

MADRICH: OUTER ISLANDERS ON YAP

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Demographic changes in Yap State have been discussed in some detail in this journal by L. J. Gorenflo and M. J. Levin (1991:97-145). Their findings were primarily derived from the data of government censuses conducted between 1920 and 1987, and one of their conclusions, mentioned in several different contexts, was that internal population movement has played a "limited role" in the demographic history of this region (1991:113, 121, 124-125, 130, 134). They conclude (1991:138) that Yap state is therefore unusual in the overall context of Micronesia and, as the work of others has also suggested, certainly atypical of the insular Pacific as a whole (Spoehr 1960, 1963; Force and Bishop 1975; Shuster 1979; Chapman and Prothero 1985).

I propose to provide some additional data on this topic, derived from field censuses and related observations on Yap and the outer islands.¹ Since Gorenflo and Levin were analyzing official censuses that did not disaggregate the data below the district level, several of their conclusions are understandably tentative. My own work focused on a community of outer islanders settled on the southern outskirts of Colonia, the sole port town of the Yap Islands. I believe these data provide a more detailed cultural and social context that helps clarify why migration thus far has been limited. They further offer some support for Gorenflo and Levin's tentative conclusion (1991:130) that most of the movement that has occurred between the outer islands and Colonia until very recently can be classed as "circulation" or, as I prefer to term it, "sojourning," rather than permanent movement.² I believe the explanation for this particular pattern lies in the cultural differences and

Pacific Studies, Vol. 16, No. 2--June 1993

hierarchical structure that traditionally ordered outer islander-Yapese relations.

The Setting: Yap and Colonia

Outer islanders have long had ambivalent attitudes toward Yap. On the one hand, many are attracted to Colonia as the closest port town where trade goods, wage labor, varied entertainment, specialized training, advanced medical facilities, and transportation to the outside world are available. On the other hand, owing to traditional Yap-outer islands hierarchical relations, as encoded in the *sawei* (*sawey*) economic exchange and tribute system (described below), Yap also has strong negative cultural meaning for many. It is an island to which outer islanders once submitted tribute and where they were subject to discrimination and sometimes abuse.

Colonia is an unpretentious port town. Its 1968 estimated population of between 617 and 750 people had grown by 1980 to some 1,500 people, approximately 28 percent of the population of the Yap Islands proper at that time. The rate of growth since 1980 can only be roughly estimated until the next official census, which is scheduled for 1993.

The town is dispersed around a harbor area of inlets, islets, and peninsulas, several of which are linked by causeways and bridges (Figure 1). Its structures are primarily built of a mixture of concrete, frame, and sheet metal. Most of the larger buildings house government agencies, retail stores, hotels, bars, and warehouses. Other structures of importance include three missions (two Christian and one Baha'i), a public market and handicraft center, and a small soap factory.³ On the outskirts of the main town are a hospital (approximately two kilometers north) and the water works, high school, power plant, and airport (all between two and six kilometers to the southwest).⁴

Three classes of dwellings can be found within the town. First, there are those that belong to the government and are assigned to its employees. Most of these are single-family structures, but a few are multiunit apartments or dormitories. Some were constructed during Japanese times (1914-1945) and are therefore solidly built of bulletproof concrete. Government housing has long been allocated by employee rank, and at one time the majority of these units were occupied by Americans. Now, however, most expatriate employees have been replaced by Micronesians and the housing correspondingly reassigned.

The second class of residences comprises those belonging to missions. The Catholic mission is the oldest on the island, dating from Spanish

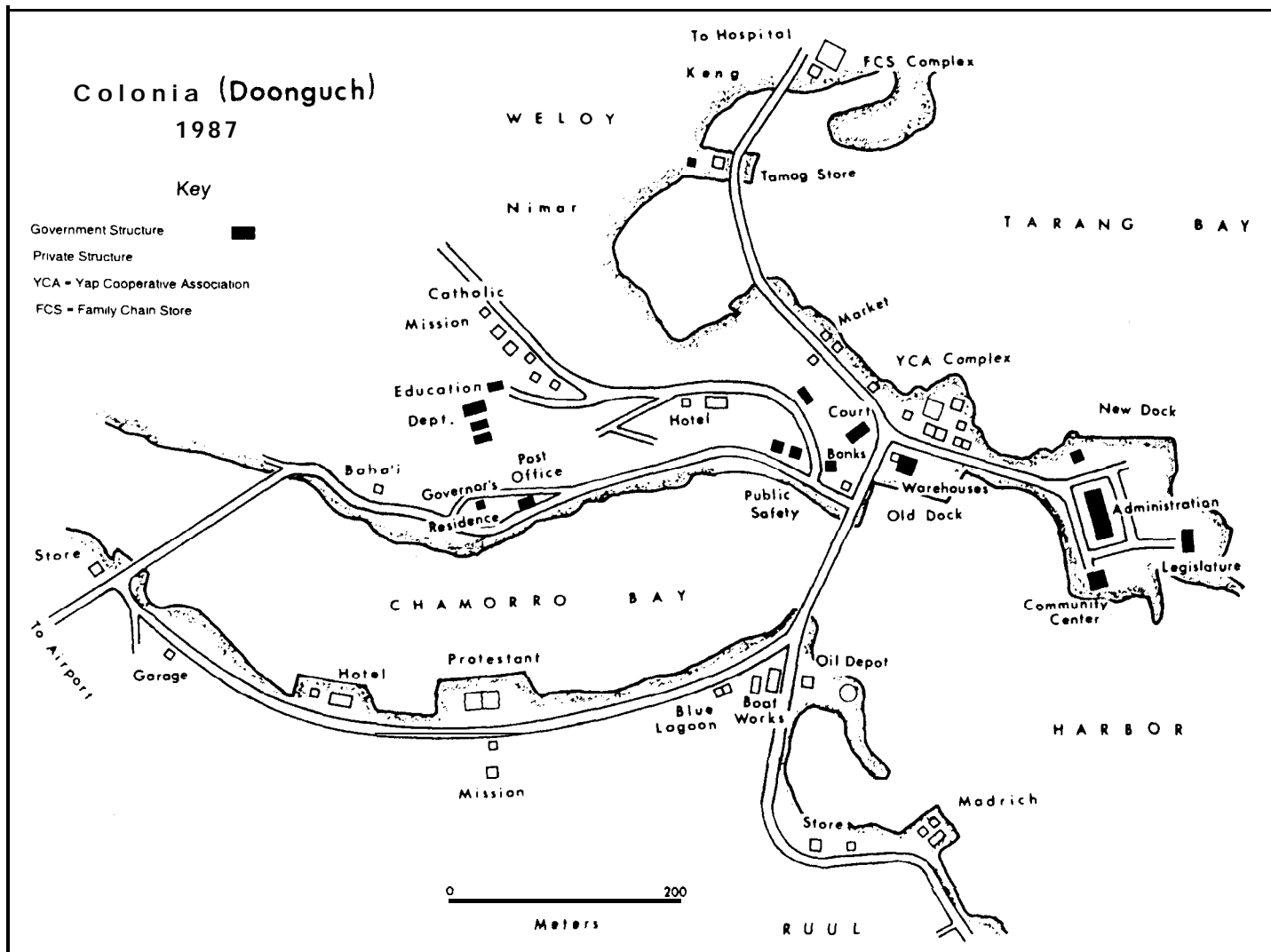


FIGURE 1. Colonia.

times (1885-1899), and it houses Jesuit priests, nuns, and lay workers (see Hezel 1991: 1-47). The Liebenzell Protestant mission (established after World War II) also has a number of dwellings occupied by missionaries and workers. The Baha'i mission is a single structure built in the late 1970s to house its workers and visiting converts.

The third and least pretentious class of dwellings includes those owned or occupied by ordinary Yapese or other Micronesian migrants to the town. These are scattered along the roads, shorelines--some on pilings over the bays and inlets--and hillsides of the town.

The Yapese themselves comprise the largest number of town dwellers and undoubtedly some of their housesites date from pre-European times. The largest number of Yapese, however, live in recently settled areas on the northern and southern fringes of the town, the largest of these being the northern ward or village of Keng.

Colonia is the only place on Yap where one finds concentrations of off-island non-Yapese migrants. The largest of these is the Palauan (Belauan) community. Most Palauans arrived as Trust Territory government employees and subsequently transferred to state government offices when the Trust Territory was terminated (officially in 1986 but operationally in the mid and late 1970s). Some of these Palauans were given access to government housing, but most leased small parcels of land from Yapese and built dwellings and sometimes small shops. Smaller groups of Americans, Pohnpeians, Filipinos, Japanese, and Koreans are also settled in and around Colonia. Today the majority of the Americans (who probably number between 35 and 40) work either as missionaries or as advisers to or technical specialists for the various levels of government. Most of the Filipinos, Japanese, and Koreans, in contrast, are employed as contractors and laborers on various construction projects.⁵

Outer islanders--that is, people from the ten outlying coral-island groups that reach from Ulithi to Satawal (Figure 2)--comprise the final significant group of Colonia residents. They are primarily localized at a residential site called Madrich.⁶ This site was chosen by the outer islanders for a number of historical and cultural reasons that derive, in large part, from the traditional patterns of Yapese-outer islander interaction, as detailed below.

A History of Yapese-Outer Islander Relations

Traditional outer islander-Yapese relations have been described in some detail by a number of authors (Born 1904:176-180; Müller 1917:287-

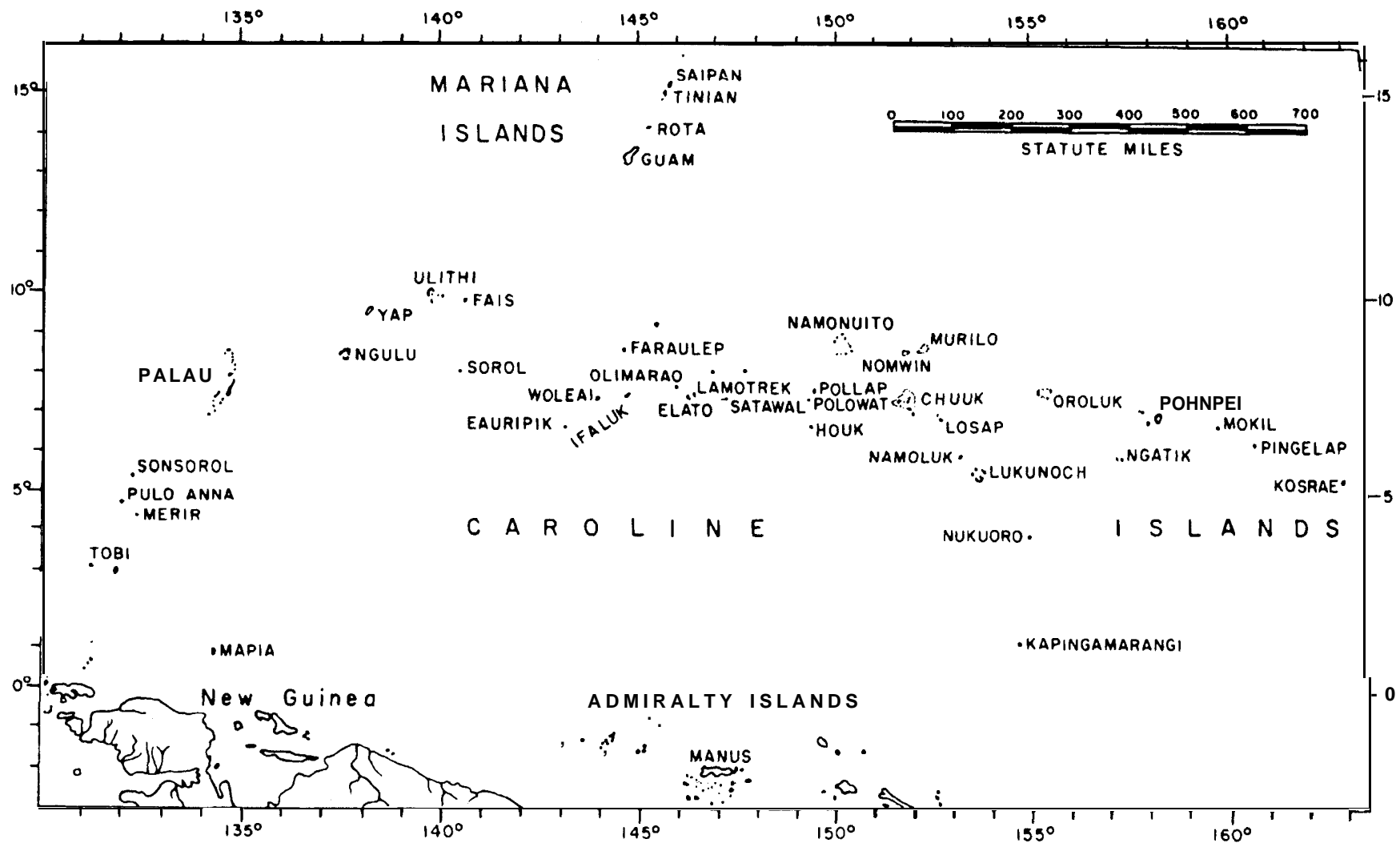


FIGURE 2. **Caroline Islands.** (Adapted from Alkire 1965)

301; Lessa 1950; Alkire 1965:4-7, 145-169; Alkire 1970:4-6; Alkire 1980; Lingenfelter 1975: 147-155). Interaction was regulated by the *sawei*--an interisland, hierarchically ranked exchange system within which Yap held a superior position. Representatives from each of the outer islands, as part of an outer-island fleet, periodically visited Yap carrying "tribute" for particular chiefs, religious functionaries, and estate heads of Gatchepar and Wanyan villages of Gagil District (the main political center of northern Yap). This Yapese district and these two high-ranking villages claimed suzerainty over the outer islands and their respective districts. The tribute consisted of items manufactured in the outer islands--woven loincloths (*tur*) and mats, sennit twine and rope, shell belts--and various types of sea shells found in the outer islands but scarce, and consequently more valued, on Yap itself. In return the Yapese of Gagil presented the outer islanders with a variety of material items including food, turmeric, bamboo, lateritic-earth stain, pots, and, in later times, foreign trade items that reached Yap with greater regularity than they did the outer islands. Many of these goods were of great importance to the outer islanders, especially in times of post-typhoon shortages. The Yapese also provided the outer islands with ritual protection from typhoons, since one explanation for their higher status derived from their putative superior magic-religious abilities.

On Yap the *sawei* voyagers were subject to many restrictions in regard to dress, food, and movement. Most important, they were required to show great deference to the Yapese and to contribute labor to their host estates. A metaphor of kinship was used, especially by the Yapese, to characterize the relationship. The Yapese referred to themselves as superior "fathers" who exercised authority over their outer-islander "children." As such, they saw themselves as the true owners of the outer islands, where these "children" were permitted to live. Thus, when outer islanders visited Yap, they resided at the Yapese estate of their island's or district's *sawei* "father." Here they remained until their voyage home, and here their behavior was monitored by Yapese "parents." Even though the system provided valuable returns in food and resources for the outer islanders, their visits to Yap were always tense occasions, since they believed that if they violated any of the above rules even inadvertently, they or their home islands could be punished directly--or indirectly via magic--by the offended Yapese.

There is little evidence to suggest that the Yapese formed or maintained this system by the direct application of military force, although folklore does state that interisland warfare among the outer islands themselves once occurred (Alkire 1984). Relations among those islands

(at least in immediate precontact times) were more typically characterized by friendly exchange, visiting, adoption, and intermarriage. I have hypothesized elsewhere that this type of interaction was more normal because of the critical importance of mutual aid in times of need, which in this area of the Pacific frequently followed typhoons (Alkire 1965). The *sawei* provided a framework that facilitated such interisland communication and interaction, not only between Yap and the outer islands, but also among the outer islands themselves.

Among these outer islands, where social status differences were less significant, increased intermarriage and interisland adoption easily followed from this interaction. Severe typhoon damage on one island could result in a significant number of temporary refugees seeking shelter on another. Most such refugees returned to their home islands after their recovery, but some--especially if the displacement lasted for several years--might choose to stay on, having formed new social ties during the prolonged relocation. Long-term relocation seems likely to have occurred in cases where either the home island was thought to suffer from overpopulation or the island of refuge was considered underpopulated. The ties formed by migrants, in turn, increased interaction and movement between islands in subsequent years and generations. Intermarriage with Yapese was generally less feasible, owing to the significant cultural and status differences that existed between the two areas.⁷ In general the outer islanders did not seek long-term residence on Yap, since their behavior was severely restricted by considerations of rank, which also precluded access to land.

By the late 1800s, as a consequence of foreign contact and colonial policies, the traditional political, economic, and social organization of the Yap region slowly changed. Even though Spain claimed control of most of the Micronesian islands early in the nineteenth century, it was actually the Germans in 1869 who established the first trading station and foreign presence on Yap (see Gorenflo and Levin 1991: 100). Not until 1885 did the Spanish finally make visible their hitherto nominal control by building a colonial government station near the border of Ruul (Rull) and Weloy districts. In effect, this action marked the founding of Colonia (or Yaptown, as it was sometimes called by the Europeans) in an area the Yapese referred to as *Doonguch* (small islands).

During these early years, apparently in contrast to other parts of Micronesia, the Yapese were slow to respond to the attractions of foreign trade, wage labor, and town life. Not until the Germans assumed official colonial control of the region following Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War and established the first hospital in 1903 did

Yapese from outlying areas begin to move to Colonia. At about the same time, the commercialization and monetization of the region, largely related to the copra trade, began in earnest and increased through the succeeding decades of German, Japanese, and American colonial rule.

Colonial administration and trade also proved important to the outer islanders as it began to decrease their former exclusive dependence on the Gagil Yapese. Many of the goods previously supplied via *sawei* linkages could now be obtained directly from the foreigners. At the same time, the activities of European missionaries slowly undermined belief in the effectiveness of the magico-religious sanctions of the old system. Still there was no influx of outer islanders to Colonia, for even if they now doubted the magical power of the Gagil Yapese, they still recognized the preeminent political power of Gagil on Yap. It continued to be unwise for outer islanders, even in the more southerly districts of Ruul or Weloy (where Colonia is located), to question publicly the power of their *sawei* "fathers."

At the same time, the Gagil Yapese soon found it more difficult to pressure outer islanders to conform to the "tribute rules" of the *sawei*, since overt force to this end might provoke the colonial authorities, who were unsympathetic toward this aspect of traditional life. Danger also existed that renewed pressure might push the outer islanders into an alliance with some other district of Yap, thus weakening Gagil's overall political importance on Yap itself. Nevertheless, those outer islanders who wished to avoid Gagil still found it difficult to relocate, because the Yapese of Ruul and Weloy did not volunteer any land for this purpose and the outer islanders could not afford to lease or buy land.

Thus, through the Japanese period of administration, most outer islanders who visited Colonia came either to attend school or to undergo treatment at the hospital. The school provided housing for students, and patients and their attendants lived at the hospital for the duration of treatment. When discharged, the patients moved to sleeping accommodations provided by the Catholic mission until the government ship returned them to their home islands. Only for a brief period during World War II were there a large number of outer-island men on Yap, working as laborers in the construction of Japanese military facilities. These men were housed in camps near the various construction sites.

Following World War II, interaction between the Yapese and outer islanders was virtually severed for several years when the U.S. naval government began to service the outer islands from Koror in Palau rather than from Colonia. Not until 1951, owing in large part to Yapese (most likely, Gagil) protests, were the outer islands administratively reunited with Yap and did ships once again link them directly with Col-

onia. Still, few outer islanders wished or were able to join a movement to the district center. Most spoke neither Yapese nor English, and few possessed the specialized training to qualify for the limited number of jobs available there. In addition, most still believed they would face discrimination or possible abuse by the Yapese if they tried to settle anywhere on the island beyond the boundaries of Gagil.

The Founding of Madrigh

After 1951 most outer-island visitors to Yap proper, as in the prewar era, were either students or patients. The students continued to be housed near the schools they attended while the patients were housed at the hospital. Government regulations permitted and paid for an attendant to accompany each patient to Colonia. In fact, most patients also came with one or more additional family members who paid their own way. No provisions were made by the government to house the attendants or discharged patients, and the mission facilities that were used for this purpose in prewar times had long since been converted to other uses. In the 1950s many such attendants therefore were forced to seek aid from either their Gagil *sawei* partners or Yapese friends in nearby Keng. The outer islanders frequently found both options unpleasant. In Gagil they were subject to the customary behavioral restrictions, and in Keng their low status resulted in occasional abuse by urban rowdies. In Keng they were also far from any protection they might have expected from their Gagil patrons.

As a consequence, increasing numbers of outer islanders (especially older individuals and females) refused to travel to Yap even for hospital treatment. Many said they preferred to remain in peace and safety on their own islands even if it meant that their illnesses remained untreated. Several outer islanders who were concerned about this state of affairs sought the aid of William Walter, the Jesuit missionary to the outer islands who resided at Ulithi. Father Walter obtained permission from his colleagues on Yap to convert a 2,774-square-meter (0.69 acre) piece of church property near Colonia's harbor to residential use for transient outer islanders. This land, once the location of a Spanish trading station called Madrid, had long belonged to the mission. Following this agreement and the construction of rudimentary facilities on the property, the outer islanders were able to visit Yap while avoiding both Gagil and Keng. Both their own expectations and those of the mission were that Madrigh (as it was locally labeled) was solely a transient residential area, not a permanent migration destination.

Over the succeeding years outer islanders who visited the site added

more shantylike structures until Father Walter in the mid-1960s negotiated a government-financed community development grant (supplemented with church funds) to construct a larger, more permanent two-story building. The top floor was divided into sixteen sleeping rooms and the bottom into fourteen plus an additional meeting room. A number of smaller structures, some left from the earlier period and some newly built, completed the makeup of the peninsula.

Even though the Catholic mission specifically defined Madrich as a facility for outer-island transients, by the mid-1970s some mission and administration personnel began to fear that it was, in fact, becoming an immigration destination because of an apparent stable population and chronic overcrowding. Two censuses of Madrich undertaken by this writer in 1976 and 1980 and a third by Fran Defngin in 1992 (at my request) provide data regarding use of the site.

The Demographic Character of Madrich in 1976 and 1980

In June 1976 twelve structures occupied the site (Figure 3), the largest being the above-mentioned two-story building, which I shall refer to as the *dormitory*. The next largest houses were, respectively, of eight and five rooms. Six of the remaining buildings were single roomed (or were single rooms that had temporarily been partitioned into two), and the final three were a boathouse, a men's house, and a chapel. There were 177 individuals sleeping at Madrich, only five of whom were not outer islanders (or spouses of outer islanders). The site was described as overcrowded, cramped, and uncomfortable by its residents, yet four rooms were unoccupied, all on the dormitory's second floor.

The statistical character of the residents are detailed in ten tables. Fifty-nine percent were males (Table 1), and approximately 50 percent of the 1976 residents whose ages were known were between 10 and 29 years old (Table 2).⁸ At the time of this count, a large number of outer-island elementary school teachers (all male) were on Yap for summer training, and a number of high school students (mostly male) were returning from Chuuk (Truk) or other parts of Micronesia en route to their home islands. These "seasonal migrants" undoubtedly contributed to the unbalanced sex and age distributions. Also of note, 59 percent of the Madrich residents in 1976 were from Ulithi and Woleai, the two largest and most populous outer islands.

Overall, the 172 outer islanders living at Madrich represented approximately 6 percent of the total outer-island population (Table 3).⁹ The three atolls of Faraulep, Ifaluk, and Elato were comparatively

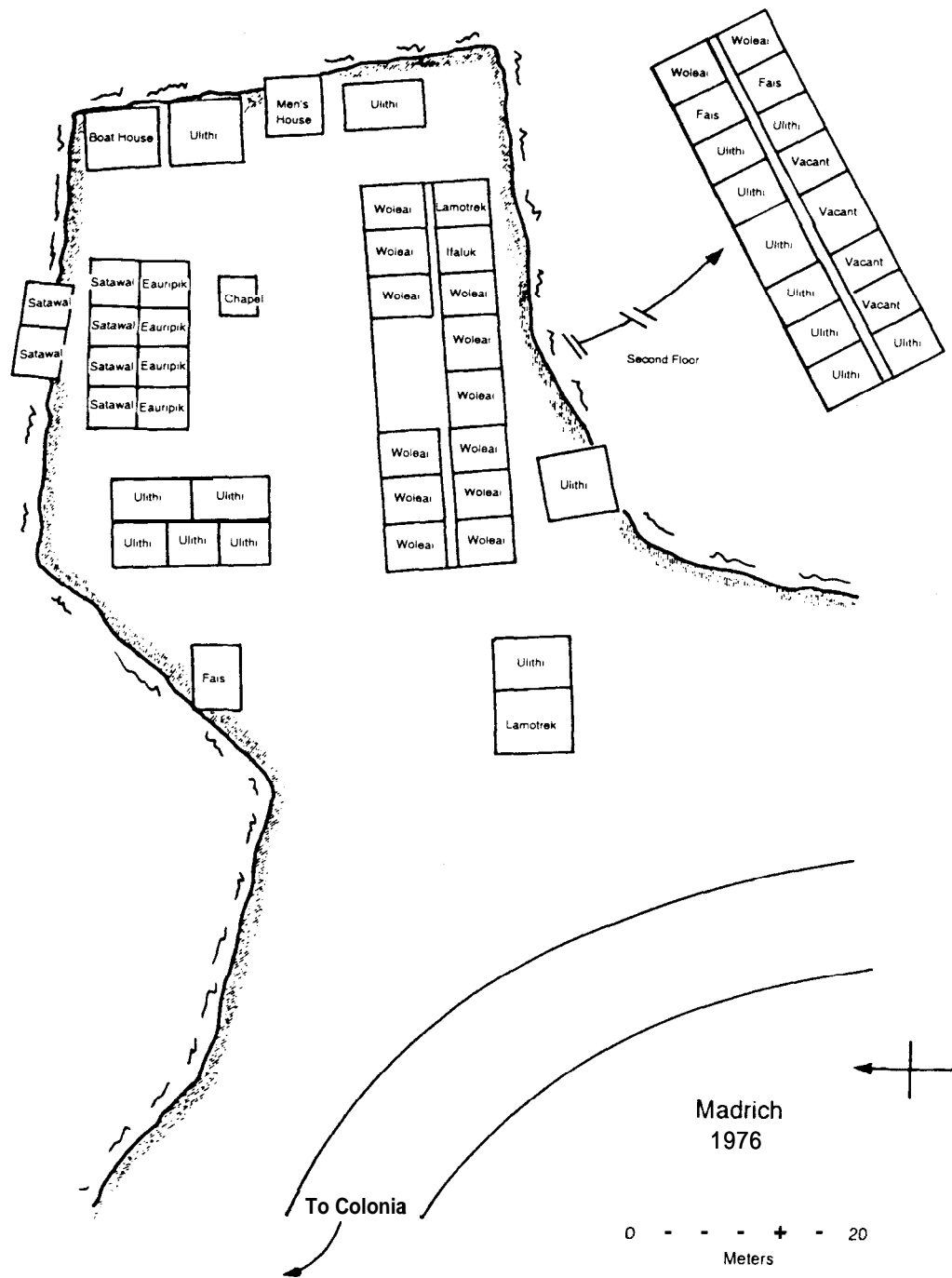


FIGURE 3. Madrich, 1976.

TABLE 1. **Madrich Residents by Island and Sex, 1976-1992**

Island of Origin	Distance from Yap ^a	1976			1980			1992		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Ulithi	100	30	20	50	15	14	29	23	18	41
Fais	145	10	3	13	4	2	6	12	12	24
Woleai	370	34	21	55	23	17	40	43	35	78
Faraulep	380	0	1	1	6	4	10	9	13	22
Eauripik	340	9	10	19	12	7	19	3	6	9
Ifaluk	400	1	1	2	16	13	29	5	4	9
Elato	480	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	5
Lamotrek	506	5	6	11	11	9	20	13	14	27
Satawal	545	11	10	21	12	12	24	30	20	50
Other	-	4	1	5	0	0	0	2	0	2
Total		104	73	177	99	78	177	143	124	267

^aApproximate nautical miles (derived from Japan Maritime Safety Board Nautical Chart 2129).

underrepresented, whereas Eauripik was overrepresented. Since the total population of Elato was only 32, it is not surprising that no one from that atoll should be at Madrich at any particular time. There is no equally obvious explanation--except the fortunes of health--that serves to explain the low numbers of Faraulep and Ifaluk residents. The comparative overrepresentation of Eauripik residents (more than twice the average) may relate to the high population density and poor terrestrial resource base of that island (see Levin 1976). No consistent correlation is seen between home island density and number of Madrich residents (Table 3), but it is conceivable that a "threshold effect" may operate when density rises above 900 or 1,000 persons per square mile (see below).

In 1976 one-third of the Madrich residents stated they were on Yap for medical reasons, either as patients, attendants, or relatives of patients (Table 4). Another 33 percent classified themselves as employees or their dependents. Most of the residents who by self-definition or length of residence were classified as prolonged and permanent residents (Table 5) were from the employee and employee-dependent categories of Table 4. As shown in Table 5, 60.5 percent defined themselves as temporary residents (patients, attendants, students, teachers in training, and their family members) who intended to return to the outer islands via the next available transportation.

Of the 14.9 percent who were classified as visitors in 1976 (Table 4),

TABLE 2. Madrich Residents by Sex and Ten-Year Age Cohort, 1976

Age Cohort	Males (N = 82) (%)	Females (N = 27) (%)	Total (%)
0-9	7.3	4.6	11.9
10-19	18.3	3.7	22.0
20-29	17.4	11.0	28.4
30-39	8.3	1.8	10.1
40-49	13.8	0.9	14.7
50-59	5.5	1.8	7.3
60-69	3.7	0.9	4.6
70+	0.9	0.0	0.9
Total	75.2	24.7	99.9

Note: Age data were only obtained for approximately 62% of Madrich residents. Females are underrepresented in this table owing to difficulties my field assistants encountered in collecting information from high-ranking outer islanders. Total does not equal 100% owing to rounding.

TABLE 3. Outer-Island Populations and Densities Compared to Number of Madrich Residents, 1976

Island	Population ^a	Density ^b	Madrich Island Population Residents at Madrich (%) ^c
Ulithi	710	394	50 6.6
Fais	212	193	13 5.8
Woleai	608	347	55 8.3
Faraulep	122	763	1 0.8
Eauripik	127	1,411	19 13.0
Ifaluk	314	551	2 0.6
Elato	32	160	0 0.0
Lamotrek	233	613	11 4.5
Satawal	354	694	21 5.6
Total/Average	2,712	570	172 6.0

^aThese figures derive from a 1973 Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands census, the closest count available at the time of the 1976 study of Madrich. They have been extracted from tables 2 and 3 in Gorenflo and Levin 1991:105-106 and are *de facto* enumerations.

^bIndividuals per square mile. The land areas used for these computations were derived from Bryan 1970:17.

^cThis column is intended to give some indication of the total percentage of each island's population residing at Madrich. I have approximated a *de jure* total for each island by adding population (column 2) to Madrich residents (column 4). For example, the *de facto* population of Ulithi in 1976 was 710. An additional 50 Ulithians were residing at Madrich, meaning the total Ulithian population was 760 (an approximate *de jure* figure since an unknown number of Ulithians lived elsewhere). Nevertheless, 6.6% of this known Ulithian population was residing at Madrich.

TABLE 4. Stated Reasons of Madrich Residents for Being on Yap

Reason	1976 (N = 175) ^a (%)	1980 (N = 177) (%)	1992 (N = 267) (%)
Hospital patients	8.6	16.4	11.2
Patient attendants ^b	24.0	53.7	14.6
Students	6.7	2.8	8.6
Student attendants ^b	12.6	2.3	1.5
Employees	13.7	9.6	22.1
Employee dependents	19.4	3.9	29.9
Visitors ^c	14.9	11.3	12.4

^aTwo individuals unknown.

^bIncludes family members as well as the officially designated attendant.

^cFor example, those in search of employment, shoppers, and individuals visiting friends or relatives.

TABLE 5. Length of Residence on Yap of Madrich Residents

Duration	1976 (N = 177) (%)	1980 (N = 175) ^a (%)	1992 (N = 267) (%)
Temporary (< 3 months)	60.5	54.8	22.9
Extended (3-5 months)	16.9	11.4	19.5
Prolonged (6-12 months)	10.2	13.7	21.3
Permanent (> 1 year)	12.4	20.0	36.3

^aTwo individuals unknown.

most were Ulithians visiting other more permanent residents (employees). The inhabitants of Ulithi had relatively easy access to Yap because of proximity, more frequent shipping, and weekly flights (via a Protestant missionary airline that in 1976 did not fly to any other outer island). Also Ulithians (again unlike any of the other outer islanders) had recently received relatively large sums of World War II damage claims money from the United States government that many were using for shopping and recreational flights to Yap.

Some 20 to 25 outer islanders lived elsewhere on Yap in 1976, either in government housing (if they held higher-ranking government jobs) or with Yapese friends in Keng or Gagil. In all, in June of that year, there were between 200 and 210 outer islanders on Yap, approximately 7 percent of the total outer-island population. Of this number about 60 might reasonably be considered permanent immigrants, a mere 2 percent of the total outer-island population--a very modest figure when

compared to outer island/hinterland to urban center migration numbers on other islands of the Pacific.

By 1980 a number of changes in the physical appearance of Madrich had occurred. Most notably, the second story of the dormitory had been removed (the reasons will be discussed below), and two other buildings (the former boathouse and men's house) had been converted to residences (Figure 4). One important result of these alterations was a reduction to forty-one sleeping rooms in 1980 compared to the fifty-one of 1976, even though the total number of residents at Madrich was little changed (Table 1). The average number of occupants per room, therefore, increased from approximately 3.5 in 1976 to 4.3 in 1980.

Since the 1980 census was taken in April, three months earlier than the July census of 1976, neither elementary school teachers nor any sizable number of transient students were found in residence. Thus, the number of residents may actually suggest a true increase in year-round use of the site by outer islanders. In support of this interpretation, one can note a substantial decrease in the number of resident males between 10 and 19 years old (Table 6), the age cohort of the majority of the 1976 students. Second, there is an increase in the number of females present in 1980 over those in 1976, most noticeably in the 10 to 19 years age cohort. This increase probably reflects a greater use of the Yap hospital by younger outer-island women giving birth (Table 4). These women were frequently accompanied by their husbands (who generally were slightly older than their wives) and by older female attendants, which is seen in the slight bulges in their respective age cohorts (Table 6). After giving birth, these women and their babies were discharged from the hospital to join their husbands at Madrich and await transportation home.

Only small changes in the makeup of Madrich residents by island of origin occurred between 1976 and 1980 (Table 7). There was, however, a noticeable increase in the number of Ifaluk and Faraulep residents, who were comparatively underrepresented four years earlier. The vicissitudes of health once again help to explain this fluctuation, for in 1980 seriously ill patients from both of these islands were undergoing treatment at the hospital. Of equal interest is the decrease in numbers of Ulithi and Fais residents at Madrich. In part, this decrease undoubtedly reflected an increase in wage-labor opportunities on Ulithi itself, where a government subdistrict center had been established, employing 48 Ulithians, many of whom formerly worked or would have sought work on Yap (see Gorenflo and Levin 1991:137-138).¹⁰ The more complete

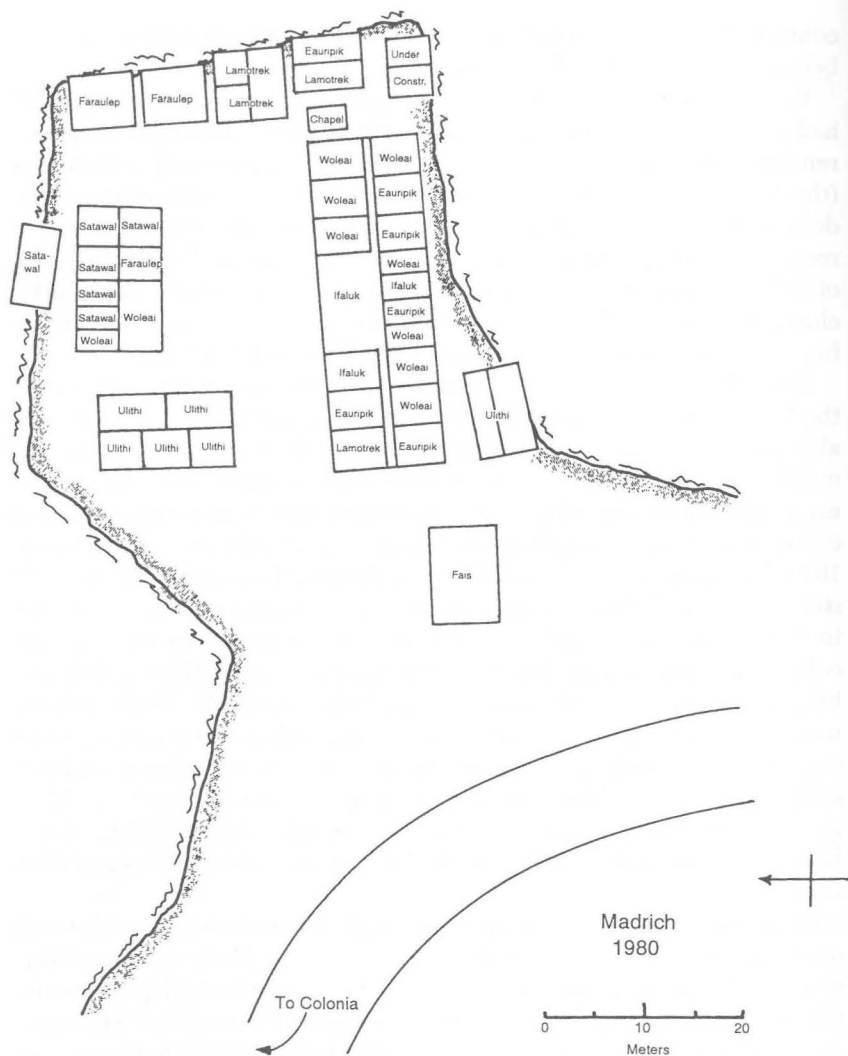


FIGURE 4. Madrich, 1980.

data relating to 1980 (in comparison to those collected in 1976) also indicate that 46 outer islanders worked as government employees on Yap. Only 6 of these lived at Madrich, while most of the others had been assigned government housing.

In summary, in 1980 approximately 220 or 230 outer islanders were living on Yap, a total little changed from that estimated for 1976. A

TABLE 6. Madrich Residents by Sex and Ten-Year Age Cohort, 1980

Age Cohort	Males (N = 92) (%)	Females (N = 65) (%)	Total (%)
0-9	18.5	7.6	26.1
10-19	5.7	12.1	17.8
20-29	13.4	8.3	21.7
30-39	7.6	5.1	12.7
40-49	5.1	1.3	6.4
50-59	5.1	5.7	10.8
60-69	3.2	1.3	4.5
70+	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	58.6	41.4	100.0

Note: Age data were obtained for approximately 88% of the Madrich residents. As noted in Table 2, my field assistants were not able to obtain these data from 100% of the residents because differences in social rank made posing such questions difficult.

TABLE 7. Outer-Island Populations and Densities Compared to Number of Madrich Residents, 1980

Island	Population ^a	Density ^b	Madrich Residents	Island Population at Madrich (%) ^c
Ulithi	710	394	29	3.9
Fais	207	188	6	2.8
Woleai	638	364	40	5.9
Faraulep	132	825	10	7.0
Eauripik	121	1,344	19	13.6
Ifaluk	389	682	29	6.9
Elato	51	255	0	0.0
Lamotrek	242	636	20	7.6
Satawal	386	757	24	5.9
Total/Average	2,876	605	177	5.8

^aU.S. Census Bureau figures extracted from Gorenflo and Levin 1991:106.

^bIndividuals per square mile (land areas derived from Bryan 1970:17).

^cSee Table 3 for an explanation of how these percentages were calculated.

comparison of the above tables, however, highlights several demographic shifts in the particulars of those populations, most notably an increase in the number of children and youths who were not students, an increase in the number of women (both may relate to increased use of the hospital), a decrease in the number of residents from Ulithi and

Fais, and a relatively constant high percentage of residents from Eauripik (the most densely settled of the outer islands). Furthermore, although there was a decrease in the number and percentage of employees and their dependents, there was an increase in the number of prolonged and permanent residents, although they still comprised only 2 to 3 percent of the total outer-island population. Overall, through 1980 there was no appreciable increase in the use of Madrich by most outer islanders for anything other than a temporary sojourning site.

Madrich Demography, 1992

In the twelve years that passed between my 1980 census and the February 1992 count conducted by Fran Defngin, the physical setting of Madrich underwent two major changes. First, during the mid-1980s fill was added to the north shore, increasing the area of the peninsula by 1,815 square meters to a total of 4,589 square meters (1.13 acres). Second, the number of structures now totals twenty-seven and the number of rooms seventy-three. Most of this latter increase, however, is in rooms added to the older buildings (including a complete tier of rooms annexed to the dormitory). Thus the density of settlement in the area of the original peninsula has increased rather than being redistributed over the larger area now available (Figure 5).¹¹

According to Defngin's count, summarized in the final column of Table 1, the population of Madrich has grown by at least 90 residents. That table also confirms the continuing increase in female residents, who now comprise 46.4 percent of the population compared to 41.2 percent in 1976 and 44.1 percent in 1980. Only sixty-eight of the seventy-three rooms were occupied in 1992, resulting in an average density of 3.9 individuals per room, down slightly from the 4.3 per room of 1980.

No official census of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) has been conducted since the 1980 U.S. Census Bureau count. The next nationwide tally is scheduled for 1993. Consequently, for the purpose of calculating current outer-island populations and densities, I have assumed an average growth rate of 1.5 percent per annum from 1980 (Table 8). I believe this is a conservative figure and that the actual rate is probably closer to the 3.3 percent Gorenflo and Levin (1991:105) calculated from 1984 to 1987 population estimates.¹²

Based on my conservative figures, approximately 7.2 percent of the outer-island population resided at Madrich in 1992, reflecting an increase from the 5.8 percent figure of 1980 (Table 7). Fais, Faraulep,

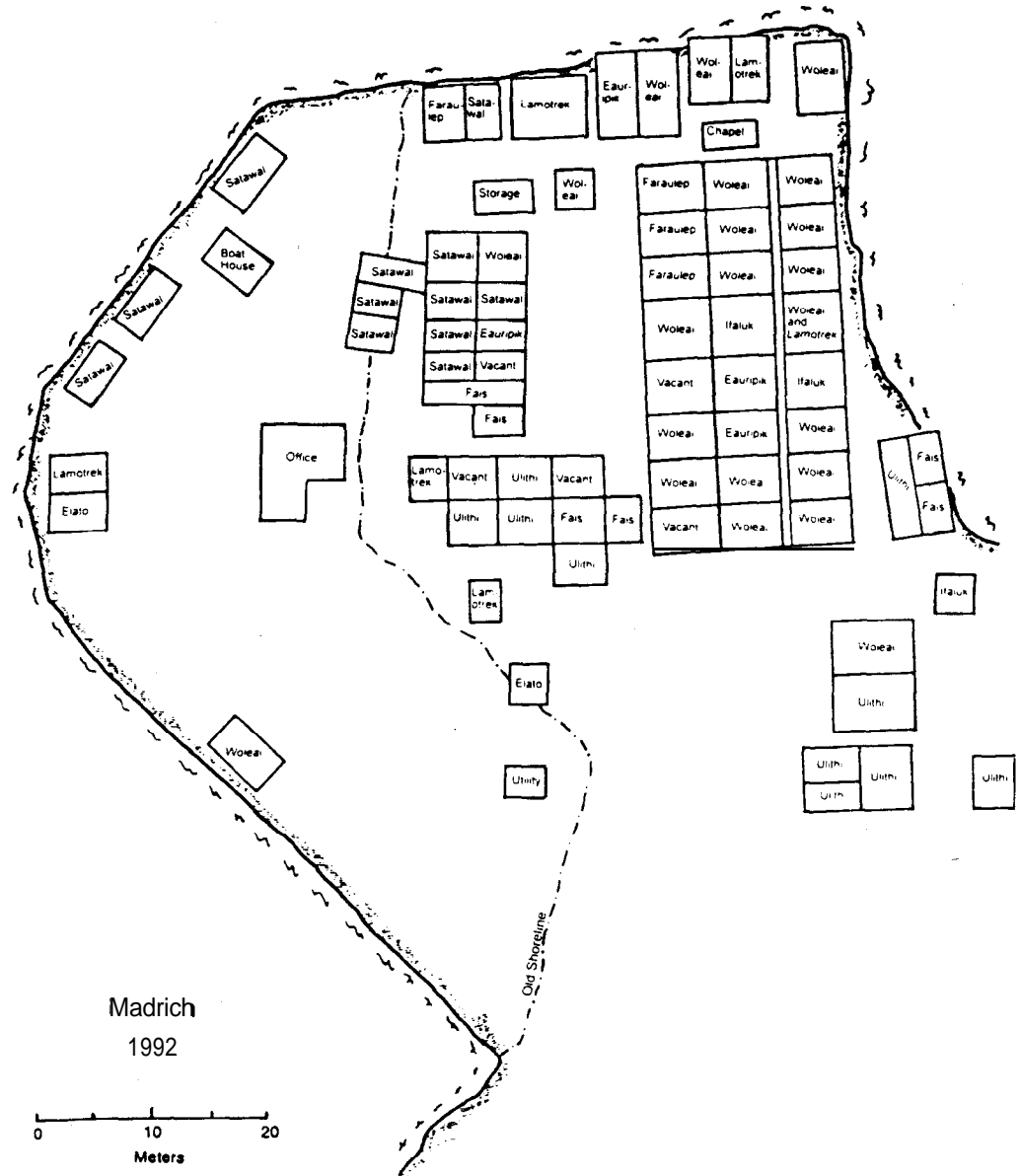


FIGURE 5. Madrich, 1992.

and Satawal have shown the largest percentage increases of residents (excluding Elato, whose high Madrich percentage is explained by the unusually small population of the home atoll). The high number of Fais residents was related to use of the hospital, whereas the large Faraulap and Satawal contingents may be related to the increasing population densities of those islands (perhaps lending additional support to the 900- to 1,000-per-square-mile threshold previously postulated). Only two islands--Ifaluk and Eauripik--have shown percentage decreases in Madrich residents. Ifaluk, one of the more conservative of the outer

TABLE 8. Outer-Island Populations and Densities Compared to Number of Madrich Residents, 1992

Island	Estimated Population ^a	Density ^b	Madrich Island Population Residents at Madrich (%) ^c	
Ulithi	849	472	41	4.6
Fais	247	225	24	8.9
Woleai	763	436	78	9.3
Faraulep	158	988	22	12.2
Eauripik	145	1,611	9	5.8
Ifaluk	465	816	9	1.9
Elato	61	305	5	7.6
Lamotrek	289	761	27	8.5
Satawal	462	906	50	9.8
Total/Average	3,439	724	265	7.2

^aThese figures presume an average growth of 1.5% per annum from the 1980 counts (Table 7).

^bIndividuals per square mile (land areas derived from Bryan 1970:17).

^cSee Table 3 for an explanation of how these percentages were calculated.

islands, had an unusually large number of hospital visitors at Madrich in 1980. The percentage of residents for 1992 is therefore more similar to the relatively low 0.6 percent figure of 1976 (Table 3). I can think of no equally plausible explanation for the decrease in Eauripik residents. In both 1976 and 1980 a consistent 13 to 14 percent of that atoll's population was in residence at Madrich, a figure that seems reasonable, given the high population density of the home atoll. One possible explanation for the low 1992 percentage might relate to Eauripik's pattern of interaction with Woleai. A number of people from Eauripik (varying from 15 to 25) customarily reside with relatives on Woleai. The small land area and related terrestrial resource shortages on Eauripik have encouraged this movement. It sometimes happens that these individuals, in step-migration fashion, move on to Yap. Perhaps some of these individuals were classified in Defngin's census as Woleaians (with whom they might also reside at Madrich). This explanation would account for part of the increase in Woleai residents at Madrich in 1992.

In 1992 Madrich residents from Ulithi and Woleai, the two largest outer islands, comprise 44.9 percent of the population (a 4 percent drop from 1976), whereas Eauripik, Faraulep, and Satawal, the three most densely settled of the outer islands, account for 30.6 percent of the residents, some 7 percent higher than 1976 (tables 8, 3).

The percentage of Madrich residents in the 30 to 39 age cohort doubled between 1980 and 1992 (tables 9, 6). This cohort probably includes many of the increased number of employees (and their spouses) seen in Table 4. The near sex parity of the Madrich population (Table 9) and the large percentage of employee dependents (Table 4) suggest that an increasing number of families now reside at the site. This conclusion is further reinforced by the evidence of length of residence data: in 1992, 36.3 percent of the inhabitants had been in residence for more than one year--an increase of more than 16 percentage points over 1980.

I have no reliable count of outer islanders living elsewhere on Yap, although a comparable increase in their numbers is probable. A conservative estimate (extrapolated from the 1980 estimate) would have between 50 and 80 residing in outlying government housing. The total number of outer islanders on Yap in February 1992, therefore, was probably between 315 and 350 or between 9 and 10 percent of the total estimated outer-island population. If the outer-island population has grown at a rate more closely approximating the 3.3 percent cited by Gorenflo and Levin (1991:105), then the percentage of outer islanders on Yap is correspondingly lower, perhaps as low as 5 percent.

Approximately half of the Madrich residents are now classified as prolonged and permanent residents (Table 5). This number would represent approximately 4.5 percent of the calculated *de jure* outer-island population, an increase over the 2 to 3 percent estimated for 1976 and 1980, but it is still a relatively low figure when compared to the mass movements of outer islanders to port-town centers in other areas of Micronesia and the Pacific. Nevertheless, Madrich in the 1990s, unlike

TABLE 9. **Madrich Residents by Sex and Ten-Year Age Cohort, 1992**

Age Cohort	Males (N = 143) (%)	Females (N = 124) (%)	Total (%)
0-9	16.7	8.2	24.9
10-19	6.3	4.1	10.4
20-29	8.9	13.1	22.0
30-39	12.3	13.1	25.4
40-49	4.5	4.1	8.6
50-59	3.0	1.5	4.5
60-69	1.9	1.9	3.8
70+	0.0	0.4	0.4
Total	53.6	46.4	100.0

Note: Age data were obtained for all residents in this census.

the previous two decades, has seen a majority of its population become prolonged and permanent residents rather than temporary and extended visitors. An increasing percentage of these residents have come from the most densely settled of the outer islands.

Madrich Sociopolitical Organization

Few people find Madrich an attractive place to live. It has been labeled a shantytown or a squatter settlement (Dell 1969:38; Yap District 1974: 42). Many of its structures are in disrepair and flimsily built. Little open space exists, and sanitation is poor. The community has primarily depended on over-water privies and limited bathing facilities. Despite these limitations, it is a relatively quiet and orderly community.

Outer islanders arrive at Madrich with a number of shared understandings regarding a "proper social order." These understandings are derived from the social systems of their home islands, all of which belong to the same culture area of Micronesia. The former importance of the *sawei* as well as a general pattern of frequent interisland canoe voyaging meant that contact between the inhabitants of the various outer islands was common. Most outer islanders are aware of each island's cultural similarities and differences. The Madrich residents regulate their interaction according to these understandings. Foremost among these is the knowledge that comparative rank is important.

In the outer islands, rank derives from a number of variables, the most important of which are sex, age, descent-group membership, island of origin, and priority of settlement. On each island the "official" decision makers are chiefs (*tamol*) who are legitimized by their standing as senior members in important landholding kin groups. Each chief is subject to the opinions and pressures of other chiefs as well as the opinions of other senior members of his or her kin group. The affairs of an island run smoothly when consultation is maximized with these other groups. Any chief, regardless of rank, would find it difficult to enforce a decision in the face of serious dissatisfaction from his or her own kin group or from other chiefs and their kin groups. Most decisions therefore reflect a consensus.

At Madrich the understandings regarding rank result in a group of decision makers composed of those chiefs and older men from high-ranking descent groups of high-ranking islands who have been resident at Madrich for the longest period of time. However, these variables may be overshadowed by personality or context, given the heterogeneous mix of the Madrich population. Landholding, for example, has no

direct relevance to rank at Madrich.¹³ The comparative legitimacy of decision makers tends to derive from the variables of sex, age, length of residence, and comparative rank within the old *sawei* exchange system.

The *sawei* ranked the outer islands not only vis-à-vis Yap but also with respect to each other. Most Madrich affairs therefore are played out in accordance with the “nodes” of this traditional system. Ulithi and Fais were the highest-ranked outer islands, as they were closest to Yap and thus controlled the flow of goods and information between Gagil and the other outer islands. From the perspective of Ulithi, Yap (to its west) was the superior node. To the southeast lay the lower-ranking and more distant islands, which they referred to collectively as “the Woleai.” From the perspective of Woleai, however, the two nodes of immediate importance were the adjacent ones of higher-ranking Ulithi and Fais to the northwest and the somewhat lower-ranking “greater Lamotrek,” Lamotrek-laplap (Elato, Satawal, and Lamotrek proper), to the east. In interisland affairs among the outer islands, then, the comparative importance of chiefs was primarily derived from the nodes they represented. Decision making within the Madrich community still reflects this ranking.

The “chief of Madrich” is a Ulithian chief who has maintained nearly continuous residence at Madrich since 1967. In large part he has remained on Yap *because* he is a Ulithian chief. The leaders of Ulithi believe it is important for one of their number to be available on Yap as the unchallenged spokesman for the outer islands. They probably fear that if a Ulithian chief were not present, some other chief from a lower-ranking outer island might usurp the position, which could threaten the established hierarchy.

The Ulithian “chief of Madrich” generally consults with other ranking members of the community before reaching decisions on contentious issues. In a sense, these high-ranking Madrich residents constitute an informal council, the exact membership of which usually changes when the ship servicing the outer islands arrives or departs. Whenever possible, this council minimally includes the Ulithian chief and the most senior men in residence from both “the Woleai” and “greater Lamotrek.” But few such “commoner” men, who are far removed from their own land bases (and chiefs), feel comfortable in strongly opposing the wishes of the Ulithian chief, whose rank is rooted in the traditions of the *sawei*. A “halo effect” also exists by which not only this chief but also other Ulithians residing at Madrich (who have easy access to the ear of their chief) exercise strong voices in Madrich decision making. Furthermore, the principle of priority or longevity of residence tends to reinforce

Ulithian power, since many are long-term Madrich residents. Most Madrich residents from the lower-ranking islands openly defer to and avoid confronting Ulithians, especially those associated with the Ulithian chiefs residence. Contentious issues involving disputes with Ulithians therefore are not settled in Madrich itself but are appealed to chiefs in the outer islands at the next meeting of the Council of Tamol, the forum made up of all the outer-island chiefs. This process can delay decision making for a considerable time.

Outer-island chiefs can influence Madrich either individually or collectively. Any such chief can inform Madrich residents from his or her island or district of decisions taken on the home island that might affect their lives in Madrich. A Woleai chief, for example, might hear of someone from that island living at Madrich who is misbehaving in a way that reflects badly on the home island. The chief would send word to the malefactor or, more likely, to all Woleai residents at Madrich to modify "their" behavior. Such a directive is difficult to ignore unless the censured individual intends never to return home, which is rarely the case. And since the warning most frequently is sent to all of the residents from a particular island, these individuals form an effective force that collectively pressures the troublemaker to conform.

The second way in which outer-island chiefs influence Madrich arises from the annual or semiannual meetings of the Council of Tamol. Such meetings, usually held on one of the outer islands, are a forum for discussion of all issues involving outer islanders. Decisions of this group are carried back to Madrich and disseminated among all residents. The Madrich chief often uses these meetings to bring contentious issues to the attention of the other outer-island chiefs.

The colonial history of Yap has seen the development of a variety of local institutions meant to coordinate with those of the respective colonial governments. A tripartite American model now exists made up of legislative, judicial, and executive branches. The officeholders in these divisions, however, have varying influence within Madrich. The judicial and legislative branches have little direct influence, even though as recently as the mid-1980s one of the three state senators from the outer islands resided at Madrich. The influence of the legislators is largely indirect, being confined to the laws or resolutions they enact that affect Madrich and the outer islands, and even these are screened or initiated by an appropriate outer-island chief before being introduced.¹⁴ The judicial branch of the Yap State government is even less important to the outer islanders. It is staffed almost entirely by Yapese judges and expatriate lawyers and advisers. Outer islanders attempt to avoid taking

grievances before it, preferring to appeal any complaints to their chiefs or the Council of Tamol.

The executive branch of the state government is of greater interest. The governor and lieutenant governor are the two highest positions within this branch. The state constitution stipulates that a regional balance must be maintained in the allocation of these offices. If the governor is Yapese, the lieutenant governor has to be an outer islander (or vice versa). In effect, candidates for the two offices run as a slate, and due to the electoral and hierarchical realities of the state, no slate has ever been headed by an outer islander. The first lieutenant governor was a Ulithian and the second (who assumed office in 1986) a Woleaian. One belief of the outer islanders, which derives in large part from the region's colonial heritage, is that executive officers wield more power than legislators. Madrigh residents therefore, in common with other outer islanders, make more requests of (and expect more rewards from) the lieutenant governor than of the senators who represent their particular districts. Although the lieutenant governor does not reside at Madrigh but in government housing a mile or two distant, he does make daily calls at Madrigh and his house is frequented by many Madrigh residents in search of information or aid.

In summary, there are four important power blocs that make decisions affecting the lives of Madrigh residents: the Madrigh chief (and those he consults with), the Council of Tamol, the state administration (primarily the lieutenant governor), and the state legislature (primarily those senators elected from the outer islands). Two of these blocs derive from colonially defined offices, and two are essentially altered forms of traditional offices.

Residence Allocation at Madrigh

Rooms are assigned to newly arriving outer islanders through reference to a communal "understanding" that recognizes priority of settlement and rights of transfer. Figures 3, 4, and 5 depict the distribution by building and room of Madrigh residents according to island of origin at the time of the censuses. A continuity of location can be noted that corresponds to the traditional interisland hierarchy. In 1976 and 1980, before the peninsula was enlarged, the more substantial buildings and favorably situated rooms (with easy access to the road) were primarily settled by migrants from Ulithi and Fais. These rooms and their buildings were also more desirable because of commodious cooking facilities and easy access to toilets and bathing facilities. In 1976 the ground floor

of the dormitory was occupied by Woleai and Ifaluk residents, while residents from the more distant or smaller outer islands--Faraulep, Eauripik, and Satawal--were found in the smaller and more cramped northern structure. Satawal held the water side of that building.

In 1976 the west end of the second story of the dormitory was occupied by Ulithi and Fais youths, while the eastern end housed Woleai youths. The majority of the residents of this floor were young, single men with full-time or part-time jobs in Colonia. Most other residents of Madrich did not like living on this floor for both practical and cultural reasons. From a practical perspective, the rooms were especially hot since they lay directly below the metal roof; older residents found it difficult to climb the stairs several times during the day when making their way to and from the ground-level cooking, bathing, and toilet facilities; and parents feared their young children might fall from the second-story windows or open stairways.

Other residents disliked the second-floor rooms for cultural reasons. One important cultural precept within the society (as throughout the Austronesian world) equates social status with actual physical height. At Madrich, women and low-ranking men therefore felt uncomfortable "raising themselves above" others of higher rank when they climbed the external stairways in full view of senior men, classificatory brothers, or chiefs who might be seated in the public areas below. A similar cultural discomfort was felt whenever those in rooms below heard people treading the floors above. Thus, nearly all of the second-floor residents in 1976 were young bachelors who by temperament or rank were oblivious to or defiant of the traditional etiquette. In the relative isolation of the second floor, these young men escaped the direct supervision of older family members and island residents. Although the drinking behavior of outer islanders is generally nonaggressive (in contrast to that reported among youths of some neighboring regions; see, for example, Marshall 1979), the parties held on payday weekends by these youths frequently degenerated into noisy and occasionally rowdy assemblages that many older residents found annoying and most first-floor residents found intolerable. If these "second-story" youths had been exclusively from the lower-ranking islands, warnings from the Ulithian chief probably would have been sufficient to enforce conformity, but some were themselves Ulithians who either believed the Madrich chief was acting beyond his authority or were from high-ranking groups on Ulithi.

The chief, after consulting with the senior members of the community, decided that the second floor should be vacated, the stairways sealed off, and eventually the whole floor dismantled. The practical

and cultural problems associated with the floor were solved, but the room shortage at Madrich was exacerbated, since the second-story residents had to move to the main living areas below, where they doubled up with relatives or other home-island coresidents. This crowding undoubtedly was one factor that encouraged the state government to expand the area of Madrich during the mid-1980s.

Under the “right of transfer” rule that operates at Madrich, rooms pass from one family or group of residents to a similar newly arrived group from the same island. When the ship arrives at Colonia from the outer islands, its passengers disperse throughout Madrich, joining relatives and friends from the respective home islands who are already in residence. Any additional overcrowding that results is relieved when the ship again departs, taking with it those residents who have been awaiting transportation home. Only in those cases where no new migrants from a particular island arrive with the ship is it likely that a room will be left vacant when the ship departs. When this happens, the vacant room is generally taken by a family “hiving off” from a neighboring room, which is generally occupied by residents of similar rank (but perhaps not from the same island) as those who vacated the site. Only those room conflicts that cannot easily be resolved by the residents themselves are taken to resident “arbitrators” (one for each of the outer islands’ precincts) appointed by the Madrich chief.

The Madrich chief also endorses rules for the equitable distribution of communal food, the allocation of communal labor assignments, and ritual assessments. These are rights and duties expected of any outer-island chief, and therefore the general character of such rules is familiar to all outer islanders.

Since the numbers of high-ranking Ulithians have not appreciably increased at Madrich, the newly filled area of the peninsula has been occupied primarily by groups hiving off from nearby overcrowded areas, that is, by individuals from Satawal and Woleai, the two islands from which nearly 50 percent of all Madrich residents come (see Figure 5).

Madrich Economic Organization and Cycles of Activity

The residential units at Madrich are conceived of as “households,” which are the local correlates of the fundamental redistribution units in the outer islands themselves. Most food is purchased from nearby stores and the Yapese farmers’ public market. Food is redistributed within each room or shared with relatives in other nearby rooms. The money

required to purchase food is obtained in a number of ways. Most visitors arrive with some money from home, generally earned from copra sales. The amount the average visitor is able to bring, however, is not sufficient to sustain a family for the two or three months they are likely to remain on Yap. Some therefore receive remittances from relatives who work aboard ship or elsewhere, but most able-bodied Madrich men seek day-laboring jobs for at least part of their stay to support themselves and their dependents. These men periodically work as stevedores, warehousemen, and unskilled construction workers. Although the number of potential employers in Colonia is not large, there are several that frequently turn to outer islanders for their labor needs. Among these are Waab Transportation (stevedoring), the Yap Cooperative Association (warehousing), and the Blue Lagoon Store (warehousing and construction). The percentage of residents who have defined themselves as "employees" has ranged from 9.6 to 22.1 (see Table 4), but these figures do not generally include casual workers.

Another source of food that is important to Madrich residents are the allotment rations provided by the hospital and other government agencies to patients, students, teachers, and attendants. Some allotments are communal in nature, having been supplied by one or another U.S. government food program. These are redistributed according to room and number of residents per room.

The final type of food important at Madrich is garden produce obtained directly from Yapese friends or *sawei* estates. Some fish are obtained from the same source or taken by outer-island fishermen from nearby reefs (with Yapese permission).

The Yapese of Gagil, reflecting the *sawei* linkages of old, periodically have contributed produce to the residents and received *sawei*-style gifts (*tur* loinclothes or skirts and other outer-island valuables) in return. In 1976, 51.1 percent of the Madrich rooms surveyed had exchanged such gifts with their former *sawei* estates (Table 10). In 1980 this percentage had risen to 74.4, but by 1992 it had dropped back to 50 percent. Over time these exchanges, then, have persisted at a relatively stable rate satisfying some mutual needs: the outer islanders have need of reliable food supplies, and the Gagil Yapese periodically need political allies when competing with Ruul and Tamil, their traditional rival districts on Yap (Alkire 1981).

Ritual exchanges within Madrich occur much less frequently than is normal within the respective home-island communities. The day-to-day exchanges that are typical of the socially integrated outer-island villages

TABLE 10. **Madrich/Gagil Gift Exchanges by Room, 1976-1992**

Island	1976		1980		1992	
	Total Rooms	Gifts to/from Gagil	Total Rooms	Gifts to/from Gagil	Total Rooms	Gifts to/from Gagil
Ulithi	15	10	8	4	10	6
Fais	5	2	1	1	6	2
Woleai	13	8	14	10	21.5	11
Faraulep	0	0	3	1	4	1
Eauripik	6	3	5	5	4	2
Ifaluk	1	0	3	3	3	2
Elato	0	0	0	0	2	1
Lamotrek	1	1	4	3	5.5	0
Satawal	6	0	5	5	12	8
Total	47	24	43	32	68	33

are absent in the fragmented and transitory setting of Madrich. However, since many Madrich residents arrive accompanying hospital patients, some of whom die while on Yap, funeral rites and exchanges are a common Madrich event. Most Madrich "households" contribute one or more *tur* (carried by most travelers for such eventualities) as a shroud to the bereaved family.

The tempo of life in Madrich is largely governed by three cycles. The first and longest is marked by the arrival and departure of the ship that services the outer islands, generally once every four to eight weeks. The second is a bimonthly government payday that most directly involves those who hold government jobs but indirectly affects all residents because of the money that then freely flows throughout the community. The final is a daily cycle associated with the routines of subsistence and assistance. For those with jobs, this involves departure for places of work; for others it involves visits to stores, the market, or, for a few men, fishing expeditions to nearby reefs. For the attendants in residence, there exist daily obligations associated with visits to the hospital and preparation of food for dependents.

Activities associated with the arrival and departure of the ship are the most intense and disruptive. Whenever the ship sails, numerous residents are occupied packing and shuttling (in pickup trucks and small boats) between Madrich and the main dock. The movement is reversed when the ship arrives carrying a new load of passengers. The ship

remains in port for a week (or more if repairs are required), and, as previously noted, it is during this layover that the population of Madrich is at its height.

The payday cycle is marked by intensive shopping and the rowdiness associated with increased drinking. Among outer islanders drinking is almost exclusively a male activity, and the beer or spirits purchased on payday is generally consumed at Madrich over the succeeding weekend. This behavior contrasts with the drinking patterns of many Yapese, Palauans, and American or Filipino expatriates, who patronize the small bars and restaurants in town. Outer-island men tend to stay within the confines of Madrich when drinking, because they believe their traditionally defined lower status would provoke resentment, threats, and fights if they were to patronize Yapese or Palauan bars. At the time of my research, only those outer islanders who held high-ranking jobs felt secure in such settings--and then only in the company of Yapese or American friends.

Periodically the senior residents of Madrich have attempted to restrict the rowdiness associated with drinking. In 1986 the Madrich chief responded to their complaints and introduced a system of fines for disruptive behavior. Thereafter several of the more active party makers relocated to the outlying government residences of compatriot outer islanders. In this regard the rules of sharing, reciprocity, and redistribution that permeate outer-island life have made it difficult for outer-island government employees who have their own houses to refuse issuing a standing weekend "invitation" to friends and relatives residing at Madrich.

The last of the three activity cycles is the most routine, marked primarily by the work requirements of those employed in and around Colonia. Their departure for job sites alters the age and sex ratio of Madrich so that women, children, old men, and the infirm make up the majority of the population during the day. Women who wish to leave the residential area at such time generally travel in groups (accompanied by an available old man whenever possible). Only in this way do they feel safe from possible harassment by Yapese youths.

Summary and Conclusions

In pre-European contact times, resource shortages caused by typhoons and other environmental disasters induced population redistribution among the various outer islands of the Yap region. Common clan affiliation, intermarriage, and adoption accommodated such relocation and

extended or intensified the network of ties that linked these islands. Outer islanders also traveled to Yap seeking aid during periods of resource shortages, but those visits were regulated and ordered in a more formalized and hierarchical manner as defined by the *sawei* exchange system. *Sawei* rules provided a means to bridge the significant cultural and linguistic differences that existed between the two areas. Tribute and aid were exchanged, but the outer islanders' voyages to Yap were short-term visits rather than permanent or even lengthy relocations, since they did not have access to land and they could not long tolerate the servile behavior required of them by the system.

The postcontact era shifted the source of such aid for the outer islands from the Gagil Yapese to colonial authorities; otherwise relations with the Yapese remained largely unchanged. The outer islanders' visits to Yap became sojourns with medical, educational, and trading objectives --and their destination on Yap shifted from Gagil to Colonia.

From World War II until the mid-1980s the numbers of outer islanders on Yap only gradually increased, as shown by the 1976 and 1980 censuses. From the mid-1980s population growth, increasing employment opportunities, enlargement of the Madrich peninsula, and a tendency for those with jobs to prolong their stays on Yap have all contributed to the numerical growth of the Madrich community. However, as a percentage of the total outer-island population, the growth has not been spectacular. In 1980 between 2 and 3 percent of the outer-island population resided permanently at Madrich. For 1992 I have estimated an increase to between 4.1 and 4.5 percent in such residents, a large proportion of whom come from the three most densely settled outer islands.¹⁵

However, access to more land on Yap could increase the rate of such migration. Traditional status differences between outer islanders and Yapese as well as the complexities of interdistrict Yapese politics have slowed negotiations in this regard. As early as the 1960s a senior Yapese chief from Tamil offered to provide outer islanders with additional land if Gagil gave up its claims to the outer islands in favor of Tamil. The Gagil chiefs were shocked by the suggestion and immediately rejected it but made no acceptable counterproposal to the outer islanders. Later, in the mid-1980s another Tamil chief offered an area of land near the new hospital to Satawal, Lamotrek, and Elato residents on Yap. But those islanders have been reluctant to relocate there since conversion of the site would require a great deal of work. It is possible that these outer islanders also fear a backlash of resentment on the part of their Gagil *sawei* partners.

To date, then, true migrants from the outer islands to Yap have been limited in number. It seems likely, in fact, that an equal or larger number of outer-island permanent migrants have bypassed Yap in favor of destinations like Guam, Saipan, Pohnpei, Hawaii, and the mainland United States even though the costs associated with such long-distance relocation are high.¹⁶ Madrich is still the primary locale for outer-island visitors to Yap who come for medical treatment, specialized training, and short-term employment, but over the years increasing numbers of visitors have prolonged their sojourns. Permanent residents (those in residence for a year or more) have increased from 12.4 percent in 1976 to 36.3 percent in 1992, while temporary residents (who stay less than three months) have correspondingly decreased from 60.5 percent to 22.9 percent over the same period. It is possible that these numbers will not significantly change as Ulithi and Woleai develop their own wage-labor centers associated with government branch offices and outer-island schools.

Those outer islanders who have established themselves at Madrich as permanent migrants and employees have generally done so abiding by "understandings" derived from two new protective umbrellas rather than from the strictures of traditional Gagil-outer island *sawei* rules. The first of the new umbrellas, which was more important in the earlier years of Madrich, was provided by the Catholic mission. Madrich was church property, and the outer islanders' most vocal defender was the Jesuit missionary to the outer islands. The Yapese of Colonia, who were also predominately Catholic, by and large left the Madrich residents alone at the behest of the church. The physical isolation of Madrich aided in this regard.

The second protective umbrella is provided by the safeguards written into the Yap State Constitution. The office of lieutenant governor offers an effective direct channel of appeal and redress for the residents of Madrich. A largely "traditional" political order still prevails within the societies of the outer islands, as demonstrated by the periodic gifts that pass between them and the Gagil Yapese as well as by the continuing importance of the Ulithian chief of Madrich. Nevertheless, Madrich residents now appeal "nontraditional" grievances associated with Madrich life to the lieutenant governor, who is in a position to effect immediate redress via modern administrative channels.

Until such time as the outer islanders gain access to a larger (and equally secure) land base on Yap, the current character of Madrich is likely to persist. Pressures for that land base will become more acute if the outer islands' population is, in fact, increasing at the 3.3 percent per

annum rate estimated by Gorenflo and Levin and the outer-island land areas, themselves, are threatened by a predicted rising sea level linked to a pattern of global warming. Otherwise, for a majority of the outer islanders, Madrich and Yap are likely to remain a locale for short-term visits rather than permanent relocation.

NOTES

1. The field research for this article was carried out during a number of visits to Yap State between 1962 and 1987. The 1992 data were collected by Mr. Fran Defngin at my request. Mr. Defngin is now retired from his positions as assistant anthropologist and community affairs officer for the district and state governments. I want to thank him not only for the aid he has given me over the years, but also for the help he has offered nearly every anthropologist and researcher who has visited Yap during the past forty-five years. I further wish to acknowledge the assistance I have received from a number of current and former residents of Madrich including Chief Hathey, Malsow, Matthew Tiwebemal, and especially Bemo of Falalus, Woleai, who helped me with great enthusiasm and dedication, at both Woleai and Madrich. Bemo subsequently died at Madrich, and I dedicate this article to his memory. I acknowledge, as well, the aid I have received from the Hon. Tony Tawerilmang (lieutenant governor of Yap), Michael Levin (U.S. Bureau of the Census), Laurence M. Alkire, and N. R. Crumrine. The fieldwork itself was made possible by grants from the U.S. National Institutes of Health, the U.S. National Science Foundation, the Canada Council, and the University of Victoria.

2. The term “sojourning” or “sojourner” is only one of many that have appeared in the literature to describe movement from outlying or remote regions to urban or primate centers followed by return to the home area. Chapman and Prothero (1985:1-2) catalog a number of these terms, including circular migration, return migration, pendular migration, floating migration, and turbulence. My preference for “sojourners” follows J. M. Nelson (1976).

3. Because the number and function of particular buildings is constantly changing, it is impossible to give a completely up-to-date inventory of the structures or their uses. Since the research for this article was done, a garment factory has also been built.

4. The location of some of these facilities has changed over the last twenty-five years. For example, the power plant, public works department, and hospital were once located within Colonia in buildings that have since been abandoned or converted to other uses.

5. The number and makeup of non-Micronesian foreign residents on Yap have also changed over the years. From the late 1960s through the 1970s, 20 or more U.S. Coast Guard and Navy personnel resided, respectively, at a LORAN station in Gagil District and at a nearby road repair and construction camp. The 1980 U.S. Census Bureau count provided the following totals for other foreign residents: Palauan, 235; Filipino, 67; Trukese (Chuukese), 36; Ponapean (Pohnpeian), 31; other Asian, 10.

6. *Madrich* is the common Yapese and Ulithian spelling, whereas *Materich* is sometimes used by Woleaians. Both are loans from the Spanish *Madrid*. *Maedriich* is a variant used on U.S. Geological Survey topographic maps that is rarely, if ever, used on the island itself. Ngulu is also an outer island of Yap State settled by people whose ancestry has been traced

to Ulithi. However, Ngulu's exchange proximity to Gilman District in southern Yap was so close that its residents are now bilingual and "bicultural," i.e., they have adopted a number of basic Yapese cultural patterns. Consequently, when Ngulu residents visit Yap, they generally reside with friends and relatives in Gilman District rather than at Madrich with other outer islanders.

7. I do not mean to imply that intermarriage between outer islanders and Yapese never occurred. Several such unions have been recorded, but they were rare. They almost always involved an outer-island man marrying a Yapese woman, and almost invariably these unions were resented by the Yapese and frowned on by other outer islanders. One such marriage, which is said to have occurred in the 1930s between a Satawal man and a Yapese woman, so soured relations between the two islands that Satawal's Yapese *sawei* refused to contribute any food to Satawal for many years.

8. Owing to the limited time available for this census and the difficulties my Woleaian field assistants experienced in obtaining some information from higher-ranking Ulithian and Fais residents, especially females, age data were only obtained for approximately 62 percent of the Madrich residents, as noted in Table 2.

9. As noted in Table 3, this percentage is derived from the 1973 count of the outer-island population, which at the time of the research was the most recent and reliable. Since the outer-island population was growing at a rate between 1 and 2 percent per annum, the true percentage of outer-island residents on Yap in 1976 would be somewhat less than the 6 percent stated.

10. This change may also reflect some changes in transportation options during the intervening four years. In 1980 there were two airline connections between Yap and Ulithi. Ulithians and those Fais people who frequently visited Ulithi for prolonged periods were thus able to travel much more easily and frequently (albeit more expensively) between Ulithi and Yap. Subsequently, air service reverted to a single carrier, and by 1992 service had been extended to Woleai Atoll.

11. The location of some structures in Figure 5 may be less accurately rendered than in figures 3 and 4, since they are interpolated from information provided by Fran Defngin rather than from on-site observation by the author.

12. We will have to wait for the 1993 census before the true rate is known.

13. The Madrich site was originally owned by the Catholic mission, but title was later transferred by the mission to the outer islanders as a whole rather than the residents of one particular island. Therefore no one island can claim priority over any other in residence rights.

14. From the 1980s the state senate has consisted of ten members, six elected from Yap proper and four from the outer islands. The outer-island senators are elected from four districts, the boundaries of which parallel those of the traditional *sawei* power nodes: Ulithi (including Fais and Sorol), Woleai, "greater Lamotrek" (including Satawal and Elato), and a three-island district of Ifaluk, Faraulep, and Eauripik. The individual prestige and power of these senators is also affected by age. In 1980 all were young men who had been nominated to stand for election by the chiefs of their respective districts. Two of the three who did not live at Madrich were housed some distance from the site in government quarters, and the last resided with Yapese friends in Keng.

15. See note 12, above.

16. The Federated States of Micronesia was granted self-government (in free association with the United States) in 1986. As such it was classified as an independent nation and therefore was not eligible to participate in the U.S. 1990 census. Residents of the Federated States, however, do have free immigration access to the United States. Michael Levin has estimated that some 50 to 60 Yap State outer islanders are now permanently residing on the U.S. mainland (pers. com., 26 July 1991).

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