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**A BURNING QUESTION? FIRE, LIVELIHOODS AND  
SUSTAINABILITY IN THE NAVOSA REGION OF THE FIJI  
ISLANDS**

*A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy in Development Studies at Massey University*

Trevor George King  
2004

I declare that this thesis is my own work, except for those sections explicitly acknowledged, and that the main content of the thesis has not been previously submitted for a degree at any other university.



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## ABSTRACT

The relevance of the sustainable development approach for land conservation in tropical hill regions is often assumed, but is seldom evaluated against local realities. This study analyses the causes of land degradation and unsustainability in the seasonally fire-prone region of Navosa, Viti Levu, Fiji Islands. A complex and multi-layered set of connections exists between livelihood strategies and the environment in this region where fire is used as a tool. Traditional institutions governing land management have been undermined, however, and the sustainability of the *vanua* (or land-people nexus) is threatened.

Despite their reliance on fire, local participants reported uncontrolled burning (caused by a minority of villagers) and deforestation leading to land degradation, lower productivity and damage to fisheries.

Degradation was increasing parallel with escalating human and animal populations, despite relatively equitable, resilient and livelihood-enhancing cultural institutions. Non-indigenous models of resource use, imposed by colonial and neocolonial authorities, have exacerbated land degradation and compromised indigenous resource management.

Traditional tenure and leadership are impeded, leading to inequities in access to land as populations increase, and leaving local leaders unable to enact conservation. An intrusive market-based economic system encourages increased resource exploitation with little regard for environmental sustainability.

A traditional model of agroarboriculture and indigenous development in the form of still-observable (but largely disused) irrigated terraces suggests the relevance of a sustainable alternative based on indigenous knowledge. To achieve sustainable development in Navosa, the emphasis should be on socio-environmental amelioration rather than on economic development (which exacerbates degradation), and to this end, local participants expressed a desire for particular conservation strategies.

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## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iv
CONTENTS .....	v
TABLES .....	xix
FIGURES .....	xx
PHOTOGRAPHS .....	xxi
CONVENTIONS .....	xxii
GLOSSARY .....	xxiii
CHAPTER ONE .....	1
INTRODUCTION .....	1
PURPOSE .....	1
NATURE OF PROBLEM .....	1
Sustainability .....	3
Justification for the Research .....	4
Cultural and Historical Ecology .....	5
Structure .....	6
CHAPTER TWO .....	9
THEORIES OF HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT INTERACTION, SUSTAINABILITY	

AND DEVELOPMENT .....	9
INTRODUCTION .....	9
THE MANAGEMENT OF THIRD WORLD LAND DEGRADATION .....	9
Human-Environment Interaction .....	10
A single theory for people and the land? .....	12
Cultural ecology .....	13
Historical ecology .....	13
Political ecology .....	15
Land Degradation and Society .....	16
Land degradation and social change .....	16
Demographic approaches .....	16
Neoclassical beliefs and sustainability .....	17
DEVELOPMENT THEORIES .....	18
Development in the Modern Period .....	19
From Grand Narratives To Many Narratives .....	20
Poststructuralism, postmodernism and postcolonialism .....	20
The local or indigenous subculture of postmodernism .....	20
Practical alternatives .....	22
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT .....	22
Sustainable Development: Origins and Issues .....	22
Sustainable development: our common future .....	23
Pacific islands and sustainable rural development .....	24
The perspective of universal growth .....	25
Economic growth theory .....	25
The political economy of degradation .....	26
Cultural imperialism and sustainable knowledge .....	27
Cultural sustainability .....	27
Power and sustainable development .....	28
Strategies of sustainable development .....	29
Land degradation and sustainable development .....	29
LOCAL ASPECTS TO DEVELOPMENT .....	31

Livelihoods . . . . .	31
Participation . . . . .	34
Participation for development . . . . .	34
Participation as means to or end of development . . . . .	35
Empowerment . . . . .	36
Empowerment and sustainability . . . . .	37
The difficulties of empowerment . . . . .	37
Who participates, and why? . . . . .	37
Indigenous and Local Knowledge . . . . .	38
Definitions . . . . .	38
The knowledge interface, hybrids and performance . . . . .	39
Power . . . . .	39
Indigenous knowledge . . . . .	40
The contexts of identity . . . . .	40
Divisions and conjunctions of identity . . . . .	41
Indigenous and traditional knowledge . . . . .	42
Summary of Theoretical Approaches . . . . .	42
 CHAPTER THREE . . . . .	44
 AGRI-CULTURE, PYRO-LIVELIHOODS AND SUSTAINABILITY IN NAVOSA: PAST TO PRESENT . . . . .	44
INTRODUCTION, LANDSCAPE AND PLACE . . . . .	44
Environment and Natural Resources . . . . .	46
Edaphic features . . . . .	46
Soils . . . . .	47
Climate . . . . .	47
Cyclones . . . . .	49
Vegetation . . . . .	50
Navosa in Fiji . . . . .	51
Context and application . . . . .	52

LANDSCAPE HISTORY AND WATERSHED CHANGE .....	53
The Political Ecology of Landscape History .....	54
The Landscape History of Navosa .....	55
Land degradation or landscape enhancement? .....	57
Terracing and pondfields .....	59
<i>Vuci</i> origins .....	60
<i>Vuci</i> distribution .....	61
<i>Vuci</i> decline .....	62
Swiddening, permanent and other dryland cultivation methods .....	64
How sustainable are these methods? .....	66
Permanent cultivation of alluvial flatlands .....	70
Permanent 'swidden' cultivation .....	70
Swiddens: evolution and resilience .....	71
Polycultural gardens, agrodiversity and agroecology .....	73
Energy and sustainability .....	75
Carrying capacity .....	78
FIRE AND LAND DEGRADATION .....	79
Fire, Land Management, Degradation .....	79
Watershed or tinderbox: a post-contact landscape .....	80
The origins of concern .....	81
Deforestation and fire regulation .....	81
Plantation fires .....	82
Fire and grassland .....	84
The 'Burns' Report .....	86
Did burning increase over time? .....	89
Animals, grazing and fire .....	91
Vetiver grass, tenure, security .....	93
CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION .....	94
Culture and Custom .....	95
Culture history .....	95
Solevu, community, exchange and identity .....	96

<i>Kerekere, welfare and redistribution</i> . . . . .	98
<i>Yaqona and sevusevu</i> . . . . .	99
Language . . . . .	100
Identity, totems, ecology and <i>vanua</i> . . . . .	101
Totems . . . . .	101
First fruits . . . . .	105
<i>Vanua</i> . . . . .	106
<i>Vanua</i> and indigenous land management . . . . .	107
Social Structure and Community Systems . . . . .	107
Community . . . . .	108
Church and religion . . . . .	108
Kinship groups . . . . .	109
Leadership . . . . .	110
Local government . . . . .	110
Land tenure, use rights and <i>vanua</i> . . . . .	111
Work and labour . . . . .	114
Land tenure and belongingness . . . . .	115
Tradition and identity . . . . .	116
Tradition and politics . . . . .	117
RURAL DEVELOPMENT . . . . .	118
Yalavou Beef . . . . .	118
Highlands Logging . . . . .	119
Lowland Crop Projects . . . . .	119
Summary: Fire, Land Management and Sustainability . . . . .	120
CHAPTER FOUR . . . . .	122
RESEARCH METHODS . . . . .	122
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	122
THE RATIONALE FOR FIELDWORK . . . . .	122
THE RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY . . . . .	122

Methodological Variety .....	124
Context and the Choice of Method .....	124
Participation: A Context-Oriented Methodology .....	125
Navosa and participation .....	127
Participatory method and environment .....	129
RESEARCH DESIGN .....	130
Information Needed to Establish the Thesis .....	130
Texts about the field: secondary (non-field) research .....	131
Primary (field) research .....	131
Techniques Used .....	132
Observation .....	132
Maps, photos and drawings .....	133
Interviews .....	134
Participant enquiry .....	135
Questionnaires .....	135
Participatory appraisal techniques .....	136
Logistics Of Data Collection .....	138
RESEARCH IN PRACTICE .....	139
Implementation of Prior Plans .....	139
Techniques Used and Problems Encountered .....	143
Observation .....	143
Interviews .....	145
Participant enquiry .....	147
Questionnaires .....	148
The village household questionnaire .....	148
The regional village questionnaire .....	153
Participatory appraisal techniques .....	154
Participation in Practice .....	159
Local realities and interaction in research .....	160
Translation .....	161
Translator differences .....	163

Translating the translators .....	165
Triangulation .....	167
Empowerment and research .....	168
Implications of my chosen methods on empowerment .....	169
Being Reflexive .....	170
Interaction with participants .....	173
The effects of preconceptions .....	175
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>177</b>
<b>VILLAGES AND VANUA: RESULTS FROM THE FIELD .....</b>	<b>177</b>
<b>THE INITIAL SURVEY .....</b>	<b>177</b>
Introduction .....	177
Keiyasi .....	178
Nawairabe .....	184
Nubuyanitu .....	190
Draubuta .....	192
Namoli .....	193
Nasauvakarua .....	195
Navatumali .....	199
Navosa Landscape, Dry Season .....	200
<b>OTHER VILLAGES, WET SEASON .....</b>	<b>201</b>
Waibasaga .....	201
Vatubalavu .....	202
Sawene .....	204
Nukuilau .....	205
<b>HUMAN POPULATION .....</b>	<b>205</b>
<b>IN-DEPTH EVALUATIONS .....</b>	<b>210</b>
Nasauvakarua .....	210
Burning .....	211
Analysis of results .....	212

Sociocultural, environmental and livelihood values . . . . .	217
Environment and sustainability . . . . .	217
Intra-village differences . . . . .	220
Household wealth . . . . .	221
Wild food . . . . .	221
Nawairabe . . . . .	222
Analysis of results . . . . .	222
Burning . . . . .	222
Sociocultural, environmental and livelihood values . . . . .	227
Environment and sustainability . . . . .	227
Repeated burning . . . . .	229
Intra-village differences . . . . .	230
Social identity and groups . . . . .	231
Household wealth . . . . .	231
Summary . . . . .	231
CHAPTER SIX . . . . .	232
 VIEWING NAVOSA: FIRE AND LIVELIHOODS FROM NEAR AND FAR . . . . .	232
NADROGA-NAVOSA: LOCAL, SEMILOCAL AND NONLOCAL VIEWS . . . . .	232
Navosa: Local Government Services . . . . .	233
A view from within: the Assistant Roko . . . . .	233
The district officers and rural development . . . . .	234
The Doctor and health . . . . .	236
Extension services and middle valley agriculture . . . . .	237
The Semilocal: Provincial Services . . . . .	239
Agricultural services . . . . .	239
The quarterly meeting . . . . .	239
Yaqona statistics in Nadroga-Navosa . . . . .	241
The Keiyasi <i>turaga-ni-koro</i> and modernisation . . . . .	241
Distant Views and Nonlocal Perspectives . . . . .	243

Professional perspectives .....	243
Education professionals .....	243
Expert nonlocal attitudes on sustainability .....	243
Food and nutrition .....	244
Environment .....	244
Non-government organisations (NGOs) .....	245
Government officials .....	246
Government and the rural development process .....	246
The Fijian Affairs Board and Duavata .....	246
Political leadership .....	250
A TOPICAL VIEW OF NAVOSA .....	251
Sociocultural Aspects and Livelihoods .....	251
Local education and development .....	252
Public media and local communications .....	253
Traditional ecological knowledge .....	253
Social and religious change .....	254
Local culture history .....	256
Resource Management and Sustainability .....	256
Resources and land conservation .....	256
Traditional land use and cultivation .....	257
Hydroponics .....	258
Vetiver .....	258
Pasture and sustainability in Nadroga-Navosa .....	260
Animal health, pasture .....	261
The Yalavou beef grazing project .....	263
Cattle and gardens .....	265
Forestry .....	266
Fishing .....	270
Downstream effects of erosion .....	270
Drought resilience, crop choice and food security .....	271
The Livelihood Resources .....	272

Turmeric .....	272
Agroforestry trees and plants .....	273
<i>Vaivai-ni-mocemoce</i> .....	274
Yams .....	274
<i>Vitua</i> .....	275
<i>Dalo</i> .....	277
Perspectives on Burning, Livelihoods and Degradation .....	277
Local views .....	277
Semilocal views .....	278
Nonlocal views .....	279
Intensified and sustainable land use .....	281
THE NAVOSA REGION PARTICIPATORY STUDY .....	282
Participatory Group Study .....	282
Analysis of results .....	282
Burning .....	282
Sociocultural, livelihood and environmental values .....	286
Environment and sustainability .....	287
Wild food .....	289
Social identity and groups .....	290
Cultural values and vanua .....	291
SUMMARY OF RESULTS .....	292
CHAPTER SEVEN .....	295
NAVOSA: A SUSTAINABLE VANUA? .....	295
FIRES AND DEGRADATION .....	295
Reasons for Burning .....	295
Uncontrolled Burning .....	300
Excessive Burning, Land Degradation and Pressure on Livelihoods .....	300
Prevention and afforestation .....	302
LIVELIHOODS AND FOOD SECURITY .....	303

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . . .	304
Resource categories . . . . .	306
Natural resources . . . . .	306
Physical . . . . .	307
Financial . . . . .	310
Traditional sociocultural . . . . .	311
Social and religious . . . . .	311
Human resources . . . . .	312
Present Livelihood Strategies . . . . .	313
Livelihoods and indigenous knowledge . . . . .	314
Wild Food and Drink Resources . . . . .	314
<i>Kakana</i> . . . . .	315
Other Crops and Food Imports . . . . .	316
<i>Ika</i> and <i>Manumanu</i> . . . . .	317
Recent Changes . . . . .	319
Livelihood outcomes . . . . .	319
Well being of self and <i>vauua</i> . . . . .	320
Vulnerability context . . . . .	320
Shock . . . . .	320
Stress . . . . .	322
Transforming institutions and domains . . . . .	324
THE SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEM . . . . .	325
INDIGENOUS LAND MANAGEMENT . . . . .	329
The History . . . . .	329
<i>Vuci</i> to <i>Tavioka</i> . . . . .	331
Grassland Management and Burning . . . . .	333
Food Security . . . . .	335
Sociocultural Change and Management . . . . .	336
SUMMARY: IS IT SUSTAINABLE? . . . . .	338
CHAPTER EIGHT . . . . .	341

NAVOSA DEVELOPMENT AND SUSTAINABLE LAND MANAGEMENT .....	341
DEVELOPMENT .....	341
Tradition, Change and Development .....	342
Development and Transition .....	347
Indigenous Development .....	349
Planned Economic Growth and Modernisation .....	351
Planned Social and Environmental Amelioration .....	353
VANUA AND DEVELOPMENT .....	355
<i>Vanua</i> and Traditional Land Management .....	355
<i>Vanua</i> and modernisation .....	357
<i>Vanua</i> and indigenous development .....	359
<i>Vanua</i> , planned economic growth and modernisation .....	364
<i>Vanua</i> and socio-environmental amelioration .....	366
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT .....	367
The Challenge to an Orthodoxy .....	368
Does Poverty Cause Environmental Degradation? .....	369
Navosa and the poverty line .....	370
Nanoko .....	376
Other villages .....	376
Does Economic Development Alleviate Environmental Degradation? ..	378
Pasture development .....	380
Yaqona and <i>dalo</i> production .....	381
Pine plantations .....	383
A Sustainable <i>Vanua</i> : Land, Culture and Society .....	384
Degradation of the commons .....	384
Sustainable livelihoods .....	387
Possibilities for Improved Sustainability .....	387
Summary .....	388
CHAPTER NINE .....	391

CONCLUSIONS .....	391
SUSTAINABILITY .....	391
Sustainable Development? .....	393
Looking to the Future .....	395
REFERENCES .....	396
APPENDIX ONE .....	432
QUESTIONNAIRES .....	432
Navosa Regional Questionnaire .....	432
Village Household Questionnaire .....	435
APPENDIX TWO .....	441
QUESTIONNAIRE TECHNIQUES .....	441
Regional Questionnaire Techniques .....	441
Village Household Questionnaire Techniques .....	450
APPENDIX THREE .....	456
RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION ON BURNING .....	456
APPENDIX FOUR .....	457
PRA TECHNIQUES .....	457
Village Group Techniques .....	457
1. Seasonal crop calendar matrix .....	457
2. Seasonal burning calendar matrix .....	460
3. Food resource matrix .....	460
4. Environmental sustainability matrix .....	462
5. <i>Vuci</i> brainstorm .....	463
6. Vegetation resource matrix .....	463
7. Gender control in agriculture matrix .....	464
8. Resource map .....	465

APPENDIX FIVE .....	466
INFORMATION SHEET .....	466

## TABLES

TABLE I. Menu of RRA & PRA methods .....	137
TABLE II. Nasauvakarua population data .....	209
TABLE III. Nawairabe population data .....	210
TABLE IV. Reasons why Nasauvakarua land is burned .....	212
TABLE V. Nasauvakarua values .....	217
TABLE VI. The main environmental problems .....	218
TABLE VII. Reasons why Nawairabe land is burned .....	222
TABLE VIII. Nawairabe values .....	227
TABLE IX. The main environmental problems .....	228
TABLE X. Reasons why Navosa land is burned .....	282
TABLE XI. Navosa values .....	286
TABLE XII. How does repeated burning affect the land? .....	288
TABLE XIII. What should be done about land degradation? .....	289
TABLE XIV. Importance of wild ( <i>ni veikau</i> ) food ( <i>kakana</i> ) and drink ( <i>gunu</i> ) .....	289
TABLE XV. Relative importance of different social groups .....	290
TABLE XVI. Importance of <i>vanua</i> .....	291

**FIGURES**

Map of Fiji showing the main islands .....	xxvi
FIGURE 1. Map of Navosa .....	45
FIGURE 2. Navosa population .....	205
FIGURE 3. Nasauvakarua and Nawairabe population .....	207
FIGURE 4. Nasauvakarua and Nawairabe households .....	208
FIGURE 5. Nasauvakarua burning calendar, men .....	214
FIGURE 6. Nasauvakarua burning calendar, women .....	215
FIGURE 7. Nawairabe burning calendar, men .....	224
FIGURE 8. Nawairabe burning calendar, women .....	225
FIGURE 9. Navosa burning .....	284
FIGURE 10. Navosa values .....	286
FIGURE 11. Subsistence sources in Navosa .....	290
FIGURE 12. Livelihood system of Navosa .....	305

## PHOTOGRAPHS

PHOTOGRAPH 1. Using the firewheel .....	151
PHOTOGRAPH 2. Nasauvakarua farmer, yam hut and dog .....	175
PHOTOGRAPH 3. Keiyasi village .....	178
PHOTOGRAPH 4. Fenced <i>dalo</i> <i>sabe</i> .....	180
PHOTOGRAPH 5. Irrigation .....	182
PHOTOGRAPH 6. Bitu aqueduct .....	185
PHOTOGRAPH 7. Nawairabe hills, dry season .....	187
PHOTOGRAPH 8. New grass for the animals .....	188
PHOTOGRAPH 9. New grass .....	189
PHOTOGRAPH 10. Nasa creek <i>tabaiwai</i> .....	192
PHOTOGRAPH 11. Severe erosion .....	201
PHOTOGRAPH 12. Vaivai-ni-mocemoce .....	203
PHOTOGRAPH 13. Solikana burning .....	211
PHOTOGRAPH 14. Soil conservation .....	259
PHOTOGRAPH 15. Harvesting <i>vitua</i> (wild yams) .....	276
PHOTOGRAPH 16. <i>Teitei</i> on colluvial fan .....	299
PHOTOGRAPH 17. Tui Navatusila and Natoka <i>vuci</i> . ....	361
PHOTOGRAPH 18. <i>Yaqona</i> and <i>dalo</i> in head-of-creek .....	382
PHOTOGRAPH 19. Burning calendar .....	459
PHOTOGRAPH 20. Food resource and security matrix .....	461

## CONVENTIONS

### ORTHOGRAPHY AND TERMS

The system of spelling adopted in this thesis for Fijian words and names is the standard Fijian orthography (Schütz, 1985). It is limited in some ways: certain details of pronunciation are lacking, for example, the macron which can be used as an emphasis to indicate long vowels. Specific consonants are pronounced as follows:

*b* is pronounced as *mb* as in *timber*

*c* is pronounced as *th* as in *mother*

*d* is pronounced as *nd* as in *tender*

*g* is pronounced as *ng* as in *singer*

*j* is pronounced as *ch* as in *church*

*q* is pronounced as *ng* as in *hunger*

Some of the terms used in this thesis may differ from standard Fijian (Bauan) language in that they reflect the different communalects or dialects used in the Navosa region: see Schütz (1962) for an analysis. In general, when I refer to local phenomena then I prefer to use the local term where it is different from the standard Fijian equivalent, however, many of the terms used by my translators were standard Fijian ones.

## GLOSSARY

Note: The information on Fijian food plants and trees is available in greater detail in Clarke & Thaman (1993) and Thaman (1990a).

<i>banidakai</i>	<i>Jatropha curcas</i> , used to support a living fence.
<i>bele (wata)</i>	<i>Hibiscus manihot</i> , shrub-like green vegetable.
<i>beto, bito</i>	(a) Ancestral clan or subclan (Navosa, western Fiji), (b) clan house.
<i>bila</i>	Gardens on alluvial flatland.
<i>bitu</i>	<i>Schizostachyum glaucifolium</i> , indigenous common bamboo.
<i>bitu-ni-vavalagi</i>	<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i> , introduced large bamboo, less common in Navosa.
<i>BP</i>	Before present.
<i>CDF</i>	Commodity Development Framework, a government agricultural development scheme.
<i>dalo, doko, doxo</i>	<i>Colocasia esculenta</i> , taro.
<i>dalo/doko/doxo-ni-tana</i>	<i>Xanthosoma sagittifolium</i> .
<i>F.D.</i>	Field data.
<i>F.I.</i>	Field interview/s.
<i>F.O.</i>	Field observation/s.
<i>FSP</i>	Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific, an NGO.
<i>gasau</i>	<i>Miscanthus japonicus</i> , a very tall native grass, forms dense reed-like thickets.
<i>i sevu</i>	Annual first fruits ceremony.
<i>kari</i>	Turmeric, <i>Curcuma longa</i> .
<i>kulu</i>	Breadfruit ( <i>Artocarpus altilis</i> ), also <i>uto</i> (Bauan).
<i>kumala</i>	<i>Ipomoea batatas</i> , sweet potato.
<i>laulau ni manivosi</i>	<i>Mauniba</i> , <i>Pennisetum polystachyon</i> , mission (mongoose) grass.
<i>LDC</i>	Less developed country.

MAF(F)	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (and Forests).
<i>magiti</i>	Food offered for ceremonial distribution.
<i>mahogany</i>	<i>Swietenia macrophylla</i> .
<i>malasou, boro</i>	<i>Solanum americanum</i> , black nightshade, wild green vegetable.
<i>maqo</i>	Mango ( <i>Mangifera indica</i> ).
<i>masi</i>	Bark-cloth, made from <i>Broussonetia papyrifera</i> .
<i>matanitu</i>	Military or governing confederation of <i>vanua</i> .
<i>mataqali</i>	Ancestral and landowning clan, subordinate to <i>yavusa</i> .
<i>mauniba</i>	<i>Pennisetum polystachyon</i> , <i>laulau ni manivosi</i> , mission (mongoose) grass.
MDC	More developed country.
<i>moli, soco</i>	<i>Citrus</i> sp.: <i>Moli kana</i> ( <i>C. grandis</i> , pomelo, shaddock), <i>moli Taiti</i> ( <i>C. sinensis</i> , sweet orange), <i>moli madirini</i> ( <i>C. reticulata</i> , mandarin, tangerine), <i>moli witwiti</i> ( <i>C. microcarpa</i> ), <i>moli karokaro</i> ( <i>C. hystrix</i> ), <i>moli kula</i> , ( <i>C. aurantium</i> , sour orange).
Navosa	Sub-province of Nadroga-Navosa province.
NLC	Native Land Commission.
NGO	Non-Government Organisation.
<i>onolulu</i>	<i>Piper aduncum</i> ( <i>Yaqona-ni-onolulu</i> , <i>Yaqoyaqona</i> , <i>Yaqona</i> from Honolulu), common shrub on grassland.
<i>pine</i>	Usually <i>Pinus caribaea</i> (var. <i>hondurensis</i> ).
<i>quwawa</i>	<i>Psidium guajava</i> , guava.
<i>Roko</i>	Administrative head of province.
<i>seremaia</i>	<i>Soursop</i> , <i>Annona muricata</i> .
<i>sevusevu</i>	Village welcoming ceremony.
<i>solevu</i>	Customary gathering, usually ceremonial.
<i>solesolevaka</i>	Small work group of friends and family.
<i>suki</i>	Fijian tobacco.
SVRDP	Sigatoka Valley Rural Development Project.
<i>tabaiwai</i>	Pondfields growing <i>dalo</i> , also <i>vuci</i> .

<i>tabua</i>	Whale's tooth, a formal token of exchange.
<i>tavioka</i>	<i>Manihot esculenta</i> , cassava.
<i>teitei</i>	Hillside gardens.
<i>tokatoka</i>	Ancestral subclan (mainly eastern Fiji).
<i>turaga</i>	Chief (usually hereditary), elder, respected person; <i>turaga-ni-matanitu</i> , governing chief; <i>turaga-ni-vanua</i> or - <i>yavusa</i> or - <i>mataqali</i> or - <i>tokatoka/beto/bito</i> , clan chiefs, in decreasing order of inclusiveness.
<i>turaga-ni-koro</i>	Elected administrative head of village; <i>turaga-ni-yasana</i> , bureaucratic head of province.
<i>uto</i>	<i>Carica papaya</i> , papaya, also <i>kulu</i> (Nawairabe), <i>weleti</i> (Bauan).
<i>uvi</i>	Cultivated yam, <i>Dioscorea</i> sp., and others.
<i>vanua</i>	(a) Nexus of place and people, land, home; (b) regional confederation of <i>yavusa</i> .
<i>vaivai</i>	<i>Leucaena leucocephala</i> , common agroforestry tree.
<i>vaivai-ni-avalagi</i>	
<i>vaivai-ni-mocemoce</i>	(Rain tree) <i>Samanea saman</i> , but also other large Mimosaceae ( <i>Albizia</i> , sp., etc). Common large shade and fuelwood tree.
<i>via</i>	<i>Alocasia macrorrhiza</i> , giant <i>dalo</i> , tuber used in emergencies.
<i>vuci</i>	A wet cultivation <i>dalo</i> garden, often terraced and irrigated, also <i>tabaiwai</i> .
<i>vitua</i>	Wild yams, often semi-domesticated.
<i>vuvale</i>	Family, household.
<i>Yalavou Project</i>	A large pastoral project adjacent to Navosa in Nadroga.
<i>yaqona</i>	<i>Piper methysticum</i> , <i>kava</i> , a beverage with a calming effect.
<i>yavusa</i>	Ancestral clan, largest unit of kinship associated with founding ancestor ( <i>vu</i> ).
<i>yavutu</i>	Ancestral home of clan founder.

Map of Fiji showing the main islands

