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CROWD SCENES: PACIFIC COLLECTIVITY AND EUROPEAN ENCOUNTER

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This essay looks at the phenomenon of the Pacific crowd as registered within eighteenth-century voyage accounts. The experience of the crowd on the beach—an experience of being overwhelmed—was integral to European encounters with Pacific islanders. However, the impact of the crowd has been neglected within Pacific scholarship, which has not accessed the insights of crowd theory within analyses of contact. Concomitantly, crowd theory ignores the peripheral crowd scene. The crowd has been theorized as a predominantly metropolitan phenomenon and historicized in the context of (primarily industrial) urbanization. Through close textual analysis of a number of European voyage texts, particularly Bligh's account of the *Bounty* voyage, the essay asks what kinds of reading might be produced if we acknowledge the crowd as material force and rhetorical figure within imperial encounter and discourse.

Scene I: The Beach

Only the mass makes it possible for the sexual object to become intoxicated with the hundred stimuli which it produces.
—Walter Benjamin

A YEAR BEFORE he departed for the Pacific as botanist on James Cook's second voyage of exploration, Johann Reinhold Forster, with the help of his son George, translated Bougainville's account of his arrival in Hitia`a, Tahiti, in April 1768. Bougainville had described an enthusiastic welcome from the Tahitians that began in harbor:

> As we came near the shore, the number of islanders surrounding our ships encreased. The periguas were so numerous all about the

> ships, that we had much to do to warp amidst the croud of boats and the noise. . . . The periguas were full of females ... Most of these fair females were naked; for the men and the old women that accompanied them, had stripped them of the garments which they generally dress themselves in. (Bougainville 1967:217–218)

The ship's cook singled out a partner from the female throng, but as Bougainville reported, "He had hardly set his feet on shore, with the fair whom he had chosen, when he was immediately surrounded by a croud of Indians, who undressed him from head to feet. He thought he was utterly lost, not knowing where the exclamations of those people would end, who were tumultuously examining every part of his body" (p. 219). The crowd on the beach encourages the cook to proceed with a public coupling, a task for which he has, however, been disabled by the shock of exposure. His illegitimate landing preempts and parodies the sanctioned arrival ceremony subsequently described by Bougainville:

> When we were moored, I went on shore with several officers, to survey the watering-place. An immense croud of men and women received us there, and could not be tired with looking at us; the boldest among them came to touch us; they even pushed aside our clothes with their hands, in order to see whether we were made exactly like them. . . . They sufficiently expressed their joy at our arrival. (p. 220)

The formal landing must now figure as a reenactment of the cook's first encounter; an official public undressing that more successfully channels the narcissistic thrill produced by the fascination of the crowd, by recuperating this fascination as a form of tribute rather than recognition.

Bougainville and his crew experience arrival through a staged series of crowd scenes—in harbor and on shore, official and unofficial—that are not simply imperial triumphal displays. Against the backdrop of the crowd, in a spirit of "intoxication" that appears oblivious to the distinctions of race, class, and sex, individuals engage in a kind of competitive self-objectification that risks abashment in pursuit of exaltation. The crowd here—primarily feminine, and both importunately and generously seductive—is in distinct contrast to the version of the Tahitian crowd offered by the crew of the English vessel *Dolphin*, who beat the French to Tahiti by almost a year. In George Robertson's account of the English visit, the boats that crowd around the *Dolphin* are manned primarily by males. When women are proffered it is as a lure, which must initially be ignored in the interests of safety:

> There was upwards of five hundred canoes round the ship, and at a Moderate Computation there was near four thousand men—most of the trading canoes which lay round the ship, and dealt with our people, had a fair young Girl in Each Canoe, who playd a great many droll wanton tricks, which drew all our people upon the Gunwells to see them, when they seemd to be most merry and friendly some of our people observd great numbers of stones in every canoe, this created a little suspition. (Robertson 1948:154)

Robertson registers a negative experience of Tahitian curiosity, as both potentially and literally obstructive: "I was amongst the Canoes and all of them stairing at me, several of them came round me and some were so near that I hade not roum to throw the Lead" (p. 152). In Bougainville's text, threat becomes, bathetically, an isolated case of performance anxiety. The current of excitement that runs through the crowd is picked up by the crew in a movement that traces the trajectory of voyeurism. Freud argues that the scopophilic instinct shifts its focus from an extraneous object to the subject's own body, and includes a significant autoerotic element (Freud 1984:127).[1] In Bougainville's crowd scenes, the crew members rediscover an excitement or experience a panic about their own individual bodies in the light of crowd enthusiasm. Conforming to national stereotypes, the French open themselves to the embrace of the crowd while the English defend against a suspect hospitality.

In the task of translating Bougainville, we might speculate, Forster learned what to anticipate from a Polynesian arrival scene. He learned to expect to be overwhelmed. It was not until 17 August 1773, over five years after Bougainville, that the botanist experienced his own Tahitian landfall at Vaitepiha Bay on Tahiti-iti. During a difficult anchoring, he had been called upon to participate in unaccustomed deckhand labor and as a result was suffering from exhaustion and an injured foot. His account of the arrival is marginal: he writes that the pain from his exertions "& the intense heat . . . caused me a Faintness & in the night I awoke from a pain in my breast. . . . [The next morning] I saw such a crowd of people about our Ships, that it is hardly credible" (Forster 1982:326). Like Bougainville's and Robertson's, Forster's experience of the crowd channels a fluctuating sense of being physically besieged, here by fatigue and illness rather than desire or hostility. The crowd externalizes his sense of sudden self-distrust, becoming the locus of an incredulity at what his eyes witness that might otherwise reflect upon his own physical distress: "it is hardly credible."

Just over a week later, Forster's ship, the *Resolution,* reaches Matavai Bay. Forster has recovered his composure, and the encounter with the crowd

emerges as a refrain in his journal: August 26: "We came to an Anchor & saw the shore crowded with people," "had the Capt not exerted himself a whole crowd of [the Chief's] followers would have entered the boat; but we took none in but the Chief & his wife. . . . The crowd was great, but when they came too near, there were men with long poles who beat the crowd unmercifully & broke several poles upon them." August 27: "All the kings relations crowded about us." August 29: "We had a great retinue of Indians." September 1: "Our gifts carried the Admiration of the whole crowd" (Forster 1982:338–345). While Forster has come to expect crowd attendance at each scene of encounter, his journal entries, like Robertson's, disclose a number of ways in which its presence impedes rather than enhances the arrival scene. These include the introduction of violence to control the crowd, the complication of codes of gifting and trade, and the difficulty the crowd poses for establishing hierarchy and facilitating the formation of particular friendships with high-ranking individuals.

Pressing, exhilarating, unnerving as a presence within accounts of contact, the Polynesian crowd has nonetheless remained curiously elusive of critical attention. There are a couple of notable exceptions: Marshall Sahlins has focused on crowd dynamics in support of his thesis that the Hawaiian reception of Cook amounted to deification (1989:412–413; 1995:47), and Greg Dening's substantial body of work on the theatricality of Pacific encounter, to which the subheadings of this essay pay tribute, opens up a space for the examination of crowd representations.[2] Yet the Pacific crowd is the primary focus of analysis exclusively in studies of population, where accounts of crowding are scrutinized in an attempt to gauge the impact of European disease and cultural decimation upon the lives of Pacific peoples. Within this field, however, there is no consensus on the crowd. The Hawai`i State statistician, Robert Schmitt, responding to David Stannard's intervention in the Hawaiian population debate, quotes his own observation that "guesses of the size of crowds—a frequent element in . . . pre-censal estimates—are notoriously unreliable, typically producing totals two or three sizes the actual number" (Stannard 1989:115). His comment, which articulates an assumption behind much work on Pacific populations, taps into a broader conservative discourse on crowds that represents such manifestations as *inherently* unreliable, by virtue of their capacity to camouflage individual motive within collective action. Norma McArthur's early study of precontact populations equated conservative estimates with scholarly rigor (1967), and, as Stannard pointed out (1989:xvi), there has been a concomitant tendency within recent broader Pacific scholarship to reduce the dimensions of the crowd as an expression of resistance to the fatal-impact thesis. Other population studies, such as Eleanor Nordyke's *The Peopling of Hawai`i*, have repeated conserva-

tive estimates of precontact numbers to support a representation of islands under siege from post-contact population influx (1989:13–27).

Among scholars concerned to diminish the crowd, crowd scenes are implicitly presented as scenes of fantasy, to be dispelled by "realistic" computation. Stannard, on the other hand, reassesses the same documents of contact from Hawai'i to present a compelling case for maximizing estimates of pre-contact Pacific populations.[3] The same crowds, then, have been read alternatively as metonym or symptom: as part of a larger whole or as sign of a special event. This essay aligns with Stannard's work in focusing on the crowd as an absent presence within recent Pacific scholarship, that produces a contradiction in our current accounts of early contact. In addressing both the importunate materiality and subsequent invisibility of the crowd within European accounts of the Pacific, I seek to mark the silent accommodation of representation to a reality of depopulation, while also asking what it might mean for a persistent European romanticization of Pacific islands to think of them as crowded places.

Scene II: The City

The din is the applause of objects.

—Elias Canetti

Although the object of a substantial body of historical analysis and theoretical speculation, the crowd has almost exclusively been discussed as a metropolitan phenomenon. Historians and sociologists of the crowd, who seek to determine the individual composition and motivations of the crowd collective, and psychologists of the crowd, who posit a crowd mentality or will distinct from individual consciousness, tend towards political opposition but agree in representing the phenomenon as a product of urbanization. Elias Canetti proposes in *Crowds and Power* that "men might have gone on disregarding [the crowd] if the enormous increase of population in modern times, and the rapid growth of cities, had not more and more often given rise to its formation" (2000:20–21). John Plotz's *The Crowd: British Literature and Public Politics*, while taking Canetti to task for his evocation of a monolithic crowd mentality, concurs that, in the English context, crowds materialized in important new ways with urban expansion: "When London became the first postclassical city of one million inhabitants around 1800, quantity changed the quality of the city's life. . . . Mundane outdoor life came to include random encounters with strangers, inexplicable aggregations, sudden eruptions of violence, and permanent sites for encountering others *en masse*" (Plotz 2000:1). Other studies retain this urban focus, even while gesturing towards

an interpretation of the crowd as paradigmatic of self-other relations. Mark Harrison prefaces his *Crowds and History* with the observation:

> Our association of differentness and foreignness—of the alien and the threatening—with the existence of faceless far-away hordes is an aspect of human psychology with crucial implications for the formulation of social policy and foreign relations the world over. The supposed intimidation represented by mythical packs of strangers is what makes possible international and intercultural mass violence. (1988:xiii)

However, Harrison retreats from the broader implications of this statement to focus his study on four British urban communities. His remarks counterpoint a conservative tradition that associates the crowd with the eruption of the foreign or "primitive" within urban society (Le Bon 1920:36).[4]

The historical moment that provided the impetus for later theorizations of crowd psychology, according to most recent studies of the phenomenon, was the French Revolution (Rogers 1998:2; McClelland 1989:6; van Ginneken 1992:3; Tambiah 1996:267; Nye 1975:63).[5] In the nineteenth century, seminal works by Thomas Carlyle, Hippolyte Taine, Jules Michelet, Gabriel Tarde, and most famously Gustav Le Bon attempted to account for the mass mobilization of the underclass by figuring the multiple bodies of the crowd as motivated by collective will. From assumptions about the metropolitan constitution of the crowd grew attendant claims about the effects of urban anonymity (Engels 1952:24), which found poetic embodiment in Walter Benjamin's theorization of Baudelaire's figure of the flâneur. Benjamin writes of the crowds of Berlin, Paris, and London as confluences in which the individual may seek to hide, paradoxically achieving solitude. He comments on the uniformity of bodies in the urban crowd, "in which no one is either quite transparent or quite opaque to all others" (Benjamin 1983:49).

This is of course a very different experience of crowding from that registered by European voyagers, who *stand out* in the crowd that surrounds them. The crowd has been elided so successfully with the modern city that experiences of crowding within situations of imperial contact—where the shock and pleasure for the European visitor is of being encompassed by bodies that are different rather than the same, and thus of being simultaneously singled out and engulfed—have consistently been recuperated as experiences primarily of othering rather than crowding (Pratt 1986:35). Nonetheless, the Pacific beach became in the late eighteenth century, to adopt Plotz's terminology, a "permanent site" where encounters, both staged and frighteningly random, took place, and voyagers experienced "inexplicable aggrega-

tions" and "sudden eruptions of violence." Account after account from the European literature of Pacific exploration record the experience of being inundated by the crowd: being noticed and enveloped by a mass of bodies emerges as a trope of encounter, through which visitors constitute and authorize (and indeed recognize) their experience.

The presence of peripheral crowd scenes within accounts of first contact raises a number of questions about the politics of encounter. What are the dynamics of identification that take place within the crowd and how do they figure or alter in crowds that assemble at scenes of contact? Is the dialectical relationship between the body of the individual and the body of the crowd in any way comparable to that between recognition and repudiation that takes place in confrontation with cultural difference? We might also rethink, through the crowd, the dynamics of authority and voyeurism played out in cross-cultural observation. Most often the Pacific crowd is represented as a spontaneous demonstration of curiosity about European bodies and culture. The European desire to perceive agglomeration as testimony to cultural fascination can be critiqued as self-aggrandizing, as not inconsistent with what Gananath Obeyesekere has called, in discussing Cook's encounters in Hawai'i, a "European myth of . . . apotheosis" (1992:177). Surely, though, something more complex is at stake here. If, as I intimated in my reading of Bougainville, Europeans relish as often as they are disconcerted by the experience of being sampled, fondled, of having their artifacts or their skin marveled at, they are enjoying an immediate process of objectification, not veneration. While curiosity has become an important field of inquiry for recent scholarship, the focus has been upon European curiosity about other societies: on cultures of collecting and connoisseurship, which testify to a European desire to look, to hoard, to possess (Benedict 2001; Leask 2002; Elsner and Cardinal 1994).[6] What of the desire to be valued, exposed, fingered by the curious that is the corollary of scopophilia and that is so sublimely gratified by the crowd?

Issues of value and exchange are quite explicitly at the heart of the Pacific crowd scene. Its animated collective enacts a fraught problematic of cross-cultural encounter, in which selves become identified with cultural artifacts, and evaluation is at once arbitrary and absolute. The crowd is also a market, and, as Walter Benjamin observed in the Parisian context, it inflates the commodity: "The concentration of customers which makes the market, which in turn makes the commodity into a commodity, enhances its attractiveness to the average buyer" (1983:56). So too in the Pacific. When J. R. Forster arrived in Tonga, the presence of the crowd announced the commencement of trade, heralding a feverish exchange of commodities: "The shore & rocks were crowded with people. They harraed when we came near, & immedi-

ately began trading with us, & offered us Cloth & other trifles to sell viz. Mother of Pearl Shells, which they hung on their breast; brasselets of mother of Pearl; Fishhooks; little Paddles & Stools of Clubwood; Bows & Arrows, Clubs" (1982:337). Although Forster tries to dismiss the items displayed as trifles, there is much evidence of the "unregulated desire" for acquisition that Harriet Guest has elucidated in this passage and other accounts of Tonga from Cook's voyages (Guest 2003:110–111). The crew members' desire is, indeed, unregulated in a practical sense, since the value of the items to be acquired is at the moment of contact incommensurable. To the degree, however, that either party determines what Guest calls the "terms of trade" in first contact, this is surely the prerogative of the Pacific crowd, by both virtue of numbers and the fact that it supplies items of subsistence as well as fluctuating commodities.

The crowd at the scene of contact, and its relationship to the instantiation of exchange, might be compared with the configuration Benjamin portrays as buoying the petty bourgeoisie in Baudelaire's Paris. The latter are characterized by Benjamin as not yet "aware of the commodity nature of their labour power"; they thus enjoy an identification with the commodity "with all the pleasure and uneasiness which derived from a presentiment of [their] own destiny as a class" (Benjamin 1983:59). So too the exchanges of early contact may be charged with the presentiment of a subsequent relationship of power, but these exchanges are characterized also by a pleasurable identification of self with object that turns frogs into princes, sailors into both sought-after objects and collectors of the possibly valuable foreign. Once again, this seems predicated on a dialectic of scopophilia, in which the desire to be looked at is nested in the desire to observe.[7]

Scene III: The Island

. . . among them I should be smothered by their curiosity to see me.
—William Bligh

The remainder of this essay will amplify certain issues I have sketched out here, by way of a reading of the 1792 account of William Bligh's *Bounty* voyage, with the aim to demonstrate what happens when we place the crowd at the center of interpretation. The text, though written in the first person and derived from Bligh's log, was published while Bligh was back in the Pacific completing his breadfruit mission.[8] It therefore received editorial shaping from James Burney, who had been twice in the Pacific with Cook, and whose own experience of Tahiti also resurfaces in Bligh's narrative (du Rietz 1962).[9]

The *Bounty* voyage had been undertaken at the instigation of Joseph Banks to collect and convey breadfruit cuttings to the West Indies for cultivation as a staple food for plantation slaves. Bligh negotiated with Tinah, the *ari'i rahi* or prominent chief of Tahiti, for breadfruit plants in exchange for "valuable presents" purportedly sent directly by George III (Bligh 1979:73). The officers and crew spent five and a half months on Tahiti-nui, first at Matavai and then at Pare, while the breadfruit cuttings were established. The mutiny that took place only three and a half weeks after the ship's departure was attributed by Bligh to the friendships forged during this prolonged sojourn: intimacies filtered from an initial encounter with a crowd impelled by curiosity that became indexed to specific relationships—of trade and of ceremonial and social protocol. Even as insurrectionary crowds were taking over the streets of metropolitan Paris,[10] Bligh found in Tahiti a crowd whose constitutive events and practices marked it, beyond its elemental capacity to overwhelm, as culturally coherent.

Bligh's arrival at Matavai Bay on 26 October 1788 is once again figured as a succession of crowd scenes: "As we drew near, a great number of canoes came off to us . . . [the people] crowded on board in vast numbers, notwithstanding our endeavours to prevent it, as we were working the ship in; and in less than ten minutes, the deck was so full that I could scarce find my own people" (Bligh 1979:59). As the use of the word "endeavours" perhaps unconsciously confirms, the crowd that obstructs the process of landing is an authenticating presence. Its attendance links Bligh's voyage to a tradition that includes Wallis's, Bougainville's and Cook's arrivals in Tahiti. The observation that he "could scarce find my own people" becomes resonant with hindsight, invoking the future deck-top encounter in which his crew members will declare themselves for Bligh or against him. Yet the situation is also subtly complicated in the ensuing crowd scenes on land, where the "own people" the commander has difficulty identifying among the pressing throng become pre-eminent members of the Matavai community. "The ship being anchored," he writes, "our number of visitors continued to increase; but as yet we saw no person that we could recollect to have been of much consequence. Some inferior chiefs made me presents" (Bligh 1979:61). These individuals of consequence have, of course, been singled out from the crowd on former voyages: they are the named Tahitians of previous explorers' accounts, including Cook's final voyage, on which Bligh had served as master of the *Resolution*. Identifying them within the crowd, as well as accounting for the animals and plants left by Cook, and retracing Cook's footsteps and friendships, becomes an important aspect of Bligh's project to represent himself as Cook's inheritor.[11] Bligh had been the only officer on Cook's last voyage not to receive promotion when the *Resolution* and *Discovery* returned

to London, after falling out over his handling of events leading to Cook's death with Lieutenant James King. Greg Dening has insightfully analyzed the ways in which Bligh overvalued the mission as a chance to redeem his career (1992:65). To claim relation to Cook by reforging his connections in Tahiti was surely among the overdetermined imperatives of Bligh's voyage.

The concern to identify individuals of distinction among the multitude is at the same time ironized in a number of ways within Bligh's account. After noting that "my table at dinner was generally crouded," Bligh problematizes his capacity to establish the extent of the crowd or the degree of consequence of its individual members, commenting, "Almost every individual of any consequence has several names, which makes it frequently perplexing, when the same person is spoken of, to know who is meant. Every chief has perhaps a dozen or more names in the course of thirty years; so that the person who has been spoken of by one visitor, will not perhaps be known to another, unless other circumstances lead to a discovery" (Bligh 1979:82). The individual of consequence proliferates in Tahiti into a version of what Elias Canetti terms "the invisible crowd" (2000:42–47),[12] thwarting the European's attempt to forge connections based on hierarchy established over the course of a series of significant contacts and reducing the grand task of "discovery" to the lesser project of establishing identity. In Bligh's log, a more expansive discussion of this phenomenon is prefaced by the comment, "I should speak of a variety of Chiefs from other districts who have visited us, but as it would be nothing but a catalogue of Names, it can be of no use" (1937, 1:384). Here Bligh seems to make a different kind of distinction between the crowd of the text and the physical crowd, implying that the inability to distinguish individuals is one that may persist in reading but which is overcome through the praxis of contact.

A more telling irony, however, is Bligh's identification of the disabled as immediate figures of distinction among the multitude. In a crowd scene at the house of the chief Poeno, Bligh relates, "The people . . . thronged about the house, in such numbers, that I was much incommoded by the heat, which being observed, they immediately drew back. Among the crowd I saw a man who had lost his arm just above the elbow; the stump was well covered, and the cure seemed as perfect as could be expected from the greatest professional skill" (1979:63). Here the disabled body alone stands out from the collective body of the crowd, registering as the sole figure of consequence. In his log Bligh distinguishes individuals for their obesity, a cancerous nose and jaw, a lost eye, deformed limbs, and ulcerations (1937, 1:391, 389, 403; 2:30). Despite the focus on these figures as exceptions, there is an implication that they might be representatives of a different "invisible crowd," a crowd of the ill and infected, for whom Bligh is keen to disclaim responsibility. "Scropulous Patients were I to encourage them would be innumerable," he observes,

concluding, "I do not beleive that they have superior blessings with respect to health; we already see them with dreadful Cancers, Consumptions, Fevers, Fits and the Scropula in a Shocking degree, and we may infer many incidental diseases besides. The fertile Country and delightfull Climate of the Society Islands does not therefore exempt its Inhabitants from the attendant miseries of ill health" (Bligh 1937, 2:31).

Bligh encounters examples of closed, or event-specific, crowds (Canetti 2000:17), particularly *heivas*, or musical performances, and wrestling displays, which, as in Cook's and other exploration accounts, tremble on the edge of "riot and confusion" (Bligh 1979:88) only to reaffirm order. But his more complex responses surface when he himself figures as object of curiosity rather than honored viewer, the curious visitor. Though this phenomenon occurs at ceremonies of welcome and prestation, greater affirmation comes with the aggregation of a spontaneous or open crowd. Thus, when Bligh perambulates around Matavai Bay he finds that "in my walk I had picked up a numerous attendance, for every one I met followed me; so that I had collected such a croud, that the heat was scarce bearable, every one endeavouring to get a look to satisfy their curiosity: they however carefully avoided pressing against me, and welcomed me with chearful countenances, and great good-nature" (p. 68). Bligh's Pied Piper capacity to attract a curious crowd compensates for the discomfort caused by the press of bodies. At the same time his rather poignant reference to "chearful countenances, and great good-nature" suggests that he is trying to recover some level of intimacy from the encounter and to emphasize the benign reception that he had received in Tahiti. The avoidance of direct touch in this instance can be attributed to the operation of *tapu*, a local practice of ritualistic restrictions that militates against that complete dissolution of boundaries and distinctions, and thus against the giving up of individual identity to the press of bodies that is often represented as one of the universal aspects of the crowd. According to Canetti:

> It is only in a crowd that Man can become free of [the] fear of being touched. . . . The crowd he needs is the dense crowd, in which body is pressed to body; a crowd, too, whose physical constitution is also dense, or compact, so that he no longer notices whose body it is that presses against him. As soon as a man has surrendered himself to the crowd, he ceases to fear its touch. Ideally, all are equal there; no distinctions count, not even that of sex. (2000:15)

In Tahiti, the laws of *tapu* create currents stronger than the spontaneous pressures of the crowd: invisible barriers serve precisely to reinstitute distinctions of gender and hierarchy.

Some weeks later Bligh notes the waning of the crowd and explains it in terms of a waning curiosity: "The croud of natives was not so great as hitherto it had been: the curiosity of strangers was satisfied; and, as the weather began to be unsettled and rainy, they had almost all returned to their homes. . . . [O]ur supplies however were abundant; and what I considered as no small addition to our comforts, we ceased to be incommoded, when on shore, by the natives following us, and could take our walks almost unnoticed" (1979:84). There is something slightly peeved in Bligh's response, as though he misses the crowd that incommoded him. That same day he reports putting on a performance that might be regarded as an attempt to solicit the very crowd he repudiates here:

> The ship's barber had brought with him from London, a painted head, such as the hair-dressers have in their shops, to shew the different fashions of dressing-hair; and it being made with regular features, and well coloured, I desired him to dress it, which he did with much neatness, and with a stick, and a quantity of cloth, he formed a body. It was then reported to the natives that we had an English woman on board, and the quarter-deck was cleared of the croud, that she might make her appearance. Being handed up the ladder, and carried to the after-part of the deck, there was a general shout of "*Huaheine no Brittanne myty*." Huaheine signifies woman, and myty, good. Many of them thought it was living, and asked if it was my wife. One old woman ran with presents of cloth and bread-fruit, and laid them at her feet; at last they found out the cheat; but continued all delighted with it, except the old lady, who felt herself mortified, and took back her presents, for which she was laughed at exceedingly. (1979:85)

Here Bligh first employs rumor to produce a crowd, which he then clears from his decks, reasserting his status as object of interest by creating an object of interest and carefully working his assembled audience.[13] By creating the spectacle that draws the crowd, Bligh reinitiates and at the same time mocks the local practice of formal gift giving. Once again we might recall Benjamin's comments on the capacity of the crowd to animate the object. In the city, according to Benjamin, objects derive their charm "from the crowd that surges around and intoxicates them" (1983:56). In the Tahitian harbor this process is literalized: only the crowd can animate the painted head and invite it into the circle of exchange. Yet Bligh's jest also cuts across the very logic of reciprocity upon which his breadfruit mission is dependent. The old woman's act of humiliated hospitality, as she retracts the gift she

had extended, registers the personal cost of his purportedly crowd-pleasing antics. The published account, however, here departs tellingly from Bligh's log, which makes very clear that the Tahitians are in on the joke from the start: they are figured not as dupes but as participants in a performance (1937, 1:386). More significantly for the current argument, only in the published account is Bligh's performance linked with the waning of the crowd. The incident occurs on 5 November 1788 in both accounts; however, in Bligh's log the reduction of the Tahitian crowd and an attendant sense of the ship's decreased novelty value are not registered until 25 January 1789, when Bligh writes, "The Novelty of our being here is now wore off, so that we are not crouded with the Natives as at first" (1937, 2:23). If the juxtaposition of this awareness with Bligh's jest in the published version is an editorial intervention, it might indicate that the simultaneous push and pull of the crowd, its role as both impediment and source of affirmation, was recognized and highlighted by the first readers of Bligh's manuscript.

The departure of the *Bounty*, on 4 April 1789, is again accompanied by crowd scenes. Bligh writes that on the third, "The ship was crouded the whole day with the natives, and we were loaded with cocoa-nuts, plantains, bread-fruit, hogs, and goats." As the ship stood off, Bligh writes, "The outlet of Toahroah harbour being narrow, I could permit only a few of the natives to be on board: many others, however, attended in canoes" (1979:140: compare Bligh 1937; 2:68–69). Yet there are two important distinctions between the crowd scenes of arrival and departure, through which Bligh indexes the changed relations between crew members and Tahitians that have developed over the period of the ship's visit. The crowd on board is no longer anonymous. It is a crowd of friends: "Scarce any man belonging to the ship was without a *tyo* [friend], who brought to him presents, chiefly of provisions for a sea store" (Bligh 1979:139). Where, upon arrival, Bligh scanned the sea of faces around him for individuals made significant by other voyagers' encounters or by rank, here individuals are recognized as significant by virtue of interpersonal, albeit highly structured, relationships of intimacy. And the crowd is silent. "In the evening, there was no dancing or mirth on the beach, such as we had been accustomed to, but all was silent," he records (p. 140). The uncanny assembly of the silent crowd constitutes an act of mourning that solemnizes the moment of departure. At the same time, the silent crowd of intimates sets the scene for Bligh's analysis of the mutiny, which he will predicate upon the bonds formed between crew members and Tahitians: "for to the friendly and endearing behaviour of these people, may be ascribed the motives for that event which effected the ruin of an expedition, that there was every reason to hope, would have been completed in a most fortunate manner" (p. 141). Tahitian generosity and hospitality, sustained by a natural

abundance that facilitates bounteous gestures, is ultimately adduced as the chief cause of the failure of Bligh's imperial project.

Yet it is the Tahitian crowd that at the same time fissures Bligh's account, undermining the rationale of both his voyage and his explanation of the motives for the mutiny. Because the clamorous crowd brings with it the specter of insufficiency, of want. Bligh's account of a performance by members of the Arioi sect in Tahiti is followed by an attempt to justify their practice of infanticide, which develops the explanation he has been offered by "such of the natives as I conversed with . . . that it was necessary, to prevent an over population." This is in turn dilated into a proto-Malthusian projection:

> In countries so limited as the islands in the South Seas . . . it is not unnatural that an increasing population should occasion apprehensions of universal distress. . . . The number of inhabitants at Otaheite have been estimated at above one hundred thousand. The island, however, is not cultivated to the greatest advantage: yet, were they continually to improve in husbandry, their improvement could not, for a length of time, keep pace with an unlimited population. (Bligh 1979:79–80)

The vision of Tahiti adumbrated here has the potential to undermine two arguments crucial to Bligh's account, both of which are founded on a notion of Tahitian natural fecundity, on a thesis of bounty. The first is that the population can easily spare the breadfruit cuttings requested by his mission: that their diversion will have an insignificant impact on Tahiti's natural abundance. When the gift of breadfruit was proposed, claims Bligh, Tinah "seemed much delighted to find it so easily in his power to send anything that would be well received by King George." Bligh emphasizes his concomitant efforts to disguise from his Tahitian hosts the worth to his party of a gift that he feels assured will cost them so little (p. 73). The second contention is that, in returning to Tahiti, the mutineers were returning to a life without labor, in which natural surplus is guaranteed without need for improved husbandry. Bligh later asserts of the mutineers that "they imagined it in their power to fix themselves in the midst of plenty, on one of the finest islands in the world, where they need not labour" (p. 162). Of course, labor-free existence cannot be promised in a society threatened by overcrowding.[14]

This passage of speculation on Tahiti's population growth, developed from some less coherent musings in Bligh's log (1937, 2:78–79), was expanded in the 1792 account into a proposal to ease the burden of potential overpopulation by encouraging Tahitian immigration to New Holland: the work of Bligh's editor, James Burney.[15] Burney had also been confronted by the prac-

tice of infanticide during his first trip to the Society Islands, on Cook's second voyage, and had, like Bligh, posited an explanation that accounted for custom via the crowd: "They have some very barbarous customs, the worst of which is, when a man has as many children as he is able to maintain, all that come after are smothered. . . . Yet notwithstanding all this, these Islands are exceedingly populous—even the Smallest being full of inhabitants & perhaps were it not for the Custom just mentioned, these would be more than the islands could well maintain" (Burney 1975:73). Burney's crowd wells up in Bligh's text, converging with Bligh's, so that his further deliberations on the subject become ventriloquized as Bligh's. At the same time, the persistent question of the crowd that Burney's interpolations serve to highlight puts Bligh's project and accompanying defense under question.

Moreover, the evocation of another Tahiti—a land of hunger and want—adumbrated within the crowd works not only against the terms of Bligh's own narrative but against the broader discourse of a romanticized Tahitian paradise—a place of easy plenty—launched by Bougainville and disseminated in Britain through popular poetry and theater.[16] The crowded Tahiti of Bligh's account might thus be said to contest an abiding trope in that exploration literature to which he was nonetheless so keen to make his contribution.

There is, indeed, a further retrospective irony to the account's speculation on a proto-Malthusian future for Tahiti. As Catherine Gallagher has argued (1986:85), the paradox of Malthus's thesis lies in the fact that the healthy body, multiplying through "the very power of its fecundity" results in the degeneration of the social whole. Healthy bodies reproduce incrementally, competing for diminished resources. In Tahiti, on the other hand, the charged sexual activity that resulted from contact facilitated the transmission of contagious diseases, which in turn led to the diminishment of the body of the Tahitian crowd and decreased indigenous pressure on resources. Where Bligh's and Burney's shared vision of an overpopulated island attests directly to the pressure of bodies that they registered surrounding them in Tahiti—to both the stimulus and constraint of contact—the material consequence of the crowd scene was to be the dwindling of the crowd.

NOTES

This essay grew out of a paper delivered at a panel on "Cultural Contacts in Polynesia since the Enlightenment" at the American Historical Association Pacific Coast Branch Annual Meeting 2003. I would like to thank Catarina Krizancic and Harry Liebersohn for inviting me to contribute to the panel, and for the productive exchanges it initiated.

1. I have discussed the scopophilic dimension of the project of "discovery" elsewhere (Smith 2003:117).

2. Dening structures *Mr Bligh's Bad Language* (1992) as a series of "Acts," to which this essay's "Scenes" in some degree correspond. His recognition of a "dialectic between audience and actors" operating within early contact entails a nuanced awareness of the dynamics of group curiosity and reactivity (Dening 1996:118).

3. That much of the debate on pre- and postcontact populations in the Pacific is focused on Hawai'i indicates the significance of the Hawaiian crowd to contemporary Pacific scholarship. While the current essay limits itself almost exclusively to the Tahitian crowd, and emphasizes the libidinal and exhibitionist dimensions of crowd scenes, the more extended work from which it draws looks at the Hawaiian crowd, and particularly the politics of reading Cook's death, as a counterpart to the crowd welcome (Smith n.d.: chap. 1). It is also important to note at this point that in the erotics of the Tahitian crowd scene were seeded its destruction as a quantitative force, through the effects of sexually transmitted disease. By concentrating on representations of the crowd at the moment of contact, this essay seeks not to diminish the effect of subsequent decimation but to account for its early dynamics.

4. An exception to the urban theorization of the crowd is George Rudé's seminal work on the crowd in the eighteenth century, which looks at rural village and market town crowds in preindustrial Britain and France. Rudé emphatically characterizes the period he discusses as transitional, however: his telos is still "the new 'industrial' society" (Rudé 1964:5). An exception to the metropolitan theorization of the crowd is Stanley Tambiah's *Leveling Crowds* (1996), which examines the role of collective violence in peripheral (South Asian) settings of ethnonationalist conflict. Yet the case studies Tambiah examines remain urban and enmeshed within global networks of political and economic power. Durkheim's discussion of the manifestations of a collective "effervescence" linking the modern crowd with totemic religious cultures avoids the metropolitan bias that underpins much writing on the crowd. Durkheim, though, adduces the crowd to an analysis of totemic religion: he is not primarily a theorist of the crowd (2001:154–162). I am grateful to Harry Liebersohn for drawing my attention to this last reference.

5. Susan Barrows associates later, nineteenth-century crowd theory not only with the revolution of 1789 but more specifically with its aftermath in the European revolutions of 1848, the suppressed Paris uprising of 1871, and "the chaos of the Third Republic" in France (1981:43, 7–42; compare Nye 1975).

6. The focus on curiosity as a European prerogative responds to, and to some degree rearticulates, what Harriet Guest has identified as a European assumption that "curiosity and civilization are . . . intimately entwined." Guest notes that in the late eighteenth century, "curiosity was one of the characteristics that those allocated to the lowest rungs of the ladder of cultivation were thought to lack, whereas, in contrast, its impartial or indiscriminate avidity was seen as a hallmark of high civilization" (1996:xli).

7. Compare with Greg Dening's discussion of the theatrics of this ambivalence (1996:101–127).

8. For an account of this second voyage, see Oliver 1988.

9. Rolf du Rietz goes so far as to argue that "Bligh's *Voyage* should henceforth be stated as having been written partly by James Burney and partly by William Bligh (on whose journal and directions Burney of course still based his compilation)" (1962:120). This suggestion does not appear to have been taken up by subsequent scholars.

10. As Jocelyn Dunphy pointed out some years ago, the early riots of the French Revolution—characterized by some, as I mentioned earlier, as the original Crowd Scene—were coincident with the *Bounty* mutiny (1982:281–282).

11. In his log, Bligh indeed makes a point of giving "an account of some principal People and their descendants here who have been Spoke of in our earliest Voyages" (1937, 2:62–63).

12. I am adopting Canetti's term with some license here: he uses the notion of the invisible crowd to cover the hordes of the dead and of future generations, whose imagined presence or posterity influences the actions of the living.

13. For a different but not unrelated analysis of this scene, see Smith 2004.

14. I have discussed the relationship between Bligh's breadfruit commission and general perceptions of Oceanic bounty at greater length in Smith 2006.

15. Burney sought approval for his editorial insertions in correspondence with Joseph Banks (du Rietz 1962). For discussion of a proposal in favor of Tahitian emigration to New South Wales received some years earlier by Joseph Banks (SLNSW MITCHELL MSS 1786:7–9), see Smith 2003:126.

16. For a related discussion of the significance of an unpeopled agricultural landscape to the romanticization of the English countryside, see Ferguson 1988.

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ELECTIONS ON GUAM, 1970–2002

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Guam, taken as a spoil of the 1898 Spanish-American War, has since been an unincorporated U.S. territory in the western Pacific. Although U.S. citizenship was conferred on the island people by the 1950 Organic Act, the chief executive was not popularly elected until 1970. This article describes electoral politics and parties on Guam: candidates, campaigns, results, and analyses. The first seven gubernatorial elections are surveyed, and the contests of 1998, 2000, and 2002 are described in detail. The 1998 race, an especially contentious one, was finally settled by a U.S. Supreme Court decision. The 2002 governorship contest pitted media power and careful strategy against activism and an effort to empower voters. As with many Pacific island societies, Guam's politics are colorful, faction ridden, and provide an interesting example of democratic process at work in a small-scale society.

A Chamorro core value is the avoidance of mamahalao, *the shame or embarrassment of a family when one of its members acts in a self-serving or confrontational way. Linked to* mamahalao *is the local tradition of respect for a patron—a person of authority, a protector, or a benefactor—who assists a family by providing jobs or other benefits to its members. For Chamorros, the most authoritative benefactors on Guam are the governor and the bishop.*

—Robert F. Rogers

MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the thirty-mile-long island of Guam were taken by the United States from Spain as spoils of war in 1898. Guam became an unincorporated territory of the

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United States by virtue of the Insular Cases of 1901, a political status it retains to this day. Thus began nearly fifty years of U.S. naval rule of Guam, violently interrupted by thirty months of Japanese occupation during the Pacific War. Throughout the period of naval rule—which vested all executive, legislative, and judicial powers in the office of the naval governor—Chamorro leaders petitioned for clarity regarding their political rights and identity. These efforts culminated in 1936, when Francis B. Leon Guerrero and Baltazar J. Bordallo visited Washington, D.C., for the purpose of requesting American citizenship for the people of Guam. Legislation for citizenship was passed by the Senate of the U.S. Congress, but because of Navy opposition, it failed to gain approval in the House of Representatives.

This quest was taken up again after the Pacific War, when the Guam Congress staged a dramatic walkout in 1949 as an expression of dissatisfaction with U.S. naval rule.[1] The walkout made headlines in the American media, and the efforts of the Chamorro (also Chamoru) people and their friends on the U.S. mainland culminated in the transfer of administrative authority from the U.S. Navy to the civilian Department of Interior in 1949. An underlying issue for the U.S. military was its need for Chamorro land, acquisition of which would be legally difficult if Chamorros were not U.S. citizens.

In 1950, President Truman signed the Organic Act, which granted American citizenship—congressional rather than constitutional—local control, and most rights of the U.S. Constitution to the people of Guam. The Organic Act provided for a legislature and the election of twenty-one senators, chosen biannually, and was amended in 1968 to allow for the election of the governor and lieutenant governor (for four-year terms) as well as a slate, beginning with an election for these offices in 1970. The contests for legislative seats and for governor and lieutenant governor have been very spirited events as individuals compete for the prestige, power, influence, and opportunity such public offices provide. This study focuses on Guam's three most recent elections, those of 1998, 2000, and 2002. The gubernatorial races of 1998 and 2002, particularly, captured the attention of nearly everyone on Guam because of the personalities and high stakes involved. The 1998 gubernatorial contest culminated in an unprecedented postelection controversy that made its way to the Supreme Court of the United States for final resolution in 1999. This same kind of excitement was aroused in the heated 2002 race between Congressman Robert Underwood and his running mate, Senator Tom Ada, as they went nose-to-nose with Senators Felix Camacho and Kaleo Moylan, the sons of Guam's first elected governor and lieutenant governor.

Political Parties and Past Elections

> *We have learned to set aside our partisan differences when it comes to dealing with federal issues, and this is good although it was long in coming. Can we not learn to do this with issues that originate here at home as well?. . . Are there any among us, Republican or Democrat, who don't want to see our schools function better? Are there any among us, Democrat or Republican, who don't want our economy to grow?*
>
> —Governor Joseph F. Ada, State of the Territory Address, 1994

Political parties are a postwar phenomenon on Guam. The present Democratic Party of Guam had its roots in the Commercial Party, formed in 1949 by a group of Chamorro businessmen. In 1950, this party renamed itself the Popular Party in anticipation of legislative elections called for in the Organic Act. Affiliating with the U.S. mainland Democratic Party in 1960, the Popular Party evolved into the Democratic Party of Guam and dominated elections for the twenty-one seats in the Guam legislature both before and after 1960, in some cases holding all twenty-one seats.

The Republican Party of Guam was formed in 1966 from elements of the Welfare Party that had emerged in 1956 to contest legislative seats then dominated by the Popular Party. Several of Guam's wealthy elites, such as Pedro Leon Guerrero, Edward Calvo, and B. J. Bordallo, were prominent in these parties that attracted other key individuals such as Carlos Camacho, Joseph Flores (both future governors, albeit appointed by the U.S. president), and Kurt Moylan (Guam's first elected lieutenant governor, in 1970).[2] With skilled leadership that could match the Democrats, the Guam Republicans won the first gubernatorial election in 1970 with Carlos Camacho and Kurt Moylan. They won again in 1978 with Calvo and Joe Ada, again in 1986 with Ada and Frank Blas, and in 1990 when Joe Ada and Frank Blas won reelection. The party controlled the legislature from 1974 to 1982 but did not regain majority control again until 1996. Republicans dominated the 1998 legislative election, taking twelve of the fifteen seats (there were twenty-one seats until the election of 1998). To date, all of Guam's elected governors and lieutenant governors have emerged from the ranks of the legislature.

Party ideology has been generally lacking as a coalescing force on Guam. Party loyalty in Guam's small-scale society develops mainly from family and clan connections and attraction to dynamic or popular individuals such as an Antonio Won Pat, Ricky Bordallo, Joe Ada, Carl Gutierrez, or Robert Underwood. Given the weakness of ideology as a coalescing force, party discipline is easily fractured, and factions develop, fade, and then redevelop. Dizon has

written: "These networks of organizations sporadically produce dissension, division, and suspicion during a campaign. Candidates within the party try to outdo each other. Supporters enthusiastically campaign loudly or quietly just for their own candidate. At times, they manage to combine forces with other candidates and their supporters. All of these take place before the primary election, when the party organization is weak and candidates have a free hand in many of the campaign activities that they do" (1982:21).

Such factionalism has been a major dynamic in Guam politics and has led to interesting intraparty skirmishes that generally benefited the nonfeuding party. For example, in the first and second gubernatorial elections, 1970 and 1974, the parties were rife with factionalism. In 1970, the Democrats split into three factions and failed to unite after the primary race, which required an exhausting runoff between the two dominant factions. This cost them control of government. After four years in power, the Republicans split bitterly in 1974. Paul Calvo, from Guam's cosmopolitan elite, challenged incumbent governor Carlos Camacho, an older, established leader and last appointed governor. Although the Democrats were split into four factions then, they rallied behind the energetic Ricky Bordallo and narrowly defeated Camacho for the governorship. The grassroots organization that Bordallo's 1970 running mate, Richard Taitano, put in place then was enlarged during the 1974 race and became crucial to the Bordallo victory.[3] But during his governorship Bordallo did not get along with his lieutenant, Rudy Sablan, who challenged Bordallo in a fierce contest for the 1978 candidacy. With the Democrats badly split, the Republicans united behind one candidate, Paul Calvo, the primary loser in 1974, and voted him into the governorship. Calvo shrewdly chose as his lieutenant Joseph Ada, then a three-term senator and top vote-getter in the 1974 and 1976 legislative races.

Bordallo was gracious in defeat but determined to retake the governorship, and he went to work consolidating unity among the Democrats. In the 1982 primary race, he and his running mate, Eddie Reyes, defeated their Democratic primary-race challengers. For his part, Governor Calvo had his hands full dealing with a reluctant lieutenant governor, a challenge in the primary, and a federal government investigation into the governor's road-paving deals (which turned out to be quite improper). In contrast to the troubled governor, Ricky Bordallo was full of energy and surprises. He wooed huge campaign crowds, using the media skillfully, and he had an attractive wife, a former First Lady, who campaigned tirelessly. The Bordallo-Reyes team won a close race by just 1,402 votes of the 28,996 cast (Rogers 1995:271).

But the kind of problems that hounded Governor Calvo toward the end of his term in office emerged to nag Governor Bordallo as he was gearing up for reelection in 1986. Senators Carl Gutierrez and John Aguon represented

the Democratic Party's "Sunshine" faction to challenge Bordallo-Reyes in the Democratic primary. Indictments by a federal grand jury did not hurt Bordallo in the primary, which he easily won. However, charges of illegal activity were "spewed out in the media like an avalanche of dirty laundry" (Rogers 1995:279), and although Bordallo-Reyes had a comfortable lead after the September 1986 primary, it evaporated in the face of the corruption charges. The Republican team of Senators Joe Ada and Frank Blas defeated their primary-race opponents, Senators Tommy Tanaka and Tony Unpingco, and swept into control of the executive offices, defeating Bordallo-Reyes by 2,594 votes, a 7.6 percent victory margin. This team proved right for the times as the Guam economy boomed and they won reelection in 1990. It took some doing, though, to defeat Madeleine Bordallo, the wife of former governor Ricardo Bordallo, who tragically committed suicide in early 1990.[4] Madeleine Bordallo, a popular First Lady, senator, and skilled campaigner, easily won the 1990 primary. She showed considerable strength in the early polls but lost to the Ada-Blas team by about 5,000 votes, nearly a 14 percent margin, which was the largest since gubernatorial elections began in 1970. Although a clear defeat, this election provided evidence that Madeleine Bordallo could do well in a gubernatorial race, and fellow Democrats took note.[5]

Within a year of the 1990 election, Madeleine Bordallo had agreed to run with Senator Carl Gutierrez in the 1994 gubernatorial race. For Gutierrez, this political marriage was a stroke of genius. It brought together two long-feuding Democratic Party factions and set the stage for the 1994 Gutierrez-Bordallo victory over Republican Senators Tommy Tanaka and Doris Brooks by a 4,100 vote margin. This loss was particularly difficult for Tanaka-Brooks because it appears that four to five thousand Republican-leaning supporters of the primary-race losers, Frank Blas and Simon Sanchez, went over to the Democrats when they were rebuffed after their primary-race loss. Tanaka and Brooks made another mistake in failing to get the enthusiastic support of outgoing governor Joe Ada. Financially, Tanaka-Brooks outspent Gutierrez-Bordallo $603,328 to $508,537.

Candidates for 1998

> *President Clinton will have a different view of Guam, not just a rock out here. It's important for him to come here to get a sense of the forgotten Americans out here in Asia.*
>
> —Governor Carl Gutierrez

In April 1997, some eighteen months before the 1998 primary, Angel Santos, age thirty-nine, Democratic senator and outspoken former leader of the

militant Chamoru Nation movement and self-proclaimed defender of the Chamorro poor and oppressed, was the first person officially to announce his candidacy for governor. At the time, Santos stated, "When the governor does the wrong thing . . . I have to stand next to the average citizen . . . in speaking out against these injustices" (Loerzel 1997:1). Santos chose as his running mate Jose Terlaje, a forty-five-year-old former policeman. This team claimed to be of and for the common people, promising land for the landless, help for the poor, and power to the disempowered. Santos and Terlaje adopted the campaign slogan "Hita," meaning "We" or "Us," and the latte stone as their logo. The indigenous slogan and logo and frequent use of the Chamorro language in public discussion were designed to appeal to the Chamorro voters who make up the plurality of the Guam electorate.

In early 1997, rumors circulated that Lieutenant Governor Madeleine Bordallo, age sixty-five, and the key to the Gutierrez-Bordallo victory of 1994, might retire to Florida. However, by October 1997 it seems she had agreed to run for reelection, as the Gutierrez-Bordallo 1998 logo began appearing in the *Pacific Daily News* along with announcements of meetings of political support groups such as the Inalahan '98 Committee's "Women for '98 Special Get-Together" on 12 October 1997. A Bordallo—either Madeleine or her late husband—had been in every gubernatorial race since 1970. Also in October, Governor Gutierrez had a fifty-seventh birthday fund-raising party that put him over the one million dollar mark in campaign contributions. There was public criticism of the governor's failure to report these contributions in a timely way. By law the Guam Election Commission must receive campaign contribution reports according to a set schedule, and Gutierrez's report was filed late. One commission member began questioning the reasons for the lateness. (Babauta 1997:1, 4). In 1998, the seven-seat commission had one vacancy and was politically split with three Republicans and three Democrats—a formula for dispute.

Gutierrez and Bordallo carried over their logo from 1994, a yellow circle with a sea scene and an updated red "98," and a powerfully rhythmic campaign song. The song was played endlessly, and the logo appeared all over the island, on private vehicles, in yards, on houses and hilltops, and even in neon signs. Their motto, "People of Guam, you're still the one," was incorporated into the theme song. One could hardly escape the impact of the Gutierrez-Bordallo campaign.

The third Democratic party faction to emerge for the 1998 gubernatorial primary race consisted of Ada, age forty-nine, and Leon Guerrero, forty-eight, two dynamic legislators who had done well in the biannual Guam legislature races. Ada was the top vote-getter in each of the three races he entered in 1992, 1994, and 1996, and therefore a very attractive candidate. Leon Guerrero first ran in 1994 and finished ninth; two years later she was

eighth. Tom Ada was retired from the U.S. Army, and some of his early campaign literature showed him in his officer's uniform. Leon Guerrero, from the family owning the Bank of Guam, had considerable financial resources and is a registered nurse with a graduate degree in public health. Known as "Tom and Lou," this team used red, white, and blue as their campaign colors; had a theme song; and employed a wave as their logo and the brief "It's time" as their motto. Tom and Lou portrayed themselves as the wave of change and projected an image of accountability, trust, and respect.

In 1998, the Republicans came forward with just one team. Apparently the party leadership recognized that it had to field a strong team given the record of accomplishment established by Carl Gutierrez and Madeleine Bordallo since 1995, their political skill, and their very deep pockets. Former two-term governor (1986–1993) Joseph "Joe" Ada, age fifty-five, announced his candidacy in March 1998, relatively late, but Ada apparently was happy in private life and had not found a satisfactory running mate until he recruited Senator Felix Camacho.[6] Camacho, forty-one, brought excellent credentials. His father, Carlos G. Camacho, had been Guam's last appointed governor (1969–1970) and first elected governor (1971–1974). Felix had three terms of legislative work (1992–1998) and extensive experience in the executive branch as well as in Guam's private sector. Both Joe Ada and Felix Camacho are college graduates. They decided to use the Guam flag and colors as their logo. "The start of something good" became their motto. Ada-Camacho was a strong and appealing team, despite the controversial public announcement by the 1994 Republican gubernatorial loser, Tommy Tanaka, four months earlier that he supported the Democratic ticket of Gutierrez-Bordallo. This highly criticized move by Tanaka showed the Republicans were divided, but the Democrats were fractured more deeply, as campaign events would demonstrate.

As previously noted, nearly all of Guam's elected governors and lieutenant governors emerged from the legislative branch of government. On Guam, senatorial seats are enthusiastically contested, but campaigns have become expensive and also require large outlays of time, energy, and commitment. In 1998, the winning candidates spent an average of $74,000 during the campaign season, ranging from a high of $207,085 to a low of $29,322 (see Wong 1998). Nearly all of this was raised through fund-raising efforts of various kinds. Some thirty-one candidates contested the fifteen senate seats. Of this total, only four were women. Of the twenty-one incumbents in the outgoing Guam Twenty-Fourth Legislature, fourteen stood for reelection; three retired; and four ran in the gubernatorial primary race (T. Ada, L. Leon Guerrero, A. Santos, and F. Camacho). Among the seventeen challengers, one was a former senator, Ted Nelson; two were women; and six were sons of former senators or a former governor or lieutenant governor: Eddie Calvo,

Simon Sanchez II, Kaleo Moylan, Frank Blas Jr., James Espaldon, and Galen Lujan—"the next generation" was a campaign slogan used by one of these candidates. Another interesting challenger was Norbert Perez, the self-proclaimed president of the Republic of Guahan (Guam) and the then-fiancé of Deborah Bordallo, daughter of the lieutenant governor.

In the race for Guam's lone seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, three-term congressman Robert Underwood, fifty, was challenged by Manuel Cruz, sixty, president of the American Federation of Government Employees on Guam and a newcomer to campaigning. Cruz faced a stiff uphill battle to make inroads on Underwood's support, which was based on six years of solid accomplishment in the House.

Campaign 1998

> *Some of us have expressed the thought of packing up our personal belongings and leaving the island altogether. However, we must stand our grounds and fight these bastards to the bitter end! Where the dominant class has increasingly turned to illegal activities in their pursuit of wealth and power, I refuse to allow these corrupt politicians to continue bribing us in exchange for controlling our minds and souls. We the people have waited over two years for answers to many of these cases.*
>
> —Senator Anghet L. G. Santos

The 1998 campaign season on Guam was spiced up by three major political surprises. The first was Senator Angel "Anghet" Santos's early 1997 announcement that he would challenge incumbent Carl Gutierrez for the governorship. Known as the man of the downtrodden and poor, Santos would go nose-to-nose with the self-made millionaire, consummate politician, and astute campaigner. The second was Tommy Tanaka's public announcement in December 1997 calling on Guam's voters to join him in supporting Gutierrez-Bordallo for reelection. Tanaka was the 1994 Republican Party loser in the race for governor, and his public support for the incumbent Democratic team was a political bombshell. The third surprise was a protracted court fight to determine if Gutierrez-Bordallo had, in fact, legally won reelection.

By mid-1998, the Democrats had fielded three candidate teams: the incumbent Gutierrez-Bordallo, Tom and Lou, and Santos-Terlaje. Tension mounted as Guam approached the September primary that would leave just one team to face the Republicans. As in the past when the party was factionalized, the Democratic Party chair, at this time former senator and legislature speaker Joe T. San Agustin, gathered the three factions for a "peace" session

and proposed a loyalty oath that called for everyone to support the primary-race winner. However, the four challengers did not turn up for the meeting: the Tom and Lou team complained that Gutierrez himself had opposed other Democrats in past elections and was then, allegedly, campaigning against incumbent Democratic Party Senators Mark Charfauros and Ben Pangelinan. And, in his characteristically assertive, no-nonsense style, Santos rebuffed the peace offer and suggested that the party should sanction Gutierrez. In an expression of solidarity, the oath was signed by some seventeen Democrats: Gutierrez, Bordallo, Underwood, and fourteen senatorial candidates. Early on, Santos and Terlaje had decided to boycott the media, but the Tom Ada and Lou Leon Guerrero team published an open letter pledging support for the principles, platform, and values of the Democratic Party and reminding the public of Gutierrez's party infidelities of 1978, 1986, and 1990: "in 1998, we have received many first hand accounts of Governor Gutierrez asking his supporters to vote for Republican senatorial candidates."[7]

After the early September primary election, which Gutierrez and Bordallo won by taking 51 percent of the Democratic vote, the party held a unity gathering and again attempted to win over the losing faction leaders and their supporters. Ada and Leon Guerrero attended the Skinner Plaza meeting, but Santos and Terlaje were visibly absent: no deals for them. No one wanted to admit it, but the gathering did little to unify the factions. Clearly, party unity was in tatters, and Gutierrez-Bordallo would have to win reelection on their own. They had a good start with a solid primary win that generated some momentum, plenty of money, and a good organization. But they faced two months of exhausting campaign work dogged by relentless opposition, both from within their party and from the Republicans.

Campaigning on Guam is exhausting work. It requires time, energy, money, family support, commitment, and endurance. The timid never make it, and there are no shortcuts to winning. Each candidate must, to one extent or another, engage in all these activities:

1. fund-raising parties and gatherings
2. social and family events such as wakes, baptisms, and weddings
3. public events such as graduations, ground-breakings, and dedications
4. door-to-door visits
5. motorcades and campaign rallies
6. selection of a color, logo, and motto
7. erection of roadside campaign signs, the larger the better
8. roadside waving, especially during the days before an election
9. distribution of printed campaign material that delivers the candidate's message and presents the person in the most attractive way possible

10. advertisement in the *Pacific Daily News*, on radio, and, if budget allows, on television
11. speeches at pocket meetings, debates, and forums

Campaigning begins with the approval and support of one's family, relatives, and friends. Incumbents usually have the advantage over challengers, especially in legislative races.

In the 1998 race for the fifteen senate seats, thirty-one candidates filed their candidacy with the Guam Election Commission. Francisco "Frank" Camacho, fifty-five, was a one-term incumbent. He had first run in 1994, when he finished thirty-fourth out of a field of forty-two. The run was expensive, but he was encouraged by friends and family to try again. He ran a second time in 1996 and won a much-coveted senate seat, finishing twentieth in a forty-two-candidate field. Camacho, a handsome, personable family man and a retired U.S. Air Force officer, worked hard his first term. As a Democrat he was allied to Governor Gutierrez and was banking on that connection in his reelection bid. However, with an election every two years, one's hold on office is tenuous. Senator Camacho attended a great many wakes, graduations, and parties, and he helped people, often with money. He recognized the 1998 race would be very competitive, as the number of senate seats was being reduced from twenty-one to fifteen. He put up innovative roadside signs that featured short messages, and he waved along the roadside, participated in motorcades to campaign rallies, spoke at forums and pocket meetings, organized fund-raisers in his village (municipality), and had his attractive wife accompany him at many of his campaign events. Frank Camacho advertised on the radio and television, and published a well-thought-out campaign flyer. His theme was "Invest in Guam . . . create jobs; read to a child; stay in school; reduce, reuse, recycle; protect our environment; be a crime stopper," and these were the messages that appeared on his roadside signs. His platform elaborated on his messages and centered on crime and public safety, the economy, education, and the environment. The senator's campaign flyer showed he had sponsored fourteen bills and eight public laws that concerned parks and recreation, public safety, community affairs, and justice—a good record. His flier was well done, better than those of most other candidates. Senator Camacho pushed his candidacy hard as election day approached, harder than in the past. The election results found Frank Camacho had finished eighteenth, shut out by just three places from the select group that would comprise the Twenty-Fifth Guam Legislature. He had been a victim of the reduction of the senate from twenty-one to fifteen seats; just four hundred more votes would have returned him to the legislature.

Campaign 1998 saw only four women candidates: two incumbents, Carlotta Leon Guerrero and Joanne Brown, and two challengers, Dot Chargualaf and Trini Torres. The Twentieth Guam Legislature had seven women members, but since that time the number had fallen off, and with the reduced number of seats, the situation was bleak for female candidates, especially challengers. Senator Carlotta Leon Guerrero, forty-three, a Republican, took an innovative approach to campaigning: she worked hard while in office. Fortunately, a number of her initiatives were realized during the campaign season, and this led to positive exposure in the press and on television. Further, she chaired a legislative committee and was the president of the Association of Pacific Island Legislatures. When she first took office, she decided to hire a professional staff—rather than a political staff—and this paid huge dividends because those individuals could do quality background work for bills, reports, and hearings. They could keep on top of issues, had a wide range of contacts throughout both the private sector and the government bureaucracy, and completed work on time.

For campaigning, Senator Leon Guerrero chose red and white as her colors and a heart inscribed with "Carlotta cares." Another candidate had chosen a heart and "I care" as a motto, and reportedly Leon Guerrero called this candidate to remind him that she was the first to go public with the heart logo. Her campaign card listed her family, including parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts and great-uncles and -aunts, brothers and sisters, even in-laws; work experience; and a five point platform. This platform also appeared on campaign flyers handed out at shopping malls and included the usual issues of safety for families and growing Guam's economy. But it also featured three rather unique issues: (1) to protect Guam's rights regarding the Compact of Free Association, (2) to support programs that break the cycle of violence against women and children, and (3) to look after the interests of the elderly and disadvantaged. These planks begged attention to important social issues and probably attracted voters to her.

Regarding roles that every campaigner must play, Senator Carlotta Leon Guerrero consistently attended wakes. Every Saturday she would make three to twelve wake visits during the day. She was involved in roadside waving only with the Ada and Camacho gubernatorial team. She appeared on television as election day approached, and she did a modest amount of advertising in the Guam daily newspaper and had small but obvious roadside signs at major intersections For 1998, she did not attend as many pocket meetings as in past campaigns, preferring not to get caught up in the tension between Senators Charfauros and Santos on the one hand and Governor Gutierrez on the other. She did well in fund-raising, with $56,092 raised and $56,028 spent. In respect to her competitors, in 1994, she ran twentieth; in 1996, she

was fifteenth; but in 1998, she finished tenth with 22,056 votes. Clearly, Leon Guerrero was recognized as a leader.

Similar sketches could be written of each of the other 1998 senatorial candidates, both winners and losers. What seemed to separate the winners and the losers was name recognition, incumbency and being Republican (every Republican incumbent except one won reelection; three of the five incumbent Democrats who sought reelection lost), family connections, reputation, and, surprisingly, gender. Each of the female incumbents (just two) won reelection without a great deal of special effort.

In the race for the Washington, D.C., nonvoting delegate seat to the U.S. House of Representatives, incumbent Robert Underwood faced challenger Manuel Cruz. They appeared at a number of forums, and Underwood came out on top each time, based on his considerable debate skills and wide knowledge of the issues. Spending much of his time in Washington, D.C., Underwood was at a disadvantage compared to his challenger in opportunities to carry out the social activities required of candidates. However, Underwood has done his best since taking office in 1993 to keep connected to the voters of Guam by mailing out Christmas cards, congratulatory notes, calendars, personal notes, and donations and by conscientiously assisting people with problems and participating in social obligations when on Guam, which tended to be every six to eight weeks. For example, on primary-election day (Underwood and Cruz, each their party's only delegate candidate, were not on the primary-race ballot), Underwood visited many of the polling stations to greet voters, pass out flyers, and gain exposure. This was an exhausting effort, but he recognized it as both important and necessary.

Both Underwood and Cruz made radio appearances, both had roadside signs, and both advertised in the *Pacific Daily News*. However, their ads were strikingly different: Cruz's ads were all identical, showing only himself and criticizing Underwood for "six years of unfulfilled promises." Underwood's *Pacific Daily News* advertisements had great variety: he used both the Chamorro and English languages in one, reminded voters to flip the ballot card in another, listed his accomplishments in the 103rd, 104th, and 105th U.S. Congresses in another, and advertised a fund-raiser in yet another. Underwood's most impressive print ad carried a photo of him with his mother and aunt at the Asan Bay Overlook Memorial Wall that commemorates the experience of the Chamorro people during the Pacific War. Truly a great achievement, this memorial wall was built with funding provided by Public Law 103-197, which Underwood wrote and moved through congress.

The most intense race for 1998 was the gubernatorial one. Guam's governor, as head of the executive branch, wields considerable power over government contracts and political appointments. Confrontation between the

Democratic candidates was manifest at a September 3 primary-election debate at the University of Guam, when at the end Governor Gutierrez challenged Senator Angel Santos to produce evidence of his claims of illegal drug possession and use by a member of a high-ranking government family. Santos responded by tearing up Gutierrez's notarized challenge and dropping the pieces beside the governor's chair.

The opposition had just begun. While the Tom and Lou campaign emphasized social problems they claimed the Gutierrez-Bordallo administration had failed to address, their criticism was tame compared to the direct attacks mounted by Senators Santos and Charfauros. In late September, just a few weeks after the primary, Senator Santos at the legislature called for an investigation of the Guam Police Department's mishandling of drug and homicide cases—hundreds of them. At the same time, Charfauros played an audio tape of individuals closely connected to the governor discussing rationalizations for use of Typhoon Paka relief funds (provided by the federal government) for several days' stay at the Hilton Hotel. Allegations of misuse of federal funds had been a nagging problem for Gutierrez both before and during the campaign. Because the tape Charfauros had obtained was probably made illegally, the legislature was thrown into confusion over the legitimate exercise of free speech. A gag order was imposed on Senator Charfauros by a Superior Court judge and then later lifted by action of the Guam Supreme Court. After this issue subsided, Santos took his concerns regarding hundreds of dismissed cases of law breaking, an alleged police department cover-up, and an unsolved high-profile murder case to the government's attorney general. Santos made three separate visits to the judicial center, each time demanding information about these cases. Finally, Acting Attorney General Kono determined that the Santos sit-in was obstructing the operations of his office. Santos and ten of his supporters were taken away in handcuffs. A week later, Santos and forty of his supporters took their complaints to the governor's office. They wanted answers to questions about the July 1996 murder of Michelle Limtiaco and whether the release of those arrested was related to the possible involvement of a Gutierrez relative. The Democratic Party senators were giving new meaning to the concept of political opposition, and their actions made for front-page copy in the *Pacific Daily News*, Guam's only daily newspaper, and on the island's radio talk shows. But were they hurting the Gutierrez-Bordallo campaign? Probably.

Then the Republicans in the legislature weighed in with their concerns. Senator Camacho, candidate for lieutenant governor, had questions about the executive branch's electric power–authority expenditure of $2 million of typhoon relief funds. Senator Carlotta Leon Guerrero held a hearing to

determine why the salary of an assistant to the governor and furniture for the governor's official residence were being paid for with funds from the telephone authority. As election day approached, the legislature called for budget hearings with the various executive-branch agencies. But the agency heads called in sick or claimed to be unavailable. At least two senators were angered by this snub. For Gutierrez, getting elected in 1998 was proving to be more difficult than in 1994. Now, as governor, Gutierrez had eighty agency heads—all political appointees—who could make a major blunder that would bounce back to hurt the governor. The sick-outs of agency directors so close to election day were, no doubt, a protective measure and a good tactic to avoid claims of budgetary inadequacies or major deficiencies of leadership in the Gutierrez-Bordallo administration.

With election day looming, voters were informed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) might probe the police department regarding missing evidence in a sensational drug case and that the territory's attorney general's office would likely investigate Government of Guam employees for selling campaign fund-raiser tickets during work hours. Earlier, the FBI indicated interest in Governor Gutierrez's fund-raising and spending records as well as records of the *Pacific Daily News* concerning payment for the highly criticized political advertisement taken out by Tommy Tanaka in December 1997.

With these charges and allegations swirling about on television, over radio, in other island discussions, and on the *Pacific Daily News* front page, the Gutierrez-Bordallo campaign, like the little train engine, kept chugging on and on and on. Gutierrez's response to the attacks was to take the high road, by emphasizing his administration's accomplishments and rebutting criticism quickly in plain and clear terms. Gutierrez did this quite effectively on television with his "On honesty and integrity" comment in response to the Joe Ada–Felix Camacho barrage of "Who do you really trust?" questions. Further, when Senator Charfauros succeeded in getting U.S. Congressman Tom DeLay to request assistance from the U.S. Inspector General for oversight hearings on the alleged mismanagement of federal funds by the Gutierrez administration, Gutierrez responded quickly with printed rebuttals from U.S. Congressmen Richard Gephardt and Underwood. They termed Charfauros's efforts "politically motivated" and "baseless accusations at the last minute" (Committee for an Accountable Government 1998:57). Gutierrez-Bordallo insiders also reportedly leaked "polls" that showed their team with double-digit leads over the Ada-Camacho ticket.

As election day approached, Gutierrez and Bordallo were busy opening a new wing of Guam's attractive airport, announcing campaign contributions topping the $2 million mark, unveiling an economic plan to assist Guam in

responding to the Asian economic downturn, and winning debates. Shortly before election day, Gutierrez led a discussion in Chamorro at the University of Guam, speaking effectively in Chamorro about controlling immigration, the return of land, and preservation of language and culture. The Ada-Camacho team had announced that it could not attend the session because of prior engagements.

Gutierrez-Bordallo also sponsored a number of rallies that attracted huge crowds and had plenty of food. At one preprimary rally, yellow teddy bears, campaign shirts, and corn chips were thrown to the crowd, and candidates danced on stage to the rhythmic campaign song. The Gutierrez-Bordallo print ads emphasized teamwork, cooperation, and help to the people of Guam. The campaign had a powerful pattern of color, logo art, music, and message.

1998 Results

> *Guam is special, it's too special for negative approaches . . . you're too smart for that. . . . as long as I'm with the grass roots, I'm in touch. We are out there everyday. People in the south tell me it's the first time the government has helped them. . . . Nobody will be left out. . . . We're humbled by the people's gratitude. Thank you.*
>
> —Governor Gutierrez, Campaign Rally, 2 September 1998

The Gutierrez-Bordallo team defeated its Democratic Party challengers in the September primary by taking 51 percent of the Democratic vote. Although the incumbents were not able to gain the public support of the losing candidates—the Tom and Lou team and the Santos and Terlaje team—they worked very hard themselves in pocket meetings and large gatherings, had a well-financed political "machine," and responded effectively to criticism from their opponents. The official results of the Democratic primary election of 7 September 1998 were as follows:

Candidates	*Votes*	*Percentage of Total*	*Percentage of Democratic Vote*
Gutierrez-Bordallo ("You're still the one")	16,794	45	51.0
Tom and Lou ("It's time")	9,360	25	28.4
Santos-Terlaje ("Hita")	6,777	18	20.6
Total Democratic votes cast	32,931	88	100.0

The Ada-Camacho ("The start of something good") Republican ticket took 4,517 votes in the primary, or 12 percent of the total of 37,448 votes cast.

The official results of the general election of 3 November 1998 in the three races, gubernatorial, legislative, and congressional, are noted below. The results of the governor's race were as follows:

Candidates	*Votes*	*Percentage of Total*
Gutierrez-Bordallo ("You're still the one")	24,250	49.83
Ada-Camacho ("The start of something good")	21,200	43.56
Other individuals via write-in votes	1,294	2.66
Undervotes (blank ballots)	1,313	2.70
Overvotes (void ballots)	609	1.25
Total votes cast	48,666	100.00

For the legislature, the following fifteen candidates were elected. Newly elected members are denoted by an asterisk.

Candidate	*Votes*
Frank B. Aguon Jr. (D)	27,752
Eddie B. Calvo* (R)	27,187
Simon A. Sanchez* (R)	23,938
Kaleo Moylan* (R)	23,721
Ben C. Pangelinan (D)	23,316
Antonio R. Unpingco (R)	22,729
Mark Forbes (R)	22,629
Larry F. Kasperbauer (R)	22,425
Alberto A. Lamorena (R)	22,181
Carlotta A. Leon Guerrero (R)	22,056
Marcel G. Camacho* (R)	21,596
Joanne M. Brown (R)	20,655
John C. Salas (R)	19,924
Anthony C. Blaz (R)	19,084
Eulogio Bermudes* (D)	19,002

Robert Underwood was returned to the U.S. House of Representatives.

Candidate	*Votes*	*Percentage of Total*
Robert A. Underwood (D)	34,179	74.2
Manuel Q. Cruz (R)	10,763	23.4
Other individuals via write-in	1,111	2.4
Total votes cast	46,053	100.0

Observations on the Elections of 1998

> *Leadership: It's about Trust, earning people's trust and trusting them to guide your efforts. It's about Advocacy, speaking out on Guam's behalf and representing all its people. It's about communicating and collaborating, keeping people informed and working well with others. It's about working hard for the people who are relying on you. It's about learning from our elders and honoring them in all you do.*
>
> —Congressman Robert Underwood, campaign advertisement, 21 October 1998

Guam's campaign 1998 recorded a number of firsts. Fund-raising by the candidates reached an aggregate of $5.3 million, with Governor Gutierrez raising $3.1 million, the lion's share. In comparison, former governor Joe Ada raised $526,877. Given these amounts and the number of votes received, Gutierrez spent $128 per vote, whereas Ada spent about $25 per vote (Wang 1998:1, 5). This expenditure was necessary for Gutierrez, given his desire to remain in office, the aggressiveness of his opponents, particularly Charfauros and Santos, and the appeal of the Ada–Camacho ticket. The Republican challengers went from 4,500 votes in the uncontested primary to 21,500 in the general election. When compared to Gutierrez-Bordallo, who began with 16,800 in the primary and finished with 24,250, this is a differential of 17,000 votes for Ada to 7,456 for Gutierrez. From the cost and vote-gain perspective, the Ada-Camacho team did extremely well. Another first was the large number of blank ballots (nearly 3 percent) and write-in votes (also nearly 3 percent) for individuals other than the official gubernatorial candidates. This seems to indicate some dissatisfaction with both tickets.

As in 1994, nearly 85 percent of Guam's registered voters turned out to cast ballots on 3 November 1998. Such a high turnout has been a defining characteristic of the Guam electorate since 1950. Guamanians love their politics and politicians.

For the first time in 1998, the Guam legislature would have six fewer senators than when it was created by the 1950 Organic Act. This reduction made

the competition for seats in 1998 considerably more intense than in the past. Four incumbents lost their reelection bids: Willy Flores, Mark Charfauros, Frank Camacho, and Edwardo Cruz, M.D. Two other incumbents who lost primary-election bids for the governorship ran again as write-in candidates for senate seats and lost as well: Senator Angel Santos garnered 10,499 votes and Tom Ada, 8,496 votes. The two female challengers, Dot Chargualaf and Trini Torres, finished well back, running twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth in the thirty-one-candidate field. A full third of the Twenty-Fifth Legislature were newcomers, and three of these—Eddie Calvo, Simon Sanchez, and Kaleo Moylan—were sons of former senators. The freshman senators-elect did very well in the campaigns and in fund-raising, with Republican Calvo the top fund-raiser of all candidates at $179,592 and Democrat Eulogio Bermudes third at $112,168.

In the race for Guam's single seat in the U.S. Congress, incumbent Robert Underwood easily defeated his challenger by taking nearly 75 percent of the vote. What is significant here is that 34,179 people voted for Underwood, a full 70 percent of those who came to the polls. This was the highest number of votes any candidate received in 1998 or in any previous election in Guam's history.

For the first time since the late 1970s, the Republicans would dominate the legislature, twelve seats to three, which meant that the Republicans would be able to overturn any veto by Governor Gutierrez. Just one candidate of all those who ran in 1998 had participated in every gubernatorial race since they began in 1970 as a candidate or a spouse supporting a candidate. That one was Lieutenant Governor Madeleine Bordallo, a former senator.

Regarding campaign tone, one longtime observer of Guam politics described campaign 1998 as a rough, tough one with more bitterness and hostility than at any time in the past (Murphy 1998a:33). Would this sour the political climate for the next four years?

Finally, the gubernatorial contest of 1998 ended in a messy controversy that resulted in lawsuits and a possible investigation by the FBI. The controversy arose after it was claimed that the Gutierrez-Bordallo ticket did not receive a majority of the votes cast and a runoff election would be required according to the terms of the Organic Act. The calculation putting Gutierrez-Bordallo at less than a majority of the vote was based on inclusion of write-in candidate ballots, so-called under-votes (blank ballots), and so-called over-votes (void ballots). After the Guam Election Commission Board completed a probe of the work of its poll-station attendants, it was determined that there were in fact a number of discrepancies.[8] The major claims were (1) 151 ballots had been temporarily lost and had not been counted via machine on election night, (2) 24,000 write-in ballots had to be counted by

hand, (3) some 571 non–U.S. citizens apparently registered to vote, (4) some 151 other voters may have registered using the same social security number, (5) 24 dead people apparently voted, and (6) there was a difference in counts by machine versus by hand.

Depending on one's political persuasion, these discrepancies could be viewed as very serious, requiring a new election, or as minor discrepancies that an audit would show to have little impact on the final results. The Guam Election Commission Board, which was made up of three Republicans and three Democrats, wrestled with these issues. After some tension, considerable debate, and intense interest by the general public, the board finally approved the election results at a meeting on 16 November 1998—eight full weekdays after the election. News of the election confusion found its way to Washington, and President Clinton's planned flight to Guam was delayed. The president finally visited Guam on November 23, and by then some of the election tension had subsided (Murphy 1998b:43).

However, the tensions and passions generated by the election-results controversy would not fade away because the board of directors of the Election Commission had split along party lines, with a Republican member, Leonila Herrero, voting on November 16 with the Democrats to approve the results of all three races. Less than two weeks later, Herrero was thrown out of her position as president of the Republican Women of Guam Association. The reason given was her failure to support party principles; in reality, it was her vote with the commission Democrats, certifying the Gutierrez-Bordallo victory over Joe Ada and Felix Camacho.

To prevent a vacuum and possibly a crisis in authority, Carl Gutierrez and Madeleine Bordallo were sworn into office on Monday, 4 January 1999, the very first day of a new four-year term, as specified by the Organic Act. However, the ceremonial and very public inauguration normally held early in the calendar year was postponed and in fact never held. This was a blow to the public persona of the Gutierrez-Bordallo team. Guam braced for serious election court fights, unprecedented in island politics, which were an indicator of the volatility of the personalities involved and the passion for high office and the power and prestige that it bestows.

Election 1998 Goes to Court

The Governor of Guam, together with the Lieutenant Governor, shall be elected by a majority of the votes cast by the people who are qualified to vote for the members of the Legislature of Guam. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall be chosen jointly, by the casting by each voter of a single vote applicable to both offices. If no candidate

receives a majority of the votes cast in any election, on the fourteenth day thereafter a runoff election shall be held between the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor receiving the highest and second highest number of votes cast. The first election for Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall be held on November 3, 1970.

—The Guam Organic Act of 1950

On 1 December 1998, the Joe Ada–Felix Camacho team filed two court suits contesting the legality of the Election Commission Board's decision in favor of a Gutierrez-Bordallo victory. The uncertified percentage before action by the board showed that Gutierrez-Bordallo garnered 49.82 percent of the vote, which included in the tabulation write-in, void, and blank ballots. The Organic Act, Guam's "constitution," requires that a governor–lieutenant governor slate garner a majority vote in order to win office. To Ada and Camacho the issue was clear: Gutierrez-Bordallo had not acquired the required majority and therefore had not won the election even though they had received 3,050 more votes than did Ada-Camacho. In such a situation, a runoff election is required according to the Organic Act.

The first Ada-Camacho suit was filed in the Superior Court of Guam and took a shotgun approach in claiming that numerous cases of fraud, conspiracy, and illegal voting had taken place and that Gutierrez-Bordallo had not garnered a majority vote. After a seventeen-day marathon trial involving voluminous exhibits, forty-five witnesses, and seven hours of closing arguments, Judge Joaquin Manibusan issued a 233-page decision. In summary, his findings were

1. no evidence that minors had cast ballots in the November 3 general election
2. no merit to the claim that deceased persons had cast ballots in the November 3 election
3. no merit to the claim that non–U.S. citizens had cast ballots in the November 3 election
4. no evidence for the claim that nonresidents had cast ballots in the November 3 election
5. the claims of ballot-count deficiencies and discrepancies were reconciled by the court, leaving no merit to the claim of major ballot-count irregularities
6. insufficient evidence of election fraud and conspiracy
7. merit to the claim that eight residents cast illegal ballots because they had simultaneous voter registrations in Guam and another jurisdiction

8. that "blank ballots, void ballots, and spoiled ballots are not to be counted in the over all tabulation of votes for the office of Governor/ Lieutenant Governor."[9]

Given these findings, Judge Manibusan rendered his decision in favor of Gutierrez-Bordallo. He ruled that they had, in fact, won the 3 November 1998 election.

The Manibusan decision was rendered on 16 February 1999. However, before this decision, U.S. Federal District Court Judge John S. Unpingco had ruled in favor of Ada-Camacho on 9 December 1998 in a second case also filed by Ada-Camacho on 1 December 1998. After careful study of relevant cases and analysis of Organic Act language, Unpingco concluded that write-in, void, and blank ballots must be included in the final vote tally for Guam's governor and lieutenant governor offices. Unpingco ruled that the Election Commission "simply changed the numbers and then certified the election, believing they had support in law to do so. . . . The commission acted beyond its jurisdiction."[10] Unpingco ruled that Gutierrez-Bordallo had not garnered the majority vote required by the Organic Act. He mandated a runoff election and set the date for 19 December 1998. This was a bombshell. The Gutierrez-Bordallo camp was stunned. They quickly filed an appeal.

The appeal of Judge Unpingco's decision was filed with the federal Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which upheld Unpingco's decision. Gutierrez-Bordallo next requested that the Ninth Circuit grant a stay on Unpingco's mandate for a runoff election. A stay was granted, and this allowed the lawyers for Gutierrez-Bordallo time to file a second appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court. But would the court take the case?

As would be expected, Ada-Camacho appealed Judge Manibusan's decision—directly opposite of Unpingco's in terms of the majority-vote issue—to the Guam Supreme Court. The three-judge territorial Supreme Court appeals panel consisted of Justices B. J. Cruz, Peter Siguenza, and John Manglona. The panel held hearings in March 2000 and issued its decision in July 2000. The panel sustained Judge Manibusan's lower court ruling that Gutierrez-Bordallo had won the 3 November 1998 election and that there was insufficient evidence of voter fraud. Court fights on Guam had finally reached an end.

The 2000 Guam Supreme Court decision supporting a Gutierrez-Bordallo election was a political footnote. Some months earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court accepted the Gutierrez-Bordallo appeal, heard arguments, and rendered a unanimous and final decision that reversed the opinions of both federal judge John Unpingco and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Never before in the history of elected office on Guam had an election dispute found its way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The crux of the election dispute for the Supreme Court of the United States centered on Guam Organic Act language requiring the election of a governor–lieutenant governor slate by "a majority of the votes cast in any election." Both the federal District Court of Guam and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals interpreted this language as meaning a slate needed to receive a majority of the total ballots cast in the general election in order to win. They reasoned that since Gutierrez-Bordallo garnered 49.8 percent of ballots cast, not a majority, they had failed to win election. A runoff election was therefore necessary according to the Organic Act.

The U.S. Supreme Court untangled this situation through careful analysis of Organic Act language, reference to legal principles, and past cases of a similar nature (Souter 2000). There was no profound question of law involved; rather, the issue was one of careful interpretation of existing law. First, the court distinguished between votes cast and ballots cast, arguing that the Organic Act clearly required a gubernatorial slate to garner a majority of votes cast. Thus, blank and void ballots, by definition, do not contain "votes cast" for a particular slate, and therefore such ballots cannot be used in the tabulation of final winning and losing percentages. Second, the court made a clear distinction between "general election," "gubernatorial election," and "in any election." The court stated that "in any election" meant in "any gubernatorial election," that is, the first one in 1970 and all successive ones, which have taken place every four years. The Supreme Court's decision reversed the judgment of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Carl Gutierrez and Madeleine Bordallo had legally won the 3 November 1998 election. After fourteen months of uncertainty and considerable tension, Guam's chief executives were, finally, in office with no legal questions whatsoever. Political tensions on Guam could have escalated beyond control if the Supreme Court had upheld Judge John Unpingco's initial ruling that called for a runoff election.

Elections 2000

Guam's November 2000 elections saw thirty-three candidates vying for fifteen legislature seats; a congressional race of two candidates; the first race for the position of public auditor, which five candidates entered; and contests for village mayoral and vice mayoral seats.

For the Twenty-Sixth Legislature, thirteen of the fifteen incumbents were seeking reelection and candidates were looking to raise and spend some $40,000 apiece for the typical campaign that included roadside billboards; newspaper, radio and TV ads; donations to other campaigns; and fund-raising parties. Only five of the thirty-three candidates were women. All but one

candidate identified with either the Democratic or the Republican Party, and four candidates reported net worth in the millions of dollars. Curiously, of the three candidates who reported net worth at zero or in the negative, two—Angel Santos and Mark Charfauros—won election.

The race for the fifteen legislative seats was, in many ways, a contest of influence and will. Governor Gutierrez was intent on breaking the Republican "supermajority" in the Twenty-Fifth Guam Legislature, consisting of twelve of fifteen seats. During the campaign, Gutierrez announced his list of fourteen favorites, but only three of them garnered enough votes to win a seat. The losing group included Cliff Guzman, Angel Sablan, and Rick Unpingco, all Gutierrez cabinet members, and former senator Ted Nelson. Of the seven nonincumbent Democrats who won, many were not Gutierrez supporters in 2000, notably Angel Santos and Mark Charfauros. Among the Republicans, five "big name" senators surprisingly lost: Simon Sanchez, Tony Blaz, John Salas, Carlotta Leon Guerrero, and Alberto "Tony" Lamorena. The top vote-getter was Tom Ada (23,047 votes), who earned that distinction for the third or fourth time. Only three women won seats in the Twenty-Sixth Legislature: incumbent Joanne Brown and former senators Lou Leon Guerrero and Judy Won Pat. Former governor and legislature speaker Joseph Ada also won, coming in fourteenth in the fifteen-seat race.

In the public auditor race, former senator and 1994 lieutenant governor candidate Doris Flores Brooks easily defeated her four competitors, taking 51 percent of the total vote. The mayoral and vice mayoral races in Guam's nineteen villages will not be discussed here.

The legislative race in 2000 had several curious dynamics at work, some deriving from past skirmishes that included the court fight over the 1998 gubernatorial election. In August, Governor Gutierrez made appointments to the Election Commission that did not conform to a new election law written to prevent the few documented irregularities of the 1998 gubernatorial race. Gutierrez essentially chose who he wanted, claiming those appointed would be above partisan politics and that he was acting in accord with his Organic Act powers. The Republican Party and the legislature filed suit, arguing the law required the governor to choose three individuals each from the lists provided by the Democratic and Republican parties. The case was decided in their favor. Gutierrez appealed. This tug-of-war led Senator Tony Blaz to begin a recall movement in late September 2000, which ratcheted up political tensions. The recall petition alleged that the governor had not submitted various reports to the legislature as required by law, had instructed executive branch employees not to assist the legislature in its budget work, had not followed the law in his appointments of election commission members, and had misspent government resources.

By early October, the tension had spilled over into the streets near the legislature building in downtown Hagatna. A large group of "no recall" individuals confronted a few "recall" advocates. Angry shouting and intimidation took place, but there was no physical violence. For the next six days, Gutierrez supporters collected over nine thousand signatures on a petition opposing a recall referendum. The Mayors' Council also came out in opposition to the recall effort. Gutierrez termed the legislature's recall resolution "phony baloney," and Lieutenant Governor Madeleine Bordallo went out on a limb, stating that if the recall referendum were successful, she would, according to her Organic Act powers as governor, appoint Gutierrez as her lieutenant governor because "we're a team" (*Pacific Daily News*, 3 October 2000:1).

Meanwhile, Legislature of Guam speaker Tony Unpingco and several of his colleagues met with the governor regarding the election commission issue. The November election was looming. After the exchange of several versions of a bill and a Gutierrez veto, agreement on legislation establishing a temporary three-person election commission was passed on October 6. But the recall effort had not faded away. On October 9, the issue was finally debated by the senators, but it failed, eight "yes" votes to seven "no." Ten votes were necessary to have the recall issue placed on the November ballot. Interestingly, five key Republican senators had not supported the recall (along with two of the three Democratic senators), and those Republicans signed an agreement with Governor Gutierrez a day or so after the floor debate and vote on recall. This agreement, termed a "peace and reconciliation proposal," enlisted the governor's cooperation in nine areas. The areas covered were full and free disclosure of information, input from senators on government reorganization, an economic recovery plan, an educational reform plan and assistance to the University of Guam, appointment of a board of trustees for the Guam Memorial Hospital, full consideration of the governor's veto messages, and a request by the governor to the United States for an additional $1.5 million in compact-impact aid to Guam Memorial Hospital. After several months of tension, the Guam political waters calmed. But three of the five Republican senators who signed the "peace and reconciliation" agreement with the governor lost their seats in the November election. Ironically, the Republican leader of the recall movement, Senator Tony Blaz, also lost his senate seat. The veto-proof supermajority of the Twenty-Fifth Legislature had been broken; the Twenty-Sixth Legislature would be made up of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. Governor Gutierrez called in the votes and whittled down the Republican supermajority, but it was still a majority.

In the race for Guam's lone delegate seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, incumbent Robert Underwood easily retained his seat for the fifth consecutive term. He again defeated the Republican Party candidate, Man-

uel Cruz, taking 29,098 votes to Cruz's 8,167. This winning total represents 78 percent of the vote. In the same match-up in 1998, Underwood had come out on top, taking 70 percent or 34,179 votes. The 1998 figure is the greatest number of votes anyone has ever garnered in any race since elections began on Guam. This breadth of name recognition would bode well, it seems, for any future gubernatorial contest Underwood might enter.

Elections 2002

What I don't like about Guam politics . . . is that everything is personality-driven and the issues fade into the background.
—Grace Suda, *Pacific Sunday News*, 1 September 2002

Guam's elections for 2002 were exciting, unpredictable, and important. The gubernatorial race saw four governor–lieutenant governor teams lining up with ambitions, visions, fund-raising acumen, and speaking skills. Some forty-one senatorial candidates jumped into the primary race, and four local attorneys ran hard to get votes in Guam's first elected attorney general race. Local law created (again) an islandwide school board and a utilities board, both of which had candidates lobbying for election, particularly the latter, which would provide a $1,000 monthly stipend to those elected. Two superior court judges were up for the public's review, and, finally, the Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) group was successful in getting the drinking age issue onto the November ballot. All this made for six months of colorful, interesting, and exhausting campaign activity.

2002 Candidates, Slogans, and Colors

I think there's going to be a frenzy of ads in the newspaper and in the various other media outlets. There's going to be one big push to try to present themselves more prominently than the others.
—David Sablan, Republican Party Chairman,
Pacific Sunday News, 1 September 2002

Guam's Organic Act limits the governor to two consecutive terms. Therefore, Governor Carl T. C. Gutierrez, titular head of the Democratic Party, was ineligible to run in November 2002. But his wife, Geraldine, could. With great expectations, some supporters of Guam's first family erected large, colorful neon "I 'heart' Geri" signs (probably made in the Philippines) on private land and even on hillsides and rooftops in the main parts of central Guam as early as September 2000. Although Governor Gutierrez and First Lady Geri chose

not to live in Government House—the governor's normal residence—it was clear they wanted to remain in Guam's political limelight and retain the power, prestige, and influence that go with the governorship. Geri was first to announce her candidacy, in January 2001, considerably ahead of everyone else. After a long search, she eventually persuaded Benny Paulino, a major general in the Guam National Guard, to join as a running mate under the banner of "Building faith and trust," with orange and green as their colors.

Other Democrats, such as Lieutenant Governor Madeleine Bordallo and Senator Ben Pangelinan, flirted with the idea of entering the 2002 governorship race. Pangelinan, however, dropped out to prevent a damaging three-way split between himself, Geri Gutierrez, and Robert Underwood in the 2002 primary election. Bordallo, an excellent vote-getter, seriously considered running for governor but noticed that the field had become crowded. With Underwood entering the governor's race and vacating his congressional position, Bordallo decided to run for Guam's delegate seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Governor Gutierrez even suggested an Underwood–Geri Gutierrez ticket, but this was not accepted and may have sowed some hard feelings. By late March 2002, the Democratic Party primary race narrowed down to First Lady Geri Gutierrez versus Congressman Robert Underwood.

In 1970, Underwood's uncle, Richard Taitano, had run with Ricardo "Ricky" Bordallo in the very first race to elect a governor. They lost to Republicans Carlos Camacho and Kurt Moylan, 9,028 to 11,396 votes. Thirty-two years later, elements of that first race for the Guam governorship came to color the 2002 campaign. But Underwood had to find a solid running mate, and Senator Tom Ada, a frequent top vote-getter in legislative races, a retired U.S. Army Reserve colonel, and a veteran of the 1998 gubernatorial primary, was chosen. The men had been talking and strategizing for over a year before they officially announced their candidacy on 30 May 2002. The Underwood and Ada team could claim the gubernatorial contest's first full-page color advertisement in Guam's *Pacific Daily News*, "Join us for our take-off RALLY! . . . Rebuilding Guam. Dinuebu" (30 May 2002:12, 14). Throughout the campaign, this was the only gubernatorial team that used a Chamorro word, *dinuebu*, meaning "rebuilding" or "renewing," in its campaign literature, radio and TV spots, rallies, forums, and discussions. Underwood went with the green color theme of five successful congressional seat races and Tom Ada brought maroon to make the team colors.

The Republican Party fielded two teams, both comprising senators from the Twenty-Sixth Guam Legislature. Legislature Speaker Tony Unpingco joined with two-term senator Eddie Calvo, son of former Republican governor Paul M. Calvo (1979–1982). Senator Felix Camacho (who with Joe Ada

lost to Gutierrez and Bordallo in the close 1998 race) and two-term senator Kaleo Moylan made up the second Republican team for the primary race. Interestingly, the fathers of these two candidates—were the team that won Guam's first gubernatorial race in 1970. Would this be a sentimental destiny factor in the contest?

Both Republican party candidate teams used red, white, and blue as their colors, with "There is hope" as the slogan for Camacho-Moylan and "Believe in Guam" as the mantra for Unpingco-Calvo.

Some forty-one candidates emerged for the legislature's primary. Only thirty, fifteen from each political party, would go on to the general election. With five senators in the gubernatorial race and two in the Washington delegate race, eight senate seats were left vacant, and this attracted a great deal of attention, particularly on the part of newcomers such as Ray Tenorio, a former policeman; Carmen Fernandez, a former vice president at the University of Guam; and Toni Sanford, a businesswoman who was running for the second time. Five women, two of whom were incumbents, made it through the primary contest to the general election ballot. Following the September primary, the seven incumbents seeking reelection began working hard; there would be twenty-three very ambitious competitors eyeing the prestige of winning.

Only three individuals filed candidacy papers for Guam's seat in the U.S. Congress, being vacated after ten years by Robert Underwood. Former Republican governor Joseph Ada announced his candidacy in late May, stating that the delegate job "is a great opportunity to work with some of my friends . . . in the White House and in Congress." Madeleine Bordallo, lieutenant governor of Guam, former senator, and former First Lady; and Judy Won Pat, senator in the Guam legislature, would run for the Democrats.

The four candidates vying to become Guam's first elected attorney general were Elisabeth Cruz, Phillip Tydingco, Douglas Moylan, and Don Parkinson. As Guam's nonvoting House delegate, Underwood wrote and successfully shepherded legislation, an amendment to Guam's Organic Act, through the U.S. Congress in 2001 that allowed voters to elect their attorney general.

The law re-creating a Guam school board—the Guam Public Education Policy Board—established four electoral districts with two or three representatives to be elected for each. A total of thirteen candidates for nine seats were on the November 5 general election ballot. In contrast, the Consolidated Commission on Utilities, a combination of the former water and electrical power boards, drew twenty-four people running for just five seats. Among the prominent candidates were former senator Simon Sanchez, former director of planning Clifford Guzman, former director of education Gloria Nelson, and businessman Carl Peterson.

Campaigning in 2002

I think you're going to have a lot of people roaming the streets—that personal touch. I think there's going to be concentration on the biggest populations. Quite frankly, I'm amazed at the amount of money that the candidates are spending, given the economy.

—Joe T. San Agustin, Democratic Party Chairman, *Pacific Sunday News*, 1 September 2002

Although campaign colors, slogans, and personalities are important on Guam, they must be backed by a great amount of human energy, good strategy and tactics, money, luck, and a will to win, sometimes at any cost. The campaigns began when candidates officially announced their candidacies and filed their papers with the Guam Election Commission. All the gubernatorial candidate teams sponsored kickoff rallies with grand entrances, speeches, music, and plenty of food. They also set up campaign headquarters where people worked around the clock, especially as primary and general election days approached—7 September and 5 November 2002.

The 2002 Primary Election Race

We will continue to try to make it a campaign of ideals and ideas. We're looking forward to it and continue to press our message of change forward.

—Robert A. Underwood, *Pacific Daily News*, 9 September 2002

All the Republican Party candidates for the governor–lieutenant governor primary race emerged from the Guam legislature and knew each other well. This made it possible for them to agree to mutual support after the primary. Tony Unpingco had served as speaker of the legislature for two terms and worked for twenty-four years as a senator. He was well respected for his seniority, warmth, and good sense. He had run in 1986 as a lieutenant governor candidate with then-senator Tommy Tanaka, but 2002 was his first attempt to gain the governorship. Initially, Unpingco and Senator Eddie Calvo were both eyeing a run at the governorship. However, when Senators Felix Camacho and Kaleo Moylan announced their candidacy as a team, all four candidates and their managers quickly realized the real damage a three-way split would cause within the party and to chances of winning the general election. This was resolved when Unpingco and Calvo joined forces. The unexpected move was a sudden shock and wake-up call for Frank Blas, former

two-term lieutenant governor (1987–1994) and campaign manager for the Felix Camacho–Kaleo Moylan ticket. With two Republican teams, the race was on with a quiet confidence that the primary winner would take all. The Republican leaders reconfirmed this agreement at their Lincoln Day dinner, and it resulted in an open line of communication between the candidates. "Everyone agreed that the ultimate goal was to win, and we needed both sides to agree. The best thing we Republicans did in 2002 was to cultivate each other's support, and that meant no personal hits," according to Tony Lamorena, campaign manager for Unpingco-Calvo (interview by Donald R. Shuster, 28 May 2003).

Frank Blas had a small executive committee, consisting of himself, Kurt Moylan, David Lujan, Tony Sanchez, Jerry Crisostomo, and a few others, to advise Senators Felix Camacho and Kaleo Moylan. Blas also relied on benchmark and straw polls for "snapshots" of the public mood. A poll in late July 2002 revealed that the Republican race was about even. In response, Blas urged Camacho and Moylan to spend a large sum of money on media advertising, which they did. The Unpingco-Calvo team released their attractive platform statement in mid-August, probably in response to the 5 percent lead Camacho-Moylan had gained with their ads and other campaign activities. With the September 7 primary in sight, the Republicans went full throttle with the media. In early September, Unpingco-Calvo had six full-page color ads, costing about $2,000 each, and six half-page ads in the *Pacific Daily News*. Camacho-Moylan responded with one huge color four-page *Pacific Daily News* ad, full-page ads, and two half-page ads. All of this hit the voters on primary-election day and the days immediately before. Timing was critical.

In addition to media ads, both teams used a variety of other campaign practices. Unpingco attended a great many wakes, baptisms, and weddings. Both teams had large portrait billboards along roadsides, campaigners distributing pamphlets to homes in the island's nineteen districts (sometimes referred to as villages), and home meetings. They also participated in forums sponsored by the Guam Medical Society and the Society of Professional Journalists, as well as shopping mall one-on-one meetings. Both teams and their supporters joined in three separate waves to motorists at the busy International Trade Center intersection in Tamuning. The waves provided major exposure at no cost. Although Typhoon Chata'an slowed campaigning down for a few days in July and knocked out television for a few weeks, the pace picked up again, especially in late August, when a *Pacific Daily News* online poll asked 2,943 people who they would choose for governor in the September 7 primary. The results: Felix Camacho, 49.4 percent; Tony Unpingco, 29.1 percent; Robert Underwood, 13.4 percent; and Geri Gutierrez, 8.1 percent (*Pacific Daily News,* 30 August 2002:2). Was this a fair sample?

Could the Democrats be that far behind, or had the Republican media blitz become a major factor influencing voters?

As far as costs for the primary race are concerned, Guam Election Commission records indicate that Unpingco-Calvo spent $558,360 and Camacho-Moylan put out $405,654. These were huge amounts for Guam's depressed economy but were indicative of the desire on the part of the campaigns to win, no matter the cost.

The primary race on the Democratic side would be equally intense but with an edge to it. Would the Democrats find a way to unite as the Republicans had? A bothersome issue was the status of the Guam Election Commission, which had no governing board because of the two-year-old court fight between Governor Carl Gutierrez and the Republicans. This uncertainty lingered throughout most of the primary season. Was the governor grandstanding to get the spotlight onto his wife's campaign, or did he have a serious argument regarding encroachment on executive powers?

Although Jose "Ping" Duenas was listed as Geri Gutierrez's campaign chairman, Govenor Gutierrez was the behind-the-scenes strategist and chief cheerleader. Geri began her campaign before all the other teams and organized a $100 per person belated birthday party for fund-raising in late May, the day before Underwood and Ada filed their election papers. However, Geri was not the first to kick off her effort with a large rally featuring food and speeches. That first went to Underwood-Ada. Geri's key campaign challenge would be establishing an identity separate from her husband and his administration. She began by recruiting the very likable, clear thinking, impressive military man, Major General Benny Paulino as her running mate.

The Gutierrez-Paulino campaign was well organized and had a headquarters along Marine Drive, the island's main highway, almost directly across the street from the Felix Camacho–Moylan headquarters in the Corn Building. The Gutierrez-Paulino campaign calendar for August showed busy seven-day campaign weeks. Campaign events took place all over the island: canvassing, fund-raising breakfasts and luncheons, home meetings, village organization meetings, Pinoy (Filipino) meetings, and fund-raisers with Democratic senators. In addition, the candidates were on the radio and television, made appearances at Guam's two malls, and participated in forums. The month ended with a Catholic Church mass followed by a $20-admission fund-raiser birthday party for lieutenant governor candidate Benny Paulino. These campaign activities continued into September with the addition of full-page, color *Pacific Daily News* ads flying the American and Guam flags, urging "faith and trust," proclaiming the abilities of the candidates, and promising a "fresh start." Days before the primary election, Governor Gutierrez finally appointed six members to the Guam Election Commission. Would all this

boost the chances of the Gutierrez-Paulino ticket, which was predicted by the *Pacific Daily News* to finish last?

The Gutierrez-Paulino team faced very powerful opponents in Congressman Underwood and Senator Tom Ada—political superstars on the Guam landscape. Underwood-Ada began their campaign with a giant rally at their campaign headquarters opposite the public library in the center of Agana on June 2. This was the spot where Ricky Bordallo and Richard Taitano had launched their groundbreaking 1970 campaign in Guam's first elected governor contest thirty-two years earlier. Attorney Michael Phillips, no friend of Governor Gutierrez, served as the Underwood-Ada campaign manager. He persuaded the candidates to resurrect the Buenas Noches torch walks of the early Ricky Bordallo campaign and prewar Guam days as an effective way of taking their effort to the grass roots. Led by a sound truck blaring rhythmic campaign music, these torch walks, spread out over several months, began at sunset, passed through the main areas of Guam's nineteen villages, and ended at a community center or large private home for outdoor speeches and feasting. Senatorial candidates showed up for the speeches with their banners and flyers, and were publicly recognized by the speakers. These Buenas Noches walks attracted attention and drew large crowds. Robert Underwood and Tom Ada were able to talk with homeowners for only a minute or so, as shouts of support rang out when a homeowner agreed to have an Underwood-Ada campaign sign planted in his yard. This was an exhausting but usually exhilarating exercise for Underwood and Ada. They always ended the walks drenched in sweat and a few pounds lighter. Following in their wake were Democratic Party senatorial candidates, who also campaigned with the homeowners and gave away political flyers.

In most political campaigns, front-runners, especially strong front-runners, get targeted by their opponents. This happened about three weeks before the primary vote, when an ugly pamphlet mailed from an obscure place in the U.S. mainland hit people's mailboxes. The pamphlet, a systematic and organized effort at negative campaigning, attacked Underwood by accusing him of ethnically biased statements. Underwood attempted to blunt this attack through a bold and honest statement broadcast on the radio and printed in the *Pacific Daily News*. In part, it stated: Underwood's "record shows clearly his commitment and dedication to serving all the people of Guam. A look at the most important people in his life—his family—will immediately show you the truth. His wife, Lorraine, is Mexican-American and his grandfather where the name Underwood begins is from North Carolina. Two of his brothers are married to Filipino-Americans. If you look further, the wife of his running mate is a Filipino-American. Few people are as sensitive and committed to serving all the people of Guam as Robert Underwood" (*Pacific*

Daily News, 26 August 2002:15). It appears that a Washington, D.C., lobby firm had a direct connection to issuance of the pamphlet. It is curious that although some of Underwood's opponents denied connection to the pamphlet, no one denounced it as they could have. Underwood's strong response did not generate any challenges from the other camps.

Compared to the Republican candidates, the Democratic Party candidates were greater spenders on their primary-race activities. The difference was about $250,000. According to the 2003 Guam Election Commission report, the Geri Gutierrez–Paulino team spent a whopping $663,740 compared to Underwood-Ada's $550,152. These large sums were an indication of the seriousness and competitiveness of the match-up. But the question lingered, would the Democrats be able to unite after the primary?

The primary race for the congressional delegate seat was a contest only in the Democratic Party; Joe Ada, the Republican nominee and former governor, had no challengers. However, Madeleine Bordallo, who was completing her eighth year as Guam's lieutenant governor, was facing a stiff challenge from spunky senator Judy Won Pat, daughter of Guam's first congressional delegate, Antonio B. Won Pat. Bordallo had the advantage because of her experience, seniority, well-honed campaign skills, and prominence, but Won Pat had a solid three-term record in the Guam legislature and many years as a public school educator. Also, 2002 was the very first time that women had entered the Washington delegate race. The odds were in their favor.

On Saturday, 7 September 2002, many of the gubernatorial, congressional, and senatorial candidates were on the roadsides waving to passing motorists and visiting their food-campaign canopies at the twenty-one polling stations across the island. It was a time to greet voters and get a sense of how things were going. As expected, the Republican race was close, with Camacho-Moylan defeating Unpingco-Calvo 8,494 to 7,181 votes. Underwood-Ada soundly defeated Gutierrez-Paulino by a large margin of 14,412 to 8,051 votes. The *Pacific Daily News* poll of August 30 was correct in predicting that the Gutierrez-Paulino ticket would trail, although it garnered more votes than the Unpingco-Calvo team. What was startling about the results was the huge gap between the size of the combined Democratic primary vote compared to the Republican total. The gap was nearly 6,800 votes, or 18 percent. Did this have the makings of an Underwood-Ada victory in November? Was it a rejection of the Carl and Geri Gutierrez style of politics?

In the congressional primary, Bordallo defeated Won Pat 17,837 to 12,298 votes. Unopposed, Joe Ada garnered 8,230 votes, not an impressive showing for a former two-term governor. In the legislative race, one Republican candidate was eliminated, and on the Democratic side, nine candidates were retired, including incumbents Mark Charfauros (eighteenth) and Angel San-

tos (twenty-first). At the time, Charfauros had jumped from being a strong Gutierrez opponent to an ardent supporter, and Santos was reportedly ill. The November general contest would pit fifteen Republicans, who then held the majority in the legislature, against fifteen Democrats, who were working hard to take the majority. In nearly every campaign rally, the Democrats enthusiastically urged a clean sweep in the gubernatorial, senatorial, and congressional races. They believed they had the momentum.

The 2002 General Election Race

> *Whether or not the governor can really bargain his wife's 8,051 votes to Underwood—or Camacho—is another question. Sure, these are loyal, sometimes rabid, Gutierrez supporters now. But that is partly because Carl Gutierrez is still running the government. He is still at Adelup. He still has Government House. These die-hard supporters may fade away after the first of the year.*
>
> —Joe Murphy, *Pacific Daily News*, 16 September 2002

When Frank Blas, campaign manager for Felix Camacho and Kaleo Moylan, finally received the official primary-race results, he began worrying. Clearly, his team was running behind. The Democrats had a big lead—nearly seven thousand votes. Blas thought back to 1986, when he and Joe Ada trailed the Bordallo-Reyes ticket. He pulled his team together and began an all-out effort to gain supporters. The Republicans had agreed on unity, and so Blas began with the Unpingco-Calvo supporters, believing he could attract most of them. Unpingco and Calvo had conceded the primary election, and their campaign manager, Tony Lamorena, set up a critically important meeting by inviting Camacho and Moylan, their wives, and Frank Blas to the Unpingco-Calvo headquarters at daybreak soon after the concession. "I wanted Camacho and Moylan to see the pain of defeat. I thought that if they saw it, it would humble them and solidify both sides." This was effective both emotionally and in terms of timing—emissaries from the Underwood-Ada camp were already contacting some of the Unpingco-Calvo village leaders, urging support for their team.

A few days after the primary-election results were complete, Underwood and Ada met Geri Gutierrez, Benny Paulino, and Governor Gutierrez for breakfast and talked about unity. Geri and Benny appeared at the Underwood-Ada Appreciation and Unity Rally on September 15, and, speaking to the huge crowd, Geri said: "It is not easy to face defeat. But Benny Paulino and Geri Gutierrez are Democrats and we are honorable people. We are here tonight because we are doing the only honorable thing that any

Democrat ought to do after a primary election. . . . I am asking all my fellow Democrats to please also do the honorable thing. No matter how difficult or how painful, we need to be gracious losers, and to the winners, you *must* be gracious winners and encourage everybody to come back home." This speech was delivered a week after the primary, and it seems the wounds of defeat had not quite healed and that the Underwood-Ada team had more graciousness to deliver. Another sign that unity had not yet emerged was the absence of Gutierrez and Paulino at the well-attended $75 per person Unity Celebration at the Hilton Guam Resort and Spa the evening before the outdoor appreciation rally. Neverthless, Underwood was very serious in his call for unity, both in private meetings and at the public appreciation rally: "I have been totally impressed by the graciousness and the dignity with which Geri Gutierrez and Benny Paulino have carried themselves this past week. They have demonstrated beyond a doubt and they've done this [agree on unity] not only on the radio and not only on TV but in front of you." Further, Joe T. San Agustin, Democratic Party chairman, approved the renaming of the Underwood-Ada campaign headquarters as the Democratic Party headquarters, a symbolic but important change. Would that guarantee unity?

Still worrying, Frank Blas went back to work. He and his executive committee met daily to strategize on how to get their numbers up. The campaign had a phone bank with some forty thousand names, and the staff was calling constantly, eight to ten hours a day. Personalized pamphlets and letters were sent out. Blas wanted an obvious personal touch. Age and ethnic groups were studied, and some would be more heavily lobbied than others. Memories of the fathers of the candidates as governor and lieutenant governor amid the Vietnam era were brought to light through *Pacific Daily News* ads, and the Johnnie Sablan song from the Vietnam War years was played on TV. Blas recalled: "This had a huge impact. People cried when they heard that song. We hit people's emotions." Blas also did tracking polls, and into October the polls showed that Felix Camacho–Moylan had made up ground since the primary and had even gained a lead over Underwood-Ada. This was about the time Underwood had to return to Washington for important congressional business. The Camacho-Moylan campaign hit high gear with a deluge of media ads, bumper stickers, yard signs, and more huge roadside billboards. Camacho and Moylan bolstered these activities with personal funds of $100,000 and $115,000 respectively (Jane Flores, *Pacific Sunday News*, 3 November 2002:28). All this resulted in a fifteen-point lead for Felix Camacho-Moylan over Underwood-Ada. Blas felt comfortable, but he knew he could not let up. Underwood-Ada would fight back. The central headquarters in the Corn Building was emptied, and all the "foot soldiers," as Blas called them, were sent out to the villages to campaign and canvass. "We targeted the areas

where we thought we were weak," Blas recalled. During the last week of the campaign, the candidates and their supporters were on TV, in the *Pacific Daily News*—eighteen huge full-page, color ads in five days—and out waving on the streets at 5:00 A.M. covering all major intersections. Unpingco and Calvo, in a show of unity, joined. Blas recalled that the Camacho-Moylan team was poised to react to whatever the other side might throw out. The Underwood-Ada television ad questioning Felix Camacho's respect for Filipino voters was a negative campaign shot, according to Blas. The ad's thrust was blunted by a rebuttal TV ad by Joann Camacho, Felix's wife. Camacho-Moylan retained the lead and the momentum through heavy media exposure that was pushed to the maximum. Camacho-Moylan even obtained an endorsement from President Bush, published as a letter and color insert in the election-day *Pacific Daily News*. Underwood and Ada were being overwhelmed by the Camacho-Moylan media blitz. Could they turn the tide? Was there time enough?

From the Underwood-Ada side, the euphoria of the big primary victory over Gutierrez-Paulino was short-lived. Their lead held up during September, but by mid-October they saw the tide turn around in favor of Camacho-Moylan. Doubt about where Governor Gutierrez would swing his support lingered and prevented a turn in the momentum. With each speaking engagement, Underwood-Ada got a boost as people were reminded why they were the better candidates. The Buenas Noches walks were attracting a lot of attention, and canvassers were out in force a day or two before the walks to deliver campaign flyers. Rallies at the headquarters were well attended, and people came out on their own because they wanted a new brand of politics. However, as large as these crowds were, they were, in reality, a small minority of the voters. The silent majority was at home watching television and reading the *Pacific Daily News*, a morning paper. Underwood-Ada mounted their own media blitz with news items about Underwood's many accomplishments in Congress or a new grant announcement. They made TV appearances. In October, Underwood-Ada had thirty-one large ads in the *Pacific Daily News* and they had eighteen in the first five days of November. They were trying to keep pace with Camacho-Moylan. The Underwood-Ada ads were unique in their variety and interesting ways of conveying messages. They republished their platform with a more attractive cover, had multiple designs of t-shirts, had a portrait folder depicting Democratic senators in action, and set up an Underwood-Ada Web page with the latest information about campaign events. A week before the election, the Chamber of Commerce held a forum for Underwood and Felix Camacho to give their views about improving Guam's economy. Underwood prepared, but Camacho did not, and he was crushed. In a *Pacific Daily News*

ad of November 4, John Aguon, Jose "Ping" Duenas, and Frank Lizama, all good friends of Governor Gutierrez, publicly endorsed the Underwood-Ada ticket. The powerful TV ad about Felix Camacho's court suit questioning the voting rights of some Filipinos in the 1998 election attracted attention. A Camacho-Moylan supporter filed for an injunction to get it off the air, but he failed. Underwood-Ada sponsored another huge rally and motorcade on the Sunday just before election day. Would all this be enough to regain momentum?

The Underwood-Ada team had a few strokes of bad luck in the last weeks of their campaign. In a late October Chamorro-language forum organized by University of Guam students, the rules were modified to provide questions in advance and allow responses in English. Underwood is fluent in Chamorro, while Camacho is not. The rule change favored Camacho and robbed the event of its significance. Second, Governor Gutierrez and First Lady Geri Gutierrez did not publicly endorse Underwood-Ada during the last week of the campaign, the most critical time. It appears that they actually campaigned by phone against Underwood-Ada. Third, there was not a consistent message about the Underwood persona. He apparently was not perceived as well-meaning, stable, and predictable as was Camacho. Fourth, on election day, the campaign staffer with entry badges for the team's poll watchers showed up late. As a result, some poll workers could not gather information on who had not come out to vote. Such information is used to make phone calls to encourage voters to come to the polls. Fifth, there was a breakdown of communications between the Filipino support group and the Chamorro support team in Dededo, the largest voting district on Guam. Last, because he was a formidable candidate, negative rumors were again generated about Underwood, claiming he was arrogant, overconfident, or even too smart! A second racist flyer was spread around, particularly in Dededo. This effort, especially, created doubt, and doubt cost Underwood-Ada votes. Nonetheless, Underwood believed that he had brought many new people into the political process during his campaign: "It was invigorating and exciting, but the inexperience cost us at critical times. For the other side, it was really politics as usual" (2003).

As noted above, the gubernatorial primary race was expensive. Surprisingly, for the general race the Felix Camacho–Moylan team, the winners, spent less than Underwood-Ada, if the Guam Election Commission figures are correct. For the general race, the figures indicate that Camacho-Moylan spent $480,856 compared to Underwood-Ada, who spent $641,722.

In the race for Guam's congressional seat, Madeleine Bordallo outcampaigned yet underspent Joe Ada—$30,619 for Bordallo to $40,744 for Ada. Bordallo must have felt some satisfaction in her huge 12,245-vote margin of

victory because in the 1990 governor's race, she was beaten by Ada by some 5,000 votes. Bordallo's congressional campaign was well organized. She attended and spoke at many of the Underwood–Tom Ada functions. She also did well at several forums and had impressive flyers and newspaper ads. In these ads, Bordallo was often pictured with Washington VIPs such as Hillary Clinton, Nancy Pelosi, and Richard Gephardt. She established an image of professionalism and competence. Her longtime campaign color of red would go well with the white and blue. In comparison, the Ada campaign was lackluster.

In the legislative race, there were some surprises. Some very big spending rookies won, or you might say bought, their victories. Ray Tenorio was the top vote-getter with 32,162 votes; he spent $190,508 on his campaign. Carmen Fernandez was second in votes at 27,770 and spent $192,464. Other newcomers with deep pockets were Rory Respicio, who finished fourteenth, spending $130,705; Tina Rose Muna Barnes, who finished ninth and spent $115,438; and John Quinata, who finished thirteenth and spent $114,894. Of these individuals, only Tenorio was, at the time, in private business. Of the other first-time winners, Jesse Lujan, Toni Sanford, Robert Klitzkie, and Randy Cunliffe were older businesspeople; they spent an average of $69,821, with Klitzkie spending the least at $37,676. Since the expenses of Lujan, Klitzkie, and Cunliffe exceeded their contributions, it appears they went into their own pockets to cover campaign costs. Excepting the five big-spending rookies noted above, no other winning candidate spent more than $83,758. The lowest-spending winner, Ben Pangelinan, paid out just $8,579. With respect to the rookies, one has to wonder: from where did all the packets of dollars flow?

Results of the 2002 General Election

> *What's the role of governance in our lives? How do we empower people? Yes, it's hard. In our 2002 campaign, we thought we had a new message. We were hoping to empower people. But, we got smashed.*
>
> —Robert A. Underwood

Felix Camacho and Kaleo Moylan defeated Robert Underwood and Tom Ada by a 4,750-vote margin, splitting the 43,868 votes cast 55 percent (24,309) to 45 percent (19,559). Madeleine Bordallo defeated Joe Ada by nearly a two to one margin, taking 27,081 votes (65 percent) to Ada's 14,836 votes (35 percent). The Democrats took the majority in the Guam legislature, nine seats to six. Of these three races, two require some analysis.

Of Guam's nineteen voting districts (villages), Underwood-Ada won six of them by narrow margins, averaging 41 votes. These districts are relatively small in terms of voters, ranging in size from 996 to 2,347. Camacho-Moylan swept to victory in thirteen districts with winning margins of 9 to 2,152 votes. The biggest margins were in Yigo at 404, Agat at 458, Tamuning/Tumon at 808, and Dededo at 2,152. The winning margins in these four districts accounted for 80 percent of the total of the 4,750-vote margin. Yigo voted for Camacho-Moylan because many residents there are Republicans and because Gutierrez reportedly did not deliver on certain promises. Voters in Agat supported the Democrats in the primary 56 percent to 44 percent, but in the general election, this support strangely reversed to 60 percent for Camacho-Moylan to 40 percent for Underwood-Ada. This dramatic shift was due mainly to the efforts of the die-hard Gutierrez supporters who voted for Camacho-Moylan. Tamuning/Tumon is normally a Republican stronghold, with many business and professional people resident there. This district split 52 percent Democrat to 48 percent Republican in the primary race, favoring Underwood by a two to one margin over Geri Gutierrez. But in the general race, the voters went heavily for Camacho-Moylan by about a three to one margin. This demonstrated hard-core Republican sentiment there.

The district of Dededo, where many Filipino-Americans live, was the "king-maker" in Guam's 2002 gubernatorial election. Nearly 9,400 voters turned out. They went heavily for Camacho-Moylan, 61 percent (5,773) to 39 percent (3,621) for Underwood-Ada. The 2,152-vote winning margin there was nearly half the total. According to Frank Blas, the margin of victory was large because Camacho-Moylan had many Filipino-Americans out on the streets working for their ticket. The candidates themselves also campaigned house-to-house, and a great deal of time and campaign resources were devoted to Dededo. The campaign was active there every night throughout October and November, including on election eve. According to former congressman Underwood, the doubt generated by negative rumors within the Filipino community of Dededo cost votes for his team. Also, the Dededo Filipino-American supporters of Underwood-Ada had been engaged in a defensive action ever since early October. In short, the Underwood-Ada team was outmaneuvered and overpowered by the Camacho-Moylan campaign machine in Dededo, and this accounts for the huge win there. In fact, of the fifteen voter precincts in Dededo, Camacho-Moylan won every one of them, the first time in gubernatorial history that the Republicans achieved a sweep of Dededo. This is in direct contrast to the 2000 congressional race, when Underwood garnered 5,933 votes there to win that year. Clearly, there was a dynamic at work in Dededo in 2002, and it went against Underwood.

Finally, as a measure of raw power, the two campaigns can be compared in terms of how many voters they gained during the eight weeks between the primary and general elections. In the primary, Camacho-Moylan garnered 8,494 votes compared to 14,412 for Underwood-Ada. But in the general race, the Camacho-Moylan team "powered" its way to 24,309, an increase of 15,814 votes. In comparison, Underwood-Ada increased its total by just 5,147 votes.

The results of the Guam legislature race are shown in Table 1. The cost per vote was calculated by dividing the total dollar amount of expenditures as reported by the Guam Election Commission by the total number of votes garnered.

These numbers are revealing. Six of the eight incumbents won reelection, but the two highest vote-getters were newcomers—Ray Tenorio and Carmen Fernandez. Excepting these two winners and incumbent Kasperbauer, who finished twelfth, all the incumbents did better in gaining support than all the challengers. Five of the nine newcomers were young (twenty-nine to forty years old) and spent a great deal of money to get elected, averaging $148,800, and incurred a high average cost per vote of $6.12. This pattern is in direct contrast to that seen for the veterans. The six incumbents spent $30,000 on average and had an average cost per vote of just $1.28. Apparently, on Guam, young people in the thirty to forty age bracket need a large amount of money to get elected. Once a candidate is elected, the cost for reelection is low compared to what it takes to first win office. Just one of the newcomers, Robert Klitzkie, had a spending pattern similar to the incumbents. He ran what he called an "uncampaign," a low-budget, issue-driven effort that did useful things such as volunteer teach for a day in a school and collect school supplies that were later delivered to a school. Klitzkie spent $37,676 on his campaign—which translated to $1.76 per vote—and he ran tenth in the field of fifteen winning candidates. Women did well in 2002; a full one-third (five of fifteen) of the Twenty-Seventh Guam Legislature will be made up of women. The average age of the new senators is forty-six, with an age range of twenty-nine to sixty-six. Consistent with their big spending, the newcomers did more advertising in the *Pacific Daily News* than did the incumbents, by more than a two to one margin. Finally, regarding support for legalized casino gambling, an activity that has generated great opposition from the large Catholic community on Guam, especially from the Lina'la' Sin Casino group, all senatorial candidates publicly stated their opposition to it except three: Jesse Lujan, Rory Respicio, and Randall Cunliffe ("2002 General Election," *Pacific Daily News,* 30 October 2002, a General Election guide).

In comparison to the 1998 legislative race, the winning first-time candidates in 2002 were generally younger (twenty-nine to forty age bracket);

TABLE 1. **Guam Legislatures Race: 2002**

Candidate	Age	Number of Votes	Campaign Expenses (dollars)	Cost per Vote (dollars)	*PDN* Ads
Ray Tenorio[a] (R)	37	32,162	190,508	5.92	18
Carmen Fernandez[a] (D)	39	27,770	192,465	6.93	22
Frank Aguon Jr. (D)	36	25,928	50,865	1.96	8
Mark Forbes (R)	48	24,608	34,083	1.38	11
Lou Leon Guerrero (D)	51	23,651	35,104	1.48	15
Joanne M. S. Brown (R)	37	23,454	14,068	0.60	7
Vicente Pangelinan (D)	47	23,446	8,579	0.37	9
Jesse A. Lujan[a] (R)	47	22,388	83,758	3.74	18
Tina R. Muna Barnes[a] (D)	40	22,187	115,438	5.20	44
Robert Klitzkie[a] (R)	64	21,429	37,676	1.76	13
Toni Sanford[a] (D)	52	20,444	81,632	3.99	31
Larry F. Kasperbauer (R) 66	66	20,021	53,175	2.66	13
John M. Quinata[a] (D)	40	19,757	114,895	5.81	14
Rory J. Respicio[a] (D)	29	19,347	130,706	6.75	22
Randall Cunliffe[a] (D)	53	18,438	76,219	4.13	31

Source: Guam Election Commission, "Election Comparative Analysis Report," 2002.
[a] = Newly elected; (D) = Democrat; (R) = Republican; *Pacific Daily News* (*PDN*) ads since 1 August 2002.

raised and spent between $76,000 and $192,000 on their campaigns (Klitzkie was an exception); gained wide exposure via the media, billboards, and attendance at social events; and were perceived as responsible (Tenorio's slogan was "Just hard work"), family-oriented (Respicio's "Empowering youth, strengthening families"), well-meaning (Quinata's "A good leader makes the difference"), and even caring (Tina Barnes's "You're in my heart").

Other Offices and Issues on the 2002 Ballot

In Guam's first race to elect an attorney general, Douglas Moylan, thirty-six, won with 18,316 votes. Phillip Tydingco, forty-six, ran second with 12,390 votes. Former seven-term senator and speaker of the Guam legislature, Don Parkinson, fifty-nine, came in third with 6,571 votes. Elisabeth Cruz, forty-two, ran last with 5,486 votes. During the campaign, all the candidates expressed conflicting sentiments regarding fund-raising and the potential it generated for future conflicts of interest. Cruz stated that she did not have any fund-raisers. Moylan said that he was being "very careful not to have too many fund-raisers." Tydingco admitted he had a feeling of trepidation when raising funds. Parkinson said that beyond his family, he was not soliciting donations and did not want any ("2002 General Election," *Pacific Daily News*, 30 October 2002:24–25).

The Education Policy Board saw thirteen candidates run for nine seats. Many of them had years of school experience, such as Rosa Palomo, a former director of education; Ione Wolf, former deputy director of education; and Tomas Barcinas, former high-school teacher and administrator. Seven of the candidates reported not making any expenditures on their campaigns. Two candidates spent over $1,000, and the other four spent from $25 to $887. The winning candidates were Tomas Barcinas, Jose Nededog, Rosa Palomo, Jonathan Toves, Romeo Hernandez, Jeni Ann Flores, Beth McClure, Patricia Bennett, and Garland Wilhite.

The election to fill five seats on the Consolidated Commission on Utilities generated great interest. Some twenty-six candidates emerged. Unlike the Education Policy Board, where candidates ran in one and only one district, the utilities commission race was an islandwide election. Therefore, the serious candidates had to mount a wide-reaching campaign, and this required financial resources, personal and contributed. The five winners were Simon Sanchez, 24,595 votes; Judith Guthertz, 13,561 votes; Benigno Palomo, 13,051 votes; Frank Shimizu, 13,002 votes; and Vicente Camacho, 11,615 votes. These individuals spent from $3,020 to as much as $27,811 on their campaigns.

Guam's electorate was also asked if two judges of the Superior Court of Guam should be retained. Judge Katherine A. Maraman received the sup-

port of 29,515 voters (65.6 percent), and Judge Joaquin V. E. Manibusan Jr. had 31,832 voters (70.7 percent) call for his retention.

Finally, Guam's voters were asked to consider Proposal A; "an act to raise the minimum age for consumption and purchase of alcoholic beverages [from eighteen years of age] to twenty-one years of age." This issue was being pushed by Mothers Against Drunk Driving, which had collected nearly 10,000 signatures during their petition drive. Only 5,332 signatures were needed to get the issue onto the November ballot. The contest had a David-versus-Goliath aspect in that the Guam Hotel and Restaurant Association and local alcohol distributors brought money and arguments to attack Proposal A. The proposal was defeated with 22,692 "no" votes to 19,556 "yes" votes. Some 2,753 voters did not take a stand on the issue, leaving their ballots blank.

Summary and Conclusions

Since Guam's gubernatorial elections began in 1970, they have been highly competitive, colorful, and interesting contests. The 1998 contest was inconclusive, and a final result was rendered only after the United States Supreme Court became involved as the final arbiter. In 2002, the voters of Guam met a deluge of personalities and issues. In November, 43,868 Guamanians went to the polls and voted for either Camacho-Moylan or Underwood-Ada. This represents an amazing 83 percent turnout. These voters also cast ballots for senatorial candidates, a Washington delegate candidate, an attorney general candidate, utility commission candidates, and education policy board candidates; they took a position on two judges; and they responded to a proposal regarding the drinking age. It was a strenuous campaign season and an election day of important decisions. Table 2 summarizes the results of Guam's nine gubernatorial elections since 1970.

It can be argued that voting is just the beginning of the practice of democracy on Guam. Were voters in 2002 empowered, or were their minds and votes conditioned, essentially, by the messages of a powerful media? Are Guam's voters reflective or essentially passive? Why is it necessary for gubernatorial candidates to raise and spend half a million dollars for a primary race and another $600,000 for a general race? In 1998, Carl Gutierrez spent over $3 million on his campaign and then had to battle all the way to the Supreme Court to finally be declared the winner. Why do new senatorial candidates need at least $100,000 to get elected? From where did all those funds flow in 2002, and what strings are attached? Undoubtedly, Guam needs more "uncampaigns" of the type that Klitzkie mounted. Many people on Guam realize that the island's campaign financing laws are ineffectual,

TABLE 2. **Results of Guam's Gubernatorial Elections: 1970–2002**

Year	Candidate	Votes for	Total	Percentage	Difference
1970	C. Camacho–Kurt Moylan (R)	11,396	20,424	55.8	11.6% (2,368)
	R. Bordallo–Taitano (D)	9,028		44.2	
1974	R. Bordallo–Sablan (D)	11,441	22,255	51.4	2.8% (627)
	C. Camacho–Kurt Moylan (R)	10,814		48.6	
1978	Calvo–J. Ada (R)	13,649	26,189	52.1	4.2% (1,109)
	R. Bordallo–Sanchez (D)	12,540		47.9	
1982	R. Bordallo–Reyes (D)	15,199	28,996	52.4	4.8% (1,402)
	Calvo–Perez (R)	13,797		47.6	
1986	J. Ada–Blas (R)	18,307	34,020	53.8	7.6% (2,594)
	R. Bordallo–Reyes (D)	15,713		46.2	
1990	J. Ada–Blas (R)	20,677	36,345	56.9	13.8% (5009)
	M. Bordallo–Duenas (D)	15,668		54.8	
1994	Gutierrez–M. Bordallo (D)	23,405	42,686	45.2	9.6% (4,124)
	Tanaka–Brooks (R)	19,281		53.3	
1998[a]	Gutierrez–M. Bordallo (D)	24,250	45,450	46.7	6.6% (3,050)
	J. Ada–F. Camacho (R)	21,200		55.0	
2002	F. Camacho–Kaleo Moylan (R)	24,309	43,868	45.0	10.0% (4,750)
	Underwood–T. Ada (D)	19,559			

Source: Guam Election Commission, "Election Comparative Analysis Report," 1994 and 2003; Dizon 1987.
[a]Totals do not include 1,291 write–in votes or 1,312 blank ballots (nonvotes).

thereby allowing elections to be controlled by a few who have "war chests" full of campaign funds and particular agendas to push. Will the practice of democracy on Guam evolve to a new level and a broader quality? Who will seek the change? Is change possible?

NOTES

1. See Hattori 1995 for an extended discussion of the first major postwar conflict between U.S. naval authority and the Guam Congress.

2. This brief description of political parties is summarized from Dizon 1982. See also the description of Guam's political parties and campaigning in Ham 1997.

3. Robert F. Rogers has a good description of each of Guam's various electoral races in chapters 14 and 15 of his *Destiny's Landfall* (1995).

4. Ronald Stade, in his study of contemporary Guam, *Pacific Passages* (1998), argues that aspects of Guam's public culture reflect themes from the international arena. He has a most interesting and informative chapter about Ricky Bordallo that is based on interviews with a number of Bordallo intimates.

5. Antonio Charfauros discusses several factors contributing to Madeleine Bordallo's loss to Joe Ada in the 1990 general election (Charfauros 1990:13). First, Governor Ada had given out $1,000 income-tax rebates and an across-the-board pay raise of $5,400 to all government employees. Second, charges of a land "scam" dogged Bordallo's running mate, Jose "Ping" Duenas. Third, advertisements by the Ada-Blas camp hinted at the illegalities of former governor Ricky Bordallo and thus attempted to cast doubt on Madeleine's candidacy. Fourth, although married to Ricky Bordallo and a former First Lady and senator, Madeleine is not of Chamorro heritage. Finally, several top supporters of the Bordallo-Duenas ticket attempted to smear Governor Ada with public discussion of an extramarital affair, which Charfauros claims hurt the Democratic Party and, indirectly, the Bordallo candidacy. Charfauros concludes his article with reference to Senator Carl Gutierrez, claiming that his support for the Bordallo-Duenas ticket was sincere and that "we need him if the Democrats are to win in the future."

6. Joe Ada talked with a number of people regarding a running mate. One of those was Adolf Sgambelluri, who served as Ada's chief of police during his governorship (1987–1994). Sgambelluri is popular, outspoken, and a retired U.S. Marine colonel. Ada reportedly courted a number of senators in addition to Camacho (see Babauta 1998a, 1998b).

7. Open letter from Thomas C. Ada and Lou A. Leon Guerrero to Joe T. San Agustin, Chair, Democratic Party of Guam, *Pacific Daily News*, 27 July 1998, p. 9.

8. The Guam Election Commission is charged by law to carry out elections and certify the results. The commission is governed by a seven-person board. Six members are appointed by the governor from recommendations made by the two political parties; thus three are Democrats and three Republicans. The seventh member is chosen by the six

appointed members. As of November 1998, the seventh seat was vacant and remained so throughout the dispute.

9. *Joseph F. Ada v. Carl T. C. Gutierrez,* civil case no. CV2765-98, "Decision and Order," 16 February 1999, by Judge V. E. Manibusan Jr.

10. *Joseph F. Ada v. Carl T. C. Gutierrez,* civil case no. 98-00066, "Order and Writ of Mandamus," District Court of Guam, 9 December 1998, by Judge John S. Unpingco.

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GENDER AND COSMOS EMPLACED: WOMEN'S HOUSES AND MEN'S HOUSES IN BARIAI, WEST NEW BRITAIN, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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In Papua New Guinea, the men's cult houses are dramatic examples of vernacular architecture that have overshadowed the importance and symbolic meanings of the domestic dwelling, or women's houses. This essay is an ethnography of house forms, specifically women's houses and men's cult houses in Bariai, West New Britain. The focus is on relationships of articulation between the built environment and gender concepts within the framework of Bariai cosmology, which show how gender concepts and relations are emplaced and the built environment is gendered.

ALTHOUGH PART of the larger regional, national, and world system that encompasses it, the Bariai District of the northwest coast of West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea, continues to be isolated, rural, and underdeveloped.[1] The Bariai are swidden horticulturalists whose daily fare depends primarily on taro, yams, sweet potatoes, and coconuts. The starch processed from the sago palm, seasonal tree fruits and nuts, and wild bush foods are important as ceremonial and famine foods. As coastal dwellers, the Bariai are also fisherfolk and use a wide variety of seafood to augment their diet. Pigs figure prominently in the socioeconomic prestige system as an important source of meat and wealth. By 2003, the population in the Bariai District had increased by approximately 50 percent in slightly less than two decades. The village of Kokopo, where I lived during fieldwork, is the most central and largest of the ten coastal villages; it has grown from a population

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of 180 in 1985 to 300 in 2003. The built environment has expanded into the spaces between houses, which are now much closer together, and the open spaces that marked hamlet boundaries no longer exist. House construction is constant and ongoing. This essay is an ethnography of Bariai house forms, specifically the gendered structures of women's and men's houses, and the ceremonial houses for firstborn children, as these structures have evolved through time and changing circumstances to their present configurations.

Bariai villages retain a pattern (if not the practice) of residential sexual segregation characteristic of so many Papua New Guinea societies, represented by two primary types of construction: the domestic dwelling or "women's house" (*luma*) and the "men's house" (*lum*). The women's house is associated with the female focal domestic group and household activities, including production and reproduction. The *palata*, a temporary open-sided shelter, is an extension of the domestic dwelling outside the village into another domesticated space, the household's gardens. The men's house is associated with agnatic-descent group membership and male secret-sacred activities. This building is an exclusively male space, off-limits to all females as well as boys or youths whose fathers have not yet earned them the right to enter.[2] Important temporary ceremonial structures are built for firstborn girls (*kailanga*) and for firstborn boys (*popou*). There are no menstrual huts or permanent birth huts; however, during the birth process, whether in a cook house, a defunct copra dryer, a lean-to on the beach, or in the bush, the birthing place and environs are defined as female secret-sacred and off-limits to all males as well as to all girls and young women who have not yet experienced giving birth themselves.

In his classic cross-cultural study of built form, Rapoport emphasizes that men's ceremonial houses in Papua New Guinea, such as the Bariai *lum* mentioned above, have more religious and social significance and "possess greater symbolic value and content than the ordinary [domestic] dwelling" and thus "stand for more than the house" (1969:10). Similarly, Oliver notes that there are "sharp distinctions . . . between *household* and *public* buildings" in Oceanic cultures (1989:330, Oliver's italics). Household buildings are those "where all females regularly and all males sometimes, slept and ate," whereas public buildings are sexually exclusive places "where males spent some of their time, sleeping, eating and doing other things" (p. 330). Oliver further notes that sexually segregated public buildings/men's houses in Papua New Guinea societies are the site of culturally central religious activities, whereas "the only religious practices widely associated with household buildings [are those] having to do with birth and death" (p. 332). Duncan comments that the "ordinary" domestic dwelling or women's house in Ulithi and Malaita is overwhelmingly viewed "as simply a container of women and goods"

(1981:2). Here both the domestic dwelling and the menstrual hut associated with the female domain represent "the spatial manifestation of [female] subordination" (p. 45). If, as these examples suggest, built form expresses and represents aspects of culture and society (cf. Lawrence and Low 1990), the implication seems to be that persons and practices that come within the purview of the domestic (private) dwelling are, by definition, less culturally and socially valued than persons and practices that come within the purview of the (public) men's houses. There is definitely a tendency to "denigrate domesticity" (Strathern 1984).

There is also a rather skewed notion of "private" and "public" here. Bariai men would not agree that their men's house is a "public" domain; a sexually exclusive building is not a "public" building. The men's house is always off-limits to all women or girls (including female anthropologists) and to boys or youths not properly presented there by their parents. The dance plaza in front of the men's house is where spirit beings are presented to the "public" and where people of all ages and sexes dance, exchange pigs, and have meetings. The area around the men's house that is hidden by three-meter-high walls of greenery is very private, reserved for adult men and spirit beings only. While the inside of Bariai women's houses is "private" to all but those who live there, the house verandah is a public meeting and greeting space, as is the open area underneath and around the house. A cook house is a public area until it (or some other structure) becomes a birth house, and then it becomes very private until birthing is accomplished. The public/male and private/female dichotomy is too simplistic in terms of Bariai vernacular architecture, and the only truly "public" buildings—in the sense that they are non-exclusionary according to sex and age—are the relatively new introduced structures that are local churches and schools.

Houses, especially women's houses, are obviously much more than "mere item[s] of material culture" (see Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:31; Rensel and Rodman 1997) and very much more than a material representation of gendered inequalities, as the works previously cited would suggest. In many cultures, houses are "imaged in terms of the human body" (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:37), and since human bodies are always gendered, I argue that the spaces inhabited by those gendered bodies are conceptually gendered as well. Wherever residential sexual segregation and sexually exclusive places and spaces such as men's houses and women's houses occur, that is, where "whole areas of social life ('domains') become the apparent concern of one or the other sex," as M. Strathern suggests, "their relationship of articulation must be investigated" (1988:69).

My goal here is to investigate relationships of articulation among spatial constructs, building types that define areas of social life, and gender concepts

within the framework of Bariai cosmology. For the Bariai, sexual differentiation is the fundamental source of cosmic action and human agency; engendered spaces describe an articulated system of difference. The demarcation of places as female and male is an emplacement of Bariai cosmology and gender. Thus I begin with a brief discussion of Bariai cosmology as it pertains to the creation of engendered places. This provides a basis for a discussion of house forms both pre- and postcontact not as rigidly defined spaces but as shifting and malleable constructions that accommodate prevailing sociopolitical conditions. In the following sections I describe the various types of Bariai built form, and since there is a tendency to neglect such structural descriptions generally and domestic dwellings specifically in the ethnographic literature of Papua New Guinea, I pay some attention to the details of construction and materials. Throughout, the main point I wish to make is that Bariai gender relations are emplaced relations grounded in homology and analogy rather than structures of hierarchy and dominance (cf. Strathern 1988:13) as a simplistic public/male and private/female dichotomy would suggest.

Cosmology and Concepts of Gender

Bariai cosmology is predicated on a preexisting but undifferentiated universe. The only reference to "origins" in their oral literature is a brief mythic statement about the creation of place—of the land and the sea and the creatures that inhabit those domains, of the creation of the sexes, and of the first men's houses. Paraphrased, the origin myth goes like this:

> A solitary being, Upuda,[3] sits upon a huge rock in the dark, misty void and, for reasons unknown, begins to create boundaries within a cosmic continuum.[4] Upuda constructs place through movement: by kicking up sand and soil and sea, thus differentiating land and sea, the island of New Britain is created. Upuda then populates the land with all the flora that are now "naturally" part of that domain. Upuda's final act is to create human beings and all the fauna that inhabit the land, the sea, and the sky. Upuda divides a branch of the *asi* tree in half and carves two figures, one male and one female.[5] The wood shavings created become all the animals and birds that inhabit the forest and all the fish and other creatures inhabiting the rivers, lakes, and sea. Initially, the stick figures were inanimate, deaf, and mute, so Upuda carves their ears, eyes, and mouth and breathes life into them. The primal couple prosper and produce fifty sons, each of whom is head of a men's ceremonial house.[6]

Upuda is an otiose gender-neutral creator being who, after these initial acts of creative differentiation, has no further role in the fate or affairs of that which has been created. Metaphorically, the uncut *asi* branch is a cosmos in stasis: undifferentiated and unrealized, sterile and non(re)productive. If action is predicated on "dyadically conceived relationships" (Strathern 1988:14), then an undifferentiated humanity, like the uncut *asi* branch, is inert, inactive, unable to (re)produce. Cutting the branch creates a gendered boundary in a human continuum, separating an essential, inactive unity into a sexual dyad that becomes the basis of all action. The divided branch represents discontinuity and difference, which simultaneously engenders a dynamic and sexual, hence generative, universe. In Bariai cosmogenesis, as in some Polynesian cosmologies, there is "a strong relationship between cosmogony and birth, where cosmogony is specifically not conceptualized as creation *ex nihilo*" (Gell 2003:296), but as differentiation. As humans appropriate the power for (re-)creation through their sexuality, they risk destroying the universe since sexual intercourse represents the reunification of the cosmos into its undifferentiated state, which is, by definition, inert. Thus, "where boundaries are transgressed, annihilation follows" (p. 297).

In keeping with the spirit of the myth, female and male are two halves of a single totality (the *asi* wood); they are, elders explained to me, essentially the same "stuff." Differences between female and male are a consequence of a primal differentiation: a unity becomes a dyad. Concepts of gender express values and meanings attributed to human bodies, particularly embodied substances such as blood and semen, and it is in terms of these vital essences that Bariai elders explain residential segregation of the sexes. Contact with female essences can make men ill, nullify their magical efficacy, and render them ritually impotent. Women exposed to male essences can also become ill or sterile, or experience prolonged labor during childbirth, which could result in the death of both woman and child. The "heat" and embodied essences that cling to sexually active individuals are also dangerous to children and persons who are weakened by sickness or injury. Girls and boys who have open wounds received during ear-piercing or superincision bloodletting rites are particularly vulnerable. Exposure to the "heat" generated during sexual intercourse can retard their healing and cause fever, festering, and perhaps death. The reservoir of essential substances contained in human bodies is finite, and the loss of these vital essences during sexual intercourse as well as during processes of production (creation) and reproduction (re-creation) are major contributing factors to the processes of aging and dying (see Scaletta 1985). Through differentiation of the sexes, Upuda created a dynamic and interactive universe; however, the essential dyadic interaction thus created is sexual, and it is sexual intercourse that

dangerously reunites the primal dyad that results ultimately, indeed, necessarily, in death/inertia.[7]

The separation of the sexes and the regulation of human sexuality and gender relations are necessary in order to maintain a dynamic universe and a framework for meaningful social intercourse. The mythic origins of the sexes and human sexuality and residential segregation describe an emplaced cosmic imperative expressed pragmatically in built form. These structures create boundaries that define as masculine or feminine various spaces and places and the activities that occur within them. Such structures are not static edifices; rather, they coincide "in various ways with important events and processes in the lives of their occupants" (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:39). Colonialism was one such important event in the shaping of place for the Bariai. Following Gell, it is clear that only "separation preserves essences, and essence precedes existence" (2002:297).

Bariai Settlement Patterns and Colonialism

The occupants of the fifty men's houses mentioned in the origin myth were dispersed throughout New Britain as a consequence of a conflict arising out of a sexual relationship between a woman and a spirit being (B: *aulu*).[8] This mythic diaspora gives credence to the multiplicity of small settlements that Bariai elders described as their remembered precolonial residential patterns of kindred groups living on named tracts of land in the forest. These settlements were circular or semicircular in shape, embracing a cleared common area. Each settlement was a hub for a radiating network of footpaths through the bush that connected to related groups living nearby, to trade friends on the route over the mountains to the south coast, to garden plots, and to the beach.[9] These small settlements were composed of related men, who resided in the men's house, and their spouses and children, who lived in the domestic dwellings built on either side of the men's house. Those few men who were able to afford more than one wife built separate but adjacent dwellings for each wife and her children.

Both men's and women's houses were windowless, roughly constructed shelters of bush materials built on the ground, with the front entrance facing into the central clearing and a rear door permitting egress directly into the forest. Besides offering a convenient repository for refuse, the proximity of the bush provided a ready sanctuary if the hamlet was attacked: front entrances could be barricaded, and residents could make their escape through the rear of the building, where they melted into the forest, as one elderly man put it, "like wild pigs" (compare Samo longhouses discussed in Shaw 1997). From about ten years of age, all males slept, ate, stored their personal

belongings, and spent their leisure in and around the men's house. Although not strictly prohibited, men rarely entered the female domain of the domestic dwelling and never trespassed into the women's latrine area or walked the path leading to it.[10] A man received cooked food from his wife (or his sister or mother if he was unmarried), usually delivered by a child to the door of the men's house. Deceased members of the kin group were buried in shallow graves in the earthen floor of the men's or women's houses, and hearth fires for light, warmth, and cooking were built on top of the graves. Over time corpses were reduced to ashes and bits of bone, which became ingredients in magical spells and sorcery; some of these relics and power bundles are still extant. Buildings of bush materials precluded any kind of structural permanence, and people moved regularly between settlements and gardens, often spending more time in family groups in temporary garden shelters (*palata*) than in their houses. This impermanence of structures and people's residential transience sorely tried the colonial government's sense that a population is affiliated with a specific "place" and concepts of home and community.

Patrol Officer Ian M. Mack exemplifies the Euro-Australian association of "house" with "home" and with permanence in the sense of material solidity, generational continuity, inheritance, and heritage. In his 1931 patrol report, Mack provides the earliest written description of Bariai housing.[11] He writes that

> no villages have been other than of a temporary nature until the last few years. . . . Beach villages, such as Kokopo in [B]ariai, have had a "House Boy" [men's house] and several houses on their sites for some time, but most of the inhabitants actually lived in little houses in their taro gardens. I believe this to be the reason for the natives in the districts . . . building such flimsy houses. A house to them has not got the significance of "Home" in the sense that it has to us—a house for untold generations—merely [being] a shelter to protect them from rain and somewhere to sleep at night, but they have never lived in a house in the way that we do. Every year their taro gardens were moved to a new site, for several months each year the family would be camping out and hunting or gathering wild nuts and fruits—all that was required of a house was for it to be a nightly shelter for a few months

With the advent of the Australian colonial administration, Bariai settlement structure was forced to change in order to facilitate government census taking, labor recruitment, and tax collecting (see McPherson 2001). The patrol officers, or *kiap* as they were called in Tok Pisin (hereafter TP), searched

out and relocated people to settle on the beachfront, where they were more accessible to colonial administering. Preferred temporary shelters in the gardens were prohibited in favor of permanent villages constructed in a lineal plan of contiguous agnatically related hamlets. Villagers now had to commute to their gardens rather than live near their source of livelihood. From the administrative perspective, such relocations harmonized nicely with colonialist ideas of geographic space (land use) and place (village), households (as homes) with heads of households (agnatic descent, patriarchy), and the necessity for creating a population (census taking). For hygienic reasons, the administration further decreed that all houses should be built on stilts to permit circulation of fresh air and that the surrounding bush should be cleared back thirty feet (10 m) on all sides of dwellings. Latrines were ordered built and used for collecting human waste; refuse was to be buried in specially made pits or thrown in the sea. Burying the dead in the dirt floor of men's or women's houses was strictly forbidden; each village or settlement was required to provide a plot of land some distance from the residential area in which to bury (place) their dead. The dead are now buried in cemeteries—a space that separates the dead from the living in a manner that burying the dead in house floors never did—yet villagers continue to construct small houses on top of the graves to "shelter" the dead. Sometimes people so miss their deceased loved ones that they build a fire on top of the grave to warm the deceased and themselves while they spend the night beside the grave. Similar to contemporary men's houses, which used to house the dead, the little grave houses are never repaired or maintained but are allowed to decay and fall apart (discussed below). A mortuary ceremony with food distributions and payments of shell money is required to deconstruct the deceased's house (actually or symbolically by removing a wall but leaving the rest of the structure intact), remove and burn the construction materials on top of the grave, and beautify the site with fresh beach sand.

Interestingly, Patrol Officer Mack is unconcerned with men's houses in his patrol report and focuses on women's houses or "House Married" (TP: *haus marit*).

> Every "House Married" is raised on piles about four feet high, the houses do not differ much in size usually being a rectangle of 12 feet by eight, or approximately so. The walls are under four feet in height and the roof is nine or ten feet high at the ridge pole, which is usually about eight feet long, the roof sloping down to each end wall as well as the sides. The door is under four feet in height cut in the center of the longer side, in front of it is an unroofed verandah or platform, built of saplings laid horizontally on piles, with two of

> three poles forming a ramp to the ground taking the place of steps. Floors are made of limbom [palm sp.], the walls of peeled sticks or saplings, laid horizontally and fastened close together to the uprights, some few houses have walls of sewn sheets of *sacsac* [TP: sago-palm frond]. (Mack 1931)

Indigenous housing was a constant annoyance to colonial officers, whose appraisals and comments on housing standards (or their lack) are common entries in every patrol report. Mack often laments "slipshod workmanship" and gives a vivid description of the results of the new order of Bariai housing:

> Occasionally quela [TP: *kwila*, "ironwood"] posts had been used as blocks under a building, but they would all be of different lengths, with a stone or chock of wood placed on top to bring them to an approximate level; often the main bearers would be of soft pulpy wood that crumbled to the touch, uprights supporting the roof and forming the walls would be set in the ground at all angles, the floor joists consist of unbarked saplings laid carelessly on the bearers some thick and some thin, with the result that the limbom [split-palm trunk] floor would only touch one every now and then—no attempt made to fasten the limbom to the floor joists, the limbom itself would have gaps of two or three inches every foot or so, and flap about in a most disconcerting manner when one walked on it. Rafters in the roof would be of the poorest quality bush vine which dries quickly and can be snapped with one finger in a house a year old. The thatch would be sufficient to keep out the rain when the house was new, but when it had been on for a few months and dried and shrunk there would be many leaks. . . . In many cases the old style of building a roof was still adhered to, that is to say that the roof would be built on the ground then lifted bodily onto the house; this would account for the numbers of roofs which were such bad "fits." (Mack 1931)

Although Mack believed it would take "years of patient work to instill in the natives as a whole the desire for improved housing," the houses he refers to above were a "marked improvement" over those he had inspected on a patrol through the area five years earlier. Despite such improvements, however, Mack delayed his patrol for five days because he had "decided to build a new rest house . . . using only local material and no European tools except axes and bush knives in an attempt to show the natives that it was possible to build a neat, comfortable, durable and suitable type house without radically altering the type of dwelling to which they are accustomed" (Mack 1931).

After a century of influence from missionaries and colonial officers such as Mack who stressed European-style housing as the criterion of a "proper" house and a modern lifestyle, a permanent construction house of dressed timbers and plank walls and floors, with glass and fly screens in the windows and corrugated iron roofing, is a desirable but still unaffordable status symbol in Bariai villages. Chowning notes that among the Lakali, "the emotional importance of being properly housed, and of providing houses for one's dependents, has actually increased. . . . The family house is becoming a semi-permanent home and at least a few men have a vision of constructing one that can actually be inherited by their children" (1997:101). In 2003, when I asked a Bariai father of seven how he would spend potential resource-extraction royalties, his immediate response was "a permanent construction house." Still, only some villagers are able to procure odd pieces of corrugated iron for a section of roofing or to salvage glass for a window; for the most part, all Bariai houses are still made from bush materials much the same as they were in 1931. Tools used for cutting, dressing, and erecting the structure are minimal, primarily axes, machetes, and hammers. Structures are tied together with vines or secured with nails purchased from trade stores in town or salvaged from decrepit buildings and recycled into the new construction. Bush construction houses usually last, on average, from five to seven years. With the exception of periodic replacement of thatch, repairs are not made to buildings, and when the structure becomes too decrepit to be safely or comfortably inhabited, a new house is built, usually next door, and the old one used for firewood.

Women's Houses: The Domestic Dwelling

In 1985, in Kokopo where my "woman's house" was located, there were three hamlets, three men's houses and forty-five women's houses (*luma*).[12] In 2003, there were four hamlets, seventy-nine women's houses, and no standing men's houses. In 1985, it was possible to discern hamlet boundaries by the small "green spaces" left between them. In 2003, houses were so close together that a fire the previous year had destroyed three adjacent houses. Usually, the men's house (*lum*) is the most visible indicator of individual hamlets, if any are standing; now, without men's houses, hamlets are not physically identifiable and are in the process of becoming invisible altogether. The church has numbered each clan and renamed them as "LKK" one through four, where "LKK" means in Tok Pisin Liklik Kristian Komuniti (Little Christian Community). Elementary and high school children could not tell me the name of their clan affiliation, but they knew their hamlet LKK number.

Contemporary domestic dwellings are built on posts three to four feet off the ground, rarely have windows, and since the threat of enemy attack is a thing of the past, are no longer built with a rear door. The domestic dwelling is very much associated with the conjugal pair and is the symbolic and actual center of their joint enterprise and life together. Gathering and preparing the materials and construction of houses is men's work; indeed, one of the criteria indicating that a youth is mature, responsible, and ready to marry is his demonstrated ability to accomplish these house construction tasks. Postmarital residence is ideally (but not always) virilocal, and when a woman marries, she expects to take up residence in her husband's hamlet in a new house built for her by her husband with the assistance of his kin and age-mates. A newly married woman wants to avoid living in her mother-in-law's house and can even refuse to take up residence with her husband until and unless he constructs her a house of her own.

Rather than several domestic dwellings clustered around a men's house, contemporary Bariai villages have a main road (B: *edap maknga*) that runs parallel to the beach and bisects the village into houses constructed on the beach versus those on the bush side of the road. The main road and beachfront, which are spatial extensions of the domestic dwellings, are public thoroughfares. People traveling from village to village walk along the beach or main road, which announces their destination and reason for going there. Paths through the forest at the back of the village are "paths of stealth" (B: *edap salnga*). Any person who travels these bush paths is assumed to be up to no good or, worse, to be a sorcerer about his nefarious business.

Although the dimensions of domestic houses vary according to personal preference, women's houses have changed little from Mack's 1931 description.[13] Houses are still rectangular, approximately fourteen feet long including a covered verandah, and about twelve feet wide. Construction begins after all the materials have been prepared and gathered at the site. Footing posts (B: *kadanga taine*, "female posts") six to nine feet in length are cut from ironwood trees, which are impervious to rot and termite invasion. When the rest of the house has succumbed to the tropical environment and become uninhabitable, the ironwood "female" footing posts remain upright and strong. These posts are embedded in holes about three feet deep at each of the four corners and at three-foot intervals to create the perimeter of the house. When securely anchored in the holes, the exposed ends of the "female" posts are the stilts on which the rest of the house is built. Beams of a uniform diameter are laid on top of the "female" posts, and the floor joists (B: *kalunglung*) are attached to them at right angles. Next, split-palm flooring (B: *nares*) is laid, and king posts or "male posts" (B: *kadanga aranga*) are put in place at appropriate intervals around the perimeter of the structure,

and the top plate (B: *para*) is lashed in place. The gabled roof is achieved by centering one post on each front and back section of the top plate to support the ridgepole (B: *udud*). The rafters (B: *aulanga*) are attached to the ridgepole and the top plate. The roof is thatched with sago-palm leaf stitched onto four-foot-long narrow strips of bamboo; inverted sago-palm ribs serve as ridge tiles to prevent leaks. Walls are made with vertically positioned lengths of sago-palm ribs lashed together or three-foot square woven bamboo-strip decorative blinds (B: *didnga*). If a window is installed, these blinds also serve as window coverings that can be propped open or tied shut. Finally, a door (B: *atama*) is hung from vine hinges in the entranceway. The exterior of the domestic dwelling is not decorated except in the various designs woven into the bamboo walls or window covers.

Besides the building and its interior, the personal space of the people who live in the house extends to include the space that surrounds the house: that area of the beach, bush, or main road to the back, front, and sides of the dwelling (see also Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:3). Within this exterior domestic space are small ground-level structures that serve as cook houses, fenced pig pens, pig troughs, and occasionally a chicken coop. Cordylines or small decorative trees planted between houses demarcate individual households. With recent population pressures, houses are built in close proximity to one another, and many are surrounded by fences constructed of bamboo lengths, logs stacked horizontally, or chicken wire or corrugated metal; each fence has a stile for climbing over. Another new addition to domestic houses is a beautification project where the household "property" is planted with flowering trees, planters with flowers or cacti, banana plants, betel-nut palms, papaya, even dwarf coconut palms. On their verandahs, many houses display potted plants of aloe, pothos vine, dracena, and a variety of flowers. While the stated objective of the fences is to keep the pigs out (they don't), the effect is a physical and mental barrier that privatizes the household environs.

The dwelling house is the personal sanctum of all who reside there. Nonresidents are rarely invited inside the house, and the sanctity of house and householders is protected by magical spells. All visitors are expected to approach the house from the front and should not climb the fence or the ladder onto the verandah unless invited to do so. Every woman has her own personal trove of specially selected stones for her stone oven that she has magically bespelled to ensure succulent and well-cooked food and to ward off attempts by others to use magic to spoil her efforts. These stones are stored underneath her house, usually under a protective cover of sand; firewood is stacked beside the house or in the cook house if she has one. House stilts are usually built high enough for women to use the shady area underneath

their houses for socializing while they sew thatch and mats; weave baskets; make shell armlets, shell money, and colorful dance skirts; prepare meals; and do the multitude of tasks that fill their "leisure" hours and contribute to the wealth and well-being of their household. Most household activity and general socializing is highly visible and audible and takes place outside the dwelling proper in these external domestic spaces.

The interior of the house is usually not partitioned into rooms but is allocated according to functions such as sleeping, cooking, and storing personal belongings and day-to-day tools and equipment. Broad shelves constructed high on the walls hold wealth items intended for exchange (shell money, clay pots, pandanus mats, wooden bowls). With more exposure to European-style housing, some villagers have built an interior wall to divide the house into two rooms of unequal size. The smaller room, slightly left of the entrance, is used for storing personal belongings such as cooking utensils, clothing, and ceremonial regalia as well as money and other items of material wealth. Since men no longer sleep in the men's house on a regular basis, the second, larger room usually serves as a sleeping room for the family. Husband and wife, however, sleep apart. A woman sleeps with her nursing infant or youngest child, and her husband sleeps with their older children. Couples rarely, if ever, engage in sexual relations in the house since this is an activity that properly takes place in the liminal privacy of the bush. In many houses, the larger room has been portioned again to create a small private "prayer room" (TP: *groto*), where there is an altar with fresh flowers (replaced daily), small statues of Catholic saints or the Virgin Mary, and poster-sized religious pictures of Jesus and Mary on the walls. Larger temporary altars are built under the house to accommodate the numbers of people who attend the Charismatic Catholic group's healing and prayer sessions.

The symbolic heart of the domestic dwelling remains the hearth, which, paradoxically, is not always located in a dwelling. In the house, the hearth is built on a bed of sand to the right of the entrance. A hearth may also be situated on the verandah, and when traveling, women install their hearth on the platform of their outrigger canoe. The hearth may also be located in a cook house that is either attached or separate from the house itself. In essence, the hearth exists wherever a woman is, and no matter where it is located, the hearth is the center of domestic life from which comes comfort, companionship, warmth, and cooked food (see also Mascio 1995:146–148). Only women and girls cut and carry firewood—an ongoing chore to keep up with fuel needs—which is stored outside and underneath the house. Inside the house, built over the hearth, is a platform called a *golou* used for storing mangrove wood, which over time becomes tinder dry and blackened by heat and smoke from the hearth. *Golou* wood is used only to benefit others—as a

gift to warm the dying, cure the sick, or speed the recovery of a woman who has given birth. A gift of *golou* wood must be reciprocated publicly by the recipient with a gift of wealth, usually during firstborn or mortuary ceremonies. A woman with a supply of *golou* wood earns renown as a "true woman": one who works hard, plans beyond her immediate needs, and is considerate of others.

As a wife, a woman is both the primary source and the guardian of a man's wealth; a man without a wife is deemed truly disadvantaged, his social status reduced to that of an unmarried youth. One widower told me that without a wife he was truly impoverished; he had no one to look after his shell money, pigs, and other wealth and no one to generate more wealth. Pigs are the most visible sign of a family's wealth. Without a wife to feed, tend, and domesticate them, pigs become feral at best, or at worst they die. Unmarried males are described as analogous to feral pigs. Like wild pigs that forage in other people's gardens, single males do not eat food produced in their own gardens but depend on their mothers and sisters to feed them. Like wild boars that impregnate domesticated female pigs in the bush, unmarried males are depicted as wholly concerned with trying to seduce village women into the bush for sexual liaisons. Pigs are destructive and aggressively dangerous; they are of value to humans only when domesticated by women for exchange purposes or transformed on the hearth fire into cooked pork. Similarly, unmarried males with "wild eyes" are of little value to themselves or to society until they are transformed into socially productive men and husbands by their wives. Just as women feed and tame pigs in order to domesticate them, thus transforming them into objects of value, women as wives domesticate males by feeding them and providing them with a home and children, thus transforming them into men and persons with social value (see also Goodale 1985). Contrary to the notion stated earlier that houses are "containers of women and wealth," the importance of the domestic dwelling is not the house or structure, it is the woman.

The dwelling house encompasses the domestic unit or household, the locus of production and consumption. Household composition, which varies according to people's circumstances and predilections, usually consists of a woman, her dependent children and elders, and her husband. The household is headed by the wife, who centralizes household resources and oversees their production, allocation, and disbursement. The wealth—mats, pots, wooden bowls, shell money, ceremonial regalia—that she and her husband have jointly produced is stored within the house, and although he has access to it, a husband should not remove any item for gift giving or exchange purposes without first consulting with his wife and obtaining her consent to the transaction. Women generate wealth through their kin, their trade friends,

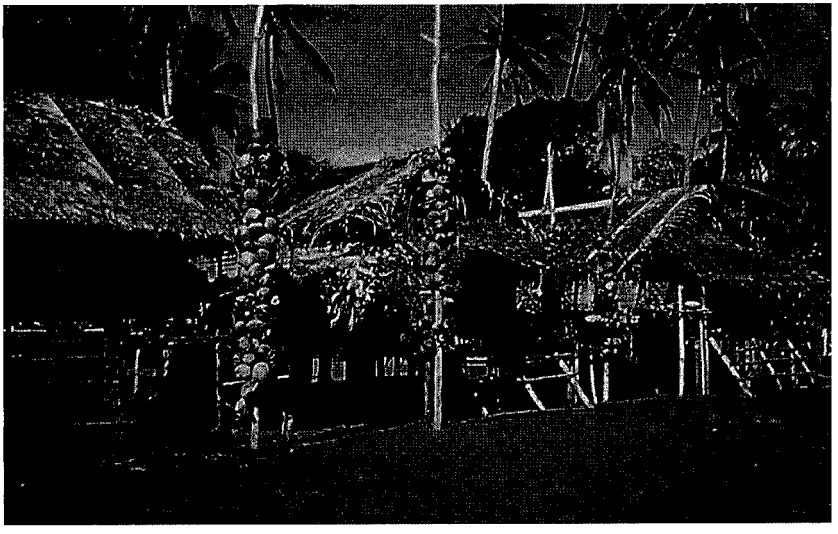

FIGURE 1. **Domestic dwelling with coconut poles.** (© 1982 N. M. McPherson)

and most especially through their own bodies in productive and reproductive labor. Bariai women are recipients of wealth and of real property in their own right, and they have a crucial role in the socioeconomic prestige system. Although it is a male role to transact publicly the distribution of ceremonial wealth, Mr. Ngauma Geti, a village elder, frequently observed to me that "without women, men's work [ceremonial exchange and performance] would be impossible." While the men's house is the focus and venue of public ceremonials, the long-term planning, preparation, and production of the wealth ceremonially transacted by males is accomplished within the domestic domain. In the privacy of the woman's house, the wife-husband team plans the size and number of gardens needed for daily subsistence and for ceremonial occasions. They also assess their resources in pigs and material wealth, how to increase their wealth, and among whom it should be disbursed during firstborn and mortuary ceremonies and exchanges.

The role of women as producers and the importance of the domestic domain is highlighted during these ceremonies with the ostentatious display of accumulated household wealth. Fifteen-foot (5 m) poles are erected next to the domestic dwelling to hold the hundreds of coconuts needed for food preparations (see Figure 1). The huge, specially built display platforms are heaped with taro, yams, and other garden produce destined to be either distributed raw as gifts or cooked as feast food. Pigs to be consumed or exchanged during the ceremony are trussed under the house for everyone to

count and admire. A wife is entirely responsible for organizing and overseeing the work units, consisting of her daughters, sisters, and female cognates and affines, who prepare and cook the food and pork she has amassed for consumption during the ceremonies. The public display of wealth outside a woman's dwelling attests to her personal and productive strength and prestige. A "good" husband acknowledges the crucial role of his wife in ceremonial work by publicly presenting her with a pig that she may dispose of at her own discretion, usually as gifts of cooked pork that she gives to her female kin as compensation for their labor on her behalf.

Womanhood is a complex status achieved through productivity and reproductivity, and a "true" woman is one who excels at productive activities such as gardening and generously laboring for and on behalf of others. Besides these productive activities, women (and women's houses) are associated with the generative processes of reproduction. Females, as an ideal category, are described as being "like spirit beings" in the sense that female genitals are the dark and mysterious hidden source of creation: the embodiment of an autochthonous power to create new life. The birth process is grounded in a corpus of exclusively female knowledge and expertise and, regardless of actual location, takes place in an exclusively female space. This birth process is homologous to the male process of (re)producing and bringing forth spirit beings from within the exclusively male space of the men's house. Men forbid women to be involved when they "deliver" the power of spirit beings into the men's houses; for similar reasons, women forbid men to be present during childbirth, when female generative powers are at their most potent and dangerous (see McPherson 1994b). There is no question here of males appropriating female generative processes or of one being derivative or symbolic of the other. Both women and men are involved in generative processes, each within their own secret-sacred place and each exclusive of the other, yet neither existing without the other.

In precontact times, when houses were built on the ground, women gave birth in their domestic dwelling, and this building was even more closely homologous to the men's house where spirit beings are brought forth into the public domain. With the colonial stipulation that houses must be built on stilts, persons and things under the house are now at risk from the symbolically "hot" fluids of parturition falling through the floorboards. Actual or proximate contact with these vital essences can nullify the efficacy of things such as nets or traps, and cause men, women, children, and domestic animals to sicken or die. In order to protect others from such powerful contamination, a woman will give birth in a ground-level outbuilding such as her cook house, in a small temporary lean-to hastily constructed by her husband for the purpose, or even, as one experienced woman did, in the bush behind her

house. Once the child is born, mother and infant bathed, and the afterbirth buried or disposed of in the sea, anyone can enter the now-desacralized birth place. After three or four days, when the blood of parturition has ceased to flow, mother and child return to her house.[14]

Although not practiced for at least fifty years, a mother and her firstborn child were once secluded for some weeks inside the domestic dwelling in a temporarily partitioned area called *ele vovo*, "her butterfly." Constructed of split-bamboo woven screens with butterfly-wing-shaped doors, the room was a symbolic cocoon. Neither mother nor infant was seen by anyone except the woman's own mother, who entered the room to deliver the food, firewood, and water provided by her enatic kin. The Bariai describe the neonate as helpless, infirm, and incontinent, analogous to the very old when they become decrepit and near death. Indeed, a neonate's pale skin is likened to that of a ghost, denoting its closer relationship with spirit beings and the dead than with living human beings. Mother and firstborn were kept secluded in the butterfly room for several weeks to protect the child from malevolent influences and to keep its tenuous soul substance (B: *tautau*) from slipping away. No one saw mother or child; the new mother left the room secretly at night to bathe and relieve herself. During seclusion the infant lost its newborn appearance as it became more and more a part of the human domain and further removed from the realm of spirits.[15] Senior Bariai women and men refer to the secrecy and seclusion of the birth hut and the now-defunct butterfly room as homologous to the secrecy and seclusion of the men's house when spirit beings are in residence there.

The custom of seclusion in the butterfly room is now defunct. However, the importance of the firstborn child (regardless of its sex) as a symbol of cosmological continuity and parental renown continues to be celebrated in seventeen ceremonies performed in honor of the firstborn child. The locus of fifteen of these ceremonies is the domestic dwelling, and their focus is the firstborn child and its mother. Interrelated concepts of generation and regeneration are deeply embedded in the symbolism of the men's house, which is central to mortuary ceremonies in which firstborn children, spirit beings, and competitive pig exchanges feature prominently.

Men's Ceremonial Houses

Traditionally, the men's house was a meeting and sleeping place for men, youths, and boys above the age of ten years and the place of exclusively male secret-sacred activities and publicly performed ceremonies. Although the men's house continues to be an exclusively male domain, nowadays men sleep, eat, and spend most of their leisure time in the company of their wives

and children in the domestic dwelling. Boys too old to sleep in their mother's house now construct a youth clubhouse, separate from the men's house, in which to sleep and socialize in a masculine environment.[16] While exclusively masculine, the youth clubhouses have no ritual or sacred associations; they are built like the domestic dwelling and are located in the midst of the women's houses rather than near the men's house. Senior men decry and lament the shift in custom, blaming much that is wrong in their world today, such as more friable spousal relations and incidents of illness and sorcery, on the fact that men sleep in women's houses. However, they are grateful that the boisterous, loud, and at times disrespectful behavior of the youths occurs outside the men's house.

Although the men no longer reside there, the men's house continues to be the locus of autochthonous powers that are contained in such things as the carvings of mythical beings on the main support structures, in special stones brought from origin places high in the mountains, in the spirit beings manifested during ceremonials, or simply in the fearful potency of the magical bundles and relics stored there by the membership. Though not enforced in living memory, tradition retains the threat of death to a woman who transgresses the boundaries of the men's house. Custom prescribes that such a woman would be killed and "eaten" by resident spirit beings, her jawbone flung into the central plaza as a lesson to others. Women discreetly look away when passing the men's house, and children learn at a young age not to play near the building. In 2003, there were no standing men's houses in Kokopo village; all had been demolished since the last round of mortuary ceremony. Despite this, men continued to have important community meetings on the ground where the men's house will be rebuilt.

Contemporary men's houses continue to be built directly on the ground with traditional tools and techniques. They are always located on the bush side (never on the ocean side) of the road that runs parallel to the beachfront bisecting the village in order for the front entrance to face the main road cum dance plaza and the rear doorway to exit directly into the bush. During ceremonies, the sides and rear of the men's house are hidden by a high palm-leaf palisade so that autochthonous beings and paraphernalia associated with their manifestation can be moved secretly in and out of the building via the rear door. Cordyline plants, symbols of the dead and of autochthonous spirit beings, are planted to create a spatial boundary around the men's house.

The interior of each men's house is spatially divided into a number of named sections, representing clan affiliations, marked by a hearth and sleeping platforms. Each section is the private domain of a particular set of kin. Men claim association with a particular lineage by tracing their cognatic relations to the lineage with which they wish to align themselves. Each member

of a men's house unit claims all other members as kin and actively resides on land belonging to the clan group. The men's house group communally exerts rights in and control over group resources including garden and bush land (including timber rights), sea and reef resources, sago-palm swamps, and inherited ceremonial artifacts and designs that decorate the men's house as well as particular spirit beings and the paraphernalia used during their manifestation. The men's house is often used as a dormitory for visiting men, but the primary function of the contemporary men's house, as a social institution, is to ensure the proper and timely performance of ceremonials in honor of deceased kin and firstborn children. The success of these undertakings reflects on the overall renown and prestige of the related lineages represented by the men's house.

Although the dead are no longer buried in its floor, the men's house continues to be the ideological and focal point of mortuary ceremonies that take place at intervals of five or more years. The beginning of a new mortuary cycle is marked by the final demise of the old men's house. Buildings, like human beings, have life cycles. An old men's house is an expression of the degeneration and decay of the aging and dying processes that the living experience and the deceased have fully accomplished. From the closure of the previous mortuary cycle, the men's house is left to decay. No repairs are made to the building. The thatch dries and bleaches gray, painted external decorations fade, and the framework, or "bones," sags and falls apart. The structure becomes more fragile and decrepit over time, like human beings. Indeed, for humans, a "good death" is one where an individual lives a long life, becomes bent over with extreme old age, and finally dies when one's "bones break," thus permitting one's soul substance to escape. The men's house too degenerates, and when a new cycle commences, it is finally broken up and dismantled, then cremated like the corpses it once housed. Clearly, as Carsten and Hugh-Jones suggest, when "body and house . . . serve as metaphors for each other, it may sometimes seem unclear which is serving as metaphor for which—house for body or body for house" (1995:43).

The reconstruction of a men's house is accomplished by men from other hamlets and villages who are cognatically related to the deceased or the firstborn children to be honored. Building a new men's house is a very expensive undertaking since the various components of the building must be erected by work groups and specialists (in carving, for example), who must be compensated for their labor with cooked food, shell money, and/or live pigs. Individual members of the men's house are responsible for accumulating this wealth. Since a firstborn's bloodletting rite (ear piercing or superincision) must take place "on top of the dead," that is, during mortuary ceremonies, the economic and ritual burden falls largely on the parents of a firstborn. Par-

ents sponsoring their firstborn's bloodletting ceremony cannot do so without the requisite mortuary ceremonies, which, in turn, necessitate financing and organizing the construction of the men's house, the regalia and personnel to support the spirit beings who reside in the men's house for the duration of the ceremonies, the massive pig exchanges and the weeks of feasting and dancing with spirit beings, and, if the firstborn is a girl, the construction of her ceremonial seclusion house (B: *kailanga*). All of this financing and organizing is done by the wife and husband team within the domain of the domestic dwelling. The erection of a new men's house is an occasion when virtually the total population of the Bariai District gathers in one location. Those not actively involved in the construction come simply to be part of the drama and excitement, to partake of the feast prepared and distributed by the wives and daughters of the men's house, and to pass judgment on every detail of custom and tradition.

Construction can only begin when sufficient wealth has been accrued and the appropriate building materials have been prepared. The trees and vines used in construction are cut, dressed, and stockpiled in the bush until the day specifically allocated for construction to begin. With the exception of pulleys and some heavy-gauge fiber rope, the men's house is constructed without benefit of imported tools and equipment. For weeks expert carvers live apart in the bush, carving and painting images of powerful spirit beings in the shape of mythic beings such as Moro, the half-man, half-snake culture hero, on the two "male" support posts.[17] These new carvings are extremely potent and are kept covered with pandanus mats so women and children will not see and be affected by them. The old support posts, similarly carved with images of Moro or other mythic figures, are fully exposed but empty of power; thus desacralized, they pose no danger to women and children who see them. (Indeed, they are even used for firewood.) Other mythic beings intended for viewing are carved in the shape of clan emblems such as fish or birds on the end of poles that lie on the top plate and the ridgepole and extend beyond the wall to overlook the plaza.

The workers dig two 6-foot-deep foundation holes, lined up about 10 feet apart, one for each 25 to 30 foot tall "male" support post. The parents of a firstborn are responsible for commissioning the posts, each of which costs them two pigs: one to a work group to dig the hole, the second to a different work group to stand up the post. Once erected, the center posts support the ridgepole, which gives the building its characteristic high-vaulted roof. The ridgepole is about three feet in diameter with holes drilled at either end to fit over the pegs carved at the top of the "male" posts. Winching the ridgepole into place is the most delicate and dangerous aspect of construction. Until the very recent past, male lore maintained that powerful spirit beings built

the men's house, and all women and children were sent away from the village on the day the men "pulled" the spirits from the bush into the village to erect the building. If there was a fatal accident during construction, the dead man was buried immediately, unmourned, at the base of the "male" posts and his kin were advised he had been "eaten" by the spirit beings. Since the likelihood of accident was high, men who are firstborns were (and still are) prohibited from participating in the more-dangerous jobs of standing up the "male" support posts and raising the ridgepole. The men's house construction I witnessed in 1983 was the first such occasion on which women and children were not sent from the village and could witness the construction process. Unlike me, village women stayed away from the construction site, and if they had to pass the site for any reason, they walked by with their eyes averted. Women were as discomfited about being in the vicinity while the men's house was going up as the men (especially elders) were discomfited by their presence. Although there were no injuries, there were construction problems that senior men vociferously blamed on the presence of women.

Once the ridgepole is in place, three decorated poles called "child of the ridgepole" (B: *udud inat*) are lashed in place, one on top of and one on either side of the ridgepole. These poles run the length of the building and are arranged so that the carved and painted figures on one end of the poles extend beyond the ridgepole to oversee the plaza in front of the men's house. With the two "male" support posts, the ridgepole, and the three decorated poles in place, the framework for the walls and ceiling is quickly completed. As in the domestic dwelling, the several evenly spaced posts that make up the perimeter of the building and provide structural integrity are called *kadanga taine*,"female posts." Over the next few weeks, the men's house members work to complete their new building. They construct the walls and floors, and they sew the sections of thatch for the roof and tie them in place. When the building is complete, they meet to decide what type of decorations should adorn the exterior. These decorations might be either designs painted on the exterior walls or carved posts that stand on either side of the front entranceway. Both types represent spirits or mythic figures that are the owned designs of the paternal kin of firstborn children whose blood will be spilled "on top of the dead" at the upcoming mortuary ceremonies (B: *ololo kapei*).

Before its reconstruction, the Bariai liken the previous men's house to an old man. Human potential is only realized by expenditures of vital essences in procreation and production, processes that deplete the life force and contribute to the aging and dying process. Thus, the old men's house framework (bones) becomes fragile and weak, its exterior (skin) faded and dry, and its power (membership) diminished through decay and loss (old age and death). The new building, when it is completed and decorated, is referred to as a

youth, an *iriau*.[18] Like a young man in his prime, the new men's house is strong and straight, its exterior fresh and beautifully decorated, its power regenerated: it is at the peak of its potential. This phase of the human life cycle, from the beauty of youth to adult domestic maturity, is mirrored by the new men's house, and the next phase of mortuary work does not begin for several months or years after the men's house is completed. In the interim, the building itself matures—the brilliant green of thatch ripens to a mellow brown color, the bright paint on external decorations and mythic figures fade, the exposed white wood of the framework weathers and grays with age.

While the men's house ripens, the men concern themselves with the secret-sacred work of (re-)creating and (re)presenting the spirit beings that preside over mortuary and firstborn ceremonial. Spirit beings are autochthonous, primal powers. In order for human beings to appropriate that power to their own ends, it must be called forth and made manifest in material objects. Within the surrounding forest, men spend weeks creating the masks that will materially "house" the spirit beings who are "pulled" into the men's house and then presented in a public forum. This is in many respects analogous to the procreative process. The spirit beings are given form/incubated in the "womb" of the men's house, after which they are "delivered" by men and presented to society from within the men's house.

It is an awesome and solemn occasion when the *aulu* spirit beings first exit the men's house. These beings are exemplars of powerful nonhuman forces brought into the realm of human existence and enterprise. As personifications of an undifferentiated chthonian force, spirit beings simultaneously represent creation and destruction, the life-death continuum. The *aulu* only make their appearance at the point in the ceremonial cycle when firstborn and mortuary ceremonials conjoin. The *aulu* spirit beings are considered to be youths, at the peak of their productive and reproductive capacities; their very presence holds the promise of continuity in the face of the finality of death. They are also memento mori whose presence reminds people of their deceased kin and of death itself; indeed, the *aulu* are accompanied by another spirit figure, *aulu asape*, the "widow" spirit being. The *aulu* always dance in pairs, except the *aulu asape*, who dances on her own, and there can be any number of pairs presented by the men's house. These spirit beings preside over the bloodletting rites of firstborn children, who directly link the past and deceased ancestors with the present generation and are the promise of future generations.

Firstborn Ceremonial Houses

While the men's house matures, the men work in secret areas in the bush to create *aulu* masks and regalia, and practice the music and dances to be per-

formed with the *aulu*. Parents of a firstborn to be honored must construct a special house for their child's bloodletting rite. For a girl, this rite once entailed having her earlobes cut and then elongated by the insertion into the incision of gradually larger and larger tubes of rolled ginger leaves or rounds of bamboo so that, over time, the lobe stretched to touch her shoulder. Boys underwent superincision. If the firstborn is female, she is secluded in a ceremonial house called a *kailanga*. In the past, firstborn girls were secluded for weeks in their *kailanga*, where a combination of overfeeding, inactivity, and lack of exposure to the sun made them plump and pale-skinned, both characteristics aesthetically valued as beautiful.[19] Nowadays, a firstborn girl stays in seclusion for the ten or fifteen days immediately after having her ears pierced.[20]

Referred to as a "female men's house," the firstborn girl's *kailanga* combines the features of a woman's house in its shape and lack of vaulted roof and the features of a men's house with its decorations, carvings, and ceremonial function. Built in front of or beside the girl's mother's house rather than her father's men's house, the *kailanga* is a smaller replica (about six feet square) of a domestic dwelling. It is raised about ten feet or higher off the ground, perched atop a single male support post (the *kadanga aranga* of the men's house). The post usually bears a carving of an animal spirit being or of Moro, the snake-man culture hero and mythic creator of firstborn and mortuary ceremonies who often adorns the "male" posts inside the men's house. Also, as for the men's house, parents of the firstborn must compensate others (usually the child's male maternal kin) who collect the building materials and erect the building, decorate the exterior with descent-group designs, and carve the mythic figures on the support post. This is a costly undertaking in food, wealth, and pigs. As with the men's house, *kailanga* are left standing for months after the firstborn/mortuary ceremonies have been completed, gradually falling apart, until eventually the child's parents have sufficient pigs to compensate a kinsman who will desacralize, remove, and burn the decrepit structure.

The firstborn bloodletting rites occur near the end of the mortuary ceremonies, which then culminate in massive pig exchanges. Two or three days before their ear-piercing rite, firstborn girls enter the seclusion house, where they are protected from negative influences by the power inherent in the carvings and painted motifs that decorate the house and represent their clan's totemic powers (B: *mirmir*). Each firstborn girl and boy is accompanied throughout the rite by a named pair of *aulu* spirit beings. The *aulu* take the children to the area where they will be cut, and after the ear piercing or superincision, the spirit beings return the firstborn girls to their ceremonial houses and the firstborn boys to the men's house, where they are secluded for several days while their wounds heal. Sexually active women and men must

avoid the firstborn houses, and each girl is attended by virginal or celibate "guardians" who are unmarried girls and thus (ideally) not sexually active or by pregnant women whose pregnancy has advanced to the stage where they must abstain from sexual intercourse. In either case, the attendants are uncontaminated by the aura of sexual intercourse, and thus they cannot pollute the vulnerable firstborn. While secluded in the *kailanga*, the girls are given food and drink only once each twenty-four hours to keep the need for elimination to a minimum. Girls enter and leave the house via a ladder under cover of darkness to attend to their bodily functions. Their heads are covered with a pandanus mat to protect their cut ears should they inadvertently meet with a contaminated person or the malevolent glance of a sorcerer.

The treatment of firstborn girls is more elaborate and expensive than that for firstborn boys. The girl child is symbolic of the female generative principle; she is the exemplar of ancestral and parental essence in the present, and as a wife-to-be, she is the "mother" of future generations and the nexus through whom numerous social relations are made possible. Even though a child herself, the firstborn girl is an exemplar of "true womanhood," and her special treatment is essentially a celebration of femaleness and womanhood. When the cycle of firstborn and mortuary ceremonies is completed, the spirit beings are sent back into their spirit domain, and all the regalia is burned. Both the men's house and the firstborn girls' *kailanga* are left to deteriorate and are eventually removed.

Conclusion

The fact that places and spaces are gendered and that gender itself is embodied suggests that structures labeled "men's" or "women's" represent emplaced gender concepts and relations. The Bariai speak of houses as bodies, attribute to houses a life cycle analogous to the human life cycle, and discuss how men labor to birth spirit beings in the men's house and women (classified as spirit beings) labor to birth human beings in women's houses. Bariai conceive of men's houses and women's houses, these gendered places and emplaced genders, as homologous. In Bariai villages, the men's ceremonial house dominates the scene by its sheer size, its high vaulted roof, elaborate decorations, and by virtue of the ceremonial objects stored there, its aura of mystery and power. During periodic ceremonial performances, the men's house does take on spectacular symbolic value and content, especially while spirit beings are resident there. But during the months and years between ceremonial cycles, the men's house sits moribund, unattended and untenanted, no more than a dormitory for visiting males or a sanctuary for husbands during marital strife. The houses of women, by contrast, are the locus of

gender relations, the constant center of daily life, both socially and personally, and the center of production of the wealth that supports the extravagant ceremonies for firstborn children and the dead. Only when firstborn and mortuary ceremonies converge does the men's house again come into its own as a place where human beings and spirit beings cohabit. Even then, however, the continuity of cosmic forces, separated and differentiated with the creation of human beings from an *asi* stick, are not symbolized by either the men's house or the women's house since both are mirrored in the firstborn girl's *kailanga* and enacted when the first child born of the domestic dwelling dances with a spirit being born of the men's house.

NOTES

1. This essay is based on twenty-eight months of field research in the Bariai District of West New Britain Province during 1981, 1982–1983, 1985, and 2003, financially supported by research grants from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and Okanagan University College Grants-in-Aid of Research. My thanks also to David Counts, Dorothy Counts, Bil Thurston, Rik Goulden, Leslie Butt, Wende Marshall, and anonymous reviewers for commenting on earlier drafts of this essay. I am especially grateful to Anne E. Allen for convening the symposium out of which this essay developed and for her comments on previous drafts. Thanks to Judith Ingerman for her companionship and assistance during the 2003 fieldwork. I extend my deepest gratitude to the Bariai, who shared their space and their place with me.

2. There has been the rare occasion (recorded in genealogies but only once in living memory) when a firstborn woman would "become like a man" and take on the rights and privileges of a man, including entry into the men's house. Compare a similar situation among the neighboring Kove in Chowning 1978.

3. The name Upuda is from the Bariai word *pu*, "origin, base, fundament," and the possessive pronoun *da*, "our."

4. In some versions of this myth, Upuda's rock is identified as Mount Sakaili (shown on maps of New Britain as Mount Schrader), a volcanic mountain that hovers majestically behind the Bariai coast.

5. The *asi* is a species of tree favored for use as friction sticks for producing fire. Rubbing sticks together to create sparks or fire is a metaphor for sexual intercourse.

6. Although interspersed with elements adapted from the Christian creation myth of Adam and Eve, the myth goes on to explain how a major conflict among the fifty men's houses (caused by a spirit being seducing a woman/wife) results in the dispersal of peoples and languages that currently exist throughout New Britain. In the myth, there is no mention of "women's houses," and the story seems to imply that everyone lived communally in the men's ceremonial houses. Perhaps the seduction of a woman by a spirit being in the communal house also resulted in residential sexual segregation and the banishment of women from men's houses, though this is speculation on my part.

7. This end-of-the-world concept or "cosmological unraveling" is also discussed by E. Scheiffelin, who notes that the first white men in the Papuan Plateau were associated with the mythic figure Guni's "light-skinned children from the east." He continues: "If Guni returned . . . all the peoples and species that had gone their separate ways after her departure would also flow back to the origin point. That which was accomplished in the Origin time would then be undone and the world would come to an end" (1991:67).

8. At this mythic time, senior men told me, the subsequent battle between human beings and spirit beings also resulted in the latter removing themselves to the periphery of the human domain. Occasionally, during the brief moments of a sunset, humans can catch a glimpse of spirit beings. However, knowledgeable men can access the powers of the spirit-beings by drawing these beings into the men's house, where their powers, made manifest through sound, song, and dance, are manipulated to serve human ends.

9. I have discussed the importance of the domestic dwelling in long-distance trade relations elsewhere (McPherson, 2003).

10. In the past, any man who went into the women's latrine area would be apprehended and speared to death in the men's house; today he risks ridicule, gossip, and speculation about his masculinity.

11. Early patrol reports for northwest New Britain, especially those written by Ian Mack, are a wealth of ethnographic information that permits us to view change over time. Mack's 1931 report was written fifty years before I began fieldwork in the Bariai District and is an invaluable historical record. Mack gives a complete breakdown of the villages: their locations, population, birth/death ratios, age and marital status, rates of polygyny, and ratio of males to females (what he called the "Masculinity of Population"). Table 1 is adapted from

TABLE 1. **Populations, Village Size, and Housing**

Village	Total Population	Women's Houses	Men's Houses	Polygynists
Akonga	67	12 (no data)	2	1
Alaido	81	16 (15)	1	2
Autie[a]	26	4	1	0
Gurissi	58	8 (10)	1	0
Bambak	75	13 (12)	1	1
Kakassi[a]	24	3	1	0
Kairi[a]	42	7	1	0
Kokopo	59	10 (17)	2	2
Malasonga	38	7	1	0
Marika	63	12 (7)	1	2
Namaramanga	54	8	1	0
Natamo[a]	38	6	1	2
Nourapua[a]	55	10	1	0
Tavelliai	47	10	1	0
Togolakrum[a]	58	8	1	1

Sources: Mack 1931; Leabeater 1950.

[a] Village did not exist or had amalgamated with other villages when I visited in 1981.

his 1931 patrol report. Figures in parentheses are supplied from a 1950 patrol report by T. J. Leabeater, cadet patrol officer.

12. There should have been four men's houses for four hamlets, but the fourth descent group was reduced to two brothers and their spouses and children. Too small a group to have a men's house of their own, the descent group had a space allocated to them within another men's house.

13. In 1982, one member of my adoptive family, who lived next door to me, built a "modern" two-story house for his wife; unfortunately, the upper floor was blown away in the monsoon season.

14. Since the advent of the Maternal and Child Health Clinic at Cape Gloucester in 1982, some fifty kilometers by sea from the central villages in the Bariai area, traditional reproductive strategies have been under pressure to change. Village women are encouraged to adopt a Western medical model of childbirth and to deliver their babies in a clinical environment. For a more detailed discussion of this issue and concepts of womanhood, see McPherson 1994b.

15. The child's debut into society takes place on the occasion of its naming ceremony, the first of the series of seventeen firstborn ceremonies. It can take twenty years for parents to perform all firstborn ceremonies. Some parents never do accomplish them all, which affects their relative socioeconomic status. No ceremonies comparable to firstborn ceremonies are performed for secondborn and subsequent children.

16. I know of only one "girls' clubhouse," which had been constructed on the periphery of the village. The young women who slept in the clubhouse were harassed by boys and young men, and after one teenaged girl was allegedly raped and attempted suicide because she felt shamed, the girls' clubhouse was dismantled, and the girls returned to their mothers' houses to sleep.

17. On the legend of Moro, see McPherson 1994a.

18. *Iriau* is also a general term for "spirit, spirit being."

19. Among the Kove, this seclusion house is called *luma-galiki,* and "Galiki is the nickname for all girls in seclusion" (Chowning 1978:213 n8). "Galiki" is the name the Bariai give only to all firstborn girls and to females, such as myself, who are formally given the status (and the rights and obligations) of a firstborn female child.

20. Pressure from Catholic missionaries has resulted in a rejection of the traditional beautification process as barbaric; modern young people favor simple ear piercing, and nowadays girls (and boys) have their ears pierced in the Western manner.

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RESEARCH NOTES

EMPTY NESTS AND PARENTAL WELL-BEING IN AN ASIAN-PACIFIC POPULATION: AN EXPLORATORY TEST

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Guided by theories of role loss and role stress, this study explores mental health outcomes for parents in Guam's Asian-Pacific community whose last offspring has left the family "nest." In contrast with findings reported in studies of U.S. mainland populations, the results of analyses of data from Guam's 1991 Behavioral Risk Factor Survey (N = 398) indicate that the launching of the last offspring from family homes results in role loss and significantly greater emotional trauma for Asian-Pacific women, thus suggesting that parenting may be less stressful for women in Guam. I present a discussion of the implications of the findings for theory and future research.

THIS STUDY EXPLORES mental health outcomes for parents in Guam whose last offspring has left the family home. Two hypotheses dominate the literature in this area of research, labeled the "empty-nest syndrome." The first and earliest hypothesis predicted that women would experience unsettled self-images and heightened anxiety when the last offspring left home (Curlee 1969; Bart 1972; Rubin 1979). This hypothesis is compatible with Thoits's role-identity theory (Thoits 1983, 1986), which argues that role loss will have negative effects on emotional well-being, thus suggesting that offspring departures from the home may be associated with increases in parental emotional trauma (for reviews, see Dennerstein, Dudley, and Guthrie 2002; White and Edwards 1990).

The alternate and more recent hypothesis is that the departure of grown-

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up children from home results in positive mental health outcomes for mid-aged women. This hypothesis is derivable from role-stress theory (White and Edwards 1990), which argues that the effect of role loss depends on the degree of stress or conflict associated with a particular role (Barnett and Baruch 1985; Dennerstein, Dudley, and Guthrie 2002). If a role is associated with stress, role loss may enhance emotional well-being. Since studies show that parenting is a stressful role (McLanahan and Adams 1987; Dennerstein, Dudley, and Guthrie 2002), this perspective suggests that empty nests may benefit parental emotional health. Supporting this hypothesis are several studies showing that families with children in the home report less happiness than couples whose children have moved out (Dennerstein, Dudley, and Guthrie 2002; Glenn 1975; Glenn and McLanahan 1982; Menaghan 1983; White and Edwards 1990).[1]

Guided by these hypotheses, this study examines the mental health consequences of empty nests for parents in Guam's extensive Asian-Pacific community. Although Asian and Pacific Islanders are among the fastest growing ethnic subpopulations in the mainland United States (Humes and McKinnon 2000; Yu and Liu 1992), there are currently few studies available that describe the social distribution of their mental health status (for exceptions, see Pinhey 1997; Pinhey and Ellison 1997; Pinhey, Rubinstein, and Colfax 1997), and the literature reveals virtually no studies that describe the effects of changes in family composition on the emotional quality of life for Asian-Pacific parents in Guam (see Sue 1994 for a review). The present study begins with a brief discussion of Guam's social context, followed by a description of the sampling techniques, measures, and analysis strategy used for the study. Finally, I present the potential implications of the results of the analysis for theory and future research. The present study addresses two questions: (1) Does being an empty-nest family in Guam result in positive or negative mental health outcomes for the parents? (2) Are there gender differences in these outcomes?

The Guam Context

Guam is the largest and most southerly island of the Marianas chain in the Micronesian region of the Western Pacific. It is an unincorporated territory of the United States, which holds considerable strategic significance (Shinn 1985; Rogers 1995). The most populous island between Hawai'i and the Philippines, Guam has more than 150,000 residents according to the 2000 Census (United States Bureau of the Census 2001). Four major ethnic groups prevail on the island: Chamorros (42 percent of the population), Filipinos (22 percent), other Asian and Pacific Islanders (21 percent), and Caucasians (14 percent).

The Chamorros are the indigenous people of the Mariana Islands and have inhabited Guam since at least the second millennium B.C. Chamorros are probably of Southeast Asian origin and share language and other cultural similarities with contemporary Southeast Asians. Chamorros are predominantly Roman Catholic (Workman, Workman, and Ortiz-Cruz 1992), a result of Spain's early domination of the island and other portions of the Western Pacific region (see Rogers 1995). Filipinos represent the island's second-largest ethnic population and have a long history in Guam. Their migration to the island has been a recurring social phenomenon with major impact throughout Guam's postcontact period to current times. Consequently, many Filipinos have adopted the Chamorro language and other cultural traditions, and are also likely to be Roman Catholic. The 1986 implementation of a Compact of Free Association between the United States and the newly formed Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands led a "flood" of Micronesians to Guam (Rubinstein and Levin 1992). Anecdotal accounts indicate that approximately 50 percent of Micronesians are Roman Catholic.

There are currently no published accounts that describe the value given to parental roles in Guam or that assess the mental health outcomes for parents whose last offspring has departed the family home. Ancient Chamorros, however, placed tremendous value on *inafa'maolek*, or interdependence within social groups (Rogers 1995), and by all accounts, contemporary Chamorros appear to sustain this broad emphasis on strong social ties and also place a high value on familial relationships and obligations (see Pinhey and Ellison 1997 and the sources cited there). Guam's strong Catholicism may also contribute to women's greater value of the parent role as compared to men, a conjecture supported by preliminary studies (Pinhey 1995). Taken together, this modest evidence from Guam is supportive of Thoits's role-loss theory and suggests that island women should suffer significant emotional trauma when the family nest is emptied. In contrast, studies conducted in the U.S. mainland indicate that mothers there find parenting more stressful than do the fathers (McLanahan and Adams 1987), suggesting that offspring departures from home may benefit women's mental health. My speculative argument concerning empty nests and parental well-being in Guam draws from Pearlin's conjecture (1989) that the relationship of social stressors to an individual's mental health can be understood only when we take into account the social values that shape the meaning of these stressors. Drawing on the information described above, it is likely that women in Guam will suffer role loss and considerable emotional trauma when their last offspring departs the family home. The remainder of this research note tests this hypothesis concerning the effects of the empty nest on parents' emotional well-being in Guam's Asian-Pacific community.

Data and Methods

To investigate this issue, I analyzed data from the Behavioral Risk Factor Survey (BRFS) conducted in Guam between the middle of March and the end of May 1991. The BRFS used a two-stage proportional cluster design to generate a random sample of Guam households. The sampling frame consisted of a list of the 35,277 households on the island. The proportion of households for each of Guam's nineteen villages relative to the total pool of households was calculated from the sampling frame, and a starting point within housing clusters was chosen at random. One adult member of the household was selected randomly for interview. This method yielded 398 completed interviews, for a response rate of 80.4 percent. Although the sample is relatively small, it is representative of Guam's civilian, adult noninstitutionalized population.

Parental well-being is assessed using two measures: *personal happiness* and *psychological distress*. Personal happiness corresponds to a single interview item that asked respondents how often during the previous month they felt happy. High scores on this item indicate greater happiness. Response categories and codes are never (0), a little of the time (1), some of the time (2), a good bit of the time (3), most of the time (4), and all of the time (5). The sample mean for personal happiness is 3.69 with a standard deviation of 1.16.

Psychological distress is measured by a six-item short-form approximation of Langner's (1962) Twenty-Two-Item Index of Mental Illness (see Johnson and Meile 1981). High scores for this measure indicate greater psychological distress. Respondents were asked how frequently during the previous month they (1) felt worthless (2) felt hopeless, (3) had trouble remembering things, (4) felt restless, (5) felt lonely when they were with other people, and (6) felt blocked. Response codes range from 0 (not at all) to 4 (extremely). The sample mean for this measure is 2.8 with a standard deviation of 3.4. An exploratory maximum-likelihood factor analysis produced a single factor with loadings of .60 or greater. The psychological distress scale indicates high reliability (*alpha* = .819).

Wells and Strickland (1982) have shown that psychological distress scales often contain a strong physiogenic bias. As a result, it is sometimes unclear whether they measure distress or physical health problems. I control for the effects of physical health using a single item requiring respondents to rate their physical health as being poor (1), fair (2), good (3), very good (4), or excellent (5). Self-rated health has a mean of 3.4 and a standard deviation of 1.0. Several researchers have shown that self-ratings of health correlate highly with objective health conditions (Fillenbaum 1979; Ferraro 1980; Linn

and Linn 1980; Idler and Angel 1990; Idler and Kasl 1991). The inclusion of a measure for self-rated health allows for the control of the effects of physical health, thereby permitting more accurate determination of the influence of empty nests on parental well-being.

Empty nests are defined as families with no remaining offspring. Such families are tallied using a combination of two items, one asking if a son or daughter had moved from the home during the year previous to the BRFS and the second asking if offspring remained in the home. This combination was coded 1 if offspring had moved and none remained, and was otherwise coded 0. Twenty-four families met this definition (6.2 percent). Additional family categories used for analysis include *childless* families (54.2 percent), those with *children* none of which had moved from the home (37.3 percent), and *partial launch* families (see White and Edwards 1990), that is, those with offspring remaining after a daughter or son has moved (2.3 percent). The latter category is the omitted comparison category in the following analyses.[2]

Using ordinary least squares (OLS) multiple regression, the models control for the effects of gender (female = 1, male = 0), age (actual years), and self-reported ethnicity, which includes Chamorro, Filipino, Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Korean), Micronesian (Chuukese, Yapese, Kosraean, Pohnpeian, and Palauan), and Caucasian respondents (the omitted comparison category in the following analyses). Additional control variables include marital status (married = 1, all others = 0), education (an ordinal eight point scale ranging from eighth grade or less to postgraduate degree), and total family income (a seven-point ordinal scale ranging from less than $10,000 to $50,000 or greater).

I begin the analysis by establishing the relationship of personal happiness and psychological distress for parents of empty-nest families. Next, by examining the relationship of empty-nest families with psychological distress and personal happiness within gender categories, I test the hypothesis that women are more likely than men are to suffer emotional trauma when the last offspring is launched from the family nest (Finney, Mitchell, Cronkite, and Moos 1984).

Results

Table 1 presents the results of OLS regression models estimating the net effects of family composition and control variables on psychological distress and personal happiness. To conserve space, discussion is confined to the relationship between the empty-nest variable and the two measures of emotional well-being. As can be seen, empty-nest families are associated significantly

TABLE 1. **OLS Regression of Psychological Distress and Happiness on Empty Nest Families, Families with Offspring in the Home (children), Families with no Offspring in the Home (childless), and Control Variables (n = 351)**

	Distress		Happiness	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Empty nest	3.502**	1.241	−1.264**	.426
Children	1.528	1.092	−.471	.375
Childless	.854	1.078	−.479	.370
Age	−.031*	.013	.005	.004
Female	.736*	.350	−.109	.120
Chamorro	−.708	.750	.268	.258
Filipino	−.390	.760	.095	.261
Asian	−.472	.953	−.534	.327
Micronesian	.053	.989	−.221	.340
Education	−.190*	.091	.036	.031
Income	.222*	.100	−.014	.034
Health	−.627***	.169	.196***	.058
Constant	5.360		3.195	
R^2	.129		.096	

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

with greater psychological distress (B = 3.502, $p < .01$) and lower levels of personal happiness (B = -1.264, $p < .01$).

Table 2 contains the results of my second test for gender differences in emotional outcomes to empty-nest families. As can be seen, when the OLS regression models are recalculated within gender categories, women indicate significantly greater distress (B = 3.450, $p < .05$) and less personal happiness (B = -1.235, $p < .05$) when their last offspring has moved out, whereas empty nests appear not to influence men's emotional well-being significantly.

I next considered the possibility that gender differences in response to empty nests (see Table 2) were differential responses to the stress associated with the last offspring leaving home that could not be captured with measures of distress and happiness. As recently demonstrated (for review, see Aneshensel, Rutter, and Lachenbruch 1991; Horwitz and Davies 1994; Horwitz, White, and Howell-White 1996; Pinhey and Ellison 1997), gender differences in response to the same stressful event are likely to result in greater mental distress for women and more alcohol problems for men. To assess this possibility, I recalculated the OLS regression model for men (not shown here) using self-estimates of alcohol consumption as the dependent variable. The relationship with empty nests for men did not indicate

TABLE 2. **OLS Regression of Psychological Distress and Happiness on Empty-Nest Families, Families with Offspring in the Home (children), Families with No Offspring in the Home (childless), and Control Variables for Women (n = 204) and Men (n = 147)**

	Distress				Happiness			
	Women		Men		Women		Men	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Empty nest	3.450*	1.640	4.344	2.871	−1.235*	.510	−1.876	1.184
Children	1.646	1.289	2.189	2.797	−.357	.401	−1.232	1.105
Childless	.676	1.275	1.939	2.798	.567	.386	−1.017	1.105
Age	−.036+	.018	−.021	.019	.011*	.005	.001	.007
Chamorro	−1.021	1.161	−.363	.956	.475	.361	.059	.377
Filipino	−.455	1.182	−.424	.974	.358	.367	−.154	.385
Asian	−.287	1.435	−.875	1.246	−.524	.446	−.412	.492
Micronesian	.331	1.513	.175	1.295	−.401	.470	.027	.511
Married	−.471	.551	−.701	.647	.161	.171	−.042	.255
Education	−.269+	.137	−.075	.121	.036	.042	.029	.048
Income	.286*	.141	.105	.150	−.037	.043	.025	.059
Health	−.596+	.246	−.628**	.237	.173*	.076	.205*	.092
Constant	1.646		4.032		2.725		4.053	
R^2	.125		.146		.145		.104	

+$p < .10$; *$p < .05$

significantly greater alcohol use. I also explored the possibility that employment might affect the effect of empty nests, particularly for women who worked. However, the entry of employment into the equation did not affect the empty-nest measure.

Discussion and Conclusions

Guided by theories of role loss (Thoits 1983, 1986) and role-strain (White and Edwards 1990), and by Pearlin's (1989) contention that stressors cannot be understood apart from the social values that shape them, I hypothesized that women in Guam's Asian-Pacific community would suffer role-loss and greater emotional trauma than men when the last offspring moved from the household. My tests support this hypothesis which is compatible with predictions from Thoits's role-loss theory, and in contrast to the results of several empirical studies supporting predictions from role-stress theory (e.g., White and Edwards 1990), which assume parenting roles are stressful (Glenn 1975; Miller and Myers-Walls 1983) and that their loss should result in relief.

What are the implications of these findings for future research and theory? First, the results of this brief article suggest that Asian-Pacific women in Guam may place greater value on parenthood than do men in Guam and that parenthood may be less stressful for mothers in Guam than elsewhere. It is likely that these findings are the result of Guam's remaining traditional values (e.g., *inafa'maolek*) that positively promote cooperation and interdependence, which may translate into greater support for parents through stronger traditional kinship systems. Thus, empty nests in Guam's Asian-Pacific community are associated with losing a valuable role identity (Thoits 1983, 1986) that may not be easily replaced with employment roles or other alternatives (Stevens-Long 1984). Future researchers may now wish to examine social roles in Asian-Pacific communities and their relationship to stress and emotional well-being.

An additional implication of the results of this study centers on the debate over whether negative mental health outcomes are a consequence of occupying multiple roles—producing role conflict and overload—or a response to role loss and a lack of role identity (Thoits 1983, 1986). The results of the present analysis are supportive of the conjecture that role loss contributes to Asian-Pacific women's greater distress when long-standing routines associated with parenting conclude and mid-aged women are forced to consider what to do with the rest of their lives. Although my preliminary test was inconclusive, it is also possible that women and men respond differently to the stress associated with role loss resulting from empty nests (Horwitz and Davies 1994; Horwitz, White, and Howell-White 1996; Pinhey and Ellison 1997). Researchers may wish to explore this possibility more thoroughly.

Finally, the potential limitations of this brief study deserve mention. The BRFS sample is relatively small by standards of U.S. mainland research, and a larger number of cases might have resulted in stronger or perhaps different patterns. Additionally, the present data do not allow for a direct test of the value associated with parenting in Guam, and the inclusion of the actual number of children in families might have benefited the analysis.

These potential limitations aside, the results of this study reveal significant associations between empty-nest families and emotional trauma for Asian-Pacific women that are consistent with predictions derived from Thoits's role-loss hypothesis. Women in Guam might not find parenting particularly stressful, but women's loss of the parent role results in considerable emotional trauma. Because these findings are in direct contrast with the results of studies conducted in the U.S. mainland, they suggest that impacts of cultural and structural contexts may be an important priority for future research on the quality of emotional well-being as a result of children leaving home.

NOTES

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1. A third hypothesis predicts that negative mental health outcomes associated with women and empty nests are actually a reaction to the onset of menopause, which is argued to coincide with adult children leaving home (McKinlay, McKinlay, and Brambilla 1987). These studies are inconclusive, suggesting that while surgical menopause is associated significantly with elevated depression, the identification of "someone causing worry" (e.g., offspring) is also associated strongly and independently with depression (see Pinhey and Pinhey 2002). Moreover, menopause is not associated with psychological distress when it occurs on time, that is, during midlife; but when menopause occurs at earlier or later stages of the life course, it is apt to be a significant source of psychological trauma (Lennon 1982).

2. Bivariate correlations for empty-nest families are related significantly with greater distress ($r = .149$, $p < .01$) and greater unhappiness ($r = -.252$, $p < .01$). Correlations for childless families, families with children, and partial-launch families were not statistically significant. As well, mean scores for the various family organizations revealed a monotonic distribution for distress and happiness: (1) empty nests (mean distress = 10.8; mean happiness = 3.1), (2) childless families (mean distress = 8.9; mean happiness = 3.7), family with children (mean distress = 8.5; mean happiness = 3.7), and (4) partial launch (mean distress = 8.1; mean happiness = 4.1). In summary, contrasted with the composition of other family types, empty-nest families exhibit higher levels of distress and lower levels of happiness.

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BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, MAY 2002 TO MARCH 2003

THIS LIST of significant publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists received from Brigham Young University–Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East-West Center, University of the South Pacific, National Library of Australia, Melanesian Studies Resource Center of the University of California–San Diego, Radboud University of Nijmegen's Centre for Pacific Asian Studies, and Secretariat of the Pacific Community Library. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted Editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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