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REVISIONING THE FIJIAN RESEARCH PARADIGM

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ABSTRACT: Pacific research framings often have at their core acknowledged Pacific Indigenous ways of knowing, doing and being. This positioning informs the selection of research methodologies, methods, tools and procedures. This paper explores the use of Indigenous Fijian (iTaukei) research frameworks, concepts and values presented in the literature and analyses its use within research practices. Key iTaukei concepts and values are highlighted and presented as a framework for future research within iTaukei communities. The paper explores the concept of sautu (wellbeing) and the gauna (time) and maliwa (space) associated with its attainment. Values such as veiwekani (relationship building), vakarokoroko (respect), veitokoni (reciprocity; sharing) and veiqaravi (service) are discussed in light of historical associations to the vanua (land) and the iTaukei social structure. Based on the involvement with iTaukei communities, these values are presented within a framework for research in the contemporary setting and discussions on the application of these values to research methodologies, framing and alignment. The paper concludes with a discussion on the challenges and opportunities for methodological and research growth in the iTaukei context and the contribution Fijian research approaches make to Pacific research methods and overall design.

Keywords: Indigenous Fijian, iTaukei, research paradigm, vanua, veiwekani and relationship, veitokoni and reciprocity, vakarokoroko and respect, veiqaravi and service

Research paradigms are considered as the theoretical underpinnings of research processes, methods and methodologies. Kuhn (1970) defines a research paradigm as a “set of common beliefs and agreements shared between scientists about how problems should be understood and addressed” (p. 43). Paradigms also present key principles, beliefs or values that pertain to certain phenomena. According to Patton (2002), a paradigm describes a worldview through philosophical assumptions about the nature of social reality (ontology), ways of knowing (epistemology) and ethics and value systems (axiology).

Many scholars have written about Indigenous worldviews and paradigms (Baba *et al.* 2004; Botha 2011; Fa’avae *et al.* 2022), denoting relationality (Graham 2002), communalism (Weaver 1997) and holism through narrative and metaphoric representations (Castellano 2000; Kovach 2015). Within

most Pacific research studies and approaches, beginning with a research paradigm involves discussions of traditional and contemporary practices and knowledge systems that influence or inform the selection and application of research methods and processes. Key Pacific symbols and metaphors have been explored, adapted and reconfigured to capture key research topics, ideas and phenomena (Johansson Fua 2021; Pulotu-Endemann 2001; Thaman 2009; Vaka 2016).

Pacific symbols and metaphors reflect Indigenous values that guide Pacific practices when carrying out research. Hart (2010) presents 11 key principles of Indigenous research, including respect, reciprocity, safety, awareness and connection. Such principles reflect holistic considerations within the Pacific about how individuals, families and communities interact and are connected. Pacific perspectives value the concept of interdependency and acknowledge life as the integration of different compartments. Traditionally, there was no distinction between the mind and the body (Sobralseke 2006). This interdependence was manifested in views about health and illness. For example, in Pacific society an illness can be viewed as an imbalance of harmony within one's self (Percival *et al.* 2010). Other elements of Pacific wellbeing that relate to concepts of interdependency are factors such as culture and family. Pacific approaches acknowledge the impact of the environment, cosmology and spirituality on an individual's sense of understanding and perspective (Cammock *et al.* 2014; Capstick *et al.* 2009; Taufe'ulungaki 2004). Achieving wellbeing is often dependent on the balance of these tenets of Pacific identity.

The movement to revisit research paradigms within Fijian communities was born out of a need to share and develop a conceptual base that is supported by and culturally aligned with local knowledge bases and applicable in contemporary contexts. This discussion centres on the traditional and historical context of the iTaukei (Indigenous Fijian) worldview and the need for an iTaukei value system that can be applied to research frameworks, projects and processes involving iTaukei communities. The discussion draws on the writings of iTaukei scholars like Unaisi Nabobo-Baba, the late Ilaitia Tuwere, Asesela Ravuvu and Isireli Lasaqa on the vaka iTaukei (Indigenous Fijian way of life), Fijian Vanua Research Framework (FVRF) and iTaukei philosophical viewpoint. Their writings provide key insight into historical and traditional methods within the Fijian context. In this paper we draw on key philosophical principles from their writings and position them within a value system that research practices could be based in.

Also included in this paper are the reflections of the authors, who are both iTaukei scholars teaching and researching within the context of Fiji and Aotearoa New Zealand. Radilaite Cammock is from the village of Vutia in Rewa Province with maternal links to the village of Nasolo in Ba Province.

Cammock grew up in Fiji and migrated to Aotearoa New Zealand when she was ten years old with her parents and ten brothers and sisters. Given the shifting contextual realities of her upbringing, her research practices have been driven by the intersections of traditional knowledges and sociocultural transitions and the impacts of these transitions on equity and overall wellbeing. Malcolm Andrews has tribal links to Nabukebuke and clan and subclan affiliations to Valelevu and Nabukebuke respectively. Having spent the first 16 years of his life in Fiji he recognises his insider status when carrying out research amongst Fijian communities, even though he is now residing in Aotearoa New Zealand. His work focuses on integrating Pacific knowledge systems within contemporary Pacific spaces, raising Indigenous values so that the needs of Fijians are realised. This work moves towards more meaningful partnerships with Fijians when co-designing sustainable systems that enable autonomy for self-determination. This paper shares their reflections of working with Fijian communities.

TRADITIONAL CONTEXT—VANUA

Fiji is a multicultural society with iTaukei people making up 57 percent of the population, followed by Indians at 37 percent (Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics 2009). A fundamental component of iTaukei traditional society is the vanua (land) (Ravuvu 1983). Every aspect of life is associated with a place or vanua. Such traditions guide the way in which iTaukei communicate and behave. This connection to the vanua establishes a sense of belonging. The land provides a basis for most associations and relationships (Halapua 2003; Tuwere 2002). Without this base, people are said to be “drifting”. The vanua epitomises Tamasese *et al.*’s (2010) concept of the relational self and connects the individual to their surroundings. Ryle (2010) writes:

Vanua means many things to Fijians. It means land, place, clan, people, tradition and country. To talk of *vanua* is to talk not only of land in its material form, but land as Place of Being, as Place of Belonging, as spiritual quality. *Vanua* is both land and sea, the soil, plants, trees, rocks, rivers, reefs; the birds, beasts, fish, gods and spirits that inhabit these places and the people who belong there, bound to one another and to the land as guardians of this God-given world. *Vanua* is a relational concept that encompasses all this, paths of relationship, nurture, mutual obligations connecting place and people with the past, the present and the future. (Ryle 2010: xxix)

Central to the vanua is the hierarchical structure of iTaukei society. Within the context of the vanua, roles are specified and inherited from birth. For example, there are clans responsible for providing chiefs; clans responsible for installing chiefs or traditional investiture (sauturaga), chiefly spokespeople or heralds (matanivanua); the warrior clan (bati); the fisher clan (gonedau);

the priestly clan (*bete*), the carpenter clan (*mataisau*), etc. (Lal 1992; Lasaqa 1984). The connection that one gains by nurturing the *vanua* and the structures that exist within the *vanua* is something many Indigenous Fijians aspire to preserve, regardless of whether they live in or away from Fiji.

Every *iTaukei* belongs to a *yavusa* (tribe). The *yavusa* comprises various clans (*mataqali*). The status and rank of the *mataqali* in the *yavusa* was “determined by lineal proximity to the founding ancestor” of the *yavusa* (Lal 1992: 4). The chief (*turaga*) of the highest-ranked *mataqali* claimed the title of chief of the tribe, for example, *turaga ni yavusa*. Each *mataqali* or *yavusa* held distinct roles, such as priests (*bete*) or warriors (*bati*). Individuals’ succession in their roles ensured the system survived. Alongside these hierarchical levels were organised social constructs that dictate family and tribal associations. These early structures provided governance for *iTaukei* society prior to colonisation (Lasaqa 1984).

The village was the most basic unit of Fijian hierarchical society and culture (Lal 1992). Processes involving decision making, economy and posterity within the village were carried out using well-defined structures and systems. These systems aimed to ensure that processes were undertaken in a respectful, effective way and maintained harmony within the village. Social structure within villages was manifested by type of dwelling and the arrangement of dwellings in the village. Status within a village could be identified by the distance individual dwellings were from the chief’s residence: those closer to the chief’s residence (at the highest point in the village) had a higher social status than those further away (Ryle 2010). These customs illustrate concepts of space and place.

In *iTaukei* homes, the highest and most private part of the house (*logi*) is where people sleep and is often partitioned off to indicate privacy. When receiving guests, those with higher status were invited to sit closest to the *logi* (Ryle 2010). These considerations of space and place and the hierarchical structure perpetuate the values of respect and loyalty that characterise *iTaukei* culture. Within research, entering a home or meeting people for data collection requires an understanding of the status of the participants and the place and space that the research or researcher might occupy. These considerations affect participants’ overall reflection of how the research applies to their context, *vanua* and reality.

FIJIAN RESEARCH VALUE SYSTEM (FRVS)

Sautu

Within the *iTaukei* worldview, one aspires to embrace the *iTaukei* philosophy of *sautu* (see Table 1). The term *sautu* denotes peace, harmony, wealth and well-being (Sevudredre 2016). *Sautu* is fostered through traditional rituals, protocols, feasts and celebrations. These Indigenous activities require kinship

participation through the perspective of iTaukei social cues, cultural norms and behaviour within the vanua (Cammock *et al.* 2021). Spiller *et al.* (2011) posit that sautu for iTaukei is associated with relational wellbeing and a care ethic which includes spiritual wellbeing, environmental wellbeing, sociocultural awareness, kinship and economic wellbeing.

Gauna

To begin the pursuit of sautu, one must comprehend the iTaukei philosophy of gauna (time). The two lexical words liu and muri form the basis of the iTaukei notion of time. Liu is the iTaukei word for ahead, in front of us or still to come, and the future. Muri signifies the past, what is behind us or what has previously occurred. The notions of liu and muri are understood from a Eurocentric perspective linearly in the forward or back direction. In the context of iTaukei, liu and muri take on a deeper meaning and can be used interchangeably. For example, in the saying “e na gauna i liu” (back in the early times), liu is used in the sentence to signify previous times or historically when something may have occurred. The positioning of time in this way demonstrates the value iTaukei place on the past as a tool to guide the future. In the eyes of an iTaukei, the future should not be treated with indifference, but should be one that seeks to continually develop, invest and promote sautu (Sevudredre 2016).

If one esteems, respects, honours and values the oral cultural history and historical methods, the pursuit of sautu in the future will be more effective. There is precedent and lessons from the past that can be used to better equip and prepare people for what is to come. Whilst the future is uncertain, cultural traditions within genealogy and passed down through ancestry are accessible to guide and provide insight into what the future may bring and how to successfully navigate it. Therefore, within research spaces, the concept of time for iTaukei is linked with both futuristic and historical meanings (Tagicakiverata and Nilan 2018). Research topics that consider gauna must reflect on its historical context and the future impact of the research on iTaukei and their pursuit of sautu, leaning on lessons and values that will progress iTaukei forward.

Maliwa

To effectively navigate an iTaukei context, one must understand the concept of space. Depending on the distance between items, locations or people, iTaukei words for space include vanua lala (empty space), veimama (halfway space), lomalomama (middle space), tadrua (space), galala (free space) and maliwa (space that fosters connection). Similar to Tongan and Samoan notions of space or vā (Anae 2016; Fa’avae 2018; Ka’ili 2005; Suaalii-Sauni 2017), the iTaukei concept of space is aligned with the understanding that everything is

interrelated, interdependent and interconnected. To achieve *sautu*, one must be conscious of the space they share with others and their contribution to its preservation. This iTaukei ethos acknowledges that space is a series of interactions rather than an independent object or isolated occurrence.

The word *maliwa* is often used to symbolise the word space and is typically spoken with the prefix *vei* and suffix *i*, indicating that space does not exist on its own and that it is preceded by, followed by or related to something. *Veimaliwai* is commonly used to define the connection between people, environment and location. *Maliwa* is considered the unseen element that fosters the connection between the physical, the spiritual, the past and the present. This principle recognises that all visible and unseen components of life have a level of *veimaliwai*, and that one can only navigate life successfully if one respects and accepts the existence of *maliwa*.

A term derived from the compound word *maliwa* is *maliwa lala* (empty space). *Maliwa lala* is a common name for the sky. When viewed through a physical lens, the word *lala* denotes an unoccupied location; however, the iTaukei lens understands it as the area where the birds and spirits roam. *Maliwa lala* is also known as the space between the *vanua* (land and sea) and *lomalagi* (heaven). There is an unseen *veimaliwai* connecting the *vanua* and *lomalagi* through the *maliwa lala*, so it may appear *lala* (empty) to the physical eye yet *tawa* (occupied) in the spiritual and iTaukei understanding.

These understandings of space indicate that the space between individuals is critical to how interactions occur and how individuals behave. Understanding those spaces as a researcher is critical in forming relationships, building trust and rapport with iTaukei communities and deepening understanding. It symbolises a connection to the spiritual realm that iTaukei value through customs and practices. Therefore, blessings before and after meetings with people or during social settings, at church or in formal ceremonies are often seen to acknowledge and open the space for connection and relationship building. Within research processes, carrying out an interview or a focus group involves understanding the space that the research topic occupies within the iTaukei cultural landscape, considerations of *tabu* (taboo) or cultural sensitivities and the measures needed to ensure these are addressed.

Veiwekani

Veiwekani in its broadest sense refers to the relationship between people (Cammock *et al.* 2021). Within the iTaukei context *weka* or *vei weka* refers to those related through blood lines and heritage associated with the *yavusa* or *mataqali*. Human relationships among iTaukei are characterised by where people are from and dictate acceptable behaviour between different tribes

and clans. The relationship between people based on lineage and connection to land is considered in the way Fijian people address each other, e.g., often by the type of relationship they share instead of through the use of an individual's name (Becker 1995).

Traditionally, the knowledge and practice of *veiwekani* within iTaukei societies were guided by principles and values that set boundaries within which individuals and *matavuvale* (family) operate. *Veiwekani* in this sense is also referred to as kinship and the structures and systems in place that reaffirm and sustain kinship ties. Such practices included *solesolevaki* (collaborative effort), where kin groups work together for the collective, e.g., in farming, house building or village upkeep (Nabobo-Baba 2015; Veitataa *et al.* 2020; Vunibola and Leweniqila 2021). Other values demonstrated through the practice of *veiwekani* include *veikauwaitaki* (care for each other), *veisolisoli* (exchanging of gifts) and *veirairaici* (looking out for each other). Nabobo-Baba (2015: 16) writes:

Veiwekani values include *veikauwaitaki*, showing care, concern for the welfare of kin and others, or empathy in respect of others' troubles; *veikauwaitaki* may be evinced in many ways, including the gifting of land. Also, *veisolisoli*, mutual giving and reciprocal exchange of gifts; and *veirairaici*, looking out for each other in times of need.

The practice of *veiwekani vakaturaga* (chiefly kinship) applies to social structure and hierarchy involving chiefly ceremony and gifting. These include the gifting of land, people (often through marriage), mats and food. Within the contemporary context, kinship ties extend beyond the village setting to family members within specific *matanitu vanua* (confederacies), e.g., Burebasaga, Tovata or Kubuna confederacies. Many iTaukei live and work in neighbouring developed countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia and maintain *veiwekani* through their connections to their *matanitu vanua*. These kinship ties demonstrate continuous efforts iTaukei make for connections to the *matavuvale*, *mataqali* and *yavusa* through *veiwekani*.

Within the research space, similar connections and linkages are made when interacting and conversing with iTaukei. As iTaukei researchers, constant connections through *veiwekani* are made with participants and community members. Through the process of *veiwekani*, the positionality of iTaukei researchers is always posited from an insider's position. An iTaukei researcher's connections through familial ties and relationships within their *matanitu vanua* enable and reaffirm their place within the research space and help to reinforce notions of empathy when exploring iTaukei experiences.

Empathy is a trait Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba (2014) discuss as integral when carrying out research among iTaukei and especially while using

iTaukei oral communication practices like *veivosaki yaga* (purposeful conversation) or *talanoa* (oral conversation). The practice of *talanoa* and the reciprocal exchange needed to ensure that authentic dialogue and understanding exist occurs when researchers form and maintain *veiwekani* with research participants. *Veiwekani*, through the research process, ensures the engagement of participants at all stages, leading to greater involvement of iTaukei, improved validity of research findings and greater impact of research outcomes. This can often be seen during data collection when multiple visits or face-to-face *talanoa* are carried out before formal data collection begins. Similar engagement practices would also occur once data collection is completed to inform and support the community once the research is completed.

Vakarokoroko

iTaukei aspire to be selfless and hold other people's needs in higher regard than their own. Tamasese *et al.* (2010) explain that this does not mean that the individual is disregarded; rather it means that the individual is not the focus. Therefore, humility "is not the denial of the self; rather, humility is focusing on relationships and the selves in these connections" (p. 162) and is the value of the Pacific relational self. Such values provide opportunities for nurturing respect and reverence for other people. In this sense, Pacific people are encouraged to care for and protect relationships and connections with others.

A Pacific self in relationships respects or honours God/Atua, ancestors, family names, elders, parents and other people. Respect and honour in this sense mean bringing the relational self into juxtaposition with all those entities and people with whom one has a connection, caring for them and paying tribute to them. These values are structured through Pacific etiquettes and protocols that set out proper behaviours of acknowledgement and care. (p. 162)

In iTaukei culture, respect underlies social interactions and relationships. The relationships set out by hierarchy are functional through the processes of respect. People with lower status are expected to show respect toward those of high status. Those with high status are to respect their positions, which in turn dictates their service to the people. These traditions ensure that hierarchy and therefore *vanua* are maintained. Showing respect toward those with higher status is a demonstration of people's loyalty and connectedness to the *vanua* and to each other. These ideals perpetuate communal values and ensure villagers carry out their responsibilities. Ryle (2010: 116) writes:

Doing what is expected is a way of showing respect and also expressing and practising relationality and connectedness. This foundational concept of traditional Fijian culture is based on notions of respect of those higher in status than oneself, of knowing one's place in the system, of extending, *giving* due respect, in conduct or materially, as befits that person.

Brisson's (2007) work in Fiji among villages in Rakiraki found that villagers believed that respect for culture and tradition and maintaining their customs set them apart from other ethnicities and was needed to ensure that their culture survived and flourished in multicultural Fiji. Within research, vakarokoroko (respect) dictates the power balance between the researcher and the participant. Exhibiting vakarokoroko with iTaukei participants signals that the researcher is acknowledging the participants' position in the village or research space and the knowledge and experiences they bring to the research. It also pushes researchers to present themselves inconspicuously in more humble and unassuming ways, eager to learn and listen. Furthermore, preset conceptual frameworks or rigid interview questions or schedules may impede the researcher's ability to be flexible and open to understanding the lived experiences of participants.

Veitokoni

Veitokoni signifies the support and reciprocal exchange between individuals that maintain and strengthen bonds and kinship ties. Reciprocity ties in well with respect as it provides physical representation of place, loyalty and connectedness to people, relationships and the vanua (Ryle 2010). Lasaqa (1984) discusses reciprocity in both the vertical and lateral senses. Among iTaukei culture, vertical reciprocity refers to interactions between different levels of social and cultural hierarchy (Lasaqa 1984). In earlier times the act of reciprocating vanua, good will and community was initially carried out through the gifting of food and valuables. During these times, chiefs were offered the first and best crops of the harvest (lala) (Lal 1992). Chiefs were able to call on village members for labour when the chief needed it. Commitment to the chief showcased iTaukei's loyalty and respect for the structures and hierarchy of iTaukei society.

Ideals of veitokoni transcend beyond hierarchical vertical relationships into lateral interactions (Lasaqa 1984). These transactions are often perpetuated through ideals of sharing and communality. Lateral reciprocity is showcased through hospitality where iTaukei are welcoming, kind and loving. These values generate the communal nature in which iTaukei operate. They provide iTaukei with a responsibility to support and look after other members in the community. Lasaqa (1984: 27) writes:

Fijians belie[ved] in communal living, in doing things as a group and in the joys and satisfaction obtained from the fellowship of others in the village. Even in cases where a villager [lives for a few days or weeks away for work] ... the villager continues to contribute to village activities and plays his part accordingly in the social and ceremonial life of his village.

To ensure the wellbeing of the community, *veitokoni* ensures that needs are met and that resources are available and used appropriately within the village and community. It further shows an individual's commitment to the community and the *vanua*. If individuals do not choose to adhere to values of *veitokoni* their standing in the community may diminish, and this may affect their sense of belonging and wellbeing. For *iTaukei* who live away from the island and the hierarchy of village life, forming a community is based on the lateral reciprocal nature of relationships and community. Therefore individuals who live in the diaspora congregate to form their own versions of the "village" where members support each other and uphold *iTaukei* values of *veitokoni* (Delaibatiki 2016).

Within research, *veitokoni* or reciprocity is key in establishing and maintaining relationships between researchers, participants and those involved in the research project. *Veitokoni* is also considered "knowledge sharing" or the ability of those involved in the research to benefit from the research being undertaken. Specifically:

Veitokoni, or the notion of "knowledge sharing", ensures that participants involved in the research process will be supported in their endeavours to carry out their roles in their communities and extends to ensuring that those involved directly benefit from the aims of the research. Thus, there is onus on the researcher to ensure that Fijian values and belief systems benefit from, and are included in, the research processes and methodologies. (Cammock *et al.* 2021: 122)

These practices lead to greater inclusion of *iTaukei* during dissemination processes, and a greater understanding of the impact of the research being carried out.

Veiqaravi

Veiqaravi is a phrase with favourable connotations related to hospitality, service and honour. Its root is *qara*, which means to serve or even worship. *Veiqaravi* denotes an active and respectful interaction with the individual or group being served (Hooper 2013). This translation of *veiqaravi* involves two parties who each play a role for the purposes of a common good. The

concept of *veiqaravi* is highly regarded in the *iTaukei* context and is practised every day and on every occasion. *Veiqaravi* can also be explained as the art of giving. It is offering one's time, service, resources and blessings, which is intrinsic to *iTaukei* (Miyazaki 2005).

Veiqaravi comes with its unique practices and expectations. It is knowing when to serve, where to serve, how to serve and why someone serves. All members of the *vanua* are aware of their identities, duties and roles and use their traditional knowledge and abilities to interact in harmony with their environment, to produce a *vanua* that is more robust and sustainable. In the *vanua*, *iTaukei* are assigned responsibilities for the successful administration of the *vanua*.

Veiqaravi has evolved as a result of migration and exposure to non-Indigenous culture. Contemporary *veiqaravi* differs slightly, but the art of giving, service, hospitality and love (*loloma*) remain at its core. This is evidenced in the tourism business in Fiji which is prospering due to the inherent nature of *veiqaravi*, and its emphasis on authentic service and hospitality. *Veiqaravi* ceremonies that colonial authorities judged inapplicable to tourists have become an emblem of Fijian local hospitality. The commercialisation of this Indigenous ritual rendered the *kava* (*yaqona*) ceremony integral, symbolising the intrinsically friendly attitude of *iTaukei* (Miyazaki 2005).

Another classic example of contemporary *veiqaravi* is the idea of remittances. These are sent by people who permanently or temporarily live in the diaspora and continue to serve their extended family at home. This includes contributions to ceremonies, funerals, education costs and other *vanua* obligations requiring a collective effort. *Veiqaravi* is frequently associated with *veivakalougatataki* (blessing). When *iTaukei* continue to pursue *sautu* for the *vanua*, the *vanua* blesses them. Beyond worldly blessings, the concept of blessing encompasses generational and spiritual blessings.

When considering the process of *veiqaravi* through research, the projects, topics and processes used within research need to consider the benefits that *iTaukei* will garner from being involved. In line with Smith's (2012) notions of sharing and Nabobo-Baba's (2008) discussion on accountability, the research outcomes are to be shared with *iTaukei*, and research directions and initiatives are to be implemented to serve their communities.

Table 1 provides a full summary of the values discussed highlighting the research implications of the FRVS amongst *iTaukei* communities.

Table 1. Fijian Research Value System (FRVS) outlining values, principles and key research processes for Fijian communities.

Research value	Principles	Research process
Sautu	Pursuit of peace, harmony, wealth and overall wellbeing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – A holistic approach is considered, including culture and spirituality
Gauna	Present, past and future notions of time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Leaning on historical understandings and realities and considering its implications for the present and the future – Consideration of future implications of the research process and outcomes
Maliwa	Occupied space where all are interrelated, interdependent and interconnected	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Space between researcher and participant for relationship building – Connection to the spiritual realm through iTaukei customs and practices
Veiwekani	Developing and maintaining relationships and kinship ties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Understanding of kinship ties and the social positioning of researchers and participants – Exhibiting empathy through the research process – Search for mutuality and connection between the researcher and participant and greater involvement of the research participant and community in the research
Vakarokoroko	Nurturing respect and reverence for others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Acknowledgement of the researcher's position within traditional and social hierarchies – Ensuring researchers are culturally competent – Operating with humility with research participants and throughout the research process
Veitokoni	Reciprocal exchange and support for individuals, family and community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Reciprocal engagement in relationships – Commitment to ensuring the wellbeing of iTaukei and ongoing support after research processes are completed
Veiqaravi	To serve or respect others; the art of giving of one's resources, time and energy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Serving iTaukei through the research process by addressing key issues or equities – Providing gifts and hospitality through loloma for their time and involvement through the research – Ensuring researcher accountability by sharing findings and outcomes with iTaukei

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Throughout this paper key values and principles are presented that have guided the way in which research within iTaukei communities both within Fiji and Aotearoa New Zealand have been carried out (summarised in Table 1). Although key values and principles presented have been based on traditional iTaukei structure and systems, it is argued that they also permeate contemporary Fijian social and research settings. The understandings of *sautu* and the importance of time and space in the pursuit of harmony and balance among iTaukei society provide some insight into how researchers might navigate topics that have historical meaning and bring a broader understanding of relationships and reciprocal engagement. It is noted that the values presented are not an exhaustive list of principles but rather demonstrate the building blocks that contribute to the basis of a Fijian research paradigm that could be further explored. For example, other tenets of time are needed that include shifting the restrictive nature of research processes and timelines to accommodate more flexibility when working with iTaukei in the context of “Fiji time”. Further research may look at the application of the FVRS within research methods and methodologies. The use of the iTaukei values in this way supports the continuous development of iTaukei knowledge and reinforces their relevance and application within contemporary societies both within Fiji and in the diaspora.

GLOSSARY

The terms included in this glossary are Fijian unless otherwise stated.

bati	warrior; warrior clan
bete	priest; priestly clan
galala	free space
gauna	time
gonedau	fisher clan
lala	empty; unoccupied; first and best fruits of the harvest offered to chiefs
liu	ahead; in front of us; still to come; the future
logi	the highest and most private part of the house
loloma	love
lomalagi	heaven
lomaloma	middle space
maliwa	space that fosters the connection between the physical, the spiritual, the past, and the present
maliwa lala	empty space; sky; space between the <i>vanua</i> and <i>lomalagi</i>

mataisau	carpenter clan
mataqali	clan
matanivanua	chiefly spokesperson or herald
matanitu vanua	confederacy
matavuvale	family
muri	the past; what is behind us; what has previously occurred
qara	to serve; worship
sautu	relational wellbeing and care ethic denoting peace, harmony and wealth
sauturaga	traditional investiture
solesolevaki	collaborative effort where kin groups work together for the collective
tabu	taboo; cultural sensitivities
tadrua	space
talanoa	oral conversation
tawa	occupied
turaga	chief
vā	concept of relational space (Samoan, Tongan)
vaka iTaukei	Indigenous Fijian way of life
vakarokoko	respect
vanua	land
vanua lala	empty space
veikauwaitaki	care for each other
veimaliwai	engagement, connection between people, environment and location
veimama	halfway space
veiqaravi	service; art of giving
veirairaici	looking out for each other
veisolisoli	exchanging of gifts
veitokoni	reciprocity; knowledge sharing
veivakalougatataki	blessing
veivosaki yaga	purposeful conversation
veiwekani	relationship building; kinship
veiwekani vakaturaga	chiefly kinship
weka/vei weka	those related through blood lines and heritage
yaqona	kava
yavusa	tribe

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