

‘The Fijian Ethos and Dawasamu Miraculous Healing Water: A Study of Delakado and Natadradave Villagers’ Response to God’s Gift’



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Note: The picture on cover page are of visitors at the *Okanasei* healing water site with attendants wearing bright yellow vests. The picture can be obtained from the following link: <http://kaulga.blogspot.com/2016/10/fiji-government-authorities-confirm.html>

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Glossary

<i>Bhaini</i>	sister, a term for an Indo-Fijian woman
<i>Bhaia</i>	brother, a term for an Indo-Fijian man
<i>Bose</i>	Meeting
<i>Dautali ibe</i>	referred to a person who weaves mats
<i>Dauculacula</i>	referred to a person who sews clothes etc.
<i>Dau sere idini</i>	engineer or mechanic
<i>iTaukei</i>	Indigenous people of Fiji
<i>Kai</i>	term used to refer to someone from the same province or area
<i>Koti ni co</i>	cutting of grass (or used to refer to a grass cutter)
<i>Lotu</i>	Religion and or church
<i>Liuliu</i>	Head of the iTaukei clan and/or landowning unit
<i>Luve ni Qase</i>	Child of the eldest member of the family
<i>Luvena</i>	One's child
<i>Matai</i>	carpenter
<i>Mataqali</i>	iTaukei clan or landowning unit
<i>Momo</i>	Uncle
<i>Motoka ni veilakoyaki</i>	Mode of transport (car, carrier etc)
<i>Nasi ni Koro</i>	Village nurse
<i>Nei</i>	Aunty
<i>Sevusevu</i>	ceremonial offering by the guest to the host done in respect of recognition and acceptance of one another
<i>Soqosoqo ni Marama</i>	Women's group or congregation
<i>Tabacakacaka</i>	Circuit in the Methodist Church
<i>Tacina</i>	Brother or sister
<i>Talanoa</i>	conversing in conversation
<i>Talatala</i>	Priest
<i>Tavako</i>	Tobacco
<i>Teitei</i>	Planting or have a plantation

<i>Tikina</i>	District
<i>Tuirara</i>	serves as a steward in the Methodist Church
<i>Turaga ni vanua</i>	Village chief
<i>Turaga ni Koro</i>	Village headman
<i>Vakavanua</i>	the way of the land or in the customary manner
<i>Vakavinavinaka</i>	an act of appreciation or conveying of gratitude
<i>Vanua</i>	the land, the people and customs
<i>Vasu</i>	Mother's village
<i>Veilomani</i>	caring for and respecting others
<i>Veikauwaitaki</i>	showing compassion towards others
<i>Vulagi</i>	Guests or visitors
<i>Vuvale</i>	Family
<i>Yaqona</i>	iTaukei traditional drink, also known as 'kava' or grog
<i>Yasana</i>	Province
<i>Yavusa</i>	Tribe

Introduction

Over 12 months beginning in March 2016, thousands of people visited two villages in the Dawasamu district in the province of Tailevu located more than 80 kilometres from Fiji's capital, Suva. They were drawn by the miraculous healing water that flows through the land owned by the Naboro mataqali of Delakado village. In the wake of media reports about the water, strangers from all over Fiji and countries abroad began arriving on the doorsteps of the villagers either out of curiosity or in the belief that their ailments will be healed by the miracle water. These visitors came in their scores, then in their hundreds and thousands. Intriguingly, the water has been made available to Fijians from diverse backgrounds, as well as visitors from other countries entirely free of charge.

Their sheer numbers would have caused serious challenges for most communities under normal circumstances. However, for Delakado and Natadradave villages trying to cope with the aftermath of the extremely destructive Category 5, Tropical Cyclone Winston (T C Winston) the challenges were almost overwhelming. In the initial weeks and months, it was reported that there was stench of rotting garbage, urine and excreta along the feeder road leading to the villages and the water streams which gave rise to concerns about sanitation, and health for both the locals and visitors alike. Quite remarkably these challenges were met and overcome in the subsequent months. There are many stories to be told about the miracle water and its healing powers, and from many stand points. This research seeks to provide an understanding on the Delakado and Natadradave healing water by gaining insight into villagers' and visitors' perspectives about the reasons behind the no charge, 'free-of-charge', 'non-market' and not-for-profit policy adopted by the customary owners of the water.

In the capitalist world system, and the peripheral capitalistic Fijian society where the core motivation is to generate income if not profit from economic activities (Nickolas, 2015)¹, it appears somewhat odd that the villagers have not sought to commodify the miracle water. This is especially so in the midst of the lucrative bottled water business in Fiji. There could have been a ready market for the Dawasamu water. Here was a unique opportunity for windfall revenue from the 'miracle water' at a time of unprecedented hardship but this opportunity was deliberately set aside.²

This working paper begins with a discussion of the study's research methodology and methods, followed by a synopsis of some literature on the world's healing waters, and a discussion of the healing water located in the two villages of Delakado and Natadradave. It then provides a very briefly account of the local bottled water industry, particularly the internationally renowned, 'Fiji Water'. The impacts of TC Winston and challenges faced by the villagers is outlined. This is followed by a discussion of the findings of the research based on observation, key persons' semi-structured questionnaire survey, focus group discussions, and visitors' questionnaire survey. Some significant aspects of the research are brought together in the conclusion of the working paper.

¹ *What is the difference between a capitalist system and a free-market system?* Retrieved November, 9 2016 from: <http://www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/042215/what-difference-between-capitalist-system-and-free-market-system.asp>

² The rationale for the project is to seek explanation for the 'free of charge' policy –why in this day and age, in the midst of an apparently lucrative bottled water industry, the leaders and people of Delakado and Natadradave villages have chosen not to profit from the highly-in-demand 'miracle water'.

Research Methodology and data collection

The approach taken in this study was positive appreciation and social constructivist. This denoted embracing existing facilities and social relationships without apriori negative stereotyping. The approach assumed that there are existing social relationships, and ways of forming relationships between the villagers (locals), and the visitors with the former coming from a system of ranked statuses of individuals and families. The approach accepted the existing social organization in the villages, and followed the necessary protocols to gain access to informants who were both locals and visitors. Positive appreciation and social constructive approach entails qualitative modes of data collection. Qualitative methods of data collection such as participant observation, in-depth interviews (with 20 key customary owners³, 105 visitors⁴) (see Appendix 1) and focus group discussions with women from Delakado and Natadrade villages were undertaken. Indigenous research methodology requires that *vanua* norms and values be respected, the interviews conducted used '*talanoa*' informal discussion based on the semi-structured questionnaire as the primary mode of data collection. Upon arrival in Delakado and Natadrade; a *sevusevu*⁵ was presented to the village chief (*Turaga ni Vanua*), village headman (*Turaga ni Koro*) and elders in accordance with *iTaukei* customs seeking permission to conduct research in the two villages.

Field Research

The field work was conducted, from the 25th of January to the 1st of February and the 27th of April and 2nd of May, 2017. A semi-structured questionnaire was used for key person interviews with topics for open-ended *talanoa*. The data collected corresponded to demography (age, gender and household size), number of children in the households, educational attainment, housing type, religious backgrounds, livelihoods and sources of income, social relationships and village unity, benefits and community support and the challenges faced by the villagers of Delakado and Natadrade. Another questionnaire was designed for the survey among visitors. The data from this survey related to the purpose of their visit, sources of knowledge about the healing water, number of visits and demographic information (age, gender, ethnicity and religion). The language used for villager key informant survey was Bauan Fijian⁶; while English was the language of communication⁷ with the visitors (See Appendices 2 and 3 for English and *iTaukei* translation of semi-structured questionnaire).

World's Healing Waters

With the amplification of the news about the healing attributes of the Dawasamu water, parallels began to be drawn with other places where 'miracle water' had been found. Much has been written and said regarding the world's healing waters. Some of which include: the water of Lourdes located in the grotto of Massabielle in France; it is said that 50 official miracles are apparently linked to the use of this water, no matter if it has been drunk or used as a bath; notably the healings of Gabriel Gargam and John Traynor⁸. Gargam's story involved a twofold healing (spiritual and physical). A victim of a train accident and a Catholic-raised boy who had not been to church for fifteen years, Gargam was paralyzed from the waist down. Two years

³ 7 key informants from Natadrade and 13 from Delakado villages respectively. The questions were also discussed and distributed to 13 village households in Natadrade village.

⁴ 3 visitors in Delakado, 1 in Natadrade and 101 in '*Okanasei*' healing water site

⁵ Presentation of *yaqona* to village heads and/or key persons in the respective villages

⁶ Bauan Fijian is the lingua franca for *iTaukei* or Indigenous Fijians

⁷ The interview questionnaire was initially formulated in English and translated to Fijian taking into account village key informants language preferences

⁸ Miracles of Lourdes. Retrieved November 7, 2016 from: <https://olrl.org/stories/lourdes.shtml>

after the train incident, he finally agreed to visit the Sacred Lourdes from which he was miraculously cured⁹. Similarly, Traynor's story involved a young boy who had lost touch with his faith and later served in the Royal British Marines when he suffered a multitude of injuries while on deployment. These included shrapnel, machine gun bullet wounds in the head, chest, right arm and collarbone. As a result of these wounds, Traynor became paralyzed and epileptic. As word spread in Liverpool about a pilgrimage to the Sacred Lourdes, Traynor made his way to France despite many objections from doctors, priests and concerned family and friends. Upon arrival at the Sacred Lourdes, he bathed in the water nine times and was completely healed¹⁰.

It is claimed that since May 1991, the miracle water of Maitreye in Tlacote, Mexico has been curing just about every ailment known to Mexicans, including AIDS and cancer. The well is visited by around 10,000 people per day¹¹. Then there are the thermal waters of Pamukkale, Turkey that is rich in calcium oxide and hydrogen sulfide, which are said to be especially powerful in healing conditions like cardiovascular, gall bladder and digestion complications, diabetes, obesity, liver problems, muscle and bone diseases; and is among the areas most frequented by tourists¹². Another place for healing water is Nordenau, Germany where the spring water is reported to have cured blindness, debilitating back problems, and high blood pressure¹³. There is also the Tubewell in Nadana, India which is said to have healed skin diseases and cured polio attracting considerable attention. Despite being offered large sums of money to purchase the well by entrepreneurs, the town's mayor refused to sell the well, saying that it is for the people not for business¹⁴. Another remarkable site is the 'fountain of youth' in Liaoning, China where a Chinese couple, both above 80 years old, had regained their thick black hair and developed smooth, wrinkle-free skin by drinking water from the well¹⁵.

Local Healing Water

The healing water located near Natadradave village, Dawasamu, Tailevu generated much media hype since news first broke out of its 'healing powers'. A second healing water source emerged at the nearby Delakado village. The *Turaga ni Vanua* of Natadradave village, Waisake Laulaba mentioned that the villagers first discovered the water's healing powers in March 2016 shortly after TC Winston when a young boy suffering from hernia was healed by bathing in the water. A few weeks later, another young man from Burerua village¹⁶ who suffered from stroke leaving him partially speech impaired and with mobility difficulties was able to speak and walk after bathing regularly in the water for a week (Chong, 2016). On Fiji television, images of queues of cars and people, and of an individual being pushed along in a wheel chair, and walking back from his bath, caught the attention of viewers. There were further reports by the

⁹ Sixty prominent doctors examined Gargam, they pronounced him entirely cured. Gargam, out of gratitude to God in the Holy Eucharist and His Blessed Mother, consecrated himself to the service of the invalids at Lourdes.

¹⁰ Although the cure took place in 1923, the Medical Bureau waited till 1926 to issue its report. John was examined again, and it was found that his cure was permanent.

¹¹ Erman, A. (June 23, 2013). *6 of the World's Greatest Healing Waters*. Retrieved November 8, 2016 from: <http://ecosalon.com/6-of-the-worlds-greatest-healing-waters/>

¹² ibid

¹³ ibid

¹⁴ ibid

¹⁵ ibid

¹⁶ Another village in the Tailevu province, located about 45-60minutes drive from Natadradave and close to 15minutes drive from Korovou Town.

Fiji media of miraculous healings since then, compelling thousands of people from all over Fiji and beyond to the healing waters¹⁷.

The Delakado and Natadradave stream water is said to have healed conditions such as eye problems, skin diseases, stroke related conditions, joint pains and other ailments. Huge logistical difficulties emerged for the villagers as they faced the challenges of recovering from the destruction caused by TC Winston and responding to the scores of visitors at the healing water sites. Natadradave village headman *Turaga ni Koro* Tomasi Naisoso stated that young men from the villages of Vorovoro, Natadradave, Delakado and Driti¹⁸ worked 24 hour shifts to cater for people visiting the site; many visitors brought empty containers to fill with water to take home. They were requested to share it with others who needed it without selling it (Cava & Qounadovu, 2016).

It was believed that the water would lose its ‘manna’ and healing properties if it were to be sold¹⁹. Among the very first to reflect on why the water ought not to be sold was the Catholic Archbishop of Fiji, Peter Loy Chong. In an article in the Fiji Times, he stated that there was a crucial need for the healing water to be given freely as it was a gift from God. He said that the healing water in light of the Bible and Catholic social teaching relayed four vital messages to the Fijian people namely; (i) moral responsibility for the water and the environment; (ii) all development works must serve the good of mankind and planet rather than the interests of only a few; (iii) the water is to be shared in unity with others and not treated as a commodity and (iv) to care for “mother earth” (November 6, 2016)²⁰. The extent to which this theology applied to the people of Dawasamu is not clear as they are by and large Methodists.

The researchers hypothesized that Christian values together with *iTaukei* ethos may have informed the villagers thinking on not seeking monetary recompense for the water. Traditional values relating to reciprocity and the stewardship of natural resources may have overlapped with the Archbishop’s explanation. Traditional notions and values of reciprocity continue to be the basis of relationships in most *iTaukei* village communities. The idea that one should know and recognize other people and form putative kinship or other social links with them is an essential element of the *iTaukei* value system which allows visitors access into a community without impediment (Ravuvu, 1987, 1990). Also, rather than receiving monetary reward, the principle of reciprocity in the *iTaukei* community entails an act of social service with no immediate affirmation of a return. The idea being that the recipient of the service may return the favour at some future date (Veitayaki, 2001; 2005). Goods and services are exchanged *vakavanua* including as first fruit presentations, in ceremonies relating to births, marriages, deaths, installation of chiefly title holders, community projects, receiving visitors, for *lotu* purposes and so on. These communities have dualistic economies and are increasingly reliant on cash, and some of the exchange relations mentioned above do entail monetary transactions. Villagers are self-sufficient and practice intricate exchange arrangements thereby sharing with relatives and/or outsiders ensuring that the resources are used efficiently and people are well catered for in times of need (Veitayaki, 2005). These traditional values, norms and practices have been labelled by developers and planners, as impediments to the social and economic progress of *iTaukei* (Ravuvu, 1987; Tukai, 1988).

¹⁷ Fijian News (2016) “*Healing Water*” a source of hope for the sick. Retrieved November 7, 2016 from <http://www.tawakilagi.com/2016/10/06/healing-water-a-source-of-hope-for-the-sick/>

¹⁸ Vorovoro and Driti are nearby villages in Dawasamu

¹⁹ Miraculous food and/or powers in Biblical terms.

²⁰ Retrieved November 7, 2016 from: <http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?ref=archive&id=377454>

The *mataqali* or sublineage is a significant grouping among *iTaukei* as it is the entity that owns customary land and natural resource rights. Often the head of the *mataqali* is a chiefly title holder in the hierarchy of chiefs that characterize the *vanua*. Although the values relating to stewardship of these resources have been eroded somewhat with modernization, it is not uncommon for *iTaukei* to articulate the importance of using and conserving natural resources in ways that they are sustainable over time, and for future generations. Veitayaki (2005) affirms that traditional knowledge, values and customs are valuable and still appropriate, in particular in sustainable development strategies and resource management. He states that people identify the value and benefits of traditional farming and traditional medicine. Traditional knowledge of the customary fishing grounds to improve resource management within the inshore fishing areas has been critical in sustaining inshore marine resources.

The miracle water villagers have indirectly benefited from their initiatives and relationship building with the visitors. They have received food and clothes from visitors and there is a sense of unity present in the villages. Moreover, there is no need for the people of the two villages to travel to Suva and/or Korovou, the nearest town to sell their produce, as sales are being made from their villages due to visitors travelling to the healing water site (Cava & Qounadovu, 2016). As a peasantry though, the Dawasamu rural communities and households are likely to be dependent on livelihoods that comprise semi-subsistence agriculture, employment in urban centres and in commercial agriculture as well as reliance on remittances. There is a likelihood of ‘cash poverty’ among some households. The pressure to earn cash incomes will be prevalent in the communities, and in some instances this pressure may affect values relating to reciprocity and stewardships.

In Fiji, the pressure to obtain cash income among land owners has led to concerns regarding rental payments on customary land leaseholds. There have been demands for increasing rents on these leases, and since the mid-1990s the dispute regarding the formula for calculating payments for leases, and duration of the leases under the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act (ALTA) has resulted in non-renewal of sugar cane farm leases (Naidu and Reddy, 2002). Customary land owners have made known their objections to the existing arrangements regarding returns on land used for the Nadi International Airport, and the Nausori Airport. Very interestingly, in the province of Tailevu on the Suva side of the township of Korovou a major dispute over lease arrangements occurred between the customary land owners, and the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Church which led to the closure of the Fulton College, and its relocation.

Since 1940 the Fulton College – an iconic Pacific regional education institution trained teachers for church schools in Fiji and a number of Pacific Island Countries. According to reports in the Fiji Sun and Fiji Times, the tribe or *Yavusa Salatu* who own the 100 acres of land where the college was located, issued an eviction notice to the management of Fulton College when negotiations regarding the renewal of the lease failed. The land owners claimed that the then Native Lands Trust Board (NLTB)²¹ and college management failed to engage in further discussions regarding the issue of a 75 year lease to the college and their compensation claims worth millions of dollars. The notice was thereby served to the Australasian Conference Association Limited of SDA which operated the college. The heads of the three *mataqalis* of the *Yavusa Salatu* which own the land signed the eviction notice²². The researchers observed that the college facilities on a sizeable area of land with impressive buildings appear to be

²¹ Now known as the iTaukei Lands Trust Board (ITLB) which offers land management services particularly to *iTaukei* landowners. Accessed on 9th May, 2017 from: <https://www.tltb.com.fj/vision-mission/>

²² Accessed on 9th May, 2017 from: <http://stuckinfijimud.blogspot.com/search/label/Fulton%20College>

vacant. The SDA has relocated the Fulton College, renamed ‘Fulton, A University College’ along Sabeto Road, in Nadi on the western division of Viti Levu.

Lessees of customary land, and others perceive land owners as rent seekers who continuously demand more payments for the use of the land and natural resources. This clearly is not the case regarding access and use of the healing water of Dawasamu, Taillevu. This is especially noteworthy in the context of the growth of the bottled water market in Fiji.

Local Bottled Water Industry

In a little over two decades since the mid-1990s bottled water companies in the country have grown in numbers, and in size. They include Fiji Water²³, AquaSafe and VaiWai²⁴, Aqua Pacific²⁵, Island Chill²⁶, Vitiblu²⁷ and Ka-Viti²⁸. Vakaliwaliwa (2016) in his letter published in the Fiji Times pointed out that the Ministry of Health should divulge to the public the mineral contents of the Dawasamu water, and if these were the same as that of the bottled Fiji Water, he questioned, who could afford to bath in it?

²³ Fiji Water was started by a Canadian, David Gilmour in 1996, by his company Natural Waters of Viti Ltd. The company’s headquarters are located in Los Angeles, California. Fiji Water is bottled water sourced from an artesian aquifer in the Yaqara Valley on the island of Viti Levu. It is now owned by the Californian entrepreneurs Lynda and Stewart Resnick, Southern California billionaires. Retrieved on 23 March, 2017 from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/earth/earthnews/8585182/Fiji-Water-accused-of-environmentally-misleading-claims.html>

²⁴ Pleass Global is the bottler of AquaSafe. Its source is deep beneath the Namosi mountains, in Fiji. The company started in 1998 bottling 15 litre refillable polycarbonate “cooler bottles”. VaiWai® is a key element of Pleass Global Limited (PGL) development on the international market. VaiWai® is PGL’s response to some of the challenges faced by the bottling industry. VaiWai® is a combination of two words from the Pacific... “Vai” is a Polynesian word meaning water while “Wai” is the Fijian word for water too. VaiWai® bottle is made of polyethylene terephthalate, commonly known as PET. PET is recyclable but will not biodegrade. Retrieved on 23 March, 2017 from: <http://pleass.com/aquasafe-natural-artesian-water/>

²⁵ Founded in 2005 by Mr. Altaaf Jamal who is also the owner of Frezco Beverages – a local beverage company. The source of water is from the aquifer in the remote mountains of the Nadi highlands. According to the company, the water is filtered to eliminate any particles above .2 microns (5 times smaller than the industry standard of 1 micron) and then it is ozonated to avoid chemical sterilization before bottling. It is then transported to one of many international destinations. Aqua Pacific is bottled in PET plastic bottles creating a greater eco-friendly production by utilizing a squarer bottle which increase efficiencies in transportation, fuel costs and recycling. Retrieved on 23 March, 2017 from: <http://www.aquapacific.com>

²⁶ Dayals (FIJI) Artesian Waters Ltd based in Yalalevu, Ba on the island of Viti Levu, Fiji owns Island Chill product and the production facility that is certified by all regulating states of USA. It contains life giving minerals like Silica and its pH is 7.5 compared to that of pure water which is about 7 at 25°C, this value varies with temperature. Retrieved on 23 March, 2017 from: <http://www.islandchill.com/>

²⁷ Vitiblu is bottled at source in the high mountains of Drasa, Lautoka, Fiji Islands. Surrounded by several mountains with an elevation variance of 1000ft to 1700 ft, Vitiblu enjoys the trade winds which brings uncontaminated rain showers that filters through the aquifers into the artesian wells situated on approx. 100 acres of its land. Retrieved on 23 March, 2017 from: <http://www.vitiblu.com>

²⁸ Founded by Irshad and Paul, two friends from the United States (the former originally from Fiji); Ka-Viti water is extracted from an underground aquifer on the island of Viti Levu in Fiji. The water is said to contain calcium, magnesium, silica, potassium and iron among other minerals. Retrieved on 23 March, 2017 from: <https://www.ka-vitiwater.com/>

The very first bottled water for export company, Natural Waters of Viti Limited which began selling Fiji Water – particularly to the United States market by all accounts has been extremely successful. Its initial success has been based on a tax holiday, minimal taxes, sole access to the relatively large aquifer and low labour costs. A Sustainability Report by the University of Vermont found that the water company’s website claimed that by producing 95% of it’s packaging on site, it reduced emissions associated with transport of raw materials and packaging. However, the report revealed that this is misleading, as the raw materials are still shipped in from outside sources and some are works-in-process when they reach the Fiji plant. For example; the Fiji Water plastic comes from a plant in China, which gets materials from other places to create the plastic. Although it was true that the Fiji plant fabricated the plastic into their signature bottles on site, providing jobs for Fijians, the water company had not reduced transportation related emissions (Lynch et.al, 2010). Moreover, Anya (2015) stated that in 2006, Fiji Water ran an advertisement saying that the label had read ‘Fiji’ as it was not bottled in Cleveland – this caused retaliation from the Cleveland Water Department who decided to conduct a comparative test of Fiji’s bottled water to Cleveland’s tap water. The results indicated that Fiji Water had 6.31 micrograms of arsenic per litre while Cleveland’s tap water had none²⁹.

Also, according to Gleick (2010), the brand was a symbol of both the good and bad in the world of bottled water. He pointed out that it was labelled ‘bad’ as there was great energy cost and plastic waste produced by shipment of bottled water from Fiji to the US and across the globe; and also the association with the then unelected military regime following the coup of 2006. Also noteworthy, the American Investigative Journalism magazine Mother Jones published an article by Anna Lenzer in September 2009 unveiling the corruption and ruthless business practices behind the Fiji Water brand. She noted that when Fiji Water decided to seize the word “Fiji” for its brand, the word became off bounds for everyone else (such as Aqua Pacific water – which was denied the right to use the name ‘Fiji’). In addition, the increase in production of filled water bottles daily with a 99year lease on land over a 17 mile long aquifer contradicts the company’s motto of a ‘Fiji Green’ to save the environment in the fight against climate change. Lenzer also questioned Fiji Water’s exports which makes millions in the sale of its bottled product while the local people suffer from a lack of potable water. Rakiraki and other parts of Western Viti Levu have experienced much of Fiji’s water problems, including collapsing pipes, poor water treatment plants, droughts resulting in the need to rely on emergency water services and lack of adequate wells. It is evident that Fiji Water has not invested meaningfully in improving the lives of people right next to their plant, despite bragging about their philanthropic efforts in the region. The aquifer that Fiji Water draws from is a great source that should be used to benefit the people of Fiji, a nation where water issues abound. Water supply for locals is unreliable and outbreaks of typhoid and parasitic infections have occurred as a result (Lenzer, 2009). In her Master of Development Studies thesis, *‘Weaving Niche Production into Pacific Economies: The Social, Economic and Environmental Impacts of Fiji Water’* (2011) at Victoria University of Wellington, Catherine Jones maintained that Natural Waters of Viti has engaged in ‘green washing’ its environmental impacts, and ‘aid washing’ its corporate social responsibility to the local community and country as a whole in somewhat pretentious ways.

The success of Natural Waters of Viti Ltd triggered a number of other business ventures in the bottled water industry including Aqua Pacific as noted above. Given the ubiquity of bottled

²⁹ Anya, V. (November 23, 2015). *Scientists Tested ‘Fiji Water’ Against Ordinary Tap Water. What They Found Is Shocking*. Retrieved November 8, 2016 from: <http://livingtraditionally.com/what-you-didnt-know-about-fiji-water-but-should/>

water and those supplied as part of the humanitarian assistance to the district of Dawasamu, it is noteworthy that the Delakado and Natadradave villagers have been steadfast in not selling their healing water.

Geography of Delakado and Natadradave Villages

Location of the Two Villages

Delakado and Natadradave villages are located in the District (*Tikina*) of Dawasamu and Province (*Yasana*) of Tailevu on the eastern coast of Viti Levu, Fiji (See Figure 1). Delakado and Natadradave villages are about an hour's drive along the Lodonu road from Korovou Town – past Ratu Kadavulevu School, Natovi Jetty, Queen Victoria School towards Nasinu village and at the border of the provinces of Tailevu and Ra. It is accessible via a feeder road turning left before the Dawasamu Bridge. The villages are located about five kilometres' from each other³⁰ (See Satellite Map – Appendix 4).

Figure 1: Location of Dawasamu Villages on the eastern coast of Viti Levu, Fiji



Source: Braun (2008, p. 14)

When passing the Dawasamu Bridge, Delakado village is located on the right³¹. In the village, visitors will find sanitary facilities, litter bins and showers in some households. A quarry and camp site run by a Chinese company known as Golden Rock is located in between the two

³⁰ One kilometre from the Delakado junction to Natadradave village; a total of four kilometres to drive into and out of Delakado village from the main Naboro Cocoa Road (two kilometres upon entry and two kilometres upon exit).

³¹ Approximately five to ten minutes' drive to reach Delakado.

villages; a few minutes' drive from here is Natadradave village. Upon entry to the village, there is a shower site³², sanitary facility and recycling and litter bins when driving through the village road. The 'miracle working water' in Natadradave village runs via a tap system located on the left side of the village upon entry. Villagers and visitors alike use the healing water mainly for drinking and bathing. The main water source which is used for cooking, washing and other activities flows from the dam located just a few minutes outside the village. The daily water source runs through the pipe system to some households in the village³³.

On the other hand, in Delakado village the daily source of water runs through all the village households' pipe system. Also noteworthy, the village dam where the water flows from is located near the main healing water site at *Okanasei*. The respondents clarified that the water from the dam also possesses healing powers that villagers and visitors use for daily purposes. There are also temporary stalls where villagers sell their produce along the Naboro Coacoa road³⁴. The main healing water source is from Nakoroni (ancient ancestral site) where the *Okanasei*³⁵ creek in Natadradave flows from. This is where visitors go to bathe, receive body massages and collect water for personal consumption. It is approximately 5-7minutes drive from Natadradave village following a steep terrain. (See Figure 2). Visitors are requested to bring their vehicles when traveling to the site as walking on foot is prohibited³⁶. There is a second site close to *Okanasei* known as '*Okanaboro*' where the healing water also stems from; however due to the rugged terrain, visitors are advised not to visit the site.

³² The shower site on the left hand side of the Naboro Coacoa Road.

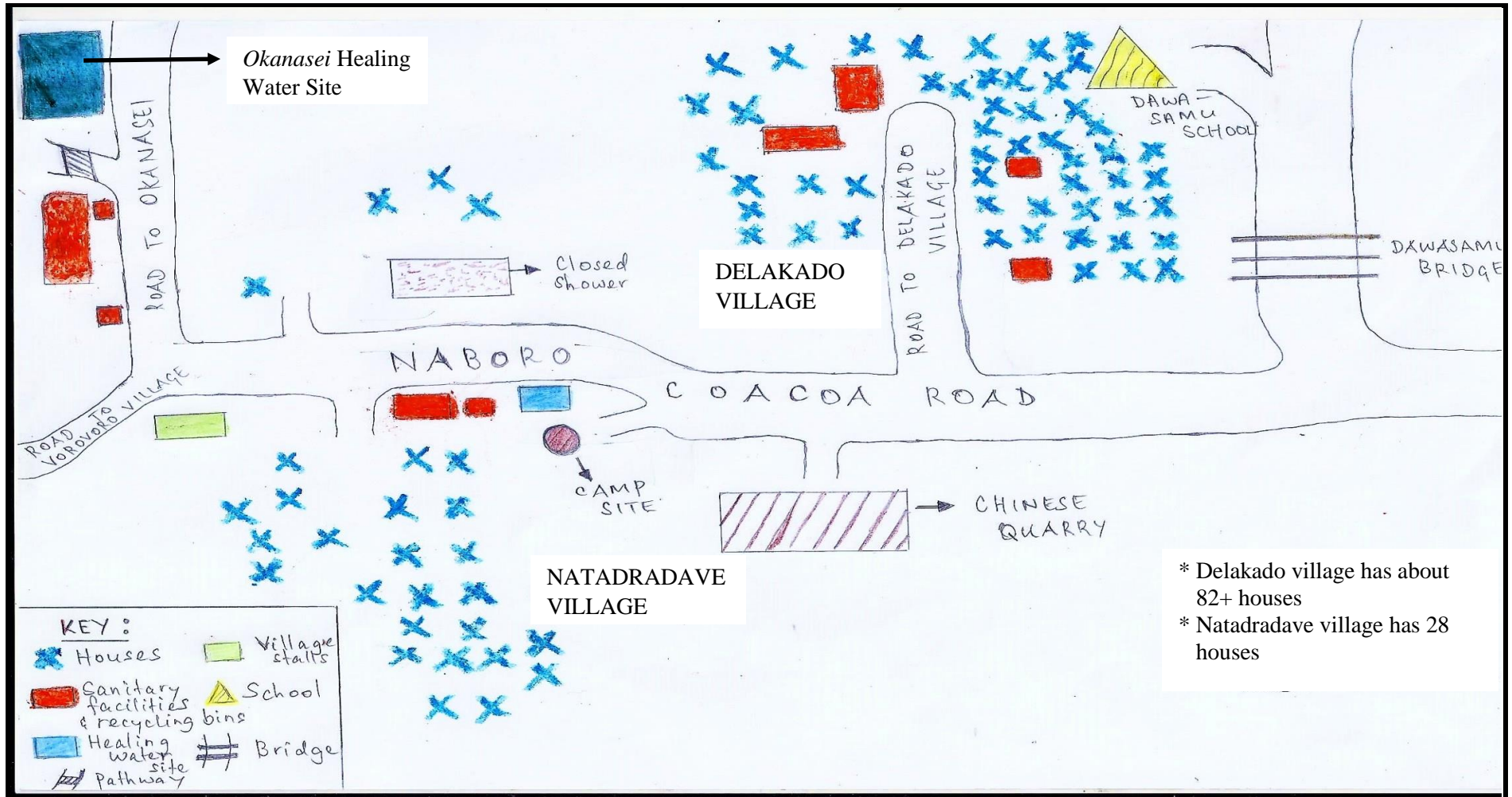
³³ Also note, not all households in the village have access to the main water source hence they fetch water from the closest house with a running tap water system.

³⁴ The village stall located at the intersection of the roads leading to Vorovoro village and '*Okanasei*' is run by villagers of Delakado. The Naboro Coacoa Road is the road leading to Natadradave which also services Delakado and Vorovoro villages.

³⁵ Although *Okanasei* is situated close to Natadradave village, the land on which it lies is owned by the Mataqali of '*Naboro*' in Delakado village.

³⁶ According to the land owners– this is for safety and security reasons as walking would take extra time and given the steep terrain, accidents and other incidents can be avoided.

Figure 2: Sketch Map of Naboro Cocoa Road, Delakado and Natadradave villages, and Okanasei



Not to scale

The people of Delakado and Natadradave Villages

The inhabitants of the two villages are indigenous Fijians, *iTaukei*, and belong to the *Vanua of Tailevu*. The *Turaga ni vanua* in Delakado village is Aisea Toto and *Turaga ni Koro* is Levi Vere. The village consists of three mataqalis³⁷ including ‘Navuniyasi’ whose Head (*Liuliu*) is Waisea Liunavuna; ‘Naboro’ whose *Liuliu* is Wakuila Cika and; ‘Wailevu’ whose *Liuliu* is Netani Madu. The population in Delakado village is about 340. On the other hand, the *Turaga ni vanua* in Natadradave village is Waisake Laulaba³⁷ and *Turaga ni Koro* is Tomasi Naisoso. The village consists of one mataqali ‘Navuniyasi’ whose *Liuliu* (mentioned above) resides in the neighbouring village of Delakado. The inhabitants of Natadradave village number about 120 (Also see Appendix 5 for *Turaga ni Koro* report, 2015). In the villages there are slightly more women than men. According to the village elders, the process of choosing the *liuliu* of a mataqali is through the nomination of one of its members. It is from here that the members (including females) convene meetings to discuss the best possible person to take the leadership role and head the mataqali. As is the case in most *iTaukei* villages; the *liuliu ni mataqali* in the two villages will most likely be the male primogeniture or *Luve ni Qase*³⁸. It is also noteworthy that the rule of inheritance in *iTaukei* culture denotes that the appointed leader of the mataqali should be a person of chiefly status or a ranked position in the village hierarchy (*tutu vakavanua*). Male members of the village have the final say in the selection of the head of each mataqali.

According to Niukula (1994) for the *iTaukei* people, three traditional pillars of society include – the Church (*lotu*), the way of the *iTaukei* community (*vanua*) and the Government (*matanitu*). The term *vanua* encompasses three dimensions in the *iTaukei* way of life. These include the land, people and the social, cultural knowledge or practices and physical environment (Seruvakula, 2000; Nainoca, 2011). As part of the village community, each household is obligated to the *vanua* and must uphold all responsibilities and tasks when required. According to the elders in both the villages, there are many responsibilities and certain expectations required of them regarding the *vanua*, *lotu* and of course meeting the needs of their own families. Some of which are mentioned in Table 3.

³⁷ Waisake Laulaba is a *vasu* (*Mother’s village*) of Delakado

³⁸ Firstborn child among several children.

Table 3: Responsibilities of households towards the *vanua*, *lotu* and *vuvale*

Dimension	Responsibilities
Vanua	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Reguregu</i> (death in the family, community or province where a <i>mataqali</i> or <i>vanua</i> must take condolatory offerings to the deceased's family³⁹) - <i>Rogorogo</i> (celebrating the birth of a child in particular, the firstborn in a family⁴⁰) - <i>Vaka tara i sulu</i> (end of mourning period of a relative⁴¹) - <i>Kau mata ni gone</i> (occasion where the children in a family visit their <i>koro ni vasu</i> (mother's village) for the first time⁴²).
Lotu (church)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>solu vakamisinare</i> (members of the Methodist church in the village are required to give an annual tithe towards the church) - <i>solu ni vakatawa</i> (each cell group '<i>matasiga</i>' contributes towards the catechist's '<i>vakatawa</i>' earnings per month) - <i>Bose ko Viti kei na Coniferedi</i> (Major Methodist church conference held in Suva usually during the second-term school break in late July or early August every year⁴³)
Vuvale (family)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - providing basic necessities such as food, clothing and housing - meeting educational needs of children, health related issues - meeting social obligations such as <i>vakamau</i> (weddings), <i>somate</i> (funerals) and the birth of a child

Key Informants

A total of 40 semi-structured questionnaires were prepared for distribution in the two villages. Twenty key informants responded to the questionnaire survey from the two villages (13 from Delakado and 7 from Natadradave respectively). Copies of the semi-structured questionnaires were also distributed to 13 households in Natadradave village. Upon initial analysis of the information gathered from respondents, it was found that only 4 women (2 from each village) had responded to the survey⁴⁴. As most of the breadwinners and heads of households in the villages were males, women tended to accept that men spoke or responded to questions on behalf of their families. The researchers therefore returned at a later date to *talanoa* with women regarding their experiences since the discovery of the healing water (See Figure 6). A total of 9 women (4 from Delakado and 5 from Natadradave) who are members of the Women's Group or *Soqosoqo ni Marama* participated in the focus group discussions as shown in Table 4.

³⁹ Offering may include *yaqona*, *ibe* (mats), *tabua* (whale's tooth)

⁴⁰ Gifts presented may include; *ibe*, *lobi sulu* (roll of cloth or materials), baby products (soap, oil, powder, diapers etc)

⁴¹ *Tabu* (sacred vow or restrictions) are lifted to mark the end of the mourning period – this may be commemorated on the 50th/100th night depending on the deceased family's decision. Commemoration can be in the form of the permission to allow close relatives and other family members who had observed the *tabu* to shave their beards, eat pork, and drink *yaqona* again. There are other ways in which a *tabu* may be observed, depending on the individual and community's decision. Should the deceased be someone of a ranked position in the village – a *tabu* such as *qoliqoli* (fishing ground) boundaries may be uplifted etc. To mark the end of the mourning period, villagers prepare feasts, provide rolls of *sulu* and other gifts.

⁴² Gifts presented at the *koro ni vasu* include drums of kerosene, rolls of materials, *ibe*, *tabua*, root crops such as *dalo* (taro).

⁴³ Includes *solu* (financial contributions), choir singing, annual meeting for every *talatala*, *vakatawa* and other church members in authoritative positions.

⁴⁴ These women included the head of the Women's group or '*Soqosoqo ni Marama*' and village nurse (*Nasi ni Koro*).

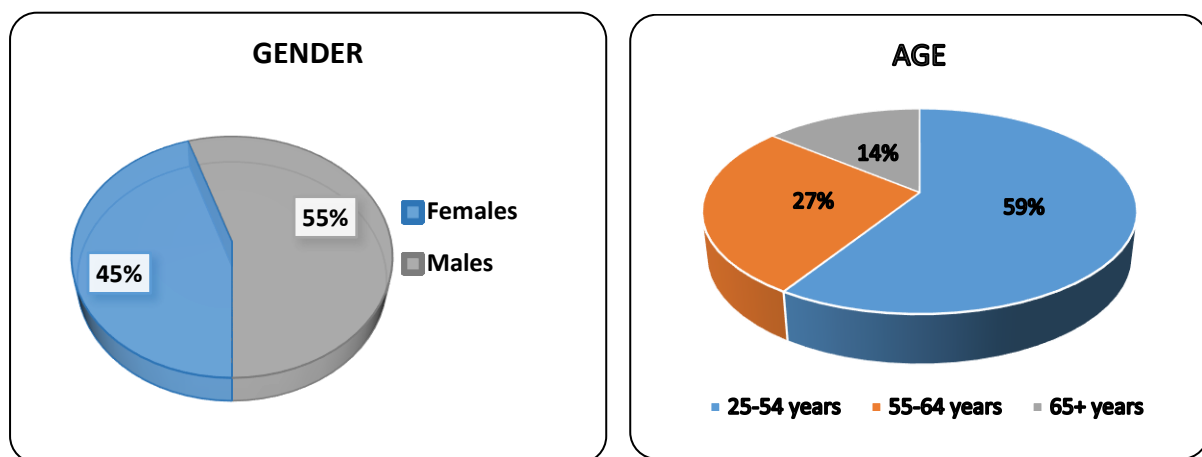
Table 4: Summary of Respondents in the Two Villages

Village	Number of respondents	Comments
1. Delakado	13 4	- 13 key informants answered the questionnaires and had focus group type meeting to discuss their responses (2 out of the 13 were females). They requested for more time and completed questionnaires were collected on another day - Focus group discussion with 4 women
2. Natadradave	7 5	- Questionnaires were discussed and distributed to 7 key informants who had focus group type meeting to discuss their responses (2 out of the 7 were females) - Focus group discussion with 5 women - (semi-structured questionnaires were also discussed and distributed to 13 households ⁴⁵)
TOTAL	29	29 (Key informants) + 13 (households in Natadradave village) = 42 respondents

Gender and Age

As shown in Figure 5 below, of the 29 key respondents, females constituted 45% (13 out of the 29 key informants) whilst males comprised 55% (16 out of the 29 participants).

Figure 5: Gender and Age Distribution



In terms of age distribution of the 29 respondents, 59% (17 out of the 29 participants) were in the 25-54 age group; 27% (8 out of 29) in the 55-64 age group; and 14% (4 out of the 29) in the 65 years and over age group. Overall, the majority of respondents were in the 25-54 age category in comparison to other groups.

⁴⁵ As some key informants were not available during the research study period; semi-structured questionnaires were then discussed and distributed to 13 households in Natadradave village.

Social and Economic Characteristics

The research gathered information about demographic and socio-economic characteristics, including head of household, house type, number of persons and their gender in each household, age range, level of education attained, source(s) of income and assets of the 42 respondents' households in the two villages (See Table 7)⁴⁶. According to the *Turaga ni Koro* Mr. Naisoso, there are approximately 28 households in Natadradave village whereas Delakado village, according to Mr Evereti Moceciri comprises 82 households⁴⁷.

Figure 6: Pictures taken after talanoa sessions



Top: *Turaga ni vanua* of Natadradave village, Waisake Lau laba and his wife, Litiana
Bottom left: Women of Natadradave village **Right:** Women of Delakado village

⁴⁶ It is noteworthy that **Table 6** only takes into account the 42 respondents households information and not the entire population in the two villages. Hence, this study outlines a sample and brief synopsis of the social and economic attributes in the villages. See Appendix 5 for the *iTaukei Affairs Board Turaga ni Koro Report 2015* for further information. Also, keep in mind that data is subject to changes as this report was issued before TC Winston hit Fiji in early 2016.

⁴⁷ Mr. Moceciri is the Chairman of the *Mataqali Naboro* of Delakado village (which owns the land where *Okanasei* is located)

Table 7: Summary of Socio-economic Characteristics of Households

Village	Household Head (M/F)	Type of house	No. of persons in household	Age range and no. in each household	Education	Source of income/assets
1. Natadradave	23 (Males) 2 (Females)	Wooden (5) Corrugated iron (15) Concrete (3) Lean-to shed (2)	Ranges from 3-9 persons in each house	0-15yrs: 43 16-34yrs: 35 35-54yrs: 22 55-69yrs: 5 >70yrs: 2	Primary: 30 Secondary: 26 Tertiary: 13 Vocational: 5 Others (Working)⁴⁸: 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All 25 respondents indicated that their main source of income is through farming (<i>teitei</i>) and selling their produce (<i>basa</i>) at the local markets - Livestock (cows, horses) - Remittances (from family residing in local towns/cities and overseas) - A few respondents (10) had bank accounts and savings available - Small business e.g. sale of yaqona, tobacco with the help of the small business micro-enterprise scheme - Social Welfare recipients (at least 2 households were part of this scheme) - Employed family members - Land ownership
2. Delakado	17 (Males)	Corrugated iron (14) Wooden (3)	Ranges from 2-8 persons in each house	0-15yrs: 13 16-34yrs: 11 35-54yrs: 14 55-69yrs: 4 >70yrs: 2	Primary: 15 Secondary: 22 Tertiary: 10 Vocational: 3 Others (Working): 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All 17 respondents indicated that their main source of income is through farming (<i>teitei</i>) from which they sell their produce at the local markets - Livestock (cows, horses) - Remittances (from family members working in the greater town or city areas and overseas) - A few respondents (8) had bank accounts and savings available - Small business micro-enterprise scheme - Social Welfare and Poverty Benefit Scheme recipients (at least 3 households were part of this scheme) - Land ownership, land lease
TOTAL: 42 respondents⁴⁹	40 (Males) 2 (Females)	Wooden (8) Corrugated iron (29) Concrete (3) Lean-to sheds (2)	Ranges from 2-9 persons in each house	0-15yrs: 56 16-34yrs: 46 35-54yrs: 36 55-69yrs: 9 >70yrs: 4	Primary: 45 Secondary: 48 Tertiary: 23 Vocational: 8 Others (Working): 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All 42 respondents indicated that <i>teitei</i> and <i>basa</i> is their main source of income

⁴⁸ Respondents indicated working family members are nurses, teachers with some employed as security officers at the nearby Chinese-owned quarry.

⁴⁹ 29 key informants and 13 household respondents in Natadradave village

Of the 42 respondents in both the villages, 2 females⁵⁰ were heads of their households compared to 40 males. Housing type structures included a total of 8 wooden houses, 29 corrugated iron houses, 3 concrete houses and 2 lean-to sheds⁵¹. These houses generally had one to three bedrooms with kitchens and toilet/bathrooms separately located close by. However, some houses also used parts of their living rooms as bedrooms (this may be separated by a partition of cloth/materials)⁵². The number of people in each household ranged from 2 to 9 persons. The villages mostly include a young population as shown in Table 6 with 0-15 year old infants and children and 16-34 year old teenagers and younger adults making up most of the household numbers. In terms of religion, 41 of the respondents said that they were members of the Methodist church⁵³ while only 1 respondent in Delakado village belonged to the Pentecostal church. In terms of education, most children and youths are still in primary (45), secondary (48) and tertiary level (23) educational institutions; and a further 8 persons in vocational institutes who were employed⁵⁴. Most of the village children attend the Dawasamu Primary and Secondary Schools,⁵⁵ and travel by the ‘carrier’, the 3 ton truck (also known as the ‘school bus’) as their main mode of transport to the schools⁵⁶.

The schools are located approximately 6 kilometres from Delakado village⁵⁷. Most of the key respondents mentioned that the young students are advised by their families to further their education at tertiary educational or vocational training institutions. However, should they opt to discontinue studying, they are required to take up village livelihoods centred on *teitei*’ (farming). This is often used as a technique to allow young students the opportunity to decide whether they can handle farming in the village or opt to further their studies in the hope of gaining non-farm employment, seen as improving their lives.

In terms of livelihoods the respondents stated that they planted root crops, vegetables and other food crops (*teitei*) for their own consumption. Surplus crop is sold at the Korovou or Suva market. However, as noted earlier with the number of visitors flocking to the healing water sites, villagers have been able to sell their produce outside their houses, and from nearby sheds or stalls instead of making a trip down to the local town or city market. Other sources of income and assets include remittances⁵⁸, livestock (cows and horses), land including leaseholds, and saving bank accounts. At least 2 respondents indicated that they were employed as security guards at the nearby Chinese-owned quarry. A few respondents said that their children were working in towns and cities in Fiji e.g. Suva, Lautoka, Nadi and Nausori. At least 3 respondents in each village explained that they are part of the Poverty Benefit⁵⁹ and Social Welfare Scheme⁶⁰. These recipients receive \$50 allowance and \$30 food voucher per month. Assistance

⁵⁰ Female heads in these households were widowed hence both taking the role of breadwinner in their families.

⁵¹ Lean-to sheds are temporary houses supported at one side by trees or posts and having an inclined roof. Also, as only 42 respondents were taken into account – it is noteworthy that the researcher observed that there were about 20 or more lean-to sheds, make-shift houses and tents particularly in Delakado village.

⁵² In Natadrave, only 3 houses consisted of one bedroom while the remaining houses used parts of their living rooms as bedrooms.

⁵³ There is a *Talatala* (priest) who is based in Namena village, Tailevu under the circuit (*Tabacakacaka*) of Dawasamu. A *Tuirara* (*steward*) is present in each one of the villages.

⁵⁴ Children who are working in city and town areas such as Suva, Lautoka, Nadi, Korovou and Nausori

⁵⁵ There are 8 teachers at the school.

⁵⁶ Should they miss the ‘carrier’, they either walk or catch the next available bus.

⁵⁷ 2km from Delakado village to the main Naboro Cocoa Road; 2km from the main road to the Dawasamu bridge; and an additional 2km from the bridge to the school.

⁵⁸ *Turaga ni Vanua*, Waisake Lualaba of Natadrave village and his wife have a daughter who works as a nurse in the Cook Islands and has been of great assistance to her parents.

⁵⁹ Targeted at families who live below the poverty line and do not have sufficient source of income

⁶⁰ Targeted at persons over 68 years who have no sources of income

is also given for bus and taxi fares with 50% concession for the elderly. A few other respondents indicated that they are part of the small business scheme which includes the sale of handicrafts, mats, food stuff⁶¹. It remains to be seen as to how successful this micro-finance scheme has been in the villages. According to one of the women respondents, the scheme has not proved beneficial to her so she opted out of it. She further added that before obtaining the loan, one has to fully understand the requirements of how to run a business, and already have the necessary assets to further enhance the business. Without proper knowledge, villagers may end up being indebted instead of its intended purpose of the scheme – which was to act as a source of income, and improve the quality of lives of their families.

It is noteworthy that according to the iTaukei Affairs Board *Turaga ni Koro Report* (2015), other sources of income for the villagers included running of canteen businesses, sale of grog (*yaqona*) and tobacco (*tavako*), brush cutting (*koti ni co*), providing transport by taxi/carriers (*motoka ni veilakoyaki*), weaving of mats (*dautali ibe*), sewing of clothes (*dauculacula*), carpenters (*matai ni tara vale*) and mechanics/engineers (*dua sere idini*) (See Appendix 5). Due to the drastic effects of TC Winston, most of the above sources of income were diminished.

Tropical Cyclone Winston and the Dawasamu Healing Water

So while the discovery of miracle water caused considerable excitement, it was at an inopportune time as the one of the fiercest hurricanes in recorded history struck the country. On 20 February, 2016 just before news of the ‘miracle working water’ in Dawasamu emerged, the Category 5 Severe TC Winston cut a path of destruction across Fiji. On the main island of Viti Levu, Ra and Tailevu provinces were directly battered by the cyclone. According to the post-disaster needs assessment jointly prepared by the government and development partners, the cyclone’s maximum average wind speeds reached 233km per hour making TC Winston one of the most intense cyclones recorded in the Southern Hemisphere. The cyclone killed 44 people. It is also estimated that almost 540,400 people⁶² including 263,000 women were affected. The cyclone damaged at least 495 schools, 88 health facilities, disrupted basic public services and destroyed crops and livelihoods. The total damage and losses from Winston were estimated at FJD \$1.42 billion, equivalent to 31% of Fiji’s gross domestic product. The assessment also estimated that the province of Tailevu incurred a loss of FJD \$120.7 million⁶³.

Following the deaths and destruction in the wake of the cyclone, the Fijian government led recovery efforts with the support of nine humanitarian clusters⁶⁴. Humanitarian partners, foreign governments, donors and civil society, international and non-governmental organisations also assisted with the recovery efforts. With the support of other agencies, the government implemented a range of humanitarian and rehabilitation measures. These included food aid, the provision of gardening and building tools, and seeds of various kinds, and the rebuilding of damaged schools. Social protection programmes to assist households included the Help for Homes Initiatives which provided affected families with vouchers for housing rehabilitation and reconstruction (Government of Fiji, 2016), and the existing Poverty Benefit Scheme, Food Voucher Programme. However, there have been setbacks in humanitarian

⁶¹ South Pacific Business Development Microfinance Limited (Fiji) Ltd. was launched in November 2010 to make available the benefits of microfinance to the low-income and disadvantaged women in Fiji. They provide unsecured loans (for business, home improvement, and education) with interest rates, training, savings and insurance facilities. Retrieved March 28, 2017 from: <http://www.spbdmicrofinance.com/spbd-network/fiji>

⁶² Approximately 62% of Fiji’s population (approximately 865,611 at the end of 2014)

⁶³ \$53.9m in damages and \$66.8m in production losses

⁶⁴ These include: Education, communication, food security and livelihoods, health and nutrition, logistics, public works and utilities, shelter, safety and protection and WASH.

assistance and rehabilitation efforts. More than a year on, hundreds of families still live in tents and make-shift shelters and thousands of children continue to attend classes in tents.

Immediately following the cyclone, the villagers built temporary shelters, and repaired houses with any available wood, tarpaulin and housing materials they could find to protect themselves from the elements. It took about two weeks to construct these temporary homes in the two villages with the help of the village carpenters (*matai*) and the men. At the time of the field research, more than a year later, along the road to Dawasamu, Tailevu the damage and destruction by TC Winston remained visible. Battered houses, iron roofs and housing materials lay gathered on the side of the roads. Many houses were still under construction with tents and make-shift shelters still being used. The villages along the Tailevu corridor include Sawakasa, Burelevu, Lawaki, Qelekuro and Luvunavuaka villages. These villages and the two villages where the miracle water was found were not spared. According to the village headman (*Turaga ni Koro*) in Natadradave, Tomasi Naisoso – all 28 houses in the village were either completely or partly destroyed. More than 20 houses have been re-built with the remaining 8 still under construction. Household members continue to live in make-shift sheds. In Delakado village, the *Turaga ni Koro*, Levi Vere indicated that of the total 82 houses only 6 were left standing but even these were substantially damaged. At the time of the field research, more than 30 houses had been restored with the remaining households still living in tents, make-shift houses and lean-tos. According to Mr. Vere the supply of building materials and equipment has been rather slow.

At the immediate aftermath of TC Winston one can only imagine the villagers' difficult and sad predicament. These were desperate and uncertain times for them, and they were still in the recovery process when news of the healing water broke out. According to the women respondents in both the villages, seeing the scores of visitors arriving straight after the devastation was quite an overwhelming experience. They arrived all hours of the day and night. Some turned up at 3am and other's very late into the night. However, they responded to the *vulagi* (visitors) in accordance with indigenous values and norms. They warmly accepted the visitors into their damaged homes, and make-shift shelters. The respondents said that they must be compassionate towards visitors who had travelled from so far just to have a bath, and/ or drink of the water. They repeatedly said that '*era qara bula mai*' meaning they had come to the villages to seek healing.

The respondents reiterated the phrases '*veilomani* and *veikauwaitaki*' meaning compassion and showing generosity towards visitors. With the large influx of the visitors, most of the males in the villages could not carry out their daily chores including farming (*teitei*). Recovery work had to be put on hold to help visitors who gathered at the water site every day and night. The respondents also indicated that it was no easy task to meet the needs of the visitors. The villagers felt that their commitment to serve and accommodate visitors was worthwhile, knowing that the water could indeed heal and save the lives of those who had faith.

As activities like *teitei* normally carried out by males in the villages were put on hold, challenges regarding daily food supply and income for families arose. Women respondents indicated that they understood the importance of able bodied men (young and old) to assist the visitors, ensuring that they received proper care and treatment, and experienced the effects of the healing water. The women said that they somehow managed to take on the role of providing for their families with the food rations provided by the government at the time, as well as food that visitors brought with them. Other challenges faced by the villagers included less family

time as males were usually out on duty at the healing water site, while females attended to visitor friends in their own homes.

The respondents clarified that although much of their vegetable and root crops had been destroyed, they survived on other staple food items such as rice, flour and canned fish that were distributed as part of the humanitarian assistance of Government and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs). Humanitarian bodies such as the Red Cross provided items such as clothing and emergency kits. Food ration supplies were only delivered to the villages during the first three months after the cyclone hit Fiji. However, visitors to the healing water site have helped filled the gap with the provision of food items such as flour, rice, tea, milk, and canned food and items of clothing. Visitors who were accommodated in village homes adapted to the living conditions of their hosts, meaning they ate any food cooked for them, and slept in the spaces that were provided to them. As there were no available sanitary facilities at the time – holes were dug in the ground for pit latrines. The respondents indicated that visitors were treated as any other family member. Some visitors stayed on for weeks and months with their village hosts. There was no formal meeting or living arrangements made in both the villages to cater for the scores of visitors. Women respondents clarified that any visitor who stepped into their house or shelter would be warmly accommodated. In Delakado village, the *Turaga ni Koro*, Levi Vere requested that each household cater for any visitor(s) that entered the village seeking assistance in the use of the healing water. According to the women respondents, when massive numbers of people first arrived, villagers would cater for more than 40 individuals and at least five to eight families per day (each family would consist of around five persons).

Another challenge and concern raised by the *Turaga ni Koro* in Natadradave village, Timoci Naisoso was the massive amount of rubbish littered by visitors. The garbage included left-over food, and food wrappings, empty plastic bottles and cans, plastic bags and, the long wait in the queue of cars and people, led visitors to relieve themselves in the bushes along the roadside. The gender dimension of the absence of toilet facilities and up to 6-8 hours wait in the queue for women would have been especially difficult. According to the women respondents in Natadradave, when scores of visitors arrived – the female visitors in particular went to various households in the village requesting use of their toilets as there were no available sanitary facilities for the public at the time.

The *Turaga ni Koro* stressed that apart from looking after the security of thousands of visitors, villagers also shared the burden of cleaning up this rubbish⁶⁵. With no proper disposal bins and sanitary facilities in place at the time, Mr. Naisoso requested visitors to collect the rubbish and use village households sanitary facilities if need be. With the villagers catering to visitors almost 24 hours a day – leaving behind daily chores; the amount of rubbish left behind added to time spent away from family and their needs. Along with the littering problem was the stench of rotting food, urine and excreta that could have health and environmental risks.

The Ministry of Health and Medical Services tested samples of the healing water to check if it was safe for consumption. According to Pratap (2016), the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Social Welfare, Women and Poverty Alleviation; Dr. Josefa Koroivueta stated that the test was carried out to verify the quality of the water for drinking purposes. It was determined that the water was safe, however, he said that its healing properties was beyond any scientific measurement. In a separate statement, Dr. Anjeela Jokhan, Dean of the Faculty of Science, Technology and Environment of the University of the South Pacific said that anti-oxidants are an important component found in water, and as there was yet to be a study on the healing water,

⁶⁵ Rubbish consisted of food scraps, wrappers, newspapers, diapers, under garments, plastic materials, and other odds and ends.

no explanation could be given on its capability. She indicated that anti-oxidants cannot make the deaf hear or the blind to see. She agreed that there were some things in the world that science could not explain nor prove (Qounadovu, 2016).

Although villages worked cohesively to cater for the many visitors at the site, issues emerged regarding the land in which the healing water was located. According to some of the respondents, the Natadradave village healing water site⁶⁶ which belongs to the *Mataqali Naboro* in Delakado village was closed down by the land owners. According to Natadradave village *Turaga ni Vanua*, Waisake Laulaba in the early mornings, children previously used the shower in preparation for school⁶⁷. The disagreement arose in May 2016, amidst claims that media reports paid more attention to the healing water site in Natadradave village with no mention being made of the rightful owners of the land. Land owners saw this as misleading information given to the general public by the media. The land owners and other village elders in both villages held discussions with representatives from the Ministry of *iTaukei* Affairs in order to resolve the issue. Due to the landowners' grievance there is currently only one open shower accessed by the people of Natadradave, with the other pipe system running straight to the Chinese quarry site. As a result of this restriction, visitors are now directed to *Okanasei*⁶⁸ which is presently the main healing water site.

News about the Miracle Water

News of the healing water in Dawasamu broke out in the Fiji media in March 2016 straight after the ravages of TC Winston. According to a number of respondents, there is a quarry situated in between the two villages where Chinese workers used the water for drinking. Upon consumption, they had found that the water had healing effects. As villagers began to use the water, more people were healed including a little boy who had suffered from hernia, a woman who was totally blind from the neighbouring village of Vorovoro had regained her vision, and other people who had skin diseases⁶⁹ were cured. A few of the respondents mentioned that, soon after *Na i Lalakai* (*iTaukei* newspaper) and Fiji Times published news of the water's healing powers, other media outlets also covered the story. The buzz about the healing water was at its peak in the months of March to May when most local and some overseas media outlets such as the Fiji Sun, Fiji One News, Fiji Broadcasting Corporation (FBC News), Radio New Zealand (Radio NZ), Australia Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) News, and Papua New Guinea Today (PNG Today) drew attention to the miraculous healings that had taken place. Social media including Facebook also shared some of the miraculous healings as well as scepticism relating to these stories.

The village respondents revealed that they were astounded at the number of people who gathered at the village sites daily, some staying late into the night or coming in the early hours of the morning. They further added that in a day, over 1000 people would visit the sites (See

⁶⁶ This was the main healing site when news first broke of the water and where thousands of people flocked each day.

⁶⁷ This shower was located on the right-hand side of the village and was most convenient as it was divided for female and male users and enclosed by corrugated iron and shower curtains.

⁶⁸ According to the *Turaga ni Vanua*, Waisake Laulaba the term *Okanasei* was derived by ancestors and forefathers ages ago. It is also unclear if there is a direct meaning hidden behind the name, '*Okanasei*'. This was also reiterated by some key respondents in both the villages.

⁶⁹ According to some of the respondents, there were a few cases where people have been rushed to the healing water site by ambulance and have been healed. Also, there were one or two incidents where visitors died at the Natadradave water site (believed to be the effects of sorcery or witchcraft acts done by the victims).

Figures 8 and 9). Over the first three months thousands of visitors from various ethnic, nationality and religious backgrounds came to the two villages in search of the healing water. According to the informants, Indo-Fijians were the first to arrive at the healing water site, then slowly *iTaukei* and other visitors from various backgrounds including people who travelled from overseas came to bath in the water. Visitors from Fiji included people from Lau, Naitasiri, Taveuni, Koro, Labasa and abroad from Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Brazil, Singapore and the United States of America. Some of the later had added visits to the healing water sites to their other activities whilst visiting the country.

Figure 8: Visitors at the Healing Water Site in Natadradave village



Source: Water Authority of Fiji (Radio NZ)⁷⁰



Source: <http://www.fijitimes.com/images/artpics/373371.jpg>

⁷⁰ Radio NZ. (October 6, 2016). *Fiji authorities improve access to miracle water site*. Retrieved March 17, 2017 from: <http://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/315023/fiji-authorities-improve-access-to-miracle-water-site>

Figure 9: Visitors at the Healing Water Site in *Okanasei*



Source: <http://kaulga.blogspot.com/2016/10/fiji-government-authorities-confirm.html>



Hosting visitors and village unity

Village life is generally communal. Depending on proximity to urban areas, villagers work together at gardening, house-building, church, school maintenance, community and other activities (Niukula, 1994). As the number of visitors to the site grew, the Dawasamu villagers worked cohesively to cater to their needs. In Delakado village the respondents indicated that the *Turaga ni Koro*, Levi Vere requested villagers to accommodate the visitors in their homes. In *iTaukei* terms, the respondents stated '*era sa ciqomi ka maroroi*' meaning the visitors were

welcomed and cared for. As the healing water runs through the Delakado village domestic pipe system – most of these visitors had easy access to the water in the homes/shelters that billeted them. A few visitors stayed on for as long as a month or more as they believed in the healing powers of the water.

Similarly, in Natadradave visitors were accommodated by households. As in the Delakado village the visitors who chose to stay for longer periods of time were often those who had come from afar, and/or had ailments that they really wanted healed.

According to *Turaga ni Koro*, Timoci Naisoso – a few days after the massive influx of visitors, he requested household heads (mostly male villagers) to assist visitors to form queues, and temporary sheds were built to cater for those waiting in the queue, especially for the elderly and those who needed support. Also, males from the villages of Delakado, Vorovoro and Driti were also requested to assist in catering to the thousands of people who came to the water sites daily. Male villagers worked in shifts to allow visitors access to the site at any time of the day. For example, some would work from 4am till 10am while others would work from 10am to 4pm⁷¹. There was no formal roster but an understanding among them. These men communicated with one another and delegated tasks (whoever could not make it during their time slot, another filled in for him) in a flexible way. The respondents would reiterate '*eda sa veilomani ka wasea na cakacaka*' meaning they would share the responsibilities and take care of each other. Both villages welcomed visitors with open arms 24 hours a day.

More than a year since the discovery of the healing properties of the Dawasamu water, visitors are directed to the water site in *Okanasei* close to Natadradave village (See Figure 10). According to the attendant at the site⁷², about 200 vehicles travel to *Okanasei* per day. The land owners of the *Okanasei* site is the *mataqali* 'Naboro' of Delakado village – male members of this *mataqali* and some Delakado villagers attend to visitors at the site. Here, 4-5 men work in shifts looking after the visitors. They oversee the parking of vehicles on either side of the road; direct visitors to form queues so as to allow all of them quick and easy access to bath, and/ or drink the water, provide body massage to those who request it; and assist visitors by filling their containers, bottles and drums with the water⁷³. The village attendants also keep a record of basic information about the visitors who travel to the site daily such as residence, number of people in a group, and a vehicle registration number. The study found that at the time of the field research that around 150 vehicles carrying on average 400 people travel to the healing water site per day. The villagers continue to allocate time between serving visitors and completing their own daily chores. The pressure of the 'hordes' of visitors experienced earlier has subsided considerably.

⁷¹ This was dependent on the availability of male villagers and which time allocation or duration suited those best.

⁷² Male villagers of Delakado village – mainly from the *Mataqali Naboro*

⁷³ Body massages are also performed in Delakado village whether in the household shower or via a hose pipe.

Figure 10: Healing Water Site at *Okanasei*



Visitor Respondents

One hundred and twenty (120) questionnaires were administered to visitors at *Okanasei* healing water site. One hundred and five (105) questionnaires were completed. These were divided into eight categories in terms of age, ethnicity, religion, residence, number of visits to the site, source of information regarding the site and reasons for visit (see Appendix 7 which summarises some of these characteristics).

Gender, Age, Religion and Ethnic Distribution of Visitors

Figures 11-14 shows categories of visitor respondents in terms of their gender, age, religion and ethnic background.

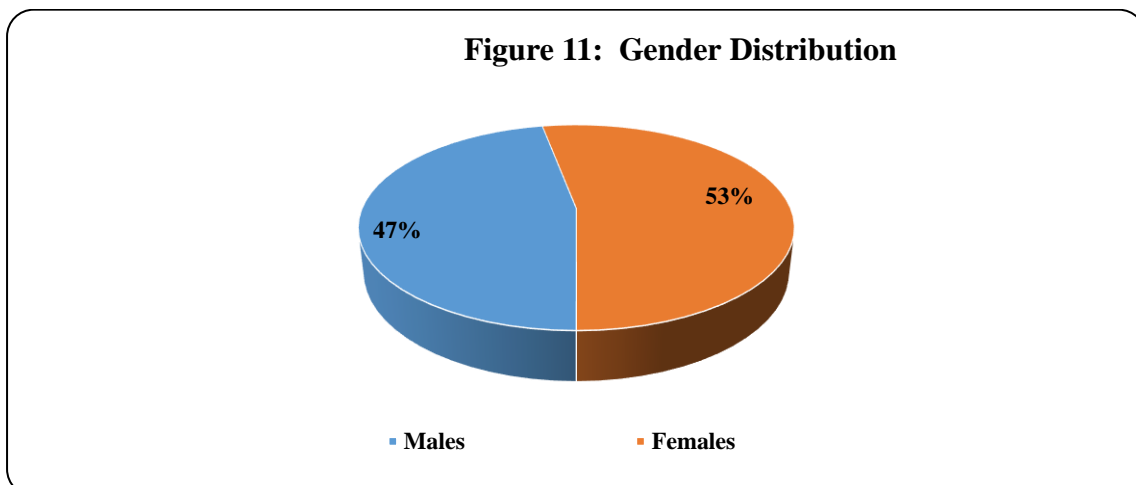
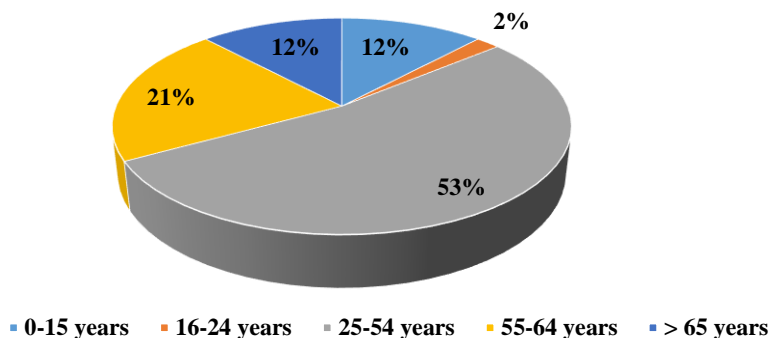


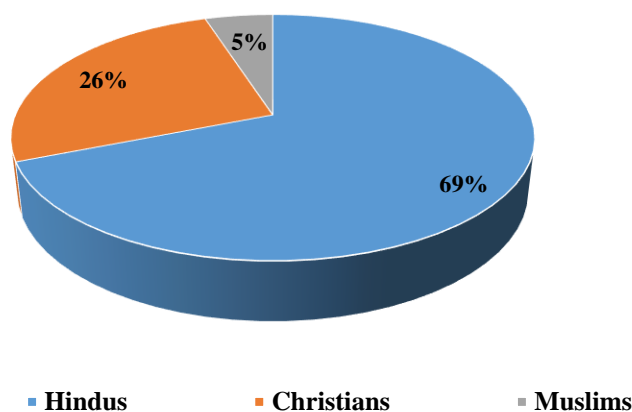
Figure 11 shows that of the 105 respondents who participated in the questionnaire survey, females constituted 53% (56 out of the 105 participants) whilst males comprised 47% (49 out of the 105 participants). Women were marginally more likely to visit the water site and believe in its healing power.

Figure 12: Age Distribution



As shown in *Figure 12*, the age distribution of the respondents was as follows: 12% (13 out of the 105) were in the 0-15 age group; 2% (2 out of 105) in the 16-24 age group; 53% (55 out of the 105) in the 25-54 age group; 21% (22 out of 105) in the 55-64 age group and; 12% (13 out of 105) in the 65 years and over age bracket. Overall, the majority of respondents were in the 25-54 age group, and those over the age of 25 constituted 86%. Those below the age of 24, made the remaining 14%. So those who were older were the most likely visitors to the water site. In this regard, the researchers observed that there were a number of three generation families –grandparent(s), parents and children. Older children and youth, besides bathing and drinking the water themselves, assisted their parents and/or grandparents to walk down the somewhat steep steps or ramp to the stream, and back afterwards. They also carried the filled water containers.

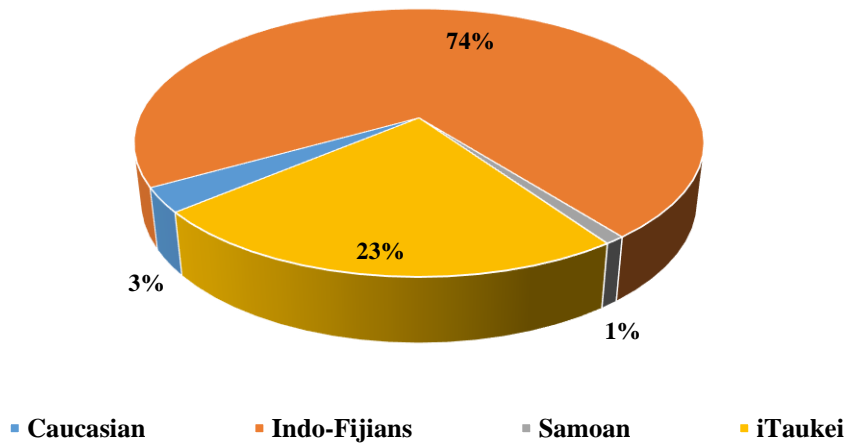
Figure 13: Religious Distribution



With regards to religious affiliation (see *Figure 13*), 69% (72 out of 105) of the respondents were Hindus; 26% (27 out of 105) were Christians⁷⁴; and 5% (6 out of 105) were Muslims. Overall, most of the respondents were associated with the Hindu faith.

⁷⁴ 18% were Methodists (19/105); 3% were Orthodox Christians (3/105); 3% were CMF (3/105); 1% was Seventh - day Adventist (1/105) and 1% was Assemblies of God (1/105).

Figure 14: Ethnic Distribution



In terms of ethnicity (*Figure 14*), 74% (78 out of 105) were Indo-Fijians; 23% (24 out of 105) were *iTaukei* people; 3% (3 out of 105) Caucasians (White) and 1% (1 out of 105) Samoan. Indo-Fijians who are mainly Hindus comprised the clear majority among the visitors. Their presence in large numbers reflects their faith in multiple sources of spirituality including the healing powers of the water in Dawasamu, and also their capacity to afford the transportation costs to the healing water site.

Figure 15: Place of Residence

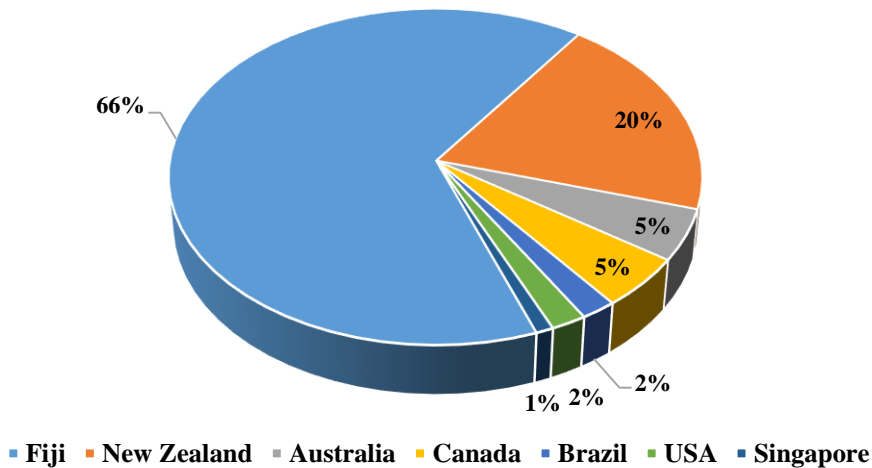
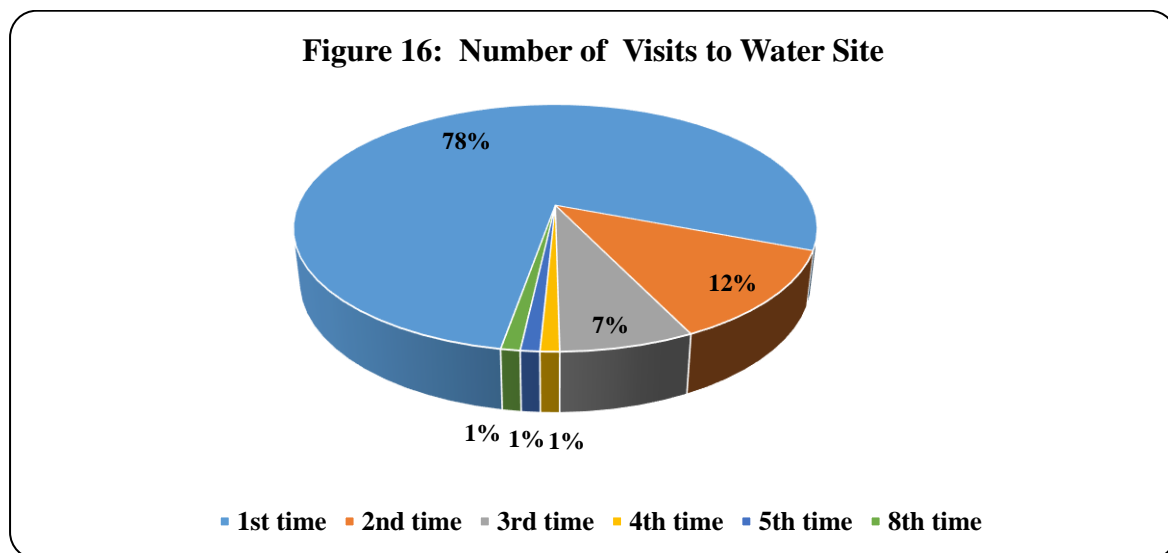


Figure 15 shows that the visitor respondents travelled to the Dawasamu water site from Fiji and six other countries. Out of the 105 respondents, 66% came from across Fiji (69 out of 105)⁷⁵; 20% from New Zealand (21 out of 105); 5% from Australia (5 out of 105); 5% from Canada (5 out of 105); 2% were from Brazil (2 out of 105); 2% from the United States of America (2 out of 105); and 1% from Singapore (1 out of 105). The majority of visitors travelled

⁷⁵ 2% from Labasa (2/105); 3% from Ba (3/105); 10% from Nadi (10/105); 2% from Tailevu (2/105); 32% from Suva including Wailoku, Nadera and Nasinu (32/105); 5% from Lautoka (5/105); 1% from Rewa (1/105); 7% from Rakiraki (7/105); 3% from Nausori (3/105); 3% from Sigatoka (3/105); and 1% from Lau (1/105).

from across Fiji compared to other groups. All the respondents travelled to the healing water site by rental and private vehicles. It was not unusual that overseas visitors, especially Indo-Fijian residents abroad would be accompanied by their Fiji relatives, sometimes in the vehicles that belonged to the latter or in rental cars hired by the former. These visitors generally came to attend weddings or funerals, and made it a point to bath, and/or drink the water. *Talanoa* with general practitioners in Auckland confirmed that often their patients would be excited about coming to Fiji because of some family event but also to experience the healing water of Dawasamu.



According to *Figure 16*, respondents who visited the site for the first time comprised 78% (82 out of 105); while those who visited the water site for the second time comprised 12% (13 out of 105); third time comprised of 7% (7 out of 105); fourth, fifth and eighth time visitors all comprised 1% (1 out of 105) each.

It can also be seen from the field study that most of the first time visitors came to the site out of curiosity. It was found that those who have visited the water site more than once claim that they have experienced its healing powers. For example; one of the respondents who had suffered from back pains and skin problems had visited the site for the eighth time, and continues to bring over his family and friends. He believes that the water has had a positive effect on him, and that if people had faith then they too would be cured of their illnesses. Another visitor who had brought his family over for the third time, indicated that his granddaughter had suffered from a bad case of skin contagion on her arms for over three years has been healed.

For visitors who chose to stay for longer periods, the Delakado and Natadradave villagers accommodated some of them (a Samoan couple and *iTaukei* visitors) while others (some Indo-Fijian visitors) opted to stay in nearby hotels namely Tailevu hotel and Takalana Bay Resort⁷⁶. According to the visitors, the healing water is likely to have more effect if they were to bathe in the water at least three times as advised by the villagers. Visitors travelling from overseas

⁷⁶ Tailevu Hotel is located overlooking the dairy district of *Korovou* while *Takalana Bay Beach Resort* is 35 km North East of *Korovou Town*.

(who were predominantly Indo-Fijians and first-time visitors), indicated that this also prompted them to visit the site as often as they could while they were in the country.

The reasons for seeking the healing water (see Appendix 7) included seeking cure for body aches and pains, back problem, stroke related debilities, pancreas, heart, stomach and kidney problems; paralysis; skin ailments; ligament injuries; speech and visual impairments; dementia, diabetes and cancer. As noted above the visitors were advised to return at least three times to bath, drink and receive body massage by the village attendants at *Okanasei*⁷⁷. There were about five visitors who were staying in the village homes at the time of the field work. Their ailments were kidney, pancreas, stroke-related problems and a person who was visually impaired. The visitors stayed in the villages for almost a week and expressed deep gratitude and appreciation to their hosts for their hospitality. Some common phrases reiterated by the visitors included *vakavinavinaka* (thankfulness), *loloma* (kindness and generosity) and *veiciqomi* (act of making one feel welcomed or accepted). More generally, the visitors commended the villagers for opening their homes/shelters, and allowing free accessibility to the healing water despite the problems they had faced as a result of TC Winston.

A majority of the visitors mentioned that they heard about the healing water in Dawasamu through either family, friends, the media such as newspapers, television, radio, internet and social media platforms like, Facebook. Word by mouth became a powerful medium of communication about the healing water both in Fiji and abroad.

All the respondents mentioned that they have taken water from the site for personal consumption and to share with family and friends. Many of the visitors said they would return in the not too distant future if an opportunity arose. This was especially the case of Indo-Fijians who came from overseas.

Question about ‘no financial charge’ – *iTaukei* values and Christian beliefs

The central research question in this study is about the villagers not charging visitors for the use of the healing water for bathing, drinking and carting away in containers-large and small. The research shows that cultural values and norms of the *vanua* strongly influenced Delakado and Natadrade villagers’ thinking and behaviour. Christian beliefs and values are integral to *vanua* norms and values. As pointed out by Seruvakula (2000), the *bula vakavanua* means ‘the way of the land, people and their physical environment’ lived through two world views: the *vanua* and the Christian (*lotu*) views (Nainoca, 2011). Underlying the *bulavakavanua* are the *vanua* values on which all social beliefs and actions are based. Some of these *iTaukei* values include *veilomani* (loving one another) and *veikauwaitaki* (caring for one another (Seruvakula, 2000; Ravuvu, 1983). Biblical teachings emphasize the values of loving one another, sharing and showing respect towards others. Visitors (*vulagi*) whether *iTaukei* or *non-iTaukei* are received and embraced as one of their own, accepted into households, families and communities, and have not been made to feel like foreigners (Niukula, 1994). Such is the case in this study where these values and norms have overridden the notion of financial gain.

The villagers see the ‘healing water’ as ‘*na i solisoli ni Kalou*’ meaning a gift from God not to be sold or used for profit-making. They believe that if the water were to be sold, it would lose its powers and healing properties. One respondent very eloquently stated that ‘*e dina ni sega ni saumi na wai, na Kalou sa solia mai na veivakalougatataki tale e so, ka da na veivuke taka*

⁷⁷ It is assumed that this will be more effective on the body especially for those who do not reside in Fiji.

na qaravi vakavinaka ko ira na vulagi me vaka ni sa noda i tovo ni bula na taukei kei na tamata lotu - in direct translation, this means ‘although money is not gained, God has provided other blessings and we will continue to serve visitors wholeheartedly as this is the way of the *iTaukei* people and followers of Christ’. The villagers choosing not to profit from the use of the healing water in the midst of the lucrative bottled water industry in Fiji is a testament to upholding these values and beliefs. What is valued most is ‘*veiwekani*’ or kinship and the obligations that must be fulfilled in order to maintain these relationships.

The villagers elaborated on the idea of allowing free access to the water to visitors as an act of kindness (*loloma*), acceptance (*veiciqomi*) and humility (*yalo malua*). The *vanua* and the Methodist church are regarded as inseparable. Hence, when the healing water was discovered, villagers saw this in light of Jesus as ‘the source of all life-giving *manna*’, and in sacrificing himself on the cross he gave ‘lasting *manna* for all those who believe’ and ‘for the whole world to have healing’. *Manna* is viewed as power, but also powerlessness as seen in Jesus’ humility and despair (Tomlinson & Bigitibau 2016, p.248). The respondents draw from the teachings of the Bible that Jesus did not charge or seek financial gain from people when he performed miracles so who are they to contradict his teachings. Tomlinson and Bigitibau (2016, p.249) mentions Deaconess Lesila Raitiqa’s Master’s thesis, in which she refers to Jesus being viewed as the *Manna* of the *Vanua*. *Manna* is seen as something wholesome and good and belongs to the spirit or the divine realm. *Manna* is related to both God and humanity (of the land and people) and also of the church.

The respondents’ perception is that the healing water is this *manna* that has been provided by God for everyone to experience its miraculous powers. As part of the Christian faith and *iTaukei* values, the respondents believe that as disciples of God; it would be a form of disrespect and selfishness if the water was used for financial gain, and not shared freely out of the sincerity and goodness of one’s heart.

Benefits and Support

Although having to cater to the needs of the visitors has been difficult, the attention brought about positive changes in the villages. Prominent persons and even the Prime Minister of Fiji, visited the villages. As indicated earlier, the villagers no longer travel to Suva and Korovou markets as they have been able to sell their produce outside the village shed or nearby road stalls. As noted above, the villagers did not accept any form of financial assistance for the use of the water, however visitors usually brought clothes and food supplies. Long term relations and bonds have been established between the visitors and the villagers.

The Fiji Roads Authority (in collaboration with Fulton Hogan Highways), Water Authority of Fiji and the Ministry of Infrastructure have upgraded facilities at the water site in *Okanasei* including walkways, shower, and piping facilities. Toilets and rest rooms for visitors have been built in the two villages. The gravel road has been widened and upgraded which has made it more accessible for visitors and villagers alike⁷⁸. According to the village respondents, the road to Natadradave and the area around the water pipes had become soggy and slippery with so

⁷⁸ Upgrade works were carried out in September to October, 2016. Retrieved from: <http://www.thejetnewspaper.com/2016/10/12/natadradave-village-to-receive-further-assistance>, <http://fijione.tv/road-works-at-natadradave-completed/>

many visitors and vehicles. A related benefit of better road conditions, and the influx of visitors has been improved public transportation. Previously, the bus would only drop passengers at the Dawasamu Bridge which is approximately 2km from the junction at Delakado village. This meant that after a long and tiresome bus ride, the villagers had to walk and carry their supplies to their homes. If they were lucky, a passing vehicle would offer them a ride. The bus company - Lodon Transport Limited is now servicing the villages along the Naboro Coacoa Road. The bus reaches all the way to Natadradave village and makes a turn outside the temporary village hall (just before the intersection leading up to *Okanasei* and Vorovoro village). According to the women respondents in Natadradave village, the bus service schedule to the villages is 7am, 10.30am, 2pm and 5pm, and to and from Korovou and Nausori towns.

The Department of Energy has also installed solar lights for those who visit at night. In addition, people in wheelchairs are now able to be wheeled to the water, rather than being carried to it at *Okanasei*. According to the *Turaga ni Vanua* of Natadradave village, Waisake Laulaba; there have been individuals who have visited the site and experienced its healing powers and kindly offered assistance in the form of the provision of waste and recycling bins and have constructed a temporary village hall (*vale ni soqo*) that was damaged by TC Winston. Youth groups from Suva have assisted with improved garbage disposal, including signboards by the water sites requesting visitors to keep the villages clean and dispose rubbish in the bins provided (See Figure 17). Temporary sheds have also been built to shelter visitors at *Okanasei*.

Figure 17: Hygiene and Sanitation - recycling bags, shower facilities and sheds at the Healing Water Sites

*** Facilities at Delakado village**





* Facilities at Natadradave village



* *Okanasei* Healing Water Site



Assistance to the villages has not come only in the form of the exchange of food supplies, provision of housing materials and other services but also in the gift of friendship. Bonds of friendship and putative relationships have been formed with many individuals who have visited the villages and the water site. This is particularly the case with persons who stayed for longer periods of time with households in the villages, and those who have experienced the powers of the healing water. For instance; a Samoan couple residing in Australia were accommodated in a house in Natadradave and have vowed to return. They commended the host and villagers for their hospitality and humility. Most visitors catch glimpses of *iTaukei* customs and traditions and learn to blend in and adapt to the village lifestyle – even learn a few *iTaukei* words and vice-versa. In Delakado village, informants said Indo-Fijian visitors were among the first to arrive – it was an overwhelming scene. The visitors were warmly accepted into the households and treated as any other family member. Kinship relationships were formed with some villagers and visitors addressing each other as *Momo*, *Nei*, *luvena*, *bhaia*, *bhaini*, *tacina*, *kai*, *aunty* and *uncle*. When visitors leave, the villagers simply say, ‘*eda vakavinavinaka ni sa tiko na sema ni veiwekani*’ meaning they are thankful that there is a bond of kinship relationship that has been formed.

Conclusion

This research sought to find out the underlying reasons of the Delakado and Natadradave villagers in Dawasamu, Tailevu not seeking direct monetary return for access and use of the healing water flowing through Naboro *mataqali* land at a time of serious crisis. They discovered the healing property of the water shortly after TC Winston had brought death and destruction to parts of Fiji including Tailevu. Both villages suffered serious damages to crops and houses. When they were in real need for humanitarian assistance themselves, they faced what appeared to be the logistic nightmare of serving multitudes of strangers seeking round the clock access to the miracle water. Many of these visitors littered and polluted areas along the road to the villages, and in the vicinity of the water sources including the *Okanasei* site. This created another set of burdens for the villagers.

Over time the villagers worked out a system of administering to the visitors, and addressing garbage disposal and sanitation. This entailed doing shift work in an informally arranged roster schedule. Central government support helped to build new facilities thereby ameliorating sanitary and health risks. The regular bus service to the villages has alleviated journeying to Korovou and Suva, and for the children to the school.

The villagers have worked together tirelessly in order to cater for the many visitors who arrived on a daily basis. Visitors who stayed longer in the villages developed strong bonds of friendship with their hosts and other locals. They also adapted to the village lifestyle and *iTaukei* values and beliefs. They have also contributed by offering food, material supplies and constructing temporary sheds and waste or recycling bins and sanitary facilities. These relationships and exchanges have contributed to social cohesion among villagers, and have promoted their empathy towards the visitors and vice versa. As sense of broader inter-ethnic cohesion has emerged.

However, it is noteworthy that a land dispute did arise, as the Naboro *mataqali* land owners of the healing water area near Natadradave were offended by the portrayal in the media of the latter village as the place of the healing water. Tensions arose amongst villagers which resulted in the closure of a healing water facility in Natadradave which was used for bathing and drinking by visitors and villagers. At present, there is only one accessible tap in the village that provides the healing water. Visitors are now directed to *Okanasei* to access the healing water.

Most people who have used the water feel that they have had positive outcomes and many people still continue to visit the healing water to bath and to take containers of water for personal consumption. Visitors have requested improvement in changing rooms, and sanitary facilities at *Okanasei*. The current sanitary facility at *Okanasei* is closed as the water piping system has not been installed.

The values that inform the 'no financial charge' approach to the use of the healing water by the customary owners are based on religious and *iTaukei* beliefs. All the key informants concurred that the water is a gift from God or '*na i solisoli ni Kalou*' meant to be shared with humanity, and certainly not for monetary gain. The *iTaukei* cultural values of kindness, generosity and hospitality or '*veilomani, veiciqomi kei na veimaroroi*' also guided their thinking and actions. The respondents believe that should the water be sold or used for monetary profit, it may lose its healing powers or '*manna*'.

There was therefore no question of commodifying the water and marketing it to the visitors and other potential consumers.

The feeling among the villages is that their hospitality towards the visitors have brought them many benefits. These included the provision of improved sanitary facilities, waste bins, water piping systems, better road, food and clothes, housing materials, and most of all the gift of friendship with visitors from various ethnic and nationality backgrounds.

The values of the vanua and not-for profit, non-market values, cooperation, and new social relationships have been promoted, and overall the social cohesion among the villagers has been enhanced. It is apparent that places of healing in other parts of the world have played and continue to play similar functions.

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Appendix 1: Research Time Schedule

DATE	SCHEDULE
<p>Day 1: Wednesday 25th January, 2017</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion with the <i>Turaga ni Koro</i> (Timoci Naisoso) as how to proceed with the research - Presentation of <i>sevusevu</i> at Natadradave to village chief, Waisake Laulaba - Warmly received by the <i>Turaga</i> (Waisake Laulaba) and his wife (Litiana Cirivakaleca) who catered for the researcher while in Natadradave - Interview with the <i>Turaga ni Koro</i> - Visit to most of the households in the village and distribution of questionnaires in the <i>iTaukei</i> language to key informant households - The <i>Turaga ni Koro</i> requested that more time be given to discuss the research questions in a focus group type of setting instead of filling out the research questionnaire individually. The reason being that key informants and villagers were not available at the time of visitation. This would allow them the opportunity to discuss and collaborate answers to the research questions so as to provide complete responses⁷⁹. The villagers were also informed that if there were any queries regarding the research questions, the researcher would return on Thursday 26th January and Friday 27th January, 2017 to clarify any doubts (in particular; for those informants who were not present at the time of visit).
<p>Day 2: Thursday 26th January, 2017</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview and discussion with the <i>Turaga</i> in Natadradave village (Waisake Laulaba) and his wife - The researcher returned to collect the questionnaires and clarify any issues regarding the research study - Presentation of <i>sevusevu</i> at Delakado village at the <i>Liuliu ni Mataqali o Naboro</i>'s residence, Wakuila Cika. As the <i>Liuliu</i> was not present at the time; his younger brother Evereti Moceciri⁸⁰ warmly received our presentation. - The <i>Liuliu ni Mataqali (Naboro)</i>, Wakuila Cika's household kindly catered for the researcher while in Delakado - Discussion and interview with Evereti Moceciri on how to proceed with the research (list of key informants and visitors who are currently being attended to in some of the village households) - Distribution of questionnaires to 13 key informants. As in the case of Natadradave, request was made that more time be given to discuss the research questions in a focus group type of setting instead of filling out the research questionnaire individually. The reason being that key informants and villagers were not available at the time of visitation. The villagers were also informed that if there were any queries regarding the research

⁷⁹ Also noteworthy, the *Turaga ni Koro* requested that should further research be conducted in the future that the *Roko* based in Korovou be informed first; so as to allow the villagers ample time to be prepared and well informed of the purpose of the research visit.

⁸⁰ Current chairman *ni bose* for the *Mataqali o Naboro*

	<p>questions, the researcher would return on Friday 27th January, Monday 28th January and Wednesday 01st February, 2017 to clarify any doubts (in particular; for those informants who were not present at the time of visit).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Researcher returned to Natadradave village to collect questionnaires and clarify any doubts regarding the research questions.
Day 3: Friday 27 th January, 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion with some of the village women and their thoughts and views regarding the healing water; also the impacts of TC Winston in the village - Tour of the village by Evereti Moceciri and visit to households where 3 visitors were interviewed regarding their stay in Delakado - return to Natadradave village to collect remaining questionnaires - further <i>talanoa</i> sessions with the <i>Turaga</i>, Waisake Laulaba and his views regarding the healing water - interview with visitors from Australia (of Samoan descent) who were being catered for by a village household during their stay in Natadradave
Day 4: Monday 30 th January, 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Researcher returned to Delakado village to collect questionnaires, seek any other vital information regarding Delakado, the village protocols/traditions and the impacts of the healing water. Also, respond to any queries regarding the research questionnaires from the key informants. - Visit to '<i>Okanasei</i>' where 35 visitors were interviewed
Day 5: Tuesday 31 st January, 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Return to Natadradave to see if any other key informants were available or if there were any other queries regarding the research questionnaires - Researcher returned to '<i>Okanasei</i>' where 50 visitors were interviewed
Day 6: Wednesday 01 st February, 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Researcher returned to '<i>Okanasei</i>' where 16 visitors were interviewed - Return to Natadradave village where a <i>yaqona ni vakavinavinaka</i> was presented to the <i>Turaga</i>, Waisake Laulaba⁸¹. - Return to Delakado village to collect remaining questionnaires - Presentation of <i>yaqona ni vakavinavinaka</i> to the <i>Liuliu ni Mataqali (Naboro)</i>, Wakuila Cika
Day 7: Thursday 27 th April, 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Researchers returned to Natadradave and Delakado villages with the presentation of <i>sevusevu</i> to the village elders seeking permission to clarify some gaps in the working paper including the request to hold discussions with some of the women in both the villages - Permission was warmly granted by the village elders

⁸¹ As per *iTaukei* protocol, an act of appreciation for their hospitality and allowing the researcher to conduct the study in the village and water site; a traditional gift of grog was presented

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The <i>Turaga ni Koro</i> in Natadradave village would gather some women in preparation for focus group discussions with the researcher at a later date - As villagers of Delakado were busy at the time of researchers visit, a meeting with some women in the village was scheduled for a later date (this was organized by the <i>Turaga ni Koro</i>, Mr. Levi Vere)
<p>Day 8: Tuesday 02nd May, 2017</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Researcher returned to both the villages for discussions with women - Focus group discussion with five women in Natadradave village was carried out in one of the women participant's house (Vilisi Nalewatu) - Focus group discussion with four women in Delakado village was carried out in Marica Koroi's home

Appendix 2: Key Person's Interview Schedule for village 'elders'

Introduce yourself.

Confidentiality of interview/use of information and purpose of research made clear to respondent.
Also indicate that 'report of research' will be shared with him/her/community.

Personal Information

Village:

Name of Turaga ni Koro:

Name of Village Chief: Mataqali: (Name, Head, Functions)

Are there any village schools? Or do they walk to other schools? Number of teachers?

Is there any Talatala and/or Tuirara?

Is there any village nurse and/or health centre or dispensary?

Is there any Soqosoqo Vakamarama? If so, who is the head?

HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION:

Village

Household head

Type of house (wooden, corrugated iron, concrete etc.)

List of people in the house (gender, age, education, religion)

Employment, livelihood, assets

COMMUNITY INFORMATION:

Mataqali:

How do you choose the head of a mataqali?

What is their source of income? (Sale of produce, remittances, land, fishing)

Obligations to church, vanua and family

How are they managing to look after their families?

How many households were affected by TC Winston?

When young students leave school, how are they assisted?

MIRACLE WATER:

When did you know that water had healing power?

How did the word about the water spread?

Recall who came initially and then subsequently? Their identities?

As number increased, how did people in the village cope?

What have the village community done to respond to the demand?

Has outside agencies helped?

How has the government helped?

Issues around sanitation and rubbish disposal.

What kinds of visitors have you had? (ethnicity, gender, religion, status....)

What are the relationships you have with the visitors?

Have these strengthened your ties with them? Other vanua (specify); ethnic groups (specify)? Other religions (specify)?

Do you exchange food, clothing, and money?

DIFFICULTIES AND CHALLENGES

- Go back to how the village community copes with scores and hundreds of visitors daily
How are they organized?

How do they feel about this?

QUESTION OF MONEY

- Awareness of bottle water business – that water is a commodity sold for ‘profit’.
Why does the village community decide not to charge money for the water? (Questions of ‘manna’, religion, iTaukei values)

Key Person's Interview Schedule for village 'elders' (iTaukei Version)

VILLAGE COMMUNITY INFORMATION:

Koro:

Yaca ni Turaga ni Koro:

Yaca ni Turaga:

Mataqali: Yaca, Liuliu, Tavi

E tiko eso na koro ni vuli i loma ni koro? Se ra taubale ki na so tale na koro ni vuli? E vica beka na qase ni vuli?

E tiko na i Talatala se na i Tuirara?

E tiko na nasi ni koro? Se na health centre e volekata na koro?

E tiko na Soqosoqo Vakamarama? Ke tiko, o cei na i liuliu?

HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION:

Koro:

Liuliu ni vale: (Mataqali, tavi ni mataqali)

Vale vakacava:

Lewe ni matavuvale: (yacana, yabaki, lotu, tagane/yalewa, vakatagedegede ni vuli)

Cakacaka se vurevure vaka i lavo:

Yau:

COMMUNITY INFORMATION:

Mataqali:

O ni digitaka vakacava na i liuliu ni mataqali?

Na cava na nodra i vurevure ni lavo? (volitaki ena makete, qele, dauqoli)

Tavi vua na lotu, vanua kei na vuvale

O ni qarava vacava tiko na nomuni vuvale?

E vica na vale/matavuvale era sotava na leqa e kauta mai o TC Winston?

Ni ra biu vuli na gone, na veivuke cava e sa bau soli vei ira?

MIRACLE WATER

Gauna cava o kila kina ni dau veivakabulai na wai?

E kilai vacava na talanoa se na i rogo ni wai dau veivakabulai?

O cei era a lako mai i liu? O cei era qai muri mai?

Ni sa tubu na wiliwili ni tamata, era sotava vakacava na gagadre ni tamata o ira na lewe ni vanua?

Na cava sa bau cakava ko ira na lewe ni koro me baleta na tubu ni tamata era lako tiko mai?

Era bau veivuke mai eso mai tuba me vaka na kabani etc?

E veivuke vacava na matanitu?

Na leqa cava eso o ni sotava? Benu etc..

Na mataqali tamata vakacava era gole mai? (ethnicity, gender, religion, status....)

Na i sema ni veiwekani cava era gole mai?

Nodra gole mai oqo, e semata e so na sala ni veiwekani? Other vanua (specify); ethnic groups (specify)? Other religions (specify)?

O ni sa bau veisau kakana, na i sulu kei na i lavo?

DIFFICULTIES AND CHALLENGES

Na i tuvatuva cava e vakayacori ni ra sa gole mai na tamata?

Na cava na nodra rai na lewe ni koro me baleta qo?

QUESTION OF MONEY

Na cava e sega ni saumi kina na kena vakayagataki na 'wai ni veivakabulai'?

Appendix 3: Interview schedule for Visitors

VILLAGE: _____

LOCATION OF INTERVIEW: _____

PERSONAL INFORMATION:

Name (Optional)	
Gender (M/F/LGBTQ)	
Ethnicity	
Age	
Religion	
Level of Education	
Place of Birth	
Current Residence	
Employment/Livelihood	
How did you travel to the site?	

FAMILY INFORMATION

Marital status (Spouse's background)	
--------------------------------------	--

INDIVIDUAL SITUATION

1. Why did you come to Natadradave/Delakado (Dawasamu province)?
2. How did you get to know about the 'miracle water'?
3. What makes you think that the water will heal you (Do you believe in the powers of the water?)
4. What are your views about the village people not charging money for the water?
5. How many times have you visited this site?
6. Have you taken water from here?
7. Have you shared this water with other family members and friends?
Did you ask for money in return?
8. Will you come again? Explain

Appendix 4: Satellite Map of Delakado and Natadradave Villages, Dawasamu – Tailevu⁸²



⁸² *Source:* <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Natadradave/@-17.6287966,178.4825879,2990m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x6e193fdce4b01bfd:0x77bf062d7b99b47e!8m2!3d-17.636062!4d178.4870385>

Appendix 5: iTaukei Affairs Board *Turaga ni Koro* Report of Delakado and Natadradave Villages, Dawasamu – Tailevu (2015)

1. Koro: Delakado
Tikina: Dawasamu
Yasana: Tailevu
Population: 331
No. of married couples: 79
No. of cohabitants: 3
Dependency Ratio: 79%
Unproductive Age Group: 146
Productive Age Group: 185
No. left school: 22
No. of houses: concrete (80), wooden (12), corrugated iron (65), thatched houses (1), others (0)
Existence of source water: river - , well - , grounded water – yes, water tank – yes, village water pipe – yes, PWD water –
No. of toilets: 53, Water sealed – 3, pit toilet, flush toilet (50), compost - , No of septic –
Sanitation: source of (1), drainage for duties/sales (1)
Education: pre-school (13), Class 1-8 - (83), Form 3-7 – (40), not schooling (-)
Source of income: Canteen – 3, vakamakete etc.. (20), Yaqona/tavako – 6, Susu Manumanu (10), susu ika (-), Volitaki waivakaviti (-), Koti ni co – 12, motoka ni veilakoyaki (carrier/taxi) - (-), Diesel (-), dauqoli (4), dausivisivi (-), dautalitali ibe (40), dauculacula (5), dau tuva senikau (-), matai ni tara vale (6), dau sere idini (1)
Existence of transport access: Gaunisala ni lori (1), sala waqa/boto (-), bilibili – yes, taubale – yes, vodo ose – yes, lori ni veilakoyaki (public transport) – yes

2. Koro: Natadradave
Tikina: Dawasamu
Yasana: Tailevu
Population: 106
No. of married couples: 19
No. of cohabitants: 3
Dependency Ratio: 83%
Unproductive Age Group: 48
Productive Age Group: 58
No. left school: 6
No. of houses: concrete (25), wooden (-), corrugated iron (19), thatched houses (1), others (3)
Existence of source water: river - , well - , grounded water – yes, water tank – no, village water pipe – yes, PWD water –
No. of toilets: 15, Water sealed – 2, pit toilet (-), flush toilet (13), compost - , No of septic –
Sanitation: source of (1), drainage for duties/sales (1)
Education: pre-school (4), Class 1-8 (24), Form 3-7 – (10), not schooling (-)
Source of income: Canteen – 3, vakamakete (-), Yaqona/tavako – 2, Susu Manumanu (1), susu ika (-), Volitaki waivakaviti (-), Koti ni co – 2, motoka ni veilakoyaki (carrier/taxi) (1), Diesel (-), dauqoli (-), dausivisivi (-), dautalitali ibe (-), dauculacula (-), dau tuva senikau (-), matai ni tara vale (-), dau sere idini (-)
Existence of transport access: Gaunisala ni lori (1), sala waqa/boto (-), bilibili – yes, taubale – yes, vodo ose – yes, lori ni veilakoyaki (public transport) – no

Appendix 6: List of key Informants

Delakado village:

1. Turaga ni Vanua – Aisea Toto
2. Turaga ni Koro – Levi Vere
3. Liuliu ni Soqosoqo Vakamarama – Raijieli Liku
4. Liuliu ni Mataqali o Naboro – Wakuila Cika
5. Liuliu ni Mataqali o Wailevu – Netani Madu
6. Liuliu ni Mataqali o Navuniyasi – Waisea Liunavuna
7. Katolu ni Qase (Chairman ni bose – Mataqali Naboro) - Evereti Moceciri
7. Peni Bali
8. Eliko Qativi
9. Matanivanua - Epeli Lagiloa
10. Qase ni Koro – Akini Vere
11. Ilaitia Naqara
12. Tuirara – Samuela Murica
13. Karua ni Qase (Vukevuke ni Liuliu – Mataqali Naboro) - Tesoni Koroi

Natadrade village:

1. Turaga ni Vanua – Waisake Laulaba
2. Turaga ni Koro – Timoci Naisoso
3. Vunivola ni Koro – Nacanieli Lagilagi
4. Tuirara Levu (T/C Dawasamu) - Vatimosi Tete
5. Nasi ni Koro - Vilisi Delai
6. Tuirara - Jiuta Rasea
7. Qase ni Koro - Nemani Tamani

Women Focus Group Discussion Participants

Delakado village:

1. Salanieta Vere
2. Marica Koroi
3. Vani Railala
4. Anonymous

Natadrade village:

1. Meresiana Bosedali
2. Losalini Ranadi
3. Vili Nalewatu
4. Tulisi Delai
5. Katarina Senikauca

Appendix 7: Summary of Visitor Respondents' Characteristics

Gender (M/F)	Age	Ethnicity	Religion	Residence	Times you have visited site	Source of information about healing water	Reasons for visit (Type of illness etc.)
1. M	68	Caucasian	Orthodox	Brazil	1	Facebook, internet	Severe back pains
2. F	66	Caucasian	Orthodox	Brazil	1	Facebook, internet	Skin ailments
3. F	33	Caucasian	Orthodox	Australia	1	Facebook, internet	Out of curiosity – see if the healing water works
4. F	60	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Canada	1	Facebook, family and friends	Out of curiosity – see if the healing water works
5. M	62	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Canada	1	Radio, TV	Out of curiosity – see if the healing water works
6. M	63	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Ba	1	Facebook	Out of curiosity – see if the healing water works
7. F	61	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Ba	1	Family and friends	Out of curiosity – see if the healing water works
8. M	59	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadi	2	Family and friends	Muscle joint pains
9. F	60	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadi	2	Family and friends	Left-arm defects
10. M	68	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Tailevu	2	TV, radio	Kidney problems
11. F	68	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Tailevu	5	Family and friends	- Skin ailments - have experienced the waters healing powers as rashes/old sores are slowly disappearing. - bring over family/friends to the site
12. M	49	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Wailoku	8	Internet, newspapers	- Occasional body pains - have experienced the waters healing powers as rashes/old sores are slowly disappearing. - bring over family/friends to the site

Gender (M/F)	Age	Ethnicity	Religion	Residence	Times you have visited site	Source of information about healing water	Reasons for visit (Type of illness etc.)
13. F	45	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Wailoku	1	Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
14. F	56	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Wailoku	1	Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
15. M	59	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Wailoku	1	Family and friends	- Liver and pancreas problems
16. F	12	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Wailoku	1	Family and friends	- Skin ailments
17. F	73	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadi	1	Family and friends	- Partial stroke
18. M	70	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadi	2	Family and friends	- Right leg defects
19. M	45	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadi	1	Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
20. F	40	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Lautoka	1	Newspapers	- Body pains
21. F	45	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Lautoka	1	Radio	- Cancer patient
22. M	28	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Lautoka	1	Facebook	- Out of curiosity
23. M	26	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Sigatoka	1	Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
24. M	55	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Lautoka	1	Internet	- Kidney problems
25. M	40	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Rewa	1	Family and friends	- Muscle joint pains
26. M	66	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Suva	1	Family and friends	- Body pains
27. M	65	Samoaan	Christian-Catholic	Australia	1	Internet, TV	- Cancer patient, pancrease problems
28. M	55	iTaukei	Christian – Methodist	Suva	2	Family and friends	- Deaf and partially blind
29. F	75	iTaukei	Christian – Methodist	Australia	1	Internet, TV	- Suffering from dementia
30. F	62	iTaukei	Christian – Methodist	Nadi	1	Internet, TV	- Out of curiosity
31. F	58	iTaukei	Christian – Methodist	Nadi	1	Internet, TV	- Out of curiosity
32. M	49	iTaukei	Christian – Methodist	Nadi	1	Internet, TV	- Out of curiosity
33. F	10	iTaukei	Christian – Methodist	Australia	1	Internet, TV	- Skin ailments
34. M	60	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nausori	3	Radio	- Body joint pains
35. F	38	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nausori	1	Internet, TV	- Out of curiosity
36. F	8	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nausori	1	Family and friends	- Out of curiosity

Gender (M/F)	Age	Ethnicity	Religion	Residence	Times you have visited site	Source of information about healing water	Reasons for visit (Type of illness etc.)
37. F	47	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	2	Internet, TV	- Out of curiosity
38. M	53	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	2	Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
39. F	41	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nasinu	1	Family and friends	- Back pains
40. F	13	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nasinu	1	Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
41. M	9	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nasinu	1	Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
42. F	63	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadera	1	Family and friends	- Kidney problems
43. F	38	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadera	1	Family and friends	- Skin ailments
44. F	42	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadera	1	Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
45. M	60	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadera	1	Family and friends	- Muscle and back pains
46. M	11	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadera	1	Family and friends	- Skin ailments
47. M	9	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	1	Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
48. F	14	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	1	Facebook, TV	- Out of curiosity
49. F	41	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	1	Facebook, TV	- Out of curiosity
50. F	52	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	1	Facebook, TV	- Out of curiosity
51. M	44	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Ba	1	Newspapers	- Severe headaches and body pains
52. M	45	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Labasa	1	Radio, Internet	- Out of curiosity
53. M	43	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Labasa	1	Radio, newspapers	- Out of curiosity
54. M	70	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Suva	1	Family and friends	- Back and joint pains
55. F	48	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Suva	1	TV, Radio	- Recovering stroke patient
56. F	42	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Sigatoka	2	Newspapers	- Back pains
57. F	46	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Sigatoka	2	Internet, hear-say	- Kidney problems
58. F	8	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Suva	3	Facebook	- Out of curiosity
59. F	11	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Suva	3	Facebook	- Out of curiosity
60. M	25	iTaukei	Christian - Methodist	Lau	1	Facebook	- Skin ailments
61. F	38	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Suva	1	Family and friends	- Muscle joint pains
62. F	32	iTaukei	Christian – Pentecostal	Suva	1	Facebook	- Right-leg defects and body pains

Gender (M/F)	Age	Ethnicity	Religion	Residence	Times you have visited site	Source of information about healing water	Reasons for visit (Type of illness etc.)
63. M	39	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Suva	2	Family and friends	- Stomach problems
64. F	58	Indo-Fijian	Muslim ⁶⁷	NZ	1	TV, Internet	- Out of curiosity
65. M	60	Indo-Fijian	Muslim	NZ	1	TV, Internet	- Out of curiosity
66. M	58	Indo-Fijian	Muslim	NZ	1	TV, Internet	- Out of curiosity
67. F	51	Indo-Fijian	Muslim	NZ	1	TV, Internet	- Out of curiosity
68. M	64	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Suva	1	Family and friends	- Stroke victim
69. F	60	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Suva	1	Family and friends	- Knee and back problems
70. M	49	Indo-Fijian	Muslim	Tavua	1	Newspapers, TV	- Out of curiosity
71. F	45	Indo-Fijian	Muslim	Tavua	1	Newspapers, TV	- Out of curiosity
72. M	7	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	1	Facebook	- Out of curiosity
73. F	9	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	1	Facebook	- Out of curiosity
74. M	49	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	1	Internet, Family and friends	- Skin ailments
75. F	46	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	1	Internet, Family and friends	- Body joint pains
76. F	39	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Australia	1	Internet, Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
77. F	35	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Australia	1	Internet, Family and friends	- Out of curiosity
78. F	43	iTaukei	Christian-AOG	Suva	1	Family and friends	- Ligament problems due to car accident injuries
79. M	70	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Suva	2	TV	- Back and Body pains
80. M	45	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Suva	2	Facebook	- Skin ailments
81. M	70	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadi	3	Family and friends	- Knee and back problems
82. M	72	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadi	3	Family and friends	- Gastric and lung problems
83. M	70	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Nadi	3	Family and friends	- Stomach problems
84. F	20	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	1	Facebook	- Skin ailments
85. F	39	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	1	Internet, TV	- Diabetic
86. M	46	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Suva	1	Internet, TV	- Mild heart problems

Gender (M/F)	Age	Ethnicity	Religion	Residence	Times you have visited site	Source of information about healing water	Reasons for visit (Type of illness etc.)
87. M	58	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Suva	4	Internet, TV	- Partial stroke
88. F	49	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	NZ	2	Internet, TV	- Back problems
89. F	48	iTaukei	Christian – SDA	Suva	1	Internet, TV	- Out of curiosity
90. M	44	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Rakiraki	1	TV, newspapers	- Out of curiosity
91. M	55	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Australia	3	Facebook, family and friends	- Body joint pains
92. F	35	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Sigatoka	1	Internet, family and friends	- Out of curiosity
93. F	37	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Australia	1	Internet, family and friends	- Out of curiosity
94. M	38	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Australia	1	Internet, family and friends	- Out of curiosity
95. M	54	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Rakiraki	1	Internet, family and friends	- Out of curiosity
96. F	51	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Rakiraki	1	Internet, family and friends	- Out of curiosity
97. F	48	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Rakiraki	1	Internet, family and friends	- Out of curiosity
98. F	47	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Rakiraki	1	Internet, family and friends	- Out of curiosity
99. F	12	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Rakiraki	1	Internet, family and friends	- Paralysis
100. F	33	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Rakiraki	1	Internet, family and friends	- Out of curiosity
101. M	37	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Canada	1	Family and friends internet	- Out of curiosity
102. F	34	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Canada	1	Family and friends, internet	- Out of curiosity
103. M	24	Indo-Fijian	Hindu	Canada	1	Facebook	- Out of curiosity
104. M	57	iTaukei	Christian – CMF	USA	1	Family and friends , Facebook	- Out of curiosity
105. F	49	iTaukei	Christian – CMF	USA	1	Internet	- Out of curiosity