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Yaqona (kava) and education in Fiji: 
Investigating ‘cultural complexities’ 
from a post-development perspective.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of 
Doctor of Philosophy 
In 
Development Studies 

At Massey University, Palmerston North, 
New Zealand.

S. Aporosa 
2012
This thesis is dedicated to the late Tui Rauni (sub-district chief: Yawe, Kadavu, Fiji) Sivorosi Tomasi Vasu (1927-2009), a father figure I greatly respected and a man who demonstrated to me what it is to be chiefly and Fijian.
iVakamacala Taumada (Abstract)

Na gunu yaqona se tiki ni itovo vakavanua e Viti ena gauna qo. Ia e vica na itukutuku se bera ni vakadeitaki e vakaraitaki kina ni gunu yaqona vakasivia e dau vakaleqa na cakacaka kei na toso ena levu ni sikele. Na leqa qo e tara sara na vuli, na ka e okata na matanitu me gacagaca bibi ena veivakatorocaketai. Sa mani lomalomarua kina na Tabana ni Vuli ni dau dokai kina na yaqona ena itovo, qai leqataki tale de vakataotaka na toso ni vuli ni qaravi vakaca kina na veivakavulici. Qo gona na vakadidike ni veidre vou ni gauna qo.

Na vakadidike qo era a dikevi kina na qasenivuli nira se qai curu yani i valenivuli ena mataka ni oti mai na gunu ena bagi. Ni salavata kei na itukutuku tale eso ni noda itovo sa via macala kina ni gunuvi sivia ni wainivanua qo e vakaleqa na cakacaka, vakavuna vakalevu tale ga na bera kei na vakalutu cakacaka. Qo e rawa ni tukuni ni vakaleqa na inaki raraba ni veivakatorocaketai. Ia e veicalati kei na nodra ivakamacala eso ra vakatarogi ena vakadidike qo, mana ni veivakavulici e vakatau ena yaqona baleta ni wainivanua qo e yavu ni noda itutu vakavanua, koya e gadrevi me mana kina na vuli, qai tokona tale ga na veiwekani ni matanitu kei na vanua (State/Community partnership), na veitauriliga e yavutaki vakabibi ena cau ni vanua ena cakacaka kei na ilavo me cici kina na koronivuli.

E taurivaki ena vakadidike qo e dua na yavu vou me dikevi kina na veidre ni itovo vakavanua kei na tosoiliu. Sa biu na rai makawa eso me vaka na ‘modernisation’, na ‘alternative development’ kei na ‘neo-liberalism’, me golevi na ‘post-development’ – na veivakatorocaketai e yavutaki e dokai kina na vuku ni vanua, kaunakata kina na domodra na lewenivanua kei na nodra itovo. Na rai vou qo e sega ni baleta na saumitaro se me togoraki ni iwali ni leqa, se ganita dina se sega, na tikina au vakabauta ni malumalumu kina na itovo makawa ni veivakatorocaketai sa mai matatu. Na vakadidike qo e lewena na vua ni vakadidike me mana kina na ivakaraui ni lewa e so, salavata kei na kerekere ni Tabacakacaka ni Vuli me tosoi na vakadidike ni veiwekani ni itovo kei na vuli. E vakaraitaki tale ga e ke na leqa e rawa ni yaco ni yali na noda itovo, baleta ni dikevi ga na mataqali veidre qo ena rai vakavalagi.
Abstract

Embedded practices and systems associated with the consumption of *yaqona* (known Pasifika wide as *kava*) continue to express and demonstrate culture in contemporary Fiji. However, a number of untested reports suggest the over-consumption of *yaqona* manifests a physical hangover effect which inhibits productivity and development. This concern extends to the education arena where the Fiji Islands Government has embraced this development input to aid their national development agenda. This has created a unique challenge for the Fijian Ministry of Education (MoE) which both acknowledges the cultural importance of *yaqona*, but questions whether the over-consumption of this indigenous substance is impeding academic achievement through impacts to quality education delivery. This study investigates this unique traditional/contemporary tension.

To explore these hangover assertions, teachers in this research were cognitively assessed as they entered the classroom to teach in the morning following *yaqona* consumption. Together with ethnographic reports, the findings suggest that the over-consumption of this indigenous substance does inhibit work performance and increases the likelihood of lateness, absenteeism and presenteeism. From a development perspective this is argued to negatively impact on national development goals. However, the achievement and delivery of education was conversely described by research participants as dependent on *yaqona*. This is because the indigenous substance is critical to the identity reinforcement which aids academic accomplishment, while also underpinning the State/Community partnership – a union that relies heavily on community labour and financial input for school survival.

This study utilises *Vanua* Research – a post-development aligned framework – to investigate this unique traditional/contemporary tension. In contrast to the development approaches of modernisation, “alternative development” and neo-liberalism, post-development endorses locally conceived and driven development systems by recognising and legitimising traditional knowledge systems, local voices and
culture. Moreover, post-development is not about coming up with answers or imposing a way ahead, an aspect deemed to be a key weakness of many of the conventional one-size-fits-all hegemonic development approaches. Instead, this study presents the findings to aid local decision-making processes under the MoE’s call for further research on the relationship between culture and education. Further, this investigation highlights the dangers to socio-cultural stability from cultural loss and displacement when complexities of this nature are considered purely from a Eurocentric development perspective.
Vakavinavinaka (Acknowledgement)

Na vakadidike oqo e dikeva na bula vakaivakarau ni yaqona, kena gunuvi ni yaqona mai vei ira na qasenivuli, kei na kena vakilai e na gauna ni veivakatavulici e koronivuli. Oqo e dua na ulutaga titobu ka na rogoci kina na domodra era tokona ka vaka talega kina o ira era saqata na uto ni vakasama oqo. Au vakatutusa raraba vei kemuni kece sara o ni nanuma niú na vakalewai kemuni me baleta na nomuni dau gunuva na yaqona. E sega ni o koya qori na i naki ni vakadidike oqo. Na i naki levu ni i vola qo me vakarabailevutaka e dua na ulutaga ka se sega soti ni levu na kena vakadikevi me yacova mai ni kua, vaka talega kina me na solia vei ira na lewe ni vanua e so na i vakamacala dina me vukea na kena veitalanoa e mai vei ira era vakaitavitaki ira se taleitaka na veika e baleta na veivakatorocaketaki ena veika vakavuli.

Era vakaitavi ena ena vakadidike oqo e so era solia wale tuga na nodra gauna, ia ena vuku ni veivakadonu taumada ena maroroi na kedra I tukutuku. Ke a sega na nodra lomasoli, veivakahauti kei na dina ke a sega ni rawa na vakadidike oqo.

Au via cavuta talega na noqu vakavinavinaka vua na Minisita ni Vuli e Viti, Mr. Filipe Bole, na i vukevuke ni Vunivola Tudei ni Tabacakacaka ni Vuli vakacegu, Mr. Filipe Jitoko, kei Qasenivuli Joji Qaranivalu, ena tabana ni vakadidike ni Tabacakacaka ni Vuli (MoE), ena nodratou solia na nodratou veitokoni ena vakadidike oqo. Au via vakavinavinakataki ira talega na noqu i tokani voleka ena nodra veivosakitaka ka vakaraitaka rawa vei ira na nodra qasenivuli liu na veika e baleta na noqu veisiko, ni’u vulagi ga, ka’u vakataroga e so na tari dredre na kena i sau. Au na sega sara ni guilecavi kemuni rawa. Na noqu vakavinavinaka ceceki talega vei kemuni kece sara na Qasenivuli Liu ena nomuni lomasoli ena kena dolavi tu na nomuni koronivuli, nomuni veitokoni ena dikevi ni ulutaga bibi oqo ka tiki ni nomuni bula vakaivakarau. Na vakavinavinaka levu talega vei kemuni kece sara na maroroi au voli ena nomuni dui vale kei na loma ni bai ni koronivuli ena noqu moce, kana ka vakauasivi e na noqu vakagunuvi ena wai ni vanua, dina ga ni so e vica walega na auwa ka so tale e vica vata sara na siga.
Na noqu vakavinavinaka cecekia vua na Daurivuli Liu (SEO), Qasenivuli Serupepeli Udre (Mau, Namosi) kei Qasenivuli Sekove Degei (Visama, Nakelo) ena School of Language, Arts & Media, Univesiti ni Ceva ena nomudrau veivakaitaukeitaki, veikauwaitaki, yalovinaka kei na veidusimaki, sega ni guilecavi kina na veigauna ni dau vakavulici au kina ena l vakarau duidui, na i tuvatuva kei na itovo e okati ena ena vakaitaukei e Viti. Au via kacivaka talega e ke na veivuke levu nei Ro Misiwaini Qereqeretabua (Navolau, Naitasiti), na i Liuli Liuliu vakacegu ni iTaukei Institute of Language and Culture qai lai Liuli Liuliu ni Fiji National Archives yacova nona mai leqa. E dau tu vakarau ena gauna taucoko me dau vukei au ka’u na guiguilecava dredre na nodra i vakasala momona kei na veitokani vinaka.

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Glossary

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<td>'ava</td>
<td>Name for kava in Sāmoa and Tahiti. See yaqona.</td>
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<td>'ava-ava</td>
<td>One of several names for kava in Tahiti. See yaqona.</td>
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<td>'awa</td>
<td>Name for kava in Hawaii. See yaqona.</td>
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<td>bachelor</td>
<td>See cauravou.</td>
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<td>badge of honour</td>
<td>A colloquialism referring to kanikani (the skin condition that manifests as a result of high yaqona consumption). This term infers a sense of masculinity, and can indicate a person’s stature in being able to competitively consume vast quantities of yaqona, or simply indicates that a person has the ability to drink large amounts of the beverage (Aporosa, 2008:78-9). Also see kanikani.</td>
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<td>bati</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘warrior’, a traditional soldier of the chief.</td>
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<td>Bantu beer</td>
<td>See kaffir.</td>
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<td>Bauan Fijian</td>
<td>The dialect of those from the chiefly island of Bau, a term frequently and incorrectly used to mean the common/national dialect of Fiji. See vosa vakabau.</td>
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<td>bete</td>
<td>Traditional priest.</td>
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<td>betel</td>
<td>Also known as betelnut and buwa. This reddish-yellow fruit grows on the areca palm tree (Areca catechu) and is an indigenous substance of Papua New Guinea (PNG).</td>
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<td>bilo</td>
<td>A cup made from a coconut shell. Called a shell in Vanuatu.</td>
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<td>black-belt</td>
<td>See grog swiper.</td>
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<td>bole</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘to challenge’. The word has historical origins in challenging rituals performed between warriors prior to combat (Clunie, 1977:40). One of its uses in contemporary Fijian society is to describe playful challenging during yaqona sessions. Also see grog fighting.</td>
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<td>bolei</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘to be challenged’. See bole.</td>
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<td>buai</td>
<td>See betel.</td>
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<td>buli</td>
<td>Cowry shells attached to the magimagi/sau. Buli denotes ‘chiefliness’.</td>
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<td>bush-beer</td>
<td>An alcohol brewed by from oranges Raratongan’s and used in a pseudo-traditional practice which carries with it many of the appearances of traditional kava use.</td>
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<td>cauravou</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘bachelor’, an unmarried male over 18 years old.</td>
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<td>chemotype</td>
<td>The chemical composition of a plant.</td>
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1 This glossary contains a large number of vosa vakabau (common Fijian language) words that I know and use. In a small number of cases words were sourced from Capell (1991), A new Fijian dictionary.
cobo Clapping as a mark of respect.
coca The leaf of the *Erythroxylum* plant, chewed for centuries by the Indians of the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes (Cherry, 2002:59).
dabe Literally meaning ‘sit’.
dari *Tanoa* (*kava* bowl) made from *lapita* pottery.
din maaro A Fiji Bāt word literally meaning ‘to relax, killing time, socialising’ (Prasad, 2009:171).
Diwali Hindu festival of lights.
dokadoka A person with an arrogant and/or condescending attitude.
drau ni kau Literally meaning ‘sorcery, witchcraft’. Also see vakatevoro.
drug half-life The amount of time it takes for the potency of a drug in the body to fall to half its strength (Julien, 2001:17).
dry isevusevu The exclusion of the consumption of aqueous *yaqona* that typically follows the traditional presentation of *waka* (Aporosa, 2008:37).
elimination half-life The time it takes for the potency of a drug to decrease by half in the bloodstream (Julien, 2001:19-20).
‘evava One of several names for *kava* in Tahiti. See *yaqona*.
faikava *Kava* consumption by Tongan commoners, or denotes purely recreational consumption.
Fijian Person of Indian decent formerly known as Fiji-Indian or Indo-Fijian (Government of Fiji, 2010).
Fiji Bāt Also known as ‘Fiji Hindi’, the common/national Fijian dialect, comprising a blend of Indian Hindi, Tamil, Teluga and Malayalam and developed during the indenture period (Mugler, 2004:247).
gámada One of several names for *kava* in Papua New Guinean. See *yaqona*.
Girmitiyas The indenture period, 1879 and 1916, when over 60,000 Indian labourers were brought to Fiji (Mugler, 2004:247).
gonedau The traditional role of fisherman, belonging to the fisherman clan. Also be known as *kai wai*.
grog A colloquialism referring to aqueous *yaqona*, adapted from the grog (rum) ration given to the sailors who visited Fiji prior to colonization (Norton & Ruze, 1994:10; Geraghty, 1996).
grog-doped A colloquialism referring to *yaqona* intoxication (Aporosa, 2008:38). It is also used when referring to the lethargic effects of a *yaqona* hangover. Also see *mateni, lomaloma ca*.
grog fighting A colloquialism referring to competitive, non-aggressive *yaqona* drinking (Aporosa, 2008:69,82). Also see *bole*.
grog swiper A colloquialism referring to a person who habitually consumes large quantities of *yaqona* (Aporosa, 2008:22). Also known as a heavyweight or black-belt.
Gujarati The free migrants who entered Fiji after the indenture period to pursue business opportunities (Brison, 2011:232).
gunu Literally meaning ‘to drink’.

gunu taudua  Solo yaqona consumption, believed to comprise an act of witchcraft. Also see vakatevoro.

heavyweight  See grog swiper.

hot-stuff  A colloquialism referring to alcohol.

ibe  Mat woven from the voivoi plant.

ibou  A fibrous strainer made from the branch of the vau; Hibiscus tree, and use for straining aqueous yaqona.

i cake  Literally means ‘up’. At yaqona sessions often refers to ‘up in the chiefly position’.

‘ilo kava  Kava consumption by Tongan nobility.

isevusevu  The formal presentation of yaqona. i sevu literally means “first fruits, a libation of a small quantity of yaqona poured from the first bilo as an offering to the Vu [ancestral gods]” (Vunidilo, 2006:4).

itovo  iTaukei culture and practice.

iTaukei  “Replaces the word ‘Fijian’ or ‘indigenous’ or ‘indigenous Fijian’... when referring to the original and native settlers of Fiji.” (Government of Fiji, 2010).

kaffir  A traditional beer made from corn and brewed by the South Africa Bantu people (Steinkraus, 1996:408). Also known as Bantu beer.

kahuna  Traditional Hawaiian priest (Titcomb, 1948).

kailoma  A person of mixed European iTaukei ancestry.

kaivalagi  A visitor from overseas.

kai Viti  A person/people of Fiji.

kanikani  Also called kani, referring to kava dermopathy, a ichthyosis or dry scaly condition of the skin that results from excessive yaqona consumption (Norton, 1998:383). Also see badge of honor.

Kamohoa’i  Hawaiian shark god (Kepler, 1998:8).

Karisito  The Christian Godhead. Also see Kalou Vu.

kastom  Pigeon (Bislama) meaning custom (Young, 1995:61).

káu  One of several names for kava in Papua New Guinean. See yaqona.

kava  See yaqona.

kava circle  See yaqona session.

kerekere  Reciprocal system of exchange, traditional form of purchase and transaction.

kavalactones  The active constituent in yaqona (MediHerb, 1994a:1-2).

kawakawa  Also known as Māori kava and kavakava (Macropiper excelsum), an indigenous substance of enormous sacred significance to Māori (Bock, 2000:176-7).

kéu  Papua New Guinean name for kava. See yaqona.
**kila na iyatu**
Literally meaning ‘knowing ones place in the community’, an aspect of vakaturaga.

**komatua**
Māori elder.

**koro**
Literally meaning ‘village’.

**kosa**
Waka (yaqona root) after being pounded in a tabili, or the ‘leftover’ yaqona once mixed into the aqueous beverage.

**kuma-kuma**
A gourd made by Māori who boiled and hollowed out a marrow.

**kumete**
Tongan kava bowl.

**lewena**
The basal stump of the yaqona plant, considered second (quality) grade yaqona after waka.

**lomaloma ca**
Yaqona hangover, refereeing to the post-consumptive bodily effects of laziness, lack of energy, decreased motivation, heightened impassivity, generalised carelessness and occasionally interrupted memory recall.

**lose**
Literally means ‘to mix’, as in mix aqueous yaqona.

**lovo**
Traditional ground oven.

**lua**
Literally meaning ‘to vomit’.

**maca**
Literally meaning ‘finish/finished’, or ‘drained’ when use in conjunction with a fully consumed bilo (yaqona cup).

**mada**
A particle used to soften a request or a direction, or as part of seeking permission, similar to ‘please’.

**madua rarawa**
Literally means ‘shame/hurt feelings’.

**magimagi**
The plaited coconut fibre rope attached to the matanitanoa (front of the kava bowl). Also called sau.

**mana**
Power of effect. See Footnote 21.

**manuia**
Sāmoan term expressing ‘good fortune’. Often said prior to kava consumption (Kallen, 1982:42).

**Māori**
The indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand.

**mataisau**
Traditional carpenter.

**matanigasau**
A formal apology accompanied by yaqona.

**matanivanua**
Herald or spokesman for the chief (Abramson, 1999:270).

**matanitanoa**
Literally meaning the ‘face of the tanoa’, the small triangular shaped piece of wood on a tanoa that faces the ‘high/chiefly position during yaqona consumption.

**mataqali**
“An agnatically related” group forming part of the larger clan (Ravuvu, 1983:119).

**mateni**
Short for mate ni yaqona, meaning yaqona intoxication or drunkenness (Hocart, 1929:58). Also see grog-doped.

**meke**
Traditional Fijian dance.

**mesini**
An offering of kava made by warriors to deities prior to combat or competition in pre-colonial Tonga (Gifford, 1971:318).

**mix**
See lose.

**myristicin**
Chemical found in nutmeg and kawakawa capable of causing psychoactive effects (Bock, 2000:176-7).

**na batini tanoa**
Literally meaning the ‘edge of the tanoa’ (kava bowl), denoting sitting around the tanoa. See yaqona session.
nakamal  A designated area or structure for kava consumption in Vanuatu (Lindstrom, 1987:99).
namaloku  Name for kava in northern Vanuatu. See yaqona.
nekava  Name for kava in southern Vanuatu. See yaqona.
Pasifika  Refers to both the people of the Pacific islands and their “unique cultural perspectives and beliefs embodied in the values, customs, rituals, dance, song, language and cultural expressions” (CreativeNZ, 2012:n/a).
Pasifikan  Term coined by Massey University’s Pasifika division, Pasifika@Massey, and refers to a person/people of Pacific origin.
piala  A small enamel bowl used by Fijians to consume yaqona, similar to a bilo. Also spelt pyala.
piala  See piala.
quaciqacia  Literally meaning to ’show off’.
qaravi tavi  Fulfilling obligations, an aspect of vakaturaga.
qito vakaViti  Traditional Fijian games.
qwua  Solomon Islands name for kava. See yaqona.
raupo  Also called bulrush (Typha angustifolia), a plant commonly used by Māori for weaving.
rihumae  A Solomon Islands ceremony of remembrance held approximately six months following a death (Fox, 1924:216-17).
rongoa Māori  Traditional Māori medicine (McGowan, 2009).
saka  Literally meaning ‘sir’.
sakau  Name for kava in Phonpei. See yaqona.
sau  See magimagi (as used in this study – can also refer to ‘value’ or ‘power’).
sauturaga  Executives to the chief, the clan that appoints the chief.
seka  Name for kava in Kosrae. See yaqona.
shell  Term used in Vanuatu for kava cup. See bilo.
sosoko  In reference to yaqona means concentrated strength, ‘thick mix’.
sova yaqona  Literally meaning 'to pour yaqona'. The 'pouring' is a libation to give efficacy to the malevolent spirit/s. Also see vakatevoro.
spoiling  A colloquialism for joking or teasing. Also see veiwali.
steady-state concentration  The achievement of a predicted level of drug accumulation in the body following regular doses (Julien, 2001:19-20).
swiper  See grog swiper.
tabua  Whales tooth as used in ceremonial exchange.
taki  Literally meaning ‘serve’ when used in connection with yaqona.
talanoa  The meeting together of two or more people where information is shared.
Talatala  A consecrated church minister, Reverend.
tanoa  Wooden bowl for mixing yaqona, serving yaqona from.
tanoa poi  Tanoa/kava bowl made from a plastic fishing float.
tatau  Traditional Sāmoan tattooing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossary Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taumafa kava</td>
<td>Ceremonial kava, or kava use in Tonga involving the Tongan Royal Family.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tauvū</td>
<td>A political and social linkage between villages and regions based on traditional religious observance. Those who make up these relational connections frequently refer to each other as ‘Tau’, and their relationships are often “marked by mutual assistance, license, and joking” (Tomlinson, 2002:39).</td>
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<tr>
<td>tavale</td>
<td>Cross-cousin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tigwa</td>
<td>One of several names for kava in Papua New Guinean. See yaqona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikina</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘district’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>A king, person holding a chiefly title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuki</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘to pound’, as in crush, when used in relation to yaqona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuki na kosa</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘to pound or re-pound yaqona’ allowing it to be used again to mix aqueous beverage, although subsequent use reduces the potency (Tomlinson, 2004:657).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turaga</td>
<td>A chief, a respectable term used to address a male or group of males.</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘umeke</td>
<td>Sāmoan ‘ava (kava) bowl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>vakatevoro</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘witchcraft’. This is a spiritual mechanism used to bring about a curse and often involves the use of yaqona (Katz, 1993:24). Also see drau ni kau, gunu taudua and sova yaqona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakamarama</td>
<td>See vakaturaga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakamavoataka</td>
<td>See madua rara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakarokoroko</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘humility’, an aspect of vakaturaga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakaturaga</td>
<td>“The central [Fijian] ethos” and value system that includes, behaving in a chiefly manner irrespective of ones status, respect, knowing ones place in the community, fulfilling obligations, sharing and caring, and a quiet disposition (Ravuvu, 1987:18-19,319-320). Vakaturaga refers to the observance and practice of this ideal by the male gender: turaga meaning chief/male position holder. vakamarama is the female equivalent: marama equating to the feminine version of turaga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakavinavininaka</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘to show appreciation’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanua</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘the land, its people and traditions’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanua Research</td>
<td>A research methodology developed by Nabobo-Baba (2006:24-36) and employed when the research focus has implications for the vanua.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veidokai</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘respect’, an aspect of vakaturaga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veikauwaitaki</td>
<td>Literally meaning ‘caring’, an aspect of vakaturaga.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| veitaboni     | Insinuating ‘retaliation’. When used in reference to relational connections, indicates former enemies. In the contemporary culture the relationship is characterised with gaming, trickery,
joking, competition, bole, and grog fighting, although this never descends into aggression or confrontation (Tomlinson 2006:13).

**veitalanoa**  
Literally meaning ‘to discuss, discussion’. See talanoa.

**veivosoti**  
Literally meaning ‘forgiveness’, an aspect of vakaturaga.

**veivukei**  
Literally meaning ‘helpfulness’, an aspect of vakaturaga.

**veiwali**  
Literally meaning joking or teasing. Also see ‘spoiling’.

**veiwasei**  
Literally meaning ‘sharing’, an aspect of vakaturaga.

**vesi**  
Fijian hardwood used to make tanoa.

**voivoi**  
Leaves of the Pandan plant used to weave ibe (mats).

**vosa vakabau**  
Literally meaning ‘generalised’ iTaukei language, the common/national dialect. This is often incorrectly referred to as ‘Bauan Fijian’, which gives the inference that the national dialect originated from the Fijian chiefly island of Bau (Geraghty, 2007:385) – note uncapitalised letter ‘b’.

**Vu**  
Ancestral gods, ancestors and spirits (Katz, 1993:20-21).

**waka**  
The prized root crop of the yaqona plant which contain the greatest levels of kavalactones.

**waka kari**  
Yaqona root with skin scrapped off, removed.

**wainivanua**  
See yaqona.

**yalo malua**  
Literally meaning ‘a quiet demeanor’, an aspect of vakaturaga.

**yaqona**  
A plant, botanically named *Piper methysticum* (Singh & Blumenthal, 1997:36), and more commonly known as kava in the wider Pacific. *Yaqona* is considered sacred and can be mixed into an intoxicating beverage creating Fijian’s national indigenous substance. *Yaqona* is also commonly referred to as wainivanua, literally meaning ‘water of the’ (waini) people, land and culture (vanua) (Tomlinson, 2009:109).

**yaqona circle**  
See yaqona session.

**yaqona session**  
Also referred to as a yaqona circle, “kava circle” (Lindstrom, 2004:17; Tora, 1986:30) or na batini tanoa. This is a gathering of two or more persons where yaqona is consumed. This reference is used irrespective of the time duration, or whether the consumption is done for formal or informal reasons.

**yavusa**  
Genealogically, largest kinship group in Fiji.
List of Abbreviations

CIB  Criminal Investigation Bureau
FNNS  Fiji National Nutrition Survey
GDP  Gross National Product
HoD  Head of Department
IMF  International Monetary Fund
LQA  Labour Quality Index
mgs  milligrams
MoE  Fijian Ministry of Education
MUHEC  Massey University Human Ethics Committee
NGO  Non-Governmental Organization
NLTO  Native Land Trust Ordinance
PMS  Performance Management System
PNG  Papua New Guinea
PSC  Public Service Commission
RPEIPP  Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative for and by Pacific Peoples
SEO  Senior Education Officer
SPSS  Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UNESCO  United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US  United States (of America)
USP  University of the South Pacific
VAT  Value Added Tax
WAIS-III  Wechsler Intelligence Scale 3rd Edition
WB  World Bank
WHO  World Health Organisation