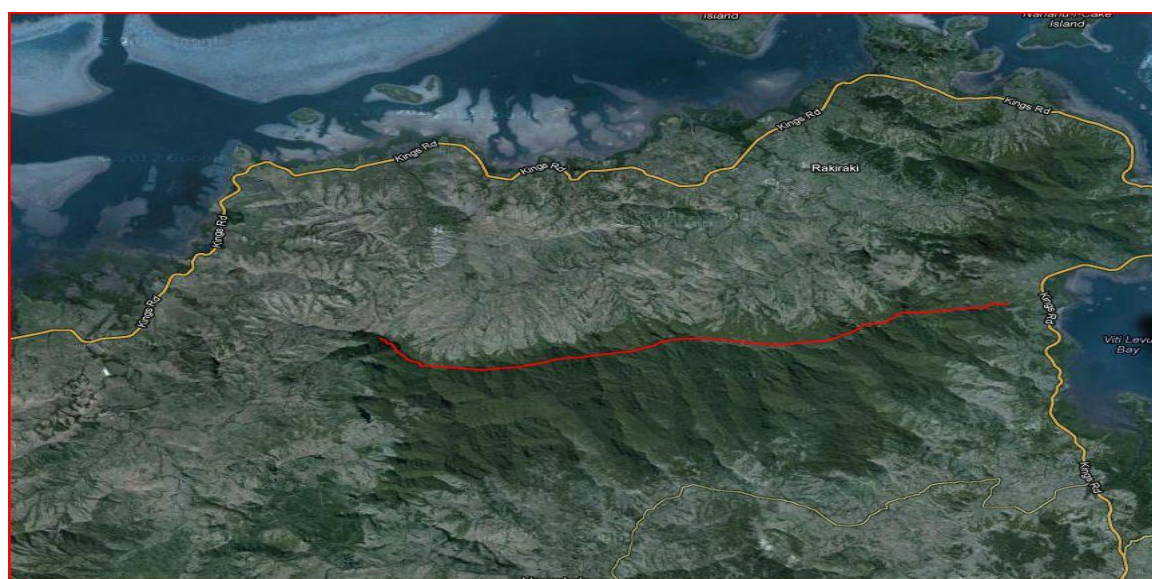
Figure 7.3: Photograph of the northern side of the Nakauvadra ranges

This is the *tukuni* told by Inia Waqa Kaisau in May 2011. Inia is a descendant of the *yavusa* whose land was the place where the *Kalouvu* used to live. Inia comes from the *yavusa* Bua, *mataqali* of Navoutua, *itokatoka* of Vunibaka and he is the *bete* (priest) within his *yavusa*. The *yavusa* of Bua is within the village of Bua itself at Nakauvadra. A local saying goes: *Ia, oqo ko Bua, na kena kau ga na Bua na nodra yavu na kai Solomoni* (Bua is a place that is surrounded by the bua plant and is said to be the original place where the Solomoni first lived). The inhabitants of Bua village were referred to as the *Tumakawa* (ancient settlers). This means that their people have lived there since time immemorial. The original inhabitants of Nakauvadra moved out in different directions due to a wasting disease. This was after the great conflict which caused a large number of people to leave the area. This is not only Inia's *tukuni* but the *tukuni* of other people who know the story of Nakauvadra.

The Nakauvadra ranges are to the *taukei* what Mt Olympus is to the Greeks. It was a place where the *kalouvu* (deified original ancestor) first settled. The *kalouvu* such as Degei, Rokola, Ratumaibulu, Ravuyalo, Cirinakaumoli, Kausabaria, Waicalanavanua and two of Degei's sisters, Logata and Adi Sovanatabua, are believed to have all lived there. Nakauvadra is divided into three main villages. The first village is Nakauvadra, where the *valelevu* (chiefly residence) called *Uluda* (our head) is located.

Degei was believed to have resided here. The second village is Narauyaba and the third village is Nukunitabua. Other surrounding villages are Maniava, Nakorowaiwai, Natovi and Nabukelevu. Degei was said to have possessed certain powers similar to those of the *kalou mai lomalagi* (God of the heavens). Degei was to the Fijians what Zeus was to the Greeks. Degei was a god who ruled over all those who lived in Nakauvadra.

Nakauvadra was also known to be the meeting place for all the *kalouvu* of Fiji since all originally came from there. It is believed that these *kalouvu* possessed extraordinary powers to carry out extraordinary things. During this time all the people who lived within the villages around Nakauvadra had their own chiefs, who were subservient to Degei. At *Uluda*, a wooden drum or *lali* which was given the name of *Rogorogoivuda* (sounds of *vuda*) would be beaten whenever there were visitors or during special occasions. At *Uluda*, the two people who had been given the blessings and special powers were Rokola, the chief of all the *mataisau* (carpenters) clan, and he worked only for the chiefs of Nakauvadra and for Masi who was the leader of the Solomoni people and had the powers to heal the sick and even nurse the dying back to good health. Masi, who was from Maniyava,[100] had the skills of a medicine man and the power to protect the chiefly family. Masi was said by all the narrators of these stories and by most people who live in Ra to be a *kai Solomoni*. A statement made by one of the villagers was: "*O ira na kai Solomoni era liga ni ka tabu, era tea na kena kakana na Sau*" (the Solomon Islanders have the power to touch anything sacred and even plant the sacred food that is meant for the chiefly household.) This meant that the role of the early Solomoni settlers was very important in the chiefly household, and that the life of the chiefly household was in the hands of the early Solomoni settlers.

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[100] Maniyava is a Solomoni village located on the southern side of the Nakauvadra ranges.

Na Drua (The Twins)

The story of the *drua* or twins is a popular one in Fiji because it is *taukei* believed that they (the twins) were powerful and through this power Nakauvadra became deserted. It is believed that the twins banishment from Nakauvadra opened the doorway for others to leave Nakauvadra and settle elsewhere around Fiji.

In Nakauvadra lived Cirinakaumoli and Kausabaria who were twin boys. Their father, Waicalanavanua hailed from the chiefly residence of Nukunitabua and their mother, Adi Sovanatabua, was Degei's sister. Narayauba is a place in Nakauvadra which is known as the residence of the *mataisau* (carpenters) tribe.

The twins were very close to each other. They were inseparable and strong and would always do things together. Since they were the nephews of the great chief Degei they had a pool and even a type of reef fish added to their name. Since the twins were of chiefly status there were women from Maniyava (Solomoni) who took care of them from their birth.

The Games in Tonga

At Nakauvadra, whenever there was a harvesting season, the people would gather on the *rara* (village green) at Nabukebuke for a game of *vaqiqi moli* (orange bowling competition). The young women would be at one end of the *rara* in a line facing the other end and the young men would be at the other end facing the women. A woman would roll an orange to the men on the other side. A man would catch it, and the two would then become husband and wife. Also held on the *rara* in Nabukebuke was the game of *veitiqa* (javelin). All these games happen during the harvesting season[101] and during this time there is much feasting and celebration of the yam harvest (Tuwere, 2002).

One day a heraldsman was sent from Tonga to invite competitors from Nakauvadra to a game of *veitiqa*. The twins decided to take up the invitation to represent Nakauvadra in the competition. Before

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[101] There is a time within the *vula vakaviti* or Fijian Calendar when there is planting, harvesting, weeding or when a type of fish comes in. The harvesting season within the Fijian calendar happens in March before the heavy rains come in.

they left they went to Degei to seek his blessings for the journey. Degei blessed them and said 'before the games begin think about Nakauvadra and its people who live here and as you depart may you be strengthened to win'.

When they reached Tonga everyone in Tonga was excited to see them. They presented their *sevusevu* to the people of Tonga before the games began. As the games began, the twins could still hear the voice of Degei echoing loud and clear, 'may you be strengthened to win', while they kept seeing pictures of the people back at home. After the games came the team from Nakauvadra was announced winners of the competition. As soon as the prize-giving ceremony was over, the twins headed home with their prize, which was a big bird. They named this big bird *toa* (rooster in Fijian), so that it would remind them of the games in Tonga.

The return to Nakauvadra

By the time the twins got home to Nakauvadra it was dark. So, tired from their game and journey, they did not go back to Degei to let him know that they were back. However, early the next morning the whole of Nakauvadra was awakened by a big bird crowing in the village. This is when the people knew that the twins were back from Tonga. After Degei found out they were back, he went to visit them to personally thank them for representing Nakauvadra in the competition. Later he found out that they had won the competition and was told about their prize. Now the twins were told by their uncle Degei that they could keep their prize. Every morning, *toa* would wake them up telling them that a new day had begun.

As the days passed by Degei began to get jealous of the twins for keeping the *toa* so he summoned his *matanivanua* (spokesman). Although he already knew, he asked him about the creature which woke the whole of Nakauvadra up every morning and was told that it was the prize that the twins won from the *veitiqa* competition. He told his *matanivanua* to go and get *toa* from the twins so that it could wake him up every morning. The *matanivanua* did as he was told and brought *toa* to Degei. Degei decided to name *toa,* Turukawa.

The twins were sad when *toa* was taken away and cried. Later that morning Rokola (chief of Narauyaba) and Masi (chief of the Solomoni household of Maniyava) came for a visit. When they arrived at the chiefly residence they saw the brothers sad and unhappy. Masi asked them why they were sad. They later found out that Degei had taken their most treasured possession, *toa*. Both Rokola and Masi wanted to help the twins and put an end to their misery. The twins told Masi and Rokola that they would think about it. To try and put an end to their miserable feeling the twins decided to go fishing.

Fishing at the reef

As they made their way down to the sea to fish, they could see the white sandy beaches gleaming from within the reef. The white sands could be seen only during low tide. This was the only place the ancestral gods from Nakauvadra would go to if they wanted to eat fish. This place was named Nukuravula (white sands).[102]

When the twins reached the reef it was low tide and they started putting out their nets. They took their catch and went back to the shore to build a fire, smoke their fish and have a feed before heading home to Nakauvadra. During this time they were thinking and talking a lot about Turukawa. They decided to kill the bird. They decided to cut a mangrove branch to take it up to Nakauvadra so that Rokola could make it into a *dakai titi* (bow and arrow) and use it to kill Turukawa. The place where the twins plotted to kill Turukawa was named Togovere (Togo/Dogo – mangrove, vere – plot).

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[102] Nukuravula or white sands has since grown to be an island and one can see this place from the main road travelling through the King's road going towards Tailevu.

Figure 7.4: Map showing Togovere

Source: http://maps.google.co.nz
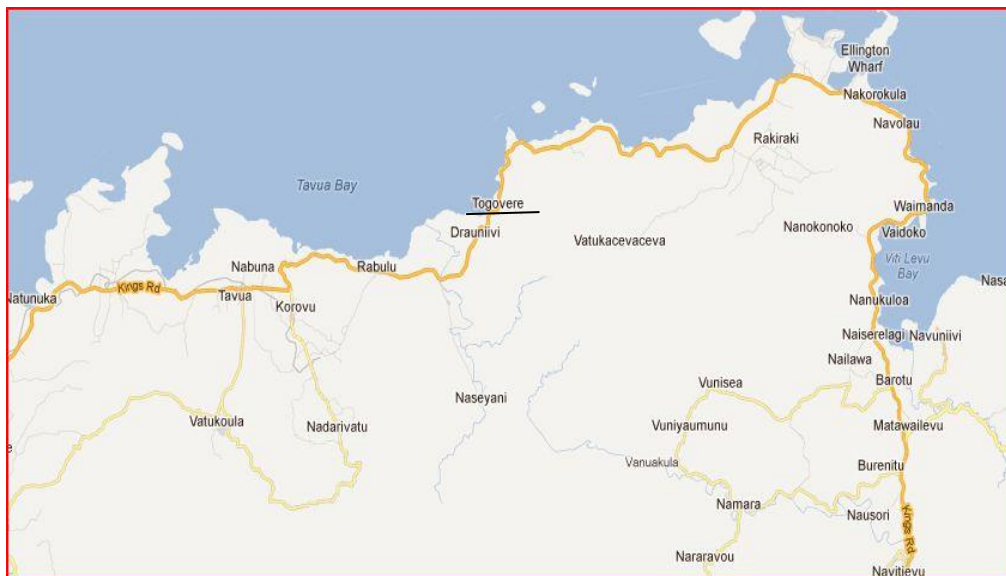
They made their way up to Nakauvadra again and went to see Rokola and asked him if he could make a *dakai titi* (bow and arrow) for them. Rokola did what the twins wanted. After this they went to see Masi who was also eager to help out. Masi made a mixture for their arrows and said that they had to make sure that their shot did not miss. When it was dark, they stealthily crawled up to the place where Turukawa slept and stood at a distance from a place where they could see him. They aimed and took a shot and down came Turukawa without making too much noise. He fell and rolled downwards toward the twins' pool only to stop beside it. As they carefully made their way down they looked at Turukawa again to make sure that he was dead.

The next morning Degei was filled with anger when he woke up because he realised that Turukawa's singing did not wake him up as usual. He summoned his *matanivanua* (spokesman) to ask him about Turukawa. His *matanivanua* went and checked *Turukawa's* usual sleeping place, only to find that he was not there. Later, Degei was told that someone had shot Turukawa. The whole of Nakauvadra was investigated and it was found that the arrow which killed Turukawa came from a mangrove branch. Everyone knew that the twins were the only ones who had just returned from the sea and they had been seen carrying the branch when they came back.

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Judgement Day at Nakauvadra

Degei summoned them to his place at Uluda (our head). As soon as they arrived Degei asked why they killed Turukawa. They replied that if Turukawa was not theirs then it belonged to nobody, and that they did not want Turukawa's voice to be heard in Nakauvadra ever again. Degei also came to know that the twins were helped by Rokola and Masi. Therefore, Degei decided that they should all be banished from Nakauvadra. Degei summoned the chief of the *mataisau* (carpenters), Rokola, and asked him to build a *waqa* (boat) for them and to leave once the boat was finished. After the boat was built it was named the Kaunitoni. The *matanivanua* told Degei that the boat had been built but there was no one to navigate it. Degei pointed to a bunch of *vudi* (plantains) and said that out of that bunch would come a man, who was named Lutunasobasoba (fallen from a bunch). Lutunasobasoba became the twins' navigator and he was asked to take the twins to a place where Degei had never been known or even heard of. Rokola, Masi, the twins and their people boarded the *waqa* and left Nakauvadra.

The people of Nakauvadra loaded the boat with food and water for the journey. As the voyagers journeyed down the river from Nakauvadra they would light *buka* (fire) which was to become their source of light during the night. This river became the Wainibuka River. The source of the Wainibuka River is in Nakauvadra. As they made that journey down the river they stopped at several places where people got off. Then they reached a place where the boat could not go any further because of the sand bars in front of them. This place was named Nukutubu (sand which grew). It was here that Rokola and his *mataisau* tribe disembarked. As soon as they left Nukutubu, Lutunasobasoba and his crew kept sailing until they reached Kadavu and it was here that the rest of the *mataisau* tribe stopped and settled in Solatavui, Kadavu. From Kadavu, the ship headed out into the open sea.

The Journey

When Lutunasobasoba, the twins and the crew of the boat reached the open sea they observed the stars, wind and the birds to carry them to their destination. As soon as Lutunasobasoba dropped off the twins to the places they wanted to be, he and others decided to make their way back. On the way back he did not realise that he had entered a river, and he became lost. He decided that they should spend some time

there before moving on. He came across a woman and asked her if she knew how to get out of the river and into the open sea. She joined them on board and showed them the open sea. This woman named Nai later became Lutunasobasoba's wife. After having met Nai, Lutunasobasoba had five sons and one daughter. Lutunasobasoba's only daughter, Buisavulu, had an illegitimate child with Nakumilevu[103] when she was with Ravula. This child was Rakavono, who became the ancestor of the Lovoni people. Buisavulu's son with Ravula was Vulalevu (Vaula) and he became the ancestor of the Moturiki people.

Figure 7.5: Lutunasobasoba's family tree

Lutunasobasoba's family

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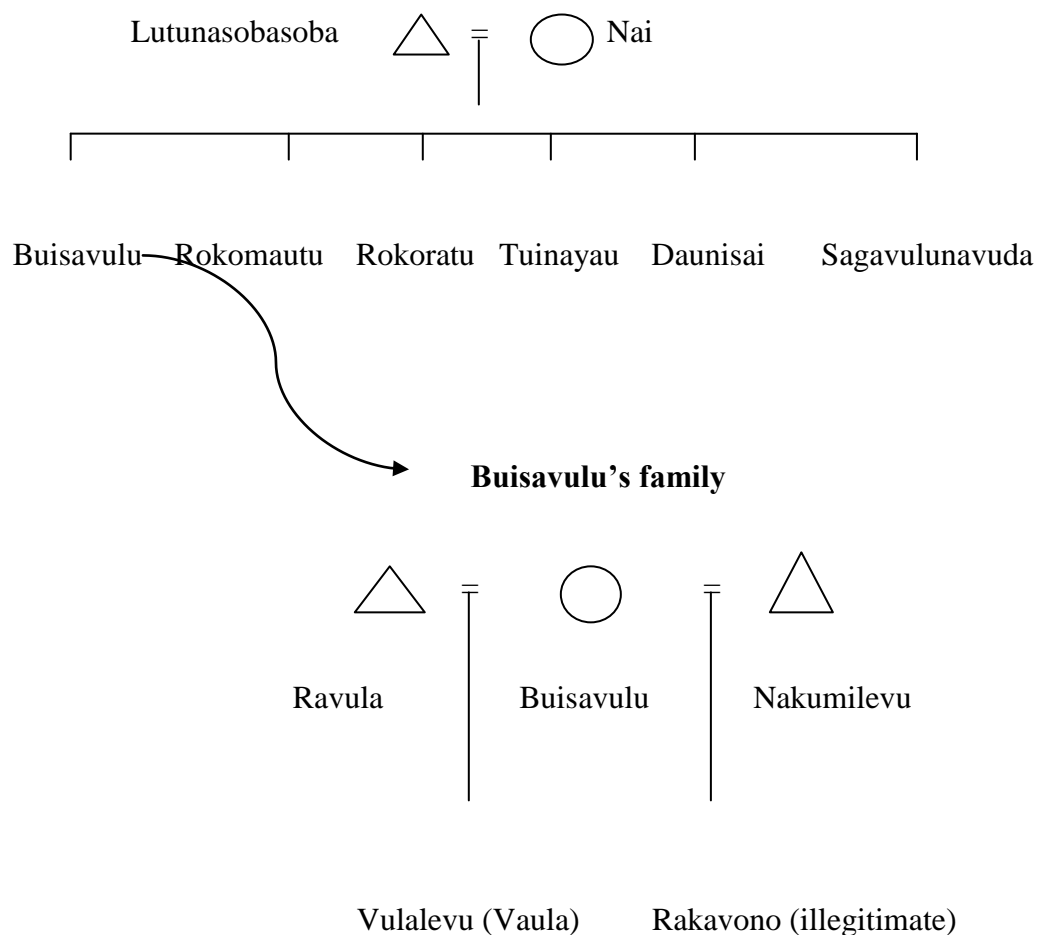
[103] One of the men on board the 'Kaunitoni' as it made its way back to Fiji after the twins were dropped off.

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Throughout the journey and moving from island to island some people would get off while some others would get on. As they came to an island which had people who were short and dark physically, some of Nakumilevu's people decided to get off, as physically they were similar in nature.

As they came nearer to another island they came up against a storm, and Lutunasobasoba decided to lighten the load on board the boat. As the weather began to calm down they saw an island before them and they could also see smoke rising, so they knew that there were people on that island. Lutunasobasoba decided to go west of the island so that they could find a place to rest. As they waded ashore, there were people waiting for them there. Later they found out that they could understand and speak the same language. It was through this that Lutunasobasoba knew that he was back home in Viti Levu. After living for a while with the people of that place, they decided to leave as those people felt that they were trouble. This place was then named *Viseisei* (to disperse from due to conflicts).

Lutunasobasoba was getting old so he gathered all his children together and decided to take them back to Nakauvadra. On their way, they came across a ridge which was close to the place of stones, and they named this place Nadarivatu. From Nadarivatu, Lutunasobasoba showed his children the place they had to reach, pointing to Nakauvadra as he could feel and sense it beckoning.

Figure 7.6: Map showing Nadarivatu and Nakauvadra

Nadarivatu   Nakauvadra ranges

Source: http://maps.google.co.nz
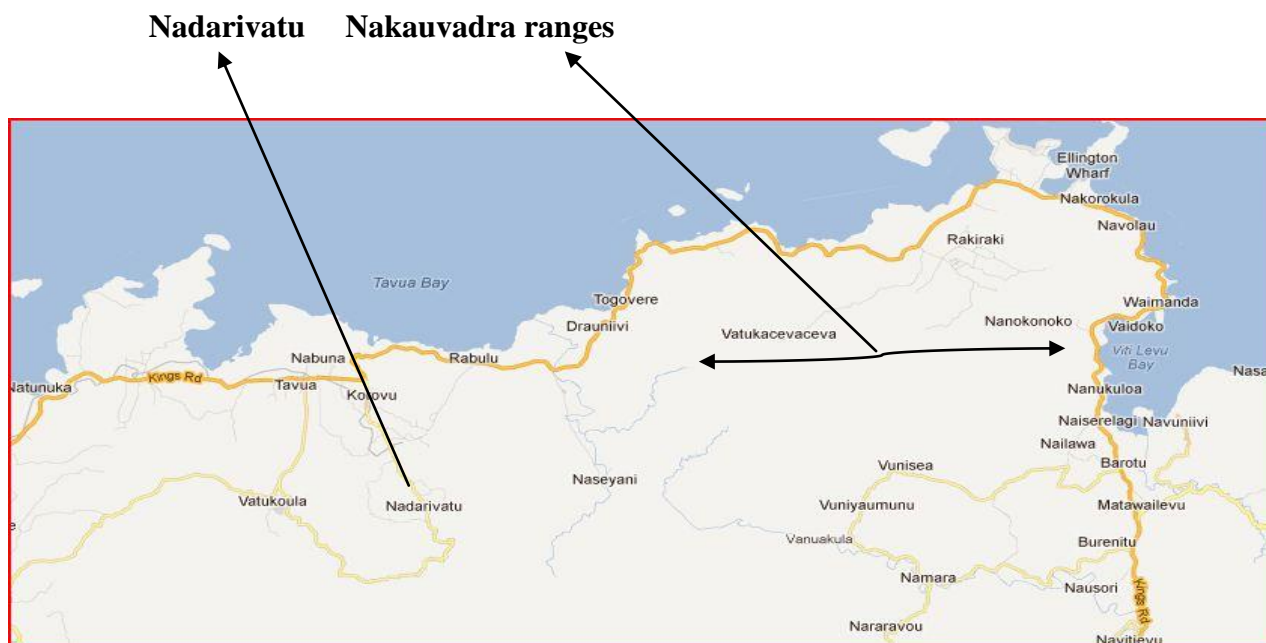
As they made their way towards Nakauvadra, Lutunasobasoba told them about Nakauvadra and Degei. As they got closer to Nakauvadra, Lutunasobasoba told his children that he was tired and might not reach Nakauvadra. He advised them not to settle in Nakauvadra but to only stay for a little while and leave to settle elsewhere on the island. Before they reached the foot of Nakauvadra, they pitched camp and spent the night. When they woke up the next day, Lutunasobasoba had died. So they prepared a bed for him to rest on and named that place Loga (bed). After they performed the last rites for their father, Nai and the children went on their way to Nakauvadra. They followed the advice given by their father and left Nakauvadra as soon as they had done what they were supposed to do.

7.3 Nakauvadra and the story of origin

From the *talanoa*, Nakauvadra was seen as the home of the *taukei* ancestral gods. Nakauvadra is seen as the *yavutu* (first homes of the ancestors). These ancestral gods and *yavutu* became the recognised ancestors and *yavutu* of the different *yasana*, *tikina*, *koro*, *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *itokatoka*. Each individual *taukei* identified him/ herself by or knew which *yavutu* or ancestor they came from.

People whose ancestors come from Nakauvadra believed in the *talanoa* that they had always lived there and that no-one else was there before them, which is why they referred to themselves as the *tumakawa* (older/earlier race). The *tukuni* from Nakauvadra is one which tells of the way of life of the people of those times, the different villages they come from and the how the traditions and customs were practised. There was always a high regard for Degei and his powers at Nakauvadra. There were also people who had the *mana* who made sure that the chiefs were treated with respect and that the livelihoods of every individual living at Nakauvadra were always safeguarded. These are people who were well known according to the social structure at Nakauvadra during that time. These people used their status, responsibilities and their power, to uphold customs and traditions of Nakauvadra. Two of these well known roles and responsibilities, as mentioned in the *tukuni,* are those of the *matanivanua* (spokesperson) and *mataisau* (carpenters/builders). These are people who are *turaga ga vakataki ira* (chiefs themselves) and were chiefs or heads of their own households or what is now known as the *itokatoka*. However, during that time only one chief, Degei, was well known and was also the head of Nakauvadra. The *tamata ni liga ni ka tabu* (hands which could hold or do anything that is sacred) were also important in the social structure, and in maintaining the status quo of the chiefs, and these people are the *kai-Solomoni* whose *yavutu* is Maniyava, Ra. During these times there was widespread integration and much intermarriage between the different *itokatoka* and it was here that the *tauvu* relationship began to develop, because women of high rank from the different households were married to powerful chiefs, and it was through this there was a special bond. The Solomoni women from the *itokatoka* Maniyava were married to the men from the *mataisau* clan and men from other *itokatoka* as well. This is the reason the Solomoni are *tauvu* to the people of Ra, Nukutubu, Rewa and Solatavui, Kadavu.

At Nakauvadra, bringing in anything new had to be done with respect and the chiefs at Uluda, especially Degei had to be informed about it. This is within the customs and traditions of Nakauvadra, and is comparable to the customs about the first fruits from the garden, or the first person to eat a food, so that anything new coming into Nakauvadra had to be taken to Uluda.

The introduction of *toa* or 'Turukawa' to Nakauvadra meant bringing in of something new. When Kausabaria and Cirinakaumoli had won *toa* after the traditional *veitiqa* competition in Tonga they did not even let Degei know or take *toa* up to Uluda (chiefly residence) as was the custom. Not only was Degei awakened by *toa* crowing in the morning but the whole of Nakauvadra was awakened by the new sound they heard. Degei had to go down to find out where it was crowing from and returned to Uluda. He had the power to take *toa* from his own nephews but he knew he would be breaking customs and traditions if he did so. They were *vasu,* or *fahu* as the Tongans would say, to Degei because their mother was Degei's sister. The twins were referred to as *vasu* by the members of their mothers' brothers' *yavusa* and *mataqali*. Now, since the twins were *vasu* to Degei, he owed them a lot of respect and *tabu* (avoidance). As they grew older there would be more mutual avoidance, and they would not normally converse directly or directly confront one another. However, Degei's jealousy grew out of the fact that his nephews did not come and see him after the *veitiqa* (javelin) competition and did not let him know about *toa*. So, instead of directly confronting them, he indirectly used his power by sending his *matanivanua* (spokesman) to get *toa* with the excuse that it would wake him up every morning. After Degei managed to get *toa* and renamed him Turukawa, the twins were devastated, angry and sad. This situation was taken to another level when Rokola, Masi, Kausabaria and Cirinakaumoli put their heads together and put Turukawa to death.

That Masi and Rokola, who were well known for their power and leadership, were part of the group which killed Turukawa meant that they went against Degei, the person they were supposed to serve and uphold. It also meant that they went against the structure that was already there under the leadership of Degei. Masi's and Rokola's inclusion in the group says something about the things that were happening there at that time. There were probably times that both may have disagreed with Degei but found no

way out. To aid the twins in getting Turukawa killed was an opening for both of them to get out of Nakauvadra, to get away from Degei's power and authority, to be free from servitude and all other kinds of conflict which they may have encountered at Nakauvadra. To banish Masi and Rokola meant to banish the whole household. Banishing Masi, the leader of the *liga ni ka tabu* (sacred hands) from Nakauvadra, meant no-one else would have the power to touch anything sacred or to plant the food meant for the chiefly residence. Similarly, for Rokola to be banished meant that there would be no carpenters or builders to build the houses meant for the chiefs, let alone the people. Therefore, the result of Masi and Rokola's banishment from Nakauvadra was not only a broken social structure but also a damaged relationship with Degei and the people at Uluda. The social structure in Nakauvadra during that time was not only meant for the chiefly clan but was meant to uphold the *vanua* (place/land) of Nakauvadra so that people could work together and be happy in the place they called home.

As the twins Masi and Rokola left Nakauvadra so did the majority of people and households who used to call the place home. Masi and Rokola left with their entire household and others just left to settle elsewhere within Rakiraki, and still others left to settle in other areas within Viti Levu as well. This is evident from the *tukuni* which the people tell or talk about when asked about the *yavu* or *yavutu* of the Solomoni or their link to Nakauvadra. The *tauvu* connections of the early Solomoni settlers came through intermarriages. The women or men from the Maniyava (Solomoni) household married other men and women from other *itokatoka* and this brought about the connection. Since the *itokatoka* Maniyava were the ones that had a lot of power when serving the chiefly household, they would have taken that power with them to the various households they were married into. This is specifically said of women from *itokatoka* Maniyava who are also considered women of high rank marrying men or chiefs also of high rank. This *tukuni* brought about the *tauvu* connection and relationship which the Solomoni have with the people of Ra, the *mataisau* tribe of Nukutubu and Solatavui, Kadavu. However, some people of Ra would always refer to the Solomoni as *wekaqu* (my blood relative) or in some places in Ra as *tauvu,* and for the same reason the people of Bau often refer to the Solomoni as *qase* (elders).

During a *talanoa* session with a man from Ra who now lives in Suva, I referred to him as *tau*[104] by saying *bula, tau* (short form of saying *tauvu*) and he said "*O kedaru sega ni veitauvutaki o kedaru veiwekani voleka sara*" (we are not *tauvu* but we are closely related). Generally the word *weka* means relatives or kinsmen from both the maternal and paternal side. It is used to designate cross-relatives, for example, one's mother's brother's children or one's father's sister's children or their kin group as a whole. Therefore the term *veiwekani* is plural and it refers to the members of the two kin groups who are cross-cousins, whereas *wekaqu* (my cross-cousin) is singular and it refers to either the mother's brother's son or daughter, or father's sister's son or daughter. Another term that the people of Bau[105] always used when addressing the Solomoni is *qase*. The term *qase* (elder) can also mean someone who is the first in a locality, a *tumakawa* (earlier race) or it can also mean someone who is experienced, is knowledgeable and is full of wisdom. In any Fijian household *qase* can also refer to any elder or the eldest in any family, *qase* is someone who is an elder in any chiefly household, or any household, who is trusted to uphold the *mana* of the chiefly family or household. The two terms reveal much about the way people were connected and related during those times.

According to the *tukuni*, when the households of Rokola (Narauyaba) and Masi (Maniyava) went away, there was no-one else left. However, there must have been some intermarrying between other households in order for these *tukuni* to still exist and for them to be retold over and over again. These *tukuni* have been further reinvigorated by the later arrivals of Solomoni labourers. Not only are the *tukuni* known and often retold but the *yavu* which belonged to the early Solomoni settlers still exist till today, and this will be discussed later in the next chapter. With this in mind it is appropriate to look at the *tukuni* which connects the people of Tukuta, Lovoni to the people of East 'Are 'are, Malaita, Solomon Islands.

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[104] I called him *tau* because of the *tukuni* that I have heard through other Solomoni which tells of the *tauvu* relationship.

[105] Bau is a well known island on the eastern side of Viti Levu. It is the island that Ratu Seru Cakobau came from. Ratu Seru Cakobau was the self-proclaimed king and chief who ceded Fiji to Great Britian.

7.4 Tukuni 2: 'Are 'Are, Malaita, Solomon Islands

This story was narrated by Chief James Apato from the Rauahu Tribe at Number 3 residence in Honiara, Solomon Islands, on 7 September 2010. Chief James Apato is the head of the Rauahu tribe, 'Are 'are, Malaita, and he is the son of Ohoitara, the brother of Paramount Chief Waiparo. As one of the remaining elders in the tribe, he is well versed in the story of their maternal ancestor named Nunuarawe who left Malaita for Fiji. The following is a detailed account of Nunuarawe and how she left Rauahu for Fiji (Apato, 2010).

Nunuarawe/ Nunuanawe/Nunuanowe

Porouranamatara and Hu'ariri'irau were husband and wife who lived in Rauahu Island with 12 children. The firstborn in the family was a son named Tahemanu'ou'ou followed by another son named Tahemanurahurahu, then another son named Nari'aimane Paina, and then a daughter named Nunuarawe.

Figure 7.7: Nunuanawe's family tree

Source: Apato: 2010
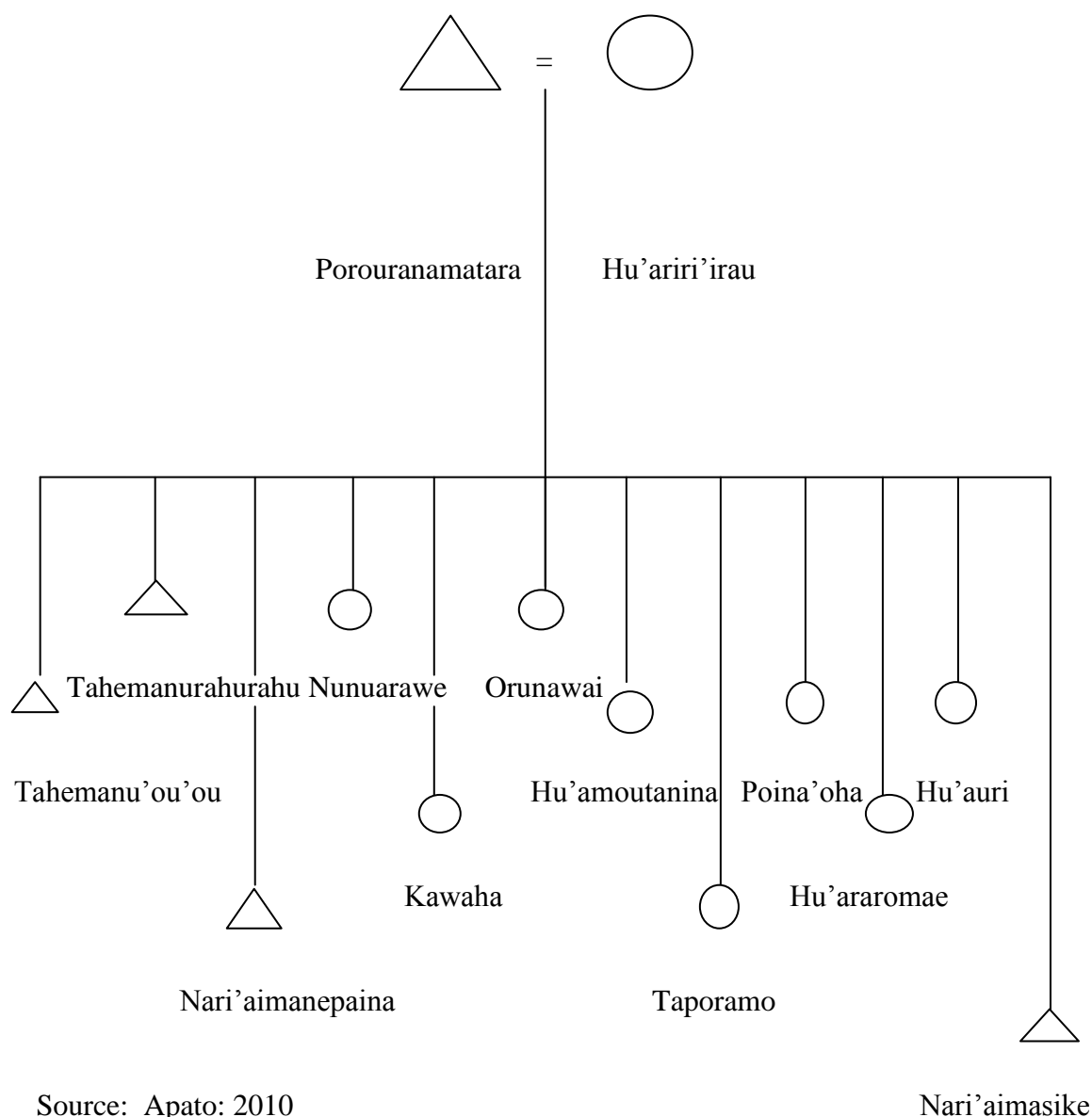
Kahinibora

Kahinibora was a sacred stream, located at the eastern end of Rauahu, at the seaside, facing Wairokai, Tawaroto and Onemaruha. The sacred stream was reserved for the *auapu* (women of high rank) like Nunuarawe, her sisters and mother. Any other women besides the sisters and their mother were forbidden to use that stream for bathing. The sisters and their mother were forbidden to bathe there only when they had their menstruation. It was said that if any of them bathed in that stream while having their menstruation, the stream would dry up.

Toronihanua

Toronihanua was a small hill in the island of Rauahu, where a house was built for Porouranamatara (chief/father), Hu'ariri'irau (mother) and their daughters to live in. All of Porouranamatara's son's lived at *Heronimanu* or *oha* (house meant only for men) which was located on the western end of Rauahu Island facing Arai towards the island of Small Malaita. Every day the sisters and their mother Hu'ariri'irau would come down from *Toronihanua* to have their bath in Kahinibora, the sacred stream.

The Sacred Yam (Kamo)

Once upon a time at *Heronimanu*, Tahemanu'ou'ou stood on a stone known as *Houatopari*. He took an *uweha* (a fishing line made with a bamboo rod) tied with a line and *manatai* (a hook) from the canoe *Iroramarore*, which the four brothers used when they were out tuna fishing and human killing. Tahemanu'ou'ou threw the *uweha* into the sea and caught something which he thought was a big fish. However, the strange thing about this fish was that it did not move around with the fishing line, as a fish would normally do. Instead, it remained still while he was pulling it up, and he was wondering what sort of fish it might be. He found that it was not a fish but a yam which he called *Waru'aoa'rau*. He brought the yam home and gave it to his yongest brother Nari'aimasike to take it to the *auapu* (Nunuarawe) and Hu'ariri'irau (her mother) for them to decide what they wanted to do with it. The giving of the yam *Waru'aoa'rau* to Nunuarawe and Hu'ariri'irau signifies peace and the end of tuna fishing and the beginning of head hunting.

When Nari'aimasike brought the yam to Nunuarawe, she decided to roast it so that she and her mother could eat it. However, Hu'ariri'irau asked her not to roast the yam but to plant it at Toronihanua. So she planted the yam and the family ate the crop when it was harvested. When the yam was planted it became known as *Kamo,* since it signified a new era for the yam. This also meant that when the *auapu* was to get married she would take the yam with her, so that she could plant it for her children and future generations to use.

The arrival of two strangers

One day a canoe which had two men in it was sighted outside Rauahu. The canoe was like an outrigger with a sail and was fast approaching the island. On board the canoe were Ratu Paula (Vulalevu/Vaula) and Rakavono. Tahemanu'ou'ou and his brothers were wondering where the canoe came from, because it did not look like a canoe from local places such as Makira, Ulawa or Guadalcanal. They had the impression that the canoe must have come from a faraway island.

As the brothers stood watching the canoe, they suddenly realised that it was drifting towards Kahinibora (the sacred stream for the *auapu*). Round about this time, Nunuarawe was bathing and Ratu Paula having seen her was attracted by her beauty. Nunuarawe was very beautiful, had light skin and was really tall. Having realised that the canoe was drifting towards Kahinibora, Tahemanu'ou'ou sent Nari'aimasike (their youngest brother) to go and find out where the men came from. After, doing this, Nari'aimasike went back to his brothers and told them that they came from Piti/Viti/Fiji.

So all the other brothers decided to go and find out why they were there and what they wanted. They found out that the two men were Ratu Paula and Rakavono. They were told that they came looking for a wife for Ratu Paula and he asked if he could take Nunuarawe as his bride. Tahemanu'ou'ou told him that he had to ask their parents. Nari'aimasike was then sent to ask both Porouranamatara and Hu'ariri'irau to come down to see the two men. When they came down to the coast, Ratu Paula asked them if he could take Nunuarawe to become his wife. Porouranamatara asked them to spend the night before taking Nunuarawe the next morning. Both Ratu Paula and Rakavono were a little scared and asked anxiously whether they would be safe. Both Porouranamatara and Hu'ariri'irau assured them of their safety and said that they wanted to spend the last night with their daughter before she left for Fiji.

During the night Hu'ariri'irau wove a large *ruarua* (a basket made out of coconut leaf). In it were all those powers or sacred things of the Rauahu tribe, including the *kamo* (yam), Tahemanu'ou'ou the firstborn son, was the one who *ha'apunia* (anointed) Nunuarawe with all those powers. Nunuarawe was anointed by his speaking *warato'o* (powerful words) and bestowing all of the powers on her. She was bestowed with those powers because she was the *auapu*, the eldest of the girls, was knowledgeable

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about the powers and how to use them and had lived up to her role as the eldest of all the girls. When she was anointed with all the powers it was said that the whole tribe and village was left with no powers at all (Ahikau, 2010). The whole village had to find a way of sourcing other powers to help them survive and to keep the people secure in times of trouble.

There was sadness in the family and village as Nunuarawe prepared to leave but since it was the wish of her elder brother, Tahemanu'ou'ou, it had to happen. Tahemanu'ou'ou's wish was to ensure that the powers which Nunuarawe took with her would be made known in the foreign land that she would settle in. The powers or sacred things in the Rauahu tribe given to Nunuarawe when she left for Fiji are:

- *Haimanitai:* a sacred hook used for catching tuna

- *Huaniramo* and *Eko'ara'ara:* a sacred betel nut and leaf which is chewed to test the strength of a *Namo* (or warrior) of another tribe. And if their power prevailed, that *tou* (Namo's house) and the stone wall around it would collapse. This indicated that victory was on their side and it was open for them to go in to kill.

- *Siripuru:* a sacred plant used to physically weaken the enemy and eventually make them go to sleep. Usually put into their hands and squeezed to make it effective.

- *Siri'wara'wara'a:* same plant as the above but different in colour which was used when entering an enemy's land to make them invisible. Same application as the above.

- *Ria:* sacred ginger which was used for fighting. If a person was punched with it, the part of the victim's body which had been punched would swell and the victim would eventually die.

- *Haiporenialita:* four red leaves of the sacred Alita tree which were rolled in a bamboo stick for the *auapu* to place in the holes in her two ear lobes, to indicate that she was an *auapu maea,* a holy virgin anointed with powers from her tribe who can appear and disappear occasionally.

- *Arotoupara:* A sacred yellow taro used by women in the tribe for communion to cleanse them or free them before they could talk to their brothers after their brothers had come back from head-hunting, because they could not talk to their brothers after blood had been spilt.

- *Niutoupara:* A sacred yellow coconut which was used by the men of the tribe for communion to cleanse themselves from blood spilt during a war or raid to come back to a normal life after war. It was after the cleansing that the men were free to go back home, sit with their families and have their meals.

- *Ke'upora:* a necklace made from a shell

The *tukuni* or narratives from 'Are'Are, Malaita, are of great importance in terms of describing the life and traditions of the Rauahu Tribe. The *tukuni* described the way the Rauahu Tribe were in tune or at peace with their environment and the taboo relationships which they observed towards one another. This *tukuni* also narrates who Nunuarawe was and how she went to Fiji. Great respect was accorded to Nunuarawe before she left for Fiji, and her being anointed with the *mana* or sacred power was clearly regarded as necessary for her safety and to enable her to survive no matter the environment or circumstances she might face. With this in mind it is of course significant to also look at the *tukuni* told by one of Nunuarawe's descendants living in Fiji. The following *tukuni* is just as important as the one from Nunuarawe's setting because it narrates how she settled in Fiji and the happenings surrounding her life there.

7.5 Tukuni 3: from Tukuta, Lovoni

This *tukuni* comes from Eparama Druguta, who is the head or chief of the *Yavusa* Namara living in Tukuta, Lovoni. This was recorded on July 10, 2010 at 10.30am at his residence in Tukuta (Drguta, 2010). Eparama is the direct descendant of the *auapu*, Nunuanawe.

The ancestral god of Ovalau who lived in the highlands of Lovoni was Rakavono. He left Verata, Tailevu and came across to Naigani Island. From Naigani Island he ran off with a lady from Naigani to Ovalau. When they came to Ovalau they settled in the highlands of Lovoni which is closer to the source of the Lovoni River. After a while he heard that there was also an ancestral god of Moturiki named Vulalevu (Vaula), the son of Buisavulu the ancestral god of Bureta, Ovalau. Moturiki Island is located off the western side of Ovalau, see Figure 7.8.

One day, Rakavono decided to visit Vaula,[106] the ancestral god of Moturiki. After getting to know each other, both decided to meet up again to go out fishing. They met up another day and went out fishing over the reef. As they were fishing in the boat they suddenly saw that they were far from the land and the wind was too strong for them to go back. They decided to wait and not to fight against the wind and the strong currents. They drifted westwards and eventually found themselves beached on an island named Namarata. Namarata later became known as Malaita, in the Solomon Islands.

Namarata

At Namarata they were welcomed by the chief of Namarata. Within the compound of the chief lived his beautiful daughter Nunuanawe, who was a *tabusiga* (a lady of high rank). They lived in Namarata for some time and enjoyed the company of the people in the village. Throughout their stay, Vaula, who was one of the two who had the fairer complexion, was in love with the *tabusiga* and had spoken to her in sign language telling her about his love for her. The *tabusiga* was also in love with Vaula. Rakavono, who was the darker of the two, was also in love with the *tabusiga,* but the *tabusiga* had no idea of this. So the two friends decided to find a way to run away with the *tabusiga*. They decided to collect coconuts and yam plantings to take back to the island to plant there. Vaula made contact with the *tabusiga* to ask her if she wanted to go with him to his island and be his bride, and to this the *tabusiga* agreed. Vaula had already told her of the plan made by him and his friend Rakavono. In the middle of the night when the tide started to come in, Rakavono loaded the yams and coconuts while Vaula went over to get the *tabusiga*. After loading everything, they took off towards the east as fast as they could before the whole village woke up to find the two friends and the *tabusiga* missing.

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[106] The name Vaula is the same as Ratu Paula, the name which was used in the tukuni told by Chief Apato.

Figure 7.8: Map showing the passage that Rakavono used.

Passage used by
Rakavono

Source: http://maps.google.co.nz
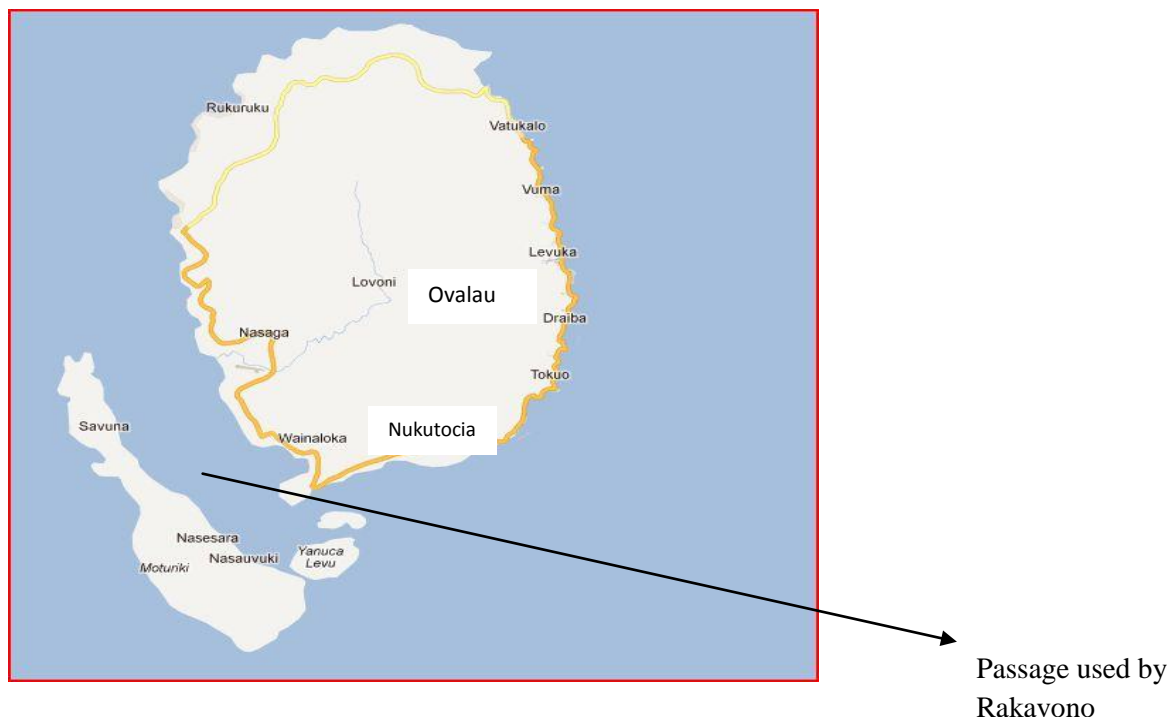
Reaching Fiji

After weeks of sailing they finally made it home. As they reached the passage between Ovalau and Moturiki, they were all tired from the long arduous journey, Rakavono asked his friend Vaula to swim to his island, Moturiki, to get some water for the *tabusiga*. As Vaula made his way into the water to swim ashore to get some water for his beautiful *tabusiga*, Rakavono shouted, "My friend, I am throwing the coconuts overboard for you, you take the coconuts to plant on your island and I'll take the yam and the *tabusiga*". Vaula stopped swimming and shouted "Why are you doing this to me, we brought her with us because the *tabusiga* and I are in love". The *tabusiga* had no idea about what the two friends were saying to each other and what was happening during that time.

Rakavono steered the boat towards the north-eastern end of Ovalau, and at Nukutocia they got off, climbed up the steep hill named Natuvatuva and made their way through the bush towards the highlands of Lovoni. As they made their way through, they planted the *bua ni viti* (Fagraea berteroana)

wherever they stopped or rested. Rakavono took Nunuanawe right up the hill and left her in an archway, a cavern in a rock, four to five metres deep, well protected from the rain and wind. He decided to name her Adi Niukula (*Niukula* means golden coconuts) because her skin was as golden as the coconuts they brought with them. It was here that he told her through sign language that he was going to look for some food for her to eat and that she should stay in that archway.

Figure 7.9: Photograph of the archway the auapu lived in

Now, because he had a wife in the village he could not take her to his home, but left her there and would come to see her every now and then to spend some time with her and go back to the village. During his relationship with her, she bore him two children a boy and a girl. See Figure 7.10. Now, while living in that archway, Adi Niukula, planted the *kamo* (yam) she brought with her from Rauahu Island and, this sacred yam fed her and her children while they lived in that archway. This yam is not planted like other yams but it grows all the year round and around the place where she had lived.

Figure 7.10: Nunuanawe's family
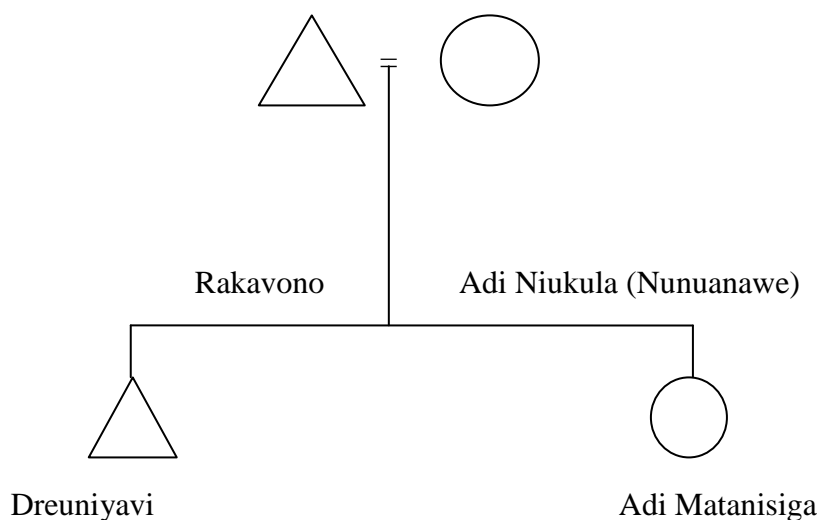
Source: Eparama Druguta, 2008

The name of the son, Dreuniyavi, means 'ripens or blossoms in the evening' while the daughter's name is Adi Matanisiga which means the 'eye of the sun lady'. As time moved on Adi Niukula saw that her children were always in the forest and by themselves, so she decided to take them down the valley which is now named Tukuta. She told her son that if someone asked what his title was, he should say *Rokotuiveikau* which means the Lord of the forests. She also told her son that if he just stayed hidden there, no one would see him or know he who he was. Dreuniyavi settled down in what is now known as Tukuta and had children. Adi Matanisiga was married to a man from Kavala in Kadavu and her story is also told by the people of Kavala.

The existence of these two *tukuni* and their similarity is obviously significant. The subject of the Fijian *tukuni* is the 'high-ranking powerful lady from Malaita' and how she came from the Solomon Islands and settled in Fiji. The *tukuni* from Malaita cannot be analysed without the *tukuni* from Fiji as the two are interrelated.

7.6 The two *tukuni* and their context

The two *tukuni* are related in that they both tell a story of a young girl who left Rauahu Island and went to Fiji. In Malaita, most people thought that it was just a myth or legend. Most believed that two men just came and took the *auapu/tabusiga* (high ranking lady), Nunuanawe/Nunuarawe. No one from Malaita, let alone Rauahu Island, knew or even heard about her again. The people of South Malaita origins have a hereditary chiefly structure and a great deal of mana (sacred power) is always bestowed upon the eldest of the males and females even though females have certain restrictions in terms of customs and traditions nowadays. These restrictions and taboos on customs and traditions in the Solomon Islands started during this time and this is when the female living space was separated from the male space, as seen in the *tukuni* from 'Are'are, Malaita. However, the bestowal of these sacred powers is evident in that they were always given the first of everything in terms of physical, mental and spiritual powers. This is illustrated in the *tukuni* when Tahemane'ou'ou, Nunuanawe's brother, fished a big yam out of the water and had it given to her straight away. It was given to her because she was the eldest of the eight girls and her father had always given her special privileges. When there are special things given or set aside for certain persons from birth, or if they have the ability to command a lot of respect around their environment, this says much about the *mana* they have. With this *mana* one would be regarded as being able to protect one's village, not to mention one's family. This was seen when a great deal of *mana* was bestowed on Nunuanawe by her brothers before she left for Fiji.

Nunuanawe was released by her parents and family to travel with the two men to Fiji because not only was she in love with one of them but her family also wanted the world to know that the *mana* given to her was meant for both her and for her descendants. Girls were not given up readily during those times because of cannibalism. Cannibalism was practised during these times and one did not easily get away with running away with a lady of high rank, as that can mean death for those who do so. However, for the Rauahu tribe to give the *auapu* so easily to marry a man from a different country says much about the old connections between these two different countries. These were connections made through people's journeys to and fro between the islands. These connections were kept alive through the *tukuni* that people took with them throughout their journeys. There are different ways that they *talanoa* in

order to keep this story alive. This is effected through poetry, songs, art and dances. However, there are different ways of telling or retelling such a *tukuni*. This is evident in the way the two men, especially Rakavono, the *kalouvu* of Lovoni, told his story, which has been retold over and over again by his descendants. The *tukuni* was changed to suit Rakavono's status and context.

Rakavono and his tukuni

Rakavono's *tukuni* was twisted to suit him as the ancestor of Lovoni. His *tukuni* was about how he and Vulalevu ran off with a *tabusiga* (high ranking lady) from the Solomon Islands to Fiji. Both *tukuni* tell of the love between the *tabusiga* and Vulalevu or Vaula/ Ratu Paula, the ancestor of Moturiki. Later on in the *tukuni*, Rakavono played a trick on Vulalevu and ran off with the *tabusiga*. The events which occurred in Rakavono's *tukuni* say a great deal about his history and identity.

Rakavono was the illegitimate child of Buisavulu,[107] the *kalouvu* of Bureta to Nakumilevu when she was with Ravula, the ancestor of Moturiki. Now Ravula and Buisavulu had a child named Vulalevu (Vaula/ Ratu Paula). As Buisavulu, Ravula and Vulalevu left Nakauvadra to settle in Moturiki and Bureta respectively, Rakavono was still in Nakauvadra.

One day while the chiefs were having a meeting at *Uluda*, Rakavono went ahead and gave the food which was meant for the chiefs to the children to eat. After the meeting when the chiefs got ready to eat there was no food left and Rakavono was summoned and banished from Nakauvadra. He went straight to Verata where his maternal uncle Rokomautu lived. From Verata he went to Naigani where he met a beautiful girl and ran off with her to Ovalau. When they reached Ovalau, after seeing his mother in Bureta he went up to the hills of Lovoni and settled there. Now both Vulalevu and Rakavono must have known that they shared a mother because when Rakavono ran off with the *auapu*, Vulalevu did not want to pursue his step-brother, to try and get back the love of his life. However, the *auapu's* undying love of Vulalevu was seen when she gave him the power of *vosa mana* (power of words) and through

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[107] Buisavulu was Lutunasobasoba's only daughter. Buisavulu was with Ravula, Paula's father, while she had a child with Nakumilevu.Nakumilevu was one of the men who was with Lutunasobasoba after they dropped off the banished twins.

this no Fijian chief could be *tamaki* (chiefly greeting) during the morning or any time of the day when they arrived in Naicabecabe, Moturiki until now.

Obviously, Rakavono's *tukuni* was told this way so that people could forget his bad reputation and to paint him as one who had much *mana*.[108] For the *tukuni* to be told and over and over again says a great deal about how powerful both of them were to be able to run off with a high-ranking lady in front of her family and the whole tribe of Rauahu. No-one knew that he had done that before and that it was history repeating itself. Secondly, Rakavono did not want the world to know that the *auapu* was given to his step-brother to be his wife. Rakavono knew that if the *auapu* were to become Vulalevu's wife he would be a powerful man because of the *mana* she brought with her. Rakavono also did not want the world to know that she was a woman of *mana* because of all the sacred powers which was bestowed upon her by her brother to protect her till she reached Fiji. Furthermore, Rakavono did not want the world to know that her descendants had survived throughout the generations through the *mana* she brought with her. However, Rakavono's *mana* was made evident when the *auapu* bore him two children, since these two children later became the ancestors of the *yavusa* Namara which is all over Fiji. This will be discussed in the next chapter. The *mana* of the *auapu* is also seen in the *vosa mana* she gave to Vulalevu because of her undying love for him. A person who has much *mana* is not only seen as an individual but his/her context and beginning as an individual are part of his/her having such *mana*. To be able to identify a person as one who is surrounded by a lot of *mana* is requires going back to the *waka* (root) which is his/her beginning as an individual.

The beginning of Mana

The beginning is very important because it seeks to clarify an individual's identity in an environment. The physical, social and biological environment that the individual is surrounded and brought up in has great relevance in the end when it comes to knowing an individual's identity and the reasons why they do what they do. People already have some knowledge of their movements, their settlements and the

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[108] *Mana* in terms of one's physical prowess, that is the ability in this case to run off with the *auapu*, rather than *mana* as in sacred power.

history of their beginning as a people. These movements and settlements would have taken place at different times and for different reasons. It is through these movements people would interact with other settlers and stay if they wished to or move on if they had to. Increased interaction would increase knowledge and through this people would be able to know traditions and customs. They already had some knowledge about the different seasons and what to do in those different seasons, as well as how to make weapons for hunting, gathering and planting. This is how their epistemological foundations would have been founded, through their interaction with their environment, and this would allow them to bond with their environment. This bonding would also be part of the development of their ontology and how they feel certain things work. *Mana* is something that is true or effective in the Fijian sense and at times is attributed to a person who is said to have done something miraculous or in a spiritual sense. When something is seen as happening or done out of the ordinary, it speaks of person's *mana*. This will be discussed thoroughly in the next chapter.

The links between the three tukuni and the tauvu bond

There are similarities in the three *tukuni*. Firstly, a relationship came into being even though the places from which these *tukuni* are generated from are different. In some places in Ra, the relationship is *veiwekani* (kinship/relatives), in other places in Ra it is similar to that of Tukuta, Nukutocia, Namara (Tailevu), and Solatavui (Kadavu), which is *tauvu*. Secondly, all the *tukuni* deal with one ethnic grouping, the people from the Solomon Islands. Thirdly, all the *tukuni* engage with the way *mana* was used in Nakauvadra when the Solomoni from Maniyava were called the *liga ni ka tabu* (hands which touch sacred things) in addition to the existence of the *yavu* (first or original settlement site) which still visible today, while in Tukuta, the *mana* of Adi Niukula (*auapu*) in terms of the yam she brought still exists and has been used by her descendants till today. All the similarities acknowledge that there is a relationship between the *tukuni* and the people to whom these *tukuni* belong and there is also a reason why or how this connection came about. However, as well as the similarities, there are also differences in terms of the context and time even though all the *tukuni* are connected to the *tauvu* identity and relationship.

The context is seen in the different circumstances and in the two different locations. In Ra it was a whole household whereas in Tukuta, Lovoni, it was the *auapu* or *tabusiga* and her descendants. However, the significance of this is how the story from Ra connects to the one in Tukuta. More important is how the events followed through one after the other and how the names can be traced back to important events in Nakauvadra.

Diagram 7.11: Important events in the *tukuni*
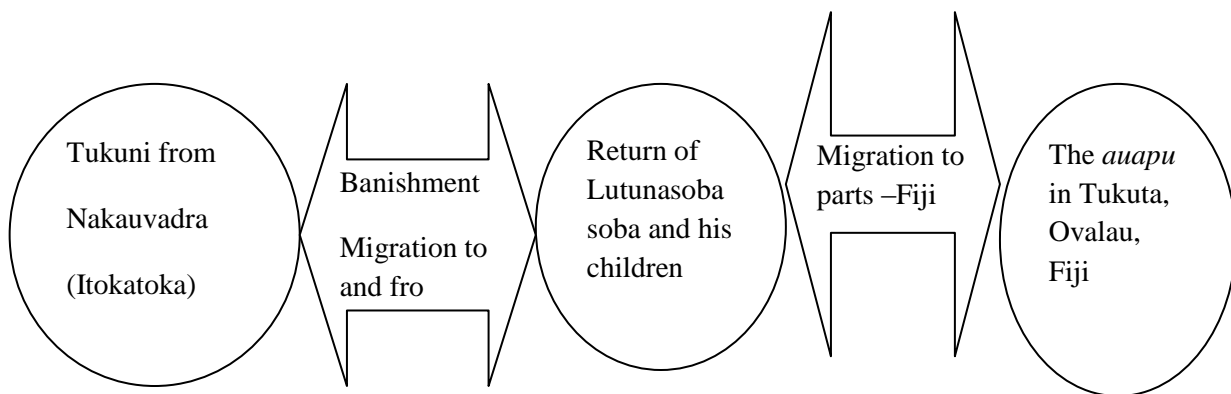
Throughout the journeys of migration, the *tukuni* from Ra right to Tukuta is told step by step or through the different phases as shown in the diagram above. Furthermore, there are two ways in which the time when this migration happened can be explained. Firstly if people like Masi knew that they came from the Solomon Islands then this migration must have happened during the mid-late 1500's since the Solomon Islands was named by a Spanish explorer named Àlvaro de Mendäňa in 1568. All those phases could be explained in the timeline.

Figure 7.12: Timeline of the migration

1550s	- Solomoni in Nakauvadra
	- Masi, Rokola and the twins banished from Nakauvadra
	- Lutunasobasoba and his family back in Nakauvadra
	- Lutunasobasoba's children occupy the various places in Fiji
	- Rakavono and Vulalevu in the Solomon Islands
	-Nunuanawe (Adi Niukula) in Lovoni
1650's – 1700's	- Visit to Fiji by explorers
1800's	- Explorers, Traders and missionaries in the Pacific[109]
	- Sandalwood/ Whale trade and labour trade
	- Solomon Island labourers in Fiji
1874	- Fiji was ceded to Great Britian

Secondly, for people like Inia who comes from *Yavusa* (tribe/clan) Bua to say that *itokatoka* (household) Maniyava who are of Solomoni origin came from Nakauvadra means that they were one of the first inhabitants of Nakauvadra along with Rokola, Degei and others who claim their *yavu* (first or original settlement site) as Nakauvadra.

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[109] During this time Fiji was also hit by a cholera and acute dysentery or *lila balavu* and much of the indigenous population died.

The *tukuni* from Ra speaks volumes of the way the early Solomoni settlers from *itokatoka* Maniyava integrated with the wider community which lived in Nakauvadra. The *itokatoka* Maniyava were considered to be one of the powerful households in Nakauvadra because the life of the chiefly household was in their hands. Women especially were considered to be powerful as they were the ones who were instrumental in the common good of men and women when it came to reproduction and balance within Nakauvadra. Thus when women from *itokatoka* Maniyava married into another *yavusa* or *itokatoka* within the wider Nakauvadra community, this demonstrated reproduction in the form of cultural achievement by sustaining social identities. Women not only brought wealth into another *yavusa* and *itokatoka,* but they also contribute to the construction of the matrilineal kin group.

As Strathern argues, 'ties through women are the essence of group definition, and women have the task of ceremonially setting the matrilineal kin group interests from other categories of relationships. Women thus celebrate an abstract formulation of femaleness that is a vehicle through which specific social relationships are conceptualized' (Strathern, 1984, p. 20). Intermarriages brought about balance of power within the different *yavusa* or *itokatoka* since the women who married outside their *yavusa* or *itokatoka* shared their ontologies and epistemologies with their husband's *yavusa* or *itokatoka.* This was especially so for the women of *itokatoka* Maniyava since it was their *itokatoka* that took care of the chiefly household. The epistemology of taking care of the chiefly household was also shared with the *yavusa*, *mataqali* or *itokatoka* that they married into through the care and support the women had to offer.

It was from Nakauvadra that Rakavono would have seen and heard about *itokatoka* Maniyava and the way they cared for the chiefly household. The journey of Rakavono and Vulalevu (Ratu Paula/Vaula) to the Solomon Islands to find a bride for Vulalevu was no accident as it had to be planned and it would have been triggered by something they would have come across while living in Nakauvadra. Rakavono would have seen and heard about the *mana* that the early Solomoni settlers had with them when they were in Nakauvadra. The rank, power and beauty the *auapu* brought with her made it hard for Rakavono to let her go. Throughout her life in the archway, up in the highlands of Lovoni, the *auapu*

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made sure that her descendants were known not only in one part of Fiji but throughout the country. Keesing argues that in some matrilineal lineages sometimes the attached 'immigrant' sub-clan segments outrank and politically dominate the original owners (Keesing, 1975, p. 70). This is evident in the way the *yavusa* of Namara are known throughout Fiji. In the archway, the *auapu* lived by herself with her children, since Rakavono had another wife in his village. No-one knew about her and her children because she was hidden since she was not a Fijian but was from another island, she was a *vulagi* (foreigner/visitor) and because of that, she and her children would be treated as outcasts, and for this reason, when she urged Dreuniyavi, her son, to go down to the valley below she told him what to say if people asked about his identity.[110]

It is through the early Solomoni women settlers from *itokatoka* Maniyava that the *tauvu* bond came about. It was further emphasised by the arrival of the *auapu*/*tabusiga* in Tukuta in Lovoni on the island of Ovalau, but it was the later Solomoni labourers' arrival that revived and connected the *tauvu* kinship bond. It was the women who established the *tauvu* kinship bond and it is through the women that kin-group based ties are traced. This is significant because it shows that women not only expanded the social network and social connection but have also sustained the *tauvu* identity till the present day.

7.7 Tukuni/Narratives – Connections

Most Solomoni who came to Fiji during the labour trade days knew nothing of the *tukuni*, or of their connection and relationship with the *taukei*. It was not until they integrated and married *taukei* women that they realised that some of their ancestors had made that journey to Fiji well before them. The *tukuni* came from the various places they were connected to through marriage or even from people who had the traditional ties to them. It was the *tauvu* bond which connected them to the indigenous Fijian population. It was through the various *tukuni* that the Solomoni became aware of their bond and kinship with the people of Tukuta, (Lovoni), Ra, Nukutocia, Namara (Tailevu), Kavala, Kadavu and Solatavui (Kadavu). Some Solomoni are very much aware of the *yavu* in Ra and that the descendants of their

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[110] She told him to say that he was Rokotuiveikau, which means the chief of the forests. He was recognised as chief and given that title. So, this is the icavuti of the people of the Namara clan and this title is usually bestowed on their chiefs.

ancestor are not only in Tukuta, Nukutocia, Namara and Solatavui but also in the various places around Fiji.

However, this is not to say that the indigenous population is not also aware of such *tukuni*. Indigenous Fijians do acknowledge that there is a connection and relationship between them and the Solomoni. Some have heard about them during kava sessions or through relatives who are connected through marriage to a Solomoni. Furthermore, the *tukuni* are also heard from elders or people who are descendants of the *auapu/tabusiga* or else from people who came from the areas which have this relationship with the Solomoni. Although some *taukei* do acknowledge that they have this relationship or bond with the Solomoni, there are of course others who have no idea at all that there was a connection of any sort, let alone a *tauvu* relationship. If they could have prior knowledge about the *tauvu* relationship that the Solomoni have with the *taukei* it will make the *taukei* become aware and cautious. It would make them very careful about making any remarks to or comments about the Solomoni.

Moreover, the *taukei* do not only have this connection or relationship with the Solomoni but also have this bond amongst themselves. Such bonds and kinship can be referred to as internal and external because those concerned are connected through blood and there is some form of natural or spiritual connection between any two persons who have this relationship. As well as this there are *tukuni* or narratives which specifically connect any two *yavusa* (tribes) or *koro* (villages). Some of these *tukuni* are shown in Table 7.13

Figure 7.13: Table showing the different *tukuni*￼

Tukuni/ Talanoa	*Yavusa/*Village	*Tauvu* to
A *Raluve*[111] from Nayau, Lakeba, Lau was sitting on the seashore when a big fish came ashore and swallowed her up. The big fish threw her up on a beach in Rewa. She was taken to the residence of the Tui Noco and became his bride	Nayau, Lakeba, Lau	Noco, Rewa
A *Raluve* from Waimaro, Naitasiri married a high chief of Korocau (Tui Korocau), Cakaudrove, Vanualevu.	Waimaro, Naitasiri	Korocau
An *auapu/tabusiga* from the Rauahu tribe, East 'Are 'are, Malaita married to Rakavono (founding ancestor of the Lovoni people.	Rauahu tribe/Malaita (specifically people from East 'Are'are	-Tukuta, Lovoni -Nukutocia -Namara,Tailevu -Kavala, Kadavu

As seen in the table above, these connections always have a *tukuni* attached to them. Furthermore, all these *tukuni* tell of rank and status, both male and female. This is an internal and external kinship bond is known as the *tauvu* (springing from the same ancestor) relationship. So what is the *tauvu* relationship?

7.8 The *Tauvu* Concept

The term *tauvu* can be both a verb and a noun. This will be discussed in detail in this section. People tend to react or at times define the term differently. Most *itaukei* believe that the *tauvu* relationship is

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[111] A *Raluve* is the same as *auapu or tabusiga* - a high-born young women.

still very prevalent today. Most define it as the relationship between two *vanua/tikina/yavusa* who come from one ancestor. Many believe that this relationship exists because their founding ancestors were brothers and sisters who were the offspring of one common ancestor. This means that their children will be *tauvu* to their maternal ancestors' relatives and to their paternal ancestors' relatives as shown in Figure 7.14

Figure 7.14: A diagram of Nunuanawe and Rakavono's family

Rakavono   Nunuanawe

(Adi Niukula)

(A)   (B)

Dreuniyavi   Adi Matanisiga

(A1, A2, A3, A4)   (B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6)
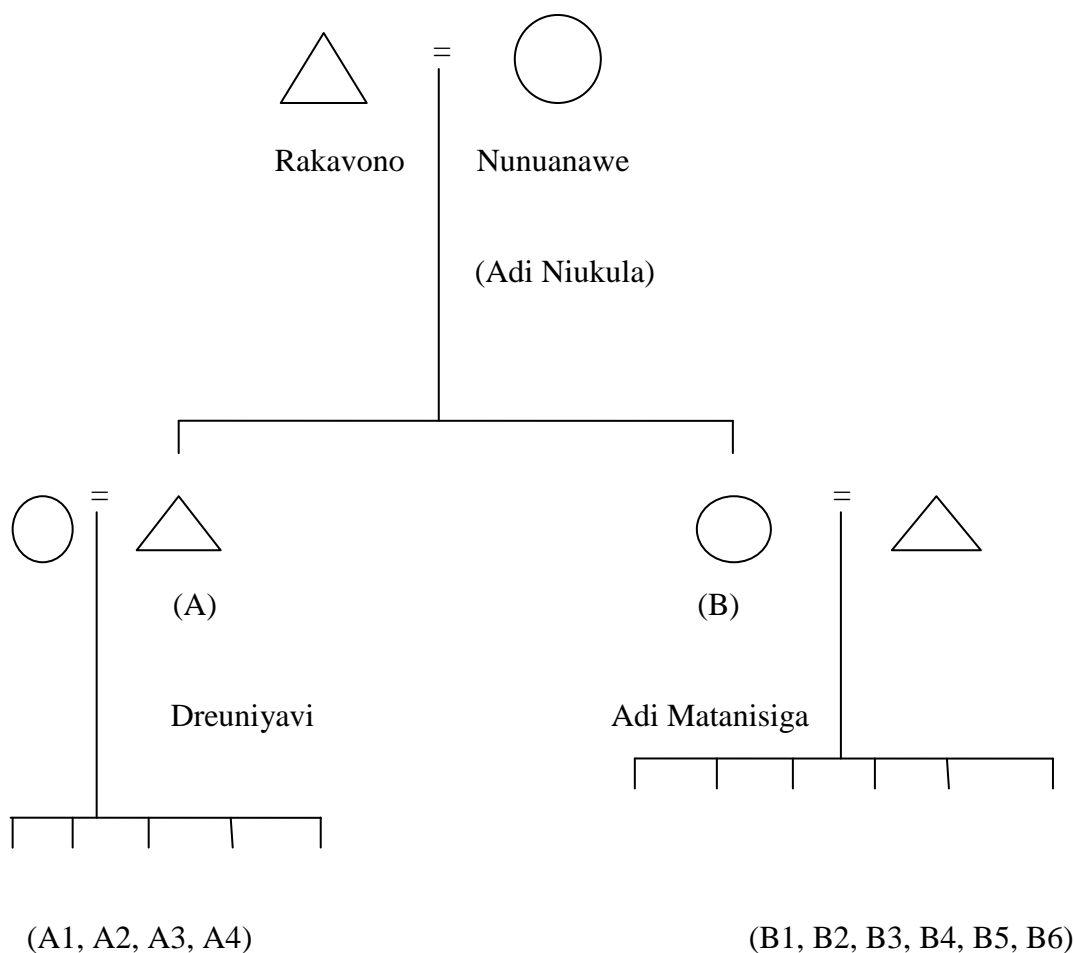
Adi Niukula (Nunuanawe) had two children to Rakavono, (A) and (B). The boy (A) became the ancestor of the people of Tukuta, Nukutocia and Namara (Tailevu), while the girl (B) became the ancestor of the people of Kavala, Kadavu. This means that the children (A1-A4) of (A) and (B1-B6) of (B) Adi Matanisiga were *tauvu* to (A) Nunuanawes relatives. This is also said of the Solomoni who mostly came from Malaita and who have made Fiji their home. Since all of the fathers, grandfathers or

great-grandfathers of the Solomoni came from Malaita, Nunuanawe (Adi Niukula) is like a sister to their ancestor back in the Solomon Islands. This would make them *tauvu* to the people of Tukuta (Ovalau), Nukutocia (Ovalau), Namara (Tailevu), and to the people of Kavala (Kadavu). The descendants of Adi Matanisiga and Dreuniyavi would be *tauvu* to each other because they came from one common founding ancestor, Adi Niukula (*auapu*) and Rakavono. This could be similarly said about the *tauvu* relationship between the Solomoni and the people of Tukuta (Ovalau), Nukutocia (Ovalau), Namara (Tailevu) and Kavala (Kadavu). How do people react when they know that their *tau* or *tauvu* is in the house?

Tauvu as a verb or noun

People define and react to this term differently. The relationship becomes a verb which means playing a trick or prank on someone to whom one is *tauvu* when people meet in any function or traditional gathering. After the prank the one on whom the joke/prank is played reacts by either getting up to repay the prankster with a big bowl of *kava* (if *kava* is mixed at that time) or waiting for an opportune moment to repay the joker/prankster later. The joke played would be mild and filled with *loloma* (love). *Tauvu* as a verb is described by Thomson in a more radical way which is incorrect, as he describes it as running riot in the village and taking what one wants or uprooting root crops without letting the other know (Thomson, 1908). This is more like the *veitabani* relationship. People who have this relationship would compete, use bad jokes about the other, be in rivalry with the other at all times, take what they want without letting the other know and so on. The characteristics of a *tauvu* relationship can be seen in Figure 7.15:

Figure 7.15: Diagram of the characteristics of the tauvu relationship

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                         ┌──────────────┐
                         │ Vakarokoroko │
                         │  (Respect)   │
                         └──────────────┘
                                              ┌──────────────┐
                                              │  Vakarorogo  │
                                              │  (listening) │
      ┌──────────────┐                        └──────────────┘
      │ Veivakaliuci │
      │ (others first)│
      └──────────────┘

                         ╭──────────────╮
┌──────────────────┐     │    TAUVU     │     ┌──────────────────┐
│ Dauveikauwaitaki │─────│              │─────│     Veidokai     │
│ (mutual support) │     │ RELATIONSHIP │     │ (honouring others)│
└──────────────────┘     ╰──────────────╯     └──────────────────┘

      ┌──────────────┐                        ┌──────────────┐
      │ Dauveiciqomi │                        │    Loloma    │
      │ (accepting)  │                        │    (love)    │
      └──────────────┘                        └──────────────┘

                         ┌──────────────┐
                         │ Dauveinanumi │
                         │(mutual caring)│
                         └──────────────┘
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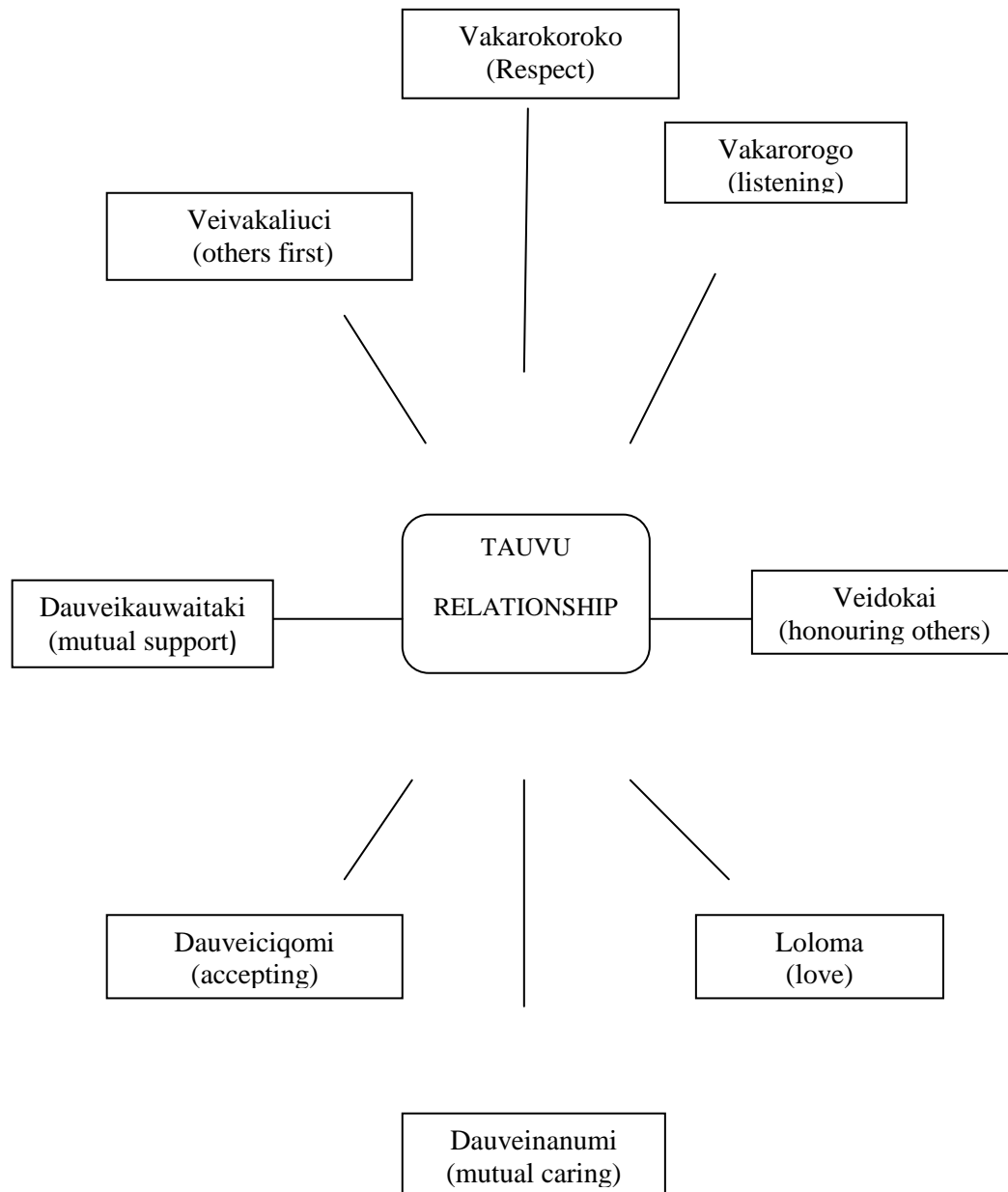
Most people feel that the *tauvu* relationship is no longer practised as it should be as most people become more boisterous, loud, play dirty jokes and pranks towards the people they are *tauvu* to.

The term *tauvu* becomes a noun when people who have this relationship refer to each other as *tau* or call the other *tauvu*. This can be seen when there is a traditional gathering. When people are introduced to each other they each say their name and village and from that they know whether they are connected

through any traditional relationship. For example: Jone and Aliki met for the first time in a traditional gathering and they both ended up preparing the kava for those who were coming.

Jone: Bula, Jone mai Nukutocia   (Greetings/Hello, Jone from Nukutocia)

Aliki: Bula tau, Aliki mai Wainaloka   (Greetings/Hello tau, Aliki from Wainaloka)

Thus, from here on they would always call each other *tau* instead of using the other's name. Calling each other *tau* or *tauvu* is a mark of respect and that there is no boundary between the two of them. It also has a deeper meaning as it signifies a history concerning where they came from, from one being or ancestor. It means that they can *veiwali* (joke), but there is always a boundary as to what is an appropriate joke. More importantly, there are *vakarokoroko* (respect), *vakarorogo* (listening), *veidokai* (honouring the other), *loloma* (love), *dauveinanumi* (caring), *dauveiciqomi* (accepting), *dauveikauwaitaki* (support) and *dauveivakaliuci* (putting the other first). The values and characteristics of the *tauvu* concept override the *vulagi* (foreigner/visitor) concept. These values are always apparent when one who is *tauvu* to another is visiting the other during a traditional gathering of any sort. The words said when one accepts the *sevusevu* (presentation of kava (piper mythesticum) during any traditional Fijian ceremony or function) are clearly heard around the room. Terms such as *qo na nomu vale* (this is your house), *iko sega ni mai vulagi ena vanua qo* (you are not a visitor here), *nanuma tiko kedatou tou lako vata ga mai vana dua na vu* (remember we both came from one ancestral god), are exchanged because both have prior knowledge of the other's history.

However, some people react to the people they are *tauvu* to in a non-traditional manner, which they pick up from other people and think is the proper way to react. In this contemporary period, children tend to pick up the characteristics of the *tauvu* concept just by watching the actions and reactions of the people they are *tauvu* to in traditional gatherings. Children see competitiveness, people being loud and boisterous, the use of bad language and jokes. Parents should take responsibility to educate their children about how they should react towards people they are *tauvu* to.

7.9 Solomoni and *taukei* - *tauvu* Relationship

The *tauvu* relationship and identity between the *taukei* (indigenous Fijians) and Solomoni is one that has been acknowledged in certain areas of Fiji. Both the Solomoni and the *taukei* who have this relationship are clear about the *tukuni*. Most *taukei*, such as the people of Ra, Namara (Tailevu), Tukuta (Lovoni), Solatavui (Kadavu) and Kavala (Kadavu) do acknowledge that they have a connection and relationship with each other. Most have been told about a *yavu* in Ra, whereas the people of Kavala (Kadavu), Namara (Tailevu), Naisausau (Tailevu), Korolevu (Tailevu), Nukutocia and Visoto are descendants of the *auapu* from Tukuta (Lovoni).

Within the island of Ovalau, the Solomoni are *tauvu* to the people of Tukuta, Visoto and Nukutocia, as well as to the people of Namara (Tailevu) and Kavala (Kadavu). The main connection is Tukuta (Lovoni). The people of Namara (Tailevu) also came from Tukuta and their *tukuni* tells of how they were banished from Tukuta for eating the first fruits of the harvest which were meant for the chief. This movement of people did not end here but has gone as far as the Yasawa and Lau Groups of islands. This internal migration is made obvious when people take the name of their *yavusa* (tribe) with them and acknowledge this through their *tukuni* which points back to the beginning in Tukuta (Lovoni). Internal migration and the migrants carrying the name of the *yavusa* is mostly the result of disagreements within the *yavusa* itself. These may stem from causes ranging from jealousy of those in leadership positions to failure to follow traditions and customs. Such movements of people to other areas also take place because of intermarriage and integration. Throughout these movements, people take their *tukuni* of their beginnings as a *yavusa*. The *tukuni* enable them as a people to maintain and perpetuate certain names. One such is the name of the *yavusa* Namara which is found in Ovalau, Ra, Tailevu, Yasawa and Lau. The use of certain names in more than one place indicates a history and connects an identity.

Most *taukei* have heard of the *tauvu* relationship through the various *tukuni* which connect people internally and externally. Like Thomson, most believe that the *tauvu* relationship speaks of the *mana* of a high-ranking lady like that of the Malaitan *auapu* which overarches that of her husband so that she is

always respected and revered more than her husband. The *mana* of the *auapu,* or any other high-ranking lady's *mana,* has through their descendants connected people, *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *koro*. This connection and identity is clearly seen when there is a traditional gathering of any sort in Tukuta (Lovoni) or Wainaloka, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

In Ra the *veiwekani* (kinship) is through the male line while the *tauvu* relationship is often through the female line, which means that there are both matrilineal and patrilineal links between the *taukei* and the Solomoni people. In Ra some *tukuni* have claimed that in earlier times only two households were known, those of the Solomoni and Nakauvadra. Still others claim that the province of Ra was mostly occupied by Solomoni in the beginning and may have changed due to intermarriage and integration. Intermarriage during that time may have taken place easily as the Solomoni of earlier times would have cared less about where they came from and whom they are married to than the Solomoni who came during the colonial period, who had much stronger feelings about the people they were going to marry because of the fear of discrimination, labelling and stereotyping.

Implication and significance to identity

Linnekin and Poyer state that 'economic groups elsewhere were internally differentiated along kin status and territorial lines long before the intrusion of colonisation' (Linnekin, 1990, p. 10) The *tauvu* relationship is one that is divided along gender lines and is mostly through matrilineal lineage. In such a relationship there are no lines drawn on ethnic distinctions when it comes to kinship and relationship.

The *tauvu* relationship and identity plays a significant role in the identity of a Solomoni. It has bridged the gap between the Solomoni and *taukei* historically. The majority of the Fiji-born Solomoni are descendants of labourers and have always been somewhat labelled as *kawa ni bobula* (descendants of slaves), but throughout the years the knowledge of the tauvu relationship has added value to people's estimation about the Solomoni. People's view of the Solomoni has changed throughout the years because of intermarriage and their knowledge of the *tauvu* relationship. Knowledge of the *tauvu* relationship built up over time has helped the *taukei* to accept the Solomoni as part of them. This can be seen in the acceptance of the Solomoni settlement of Wainaloka in December 2005, as part of the *tikina*

of Bureta. This meant that the *Turaga-ni-koro* (village headman) of Wainaloka could sit in the *bose ni tikina* (district meetings) and have equal voting rights with the other members.

The *tauvu* identity has also helped the Solomoni to socially construct their reality in terms of the people to whom they are *tauvu* and how they should react to such identity. The Solomoni socially construct their identity as *tauvu* in terms of what they can and cannot do in any traditional *solevu* (function). This has enabled the Solomoni to feel more like *taukei* rather than *vulagi* (foreigners/visitors). When one is considered a *vulagi* one would always feel threatened by one's socio-political environment and through this one would experience certain situations as either upholding one's *vulagi* status or denying it altogether. On the other hand, practising the *tauvu* identity and relationship means that a Solomoni is comfortable with the people they are traditionally related to. Practising the *tauvu* identity also means having a nationalistic feeling and feeling that one is a *taukei* since the *tauvu* identity is a traditional Fijian identity and relationship. An example of the practicalities of the *tauvu* identity is the people of Wainaloka who are descendants of Solomoni labourers, having been asked by the people of Lovoni if they could clean and clear the *sautabu* (the chiefly burial site) when preparations were being made to bury the late Tui Wailevu who died in 1999. This act also echoes the early Solomoni settlers' role in Nakauvadra when they were always referred to as the *ligani ka tabu* (hands which touched anything sacred). As Smith states, 'national identities also fulfil a more intimate, internal function for individuals in communities' (Smith, 1991, p. 16). Thus the *tauvu* identity makes a Solomoni feel more *taukei* than *vulagi*. This feeling of inclusion also came about in the early 1970s when the Solomoni were allowed to vote as *taukei*.

Knowing one's *tukuni* of *tauvu* and having the ability to connect to those to whom one is *tauvu* contribute a great deal to one's epistemological foundation. The way people relate to those to whom they are *tauvu* around Fiji is different in comparison to the reaction of those *taukei* who live in the diaspora. This all depends on the knowledge of the *tauvu* relationship that one has as a result of one's environment. Some *taukei* who live in the diaspora may have little knowledge about what it means to be a *tauvu*. An individual *taukei* view or perception of the term changes according to their social

environment. It is important to have some knowledge about the traditional relationships and identity. These social connections which are socially constructed will change as situations change for anyone. As Smith argues, 'as the individual situation changes, so will the group identification, or at least the many identities and discourses to which the individual adheres will vary in importance for that individual in successive periods and different situations' (Smith, 1991, p. 16). A change of situation came when the Solomoni were stripped of their *taukei* voting status after the 1987 coup and ethnically categorised as 'other' alongside other ethnic minorities. However, this did not stop them embracing and practising their *tauvu* identity and associated practices which have since facilitated other ways and means of allowing them to be acknowledged in provincial and district meetings around Fiji.

By comparison with other ethnic minority groups the Solomoni are much closer to the *taukei*. This is not only because of the *tauvu* relationship they have with the *taukei* but also because they have integrated, assimilated and inter-married with local women, thus becoming more *taukei* in their traditions, culture and customs.

7.10 Power of *tukuni* as a means of sustaining genealogy

Tukuni as a historical narrative, myth or legend is one of the ways that people are able to retain their identity in relation to their culture and customs. *Tukuni* as a historical narrative is also an act of remembering stories. But how do people remember all those stories? Stories are remembered and passed on to others through our own indigenous ways of telling them. For the *taukei*, this is done around a *tanoa* (wooden bowl) in which *kava* or *yaqona* (piper mythesticum) is mixed. People sit around a bowl of *yaqona* only to mark a special occasion and it is during these sessions that the *tukuni* of certain historical events are told. They are not only told once but during recurring sessions, which happen whenever people sit around the *tanoa*. In some cases, people change a story as a result of individual experiences. A *tukuni* is a point of motion in regards to what has happened in the past and what is happening at the present, it varies from documented to oral. A *tukuni* goes through a lot of changes when it is being passed around orally or when it is being documented. However, are all *tukuni* just a collection of memories? It is through memories passed down through generations that people

socially construct and acknowledge their cultural identities. This can take place only through association with others and our relationship with them.

In Fiji, people's relationship in terms of kinship and genealogical links are made known through the *tukuni* of the *yavusa*, *mataqali* or *itokatoka*. Most *taukei* know who they have traditional ties with through the *tukuni* which denote those ties. Becoming more knowledgeable about one's traditional ties and identity, brings about empowerment. Empowerment comes from gaining knowledge about the beginnings of one's *yavusa*, *mataqali* or *itokatoka*, though it is not only about beginnings, as there are also *tukuni* about tracing the names of one's *yavusa*, *mataqali* or *itokatoka* back to another *yasana* or *tikina*.[112] When people migrate from one area of Fiji to another they take with them their *tukuni*, the name of their *yavusa*, *mataqali*, *itokatoka* and their totems. *Tukuni* have empowered people to re-connect and acknowledge some of their own people who have moved to other areas of Fiji. *Tukuni* have thus not only empowered people to reconnect but have also sustained the links of genealogy historically.

Tukuni vs positivistic history

Positivistic is derived from the word positivism. Positivism is a quantitative method of sociology which maintains that to obtain knowledge, there must be observable, positive facts. Auguste Comte (1798-1857) was one of the early pioneers of positivism in the attept to use the "scientific" method in social science. Comte believed that empirical scientific evidence and statistical information should be used when one studies an issue concerning society as a whole. He argues that statistics compiled through observation one would be able to distinguish between the strengths and weaknesses. Comte emphasises our relationship to society and how research in the form of statistics can make a change in our daily life and of the government of the day. In the early 20th century, the logical positivists developed the theory that the only meaningful propositions are those that can be verified empirically. Marcuse added 'Comte explicitly used the term positive to mean educating men to take a positive attitude towards the

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[112] For some it would also include the names of their totems.

prevailing state of affairs' (Marcuse, 1960, p. 327). It is putting those positive attitudes into action that brought about revolution around the world.

The theory of positivistic history is that using statistical information about past events brings about change, by enabling society to not remain ignorant about changes that need to be made. Collecting statistical information may be appropriate when it comes to certain historical issues if the purpose of the researcher is to effect change which he/she thinks is vital. Even though statistics may be significant for dealing with some historical issues they may not be reliable as sometimes people generalise when making statements about what the statistics show. Some statistical information may change over time and may not really represent the objective facts.

On the other hand, *tukuni* as historical narratives, myth or legends have helped the *taukei* to hold on to their history and identity, which are recaptured through stories that have been reproduced over generations. *Tukuni* used in this research are a qualitative method of conveying historical events, which allow the researcher to put things into perspective by recording the events in relation to the socio-cultural setting. It also socially extends the social network of the researcher by connecting the researcher to the people of the community being researched. Through this there is a rich interaction and relationship with that community. This interaction, integration and assimilation into the community enables a researcher to be empowered when researching or writing about that community. *Tukuni* cannot be subjected to quantification because each storyteller tells the story differently. Because of this, researchers have to take great care in selecting the people who tell the *tukuni* and be a careful listener when the *tukuni* are told.

Respecting the sacred space of the *tukuni* is important in establishing a good relationship and rapport with the keepers of knowledge. These are some of the issues that are not taken into account in positivistic history, which is being more concerned with hard and dry statistical information and how it can be effective in implementing change. *Tukuni* is more concerned with relationships and how such

relationships will be established to bring about change. These are changes about righting the wrongs of land issues and genealogical and kinship ties.

7.11 Conclusion

Using hermeneutics to analyse and interpret data is vital when I am trying to make sense of the data. Analysing the two different *tukuni* from Nakauvadra (Ra) and Tukuta (Lovoni) brings out important aspects of the Solomoni connection to the two areas of research. This connection which is an identity and relationship is still clearly highlighted by the descendants of people who have this connection. The *tauvu* connection of Tukuta is no different from the *tauvu* connection in Ra. Both deal with the kinship relationship and connection, even though there are differences in the story about the way they are connected.

Even though the majority of the Solomoni and *taukei* recognise the *tauvu* and *veiwekani* relationship and identity emotionally, there is still discrimination against the Solomoni. When one demonstrates his/her *tauvu* or *veiwekani* relationship with someone he/she is connected to, he/she is giving the impression that he/she recognises such relationships. However, how they show such a relationship is troublesome in this contemporary period. Some learn through observing others, while others are told about the beginnings of such a relationship. Observing people's reaction to such traditional relationships without asking why, how and when, does not help an individual in any way. Explaining and being reasonable about the way one acts to a person one is *tauvu* to would do away with discriminatory thinking about that person. Being knowledgeable about such traditional relationships will foster understanding and accommodation. Having some knowledge about the *tauvu* traditional relationship may hold the key or bridge the gap between the Solomoni and *taukei* and the *tukuni* will make the *taukei* feel that the *tauvu* relationship is more than just a *tukuni*.

CHAPTER 8: TRADITIONAL RELATIONSHIP, *MANA* AND WHAT BECOMES OF IT.

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the narratives and stories were analysed according to their respective contexts, which are Nayaulevu in Ra and Tukuta in Lovoni, Ovalau. Both of these *tukuni* specifically demonstrate the evidence of descendants of the *auapu* and the *yavu*. They also acknowledge the *tauvu* relationship which the Solomoni have with the people of Lovoni and the connections they have with the people of Ra. In the previous chapter the narratives speak of the beginning of Nakauvadra and how the Solomoni were among these early settlers of Nakauvadra. Their roles and responsibilities within the social structure of Nakauvadra were clarified by the effect they had on the people of Nakauvadra, especially the *turaga* (chiefs). This was seen through the things they could do with their hands in respect of a chief and their relationship with the people of Nakauvadra. Most of these relationships were forged through intermarriage and integration. Through intermarriage the *tukuni* about the Solomoni *yavu* is still known and can be seen till today. Intermarriage also fostered the *tauvu* identity and relationship in Ra and Ovalau.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the contention that indigenous knowledge is also traditional knowledge which belongs to a specific group of people who should always be acknowledged when it comes to research. Such a group of people would be engaged in a method of keeping their traditional knowledge alive, through either *tukuni/talanoa* or dances, songs and poetry. It is through any of these social practices that people come to know about the issues of domination and suppression. However, a person who is firmly grounded on his/her identity and traditional relationships (Sections 8.3-8.4), will clearly understand why certain things happen the way they do. This is evident in the *tauvu* relationship between the people of *yavusa* Namara (Section 8.5-8.6) and the Solomoni, as well as in (Section 8.7) respect of the relationship between the people of Ra and the Solomoni. Through both of these

connections and relationships *mana* is manifested through proper *sala vakavanua* (way of the land)[113]. The *sala vakavanua* (Section 8.8), if it is *dodonu* (proper/ straight/ right) when tied with the primordial kinship bond bring out the *mana* of such a relationship.

8.2 Indigenous knowledge in research

In Pacific indigenous knowledge the subject of who people can be connected to through names of people and places and time and space are not lineal but spontaneous and temporal. This means that similarity in stories, place names and names of people show connections and relationships. However, the aftermath of these human experiences is substantiated either by the reality left on the ground such as old house posts or through their descendants. The *tukuni* from Tukuta, Lovoni, Fiji and 'Are 'are, Malaita, Solomon Islands are connected. Firstly, both speak of the *auapu* (high ranking lady) and the place she came from, 'Are 'are in Malaita. Secondly, both *tukuni* use the names of the two Fijian men, Paula (Vaula) and Rakavono. Thirdly, the name of the *auapu*, Nunuanawe, Nunuarawe or Nunuanowe, was the same in both areas of research. Fourthly, both stories highlight the yam as one of the things the *auapu* took with her from Malaita to Ovalau. Both stories also use an indigenous term to describe the position of the high ranking lady, the Malaitan term being *auapu* and the Fijian term *tabusiga* or *raluve*.

Like the two men, *auapu* (high ranking lady) had certain protocols to follow because of her and her family's rank. The two men were also high-ranking in their own right because they became *kalouvu* of the places they came from. To be a *kalouvu* of a place means you are the first to have lived in that place or you own that place and all other people who come after you and lived or live in that place are your descendants. Both Rakavono and Paula are the ancestors of the people who live in Lovoni and Moturiki. Paula was known as Vulalevu (*Vula* means moon and *levu* means big). However the name Paula and Rakavono are both well known in east 'Are 'are in Malaita in the Solomon Islands.

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[113] The *sala vakavanua* is the culture and customs of a particular country and in this case Fiji.

The 'Are 'are term *auapu* is similar in meaning to the Fijian term *tabusiga*. *Auapu* means a high-ranking lady who is closely watched by people who are responsible for her well-being, both close family members and others. Like *auapu*, the Fijian *tabusiga* is not allowed out into the sun like ordinary children and she is closely watched. A *tabusiga* has a number of high-ranking ladies who teach her the culture and protocols of a lady and what is expected of her. She would be expected to behave and dress like a lady.

The yam was one of the commonalities in the stories from both places. The yam is known in 'Are'are as *tabu* (taboo) yam. It is the yam that is eaten only by the *auapu*. The yam was brought by the *auapu* to Ovalau and it grows there and is not like those seasonal yams which can be harvested only during certain times of the year. Up in the highlands of Lovoni in Ovalau, close to the place where the *auapu* stayed, these yams are known as *tivoli* and people utter a word of request like '*bu kere tivoli* which means 'grandmother can I please have some yams' and their request is granted. The individual who would use the word 'grandmother' when asking for the yam does so because the *auapu* is their ancestor and the yam is hers.

Each level of the *tukuni* had to be clarified in accordance with time and space. At each level the flow of knowledge, attention together with effective imagination operates to draw certain similar elements in order to construct a more inclusive set of relationships between the two *tukuni*. Here the listeners would draw out the similar elements and look at how they are related as I have done above. There are also historical and cultural facts which are acquired through *tukuni* by taking into consideration an individual's past experience.

These experiences are seen in the way we speak of the different historical periods, or what the groups during whatever time frame encounter, making is possible to understand why the "spirit" of one time or group differs from another. However, while some acknowledge the different historical periods and events, there are others who prefer not to do so. It is those who acknowledge them who would talk about them to anyone who would like to know. *Talanoa* like *tukuni* is a vehicle of indigenous

knowledge and oral history. Through *tukuni* there is an awareness of the connections that we have between ourselves and others. This genuine connection brings about some external expressions which becomes evident in our relationship with other people and which may have two important results. Firstly, we will become aware of the people and things we are surrounded with. Secondly, when people have experienced and are aware of what's happening around them, they will be bold to talk about it. *Talanoa* then is built up through a person's consciousness brought about by experience and communication. When experience and communication reinforce each other they become dependent on each other, which reinforces the entire development of feelings and understanding. For example: through *talanoa* we discover that we can arouse similar states of consciousness in both ourselves and the other confronting us. Through *talanoa* one is able to communicate with great understanding and are precise about the different manners of our feelings and thoughts.

Talanoa help to make people have insight into the other person's experience, and the way one reacts or comprehends the *talanoa* would depend on one's history. Thus, personal experiences together with the *talanoa* are factors which enable people to access historical knowledge. It is also important to take into consideration the lived experiences of those who have passed beyond the present life, which are also an important point of entry for *tukuni* or *talanoa* to happen. One has to understand that accessing historical knowledge through *tukuni* largely depends on how many people have heard them, and how many times. The more people who have heard them, the more they can then pass on any historical knowledge of identity, relationships and traditions to their children, thus consciously creating and articulating a knowledge base which belongs to them only. Indigenous knowledge is then the knowledge of people's *tukuni*, *talanoa*, history, relationships and their connections to their environment and the spiritual realms.

If people's relationships are connected through past experiences and history, there would be a spiritual connection felt at the beginning of a research journey, if the researcher has kinship ties with the research community. For example in 2010 when I went to Ovalau, I decided to go to Tukuta the next day after some advice from my relatives in Wainaloka village. When my cousin and I reached Tukuta

the next day, we waited to see if we could see anyone up and about as it was still early in the morning. We looked towards the bridge in front of us and when we reached it we saw a six-year old girl standing on the other side. We started walking across the bridge thinking that she would run off as other children do when strangers approach them. But no, she stood there, staring at us. Before we reached her, we heard a woman calling out 'Alitia! Alitia! Alitia' It was her mother calling her. The girl's mother knew my cousin and called out *'George! Bula! Mai'*. (George! Hello! Come). Later we came to know that Alitia's full name was Adi Alitia Nunuanawe Matanisiga. She was named after her ancestor, the *auapu*. Alitia's mother also told us that Alitia had always been sensitive to the presence of any Solomoni who is about to enter the village ever since she was born. When she graced us with her presence at the other end of the bridge it was nothing new to them.

On that same day, her grandfather Ratu Eparama Druguta had gone to his plantation as he always does every morning but this time he was compelled by what seemed like some voice he heard telling him to go back home. We both knew that he had gone out and I thought that I would have to spend another day during that week coming back to see him. While we were having a rest at a cousin's place, he sent his son to tell us that he was waiting at home, and this is what he said to us later as we sat down to *talanoa*: *'Au a sa tu mai nai teitei, qai vaka ga e dua na ka e tukuna tiko mai vei au me'u lesu i vale, ia ena gauna au yaco mai kina i vale sa tukuna sara yani o Sami, ta, e rua na nomu vulagi rau tiko qo, au taroga sara o cei, a tukuna sara mai okoya o Joji mai Wainaloka kei dua na tavalena lako tiko ma vakavuli mai Okaladi, oi, sai rau saraga na vuna au lesu tale mai kina.'* (I was already at the plantation and I heard something like a voice telling me to come back home and as soon as I arrived back in the village I was told by my son, Sami, that I have two visitors. I asked Sami who they were and he said they were George from Wainaloka and his cousin who is here from Auckland carrying out research. So these two people are the reason why I had to come back).

The spiritual connection was there from the beginning, first with the girl named after the *auapu*/*tabusiga* and second with her grandfather. This connection made me realise that the sacred space which was there between me as a researcher and them had been bridged. Any indigenous person would

say that when such things happen in this way, this is *mana* making itself evident. This meant for me that my journey to Tukuta, Lovoni that morning, was effective. *Mana* has to do with the way things around you manifest themselves spiritually and in my case it was that as a researcher I was able to get what I wanted during that time. *Mana* is also about the ability of people and their openness in the *tukuni* that they tell. *Mana* was also felt in the various places I went to during my time in the field as a researcher.

In Honiara, Solomon Islands, Paul, my niece's husband, engaged a Malaitan man named Joe who was well versed in the history and traditional stories from Malaita. We employed Joe because he had also done similar research in the past relating to a missing ancestor and land. Paul did this because he knew his knowledge of the east 'Are'are dialect is very limited since he came from west 'Are 'are. Joe was very familiar with the 'Are'are dialect and through his conversation with Paul we managed to engage his help in interpreting the questions in that dialect. In addition to this the man (Pourara) we were going to *talanoa* with was an elder and a chief in Moraro. Now, when Joe interpreted the questions, I noticed that he put in extra questions which I found had nothing to do with my research and which I knew would also be breaching the ethics of my research. For example: Joe included questions about names of sharks and they were not directly related to my research. After hearing his story of the things which went wrong after his own research I realised that research which takes place using traditional knowledge but goes into issues unconnected with the subject of research[114] can cost a person's life. Later, when we got home, I asked Paul why he had asked extra questions about matters which were not related to my research, and Paul replied that he agreed with me that those questions were irrelevant and we would leave those questions out. After we came back from Malaita three weeks later, we came back to see Joe as advised by Joe. On the first day, he was eager to sit down and *talanoa* with us, but after that he started giving excuses and kept rescheduling our sessions. None of us bothered to ask why but we just accepted what was happening. The fourth time we went to see him was a Sunday afternoon. When we reached his house, his nephew told us that he had been taken to the hospital by an ambulance

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[114] Joe was talking about how one of his daughters died and he believed it was because he did something wrong when doing his research about land issues.

and we knew that something serious had happened to him. When we reached the hospital, his wife came out and told us that the door of a shipping container which he was filling up with timber fell on him as he was working. I stood outside the hospital and reflected on the number of times we had gone to see Joe, the betel nuts, and tobacco we had bought and how he always had an excuse.

In conducting research through indigenous epistemology, one has to be aware that *mana* is about what my mother used to tell me: *Na nomu gaunisala ni vakadidike me dodonu,* meaning that your paths of research should be proper and right. Following the right paths of research and being mindful of the questions that are being asked is important. One thing that was not proper and right about the extra research questions put in by Joe was because he was using Paul and me for his own personal gain and knowledge. This was not ethically right and proper.

In Ra, Inia Kaisau, who was from the *yavusa* of Bua, was eager to talk to me more about the *tukuni* of his ancestors who used to live in the Nakauvadra ranges. As five of the men from Maniava, my brother, and I gathered around the table in the conference room at the Ministry of Education, I felt a presence which I felt the first time I went up to Tukuta. He did not want me to record anything but just to sit down and listen. I listened attentively and would switch on the recorder only when he said I could do so. After a while, we started talking about the land, and he was asking me if I had a map, and he went to get his map while I took out mine. As he was spreading out his map I started to unfold mine and to the surprise of both of us, the maps were exactly the same. This co-incidence meant a lot to him, as it means that I was the right person for him to give the information to. He was speechless and all of a sudden became very open about the stories about the people of Nakauvadra which he had already saved in his computer. While we were looking at the maps he went out to retrieve the saved information which he had put together two weeks before our arrival.

I found through these various encounters I came across during this research journey that *tukuni* and *talanoa* need to be used correctly within the indigenous epistemological framework. Thus, from the beginning, consciousness is bound to the situation, experience, *tukuni* and *talanoa,* by which I mean

that one has to be conscious of those things from the beginning of one's research when it involves indigenous or traditional knowledge. The experience by a researcher of *mana* in the field of research when dealing with indigenous knowledge could be taken to mean several things;

- That there is a connection between the person researching and the people researched

- That the ancestors and the people are happy

- That the ancestors, people and the *vanua* have given their approval

- That the research is valid and people outside need to know about it.

It may not be necessary for the researcher to make sure that everyone approves, as some may disapprove but may not even show it, as long as those who own the *tukuni* do not disapprove. Disapproval happens only when people do not want a story known and want it suppressed, and as long as they live those people may deny that the events of such *tukuni* happened. This will be discussed in the next section.

8.3 The Different Voices within Indigenous Knowledge

There are different voices in a *talanoa* or *tukuni* and this depends on the way people narrate a story. Sometimes there are people who either chose not to talk about the story or remain discreet about it for security reasons. The feeling of insecurity would be the result of their own history as an *itokatoka*, *mataqali*, and *yavusa*.

When people are aware or have some historical knowledge about a *tukuni*, there will be some connection. This connection will enable them to *talanoa* openly about it. However, there will be others who have no idea at all about the *tukuni* and will say so. Then there are still others who will *talanoa* openly about the issue but will make sure that their own interest will always be paramount, and be prepared to sweep everything under the carpet. For example when I went to Maniava, Ra, I went to present my *sevusevu* to the *Turaga na Tui Vunivau,* the chief, who lives in Nayaulevu village. My protocols officer Peni Waqalevu from the Solomoni settlement of Maniyava wanted us to go and see another man also named Peni, who lived in a settlement near the Solomoni *yavu* which Peni (who lives

near the Solomoni *yavu*) has always said belongs to the early Solomoni settlers. After his *talanoa*, he told us "*Na nomudou yavu e tu qo ia e sega ga na kemudou qele*" (Your old house site is here but you have no land). When we had finished with our *talanoa* sessions there we made our way back to Maniyava. My protocols officer asked me to have some rest and told me that he would come and see me early in the evening. He brought some *kava* and I sat with a few elderly men of Maniyava to talk about the events which happened during the day. He said to me, "*O noqu yaca mai ra ya e sega ni via dolava nai talanoa baleta ni okoya e vulagi tiko ena vanua e tiko kina*" (My namesake [Peni] from down there[115] did not openly *talanoa* to you because he himself is a foreigner in the land upon which he resides).

As he told me about Peni from the settlement near the *yavu* I clearly understood why the latter said what he said. He had to make sure that his own people's voice would be heard and that their interest would be paramount when he told me the story about the Solomoni *yavu*. Here is a classic example of a dominant interest, whereby the land issue is being indirectly referred to when Peni said 'the *yavu* is here but you have no land'. This was because within his *talanoa*, he had to make sure that the land upon which he was residing was safeguarded, and it was not only about the land but also the people who had come to call it home. However, one of the most interesting and highly significant parts of the *talanoa* is that he had acknowledged that there was a *yavu* even though he said that there was no land.

The *tukuni* of a *Solomoni yavu* have spread throughout Ra and people would pass on this *tukuni* as they married into other *koro, yavusa* and *mataqali*. The people of Ra would have accommodated the Solomoni when they came there and throughout their history would have talked about them to the next generation. Some would also have talked about them to people who had some sort of connection to the Solomoni people. However, the number of people who would talk openly about it would have been small and this small number would always be suppressed unless or until someone identified him/herself as a Solomoni within the group. Suppression would come about only when there was insecurity. Mentioning this identity would raise questions and comments such as *Na cava iko kaya kina ni o iko na*

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[115] The small settlement near the *yavu* where we had gone for the talanoa about the *yavu.*

kai-Solomoni? Iko sega ni kai-Solomoni, iko na kai Viti (Why do you say that you are a Solomon Islander? You are not a Solomon Islander, you are a Fijian). People who would say this would be well versed in the history and know the connection.

There are others who, may be well versed in the history but choose to remain discreet about it because they fear the implications of discussing such history. Choosing to be discreet means suppressing knowledge which needs to be passed on to the rightful inheritors of it who need to know that such a *tukuni* does exist. Sometimes historical knowledge incompletely passed on will lack depth and may one day cease to exist. People will be selective in terms of the *tukuni* they choose to tell and the selection would raise questions such as:

- Whom does it involve?

- What is the main issue?

- What are the time and place?

- Whom does it affect?

- Is it a threat to us or our existence and our material wellbeing?

The rightful owners of the *tukuni* would make sure that it is told openly and those who would be eager to talk about the history of the Solomoni *yavu* would look for a sign or signs as confirmations that it is the right time and people to talk about it to. This does not mean that all people who are keepers of the knowledge have to see a sign, as some keepers of this knowledge consciously know who to *talanoa* openly to, what to say and when to say it. *Mana* would manifest itself physically, only if there are connections between the storyteller and the listener. An example is the story earlier about the maps that Inia (story teller from Ra) and I both pulled out which looked exactly the same. The manifestations of *mana* are heard through other small internal issues which unconsciously and unexpectedly come out. These are *tukuni* about power, land and other issues which are of little relevance to the main issue of the *tukuni* but may in some way contribute towards the reasons why certain things happen the way they do. It is here that the dominant voice is heard and some issues which are suppressed are unconsciously

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brought out into the open. Therefore, *tukuni* within indigenous knowledge are not only fluid but are also dynamic. They change according to the way people want them known. Known *tukuni* also change as people convey them and the way people do this would largely depend on their history and how clearly they understand it. It is in this sense that the dominant views may be seen to create conflict, because a person can only assume that whatever is said is credible and that all else is false. Sometimes historical knowledge passed through a *tukuni* is told to suit some people rather than others. This is seen in the differences in historical knowledge passed on through *talanoa* in the *tukuni* from Tukuta in comparison with those from 'Are 'are in Malaita in the Solomon Islands, in which what is unnecessary is eliminated and the main subject of the *tukuni* is retained.

However, there are certain traditional functions or ceremonies within a *vanua*, *koro*, *yavusa*, and *mataqali* when these views become visible. These *tukuni* of suppression and domination are visible only when there is a *soqo vakavanua* (gathering of a vanua). It is in these gatherings that people check out whose *tukuni* is *dina* (true) or *lasu* (false). For example: *Mataqali* A was claiming that they were the rightful holder of the *yavusa* title rather than *mataqali* B within a *yavusa* which both *mataqali* belonged to. *Mataqali* B was not bothered and chose just to be quiet about it and let them claim the title. One day there was a *bose vakavanua* (meeting of the *vanua*) and all the people of the village were asked to be present at the meeting. During the meeting, certain chiefs of some *yavusa* were asked to sit where the paramount chief was sitting, and one of these *yavusa* was the one in which the claims from *mataqali* A were made. While some members from *mataqali* A were looking towards their chief and expecting him to go up and sit where the paramount chief was sitting, he was quiet and looked away. The paramount chief got up and summoned the chief of *mataqali* B to sit next to him. The action of the paramount chief showed people who was the real chief of the *yavusa* was and whose *tukuni* was valid.

The dominant voice as opposed to what is suppressed is evident whenever there is a *soqo vakavanua* (traditional gathering). These differing views would result in conflicting versions of this knowledge. Conflicts regarding indigenous knowledge eventuate because people have different ways of interpreting what they have heard. Indigenous knowledge in the form of a *tukuni* is thus fluid in that it expands its

boundaries, through intermarriage, which brings about accommodation, integration, interaction and assimilation. When people migrate to another new *vanua* and *koro* through marriage, they already have a set of historical knowledge which has been brought about through socialisation. This historical knowledge includes their language or dialect, *talanoa* about their beginning as a people, their *kalouvu*, their *manumanu, kau, ika'* (bird, plant and fish)[116], their traditional relationship (who, why, how) and other aspects of their identity. So when they marry into another *vanua* or *koro* they take this historical indigenous knowledge with them and talk about it to their children. Intermarriage also enables them to assimilate to the historical knowledge and indigenous knowledge of their new *vanua* or *koro*, so that an individual ends up with two sets of such knowledge. It is through such situations that everyone comes to know his/her traditional relationships through both the paternal and the maternal side. Knowing one's traditional relationships and ties is significant for any person who calls him/herself a *taukei*. This will be discussed in the next section.

8.4 Traditional Identities and Relationships

Identity and relationships between people and their environment are visible in the way people interpret their history. History helps people to be grounded in the spiritual and cultural aspects of their identity. Through the way indigenous and historical knowledge expands its boundaries, people are able to make sense of who they are connected to. Through intermarriage, integration, assimilation and accommodation people are able to establish how and why certain individuals have a certain type of traditional relationships with them. Most people come to know of these traditional relationships during *soqo vakavanua* (gatherings of a vanua) and *solevu* (traditional gatherings). It is during these times when people come together that they come to know the people to whom they are *veitabani*, *veibatiki* or *tauvu*. All of these relationships and connections have a *tukuni*, and they happen internally between the different *koro*, *yavusa* or *mataqali*. However, the *tauvu* relationship is the only relationship which exists externally between the Solomoni of the Solomon Islands and the *taukei* of Fiji.

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[116] These are their totems. When growing up an *taukei* should learn what their animal, bird, plant and fish are. This is part of their identity.

The *tauvu* relationship and identity which exists externally is between the Rauahu tribe of 'Are 'are in the Solomon Islands and the *Veikau* tribe of Tukuta in Ovalau. However, it is not only the Rauahu tribe of 'Are'are which now has this relationship with the people of Tukuta, but the whole of the Solomon Islands has this relationship with them. This is because the brothers and sisters of the *auapu* moved to other places within the Solomon Islands and settled there, becoming the ancestors of those who live in those places. The blood ties of the *auapu* have thus been extended. The expansion of these blood ties and historical knowledge means that Malaita and certain parts of the Solomon Islands have become *tauvu* to Tukuta and other parts of Fiji in which the descendants of the *auapu* are now living.[117] With this in mind the next section looks at the way anthropologists like Hocart and Thomson define *tauvu* and what it is today.

8.5 Tauvu Relationship – Past and Present

A *tauvu* relationship and identity is established if a high-ranking lady of chiefly status from a *vanua* marries an ancestor, normally one who is high ranking as well from another *vanua*.[118] Even though the ancestor is the first such person to be in the locality and of higher authority than the lady, the high-ranking lady's power (*mana*) supersedes that of her husband so that she is recognised as being of greater status than her husband. Hocart, tries to define *tauvu* by drawing from how people in Lau, Naitasiri, Cakaudrove, Rewa, Bau and Ra define it (Hocart, 1913). He also tries to explain that *tauvu* is similar to the *vasu* or the Tongan *fahu* relationship, which is a cross-cousin relationship whereby the sister's children are given special privileges when they are at their uncle's[119] house. Hocart describes the *tauvu* relationship as one in which those concerned use bad language in speaking to each other, one in which the one could ruffle or stroke the other's head and one in which one can take any items from the other.

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[117] Those who are now living in Tailevu, Nukutocia, Visoto and Kadavu.

[118] The ancestor here means a high-ranking person who was the first to have arrived in a locality.

[119] sister's brother

It is the kinship of the woman that expands the boundary to which people relate or connect. However, it is different when it comes to *tauvu*. *Tau* means 'to land' and *vu* means 'the first to be in the locality'. So, when a woman of high rank marries a *vu,* their descendants will be *tauvu* to each other and to other people who are connected to their ancestors through maternal blood ties. Within *tauvu* the woman's *mana* is acknowledged because she was powerful in expanding her boundaries, through her descendants, her name and the name of her *yavusa* (tribe). *Tauvu* means the descendants of the people who are the first to be in a locality and the people who have had blood ties with them since time immemorial. With *tauvu* there is a *tukuni* which connects the two *koro, yavusa,* or *mataqali*.

However, within the *vasu* (one whose mother is of the land) relationship there are no *talanoa*, but there is a connection which comes with certain privileges. The *vasu* identity can be traced through maternally connecting with other people for any two individuals from Fiji as shown in the example below.[120]

Sivo: *Bula, Sivo, mai Lomanikoro ,Rewa!* (Hello! I am Sivo and I come from Lomanikoro, Rewa)

Filipe: *Bula, Filipe mai Lovoni, vasu i Lomanikoro, Rewa*. (Hello!I am Filipe and I come from Lovoni, but my mother is from Lomanikoro, Rewa)

Sivo: *O cei na tinamu?* (what is your mother's name?)

Filipe: *O Vula* (Vula)

Sivo: *Na tukamu o Sovita?* (Is your grandfather Sovita?)

Filipe: *Io!* (yes)

Sivo: *Isa! O keirau yavusa vata kei tinamu*. (Your mother and I belong to the same clan).

Vasu relationship is about knowing one's maternal links and the people one is closely related to. Within the *vasu* relationship one can joke with their cross-cousins and one can help oneself to any of

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[120] even in the diaspora

one's cross-cousins belongings, and even, as Hocart says, ruffle one's cross-cousin's hair. But within a *tauvu* relationship, one can joke with one's *tauvu* but it has to be done with a lot of love and respect. To ruffle the hair of one's *tauvu* or to run riot in the village of one's *tauvu*, recklessly destroying plantations and helping oneself to any food or clothing as Thomson says, is unheard of in terms of the *tauvu* relationship. Most behave decently towards those with whom they have this relationship.

As an example, a well known Fijian boxer named Sakaraia Ve, who is from Visoto got into a bus with some people from Nukutocia and Wainaloka. Wainaloka is a Solomoni settlement and Nukutocia, which is close to Wainaloka, is a Fijian village. Wainaloka has a *tauvu* relationship with both of these two villages. While in the bus, a young man from Nukutocia started telling rude jokes to the women from Wainaloka and kept saying *kai-Solomoni* in a sarcastic way. All of a sudden, Sakaraia Ve got up from his seat and asked the driver to stop. When the bus came to a halt, he got up and said to the man, 'You have no right to say those words and to joke rudely to these women, did you know that if it wasn't for the *bubu* (grandmother)[121] you would not be here, now take all your stuff and walk home before I start using my fists to close your mouth.' After the man got off, Sakaraia Ve asked for forgiveness and said to the women from Wainaloka who were in the bus that the man did not know how to treat his *tauvu*.

People have different ways of defining and exhibiting the *tauvu* relationship and identity. A *tauvu* will act with a lot of *loloma* (love), *vakarokoroko* (respect), *vakarorogo* (attention/listen), *veidokai* (honouring the other first), *veinanumi* (caring), *veiciqomi* (accepting/receiving), *veivakaliuci* (putting the other first) and *dauwawa* (patience). Any individual who has a *tauvu* relationship with any other individual will show it by the way he/she reacts towards the other. The way they act towards the other will show that he/she knows the history of such relationships and identity. It is now appropriate to look at the history of *yavusa* Namara, who are the descendants of the *auapu,* and the various places in which they have established themselves around Fiji.

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[121] People from Tukuta, Nukutocia and Visoto who have links to the 'auapu' would refer to her as bubu or grandmother.

8.6 Case study 1 – Solomoni and the Ra connection

Within the province of Rakiraki everyone is well aware of and knowledgeable about the connection and relationship that the Solomoni have with the people of all of the province of Rakiraki. Some would claim the *tauvu* connection while others would use the term *veiwekani makawa* (old relatives/cousins). *Veiwekani makawa* means related or connected as descendants of the first human settlers of Rakiraki. This *veiwekani makawa* is seen on the Solomoni *yavu* known as Maniyava or Manuyava. Maniyava is a well known *itokatoka* within the *mataqali* of Navakacacara under the *yavusa* of Bua who now live at Vitawa village (*Yavusa* of Bua, Mataqali Navakacacara, *Tokatoka* Manuyava – Extinct)[122] Extinct here means that there is no living member left. This entry in the official records is mentioned here so that people know that there is a record of a Solomoni *yavu,* that there was a history and story of a people who used to live there and that there is need for this to be documented. Even though people have gone and there is no living member left, the *yavu* will still be there.

The *itokatoka* Manuyava is included in the *yavusa* of Bua because it is they who looked after the *Saumaibua* (chief of the Yavusa of Bua). They are the *liga ni ka tabu* for the *Saumaibua* and for those at Uluda, when the need arises. (Refer to the map of Viti Levu for the location of the *yavu* and the map on the ground, Figures 8.1-8.3)

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[122] See Table No. 6 - Classification of Communal Units - Province of Ra. pg 109

Figure 8.1: Map of Northern Viti Levu, showing the location of Maniyava
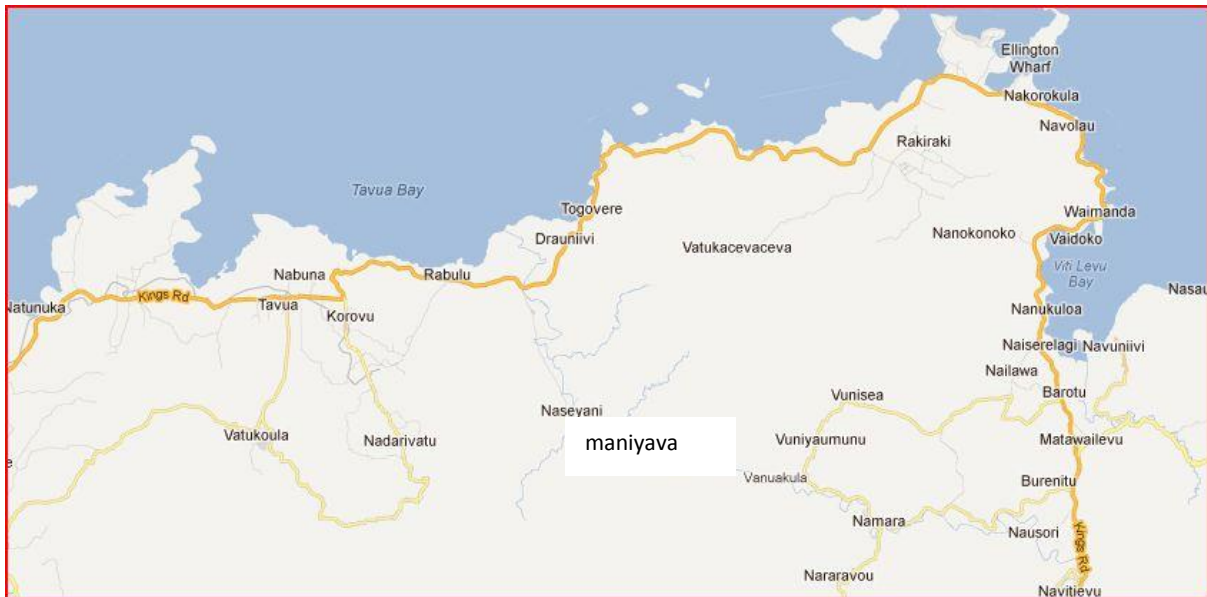
Location of Vunisea in Viti Levu - Rakiraki province - http://maps.google.co.nz

Figure 8.2: Map showing the location of the *yavu*
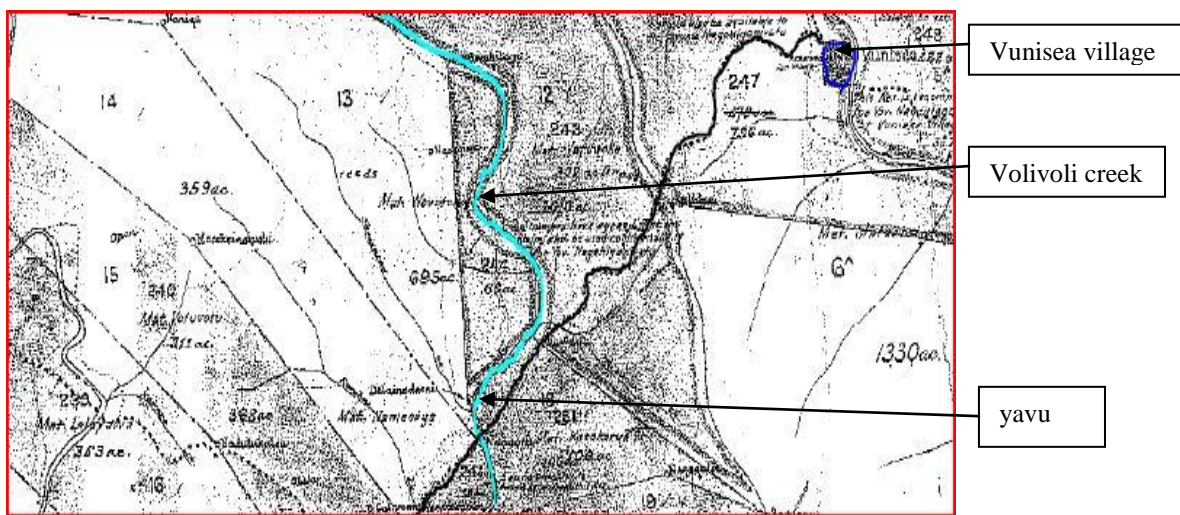
Source: Itaukei Lands Trust Board

Figure 8.3: Photograph of the Solomoni *yavu*

Place for the *bilo* (cup)   seat for the chief   Inoke sitting on the chief's seat[123]

This is the view from the seat. It is the place where the *itokatoka* Maniyava or Manuyava lived.

On this *yavu*, there is a seat where the chief sat, a place where he would place his cup when he finished drinking *kava*, a place where the *matanivanua* (spokesman) would mix the kava, and a place where the *matanivanua* would also sit. Both the *matanivanua* and his *turaga* (chief) would sit on their seats and watch their people swim or whatever was happening across the other side of the river, where their houses were located.

The place became empty when the people from here were banished for aiding the twins in killing Turukawa.[124] So the *mataisau* household and Rokola plus the Maniyava household were banished from

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[123] Inoke Aliki was my protocols officer in Maniava.

[124] Turukawa was the name of Degei's bird which the twins shot. See chapter 7

Ra. Now it was believed that the leaders of these two households were brothers since they came from one ancestral god. The *mataisau* clan and the Solomoni are said to be the *kai Nakauvadra* (from/belong to Nakauvadra village) and the people from Ra are known to be the *kai Lomanikoro* (from the inside or middle of the village). To be a *kai Lomanikoro* from Nakauvadra means to come from a leading village within Nakauvadra. This means that other households like Maniyava and the *mataisau* from Narauyaba are chiefs within their *itokatoka* (household) and they would listen to the high chief Degei because he was the chief of Lomanikoro in Nakauvadra. The *yavu* and the close relationship of the *mataisau* with the Solomoni people means that they are not only *tauvu* to others but are also cousins who came from one ancestor. The *mana* of both the cousins came from what they could do with their hands. While one family was known as the *mataisau* (carpenters), the other is the *liga ni ka tabu*. When these people left, especially the *itokatoka* Maniyava (also spelt as Maniava), people could easily remember them through their *tukuni*, connections and relationship to other *itokatoka*.

Veitarotarogi (enquiries/questioning) about this took place in the early 1900's when the then Native Lands Commissioner, Ratu Sukuna asked the *Turaga na Tui Vunivau* (chief of the vanua of Naqeniganivatu), '*E cava e sa rui levu kina na nomudou qele kovuti*' (why do you have a lot of reserved native land?) The *Turaga na Tui Vunivau* at that time replied that '*Au kovuta baleta o ira na kawa tamata koya nodra na qele qo era se lako tu ena dua na siga era na lesu tale mai o ira na kena kawa* (I reserved so many of our lands because those who rightfully own these lands have gone away but their descendants will one day return).

Now in 2012 as I am writing this thesis, the situation is that the people from the *mataisau* (carpenter) clan from Nukutubu, Rewa and Solatavui, Kadavu, have returned in the early 1990's and have settled in a settlement named Narauyaba, which was the name of their first settlement in Ra before they were banished. The Solomoni have also returned to settle not on their *yavu* but on a piece of land given to them by the *Turaga na Tui Vunivau* after they followed the *sala vakavanua* (way of the land, using the Fijian traditional custom). This settlement is known as Maniyava and is also named after the first settlement of the earlier Solomoni settlers who settled in Ra before they were banished. Maniyava

settlement is known to the people who live in the surrounding areas as Maniyava 2, and the place where the *yavu* is located is known as Maniyava 1. (Refer to the map below)

Figure 8.4: Map showing the location of Maniyava 1 and 2
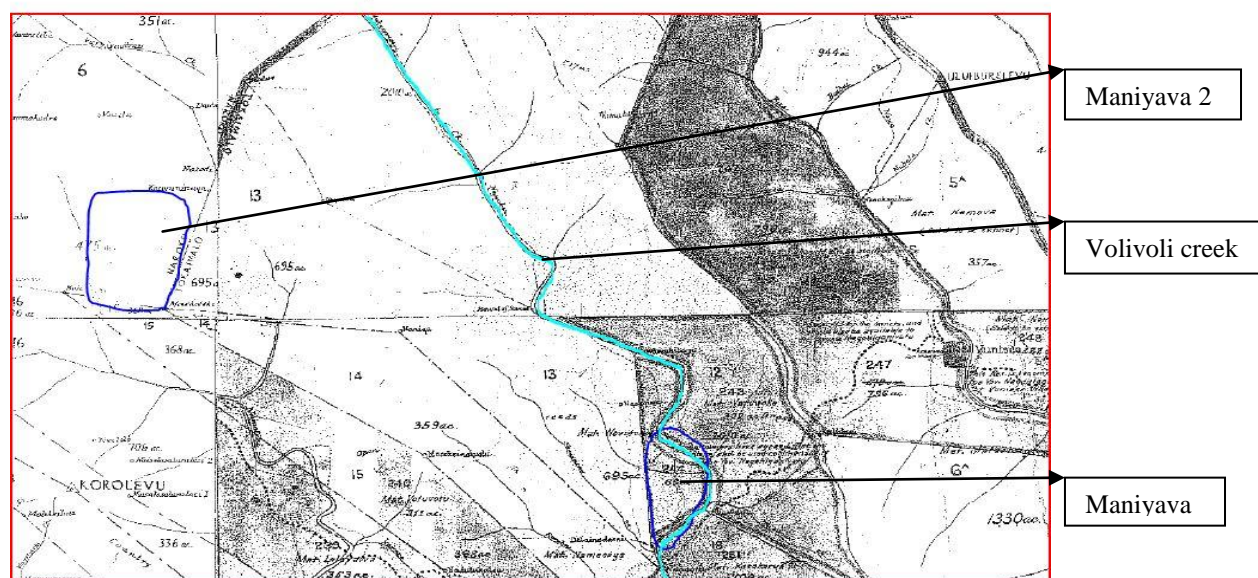
Source: Itaukei Lands Trust Board

One must follow the *sala vakavanua* if one is to connect to one's *yavu*, relatives or family. This connection can take place only if the cultural protocols are followed closely. Culture and custom when followed appropriately can bring about *sautu* (peace) and *mana*, not only with the people who have lived there all their life but also with those who are going to call it home. *Sautu* not only means peace but also means making sure that justice through indigenous and historical knowledge is accorded to the people who deserve it. It is now appropriate to look at the *sala vakavanua* that the Solomoni followed to connect themselves to their *yavu*.

8.7 The *sala vakavanua* and the *yavu* in Ra

Sala means 'way' and *vakavanua* means 'of the land'. It includes the culture, customs, traditions and protocols that people have to follow or abide by before entering any *vanua* in Fiji. *Vanua* here can mean one's land or *tikina*) or *yasana*. Within Fiji, each *vanua* has its own *matanikatuba* (doorway/house/envoy) through which one has to go when one enters a *vanua* for the first time. Every

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taukei should know to which house they are *veimataki* when entering a *vanua*. Such a house means the place they would refer to as home when they go to another *vanua*. People who are *mataki* or envoys for each other are related through blood.

There are a few reasons that people or houses become the *matanikatuba* for others. Firstly, having the kinship bond. Secondly, becoming *mataki* to each other because they are *viala qele* (land boundaries), that is A is adjacent to B through their land boundaries. So, when A goes to B's *vanua*, he/she does not go directly to the chief, but he/she would go to B, and B would take him/her to the chief. This also happens if A has to go to B's *vanua* for any traditional occasion. Thirdly, being *mataki* to the other because they have the same totems, as this shows that they have a primordial kinship, in that they come from one family. When one is *mataki* to the other, one would look after that person at one's home during traditional functions. In particular, one would make sure that the person to whom they are *mataki* is able to eat even if there are food restrictions or taboos, as one can take the food home for one's *mataki* and make sure that he/she is able to eat, avoiding being present with people to whom they are *veitabuki* (those with whom one has a specific food taboo). Every *taukei* would use the help of their *mataki* when they go to another *vanua* because of their primordial bond, kinship, having the same totems and being separated by their land boundaries, and because they will not feel like a *vulagi* in another *vanua*.

In the early 1990's when the Solomoni decided that they wanted to know more about their *yavu* in Ra, they sought advice. The advice disclosed to them was to approach first the *Tui Wailevu* at Vatusekiyasawa village before approaching the *Turaga na Tui Vunivau* in Nayaulevu village. For the Solomoni their *matanikatuba* would be the *Tui Wailevu/Tu Navatu/Yavusa* Bua[125]. It was from here that the Solomoni together with these people approached the *Turaga na Tui Vunivau*, in Nayaulevu village. As the Solomoni prepared to go on that journey, two from each Solomoni settlement were told

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[125] The people from the Yavusa Bua are now living in Vitawa Village. Their old village as known in chapter 7 is in Nakauvadra. It is the Yavusa Bua in which mataqali Navakacacara and tokatoka Manuyava are included.

to meet Joe Sanegar[126] at a set place and time. None of these people knew where they were going and why they were going there. From Suva they made their way to Vatusekiyasawa, Ra, where the villagers were gathered and were waiting for them to arrive. The Solomoni arrived in Vatusekiyasawa early one morning and did a *qusini loaloa* and *boka* to the people[127] who waited patiently for their arrival. *Qusini* means 'to wipe off'and *loaloa* means 'black'. *Boka* is the presentation of *tabua* (whale's tooth), mats and raw food to a place or a village one has been absent from for a long time.

Historically the terms *qusini loaloa* is a custom of feasting to honour the *bati* (warriors) who have returned alive after a war. The black marks on the warriors' faces are removed or wiped off and the chief provides a feast to mark the occasion. Now, *qusini loaloa* is a custom used for people who have left or those whose ancestors have left, under a bad cloud. The *loaloa* here is the bad reputation or bad behaviour. So, in order for their descendants to connect to their kinsmen, they have to try and wipe out the bad reputation that their ancestors have left, and to do so they have to ask for forgiveness from the people they have hurt. In this case the Solomoni had to present *kava*, *tabua*, drums of kerosene and some *magiti droka* (raw food).[128]

After the Solomoni had completed the custom of *qusini loaloa* they then presented another *tabua* for the custom of *boka*. Now the Solomoni had to *boka* and the *tabua* is part of *nodratou i reguregu kina mate eso, era sa yaco oti ena nodratou vanua ka sega ni ratou bau yaco mai kina oratou na Solomoni* (presentation of a tabua to recognise those who have passed on and to say that they were sorry that they were not present during those people's funerals in Vatusekiyasawa village). After all the presentations had been done by the Solomoni, the *Turaga na Tui Wailevu* (chief) then replied by accepting the *tabua* and petition of the Solomoni by also presenting a *tabua* with a *magiti*.[129] From Vatusekiyasawa, the

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[126] Joe Sanegar is a Solomoni from Wailoku and he was instrumental in getting this to happen. During this time he used to work at the Ministry of Multi-Ethnic Affairs.

[127] Tui Wailevu of Vatusekiyasawa, the yavusa of Bua and the Tu Navatu and the villagers.

[128] Raw food- can be bundles of dalo, pig, cow etc.

[129] The reply of Tui Wailevu was with the magiti of cooked food, of which both the Solomoni and the people of Vatusekiyasawa had to partake.

Solomoni were then taken to meet the *Turaga na Tui Vunivau* (chief) of Nayaulevu Village. Nayaulevu is one of the oldest villages in the province of Ra. During this time the man holding the chiefly title was Ratu Sikeli. The *Turaga na Tui Vunivau* also came from the Yavusa Naqeniganivatu, and more importantly, the Solomoni *yavu* sits within his land.

Now when they arrived at Nayaulevu, the *Turaga na Tui Wailevu's matanivanua* (spokesman) presented their *sevusevu*, during which they highlighted the reason for their coming. The *Turaga na Tui Wailevu* was elated and accepted their *sevusevu*, and then told the *Turaga na Tui Vunivau* that the Solomoni were here to see and visit their *yavu*. It was during this conversation that the *Turaga na Tui Vunivau* told the group that part of the land which surrounded the *yavu* had been leased to the Uluisavou Cattle Scheme, and part to another *mataqali*. However, he also agreed to give the Solomoni another piece of land if they were thinking of coming over to settle in Ra. It was here that Joe Sanegar was told by the Turaga na Tui Wailevu that, '*Sa solia na Turaga na Tui Vunivau e dua na tikini qele me baleti kemudou, gauna cava dou sa na mai solevu taka kina'* (the Turaga na Tui Vunivau has given a piece of land for you people, when do you think you want to come and traditionally gather for this occasion).

Two years after the visit to Vatusekiyasawa and Nayaulevu, the Solomoni decided to make their presence known in Nayaulevu. In May 1995, the Solomoni from Nabunikadamu, Naviavia, Wainaloka, Wailailai, Wailoku, Tamavua-i-wai and Matata made their journey to Nayaulevu. Each settlement had to come with a number of *tabua*, *kava*, drums of kerosene, mats and some *magiti*.[130] When the group arrived at Nayaulevu, the whole village was there to receive them. At Nayaulevu, the Solomoni performed the *carasala*, *boka* and *vakalutu ni qele*. *Cara* means to clear and *sala* means path/way. *Carasala* is a custom which is done to enable an *itokatoka* or *mataqali* to reconnect to the people they are related to. *Carasala* happens when the people that one is related to have gone and lived in another place for a long time. To re-connect with one's kinsmen one has to clear the path first. Those who are coming for the *carasala* will bring the *i yau* (mats, tabua, drums of kerosene and bales of cloth) and

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[130] Pigs and dalo

those who are living in the village will provide the *magiti* in the form of cooked food to share with those who are coming. This custom helps to build a good and improving relationship between the two groups of people.

After the *carasala* was done, the Solomoni also did the *boka*[131] and the *vakalutu ni qele* before the feast. *Vakalutu ni qele*, *vakalutu* means drop and *qele* means land/soil. The *Turaga na Tui Vunivau* gave another piece of land to compensate for the surrounding areas of the *yavu* which have been leased to a *mataqali* and the Uluisavou Cattle Scheme.[132] The Solomoni offered the *Turaga na Tui Vunivau* some mats, *tabua* and *magiti*,[133] to traditionally thank them for giving them land to settle on, and the *tabua* offered for the *vakalutu ni qele* was to be brought to the attention of the I Taukei Land Trust Board.[134] In 1997, two years after the Solomoni had followed the *sala vakavanua,* ten men from Nabunikadamu, Bua arrived in Nayaulevu and after being told where the location was, settled in quite well. The settlement is named after the *yavu* and this is the settlement known as Maniyava No. 2.

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[131] The custom of *boka* performed to the *Turaga na Tui Wailevu* is the same as the one done for the *Turaga na Tui Vunivau.*

[132] The Uluisavou Cattle Scheme was one of the largest cattle farm in Fiji.

[133] Pigs and dalo.

[134] Used to be known as the Native Lands Trust Board. It looks after the native land on behalf of the landowners through certain land laws.

Figure 8.5: Photograph of Maniyava 2 Settlement

Maniyava 2- from the hill   In the settlement. Behind are Nakauvadra Mountains

A *yavu* is the place of *tauyavu* (foundation) or the beginning of everything. A *yavu* is not only an identity of a certain group of people but is a place that is said to be the dwellings of the first ancestors, where the ancestral spirits dwell permanently. A *yavu* also has a *tukuni* of its people and how it came to being. Furthermore, a *yavu* belongs to a certain group of people who come from either an *itokatoka* or a *mataqali* which may be extinct or still in existence and is registered under the Native Lands Commission (NLC). A *yavu* is a sacred spot and a new *yavu* sometimes take on the name of a previous one. In this case Maniyava 2 is named after the people's old *yavu*. Doing this gives them a source of power and a reminder of their ancestors. It also remains the property of the group of people concerned. To build on or near it one has to customarily make a request of the owners and consult them. If this is not done, certain unforeseen things may happen, even death.

For example: One day a man from Nayaulevu village decided to build his house close to a *yavu* (Maniyava 1). After building the roof and the frame of the house, his family decided to spend the night in the partly built house. When they woke up in the morning, the roof had disappeared and they found it in Volivoli creek (the creek that runs through the *yavu*). After seeing their roof in the creek, they quickly packed up and left, heading back to the village.

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Since the time when the Solomoni settled in Maniyava 2, they have set aside a date every year to revisit the original *yavu*, Maniyava 1. Every year on July 6, the Solomoni from Maniyava 2 make their way to Maniyava 1 to clean and clear the *yavu*. During this time the women prepare the lunch and those who are free accompany the men down to the *yavu*. The first time they cleaned and cleared the *yavu*, no animal, human being or vehicle passed by on the main road.

Hocart sees doing something of this sort as a way to gain ancestral favour when he gives the example of fishermen from Rewa who go to clean the *yavu* before the fishing expedition (Hocart, 1915). However, for the Solomoni it is not about gaining favour, but about remembering the *tukuni* which tells of their ancestors and their journey. It is a about connecting to their *yavu*, the beginning of a journey which was broken and which the descendants need to reconnect to. A *yavu* remains a *yavu* only if the people who occupied that space had a *talanoa* tied to it, even if the *itokatoka* or *mataqali* have become extinct. Hocart probably sees that journey to clean the *yavu* as being done within one day, just to gain a favour, just like when people go to the grave site of their grandparents to clean and clear it because it has become overgrown (Hocart, 1915). However, the major difference is that a grave site is for one person only whereas a *yavu* is for a group of people. A *yavu* is the *waka* (root), whereas a grave site is simply a place in which a person will end up. People like the Solomoni who are now living in Maniyava clean and clear the *yavu* every year.

Figure 8.6: Diagram showing that a *yavu* exists because of the land and its people

People
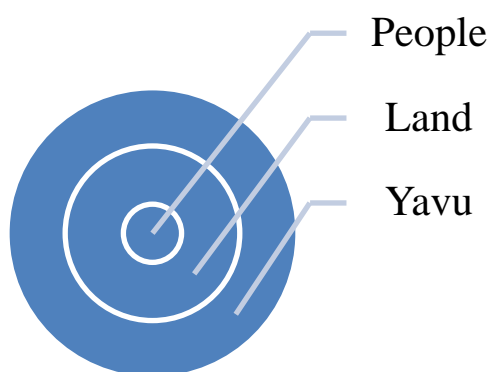
Land

Yavu

There are some *itokatoka* or *mataqali* in Fiji who have left their *yavu* because of certain conflicts within their *vanua*, *yavusa* or *mataqali* and have settled in another *vanua*, where they have no land of their own because their *yavu* are in another *vanua.* This can be seen in NLC records which states where one comes from and in which village one is currently settled. There are also those who, after Fiji was ceded to Great Britain in 1874, were brought from their *yavu* to a central place and put together to make up a village. This was done to enable the colonial governor to rule with less trouble.

However, most *taukei* who have left their *yavu* and have settled in another *vanua* have maintained the name of their *yavu*, totems and even *itokatoka*. This has enabled people to continue to reconnect during *solevu* (traditional functions). People take the names of their totems, *itokatoka*, *mataqali* and sometimes *yavusa* with them, as well as the *tukuni* of their beginning as a people or historical knowledge. Most of these *tukuni* and this historical knowledge also acknowledge their *yavutu* (old house sites) and their *kalouvu*.

When people connect to their *yavu* they have to make sure that they follow the correct protocol which is that of the land which their ancestors have left. People who have lived near the *yavu* and have used part of it or given it away for other people to use need to be mindful of the ancestral spirits whose original settlements they have given away without consulting those who should rightfully be consulted. Even though the *itokatoka* may be extinct, there maybe those who may have blood ties with the original settlers. A *yavu* consists of the people plus a piece of land and the environment reveals much about the people who once belonged to that place. Maintaining the name of the *yavu* means respecting those who have journeyed through and those who have dwelt in an environment where their spirits have been part of that piece of land on which they once lived. Cleaning and clearing the *yavu* means being humble in order to honour and respect those who have come and gone. It is also a form of *vakavinavinaka* (thanking) those who have graced the land with their presence and enabled the Solomoni to reap the benefit of being given a piece of land to live on.

8.8 Case studies 2 and 3: The Malaitan *auapu* in Fiji

According to Eparama Druguta, the name of his *yavusa* Namara is a short form of Namarata. It points out a place close to where their maternal ancestor came from, Marata which is a name of a hill in west Malaita. On the other hand, Namara is also defined as *bulubulu* (burial ground) or *yago ni tamata mate* (dead bodies). The *vu* (ancestors) of *yavusa* Namara are Rakavono and Nunuanawe, the *auapu/tabusiga*. From Rakavono and the *auapu* came the following ancestors:

Figure 8.7: The descendants of the *auapu* and Rakavono

```
┌─────────────────────┐
│      Rakavono       │
└─────────────────────┘
           ↓
┌─────────────────────┐
│     Dreuniyavi      │
└─────────────────────┘
           ↓
┌─────────────────────┐
│      Sauturaga      │
└─────────────────────┘
           ↓
┌─────────────────────┐
│     Saumaibulu      │
└─────────────────────┘
           ↓
┌─────────────────────┐
│    Drugutanalevu    │
└─────────────────────┘
```
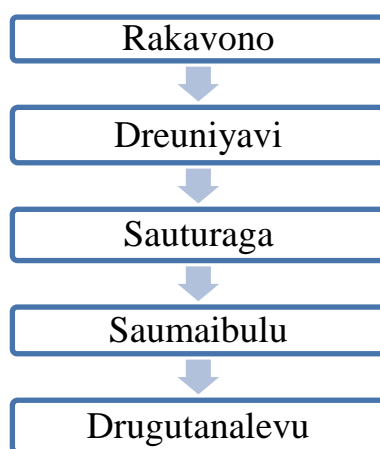
Drugutanalevu lived in Koronisasau and had four sons, namely Latianasala, Nawai, Qatianavosa and Salabogi.

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                    Drugutanalevu
                         │
     ┌───────────┬───────────┬───────────┐
 Latianasala    Nawai    Qatianavosa   Salabogi
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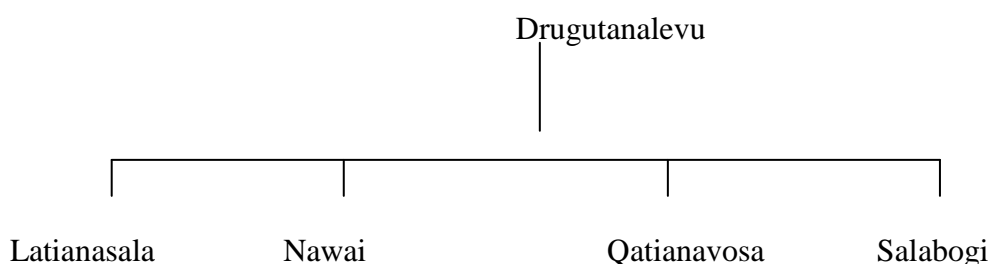
Source: NLC tables

From Latianasala came the *mataqali* Namata, from Nawai the *mataqali* Vakavanua, from Qatianavosa the *mataqali* Vikau and from Salabogi the *mataqali* Naregutu. Within each of these *mataqali* there are two *itokatoka* and these are shown in the diagram below.

Mataqali	**Namata**		**Vakavanua**	
Tokatoka	Tarisau	Naitokaki	Vuniwalai	Dakuinamara

Mataqali	**Vikau**		**Naregutu**	
Tokatoka	Togairakavono	Koroisobu	Balenikaiveikau	Nasea
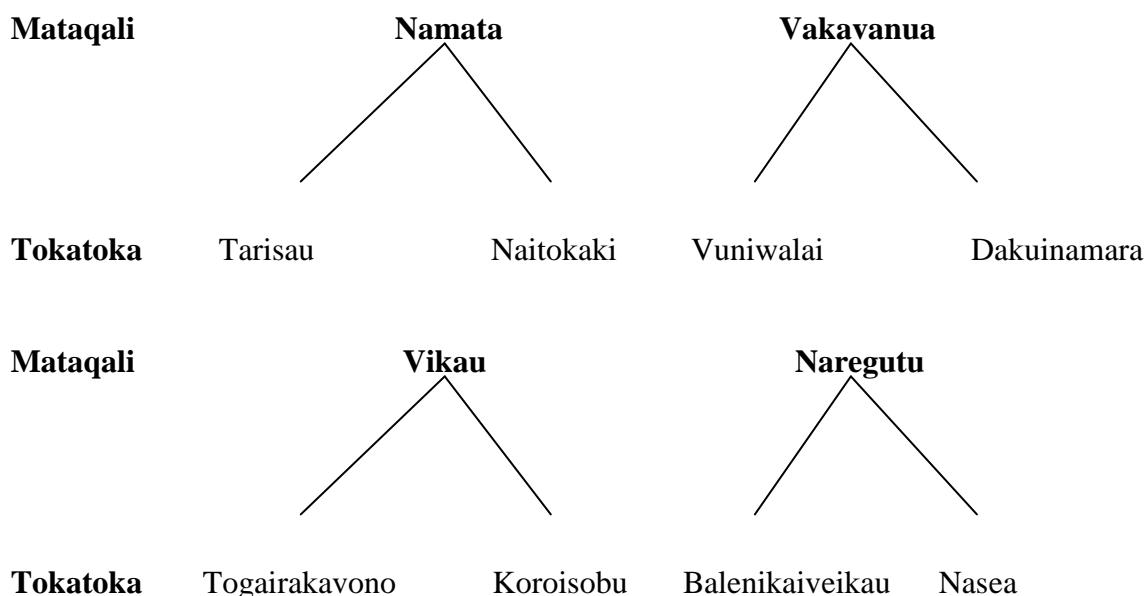
Source: NLC tables

While the members of the *yavusa* Namara were living in Koronisasau[135] they elected a chief from the *mataqali* Namata, *itokatoka* Tarisau, who was the *kawa ni qase* (descendant of the eldest) within their *yavusa,* to become the chief of the *yavusa* Namara. They named this chiefly position Matasau. The term *Mata* means eyes or face and *sau* means power/divine/sacred/taboo.[136] Thus, Matasau means the face of someone who holds the power or someone who is divine or sacred. During the *veitarogi vanua* (Native Lands Commission[137] sitting for tribal units) this title was also known as the *Rokotuiveikau.* *Rokotui* means 'chief' and *veikau* means 'forest', so the word literally means the chief of the forest. The

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[135] From the Native Lands Records - which recorded their history of their early beginnings and movements to various parts of Fiji.

[136] Sau is similar to the Tongan 'hau'

[137] Native Lands Commission - NLC was established under the Native Lands Ordinance - 1880, Land Claims Commission which was set up between 1875 and 1882. Land sales to non-Fijians were stopped by Governor Gordon in 1910.

title denotes the place where the *auapu* stayed and lived all her life. She lived in an archway which was surrounded by the forest.

Figure 8.8: The photo shows the archway in which the *auapu* lived in

The *auapu* lived in the forest because Rakavono had another wife in Lovoni village who are now the present *kawa ni Tui Wailevu* (descendants of the paramount chief of Wailevu, Lovoni). Rakavono would travel to and fro between Lovoni village and the place where the *auapu* lived.

During this contemporary period people have taken the names of their *yavusa* with them to the places where they are living now. *Yavusa* Namara in Tailevu is an example and this will be described in the next section.

Figure 8.9: A map showing the movements of the *yavusa* Namara who were banished.
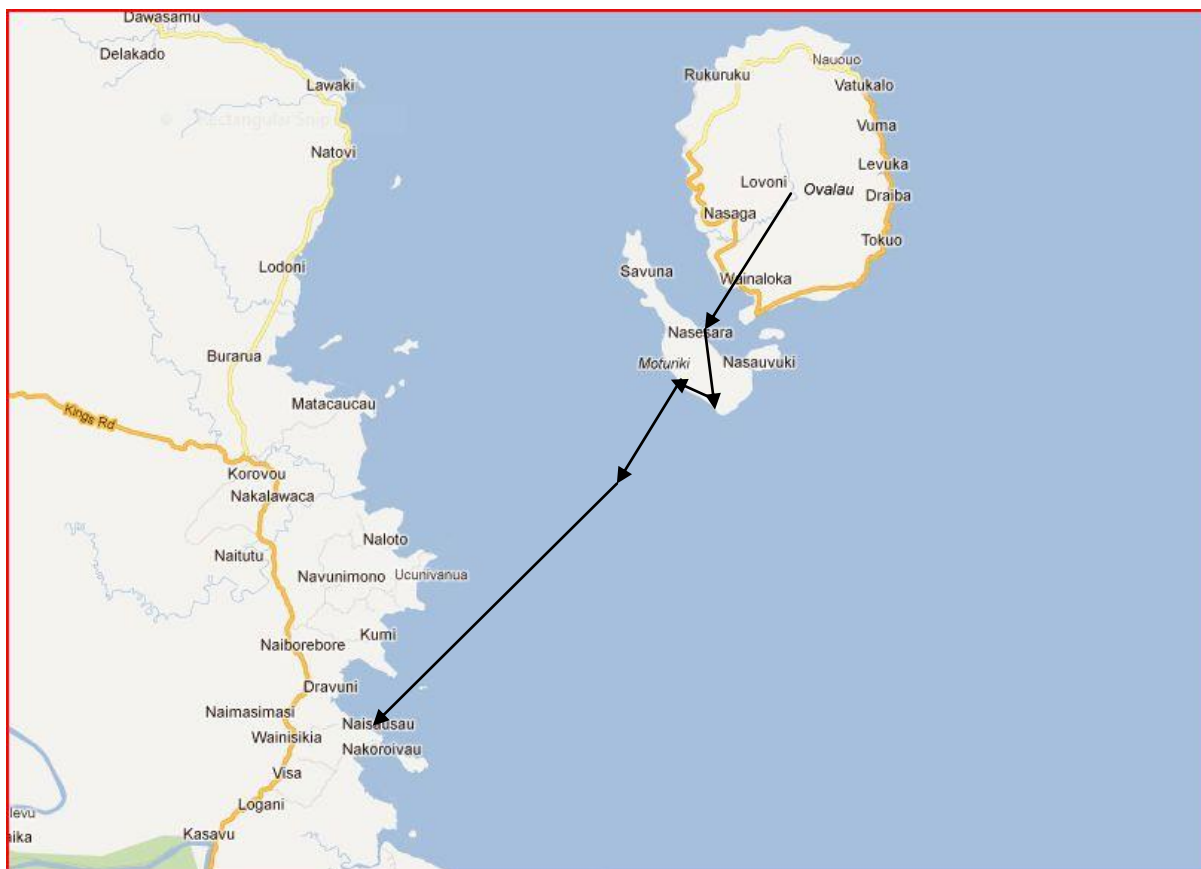
The journey from Lovoni to Naisausau of the Yavusa Namara http://maps.google.co.nz

Yavusa Namara in Tailevu

While they were all living in Koronisasau, some people of Mataqali Vikau from Tokatoka Togairakavono were banished in the 1820's because they ate the *i sevu* (first harvest) of a green leafy vegetable named *boro* (Solanum repandum)[138] before it was given to the chief as is the custom with all first fruits of the land. When they left Koronisasau, they went across to from the island of Ovalau to the smaller neighbouring island of Moturiki and lived in Nasesara with Komaivunileba, who was the chief of Vunileba. Now, when the Matasau (high chief) heard this, he sent his *matanivanua* to Komaivunileba to say '*Au vinakata mo vakatalai oratou tani mai keri kevaka o kila na dredre ni nodaru veiwekani*' (I want you to send those people away from there if you know how deeply rooted

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[138] Solanum repandum a plant in which both the leaves and fruits are eaten.

our relationship). Here the Matasau means their kinship relationship.[139] The Matasau wanted them sent away because they would be a bad influence on Komaivunileba and this will not be good for their relationship.

So they left Naseasara and went to the other side of Moturiki and waited in a place now known as the village of Wawa (to wait). From this place that they looked across and saw the big island of Viti Levu and they moved to the nearby village of Niubasaga. They decided that if they got to the next island, which is Leuleuvia,[140] they could then move to Viti Levu. When they did so they found that the people of Batiki[141] were already living there and at this time in 1829 Ratu Tanoa Visawaqa was the Vunivalu of Bau, as it was from him they sought permission to settle there (Derrick, 1940). They established themselves there and named their village Naisausau. People from Yavusa Namara now live in both Naisausau and Nakorolevu Village. After an NLC sitting in the early 1920's the Yavusa Namara became the Tikina (District) of Namara and the Vanua of Namara, and like the Yavusa Namara in Ovalau they also use the chiefly title of 'Rokotuiveikau'. Now in the *Tikina* of Namara in the *Vanua* of Namara the following come from the *Yavusa* Namara, Lovoni, as set out in the following tables.[142]

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[139] The ancestor of the people of Moturiki is Vaula (Paula) and he is the step-brother of Rakavono (ancestor of the people of Namara).

[140] Naivakasali (2010)

[141] The NLC records, table No.6 show that the Yavusa Batiki are now living at Nakalawaca Village and they are included in the Tikina and Vanua of Namara.

[142] NLC - Classification of Communal Units - Province of Tailevu North - Table No. 6

Figure 8.10: Tables showing the *yavusa* Namara living at Tailevu

Yavusa Nalewadina now living at Naisausau Village

Mataqali	Tokatoka
Nalewadina	Nalewadina
Nalewadina	Vunisiti
Nalewadina	Lase
Matakibau	Matakibau
Matakibau	Nalovo

Yavusa Naveisere now living at Naisausau Village

Mataqali	Tokatoka
Natamavakarua	Vuniuto
Natamavakarua	Mataivunilauci
Levuka	Levuka
Levuka	Mataicolo

(table continued on the next page)

Yavusa Toga now living at Nakorolevu Village

Mataqali	Tokatoka
Naimila	Torakainamara
Naimila	Natoyovu
Naimila	Manumanuwaqa
Toga	Tunimata
Toga	Nayavusowata
Narocake	Veidogo
Narocake	Taranamara
Natavea	Naivonovono
Natavea	Ulugai

Yavusa Naikawaqa now living at Nakalawaca Village

Mataqali	Tokatoka
Nailoverua	Nailoverua
Nailoverua	Vuwai
Nagusuisivo	Nagusuisivo
Nagusuisivo	Namumusara
Nailago	Nailago
Nailago	Kaimua
Nakaukena	Devodevo
Nakaukena	Tunimata
Nakaukena	Burenisiga

Source: Native Lands Commission Tables

The chief of all the above *mataqali* and *tokatoka* is the Rokotuiveikau. It is significant that some of the names of the *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *tokatoka* have *mara* at the end, or even *namara* as in Taranamara or Torakainamara. More importantly, the chiefly title *Rokotuiveikau* of the Yavusa Namara originally

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from Ovalau is seen to have expanded its territory to this part of Fiji. With this in mind it is relevant to also look at the Yavusa Namara in Nukutocia Village, Ovalau.

Figure 8.11: Map showing the movement of yavusa Namara during the battle of Waimarou

From Lovoni to Naituvatuva then to Yanucalevu and then back to Nukutocia. http://maps.google.co.nz

Yavusa Namara in Nukutocia, Ovalau

When those who had been banished left for the island of Moturiki and then went to Tailevu, the rest of the *Yavusa* Namara continued living in Koronisasau. Those who did so were the whole of *Mataqali* Namata, Vakavanua, Naregutu and part of Veikau. When the *Yavusa* Namara heard that the battle of Waimarou in the early 1850s was about to happen they split into two out of fear. Some ran away to Lovoni and stayed with the Mataqali Utori. However, the rest went to Natuvatuva, near Nukutocia, and

through the advice of Ratu Cakobau (who was the Vunivalu of Bau at during this time) in the early 1850s they moved to the island of Yanuca Levu from Natuvatuva (Derrick, 1940). The warriors of Waimarou lived in Koronisasau but were later driven out by the warriors of Lovoni. During this time, the warriors of Lovoni fought the battle against the warriors of Waimarou together with the warriors of Lomana who came from Ra, western Viti Levu, upon the request of the elders and chiefs of Lovoni. After the war was over, all the warriors of Lomana went back to their village in Ra.

Natuvatuva was deserted but not burned down or destroyed during the Waimarou war. After spending between two and three years on Yanuca Levu Island, after the battle of Waimarou, they were asked by Ratu Cakobau to move into Nukutocia. Nukutocia was uninhabited during this time. This place that they wanted to call home belonged to the Tui Gavo (chief of Gavo). The Yavusa Namara asked the people of Gavo if they could build their house and plant their crops on their tribal land. Given the approval, they started building their houses and planting *dalo* or *taro* (Colocasia esculenta) for the Tui Gavo. They became the *liga ni kau*[143] (hands that plant and warriors/*bati*) and at times took some *dalo* from Nukutocia across the water to the Vunivalu of Bau.[144] They still owe their allegiance to Tui Gavo because of the land given for them to live off and live on. They also pay homage to the Vunivalu of Bau, Ratu Cakobau whose decision enabled them to survive the Waimarou war.

Some people from *yavusa* Namara, *mataqali* Vakavanua who ran off to Lovoni and fought in the Korolevu or Lovoni war in the early 1800's, were later sold to plantation masters in 1871 to work in their plantation on the island of Taveuni for three years. When the Melanesian indentured labour system ended in the late 1870's, Ratu Cakobau asked them to spend some time in Somosomo Village on the island of Taveuni to plant some food for the Tui Cakau (high chief of the province of Cakaudrove). After this he sent a boat to pick them up from Somosomo and return them to Nukutocia. By the time they returned, Nukutocia was inhabited by the people of *yavusa* Gavo and *yavusa* Namara,

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[143] This was indicated by Sosiceni Rokotuiviwa.

[144] Bau is a small island and in helping the Namara people out Ratu Cakobau was able to be provided with a staple supply of dalo (Colocasia esculenta) during the time he reigned as the Vunivalu of Bau.

which to them is home till this present day. Now living in Nukutocia Village are the following *Mataqali* from *Yavusa* Namara.

Figure 8.12: Table showing the *yavusa* Namara living at Nukutocia

Yavusa Namara living at Nukutocia is now registered under the Vanua of Gavo.[145]

Mataqali	Tokatoka
Namata	Tarisau
Namata	Naitokaki
Vakavanua	Vuniwalai
Vakavanua	Dakuinamara
Veikau	Togairakavono
Veikau	Koroisobu
Naregutu	Nasea

Source: Native Lands Commission Tables

However, having seen the movement of the *yavusa* Namara to Viti Levu I will not rule out any connection with any other villages or *yavusa* Namara around Fiji. This is because movements of people often took place when people were banished or during tribal wars. When people move, they take the names of their yavusa and totems with them. Table 6 - Classification of Communal Units – Province of Lomaiviti, sets out the *tikina*, *vanua*, *yavusa* and where they were living at the time. With this comes a *talanoa* which is their *tukutuku raraba* (written report) about the history of their *yavusa*, the name of their ancestor, their *tutu vakavanua* (social standing within the Fijian social structure) and their movements.[146]

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[145] Table No. 6-Classification of Communal Units - Province of Lomaiviti

[146] This can be seen in the Native Lands Commission office within the Ministry of Indigenous Affairs office.

Identifying another group as part of one's *yavusa* takes place through knowing one's group's history, totems and the traditional relationship you have with another group. Connections and relationships can be felt spiritually in terms of the environment and the people. With this in mind it is important to look at the *mana* of the *tauvu* relationship between the Solomoni and the people of *yavusa* Namara.

8.9 The *mana* of the *tauvu* relationship

Mana is defined differently by different people. The term was translated by academics, researchers and writers in the 1800's and 1900's as meaning supernatural power, influence, divine force, authority, prestige, true and some even compared it to electricity. *Mana* can be a verb, noun or adjective. My own experience of *mana* as some sort of supernatural power is that it will manifest itself if there is a kinship connection. *Mana* will occur only if the correct protocols or actions have been properly followed or taken place. Otherwise the result could be sickness or even death.

Mana through the *tauvu* identity manifests itself in so many ways. All my encounters in the field while doing research have involved what I could refer to as *mana*, from Tukuta, Ra and to Malaita in the Solomon Islands. *Mana* in any traditional relationship will manifest itself only if there are blood ties. It was seen to do so when the last *Tui Wailevu* (High Chief of Wailevu) of Lovoni died.

Now, Rakavono, who fathered two children from the *auapu,* had another wife in Lovoni village, where his descendants in Lovoni village are the current holders of the Tui Wailevu title. When the last Tui Wailevu passed away in 1999, his *matanivanua* (spokesman) brought the news to Eparama Druguta, who is a descendant of the *auapu*, in Tukuta. As the head of the *yavusa* Namara he went to Lovoni village to check out what arrangements had been done for the condolence gathering. All the other villages which are connected to Lovoni village (Nukutocia, Visoto and Lovoni-i-wai) had already been allocated tasks. After seeing this he went back to Tukuta and sent one of his sons to Wainaloka with the news of the Tui Wailevu's death and asked them to come up and help to clean Lovoni village. Now the villagers could not do this because the village is surrounded by old *yavu* and *sautabu* (old house site/chiefly burial site) and so the Solomoni from Wainaloka and Wailailai were given the task of making sure that the village was clean and ready.

The foundations of most *yavu* in villages around Fiji would have had human sacrifices added to their foundation as they were being laid, and most *sautabu* (chiefly burial grounds) are a *tabu* (taboo) zone for an *taukei,* and even to stand on a *yavu* or *sautabu* can lead to a person falling ill or even dying. The Solomoni were also given the task of butchering cows and pigs to feed the hundreds of people who made their way for the four days of the condolence gathering. During the last day the Solomoni men were told to butcher another cow. Eventually they were following the cow on the main road, and they knew that if they chased it further down the road they would end up losing it. They followed it and when they came to a bend, they saw the cow lying on its side. On the side of the road they saw a horse tied up, with its back towards the cow. As they looked closer, they realised that the horse had kicked the cow with its hind legs, as the mark was clearly visible on the cow's side. This was believed to manifest the *mana* of the blood ties that the Solomoni have with the people of Lovoni because the unexpected happened. The cow which they were chasing was ready for them. Even before and after the burial, the *taukei* were not allowed near the *sautabu* (chiefly burial ground). But some of the Solomoni were at the *sautabu* before and after the burial. Sosiceni Rokotuiviwa said 'this shows not only the *mana* but the blood connection and relationship between the people of Lovoni and the Solomoni' (Rokotuiviwa, 2010).

The *mana* of the blood connections and relationships was also seen when the *Turaga na Ratu mai Bureta* (high chief of Bureta) requested the Lomaiviti Provincial Council that the Solomoni settlement of Wainaloka be registered as a Fijian village in the district of Bureta. This is due not only to the people's Solomoni – *taukei* connections through marriage[147] but also due to the way the people of Wainaloka have always paid homage to the *Turaga na Ratu mai Bureta* because of other traditional ties. When there is intermarriage, the blood ties and connections expand. Wainaloka is also the village next to Bureta and there are times when the people of Wainaloka have used land that is located within the boundaries of Bureta village for farming. The primordial bond and kinship have led to the *Turaga na Ratu* mai Bureta to allow the settlement of Wainaloka to be part of his *tikina*. However, this does not

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[147] Connections through marriage to the family of the Turaga na Ratu mai Bureta and other traditional connections and relationships which have come through marriage outside of Bureta to other surrounding villages within Ovalau and outside.

mean that the *tauvu* relationship between the *yavusa* Namara and the Solomoni will cease to exist as some people might have thought. This came out when Deve Baeta presented the Wainaloka village's *reguregu* (presentation of *tabua*, mats,etc.) during the funeral, of Tui Wailevu saying, ' *Na so mate mai caka qo e noda kece, au kerea me keitou kua ni guilecavi ena vuku ni sema vaka dra sa tiko, e sega ni tukuni ni keitou sa volai ena tikina o Bureta me keitou sa guilecavi kina, na i sema vakaveiwekani sa biuta tu o bu me na dei tikoga'* (this funeral is for all of us, we hope that we will not be forgotten because of our blood ties, it does not mean that as we have now been registered under the district of Bureta we be forgotten, our connection and relationship that our grandmother [the *auapu*] has left us will always remain intact) (Baeta, 2010). Since Wainaloka has been registered under the district of Bureta, its *Turaga-ni-koro* attends meetings when the Tikina of Bureta sits to discuss development issues within its Tikina boundaries.

Figure 8.13: Map showing–Lomaiviti Group
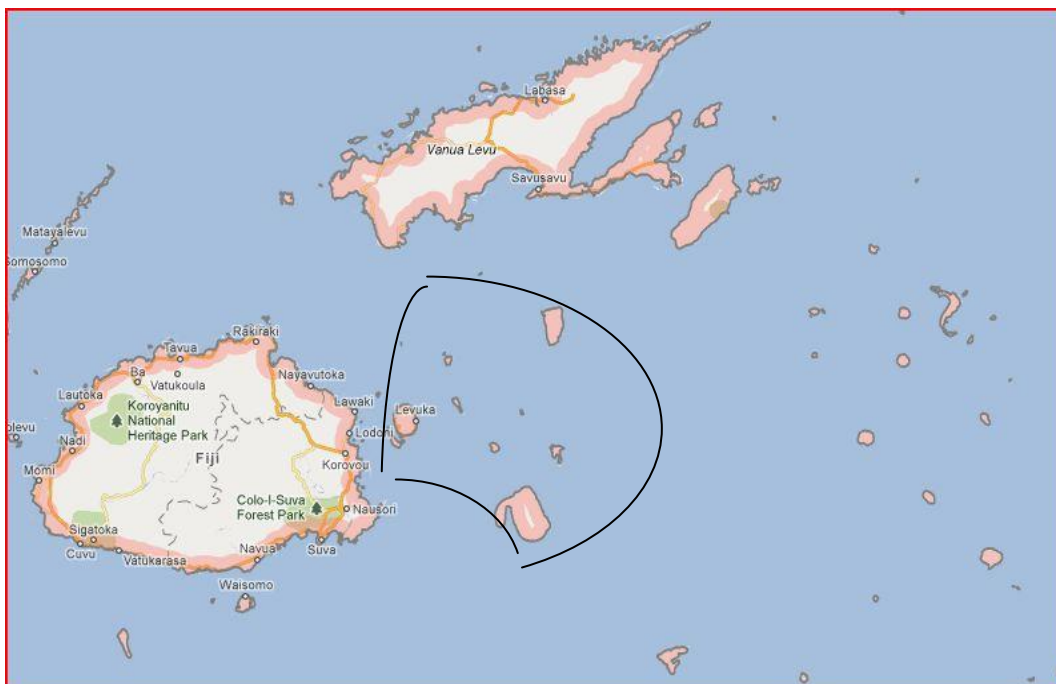
The Lomaiviti Province – Ovalau, Nairai, Moturiki, Batiki, Gau, Wakaya, Naigani, Makogai as outlined on the map.

http://maps.google.co.nz

8.10 Implications of the Solomoni identity

The early Solomoni settlers knew who they were *tauvu* to and why. The later Solomoni arrivals also knew this. The life and livelihoods of the early Solomoni settlers' position were clarified by the significant role they played within the social structure of the early settlement at Nakauvadra. However, recognition will be acknowledged only if traditional identities are given due respect and taken into consideration.

The *tukuni* played an important part in allowing the Solomoni to be included in the *taukei* electoral roll in the early 1970s. In this, the *tauvu* identity was well embraced by the *taukei* leaders who had always thought well of their Solomoni brothers and sisters. However, when things changed post 1987 coup, others who were indifferent decided to embrace their Solomoni brothers and sisters at the *tikina* and *yasana* level. This saw the Solomoni settlements of Wainaloka and Nabunikadamu become included in any developments that involved the *tikina* and *yasana* because many who were married to Solomoni men or women saw the need to help them feel secure. When the political status of the Solomoni changed during the time after the 1987 coup, most Solomoni saw this situation as a way out of being identified as Solomoni, and sought refuge under their *vasu* status. Others decided to totally deny their Solomoni identity when the need arose. Those who did so were afraid of being labelled or become victims of injustice and being stigmatised by being designated as 'other'. Being labelled as belonging to an ethnic minority or 'other' meant that a Solomoni would not receive the privileges that they used to receive before the 1987 coup. It also meant that the Solomoni were perceived to be like the Indo-Fijians in having the status of *vulagi*. This will change for the Solomoni only when the issue of the *tauvu* identity and *yavu* is addressed, when they will no longer hide their identity. Then like the *taukei* they will stand tall and be proud of the historic journey that their ancestors made across the ocean.

Socially, the use by Solomoni of *taukei* cultural protocols, language and custom has proved that they can be *taukei* anywhere in Fiji. When the original labourers came from the Solomon Islands few women also came. As a result, various acts of integration took place, including intermarriage, assimilation and accommodation. The *tukuni* of the early Solomoni settlers and their relationship with

the early settlers around Nakauvadra have also reinforced and reconstructed the *tauvu* social identity, supported by the reaction of the later Solomoni arrivals to those who were their *tauvu*.

Politically the Solomoni know that there are no barriers to the way they relate to the people they are *tauvu* to and that they will always be able to retain ownership of the *yavu* which belonged to their ancestors who were banished. The stain of the history of unacceptable behaviour in Nakauvadra left by the early Solomoni settlers has been *bokoci* (wiped away) through the Fijian cultural protocol of the *qusiniloaloa* and *carasala*, in addition to the act of *boka* and *vakalutu ni qele*.[148] These are acts of mending traditional relationships, renewing old ties and forging new ones. Once these cultural protocols are followed, it is appropriate to maintain political allegiances with the *koro*, *yavusa* or *mataqali* with which the Solomoni have the *tauvu* relationship. This enables the Solomoni to be accepted and have a sense of belonging, and allows them to be appreciative about the way the *itaukei* have positively reacted to a *tukuni* which has been passed down throughout the generations, enabling them to settle down and become like the *taukei* in all ways.

The Solomoni identity in Fiji has dynamically shifted and changed through time. The *tauvu* identity forged from the time of the early Solomoni settlers to the time of the descendants of the late Solomoni arrivals has had a great impact on Solomoni lives in Fiji today. It was an identity which transformed other people's perception of the Solomoni. Acquiring the knowledge of the *tauvu* identity between the *taukei* and Solomoni has shed a light on history for those *taukei* who had always been insulting to the Solomoni. Being knowledgeable about traditional identities and relationships enables people to be respectful of others. It is about the *taukei* recognising those traditional identities forged through our history, and people's relationships and social connection through time that will enable the Solomoni to move forward into the future.

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[148] *Qusiniloaloa* is wiping away all the bad that has been done through the offering of the *tabua, yaqona* and *magiti* (raw food). Boka takes place when the people remember those of their kin who have passed on with the offering of the *tabua, yaqona* and *magiti*. *Carasala* takes place when people try to make their path clear through the offering of the tabua, yaqona, magiti and sometimes bales of cloth and drums of kerosene. *Vakalutu ni qele* is the offering of a tabua for the land given. All these cultural protocols are carried out so that culturally acceptable deeds are received by the appropriate people and so that there will be no bad relationship between the two groups of people.

8.11 Conclusion

Indigenous knowledge is the knowledge which is developed by a group of people who are natives of their country in accordance to their way of life and the environment in which they live. This knowledge is gained and passed on through the lived experiences of those who have since passed beyond this life to those living now. These lived experiences become *tukuni* that are *veitalanoataki* (retold) throughout the life of every *itokatoka*, *mataqali* and *yavusa* and handed down through people's *talanoa* and *tukuni* of customs, culture and traditions. This traditional knowledge and these *tukuni* are based on people's relationship, and connections and the *mana* of such connections. *Mana* highly manifests itself in the lives of people who have these traditional relationship and connections. The manifestations of *mana* take place in the lives of those who enter into that traditional relationship space and connection in any period of time. The *mana* of this traditional relationship and connection becomes apparent when there is a primordial kinship bond between the two sides.

The term *Wantok* means *wan* (one) *tok* (talk) and is a term that is generally used in the Melanesian group of islands, especially in Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands. It literally refers to people who come from one geographical area, be it a village, province or country, and speak a common language or are related to each other ethnically. As a *wantok* (ethnically) to all the Solomon Islanders and especially Malaitans I meet along my journey, I have felt that physically I look like a *wantok* but then psychologically I do not deserve to be called a *wantok*. This is because I was not brought up in an environment which gave me that right. The historical journey that my grandfather made at the tender age of 16 in the early 1900s has resulted in who I am today, a descendant of a Solomoni labourer living in Fiji. However, this is not just my journey but it is the journey of all my people, who have had no voice, no choice and have always lived on the margins since Fiji became home to them.

Historically, there are different reasons for the journeys that our ancestors made. For some it may have been prompted by circumstances at home, while for others it may have been simply for adventure. Throughout history such bold, brave and arduous journeys have taken place and resulted in long periods of accommodation, integration and adaptation. These journeys brought about new relationships, and identities and reconnected old ones as well. This was well illustrated during my field research. The research space I was in was a sacred one. It was sacred because I would be communicating with elderly people (men and women) who are the keepers of the *tukuni*. So I had to be very careful about the language use and the questions asked. For me as a woman, being in a sacred research space where one comes in contact with the 'other' (those who are not my relatives) requires negotiating the how, when and what in a not-so-familiar environment. However, when there is acceptance, coming across people who are very knowledgeable about relationships, identities and connections makes it a worthwhile journey. The Solomoni are the only ethnic minority in Fiji who have a *tukuni* and a *yavu* which connect them to the *taukei*. The *tukuni* connects the Solomoni to the *yavu* and the *tauvu* relationship. Because of

the *tukuni* of the *yavu* and Fijian traditional protocols which the Solomoni have followed, we were in 1995 given land to settle on, land known as Maniyava which had been revered and respected by *yavusa* Vunivau until it was settled by our people 15 years ago now in 2012 after the traditional *carasala*, *boka* and *vakalutu ni qele*. Our traditional link (*tauvu*) has connected us to the four corners of Fiji and we have a *katuba* (door/ doorway) in all the 14 provinces of Fiji.

However, settlement on the land has not always been recognised officially and in law, as the situation in respect of this piece of land in Maniyava demonstrates. For any *koro* or *yavusa* in Fiji to exist there must be a *yavu*. The *yavusa* Vunivau and the *vanua* of Nayaulevu have confirmed that the *yavu* for the Solomoni people exists in that *vanua* and is known as *Maniyava*. This confirmation came through the acceptance of the *i yau* (*tabua* (whale's tooth), food, drums of kerosene and *yaqona*) presented for the *carasala*, *boka* and *vakalutu* ni qele. They have never touched the land and have many times confirmed that the piece of land known as Maniyava is available to benefit the Solomoni people in Fiji. However, *itokatoka* Maniyava is now extinct according to the Native Lands Commission records but there is a land which has been reserved in the name of *yavusa* Vunivau. Traditionally, *yavusa* Vunivau has not wished to lay claim to it and recognizes that the descendants of those who came from the Solomon Islands to work in the late 1800s and early 1900s are still Solomoni. Therefore the *yavusa* Vunivau had always regarded themselves as a 'custodians' of Maniyava and had awaited the return and resettlement of the Solomoni. The Solomoni are now living on the land which was reserved for them and have 'orally' been recognised as an *itokatoka* included in *yavusa* Vunivau. But recognition by word of mouth does not give the Solomoni any legal right to say that they are included in *yavusa* Vunivau.

The *tukuni* with the physical evidence on the ground of the *yavu* has established the connections with the people of *yavusa* Vunivau acknowledging and recognizing the connections and identity. However, there is a need for *itokatoka* Maniyava to become legally recognized and registered.

Recommendations for Actions

- That *yavusa* Vunivau together with *yavusa* Bua[149] recognise the existing *yavu* Maniyava as the legendary and traditional *yavu* of the Solomoni people, submit to a 'Letter of Recognition and Statutory Declaration' that the *yavu* Maniyava rightly belongs to the 'Solomoni People in Fiji', they therefore renounce any alienable or other interest which they hold.

- That *yavusa* Vunivau together with *yavusa* Bua in their said declaration also declare that whilst *itokatoka* Maniyava has become extinct, the traditional connection of the Solomoni People to the *yavusa* qualifies them by culture and as *mataqali* Solomoni to assume the *itokatoka* Maniyava status.

- That the *yavusa* Vunivau together with the *yavusa* Bua, with the agreement of the Ra Provincial Council, petition the 'I Taukei Lands Commission' to consider and recognize the *tauvu* traditional link which the Solomoni has with the itaukei and status of the Solomoni People, and if possible, provide a special agreement that *itokatoka* Maniyava has been revived through the connection of the Solomoni people and for the Solomoni People to assume the full status and responsibilities of the *itokatoka* Maniyava. This may be classified and registered as follows:

'*mataqali* Solomoni' existing in status as '*itokatoka* Maniyava' in the '*yavusa* Vunivau or Bua.'

- That an entry be made in the 'I Taukei Lands Register [NLC Record] that *yavutu* Maniyava together with its NLC Lot number be registered as belonging to *itokatoka* Maniyava (*mataqali* Solomoni).

- That subject to the approval of the 'I-Taukei Lands Commission', the Solomoni living in Maniyava, with the approval of *yavusa* Vunivau together with *yavusa* Bua and the Ra Provincial Council, submit an application to the Ministry of I-Taukei Affairs for a declaration that Maniyava settlement be registered as an *taukei* village.

- That the said Maniyava Village comprise one land owning unit only and be known as *itokatoka* Maniyava (*mataqali* Solomoni) ena *yavusa* Vunivau or Bua.

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[149] Both the Yavusa o Vunivau and Yavusa o Bua have a part in terms of the recognition of itokatoka Maniyava. Yavusa o Vunivau have been the custodians of the land for itokatoka Maniyava and itokatoka Maniyava through the Native Lands Commission report is included in Yavusa o Bua and Mataqali Navakacacara.

- That all the Solomoni Yavusa namely Marata, Koio, Bali, Wai and Vataleka be consolidated as one *itokatoka* referred to as *itokatoka* Maniyava (*mataqali* Solomoni) ena *yavusa* Vunivau or Bua.

- That, because of the increasing number of Solomoni population living throughout Fiji, a separate 'Solomoni Vola ni Kawa Bula Record' be established under statute and be administered by a legally established government body to be known as the Fiji Solomon Island Descendants Council. This may be established through a proposed 'Fiji Solomon Island Labourers Descendants Act' together with subsidiary regulations to administer the same.

Whilst this would be a difficult and time-consuming exercise, these suggestions may be the best option available to us the Solomoni to enable us to legally address the status of our people living in Maniyava and that of the Solomoni population living in Fiji as a whole. Otherwise, those living in Maniyava will still be living on a piece of a land registered as legally belonging to yavusa Vunivau and our people will continue occupying Maniyava deemed 'tenants at will' or 'tenants on sufferance'.

Further Recommendations

- I contend that this history is sufficient for the yavusa Solomoni to be given the legal status of itokatoka Maniyava.

- The leaders should seriously consider *the taukei* institutions like the *tauvu* relationship together with the *tukuni* and *yavu* which were established from time immemorial and handed down from our fathers and recognize it as constructive evidence for laying claim to land ownership.

- Since the Rabi Council[150] is represented in the Bose ni Yasana o Cakaudrove, all the Solomoni settlements around Fiji should also have a representative in the different *yasana* they are in.

The tukuni of the journeys which our ancestors made to the western side of Viti-Levu, namely Ra and central eastern Viti-Levu namely Ovalau, is one that has been passed down orally throughout the generations. Other stories of hardship encountered during the labour trade and life in Fiji is also part of

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[150] The Rabi Council consists of two elders from each of the four villages.

the *tukuni*. Any of these tukuni is a source of strength for any Solomoni and it continually resonates in our individual and collective lives.

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APPENDIX I: GLOSSARY OF FIJIAN TERMS

Adi	a name given to a lady of chiefly blood
Bati	warrior
Bitu kau	bamboo
Boka	presentation of tabua, mats and raw food to a place or a villag one has been absent from for a long time.
Boro	a type of green leafy vegetable
Bula vakavanua	living a life that is according to the culture and custom of a place
Dakai titi	bow and arrow
Dauwawa	a person who waits patiently
Dina	truth
Drua	twins
Ibe	mats
Ika	fish
Itokatoka	a term used to mean a collection of households or a lineage
Kakana vakaturaga	food meant for the chiefs only
Kalou vu	deified original ancestor
Kau	wood
Kava	grog or yaqona (ceremonial drink made from *piper mythesticum*)
Koro	village
Kawa ni ulumatua	descendants of a brother or sister that is older
Lali	a huge wooden drum
Ligani ka tabu	'liga' means hands 'katabu' means sacred. Hands which are allowed to touch sacred things or anything that is considered taboo.
Loloma	love
Lomanikoro	centre of a village. The centre of the village is always respected because the high chiefs residence is always in the centre of the village.

Magiti	food raw or cooked
Magiti droka	raw uncooked food
Makawa	old in terms of time and place
Mana	something that is effective
Manumanu	bird or animal
Mataisau	carpenters
Mataki	culturally referred to as envoys or embassadors
Matanikatuba	doorway
Matanivanua	a chiefs heraldsman or spokesperson
Mataqali	a sub-clan; subdivision of a yavusa; the primary landowning unit
Niudamu	a yellowish red type of coconut.
Qele ni teitei	arable land with clear boundaries which can be given to another person to plant on.
Qusiniloaloa	traditional ceremonies to thank people and to also seek forgiveness on behalf of what their ancestors have done.
Ratu	a designation of a chief
Rara	a village green which is sometimes located in the middle of the village in front of the chiefs residence.
Rogorogoivuda	a name given to a large wooden drum
Sautu	a good quality of life, it also means peace and an environment which is full of life
Sautabu	the chiefly burial ground; in the olden days chiefly graves was the foundation of his house
Salavakavanua	customary paths or cultural paths of the land which have to adhered to when entering a village or community.
Sevusevu	a presentation of kava (piper mythesticum) or yaqona during a traditional ceremony and especially in ceremonies of welcome and thanking
Solevu	a large gathering of people for certain ceremonial occasion which is done through the exchange of food with an act of feasting.
Solomoni	from or belong to the Solomon Islands. A term used to refer to the descendants of Solomon Island labourers living in Fiji.

Soqo	a function
Tabua	whales tooth
Tabusiga	a lady of high rank who is kept a side from other people
Talanoa	to chat, talk or tell stories to someone at any place during any time of the day.
Talanoa makawa	old stories and narratives
Tanoa	large wooden mixing bowl
Taro	asking or it could also mean a type of root crop
Taukei	a term used for a native or indigenous Fijian
Tauvu	springing from the same ancestor
Tikina	district
Toa	Fijian term for rooster
Tukai	grandfather
Tukuni	oral historical narratives, myths or legends
Tumakawa	earlier or older race
Turaga	used to refer to man (singular) men (plural)
Turaga-ni-koro	village headman
Uluda	a place in Nakauvadra which is known as the chiefly residence
Valelevu	big house, it could also mean chiefly residence
Vakalutuniqele	a customary act of presenting mats, tabua and raw food towards the landowners for granting of giving land to someone to settle and usufruct.
Vakamatautaki	on a regular basis
Vakarokoroko	respect
Vakaturaga	chiefly deportment
Vakavinavinaka	thanking
Vanua	are people, their chief, a defined territory, land, waterways, fishing grounds, environment, spirituality, history, epistemology and culture.

Vanua ni qoliqoli	fishing grounds
Vaqiqi moli	traditional orange bowling competition, also a form of choosing a bride
Vasu	children of woman are vasus to their maternal uncle and have certain privileges in relation to their maternal relatives
Veidokai	respecting the other
Veiciqomi	mutual acceptance
Veikau	forest
Veikauwaitaki	mutual caring, support
Veirogorogoci	mutual listening
Veirokorokovi	mutual respect
Veitabani	two vanua that have a jokeful relationship and would play pranks on each other because of their relationship with each other during tribal wars
Veitabuki	a covenant which is about respecting and observing certain food taboos
Veitalanoa	to talk or tell more about
Veitarotarogi	interview
Veitiqa	a traditional sports of javelin throwing
Veivakarokorokotaki	respecting the other
Veiwekani	relationships
Vudi	plantains
Vulagi	visitor, foreigner
Vuvale	immediate family
Waqa	boat or ship
Yaqona	dried and powdered form of kava
Yavu	the first or original house foundation of the founding ancestor
Yavusa	clan, tribe or the largest patrilineal kin grouping in the Fijian society
Yavutu	place of origin, original settlement of a group of people

APPENDIX II : GLOSSARY OF 'ARE'ARE TERMS

Auapu	lady of high rank
Auapu maea	a virgin
Arotoupara	a sacred yellow taro
Ha'apunia	anointed
Haimanitai	a sacred hook used for catching tuna
Haiporenialita	four red leaves of the sacred Alita tree
Huaniramo and Eko'ara'ara	a sacred betel nut and leaf
Kahinibora	name of the sacred stream
Kamo	sacred yam
Ke'upora	a necklace made from a shell
Siripuru	a sacred plant used to physically weaken the enemy
Siri'wara'wara'a	a sacred plant used to make people invisible
Uweha	fishing line made from bamboo
Manatai	a type of fishing hook
Namo	warrior
Niutoupara	a sacred yellow coconut
Ria	sacred ginger
Ruarua	a basket made out of coconut leaves
Toronihanua	a hill located in Rauhau Island
Tou	warriors house
Warato'o	powerful words
Waru'aoa'rau	name of a yam

APPENDIX III

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET/ CONSENT LETTERS AND LETTERS OF APPROVAL

1. **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET – ENGLISH**

2. **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET – FIJIAN**

3. **CONSENT FORM   - ENGLISH**

4. **CONSENT FORM   - FIJIAN**

5. **LETTERS OF APPROVAL;**

   - **NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF FIJI**

   - **LOMAIVITI PROVINCIAL OFFICE**

   - **RA PROVINCIAL OFFICE**

   - **ITAUKEI AFFAIRS OFFICE**

   - **SOLOMON ISLANDS**

RESEARCH QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEW/TALANOA

1. What does the concept of 'tauvu' mean to you?

Na cava nai balebale ni vosa oqo na tauvu se na veitauvutaki ki vei kemuni?

2. Is this an important concept in this day and age? Why?

E se bibi tu beka nai balebale ni vosa oqo vei keda nikua se sega? Kerei mo ni qai vakamacalataka kevaka ni duavata se sega ni duavata ena I balebale ni vosa oqo nikua?

3. Do you know of any 'tauvu' relationship in Fiji?

Ko ni kila beka eso na veiwekani ni veitauvutaki ena noda veiyasana e Viti nikua se sega?

(a) How did you come to know of this?

Ko ni kila vakacava nai balebale ni veiwekani qo?

(b) Is there a story behind this 'tauvu' relationship? (please explain)

E tiko beka e dua na talanoa makawa ni vanua ka rawa ni vakamacalataki kina na veiwekani qo?

(c) Where did you hear about this story?

Kerei ke rawa ni vakamacalataki na vanua kei na gauna ko ni rogoca mai kina nai talanoa oqo?

(d) What are some of the characteristics of this relationship?

Rawa ni ko vakamacalataka eso nai valavala kei nai tovo vakaviti ka vakaibalebale kina na vosa oqo na veitauvutaki?

4. Do you know about the 'tauvu' relationship between the 'taukei' and Solomoni who are living in Fiji now?

Ko ni bau kila ni tiko na veitauvutaki vei ira na wekada na Solomoni kei ira nai taukei e Viti?

(a) Where did you hear it from?

Ko ni rawa ni vakamacalataka na vanua ko ni rogoca mai kina?

(b) Is there a story behind that 'tauvu' relationship? (please explain)

Ko ni kila beka e dua na I talanoa me baleta na I sema ni veiwekani oqo? Kerekere qai vakamacalataka mai ken a nomuni I sau ni taro e io

(c) In this contemporary period is there any sign that this relationship does exist?

Ko ni kila se bula tiko beka eso nai vakatakilakila ni veiwekani oqo ena gauna qo?

5. **What is your perceptions of the Solomoni who live here in Fiji? (The ones who are descendants of labourers)**

Na cava sara mada na nomuni rai se kilaka me baleti ira na wekada na Solomoni ka ra sa mai vakaitikotiko tudei I Viti nikua? (Qo o ira na kena kawa ka ra yaco mai ena gauna ni saini)

6. **Do you think they are more culturally itaukei or Solomoni?**

Ko ni bau raica ni rawarawa na nodra ciqoma na I tovo vakaviti se era se dei tikoga ena I vakarau kei na I tovo ni nodra vanua main a Yatu Solomoni? Baleta – rawa ni vakamacalataki na vuna se tikina oqo?

7. **Are they a threat to the indigenous Fijian population? Why?**

E tu beka eso na gauna kara dau raicie kina vakatani na wekada na Solomoni mai vei ira na itaukei kei Viti? Kerekere ni vakamacalataka mada ke vaka kina se sega

8. **Do they fit in well anywhere around Fiji in terms of their relationship with other ethnic groups? How?**

Na cava sara mada na nomuni rai me baleti na nodra veiwekani na Solomoni kei ira tale na veimata tamata tale eso?

9. **What do you see yourself as in terms of your ethnicity? Fijian/Indian/Others Why?**

Ko ni dau raici kemuni me itaukei, Idia se o ira tale na veimata tamata tale eso? Baleta?

10. **Do you think ethnic minorities sometimes face discrimination? Why/How?**

Ko ni bau kila ni dau yaco na veivakaduiduitaki vei ira na kawa tamata era vulagi se lailai na kedra I wiliwili ena so na gauna? Kerekere mo ni vakamacalataka mada

11. **What do you think should be done to stop such discrimination?**

Na cava e raw ni vakayacori me tarovi kina na veivakaduiduitaki vaka oqo? Kerekere mo ni vakamacalataka mada