

## III. Information on ICH Elements

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Fijian ICH elements are widespread. ICH practices were transmitted orally and yet were able to sustain centuries of threats. Discoverers, sailors, beachcombers, traders, naval officers, botanists and others were able to make journal entries about their voyagers, discoveries and experiences in Fiji. Missionaries arrived and developed a writing (and alphabet) system for Fiji. Through these platforms, indigenous ICH was able to be recorded and documented however with errors (in some cases).

It is until recently that efforts are being pursued to document cultural practices, let alone listing or inventorying these elements. There are however three levels of information source in terms of consolidation of Fijian ICH data:

1. Practitioners and ICH bearers – knowledge and wisdom; unrecorded and documented;
2. Archival information – unpublished, published, raw accounts, photographs, video, audio recordings;
3. Secondary Literature – cultural information synthesized, condensed, edited and critiqued.

### 1. ICH elements designated on the national inventory

Fiji does not have a national inventory of ICH

### 2. ICH elements designated on a non-governmental inventory

Numerous non-governmental organizations had undertaken assessments, audits, and studies of various ICH elements in the country without realizing the relevance. The elements identified will be discussed according to the 5 ICH domains:

- (1) Oral Traditions and Expressions;
- (2) Performing Arts;
- (3) Social practices, rituals and festive events;
- (4) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and universe
- (5) Traditional craftsmanship

## (1) Oral Traditions and Expressions

### iTukuni; Legend about Teri and Ra Kalavo<sup>1</sup>



1) Name of Element:

Teri kei Ra Kalavo – iTukuni (Legend about Teri and Ra Kalavo)

2) Category: Oral Tradition & Expressions

3) Regions: A national element

4) Community Involved:

This was created and shared by a famous local storyteller – Buinamaku who speaks on local radio station.

5) Short Explanations (30-50 words):

The story is a fable sharing a particular moral prevalent in Fijian society. The fable is about a friendship between a bird (teri) and mouse/rat (Ra Kalavo) and expresses synonymous with the phrase: “one bad turn deserves another”.

6) Detailed Explanations (200-400 words):

The fable is set in a traditional setting. The two friends were walking when Ra Kalavo saw ripe bananas. Wishing to consume a few, Teri pecked Ra Kalavo and volunteered to get their bananas. Teri flew to the top, rested and ate the entire banana before throwing the pelage onto Ra Kalavo. The latter angry wanted to reciprocate the same. So they went out to sea, after wading for some time, Ra Kalavo saw a large oyster clam opening up, knowing repercussions, Kalavo suggested to Teri to get the oyster. Unknowing of what would befall Teri set its foot inside the large clam, the latter closing and Teri’s foot stuck. Ra Kalavo happy that his trick fell through.

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<sup>1</sup> Source: iTaukei Trust Fund

- 7) Relevant Organisations/Institutions:  
iTaukei Trust Fund; iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture
- 8) Practitioners: Buinamaku – name of storyteller who shared the story
- 9) Associated iTems: n/a
- 10) Data Sources (creator):  
Buinamaku, iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture, iTaukei Trust Fund.
- 11) Registered or not: Not Registered
- 12) Publications and Reference Materials:  
Children’s book titled “Teri kei Ra Kalavo” published. Publishing proposing to create a cartoon (video) out of the story soon.
- 13) Identifier: Apolonia Tamata

## (2) Performing Arts

### Lakovi<sup>2</sup>



1) Name of Element:

Lakovi – a drama on traditional ceremony of approach in itaukei society for family of young man to ask a young virgin girl in marriage

2) Category: Performing Arts

3) Regions: National

4) Community Involved:

- Young indigenous urban dwellers
- Elder advisors

5) Short Explanations (30-50 words):

A 90 minute itaukei play regarding this ancient ritual of Lakovi.

6) Detailed Explanations (200-400 words):

The drama is a study of issues raised about the questions of identity, cultural traditions, responsibility and leadership in itaukei families, communities and the larger indigenous society. It is set in the capital city Suva and focuses on a typical family facing social complexities of living a lifestyle where choices have to be made between culture and modernization. Leading male character, Ratu

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<sup>2</sup> Source: iTaukei Trust Fund

Vukinavanua Nawalowalo plays a British Army soldier asking a young nurse, played by Sera Fatafehi, to marry him in a traditional manner. 'Lakovi' depicts a typical Fijian social setting of today. The intention is for those concerned to ask questions on the directions they were taking their families and communities in terms of being itaukei and living the language and culture.

7) Relevant Organizations/Institutions:

- iTaukei Trust Fund
- University of the South Pacific (Fijian language course)

8) Associated iTems:

Whales Tooth (Tabua); mats, masi (bark cloth), Kerosene Tanks, bails of cloth

9) Practitioners:

- Indigenous play writers - Dr. Apolonia Tamata, Mr. Larry Thomas
- The duo consulted local elders in the pprocess.

10) Data Sources (creator): Apolonia Tamata & Larry Thomas

11) Registered or not: Not Registered

12) Publications and Reference Materials:

A book and a DVD on Lakovi Drama published.

13) Identifier: Apolonia Tamata

### (3) Social practices, rituals and festive events

#### Vilavilairevo<sup>3</sup>



- 1) Name of Element: Vilavilairevo – Firewalkers of Beqa (ritual/ceremony)
- 2) Category: Social practice, rituals and festive events
- 3) Regions: Beqa Island, Province of Rewa
- 4) Community Involved: Sawau Clan.
- 5) Short Explanations (30-50 words):  
Firewalking is an ancient ritual specific to the priestly clan on the island of Beqa, Fiji. Firewalking is the art of walking barefoot over a bed of hot ember or stones.
- 6) Detailed Explanations (200-400 words):  
Fire Walking in Fiji is an ancient ritualistic celebration handed down from generation to generation because of belief in the powers of a spirit god granting fire immunity to the Sawau tribe. Although traditional Fire Walking remains sacred, the celebration has been commercialized to keep pace with the growth in tourism. However ornamental this celebration has become, it still remains a symbol of the culture of Fiji and demonstrates what was learned and what is being kept alive for future generations.
- 7) Relevant Organizations/Institutions:  
iTaukei Institute of Language and Culture; Fiji Museum; Department of Heritage & Arts; Rewa Provincial Official;
- 8) Practitioners: Sawau Clan

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<sup>3</sup> Source: Fiji Arts Council

9) Associated iTems:

Traditional costumes, hot stones, bamboo stem/stick

10) Data Sources (creator):

Fiji Museum; University of Hawaii; iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture

12) Registered or not: Not registered

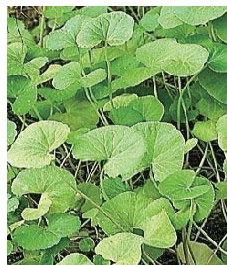
13) Publications and Reference Materials

- Na Vilavilairo: Fijian Firewalking Ceremony – Guido Pigiiasco
- We Branded Ourselves Long Ago: Intangible Cultural Property and Com-  
modification of Fijian Firewalking – Guido Pigiiasco

14) Identifier: Apolonia Tamata

#### (4) Knowledge and Practices Concerning nature and Universe

##### Wai-ni-Cuqa (Herbal remedy for infant pneumonia)<sup>4</sup>



Totodro Plant



Totowiwi Plant



Tomole Plant

- 1) Name of Element: Wai-ni-Cuqa (Herbal remedy for infant pneumonia)
- 2) Category: Knowledge and Practice concerning nature and universe
- 3) Regions: Used generally.
- 4) Registered or not: Not Registered
- 5) Short Explanations (30-50 words):  
A herbal remedy to heal a common ailment amongst children and babies – cuqa or pneumonic attack.
- 6) Detailed Explanations (200-400 words):  
An explanation of the disease or sickness is warranted including symptoms so that correct herbs are mixed, right amount of portion is given, taboos & observances placed on patient to follow and respect.

CUQA is an ailment common to children and signs include fever, shock, shacking chills, child in state of confusion, short breaths, heart beats faster. A fear is that the child might become entrenched in a state of fits and can bite his/her own tongue. CUQA is the common name for the ailment in Fiji, in the Province of Nadroga, it is known as KIDA, while in Lau it is known as REU.

The traditional herbal remedy is to pound or mix the following herbal plants – totodro (*Centella asiatica*), totowiwi (*Oxalis corniculata*) and tamole (*Adenosma triflora*).

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<sup>4</sup> Source: Natural History Museum, London.



- 7) Data Sources (creator):  
iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture; Natural History Museum London
- 8) Community Involved:  
The practitioner hails from Yadua, Sawaieke Village, Province of Lomaiviti.
- 9) Relevant Organizations/Institutions:  
Wainimate; iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture, iTaukei Trust Fund.
- 10) Practitioners: Lite Matesawa, Traditional Medicine Practitioner
- 11) Associated iTems:  
Herbal plants – totodro (*Centella asialica*), totowiwi (*Oxalis Corniculata*) and tamole (*Adenosma triflora*).
- 12) Publications and Reference Materials:  
Wai Vakaviti – Tabana ni Vosa kei na iTovo Vakaviti
- 13) Identifier: Apolonia Tamata

## (5) Traditional Craftsmanship

### Sivisi/Ceuceu (wood carving) of figurines, large sculptures<sup>5</sup>



1) Name of Element: Sivisi/Ceuceu (wood carving) of figurines, large sculptures

2) Category: Traditional Craftsmanship

3) Registered or not: Registered

4) Short Explanations (30-50 words):

Specifically referring to woodcarving in the form of figurines and huge sculptures (human form) and statues.

5) Detailed Explanations (200-400 words):

Woodcarving is one of the oldest arts. Male artisans in Fiji, meanwhile, are most famed for their stunning woodcarving work. Traditionally, the woodcarving techniques and designs were used for fashioning items, such as cannibal forks, yaqona vessels and spears and clubs used in warfare. Some of these woodcarvings can be found on display at The Fiji Museum in Suva while others can still be bought from local artisans. The Tanoa drinking bowl, used for serving yaqona, Fiji's traditional and national drink, is the most common wood carved item available for purchase.

However the art of woodcarving of large statues and other human like figures are traits uniquely unusual. The art belongs to the Tiki movement emanating from the Polynesian Culture. Tikis are large wooden (or sometimes stone) carvings of human forms; these stand-alone statues, as well as tiki masks, are common throughout Fiji.

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<sup>5</sup> Source: 1. Margaret Jolly, Australian Humanities Review, 2. Source: S. Nemani

One such artist practicing this unique art is Mr. Paula Liga from the island of Fulaga, Lau.

6) Regions: Fulaga, Province of Lau.

7) Community Involved: Master Carvers (Mataisau) of Fulaga and

8) Relevant Organizations/Institutions:  
Oceania Centre for the Arts (USP); Fiji Arts Council

9) Practitioners: Paula Liga

10) Associated iTems: Chipping tool, log,

11) Publications and Reference Materials: N/A

12) Data Sources (creator):  
- Oceania Centre for Arts & Culture, Pacific Studies  
- <http://www.go-fiji.com/tikis.html>

13) Identifier: Siminone Tuimalega

### 3. Information on uninscribed ICH elements

#### (1) Traditional Craftsmanship

##### Somovolavola – Mat<sup>6</sup>



1) Name of the Element: Somovolavola – Mat

2) Category: Traditional Craftsmanship

3) Registered or not

(if registered, specify the name of the inventory and registration number):  
Inventoried. National TKEC Database for iTaukei.

4) Short Explanation (30 to 50 words):

The somovolavola of Sawaieke in the island of Gau presents a contemporary piece only recognized because of its creative and distinctive pattern. This is a mat consisting of traditional motifs as well as some writing which is a new inclusion. It also has a special feature, the craft has edges intricately woven displaying a zigzag pattern.

5) Detailed Explanation(200 to 400 words): **Somovolavola of Sawaieke**

The craft of weaving dyed pandanus leaves to form motifs is synonymous with the people of Sawaieke in Gau. While the preparation of the pandanus leaves to make the somovolavola are no different from other Fijian mats, the somovolavola is unique because it has black and white designs on it.

The black pandanus contrasting with the white pandanus design is the catalyst to its uniqueness. Making black pandanus is a lengthy process. Pandanus leaves are buried in swamp mud (toni somo) for two to three nights after which the leaves are removed (vue somo) and washed in fresh water before they are boiled for an hour with leaves of the kalabuci (*Acalypha insulana*) and leaves of the koka tree (*Bischofia javanica*). Then the dyed and white panda-

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<sup>6</sup> Source: iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture

nus leaves are rinsed in fresh water, tied in bunches and then hung up under the shade.

After several days the pandanus are then used for weaving. Analogous to many, 'mat-weave is diagonal to the edge and each crossing of the strips displays a slightly diamond shaped form.' In a somo style mat, motif designs like daimani (diamond), vakadivilivili (swarm of black ants), kabasi (compass) to name a few, are indigenous to the people of Gau island. According to Ewins. (1982), there are in total twenty distinct motifs running latitude across the mats, however only a few would be used on a single mat.

An extension of this traditional knowledge is to incorporate motifs with writings. In the workshop conducted, diamond shaped motifs run along the edges and in the centre a name (depending on the weaver) is displayed. This was visible through the intricate interlace of the white and black strips of voivoi. This new craft is indeed creative in that it personalizes the handicraft and ensures the viability of the intangible cultural heritage.

- 6) Regions: Somovolavola of Vagadaci, Levuka
- 7) Communities Involved: Provinces of Ovalau (somovolavola),
- 8) Relevant Organizations/Institutions:  
Soqosoqo Vakamarama, Fiji Arts Council, Fiji Craft Society, iTaukei Institute of Language and Culture
- 9) Practitioners: Women of Sawaieke, Gau Island, Province of Lomaiviti
- 10) Associated items: knives, cutters, pots, firewood, fire
- 11) Publications and reference materials: N/A
- 12) Data sources(Creator): iTaukei Institute of language & Culture
- 13) Identifier: Emi Bainimarama

## Ibe Batiwa – Traditional mat of the people of Tokaimalo<sup>7</sup>



1) Name of the Element: Ibe Batiwa – Traditional mat of the people of Tokaimalo

2) Category: Traditional Craftsmanship

3) Registered or not

(if registered, specify the name of the inventory and registration number):

Inventoried. National TKEC Database for the iTaukei.

4) Short Explanation (30 to 50 words):

Ibe batiwa is a mat that is associated with only the indigenous people of Tokaimalo in the province of Ra. It is twistingly woven but unlike other mats, a one centimetre coil like piece is woven and runs lengthwise on the right side of the mat and about two centimetres from the edge. In addition to this uniqueness, the mat has rough edges (leftover strips) on one of its edges.

5) Detailed Explanation (200 to 400 words):

Situated on the northern part of Viti Levu, Ra is one of the eight provinces in the mainland. Tokaimalo is one of the villages in Ra and its people lay claim as owners of the the craft of the ibe batiwa.

Unlike the black and white pattern of pandanus used for somovolavola above, the ibe batiwa of Tokaimalo uses only the white pandanus. Pandanus strips are intricately interlaced parallel to that of icoco commonly used on the floor. Yet the unique aspect of this handicraft is the coil that runs two centimetres parallel to the edge. Four strips of pandanus are interlaced (2x2). One inch from the edge, a strip of pandanus is folded (inside out) at a right angle to form a straight line and consequently three more strips are folded in the same manner. In the fifth fold of a pandanus, the first strip is folded again (outside in) and woven back to the edge then back to be folded at a right angle again. This weaving pattern is repeated to the second, third and fourth strip. The finished product looks like a coil running lengthwise. Apart from the coil, the loose pandanus strips are trimmed but allowing some length to add to the design. On the opposite side, the pattern is also woven but without the loose

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<sup>7</sup> Source: iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture

edge. Henceforth, it is amazing to see and also discover that this type of mat when used in the bure, the rough edges are facing the corners of the house so as to hide dust and act as barrier to the wind entering from the floor. In addition to this, ibe batiwa was used as curtains hung in households.

- 6) Regions: Tokaimalo in the Province of Ra, Fiji.
- 7) Communities Involved: Ibe batiwa of Tokaimalo, Ra
- 8) Relevant Organizations/Institutions:  
Soqosoqo Vakamarama, Fiji Arts Council, Fiji Craft Society, iTaukei Institute of Language and Culture
- 9) Practitioners: Women of Tokaimalo, Province of Ra.
- 10) Associated items: knives, cutters, pots, firewood, fire
- 11) Publications and reference materials: N/A
- 12) Data sources(Creator): Itaukei Institute of Language & Culture
- 13) Identifier: Institute of iTaukei Language & Culture Cultural Mapping Team

## (2) Social Practice, Ritual and Ceremonies <sup>8</sup>



1) Name of the Element:

The ritual of 'sevusevu' or ceremony of welcome or to seek to engage

2) Category: Social Practice, Rituals and Ceremonies

3) Registered or not

(if registered, specify the name of the inventory and registration number)

Inventoried in the National TKEC Database for iTaukei

4) Short Explanation (30 to 50 words):

Upon entering a home or village one has to accord respect to the owner of the house by seeking permission before entering and once permission is given you enter bearing in mind that someone has honoured your request and as such do not disrespect the owner.

5) Detailed Explanation (200 to 400 words):

The ceremony involves the presentation of yaqona (roots of a plant) either pounded or roots strapped together to the host requesting approval to enter or pursue any undertaking. This is the traditional consent sought.

Should the host approve, he reciprocates through the presentation of yaqona mixed in a tanoa (large bowl) to the visitor.

The narration and articulation of kin-relations during the ceremony differs amongst regions, provinces, and tribes around Fiji. The name of ceremony differs while others use different items for presentation.

6) Regions: Fiji

7) Communities Involved: iTaukei households, clans, tribe, vanua, vil;lages

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<sup>8</sup> Source: 1. <https://beyondstudenttravel.com/fiji/> 2. Source: Department of Heritage & Arts



- 8) Relevant Organizations/Institutions:  
iTaukei Affairs Board, iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture.
- 9) Practitioners: Matanivania or Spokesperson, Turaganikoro (Village Headman)
- 10) Associated items: Yaqona, tanoa, water
- 11) Publications and reference materials;  
- Vika Maloni – “Na Noda Bula na iTaukei”  
- Ratu Semi Seruvakula – “Bula Vakavanua”  
- Asesela Ravuvu – “Vakaitaukei – Fijian Way of Life”.
- 12) Data sources(Creator): Department of Heritage & Arts
- 13) Identifier: Tara Qalilawa

### (3) Traditional Craftsmanship<sup>9</sup>



1) Name of the Element: Ta waqa vakaviti - Canoe Building

2) Category: Traditional Craftsmanship

3) Registered or not

(if registered, specify the name of the inventory and registration number):

Inventoried with National TKEC Database for iTaukei.

4) Short Explanation (30 to 50 words):

The people of Lau are known as traditional canoe builders and this has been an inherent part of their identity. The risk of this aspect of their identity being lost forever can be attributed to the excessive use of the species of hardwood, vesi, to build canoes and other wooden artefacts.

5) Detailed Explanation (200 to 400 words):

The main hull of the canoe has a round bottom and is made from a dugout log. Strakes are attached to increase the freeboard and a deck is added to make for a convenient working platform and to reduce the amount of water finding its way into the bilge.

In the late 1700s a carpenter from Samoa, Lemaki was sent by the King of Tonga to build canoes in Lau where he eventually established a clan of canoe builders which persists to this day, especially on the island of Kabara.

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<sup>9</sup> Sources:

1. <http://fijimarinas.com/traditional-sailing-canoes-lau-fiji/>,  
2. <http://maa.cam.ac.uk/model-double-hulled-canoe-z-2706/>

Although there are four types of wood which are sometimes used for the hull of the camakau, the preferred wood is vesi (*Intsia bijunga*). Sometimes known as greenhart in English, it has characteristics similar to the teak of southeast Asia. Vesi trees grow in extremely rocky areas and sometimes appear to grow straight out of solid rock.

6) Regions: Province of Lau

7) Communities Involved: Village of Kabara, Fulaga, and Ogea.

8) Relevant Organizations/Institutions:

IUCN, iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture, Fiji Arts Council; Pacific Blue Foundation; Oceania Centre for Arts & Culture; Utoniyalo

9) Practitioners: Lemaki Clan

10) Associated items: Log (Vesi), Chipping tools, Mat (sail), pieces of timber.

11) Publications and reference materials;

- Robert Gilbert (et.al) "Traditional Sailing Canoes in Lau"

12) Data sources(Creator): Robert Gilbert (et.al)

13) Identifier: Mr. Mason Smith

#### (4) Traditional Craftsmanship<sup>10</sup>



1) Name of the Element: Samu Masi (Preparation of Tapa Cloth)

2) Category: Traditional Craftsmanship

3) Registered or not

(if registered, specify the name of the inventory and registration number)

Inventories with National TKEC Database for iTaukei

4) Short Explanation (30 to 50 words):

Barkcloth, or 'masi', as it is known in Fiji, is a uniquely Pacific tradition. It is a cream-colored, fibrous paper made by island women from the bark of tropical mulberry trees. Barkcloth is still used in a wide variety of ceremonies, as symbolic gifts, as clothing, and as decorative wall hangings.

5) Detailed Explanation (200 to 400 words):

The process of masi-making is an environmentally friendly one - the trees are grown in sustainable plantations where new shoots grow from the roots after each harvesting. Each piece of barkcloth goes through a laborious process of beating, soaking, and drying. Production involves sea water, sun, and sweat - no chemicals!

Paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) is cut down and dried for a couple of days, bark stripped off, and the strips of fibre are placed on a wooden anvil which is shaped from a very large log scraped smooth for the women to beat the tapa. Once beaten and glued, the cloth is then dried in the sun. The cloth can be smoked over a sugarcane fire to produce the tan-coloured masi kuvui, or it can be soaked in mangrove sap, terracotta clay or specially prepared soot.

Masi is used as traditional attire for ceremonial purposes such as installation of a chief, wedding, death rituals, and presentation of first child amongst other ceremonies.

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<sup>10</sup> Source:<http://www.kivu.com/fijian-tapa-cloth/>

- 6) Regions: Somiosomo, Vatulele, Lau.
- 7) Communities Involved:  
Moce & Namuka (Lau), Vatulele (Nadroga), Somosomo (Cakaudrove)
- 8) Relevant Organizations/Institutions:  
Fiji Arts Council, Sigavou studios, Rako Pasefika, iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture.
- 9) Practitioners: Masi makers in the communities above.
- 10) Associated items:  
Mulberry Tree bark and other accessories outlined in the description
- 11) Publications and reference materials;
  - Daniel Roy: "The Traditional Method of Masi Making on the Island of Taveuni, Fiji"
  - Rondo, B et.al "Fiji Masi: an ancient art in the new millennium"
- 12) Data sources(Creator): Rondo, B. et.al.
- 13) Identifier: Tara Qalilawa

## (5) Châu văn Rituals of the Việt in Nam Định province<sup>11</sup>



- 1) Name of the Element:  
“Tabu ni qoliqoli” Taboo Fishing Areas (Reserved Areas which are not fished)
- 2) Category: Knowledge and practices concerning nature
- 3) Registered or not  
(if registered, specify the name of the inventory and registration number)  
Registered with Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas.
- 4) Inventoried with National TKEC Database for iTaukei
- 5) Short Explanation (30 to 50 words):  
These are areas which have been agreed upon as reserved areas from which no one can fish for a particular time. The idea has been borrowed from the Fijian traditional culture and used to allow the marine ecosystem in that area to regenerate and it has worked with in-depth case study
- 6) Detailed Explanation (200 to 400 words):  
Pacific societies are known globally for their intimacy with marine environments, including their cultural uses of marine resources and customary controls placed on those uses. Most famously, Johannes (1978, 1982) described some of these customary controls: tenure systems that limited access and fishing rights, bans on sectors of society consuming some species, prohibitions on fishing certain species or small individuals, and temporary closures or “taboos” placed over fishing grounds (henceforth referred to as taboo areas but known by many names throughout the Pacific; see Govan 2009b). Taboo areas that temporarily (rarely permanently) close areas to fishing have long been practiced in the Pacific as a mark of respect for the death of a prominent community member, to protect sacred sites, affirm rights to fishing grounds, or as part

<sup>11</sup> Source: <http://fijimarinas.com/flmma-fiji-locally-managed-marine-protected-area-network/>

of preparation (i.e. allowing the replenishment of stocks) for customary feasting (Allan 1957; Hviding 1998; Johannes 1978). While customary taboos controlled the use of and access to resources, it appears that the main motivation for their use was socially and culturally driven and less likely motivated by the need or intent to manage resources sustainably (Foale et al. 2011). Conservation and fisheries management benefits may have resulted from the use of customary taboo areas in some cases.

During the taboo initiation, a ceremony is performed for the chief and elders to place the restriction. Anyone from within or outside of the village breaking the taboo will the consequences (ailments or injury and can lead to death) unless the person solicits traditional forgiveness from the chief/Elders.

7) Regions: Only villages, vanua that have access to fishing boundaries.

8) Communities Involved:

Communities that had been documented in as far as this practice is concerned include: district of Kubulau in Bua, Villages of Muaivuso, Nabaka, Waiqanake, Namakala, and Ucuinamono in the province of Rewa.

9) Relevant Organizations/Institutions:

- Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas
- iTaukei Affairs Board
- Department of Fisheries
- iTaukei Institute of Language & Culture.

10) Practitioners:

Chiefs and Elders in community who possess the power and mana to sau to confer the restriction

11) Associated items:

Sometimes reed stems are sawn together to create the boundary.

12) Publications and reference materials;

- Gillett, Robert. 2004. FAO Report on Navakavu Community Fishery in Fiji
- 3SPC Traditional Marine Resource Management and Knowledge Information Bulletin #28 – November 2011
- Fishing taboos: Securing Pacific fisheries for the future?
- Philippa Cohen and Simon Foale

13) Data sources (Creator): Fiji Locally Managed marine Areas

14) Identifier: Brad Carte