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PACIFIC STUDIES

SPECIAL ISSUE:
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN OCEANIA

Vol. 13, No. 3 July 1990

INTRODUCTION

Dorothy Ayers Counts, *Guest Editor*
University of Waterloo

Until recently domestic violence was largely invisible to anthropologists, who gave little consideration to it as a problem in other cultures. For instance, it is not a category in the Outline of Cultural Materials for the Human Relations Area Files (Murdock 1982). David Riches's 1986 collection entitled The Anthropology of Violence contains no chapter on domestic or marital violence, nor does the topic appear in the books index. In 1984 G. M. Erchak noted with surprise that cultural anthropologists have said little about wife abuse in the cultures they study (1984:331-332). As he observes, the lack of attention paid to this phenomenon is particularly puzzling considering the number of female anthropologists doing field research and the concern with women's issues.

The first type of domestic violence to be studied cross-culturally was that directed at children (for example, Korbin 1981). Since Erchak made his observation, anthropologists have done cross-cultural studies of general domestic violence (for example, Levinson 1988, 1989; Burgess and Draper 1989) as well as ones focused on wife-beating (Campbell 1985; Gelber 1986), children (Korbin 1987; Gelles and Lancaster 1987; Scheper-Hughes 1987; Finkelhor and Korbin 1988), and the elderly (see Rubinstein 1987 and the other essays in that issue of the *Journal of Cross-cultural Gerontology)*. The increasing concern of

Pacific peoples with domestic violence is evidenced by the Pacific region conference on child protection, abuse, and neglect held in Honolulu in February 1989, and by the efforts of Papua New Guinea's Law Reform Commission and Women and Law Committee to educate Papua New Guineans that it is "both wrong and dangerous to use violence at home" (Toft 1985, 1986; Toft and Bonnell 1985; LRC 1986, 1987; also Women and Law Committee 1989, a video produced with the assistance of the Canadian High Commission and CUSO [formerly Canadian University Services Overseas]).

Increasing anthropological awareness of the consequences of domestic violence for the peoples of the Pacific also led to sessions on the subject at the annual meetings of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) in 1987, 1988, and 1989. The essays that follow were written for these sessions.

In our discussions we use the terms "domestic violence" and "family violence" in a broad sense to encompass behavior between or directed toward a range of family members including spouses, children, siblings, co-wives, and the elderly, Therefore, although all of the following articles focus on a particular type of domestic violence (specifically between spouses, toward children or the elderly), many of them deal in general terms with strife between other members of the household, domestic unit, or community.

The articles in this volume raise a number of issues that remind us that we must avoid equating behavior in other cultures with apparently similar conduct in our own society. Although events in Port Moresby or Suva may appear similar to incidents occurring in New York, the cultural meanings of those events are likely to be different. If we use the same terms to describe them we must take care that the resulting analysis is not misleading.

For instance, in Oceania domestic violence may not be confined to the domestic domain. As is the case with the Bun (see McDowell's essay), it may occur when spouses compete for public recognition and political or economic power, and it may have broader consequences for relations between social groups (also see Aucoin's essay on Fiji, Nash's on the Nagovisi). Although it takes place between family members, it is not private and does not occur only behind closed doors. Similarly, "violence" may be defined according to particular cultural understandings. Our essays focus on physical maltreatment and in most cases we consider violence to be "an act carried out with the intention, or perceived intention, of physically hurting another person" (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980:20). We have, however, not limited our consideration to

physical assault where such limitation would violate the indigenous concept of violence. For example, as Carucci observes in his article, on Ujelang and Enewetak it has a physical form suited to young warriors and a magical form appropriate to elderly women who are powerful members of their clan. Ujelang people insist that magical violence is more dangerous than physical assault.

Violence is ultimately a culturally defined phenomenon and the form that it takes may differ between women and men and change over the life cycle of the individual or the domestic group. We have been flexible in defining violence, for if we are to understand the nature of family violence in other societies, the perceptions of the people we study must take precedence over definitions derived from Western experience.

One theme that runs through these essays--a theme that may disturb some readers--is that many Pacific societies consider a certain level of family violence to be normal and acceptable. Our consultants have been insistent about this. We have taken their statements seriously and recognize this point of view as a cultural fact. It is also a fact that there is a time when violence ceases to be acceptable and becomes illegitimate or abusive. The questions to be asked are: What is this point? How do we know that it has been reached? What happens then? In all our essays we explore alternatives: alternative forms that violence may take, alternatives to violence, and alternatives available to the victims of violence.

Another theme is the attempt to understand why some Pacific societies experience a great deal of domestic violence while others are mostly free of it. The answer lies in the cultural heritage of the society in question. Some of the societies discussed in this volume have a warrior ethos, or define gender roles in terms of male domination and female submission, or emphasize restraint and gentleness in interpersonal relations. In others the notion of control is extremely important. A society may place a premium on self-control or on the ability to control another person's behavior or sexuality. Or, conversely, the society may value personal autonomy demonstrated by one's ability to avoid being controlled by another. Consequently, the following essays variously emphasize social structure, marriage rules, residence patterns, differential access to resources, the availability of social networks, or the changes brought by modernization as important elements in determining the level and frequency of domestic violence.

Finally, although not addressed specifically, the dilemma we face as both anthropologists and humanists haunts any discussion of this topic. On the one hand, other peoples may use standards that are very different from our own to define what constitutes acceptable--or unaccepta-

ble--behavior. By the precepts of some communities, there may be no such category as unacceptable abuse of a wife or child. As anthropologists we must concede this, and most of us have a horror of judging other people by our values or of suggesting that they should conform to social ideals that we preach but are far from practicing ourselves. On the other hand, we are uneasy with analyses that are restricted to describing and explaining--perhaps almost to the point of justifying--violence toward women, children, or old people. We are confronted, uncomfortably so, with our own ethnocentrism and also with the hand-washing implications of extreme cultural relativism. We would like to be agents of social change, but who are we to tell people of another culture how to organize their lives? There is no easy solution to this dilemma, but our readers should be aware that it is a difficult one for those of us who have struggled with the topic of domestic violence and that all of these essays have required much soul searching.

I wish to thank David Counts, Christine Bradley, Richard Scaglion, Jill Korbin, and Jill Nash for their critical comments on an early draft of the essay that became the introduction and conclusion to this volume. I especially wish to express my gratitude and the gratitude of the other authors to Jill Korbin, who, although she could not attend the ASAO meetings, took the time and trouble to read and comment on early versions of our contributions, I also want to acknowledge my debt to Christine Bradley, who is the PNG Law Reform Commission's principal project officer and has been in charge of reference and research on domestic violence since May 1986. Her reflections, in a personal communication, on the dilemma faced by an anthropologist who is also an active agent for social change informed the preceding remarks on that topic.

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HANA 'INO: CHILD MALTREATMENT IN A HAWAIIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

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Polynesia as a culture area is a valuable context in which to consider issues of child maltreatment. The ethnographic literature on Polynesia would lead one to postulate a very low rate of child maltreatment. Ethnographic descriptions of childrearing present a picture of indulgent parenting and love of infants and small children. Based on current understandings of child maltreatment in Western nations, factors in the Polynesian childrearing environment should act as a deterrent to maltreatment (Korbin 1987a): infants and young children are highly valued; multiple caretakers are available to assist with child care tasks; children can be temporarily or permanently redistributed through formal and informal adoption practices; and a wide network of kin is involved in childrearing to provide support to parents and to intervene if necessary. Yet, instances of "bad" parents are present in the ethnographic literature (see, for example, Firth 1957:147), and with migration to urban areas Polynesians have been overrepresented in official child abuse and neglect reports in New Zealand (Ritchie and Ritchie 1981) and in Hawai'i (Dubanoski 1981). It is not clear how much of this overrepresentation is due to conflict in definitions of maltreatment with the dominant society, how much is due to increased scrutiny of families receiving public services, and how much is due to actual incidence.

This article considers child maltreatment in a Hawaiian-American community, Ko'u Hoaloha,[1] in the mid-1970s. Fieldwork was not addressed specifically to family violence, but child maltreatment was

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an area of interest and was discussed with community members in connection with research on child socialization patterns (Korbin 1978).

Ethnographic Background

Ko'u Hoaloha is a community of approximately 150 individuals situated on the ocean in a rural area of the state of Hawai'i. The community is regarded by both community members and outsiders as one of the last refuges of "Hawaiian life." In the 1970s there was no electricity or running water and these "improvements" were being resisted because of community concern about flushing waste into the ocean where they fish and the children swim. There is regular contact with the dominant culture. Television is available in most households and is run off car batteries. Most adults drive approximately twenty miles several times each week to shop at the grocery store, pick up mail, or run other errands. The children attend elementary and high school outside of the community, which requires approximately an hour's bus ride each way. Unemployment is high, with many families relying on some form of government financial assistance. Employment opportunities are limited to local agriculture, government projects (for example, road building), the tourist industry, and part-time work in the public schools. Subsistence traditionally was based on farming and fishing. The men still fish, but most do not do so regularly and fishing cannot be counted on as a reliable source of income. Fish are most often sold but sometimes are consumed in the household. Ethnic affiliation is clearly Hawaiian, with community members identifying the "Hawaiian way" as their way of doing things. In Hawai'i, substantial intermarriage with other groups and a history of culture contact have resulted in Hawaiian ethnic identity relying primarily on self-identification and adherence to Hawaiian culture (Gallimore and Howard 1968). The Hawaiian family, particularly the extended family *('ohana),* remains important and has been cited throughout Polynesia as the mechanism by which Polynesians retain their cultural identity (Beaglehole 1939; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1946; Beaglehole and Ritchie 1958; Gallimore and Howard 1968; Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan 1974; Keesing 1936; Levy 1969, 1973; Ritchie and Ritchie 1970).

Values on Children

The importance of children and the value attached to them in Ko'u Hoaloha is evident. Ko'u Hoalohans express open enjoyment of infants

and young children. In the tradition of *lima lau* (many hands), babies and young children are passed from person to person to be held and cared for. In addition to adults, children play a significant role in the care of younger ones. In a systematic study of caretaking patterns, children reported themselves engaged in sibling caretaking more often than did a community adult observing the same situation (Korbin 1978).

Children formalize and solidify the tic between a young man and woman and signal their transition to adulthood, In Koʻu Hoaloha couples tended to marry after the woman was pregnant or had given birth, There is considerable pressure for couples that have a child to form a stable union. Many women reported that their mates displayed psychological couvade symptoms (Browner 1983) such as food cravings during their pregnancies and that this was the first sign that they were expecting. Some men also "took," or assumed, labor pains and their women were spared this discomfort. Women regarded these behaviors as signs that the men would be devoted and good fathers.

The importance of children to a couple was indicated by beliefs about sterilization. When the potential tie of a child was purposively *ʻoki* (cut) by sterilization, the tie between the couple was thought to be in jeopardy. Both men and women who had been sterilized were thought to be unfaithful to their spouses. Women were hesitant to be sterilized even when they wanted no more children, not fearing infidelity by their husbands but because they believed they themselves would become unfaithful.

While the primary responsibility for children and child care belongs to the biological parents, the larger *ʻohana* is extremely important. Children move freely among their relatives, having a meal wherever they happen to be when hungry and spending nights away from home when they or a relative wish.

The value of children also is expressed in their redistribution, Polynesia as a culture area has a high frequency of adoption (Carroll 1970; Silk 1980). Hawaiians believe that a "house without children is a house without life" (Young 1980:12). ***ānai***, or informal adoption, literally means "to feed" and implies a high level of nurturance and love. Among Hawaiians informal adoption is common and Koʻu Hoaloha was not an exception. All households in the community had either received or given a ***hānai*** child, and many had done both.

The importance of children is underlined in their therapeutic value, A grandmother had been extremely depressed after the death of one of her daughters and the return of this daughter's child (who had been ***hānai*** to the grandmother) to the biological father. Another daughter

then gave her a newborn baby as a *hānai.* The explicit rationale was to make the grandmother feel better and the act was widely thought to have accomplished that end.

Child Maltreatment across Cultural Boundaries

Hawaiians have strongly held ideas about proper treatment of children and child maltreatment in other cultures, Their definitions were evident in their relations with and perceptions of *haoles. Haole* literally means "outsider" but is generally used to refer to whites.

A *haole* couple had "dropped out" of mainland society and set up housekeeping approximately a mile outside of the community. In keeping with their counterculture life-style and ideals, the couple decided not to send their children to school. They assumed that this would cause little notice among their outwardly easygoing Hawaiian neighbors. However, Ko'u Hoalohan adults were upset because they felt that the well-being of the children was being compromised. In keeping with the "Hawaiian way" of avoiding outward conflict (see, for example, Howard 1974), the neighbors privately complained to a trusted teacher and hoped that she would intervene without causing a disruption in their relations with the couple.

Ko'u Hoalohan women also believed that the *haoles* were maltreating their infant. Hawaiians believe that infants and small children are extremely susceptible to a condition termed *'ōpū huli,* a "turned stomach." This condition occurs if infants and young children are bounced or jiggled. The symptoms of *'ōpū huli* resemble colic and include fussiness, excessive crying, seeming intestinal discomfort, and gas. The condition is diagnosed by stretching out the child's legs. If one leg pulls up, the stomach *('ōpū)* is turned *(huli)* in that direction and must be massaged back into place by someone experienced in doing so. The *haole* parents repeatedly took their newborn riding in a truck over the bumpy road leading to the community. Not unexpectedly to the Hawaiian women, one night the child exhibited the symptoms of *'ōpū huli,* crying inconsolably and seeming to have an upset stomach. Again, in the "Hawaiian way," the women did not openly accuse the *haole* parents of causing this condition in their child. Instead, a few women took the child into "protective custody" with the pretense of diapering it. They then treated the *'ōpū huli* by massaging the child's stomach and torso until the baby seemed more comfortable and the legs were aligned properly. The women felt that the parents' behavior clearly violated standards of good child care, especially since they had repeatedly offered to care for the infant when the parents left the community.

Subjecting an infant or young child to the dangers and discomfort of *ʻōpū huli* is not taken lightly in Koʻu Hoaloha. Young sibling caretakers are sternly admonished and sometimes hit for bouncing small children because of the risk of an *ʻōpū huli.* White Americans from the U.S. mainland clearly do not share this concern and routinely bounce and jiggle infants and toddlers to evoke a smile or to quiet a fussy child. Indeed, because of this difference in child care patterns, if Koʻu Hoalohan women were in charge of child protective services, any parent with a colicky baby might be suspected of maltreatment.

Adoption is another domain in which Koʻu Hoalohans believed *haole* patterns detrimental to children. Informal Hawaiian adoption maintains close ties with the biological parents. A child who had been *hānai* was thought to have an advantage because he or she had two sets of parents who were concerned about and involved in insuring his or her welfare. Anonymous adoption, then, would constitute a significant deprivation for the child. In mainland U.S. wisdom and practice, a child is to have one, and only one, set of parents and legal adoption practices reflect this belief. Hawaiian adults, however, who value multiple parenting, regarded such a practice as unthinkable. Formal adoption, using the court process and involving a legal severing of ties between biological parents and children, was approached with hesitancy, was generally among close kin, and was justified on the basis of the child's accruing some economic advantage such as a land inheritance, insurance benefits, or a pension from the adoptive parents, who were often the child's grandparents, Even in cases of legal adoption, close contact was maintained with biological parents.

Sleeping patterns also are grounds for cultural conflict. Hawaiians considered placing small children in a separate bed, let alone a separate room, for the entire night to be bad for development and dangerous for the child. They firmly believed that social relations were enhanced by co-sleeping, during which time children developed close ties with parents, grandparents, or siblings as sleeping partners. Children freely moved between beds, and sometimes between houses, often several times a night. In addition to the interpersonal benefits of co-sleeping, parents believed that there were tangible dangers to infants or young children sleeping alone. If the child awoke in the night choking, not breathing, or with another problem, the parents feared that nobody would hear and come to the child's aid. The child might become very ill or die. Further, co-sleeping protected children from dangerous spirits that wander in the night. In contrast to Western beliefs about overlaying, when asked, Koʻu Hoalohan women considered it ludicrous that any sleeper could roll over and suffocate a child unintentionally.

Ko'u Hoalohan women accepted behaviors such as putting children in separate rooms for the night, anonymous adoption, and bouncing infants and toddlers as the "*haole* way," even though they did their best to instruct me otherwise for future child care responsibilities. They frequently complained about *haoles* who hitchhiked without protecting their babies from the hot sun. Worse, the *haole* parents were seen jiggling their babies on their hips as they waited for a ride. Hawaiian women shook their heads in disbelief and expressed pity for the babies who were being subjected to discomfort and illness due to poor parental care.

Maltreatment within Ko'u Hoaloha

Ko'u Hoalohans also had conceptions of child maltreatment within their own community. Such cases were responded to with gossip or with intervention that could take the form of verbal admonishments, threats of physical violence, or removal of the child.

Hana 'ino means to mistreat or handle carelessly (Pukui and Elbert 1971) and can be applied to objects as well as individuals, including children. In Ko'u Hoaloha, definitions of *hana 'ino* do not include physical discipline of children to teach them right from wrong, which is considered an important parental responsibility. The term "licking" was used to refer to appropriate punishment of a child. "Dirty licking" referred to severe punishment, which might be justified or unjustified. Hitting a child too hard, even if the punishment is administered for the legitimate reason of bad behavior, is *hana 'ino.* Certain parts of a child's body are off-limits. Parents may hit their child on the *'ōkole* (buttocks) or the back of the legs. However, kicking a child or hitting too hard on any part of the body is *hana 'ino. Hana 'ino* applies particularly to the head. While slapping on the face in response to sassing is acceptable, hitting on the head for any reason is *hana 'ino* and a grave offense. *Hana 'ino* can also refer to emotional maltreatment, such as favoring or "petting" one child and neglecting another.

A teenage girl was beaten by her stepfather when she stayed out all night with her boyfriend. The beating, which left bruises, was responded to sympathetically by adult women and other teenage girls, but the stepfather's behavior was considered within acceptable bounds, Although there were bruises, the injuries were not severe or permanent and the girl was considered to have contributed to her own beating by flaunting her behavior.

One morning the community awoke to the sounds of an eight-year-

old boy yelling as he was chased down the path by his mother striking at him with her rubber sandal. Clearly, her behavior was aggressive. There was no harm to the boy, who, despite all the noise, was able to evade her blows. In informal gossip that day there was mild amusement. The mother's behavior had been public and thus open to comment and speculation, and the boy clearly was doing more yelling than the physical assault warranted.

These two examples were considered by the community at large to be within the bounds of acceptability. The children were considered old enough to know the boundaries of misbehavior. The teenage girl had been flagrant in defying her parents' instructions about coming home in the evening and the boy had been flagrant in his disobedience and open defiance of his mother.

While some physical punishment, even that resulting in bruises, was tolerated in response to child misbehavior, it was not tolerated when directed at small children or infants. Cases of physical assault against infants or small children were not frequent but had occurred. These cases resembled classic descriptions of the "battered child syndrome" (Kempe et al. 1962) in that a frustrated parent lashed out at a child for normal behavior, such as crying. It was well known in the community that one man hit his baby because it would not stop crying. His wife took the baby and left, returning only when he promised not to repeat this behavior. Another man was known for having the "bad habit" of hitting infants and small children. He was frequently admonished by his relatives. The father in another family beat all of his children severely, younger and older children alike. His father intervened in the beatings and threatened him with physical violence in retaliation. The mother in this family also beat the children, but not as severely as the father. Another man came home drunk and became angry with his wife when she could not quiet the baby's crying. As the crying continued through their yelling, the father hit the baby with a closed fist. Another female adult who was staying in the house ran to get the grandmother. The grandmother immediately went to the house and took the baby home with her, claiming that the parents had no right to have a child if they were not going to love it and care for it. The grandmother announced her intention to keep the child and raise it as a ***hānai.*** Her right to do so was supported by the community. The parents begged the grandmother to return the child, promising they would never hit the baby again. After several weeks the grandmother relented and returned the child. As far as anyone knew, the child was not struck again.

The amount of caretaking required of siblings is another example of

the recognition of the boundaries of appropriate child treatment. Sibling caretaking is highly valued among Hawaiians (see, for example, Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan 1974; Korbin 1978). Nevertheless, some child caretakers were considered maltreated in the extent of their responsibilities. One seven-year-old girl had almost total responsibility for her two preschool-age cousins. She was rarely seen in the community without these two young girls. She was *hānai* by her grandparents and lived in the household with her grandparents, aunt and uncle, and. the younger cousins. The girl took the initiative of moving to another aunt's house, complaining that all she did was watch babies. The aunt and other adults in the community supported the girl's move and admonished the grandparents, saying that they did not deserve to have the child as *hānai* if all they wanted was to make her work. The girl stayed with the second aunt for some time and then moved back with her grandparents.

A ten-year-old girl, an only daughter, had near-constant responsibility for her five younger brothers. Her parents frequently went away from the community for the day, leaving her in charge. In informal gossip, community adults considered her maltreated for having excessive child care responsibilities and no time "for play," to be a child. While nobody intervened on her behalf, they predicted that she would not want children of her own because she would be worn out long before adulthood.

A case of neglect of a three-year-old boy underlined the problems of a child who did not have a network of concerned kin. He was a stepchild, was not well liked by his stepfather, and his mother's kin did not live in the community. Unrelated adults, following the Hawaiian tradition of *aloha* (hospitality, sharing, and joint caring) for children, were kind to the child, watched out for him, and fed him when he appeared in their yards. (In fact, he often had stomachaches from eating too much in too many households.) He often was found wandering about the community well after dark when the rest of the young children had been gathered up and taken home. This was considered dangerous because the community is located on the ocean and in years past an unsupervised child had drowned. Community adults considered the boy to be neglected. However, since most were unrelated to the parents, they did not feel that they could intervene beyond caring for the child when they came across him. His plight was viewed as unacceptable by community standards and the parents, particularly the mother, culpable.

In another case of perceived neglect, an infant was given as *hānai* to an aunt. This aunt frequented bars and did not care for the child, leav-

ing her unattended and dressed inappropriately for the weather. Another aunt and uncle intervened, claiming the child for their own as *hānai*.

Harm to children for which caretakers were held responsible was not limited to direct actions. Children could be harmed by bad feelings among their caregivers. One child had been *hānai* to her aunt since infancy. When the child was approximately four years old, the biological parents decided to move far away and to take the little girl with them, The aunt was brokenhearted but did not complain. She explained that if you *hukihuki* (pull back and forth) a child, the child will suffer by becoming ill or through a misfortune. Harm also could come to children as a result of previous parental breaches in interpersonal relationships. This is what Ito refers to as "retributive comeback" (1978, 1987). When one boy was seriously injured in an unusual accident, neighbors and kin were saddened but viewed the incident as an inevitable consequence of the parent's negative interactions with others in the past.

Physical Discipline and Maltreatment

Cultural sanctioning of physical discipline has been posited as a necessary condition for child abuse in the United States (for example, Gil 1970), and child abuse has been viewed as physical discipline out of control. The cross-cultural literature provides mixed evidence on the relation between cultural sanctioning of physical discipline and physical child abuse. Dubanoski and Snyder (1980), in examining child abuse reports in Hawaiʻi, found that cultural factors including attitudes towards physical punishment had a significant effect on the distribution of child abuse reports in the population. Samoans, who believed that children should be physically disciplined to ensure proper behavior, had higher rates of reported physical abuse than would be expected. Japanese parents, in contrast, who did not hold a similarly high regard for the value of physical discipline, were represented less than expected (Dubanoski and Snyder 1980).

On the other hand, the cross-cultural record indicates that in many societies physical discipline is swiftly and unselfconsciously administered, yet serious inflicted injuries are rare (Korbin 1981, 1987b). Physical discipline may be more dangerous for children when it is negatively sanctioned. If physical discipline is a measure of last resort--following negotiation, threats, and pleas--by the time it is actually administered parental anger and frustration may be more likely to exceed acceptable boundaries (Parke and Collmer 1975).

Cultural sanctioning of physical discipline, under the right circumstances, can undoubtedly spill over into idiosyncratic abuse. What requires further examination is whether the causal argument works in the other direction: that cultural beliefs in physical discipline set the stage and provide a necessary condition for child maltreatment. An important question that must be resolved, and to which the cross-cultural evidence can contribute, is whether child abuse is most appropriately seen as parental *discipline* out of control or as parental rage out of control.

Parents in Koʻu Hoaloha expressed a preference for physical discipline because it is swift and entails little emotional disruption in the parent-child bond, Excessive scolding and yelling at children was believed to cause bad feelings that would have a lasting impact on parent-child relations, Parental concern about excessive physical punishment focused on the potential emotional consequences rather than whether the child would be physically injured. They expressed concern that if hit too often or too hard a child will resent the parents. Gerber (1985) has noted that Samoans view physical punishment as indicative of parental love and interest in their child's well-being.

Complaints about children's misbehavior and threats of physical punishment were frequent in Koʻu Hoaloha. More often than not, threats sufficed and children either complied with caretaker demands or removed themselves from the caretaker's presence. As discussed below, the goal of such threats was most often to get the child to cease annoying behavior. And, if the child is out of sight, so is his or her behavior.

Although threats of and actual physical discipline were utilized and accepted in Koʻu Hoaloha, discipline of children was kept within bounds by relatives living in close proximity. A grandmother, grandfather, aunt, or uncle did not hesitate to yell from one house to the next that a spanking had gone on long enough or was too severe a response to the child's behavior. Children were quite open about screaming for help more quickly and loudly than a spanking warranted as an effective strategy for summoning help to disarm an angry parent. Parents also admitted that they sometimes got angry and spanked a child too severely. They knew, however, that the grandparents or aunt next door would intervene. Intervention could take the form of verbally chiding or reprimanding the parent, threatening physical retaliation against the parent, or temporarily removing the child.

Those parents who did not have kin living nearby to help with and intervene in their childrearing practices seemed to recognize the value of an extended kinship network. One mother was nostalgic for the days when her father-in-law was still alive because he prevented her hus-

band from hitting their children too hard. Another mother whose kin lived outside the community noted that she never spanked her children at the end of the day because she was just too tired: she knew that it could easily get out of hand, and that nobody would be available to set limits.

If kin and neighbors do not intervene, ancestral spirits will. One mother reported that she beat her ten-year-old daughter too often and too severely. After one particularly harsh beating that left bruises, the child became ill. The mother viewed the illness as a sign from the ancestral spirits. In addition to being contrite and ashamed that she hurt the child when the girl had done nothing terribly wrong, the mother was fearful that the ancestors for whom the girl was named would become angry at the child's mistreatment and take her away to be with them where she would be treated more kindly.

Dubanoski (1981) also noted Hawaiian preferences for physical discipline, and found Hawaiians to be overrepresented in the state's child abuse reports. However, Dubanoski also found that child-abusing families were low on *'ohana* (extended family) involvement. This leaves it open to further research whether it is the acceptance of physical punishment or the lack of kin or other supports to keep discipline within bounds that accounts for these statistics.

Community Parameters of Child Maltreatment

In most societies, identification of child maltreatment relies on a complex interaction of: (a) harm or potential harm to the child, (b) caretaker behaviors that produced or contributed to that harm, and (c) cultural designations of culpability or responsibility (Korbin 1987b). In Ko'u Hoaloha, there are not rigid rules for determining when an incident exceeds cultural standards of acceptability. Incidents are generally judged on their own merits and the history of interaction among the involved individuals. The severity of the punishment or the extent of the harm inflicted are not sufficient in themselves to define the interaction. In addition to caretaker acts and consequences to the child, the following components need to be considered in assessing individual cases:

1 Child behavior. It is expected that parents will punish child misbehavior, To fail to do so is an indication of poor parenting. The seriousness and purposefulness of a child's misbehavior is weighed in community determinations of whether punishment exceeds cultural boundaries of acceptability. Openly defying, sassing, or annoying adults exacerbates determinations of seriousness.

Additionally, children are expected to develop an ability to avoid an

angry parent without incurring further wrath. Community adults said that children must learn to be "cautious." When they were children, they would run away if they saw their parent with a stick and not come back until the parent had calmed down. Parents rarely will chase a misbehaving child around the community to inflict punishment. The interaction then becomes public and the adult's behavior is usually regarded as grist for community stories and humor. The goal of punishment is generally to get the child to stop the annoying or difficult behavior, at least in the adult's presence.

• Child's age. Until after toddlerhood, when children can be more on their own, it does not appear that children are regarded as capable of purposively disobeying or behaving badly, and therefore are not legitimate recipients of punishment. Infants and small children, however, could be exasperating to their parents and caretakers. It was not untoward for a mother to hold up an irritable toddler and exclaim publicly, "Oh, I like shake you!" However, it would be considered inappropriate for her to carry out the action.

• "Ways." Ito has noted that an individual's "transgressions can be excused or tolerated by a consideration of an individual's idiosyncratic 'style' or 'ways' " (1987:45). Some individuals in Ko'u Hoaloha simply were regarded as more violent than others. This also was true for other characteristics, such as gregariousness, Most Ko'u Hoalohans refused to speculate on the reasons for these characteristrics, attributing them instead to a quality of the individual person that is beyond explanation but emanates from the view that "people have their ways." Victims sometimes are blamed for not avoiding an individual known to be violent. Children also have their "ways" and if they are known to be troublesome, their behavior may precipitate punishment more quickly than similar behavior from another child.

• Reason. Except for individuals who simply had a violent "way" about them, physical aggression was expected to be accounted for with a reason or explanation for the behavior, Individuals who aggressed against another, including a wife or child, with no stated or apparent reason were more likely to be regarded as behaving inappropriately.

Concluding Remarks

In Ko'u Hoaloha, discipline of children is viewed not only as a parental right but as a parental duty. A badly behaved child is regarded as a source of shame to parents and an indication that they have been too lax and not carried out their responsibilities. Once beyond toddlerhood,

children are expected to behave well, to do their chores, to be respectful to adults, and to avoid annoying adults or causing a public disturbance. Harsh punishment when children seriously misbehave, then, is not surprising to Ko'u Hoalohan children or adults. Parents frequently complained about their children being "bad" and threatened to "lick" them, More often than not, threats seemed to suffice and children either followed directions or removed themselves from the situation.

The potential for punishment to get out of hand and the value of having other adults around was recognized by both adults and children. Parents quite openly acknowledged that they relied on grandparents and kin to intervene in overly severe discipline. Children quite openly acknowledged that they used this to their advantage by screaming more quickly and loudly than a spanking deserved to bring help and disarm an angry parent. This is quite a different milieu from that of the mainland United States, where a high value on family privacy often allows maltreatment of children to occur unabated until the child suffers serious injury.

While physical punishment occurs, severe injury to children is rare in Ko'u Hoaloha. The high value placed on children and the involvement of the *'ohana* may act as deterrents to child maltreatment. The cross-cultural record indicates that a high value on children promotes good standards of care for children in general even if such values do not necessarily prevent the maltreatment of some children who may be less valued than others (Korbin 1981, 1987a). Cross-culturally, social networks serve multiple protective functions. First, they provide assistance with child care tasks and responsibilities. Second, they provide options for the temporary or permanent redistribution of children. And third, networks afford the context for collective standards and therefore for the scrutiny and enforcement of standards of child care (Korbin 1981, 1987a). Embeddedness of childrearing in a larger social network acts against the social isolation that has been linked with child maltreatment in industrialized nations (Garbarino and Crouter 1978; Garbarino and Sherman 1980; Gelles 1973). Cross-culturally, mothers who are isolated in child care tasks with little or no relief are the most likely to be rejecting and harsh with their children (Minturn and Lambert 1964; Rohner 1975). This isolation is clearly not the case in Ko'u Hoaloha where there are multiple caretakers, where a kinship network may intervene in cases of overly severe punishment, and where kin are available for permanent or temporary redistribution of children. Kin obviously cannot prevent all instances of child maltreatment, but the availability of supportive kinship networks appears to be extremely helpful in lowering its preva-

lence. As noted above, Dubanoski found that Hawaiians reported for child abuse and neglect had low *'ohana* involvement (1981).

Ko'u Hoaloha, a Hawaiian-Polynesian-American community, provides interesting material for thought in the consideration of family violence. On the one hand, Ko'u Hoalohans fit the stereotypic picture of Hawaiian aloha: gentle, giving, and generous. On the other hand, violence occurs, including in the family. This seeming contradiction between the gentleness of individuals and their aggressiveness has been examined by Ito (1987), who notes that gentleness and violence do not necesarily contradict or preclude each other. Thus, Hawaiians can be extremely gentle and loving with their children and spouses and at the same time harshly punitive and aggressive. Harsh punishment of children and violence between spouses is undesirable for maintaining the harmony in interpersonal relations that is highly valued among Hawaiians (see, for example, Gallimore and Howard 1968; Howard 1974; Ito 1987). Nevertheless, these behaviors may be considered an unavoidable part of life.

NOTES

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1. Ko'u Hoaloha is a pseudonym meaning "my friends." Because of the diversity of circumstances of Hawaiian-Americans, unless otherwise stated, the material in this article refers only to this community and is presented in the ethnographic present.

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS OF CONFLICT IN FIJI

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Past anthropological studies of Fiji have mentioned the use of violence as a means of punishment, violent domestic conflict, and the role of force in the preservation of social order. Regarding the punishment of children, Cyril Belshaw observes that "the adult attitude [towards children] is highly permissive, provided the child does not irritate adults beyond endurance, at which point he is likely to draw merciless punishment upon himself" (1964:12). Marshall Sahlins notes that "the responsibility and requisite authority for maintaining the good behavior" of members of a household rest with the household elder who "could freely deliver a sound thrashing to certain disobedient co-familiars" (1962: 117). With respect to marital relations and disputes, he states "most men maintain the prerogative of giving their wives a sound beratement or occasionally a good beating" (Sahlins 1962:116). Andrew Arno records the use of "planned physical violence" as a sanction against unacceptable behavior (1976:61). He describes a case wherein men ambushed and beat two young men who had repeatedly terrorized and outraged their village by raping women and beating other men. An incident of violent retaliation by women is recorded by Sahlins, during which the women of one extended family "together baited and attacked a girl from another house reputed to have been dallying with one of their menfolk" (1962: 117).

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Recent events in Fiji have demonstrated the current importance of physical force in the preservation of social order, the 1987 military coups being the best known of these. Another, lesser-known event was the implementation, also in 1987, of the Fijian Provincial Administration (see *Fiji Sun,* 26 Feb. 1987), a system that proposed that village elders be allowed to prescribe beatings to youths who break village laws, disrupt the peace, or disgrace their village in towns through drunkenness, fighting, or arrest (see Cole, Levine, and Matahau 1984).

From these incidents and events, it is apparent that violence is a political tool in Fijian society, a means of sanction and punishment and of asserting and preserving social order and control. Yet these observations disclose little about the "boundaries" (see Counts's conclusion to this volume) of violent conflict: its prevalence, the factors which prevent or precipitate it, and the legitimacy of its use by different members of society. Nor do they help to distinguish minor quarrels from what Max Gluckman has called "social relations of conflict" (1972:9), these being conflicts or tensions that derive from structural inconsistencies within a social system. In this article, I will examine conflict and the use of violence in Fijian society from the perspective of social relations, focusing upon disputes within the domestic group (see Arno 1979 for discussion of structural conflict and hierarchical relations in Fiji).

The use and legitimacy of violence to discipline children and junior members of a clan will be compared with the use of violence during marital disputes, contrasting attitudes toward and repercussions of each form of violence. Regarding marital conflict, it can be said that violence is used by men against women, not vice versa. To understand why this is so, I detail the way in which gender is conceptualized in Fiji; specifically, how gender constructs affect behavior, Incidents of violence are reviewed in order to reveal social relations of conflict--where conflict inherent in social relationships contributes toward tension within the domestic unit, tension that may escalate into violence between spouses.

Following Arno (1976, 1979), means of resolution are included in this discussion of marital conflict. Resolution of serious domestic disputes may involve members of both a husband's and wife's clans. By involving individuals outside the domestic unit, marital disputes affect interclan relations as well as interpersonal ones, and therefore may carry political consequences for group as well as social relations. Appreciation of the political repercussions of domestic violence may help to explain why, in a society where men have authority over women, the use of violence in the exercise of their authority is nonetheless problematic.

Social Organization

The interior district of Ba Province, Viti Levu, lies within the Western Dialect region of Fiji (see Biggs 1948 and Pawley and Sayaba 1971 for discussion of linguistic and cultural diversity in Fiji). Within this area are six villages, the largest of which is the site of the district chief's residence and the site of most of my research.[1] This village has a population of approximately six hundred members, who are divided into six clans belonging to two totemic groupings. Clan membership and land inheritance are reckoned patrilineally, but there are also very strong matrilateral ties and obligations.

Marriage is clan exogamous and residence is virilocal. A woman usually marries outside her village. Most marriages are by mutual consent, though some are still arranged, especially those of eldest children. A marriage consists of four separate rites, the completion of which may take more than two years, the final rite occurring after the birth of a child. This lengthy time serves as a testing period; a couple may separate if incompatible, a woman returning to her own family. In the case of an arranged marriage, if parents do not consent to its dissolution then a couple may tolerate their situation or a woman may leave and seek refuge with kin other than her parents. Upon separation, children generally reside with their mother when young but later move to their father's house, taking up membership and land rights with his clan.

A newlywed couple lives with the husband's parents for a number of years. With children, they will build a separate house, but the paternal grandparents' house remains a focal point for the domestic unit. This unit includes grandparents, parents, their sons and unmarried daughters, and their sons' wives and children. Work such as hunting, gardening, food collection and preparation, and house construction is often shared by a number of these members. Eventually, couples come to rely more on their maturing children for help with domestic tasks than on siblings or parents.

Principles of seniority by primogeniture and birth order are important means of ordering individuals within the domestic unit, and these units within clans. Seniority by generation and relative age serves to establish an age hierarchy that ranks both women and men. The principle of seniority that gives older siblings (real and classificatory) authority over junior ones within the domestic unit and clan applies to relationships within the village as well, giving elders authority over juniors. As with other hierarchical relations, however, privilege is paired with

obligation: in return for deference and respect, elders are expected to care for juniors and see to their welfare. Leadership roles are not solely determined by age hierarchy, however. Status is affected by skill, knowledge, and the strength of one's personality, as well as by seniority and ascription (see Nayacakalou 1975:34).

Men hold and control leadership positions and are said to be the owners *(na leya)* of the clans, villages, and districts.[2] A women's organization operates in each village independently from men, however. Through this organization, women vie for and perform leadership roles at the village level and plan and coordinate village women's activities.

Men exercise authority over women. Their authority derives from a number of sources. First, the fact that they are leaders at the societal level--the district, village, and clan heads are always male--justifies extension of "traditional authority" (Weber 1958:296) over family members. In addition, men have control over religious practices that center on the clans' men's houses *(na beto).* Finally, they are considered stronger than women, and strength is valued in Fijian society. These factors allow them to lead society and to be leaders within the clan and household.

Yet the authority of men over women contradicts the idealized relationship between husband and wife. An ideal marriage partner is one's cross-cousin *(vei kila* or *tavale)*--the real or classificatory child of one's mother's brother *(koko)* or one's father's sister *(nei)* or by extension anyone of his or her clan, This relationship has been described as one that is "not bound by patrilineally defined rank; [cross-cousins] interact freely, and assist each other in everyday affairs" (Koch et al. 1977:278). They are considered "approximately status equals" (Arno 1979:7). A joking relationship typically exists between these individuals and the respect and formality normally exhibited between adults is absent. Interaction is relaxed, and cross-cousins may tease or play practical jokes on one another. Opposite-sex cross-cousins, who potentially are marriage partners, may display overtly lewd joking behavior. Sahlins observes that-"close friendships arise among cross-cousins of the same sex-classificatory cross-cousins especially may become confidants" (1962:170).

As an ideal, the equality of cross-cousins, and therefore potentially of spouses, is in opposition to the hierarchical principle that men have authority over women. The significance of this contradiction will be discussed later in relation to conflict within the family and the resolution of marital disputes.

Between men and women, gender distinctions are perceived to be marked and the division of labor is well defined. Men are said to be

qwaqwa, which translates as "hard, strong, tough, and resistant." Women are perceived to be *malumaluma,* "soft, weak, gentle, and easygoing" (though I stress that this is the Fijians' self-perception). Men own and are the controllers of the land, clans, and villages in which they reside throughout their lives; women are pliant, moving between these in the course of theirs. Men are considered rigid and akin to structure, whereas women are malleable and akin to fluidity.

Men's and women's characters are said to be illustrated by their bodies: for men, in the intractableness of their spirit, the strength of their shoulders that are used to bear heavy loads, the power of their arms when throwing a pig-hunting spear or directing a fishing lance, and in their ability to withstand the inebriating effects of kava without having to tuba (run away). Women's bodies are perceived to be weak and soft. Their weakness is illustrated by their need for and use of baskets to carry loads on their backs. They do not spear fish, they collect them. They gather up prawns with their hands, and grope and feel for eels under rocks in the water. Their bodies are passive and accommodating, "like sleeping mats," mats which in themselves provide metaphors for womanhood, Women's bodies are receptive; their thick abdomens expand to accommodate life. The soft heavy breasts of old women provide amply for a sleeping child's head.

Maleness is epitomized by the right hand driving a spear, a penis penetrating, a taro shaft being planted in the earth. Femininity is epitomized by a woman's body opening and complying: when pregnant *(bukete),* their bodies are rounded like the raised mounds of garden plots *(na buke),* receiving and nurturing life, This gender dichotomization is believed to arise even before birth. It is said a midwife can determine the sex of a child by its position in a woman's womb. If lying on its mother's left side, it will be a girl; on the right side, a boy. A boy in the womb will be delivered quickly, "speeding out like a thrown spear, racing out to get on with the task of spearing fish." A long, drawn-out labor will see the birth of a girl: a reticent or reserved spirit.

Because of their perceived character, men are assigned tasks considered to be more physically taxing than those of women. These tasks include the clearing and burning of land, digging, and the preparation of soil for planting. Pig hunting is the sole purview of men, as are the spearing of fish and eel. Men are responsible for the construction and upkeep of houses and ceremonial buildings. In addition, they are assigned the protection and guardianship of land, a task that requires both ritual and military competence. A century ago, this responsibility would have required military duty during periods of intergroup war-

fare. Currently, it involves the performance of rituals that ensure the fertility of land, the administration of clan and village affairs, and functions involving diplomacy between different districts. The administration of village and district is the task that now consumes much of the time and energy of older men.

Women are responsible for most child care, firewood and water collection, food preparation, clothes washing, and house maintenance. Food production duties include fishing and digging for eels, planting, weeding and harvesting of crops, and collection of wild foods and fruit. Women are solely responsible for the manufacture of traditional items such as pottery, barkcloth, and housemats, and currently of clothing and linen. Household goods and furnishings, those "things within the house," are considered the property of women. Older women are responsible for the organization of women's activities at the clan and village level. They coordinate the production and distribution of women's wealth--mats, cloth, and household goods--for ceremonial exchanges and ensure that food preparation tasks are delegated and performed properly at feasts. Currently, they direct and oversee the operations of the village women's cooperative store.

In addition to the different responsibilities of women and men, the physical spaces utilized by them are almost wholly distinct. Men spend their free time socializing, sleeping, or drinking kava in men's ceremonial buildings, whereas women socialize and drink kava in their houses, or frequently in their kitchens--a place definitely considered to be women's space.

While gender distinctions and division of labor are certainly marked, it should be noted that there are qualities that are expected of persons regardless of their sex. Ideally, an adult will be "mature" *(va yalo matua):* willing to accept responsibility, respectful, even tempered, and capable of exercising restraint when dealing with others. Behavior that does not conform to this ideal, such as laziness or excessive kava drinking or display of emotions (particularly anger), is frowned upon whether exhibited by men or by women.

As we have seen, gender differentiation and division of labor is considerable, extending from what Durkheim calls "sexual services" to include "social functions" as well (1984:18-20). Organization of this society is more complex than simply sexual division of labor, however. Certain specialized tasks are performed by only a few skilled individuals within a village or district. These include, for women, midwife, healer and masseuse, and weaver; and fur men, carver, ceremonial orator, healer, and skilled craftsman. In addition, different clans of this district

have primary responsibility for certain roles, including warrior, leader, and orator.

This Fijian society is complex, therefore, being comprised not merely of same-type, independent units but of diverse, exogamous clans that are interdependent for marriage and the exchange of services.

Violence and Domestic Conflict

Within this village, family life and indeed village life are generally harmonious, and were so throughout most of my stay. When a dispute did arise, however, it could seldom be kept private. Walls are thin and the sound of an argument brings work and conversation to a standstill. People may gather to listen or watch from a distance. Anything that occurs inside a house may be observed by children peeking in doors or through cracks in the walls, to be related to others nearby. People argue loudly. Reasons for a dispute are made clear to anyone within hearing range.

Violence in the Disciplining of Children and Junior Clan Members

Threatened or actual physical reprimands of children are near-daily occurrences and are regarded with much less interest than marital disputes, Children are threatened from an early age with "the beating stick" *(na kwita).* Physical punishment is rarely meted out to children under three years of age, however. Mothers threaten infants to keep them away from the fire or from wandering out of sight. By age three or four, if a threat does not suffice a mother will bend over and go through the motions of scanning the ground for a small stick, a gesture that will cause a child to hasten out of her way. But if the child does not escape, she or he may be subject to a swat or two on the fleshy part of the back of the shin, a swat that would certainly smart and cause a child to cry but not inflict injury. This form of punishment continues to age five and is most often awarded to children who do not heed warnings to stay out of trouble, sit still, or be quiet.

By ages five to seven, parents' expectations of their children increase considerably. They are expected to perform simple domestic chores, such as collecting firewood or water, In addition, they are considered old enough to have some control over their bodies and behavior, to exercise restraint within the house, to keep their voices low, and to behave properly during meals. Punishment of children of this age is not severe but does inflict pain as children wince, holler, and cry to get away. A thrashing on the back of the legs is not regarded as abusive if a child has

been negligent and if he or she is considered old enough to carry some responsibility.

In addition to these reasons for punishment, a boy may be beaten for "behaving like a girl," that is, he may have been playing with girls or shown greater interest in their activities than in those of boys. Physical punishment is intended to discourage such behavior, to "strengthen" a boy, and prevent his becoming a *rai lewa,* literally, "man who appears or acts like a woman."

Most often, I observed young girls being punished by their mothers. In part, this is because their chores are performed nearer the house than are those of boys, and they are supervised more closely. Boys would be punished more often for misbehavior or neglect of chores if they were around to be admonished.

The harshest punishment of a child recorded was meted out to a nine-year-old girl by her mother. This girl had repeatedly neglected her chores, taunted her mother when reprimanded, disobeyed her when sent to a children's church service, and had lied about her inattendance. This series of events raised the wrath of her mother, who hit the girl several times with a stick and then sent her off to a nearby village to live with her *nei* for two weeks, until the mother's anger had abated. People living near this family felt that the child deserved some sort of punishment and did not criticize the woman for disciplining her daughter. However, it was felt that both the punishment and this woman's display of anger were excessive. After the incident, neighbors began to pay more attention to this family and to gossip about them. Women told her mother- and sister-in-law that they felt the woman was lazy and expected her young daughter to perform chores she should have done herself. In this case, where physical punishment was considered harsh given the age of the child, its use was deemed illegitimate. While villagers did not interfere at the time of this incident, their gossip was intended to prevent its reoccurrence.

By adolescence, a child performs a number of household chores routinely. Parents have only to threaten older children for them to respond quickly. At this age, fathers begin to play a greater role in the disciplining of their children. The oldest boy whom I witnessed being physically reprimanded by his father was about fourteen. He had neglected to help his father with gardening chores after school. His father yelled at, chased, and whacked the boy several times on the shoulders and back with a stick as punishment.

Young unmarried women continue to be threatened and physically punished by their parents, usually for failure to perform designated

chores or for disobedience. Under certain circumstances, it is acceptable for brothers to physically discipline sisters. Two cases illustrate these circumstances. In the first, a married woman who admitted to having an affair while her husband was absent from the village was beaten as punishment by her brother. A second case of punishment of a sister by her brother involved a young couple who resided in the wife's village. This couple argued frequently, until finally the husband decided to separate from his wife and return to his own village. The couple then fought over custody of their one-year-old daughter. The woman did not want to care for the girl, but the father did not want to bring her back with him either. After a heated argument, the wife left their house and went to her parents' nearby home. This woman was considered by other villagers, men and women alike, to be foolish, argumentative, and unreasonable because she wanted her husband to care for their daughter. This was considered irresponsible, even unconscionable, and led to further arguments with her own family. During one of these, her older brother threatened her, chased her outside and around the house, and hit her on the shoulder with a stick. Following this dispute, the woman returned to live with her husband and within the following month moved with him and their daughter to the husband's village.

In both of these cases, consensus held that the brother was justified in punishing his sister, for she had behaved in a manner that disgraced the family. I did not hear of any case of an adult sister physically punishing her brother.

Informants told me that older boys are not beaten: "Parents do not beat youths because they are too big; they will beat you back!" Despite this assertion, physical punishment of youths in their late teens and twenties *is* practiced. I recorded several instances when young unmarried men were reprimanded by their clan elders, both verbally and physically. On one occasion a youth was verbally reprimanded by his clan's headman when he complained of work he was required to do with fellow clansmen. A second instance saw a youth criticized publicly and at length by a clan elder for improper dress at a ceremony at which he was helping to mix kava. On a third occasion a clan headman punched a youth after the youth pushed and tried to start a fight with another young man, one of his clansmen, after a drinking bout. The elder's reprimand broke up this fight immediately, and the youths retreated quickly.

In addition to clan elders' maintaining control over younger clansmen, village elders reserve the right to prescribe beatings to youths who disrupt their village. I did not see or hear of this being acted upon.

However, I did witness a youth, party to vandalism of a local primary school, make a solemn apology to elders at the weekly village meeting. The principle whereby seniors can physically discipline juniors extends to the chief of the district as well, who, in a classificatory sense, is referred to as the most senior father *(momo levu).* I was told that he could punish anyone within the district but did not hear of his ever having done so.

Violent Disputes among Others

Violent disputes are not unheard of between young people of the same sex. I recorded one case where two young women fought physically over a young man. Youths (usually of different villages) occasionally engage in fistfights, especially when they are drunk, after a long kava- or beer-drinking session (consumption of alcohol is prohibited in this village and fights due to drunkenness are therefore infrequent). Occasionally, violence erupts during arguments between older men. These incidents are infrequent and are not met with approval for, as noted above, failure to exhibit restraint and respect when dealing with others is seriously frowned upon. In addition and more importantly, people who fight may well fear reprimands from the spirits of their ancestors, who will cause them to become ill and possibly die (see Spencer 1941). This fear serves as a strong deterrent against such behavior,

Abusive and Aberrant Violence

One instance of what was considered child abuse within a family was recorded in this village. A woman injured one of her children (an infant) with a burning ember, purportedly with intent. This was described as a horrible and senseless act for it inflicted pain and injury on an innocent child. The child required medical attention at the district nursing station as a result, The nurse then intervened in the affairs of the family and stayed in their house for a week, caring for the child and watching over the mother.

A second incident involving aberrant behavior for which outside interference was considered justified occurred in a nearby village. A middle-aged man, who was treated as an outcast in his village, went on a violent rampage. He poured kerosene in his brother's house and set it afire, destroying it and terrifying the family and villagers. This man was not restrained, but his brother moved to an adjacent village and

stayed there for six months. Shortly after his brother's return, the man set fire to the men's ceremonial building. On this occasion village men tried to physically restrain him. During the struggle that ensued the man was beaten, had his jaw broken, and almost had his arm severed by a man wielding a cane knife. Once overpowered, he was tied up and brought to the nursing station for treatment. The police were then called and he was arrested. The explanation given for his actions was that he was possessed and therefore could not control his behavior. The use of what villagers considered excessive violence in the control of his behavior was considered legitimate in this case.

This discussion of the conditions under which violence is deemed legitimate in the punishment of children and young adults and of those incidents when violence was considered abusive or aberrant helps to clarify the parameters for the legitimate use of force in this society. The use of physical violence by family, clan, or village elders is acceptable when a child has been disrespectful or negligent of his or her responsibilities if the violence is not excessive--that is, does not cause bodily harm--and if the violence is part of a reprimand rather than simply a show of uncontrolled anger. Use of violence in these circumstances is condoned and incurs no serious breach or "moral crisis" (Gluckman 1972) among family members. In contrast, it is clear that violence that is abusive and aberrant--without cause or need and beyond restraint--is not considered legitimate. This type of violence is condemned and justifies intervention by outsiders (including ancestors) to limit and prevent its occurrence. It may justifiably be physically controlled by whatever means necessary to protect other members of society.

The use of violence in punishing an offender has been referred to as an application of a penal form of law. This form of law "acts through fear of punishment" and penalties applied are repressive, harming the perpetrator himself or herself of the crime (Durkheim 1984:22). Usually, applications of such penalties are not contested and are not open to interpretation, I would argue that in this area of Fiji the disciplining of children, juniors, and in extreme cases deviant members of society constitutes the application of this form of penal law code. No negotiation is involved and physical restraint or punishment is considered legitimate, This differs from what Durkheim describes as a civil code of law (1984: 68), which is restitutory and requires expiation and possibly intervention/mediation to restore a normal state between parties. As I will now explain, I believe that this form of law is applied in cases of physical violence between spouses.

Violent Marital Disputes

Conflict between spouses, particularly if it involves violence, will be recounted and discussed for days, even weeks or months if it is serious. News of a dispute travels quickly between clans and villages. The tone of voice of both men and women in these discussions registers disapproval, and in the case of women, sometimes horror. Violence between spouses is a serious matter that may result in a breach within a family, divorce, serious injury of a woman or even her death, and strained if not hostile relations between affinally linked clans.

When disputes were discussed among Fijians, I heard criticism of both men's and women's conduct. Men were criticized for being argumentative, impatient, wrathful, unreasonably demanding, and ill-humored, especially when suffering from a hangover because of excessive kava drinking. Men were also described as lazy for not doing their share of garden work, particularly if their wives' work was limited by very young infants. Some men were considered lazy drunks, men who spend all their time drinking kava and socializing with other men. A man could be blamed--by both men and women--for his wife's unhappiness, especially if he was described as jealous, in which case he may have attempted to restrict her to work in and around the house, discouraging her from attending clan or village women's meetings, from socializing with women in the evenings, or from participating in ceremonies, especially out-of-village ones. Men may express disapproval of and scorn for these types of men, describing them as *rivariva* (foolish, mad, ridiculous). But they generally do not interfere with other families' quarrels. A woman, too, may be criticized or blamed for an argument by both men and women. They criticize her for neglecting her responsibilities to her family, for laziness, or for being argumentative. Among themselves, women criticize a woman for being heedless--for giving her husband cause to complain given the repercussions she may potentially face. A woman who commits adultery is most seriously condemned.

When asked whether men were able to or allowed to hit their wives, I was told by both men and women that yes, they were able. Yet violent conflict is considered unnecessary and is not socially acceptable behavior. Women abhor its occurrence and cry at hearing of it. They feel that they should be able to argue with their spouses without fearing violence but know that arguing back in itself may sufficiently anger a man to the point of violence. Men feel that violent conflict should not happen, that men who use violence are unreasonable for wishing to control their

wives' every action. Such control, one man explained, is unnecessary: men own the land and clans, but women should be free within the household, free to own goods within the house and to socialize with other women once they have attended to their responsibilities at home. Despite this statement, informants could identify few households in which serious disputes never occurred.

I asked women if they ever beat their husbands or hit back during a fight. They responded with mixed confusion and disbelief. To hit an angry man during an argument would be to further enrage him, an incautious and unheard-of act.

While women say that they do not fight back physically against their husbands, they do yell at them, scream, and cry out, One argument saw a young woman yell at her husband, weep, and storm off in a rage into their kitchen. This woman had pleaded with her husband to go to their gardens to collect food. He had been helping a clansman with the building of a house for more than a week and as a result had neglected his own household. This not only caused hardship for the family but also found his wife having to borrow repeatedly from her affines, something she did not want to have to continue, After their argument, this man gave in and went to work in their gardens.

Acts of violence by men against their wives include face slapping, hitting, punching, and the use of a stick to beat--an act to which the term *kwita* refers. In one fatal incident recounted to me, a man used a cane knife to kill his wife and then himself.

In the event of a serious argument, a woman may leave her home and seek refuge with one of her natal kin, usually her parents, brother, or *nei.* These are relations from whom a woman can expect care, protection, and accommodation. She may go alone or take her young children. Leaving home in such circumstances is called tuba (running away), a phrase that, if applied to a man, denotes ridicule of the actions of a weak or defenseless individual. A woman may return after a few days or a week if she feels her own anger and that of her husband have subsided. However, the use of violence by a man is treated more seriously, particularly if it has involved hitting, punching, or the use of a stick to beat. In such cases a woman may stay away for months, assuming that she returns at all, which in some cases she does not. Once with her own family, the anger of her kin will prevent a husband from bothering her further. Brothers threaten to beat a man who has hit their sister.

Children are exposed to marital disputes when young, and girls are taught that escape is their expected and acceptable defense. They are

also taught to expect formal measures of reconciliation before returning to an estranged spouse. Children are aware that some women do not return to their husbands, and in rare cases, that they are killed by these men.

Means of Reconciliation

A husband who wishes reconciliation with his wife must approach her and her kin and request that she return home. If their anger persists, he will be told to leave and may even be threatened. A man may return again later. If the anger of his wife and affines has subsided, they may agree to reconciliate.

Reconciliation requires that a husband perform an act of atonement, a ritual called *i soro.* During this ritual a husband, usually speaking through an intermediary, surrenders and apologizes to his wife and her kin. Through his intermediary, he will then present to her kin goods such as kava and whales' teeth *(tabua),* which are considered traditional forms of men's wealth. In addition, he presents wealth to his wife, usually kerosene or cloth, which is considered a form of women's wealth. These presentations signify his humility and sincerity.

This apology and presentation of wealth abases a man in relation to his affines and makes reparation for his violence and for the breach it has caused. Acceptance of these gifts indicates the reestablishment of mutual respect and goodwill between husband and wife and the resumption of relations between a man and his in-laws and, by extension, between their clans as well. These parties communicate the dissolution of ill will and resumption of good relations by mixing and drinking kava together.

The response of a woman and her kin to a husband's attempt at reconciliation depends to some extent upon the circumstances of the dispute and the prior marital relationship. On one occasion, a woman left her house after an argument with her husband during which he slapped her face. She went to stay with her father's sister. When her husband came to reconciliate after four days, she refused to speak with him. Her kin sent him away, telling him that their anger had not yet abated. At the end of the week he returned, bringing a whale's tooth, kava, and three drums of kerosene for his wife and for her *nei.* These gifts were accepted, kava was mixed and drank, and the woman returned to her home. While this dispute did not in itself appear a serious one, this man had in fact seriously beaten his wife some time ago. Recalling this incident, the woman left her home and stayed away until he demonstrated

goodwill. The presentation of gifts reassured the woman and her kin that there would be no further escalation of this dispute.

During a second incident, a woman quarreled with her husband's sister, an unmarried and pregnant young woman who was staying with the couple at the time. The wife and sister fought when the pregnant woman refused to reveal who the father was, even though her sister-in-law tried to convince her that he should be made to take responsibility for the child. The pregnant woman's brother interceded on his sister's behalf (the strength of the brother-sister relationship is considerable in Fiji), telling his wife to be quiet for it was not her business to interfere. This couple's argument then became heated, the result being that the husband hit his wife with a stick. She left their house and went to stay with her kin in a different village, leaving her three children in the care of her husband and his family. She returned two months later without a formal apology from her husband, but only after his sister had gone to live with a relative in a different village.

Discussion

Arno's discussions of the use of *i soro* rituals of reconciliation to end disputes between men in Fiji are relevant to this study of marital conflict. He posits that rituals of reconciliation in Fiji are used in situations where tension arises as a result of structural contradictions within a social system (Arno 1976, 1979). Structural conflict or social relations of conflict have been defined by Gluckman as "deep seated conflict of social rules or principles of organization" (1972:18). Arno expands on this definition, stating that deep conflict is caused by "inconsistencies or flaws in the social organization of a group, incompatibility of basic tenets of a system, or the lack of fit between ideological principles and reality" and that this situation "creates the possibility of a dispute without resolution" (1979: 14). When disputes arise as a result of structural contradictions, people may resort to ritual means of reconciliation to obviate conflict. These rituals assuage tension without actually challenging or eliminating its sociological source.

Arno suggests that such deep conflict is incurred in Fiji within hierarchical kin relations, especially in relations between father and son. The superior position and authority prescribed for a father in relation to his son are in opposition to the ever-rising position and authority of a maturing, ambitious man. Conflict between these individuals is inherent in this relationship, Arno states (1979:6). It is inevitable, yet it is also irresolvable: an aging father may be jealous of a son's prowess,

while a son may aspire to his father's place of authority. When a dispute arises in Fiji between individuals who are in such a "social relationship of conflict" (Gluckman 1972:18), the person of junior status will invariably perform the *i soro* ritual, thereby submitting "to the senior regardless of the facts of the case" (Arno 1979:7).

I suggest that such a relationship of conflict also exists between spouses. A husband and wife are at once "married cross-cousins" and as such are equals who are involved in a relationship requiring cooperation, selflessness, and intimacy. As marriage is clan exogamous, spouses are necessarily members of different clans. Interclan relations are neither static nor hierarchically defined, as are intraclan relations. Where hierarchy is absent, relationships must be negotiated and continually reconfirmed through the exchange of gifts and services. Clans cooperate with each other during ceremonies, for example, when one clan may volunteer to cook for another's feast in exchange for its services at a later date. During exchanges clans attempt to give as much as they receive, thereby maintaining relations of equality rather than indebtedness. Conversely, clans may compete with one another, as they do in the raising of funds for village, school, or church projects. Where relationships are negotiable--as in relations between clans and their members--there exists the potential for both cooperation and conflict.

Yet spouses are also a man and a woman, a relationship with a hierarchical dimension, A situation exists wherein the cultural principles defining the nature of spousal, affinal, and clan relations and that of gender relations are in opposition.

Were a man able to inflict physical violence as punishment on a woman without alienating her and causing a serious breach with his affinal kin, I would concede that women/wives are truly subordinate to men/husbands in this Fijian society. In such a case, I would also argue that the use of violence by men/husbands enables them to perpetuate a marriage and social system characterized by "forced division of labour" (Durkheim 1984) according to sex.

However, the use of violence by men against their wives is not condoned in Fijian society. Marital disputes arise in which both women--who are well aware of the potential consequences of assertive behavior --and men engage in heated debate. Yet when violence against a woman occurs, a man must make reparation, formally apologize to his wife, submit to his affines, and, I would argue, compensate his wife for the injury perpetrated against her. This is required in order to maintain the ideal of equality between spouses, spouses who ideally are cross-cousins and necessarily are representatives of different clans. By up-

holding the ideal of equality between spouses, this gesture also maintains relations of equanimity between clans (possibly serving to prevent further outbreaks of conflict between them). The performance of rituals of reconciliation by a husband indicates that in cases of marital conflict the principle of gender hierarchy is subordinated in order to maintain that of equality between clans and their members.

In addition to revealing conflict embodied within the spousal relationship, the cases recounted identify situations where the responsibility felt toward a sibling or member of one's own clan is opposed to that felt toward one's spouse. In one case, a husband was torn between obligations he felt toward a clansman who required labor for a large work project and toward his wife and the provision of food for the conjugal unit. In the second case, a man chose to side with his sister, to whom he has distinct obligations and who is also a member of his own clan, at the expense of his relationship with his wife, someone to whom he is not consanguineally related. These two cases illustrate the degree of conflict that can arise from the opposing demands of consanguineal versus affinal relationships.

Ritual reconciliation does not, of course, deny the existence of social conflict and violence in relations between men and women. Nor does it resolve, eliminate, or prevent it. It does, however, give women an avenue of escape when conflict occurs, It creates expectations regarding restitution and establishes the precedent that men will atone for the breach that they have caused through their resort to violence. It evades rather than resolves the issue of contradictions in the status of women as wives (subordinate) and as cross-cousins (equals), while repairing the breach between spouses and affines and restoring amicable relations between clans.

In extreme cases of marital violence, the graveness of this breach is made very clear. In one incident, a husband complained that his wife was lazy and unwilling to work. She argued that she was weak, ill, and unable to work. During their fight, this man punched and broke his wife's jaw, sending her to the hospital for three weeks. The incident was reported to the police, who intervened and threatened this man with arrest should he do such a thing again. Although he was not arrested, this man's status was lowered considerably in his village; he was afterwards referred to as a "rascal" (a derogatory term implying troublesome person or troublemaker) and considered to be a fool.

A second incident, in which a woman died as a result of a beating from her husband, indicates the seriousness with which such incidents are regarded and handled. This husband told his wife that he wished to

leave her for another woman, whereupon she became angry and an argument ensued. The husband struck her on the head, a blow that knocked her unconscious and led to her death. He was jailed as her murderer, and furthermore, his clan then had to compensate the woman's family for her death. Like for like compensation was made: one of the man's sisters was required to marry into the dead woman's clan. In addition, the couple's only child was taken by her maternal grandparents and became a member of her deceased mother's clan.

Conclusion

In this article, I have reviewed incidents of conflict to ascertain the character and boundaries of violence in Fijian society. Violent punishment and reprimand of children and junior members of society is allowed, but its use is limited and must be justified by that person's negligence or disobedience. Physical violence among members of this society occurs but is contained by individuals' fear of punishment by their ancestors. Willful injury of children and uncontrolled violence are intolerable acts that do not go unchecked. In extreme cases, strong measures are taken to limit and prevent their occurrence.

The use of violence in marital disputes by a husband against a wife is a contemptible act, one that causes a serious breach between individuals and the clans of which they are a part. The repercussions of such violence touch on more than a single conjugal unit. They may disrupt relations and cause hostility between clans, villages, and possibly districts. Such disruptions interfere with the interaction, cooperation, and exchange of services that occur at different social levels, bringing about enmity that, in precontact times, may have resulted in violent clashes between groups. These disruptions have serious repercussions both for members of these social groups and for society as a whole.

In Fiji, rituals of reconciliation exist that allow for the obviation of conflict between husband and wife (as well as between most individuals, as Arno has pointed out). These rituals institute principles of restitutory civil law, thereby enabling the repair of a relationship, the restoration of normal relations between individuals, and the reinstatement of a person in his or her domain (Durkheim 1984:68).

Acts of violence against women reveal their vulnerability in this society. Perceived as weak and socialized *to be* weak, women are potential victims of the strength and power of men. Yet the exercise of power over women contradicts and undermines the ideal exchange and cooperative relations that should exist between spouses, relations that establish a

basis for intimacy within the family and for long-term relations between the clans of which they are a part. While rituals of reconciliation certainly do not deny the conflict that can exist between men and women, they nonetheless uphold this ideal of cooperation between spouses. In this respect, I would agree with Leach when he states: "the individuals who make up a society must from time to time be reminded, at least in symbol, of the underlying order that is supposed to guide their social activities. Ritual performances have this function for the participating group as a whole; they momentarily make explicit what is otherwise a fiction" (1981:16).

NOTES

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1. Fieldwork was conducted for twelve months between January 1987 and January 1988 in the interior district of Ba Province, Viti Levu. I gratefully acknowledge financial assistance from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), and the Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto.

2. Western Fijian terms used in this article employ Fijian orthography.

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RULE BY THE *DANDA:* DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AMONG INDO-FIJIANS

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Domestic violence is part of the taken-for-granted world of being female in the Indo-Fijian society. This is not to imply that all Indo-Fijian women are subjected to constant physical violence. Rather, it suggests that violence is experienced by large numbers of Indo-Fijian women at least occasionally and is accepted by the community as an inevitable part of being female. Varying degrees of violence are imposed on women, and their control by the occasional use of the *danda* (stick) is seldom seriously questioned by either males or females.

The threat and use of physical violence against females is a powerful and effective mechanism for ensuring the maintenance and reproduction of traditional gender relations among Indo-Fijians. In many instances, however, a need for physical violence seldom arises since women control their own behavior and actions as set by the parameters of the prevailing gender ideology. Blatant, overt control of women through the use of violence is often unnecessary in the face of a powerful and influential familial ideology that demands and stresses the need for female submission to male control. Violence is used as a supplementary mechanism of social control to assert and consolidate male dominance and female subordination within the family.

As such, any analysis of domestic violence among Indo-Fijians must be undertaken within the wider context of gender relations and must address the fundamental issues of women's inequality in the family and the society.

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The Setting

The Fiji Islands are situated in the southwest Pacific and have a total land area of approximately 7,022 square miles. Fiji is an independent nation, having acquired independence from the British in 1970. Of a total population of approximately 700,000, Indo-Fijians constitute 50.5 percent and indigenous Fijians 42.4 percent, with the remainder other Pacific Islanders, Europeans, and Chinese.

The vast majority of Indo-Fijians are the direct descendants of indentured laborers brought to Fiji by the British between 1879 and 1916 to work in the sugarcane plantations. After serving periods of indenture ranging from five to ten years the vast majority became free settlers, while a minority returned to India (Lal 1983). The descendants of these free settlers are the concern of this article.

The women in my study come from different class backgrounds and include both Hindus and Muslims.[1] Few participate in paid employment and those who do are in traditional "pink collar" occupations such as stenographers/typists, sales assistants, and clerks.

Gender Relations among Indo-Fijians

Domestic violence among Indo-Fijians must be located and analyzed within the wider context of gender relations and women's status in the family. Only through such an analysis can the nature, causes, experience, and acceptance of violence be explained and understood, for physical violence is only one of the forms of control exercised over women.

The patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal North Indian Hindu family pattern and ideology has generally established hegemony among Indo-Fijians. The essential characteristics of the North Indian family are: male dominance and female subordination, males as the economic providers with females as the economic dependents, spatial and social confinement of women, male inheritance of family property, and the treatment of females as reproducers of the male lineage and repositories of family honor *(izzat)* (Kishwar 1984; Mies 1980; Gupta 1976; Jeffery 1979).

Indo-Fijian gender relations and the status of women cannot be understood without reference to the ideology of purdah[2] and to the family and the material structure of the household. The essential elements of purdah are the segregation of the sexes, the protection of women's sexuality, and the maintenance of family honor. It is this ideology of

purdah that relegates women to the private domestic sphere and restricts their spatial movements, sets the parameters for the deferential relations between males and females, provides the guidelines for female behavior and demeanor, and stresses the need for male/female segregation. Ideally, women should be quiet, demure, unobtrusive, and obedient, They should dress modestly and generally attempt to be physically and socially inconspicuous. Interaction with unrelated males should be avoided and spatial movements outside the home should be minimized. Women must not talk too much or too loudly or be argumentative, especially in the presence of males or older females. A disobedient, argumentative, talkative female who mixes freely with males and is seen alone in public too often has the potential to dishonor the family

Women are perceived as both sexually vulnerable and sexually impulsive and thus in need of protection and control since they are the repositories of family honor. With the honor of the entire family resting in the purity of its women the protection of women's sexuality is of utmost importance. Neither males nor females are considered capable of exercising self-control, so attempts are made to curb or neutralize the volatility of human sexuality by segregating the sexes and the "symbolic sheltering" of women. The imposition of external controls on women is the mechanism by which the twin aims of male/female segregation and the protection of women's sexuality are achieved.

Potential for ruining the family reputation is a powerful motivation for ensuring women remain within the guidelines of proper conduct and accept the external controls imposed on them. Constructed around women's sexual vulnerability and dangerous sexuality, the ideology of purdah invokes notions of *izzat* (honor) and *sharm* (shame) as mechanisms of social control. The power and persuasiveness of such ideas encourage women to conform their behavior and accept external controls so that they do not bring shame upon themselves and their families. An ideology that stresses the need for the protection of women thereby legitimates the authority and control exercised by the protectors, the males.

The need for the strict segregation of the sexes and the protection of women's sexuality leads to the creation of separate spheres of existence for males and females: men to the public realm of economics and politics, women to the private domestic realm. Hence, the role of women is largely confined to marriage, the performance of household chores, bearing and rearing children, and caring for menfolk. These separate spheres of existence mean women are largely denied access to the labor market and, consequently, rendered economically dependent on males.

The growth of the Fijian economy, particularly during the 1970s, generated both increased employment opportunities for women and provided greater prospects for a higher standard of living. The striving for a higher standard of living made dual-income families more attractive and working women sought after as marriage partners. To reap the benefits of women's paid employment some ideological readjustments were made and some 14 percent of urban Indo-Fijian women became engaged in paid employment (Fiji Bureau of Statistics 1986).

The problem of combining the need, on the one hand, to keep females segregated and protected and, on the other, to permit them to engage in paid employment is resolved by regulating and controlling the types of occupations women enter. Certain ones are designated "inappropriate" (waitressing) and certain ones "appropriate" {clerks, typists) as defined by the parameters of purdah, that is, by whether the women can be supervised, too much interaction with unrelated males is not possible, and no night work is entailed.[3] Consequently, Indo-Fijian women in paid employment tend to be concentrated in the service sector working as stenographers, clerks, and domestics--areas not renown for high income. By being excluded from the labor market altogether or having only restricted entry, women remain either in a perpetual state of economic dependency or partially dependent because of inadequate income.

Purdah ideology, then, is integrally related to and supports a familial ideology that requires the domestication and protection of women and sets guidelines for the deferential relations between males and females within the household. The North Indian/Indo-Fijian ideology of family stresses that ultimate authority should be vested in the father or, in his absence, the eldest male in the household, while both females and younger males are subject to the control of the male head to whom deference is given. Women should always be under the control of a male--as daughters by fathers, as wives by husbands, and as widows by sons.

This idea of male supremacy is reflected in the greater importance of male children over female children. Male children are more desirable and viewed as assets since they will become the future economic providers and will ensure the continuance of the patriline. Female children are less desirable and viewed as economic and social liabilities until husbands are found for them since they are economically dependent and pose a potential threat to the reputation of the family (cf. Kishwar 1984; Mies 1980; Gupta 1976).

An important aspect of familial ideology concerns the importance, inevitability, and necessity of marriage for females. Only in and

through marriage can a woman achieve and perform her true function of wife and mother. Arranged marriage is the preferred and dominant form since the ideology of purdah limits women's spatial mobility and social interactions. Through arranged marriages, parents are able to maintain control over the time of marriage, the choice of marriage partner, and, more fundamentally, even the question of whether to marry. Consequently, large numbers of women have little control over such matters. The ideologies of purdah and the family operate in tandem to support and reinforce each other in maintaining and reproducing the institution of arranged marriage.

Marriage is ideally insoluble and permanent despite legal provisions for separation and divorce. Familial ideology not only operates to discourage divorce but directly supports female subservience to males and extols the suffering and sacrifice of women for the benefit of the family, A women's salvation lies in uncomplaining service to her husband and children irrespective of the husband's bad character, failure to provide adequate economic support, or maltreatment of her. Total devotion, respect, obedience, and service to husbands is viewed as the true function of wives (Wadley 1977: 124). It is in the service and devotion to her children that a woman is honored and accorded high status (Basham 1974). A familial ideology that supports patriarchy and patrilineality is reflected in the veneration of the mother. It is as mothers that women acquire social status and some degree of power.

The privileged position of males within the family arena is further reflected in the specified code of conduct regulating male/female interactions within the family, supported by the ideology of purdah. Respect, deference, and distance are the essential features of this code of conduct. Interactions between husbands and wives, fathers and daughters clearly reflect male dominance within the household as women defer to their fathers and husbands, serve their needs unquestioningly, and demonstrate respect and sometimes fear of them. Deference and respect are demonstrated through not "answering back," not arguing with them, and generally maintaining silence when anger and aggression are expressed. Familial ideology also legitimates and stresses this need for women to obey men, to service men's needs, and to be subservient to men.

Familial ideology is further reinforced by the higher status of married women over unmarried women, women with children over childless women, women with sons over those without sons, and older women over younger women. As women get older, bear children, marry off their children, and become grandmothers, the relationship between a

husband and wife becomes more egalitarian. Older women have more control over their own spatial movements, social interactions, behavior, and household decisions and often wield considerable power over younger women. While ultimate authority rests with males, in many instances older women are the ones who actually exercise this authority on behalf of the family. Senior women have a positive stake in their households and actively work to protect and reproduce the patriarchal, patrilocal family. Having been subjected to controls themselves, particularly as daughters-in-law, it becomes their turn to play the role of mother-in-law and exercise power and control over younger women.

Since both familial and purdah ideologies perceive women as the repositories of family honor, the stringent controls imposed on them both inside and outside the family are justified. Physical violence is but one manifestation of this control exercised over women. The disproportionate social power of males is constantly stressed, experienced, and reproduced in the everyday relations of family life.

Women and Domestic Violence

The vast majority of my informants-whether married or unmarried, employed for pay or not, upper class or working class--have been either subjected to or threatened with violence at some time in their lives. This is not to claim that all women are equally threatened by or subjected to physical violence throughout their different life stages. Older women--that is, women with adult children--are rarely subjected to physical violence. Rather, violence pervades the lives of young women, both married and unmarried, and sometimes older women who have yet to consolidate their position in the household,

Women are beaten for a variety of reasons. Generally, the unmarried women in my study were beaten for jeopardizing the honor of the family by transgressing the guidelines of purdah while married women were beaten for not demonstrating the required deference toward husbands and for not adequately performing their wifely duties.

The form and extent of physical violence imposed on women extends from a slap, push, kick, or shove to solid punches, belting, and hitting with a stick. The most common and consistently used form is slapping of the face. Often, women are also pushed against walls, their heads slammed against walls, or objects are thrown at them.

Both men and women are known to dispense this violence, although in the extreme cases (those requiring medical treatment) the perpetrators are almost always males. In general mothers and fathers beat daughters and husbands beat wives, although sometimes elder brothers

beat sisters. Rarely do mothers-in-law beat daughters-in-law (but it is not unknown), although they do incite their sons to beat their wives, The following case studies illustrate some of the reasons, context, and nature of violence imposed on Indo-Fijian women.

Case Study: Vinita

Vinita is a seventeen-year-old girl attending high school. Her parents do not allow her to go out on her own, talk to boys, have boyfriends, wear inappropriate clothes, have short hair, receive telephone calls or letters from her friends. She has been told by her parents that she will have an arranged marriage. The restrictions on receiving telephone calls and letters were imposed since her family feel friends will lead her astray and "spoil" her reputation. Besides, through friends she may be able to conduct romances or maintain links with males

Despite all these restrictions, Vinita has a boyfriend and talks to males at school, in town, and in the neighborhood. She sometimes even manages to go to town during the day without her parents' permission.

On a couple of occasions when Vinita's clandestine romances were discovered by her mother, she was beaten with a stick. Her mother said she was behaving shamelessly and was "dragging the family name through the mud." On another occasion, Vinita's mother gave her a few slaps on the face and body for going into town after school without permission. Once Vinita's mother caught her talking to the boy next door.

"I was caught talking in signs to the boy next door through our kitchen window. My mother caught me and said I was not allowed to go in the kitchen anymore. One day when my mother was out, I was talking to him from the front steps of our house and my mother came home and caught me again. I tried to say he was just asking me something but my mother said, 'How come he asks you, he never speaks to me.' I got a good hiding from her with a belt. My legs were all marked. She said if I did it again she would tell my father who would fix me up properly."

Case Study: Sarita

Sarita is twenty-seven years old, married with a four-year-old son, and works as a high-school teacher. Her husband runs a small business and they rent a house in one of Suva's affluent suburbs. They have a live-in domestic worker who performs most of the household chores except cooking.

Sarita met her husband while she was attending a university in Suva

and hers is a "love marriage." While at the university she lived on campus as her parents live in another town. Prior to marriage she lived with her husband for one year and they decided to marry when she became pregnant. Her husband's parents were not happy about the marriage since, in their opinion, Sarita did not come from a "good" family and her character was "questionable" for she had lived with their son prior to marriage. Even to this day, conflict exists between Sarita and her in-laws.

Sarita and her husband often socialize with other young couples, attend Western-style parties, and frequent nightclubs and restaurants. Unlike many other Indo-Fijian women, Sarita drinks alcohol and sometimes smokes cigarettes, has an informal relationship with her husband, and interacts with him as an equal.

Even when they were living together Sarita's husband beat her; in recent years these beatings have become more frequent. On two occasions, Sarita left her husband and stayed with a girlfriend until her husband kept harassing her and "begging" her to return. Each time he promised never to hit her again, so for her "son's sake" she returned to live with him.

According to Sarita the main precipitating factor in the violence is, "When I ask him too many questions or criticize his parents." However, when he is beating her other reasons also emerge, such as he does not like her smoking and he suspects she is having an affair with his cousin.

On one occasion he beat Sarita because she complained about his mother's spreading rumors about her. He got very angry and started punching her. Sarita responded by saying, "You always hit me because of your mother, yet she never does anything for you or gives you anything," This made him angrier and he hit her more, simultaneously saying, "This will fix you. You talk too much nowadays."

On another occasion Sarita discovered some love letters from a woman her husband had visited on one of his overseas trips. She confronted him and demanded to know who this woman was and whether she was the reason their phone bill was so high. When he refused to answer, Sarita kept screaming and demanding an answer. At this point, he started hitting her, saying that his mother was right, "I had 'trapped' him into marriage by getting pregnant." He punched her so hard (he is a big man, almost twice her size) that she fell against a door and hit her head on it. He then picked her up, threw her across the room, came over, and started kicking her.

On other occasions he hits her because he does not like her to go out with her female friends at night, which Sarita does occasionally.

Besides Sarita's telling me about these incidences, one of her neighbors also verified that Sarita is often beaten, for she hears her screaming. On one occasion, I saw the bruises on Sarita's face, arms, and legs the day after her husband had beaten her.

From these case studies, we can see that women are beaten for a variety of reasons. Generally, unmarried women are subjected to violence for fraternizing with unrelated males or for violating spatial restrictions and thus jeopardizing their own and their families' honor. In these instances, mothers, fathers, or elder brothers dispense the violence, although mothers generally deal with minor misdemeanors as in Vinita's case while fathers and elder brothers deal with the more serious. For example, a twenty-three-year-old married woman, who recounted her tale in the presence of her mother, was beaten severely on numerous occasions by her father until she finally succumbed to his demands that she leave school and marry the man he had chosen for her.

Wives, on the other hand, are beaten by husbands for "talking too much," for arguing with husbands or mothers-in-law, for not showing sufficient deference to husbands and in-laws, or for being suspected of adultery. Violence is used by husbands to demonstrate anger and frustration, to keep women in their place and in control, and, most importantly, to assert and display their power and dominant status in the household. If wives "talk too much" as defined by husbands or argue they are likely to receive a few slaps. The oft quoted threat of *"Bahuth baath niklii ek jhapar de ga"* (If you talk too much I'll give you a slap) frequently becomes a reality.

Interestingly, the words used by husbands as threats were the same for both wives and children. Often even the husband's tone in speaking to his wife bears a remarkable similarity to that used by both females and males to speak to children. Wives in turn respond to their husbands as they would to their fathers, by speaking in quiet gentle tones that demonstrate deference.

The precipitating factors for wife abuse are generally varied and confused. The complaints of the husband's mother combined with alcohol and general discontent with a wife's behavior can result in the beating of a wife. However, neither alcohol nor mothers-in-law alone are sufficient explanations for wife abuse since wives are also beaten when husbands are sober and without the encouragement of mothers-in-law. A more adequate explanation rests in the nature of gender relations and the fundamental inequalities between husbands and wives that give males the power and privilege to beat wives.

While both men and women impose violence on daughters, females express fear of the males in control of them and seldom demonstrate similar fears of their mothers. Females know that men have ultimate authority and that mothers are dispensing violence on behalf of fathers and "the family." Although mothers beat daughters, they also protect them by not always informing fathers about transgressions.

This double-edged behavior results from women's caring attitude toward daughters and an acknowledgment of their common plight as females in a male-dominated culture. On the one hand, mothers beat daughters who jeopardize their own and their families' reputations out of concern that as a consequence daughters may become unmarriageable or not attract a "decent" husband. On the other hand, they protect their daughters as much as possible since daughters soon leave the caring environment of their natal home to take up residence in their conjugal home, where they may suffer much hardship at the hands of mothers-in-law and husbands. Mothers are also wives and daughters-in-law and thus fully aware of the potential difficulties their daughters may encounter. Yet mothers will threaten to reveal information to fathers to deter daughters from continuing rule-breaking behavior. Daughters, like Vinita, sometimes express an acceptance of violence from mothers as a trade-off for not having fathers informed of their misdemeanors. While women may suffer violence at the hands of other women, ultimately it is physical violence from males that they fear most.

The vast majority of my informants explained their compliance with and lack of resistance to unpopular restrictions and constraints in terms of the fear of being subjected to physical violence by the male in control of them. Even the threat of physical violence operates as a powerful mechanism for ensuring women remain within the guidelines of proper conduct, as this explanation given by a twenty-three-year-old stenographer demonstrates.

> I don't leave the office during my lunch hour because if my father sees me or one of my relatives or someone who knows my father sees me, I'm finished. I'll get a good hiding because my father doesn't like me hanging around town. You know what Indians are like. There's eyes and ears all over town. But sometimes, you know, I take a chance and I go. I try not to go in areas where there's likely to be lots of Indians, you know like Cumming Street or Marks Street. But I'm always scared because if I get caught, that's it!

Among married women similar fears exist and their compliance--particularly to unpopular practices of their husbands such as excessive consumption of liquor--is again explained in terms of the fear of physical violence. Comments such as "my husband would kill me," "my husband will cut my arms and legs off," or "I don't wish to be kicked and beaten" are common from wives even though they are not necessarily meant to be taken literally.

While the use and threat of violence combined with powerful familial and purdah ideologies largely ensure compliance, women are not passive or "pathetic" victims of an insidious system. Women are quick to articulate their grievances, express discontent, and even engage (often secretly) in rule-breaking behavior. In many cases women repeatedly engage in the same prohibited behaviors despite having been beaten for doing so in the past, as in Vinita's case, The imposition of physical violence did not operate as a deterrent for Vinita but rather led her to be more cautious and more secretive, For Vinita the stolen moments of freedom to go out and to interact with males were worth a few beatings. Nonetheless, Vinita still feared her father's wrath but hoped for and had sufficient confidence in her mother's discretion.

Similarly, wives like Sarita fight back despite their husbands' beatings. When they argue or confront their husbands they are fully aware of the real possibility of being beaten. Yet they choose to assert themselves and to take that risk. Sarita continued to argue with her husband while she was being beaten and sometimes even deliberately taunted him with comments that exacerbated his anger. Such modern working wives are refusing to unconditionally accept total male control.

Tensions of Modernization

With increasing Western modernist influences, especially among the young middle class, traditional familial ideology is slowly being threatened and undermined. In these families the nature of husband/wife relationships resembles those of Western nuclear families in many ways. For example, husband/wife interactions are more informal and relaxed, women are not constrained spatially and socially to the same degree as other lndo-Fijian women, husbands and wives spend their leisure time together, and they espouse a belief in egalitarian relationships.

The "modern" Westernized Indo-Fijian woman, often with tertiary education and in paid employment, is increasingly asserting and exercising in the household her demand for equal, partnershiplike relations

with her husband. Such women assume they have a right to confront their husbands, demand answers, and argue, The "modern" Indo-Fijian male (like Sarita's husband), on the other hand, by resorting to violence demonstrates a reluctance to totally surrender ultimate power and control despite a somewhat nontraditional conjugal relationship.

With the declining influence of traditional familial ideology and increasing influence of Western modernist ideologies, there is much confusion and uncertainty for some Indo-Fijians in the arena of gender relations. Among the younger, Westernized women the use of physical violence by males is viewed as unacceptable, interpreted as an important indicator of women's subordinate status in the family and community. Women like Sarita question the right of their husbands to subject them to violence and are humiliated and angered by it. At times they leave their husbands for short periods but almost inevitably return, only to be again subjected to violence. Yet, even among these women small doses of violence are tolerated and explained away. The right of males to slap them occasionally is seldom questioned, a consequence of the enduring influence of traditional ideologies, In spite of aspirations to modernity, including equality between spouses and less formal control of wives by husbands, traditional values remain influential.

The competing and conflicting ideologies are a source of tension and conflict in these "modern" families, as they seem to be among urban families in Papua New Guinea (cf. Toft 1985). The influence of modernization, leading to "changing forms of family life" in Papua New Guinea, Strathern argues, places "more, not less, stress on the conjugal relationship" (1985:2). In the Indo-Fijian context, modernization creates similar stresses for unmarried women. With increasing education and under the increasing influence of Western ideologies stressing freedom, individualism, and romantic love, single women are demonstrating a reluctance to remain within the parameters of proper conduct as set by purdah. These women resist parental controls on their spatial movements and social interactions and sometimes even insist they have a right to have relationships with males and choose their own marriage partners. Such independence often leads to the use of physical violence by parents in attempts to control their daughters, as in the case of Vinita.

Sadly, the problem of coexisting, conflicting, and competing ideologies is not easily resolved. The increasing influence of modern Western ideologies does not lead to the complete displacement or demise of traditional familial ideology, The old order does not simply disappear to be replaced by a new order. Instead, a more complex situation emerges

with elements of both orders coexisting, Under these circumstances Indo-Fijians are resorting to physical violence as a mechanism for resolving some of the contradictions.

The use of violence as a mechanism of social control, however, does not negate the importance of the ideological mechanisms of control. Ideology remains the dominant mode of control as opposed to coercion. As Young and Harris argue, in societies where the ideological mechanisms of control dominate, physical violence "becomes restricted to individual violence of one man against one woman" rather than institutionalized violence such as gang rape (1982:471).

While traditional gender ideologies are crucial for securing the subordination of women, factors such as the greater participation of women in education and paid employment and access to Western media sometimes result in the weakening of traditional ideologies, although seldom their total disappearance. In these circumstances, physical violence is used as a supplementary mechanism of control and familial ideology plays a crucial role in women's acceptance of the use of physical violence by men as a way of controlling women, The vast majority of both men and women unquestioningly accept men's right to control "their" women by the occasional use of the *danda.*

Violence: An Acceptable Mechanism of Control

The control of women through the use of physical violence is accepted, seldom questioned, and even positively sanctioned by both males and females in Indo-Fijian society. The occasional slap, punch, or shove usually goes unnoticed, regarded as one of the hazards of being a woman. Transgression of the boundaries of proper conduct by daughters and wives is viewed by the community as sufficient justification for the imposition of physical violence.

Small doses of violence are sometimes considered mandatory, especially for wives if they are to be kept in line and properly controlled. Both men and women believe that once wives experience the power of the husband's hand all their future behavior will be influenced by this experience. Without some violence wives are likely to get out of hand, misbehave, and develop mistaken ideas regarding "who is boss." Men are often heard making remarks that women whose husbands treat them too easily have become spoiled. At other times men make comments such as *"Uske aurat ke chaahii ek aad laath"* (His wife should be given a few kicks) or "If she was my wife, I'd give her a good beating."

Both males and females give little sympathy to victims of wife abuse

unless the male is considered exceptionally violent and the female exceptionally submissive. Physical action toward women who "talk too much" or who irritate their husbands or his kin is considered to be justified by provocation (cf. Chowning 1985:80; Bradley 1985:53). One upper-middle-class, university-educated woman who is a victim of wife abuse gets little sympathy from her friends because they all regard her as having a "big mouth," thus "deserving" the violence. As one male said, "If she was my wife I'd beat her too."

Men who do not beat their wives, especially if their wives are perceived to be deviant in some way, are ridiculed by both men and women. In one case a man whose wife (age approximately forty-two) ran away with another man was ridiculed as being "weak" and "pathetic." As the story goes, "Even when he went and brought his wife back, he didn't give her a beating! But her brother [age thirty-four] gave her a good beating," since she had shamed not only her conjugal family but also her natal family.

None of this implies that extreme cases of physical violence (that is, where the victim requires medical attention) is condoned. On numerous occasions I heard women and sometimes men criticizing husbands who beat their wives frequently or when they are pregnant, or who cause serious injury. Sometimes even mothers, who may have initially incited their sons to beat their wives, intervene during the course of a beating to stop the transgression of the boundaries of acceptable violence. Mothers will similarly intervene when daughters are being beaten by fathers and elder brothers with comments such as, "OK, that's enough. Don't hit her too much. There's no need to keep hitting her. She's learnt her lesson." Significantly, the "Don't hit her too much" comment implies some hitting is acceptable.

Women regard men who do not occasionally slap their wives as being "under the wife's thumb." The English phrase "petticoat government" is particularly popular among middle-class men and women to refer to relationships in which the wife is assumed to be dominant and the male never subjects her to any violence. On many occasions I heard women explain other women's behavior or manner in terms of a husband's failure to use physical means to keep his wife under control. In these cases women recommend a few good slaps from the husband as a way of bringing a woman back into line, A common phrase used by both sexes to describe relationships in which wives are not kept under strict control is *"Uu to apan aurat ke muur pe charhai ke rakhis"* (He has allowed his wife to sit on top of his head).

By recommending, accepting, and condoning physical violence,

women are actively perpetuating the system. Women's acquiescence and contribution to their own subordination demonstrates the power and persuasiveness of traditional gender ideologies. It could be argued that women have fully internalized these ideologies and come to take male control for granted because they are part of an all-powerful, self-perpetuating system that continually reinforces the status quo. But this alone is not an accurate or adequate explanation of women's acquiescence. What appears as a thorough ideological subordination is misleading since women also express discontent and even engage in acts of insubordination. After all, it is their insubordination that results in violence. Whenever women get the chance they "cheat" the system by engaging in rule-breaking behavior--indicating that their ideological subordination is neither thorough nor complete (cf. Jeffery 1979).

Hence, while the ideological subordination of women is an important factor, such explanation alone fails to acknowledge that women are not pathetic victims of an overwhelming system and that they may even have a positive stake in maintaining the status quo. Senior women of the household, for example, are certainly beneficiaries of the system and actively work to maintain and perpetuate the status quo. In this period in their life cycle they enjoy the respect of younger members (both male and female) and wield considerable power and authority over younger women, especially daughters-in-law. As a mother-in-law a woman reaps the benefits of having endured the hardships of being a daughter-in-law and in turn is likely to impose similar hardships on other women (Brown 1982, 1985). For younger women, patience and conformity is eventually rewarded when their sons bring wives for them to supervise and control, the only acceptable route to gaining power and influence, albeit limited power. Without sons, a woman cannot expect to have much power in the future, but with sons she is likely to reap the benefits of the system and enjoy the power and privileges that come with seniority.

Such a system divides the women in a household rather than creating solidarity between them against men. The divergent interests of the different women within households partially explain why women encourage or recommend physical violence for other women. In the majority of instances in my study, the women who recommended violence for other women were referring to their own kin.

The images presented in the popular culture of Hindi films and songs of competition and conflict--between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, the wives of different brothers, the sisters of husbands and their wives--is also the stuff of real life. Stereotypical images of the tyranni-

cal mothers-in-law, the wicked sisters-in-law, and the oppressed daughters-in-law depicted to the point of obsession in Hindi films are not pure fiction but reflections of the real potential. conflict and competition among women of the same household. Mothers compete with wives for their sons' affections, wives of different sons compete for their mothers-in-law's affection and for a greater share of the household resources for themselves and their children, sisters compete with wives for their brothers' affections, and so forth. These conflicts and competitions operate as structural barriers that prevent women from realizing their common interests and from facilitating joint action against males and the system.

But at another level the system that oppresses them also cares for and protects them from the harsh realities of the outside world. Increasing unemployment, lack of job opportunities, and the absence of an adequate state welfare system mean women are dependent on the family-based household for their livelihood. It is no wonder that both young and old women have a positive stake in ensuring its survival. The economic support provided by males is a powerful mechanism that ensures women conform and actively work to perpetuate the system, Without this financial support women could easily be rendered destitute.

Against this backdrop, perhaps the nonconformity and insubordination of the younger modern women is understandable. Unlike older and more traditional women, they do not have the same stake in maintaining the status quo, for they are not totally dependent on males for their livelihood, Similarly, patience and conformity will not bring them rewards: because they are members of modern, Westernized nuclear families, their sons will establish separate households and are therefore unlikely to bring wives for them to control and supervise in the future. Furthermore, the modern younger women living in nuclear households can afford to espouse a general aversion to male violence against women since they are not subjected to the same degree of tension, conflict, and competition that is suffered by women living in traditional extended households. The costs of insubordination for young modern women are not as great as for the more traditional women since they do not have a similar investment in sustaining the system.

Abused Women: What Options?

The powerlessness of traditional Indo-Fijian women becomes glaringly obvious when considering options available to victims of violence. In short, the vast majority have few options but to endure the violence,

wait for seniority, and hope to be reborn as males in their next life.[4] The taunts of husbands during beatings-such as "Where can you go? No one wants you, your family does not want you back"--are generally true. The majority of women have nowhere to go since they are economically dependent on their husbands, and their families prefer they remain married. Such women are locked into violent relationships by the lack of alternatives and an ideology that stresses the permanency of marriage.

Returning to their families of origin is seldom a viable option. Parents may have died or become economically dependent on their sons and brothers cannot be expected to support the additional burden of maintaining married sisters and their children. However, this does not mean that families never support women who desire to leave a violent marriage. Occasionally, women do return if their marriages are exceptionally violent and no children are involved. For example, in one instance, a woman who needed hospital treatment on numerous occasions and became very ill was finally taken back by her parents. But her parents were not economically dependent on others and the woman had no children. More often than not, parents will attempt to talk violent husbands out of such behavior and will coax daughters into persevering with the marriage. After all, marriage is meant to be permanent and women's suffering within marriage is part of the taken-for-granted world.

Even the modern, Westernized working wives are hesitant to leave violent marriages despite their not being totally dependent on husbands for their livelihood. Even Sarita, who on occasion left her husband for short periods, returned for her "son's sake." Children are one of the reasons for women's reluctance to leave violent husbands, but there are also other reasons,

The major reason is the enduring influence of a powerful familial ideology that discourages divorce and praises women's devotion and perseverance. Another reason is the community's disapproval of divorce and divorced women. Despite legal provisions for separation and divorce, only in extreme cases of violence or desertion will the Indo-Fijian community accept divorce. Women who are divorced are regarded with suspicion. They receive little support from their families because divorce is viewed as shameful. Some of the women in my study, particularly young modern women who are having difficulties with their marriage, claim they cannot contemplate divorce because it would bring shame on their family and they would be the targets of gossip and rumor.

The lack of support divorced Indo-Fijian women receive from their families is evident in the greater proportion of Indo-Fijian females, as

compared with ethnic Fijian women, who receive welfare support from the Bayly Trust and Housing Authority Relief Trust (HART). Officers of both welfare groups and the results of my own research confirmed the larger number of Indo-Fijian female clients. The majority of women that I interviewed at the Bayly Trust claim they are deserted, thrown out, or maltreated by their husbands and in-laws and that their own families either did not want to take them back or could not afford to do so. Similarly, HART villages around Suva accommodate many divorced and deserted Indo-Fijian women whose destitute situation makes them eligible for housing. Many of these women have young children and no family or economic support, The fate of these divorced Indo-Fijian women who end up destitute, requiring welfare and food handouts from charities, acts as a powerful deterrent to divorce, keeping women submissive and tolerant even of violent marriages.

For some women, the absence of viable alternatives when their patience and tolerance is finally exhausted leaves them only one option: suicide. By committing suicide they make a public announcement of the suffering they have endured and perhaps finally (although too late) attract some sympathy. Suicide is chosen as a solution for a complex set of problems, not the least of which is physical violence, that an Indo-Fijian woman encounters in her life. A disturbing 203 reported cases of suicide by Indo-Fijian women were recorded by the Fiji Bureau of Statistics between the years 1977 and 1982, compared with twenty-five among indigenous Fijian females. Indo-Fijian women who commit suicide are mainly under thirty, an age that coincides with the period in their life when they are likely to have the least power and control (Haynes 1984). That suicide is the solution chosen by so many Indo-Fijian women is an indictment of the insidious system under which they are forced to live rather precarious lives.

Conclusion

The threat and use of physical violence is a powerful means by which males exercise power and control in the arena of the family. While the enduring influence and persuasiveness of familial ideology ensures female submission with little male intervention, the occasional use and persistent threat of violence consolidates male dominance and female subordination within the family.

The presence of physical violence does not negate the importance of ideology as a dominant mechanism of control among Indo-Fijians. But where physical violence is supplemented with coercion, familial and

purdah ideologies provide the justification and legitimation for its use. The presence of physical violence as part of the taken-for-granted world of being female is an indictment of the status of women in Indo-Fijian society.

NOTES

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1. The research for this paper was undertaken as part of a wider study on gender relations among Indo-Fijians in Suva. The data were gathered over a period of approximately four years between 1983 and 1987. No reference is made to the May 1987 military coup in Fiji because the data were gathered prior to the coup,

2. *Purdah* literally means "curtain," although in common usage it refers to the various modes of secluding women either by confining them to an enclosed space or by veiling them, the strict segregation of the sexes, the "symbolic sheltering" (Papanek 1973) of women, and a moral code of conduct (see Jeffery 1979; Vatuk 1982).

3. For more details on appropriate and inappropriate occupations, see Lateef 1986.

4. When I asked women the question, "What do you hope to return as in your next life?" (the vast majority of them are Hindus and believe in reincarnation), virtually all replied, "Male."

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THE HIDDEN PAIN: DRUNKENNESS AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN PALAU

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A disproportionate amount of news reaching international readers about the Republic of Palau during the past decade has been concerned with violence: the assassination of President Remeliik in 1985, workers' strikes and bombings of government buildings, arson against public buildings and private homes, deaths by violence. At times the public pain is all too evident, yet there is another type of violence in Palau one is rarely aware of, even after years of residence-the hidden pain of domestic violence.

People say it is a recent phenomenon, almost unheard-of before the Japanese administration (1914-1944). There are few recorded data for the period before 1950 and contemporary data are also limited. Because of the sensitive nature of the topic I obtained only anonymous case-history information from health and social-service workers.[1] An analysis of these data indicates that during the past two to three generations, domestic violence has become more commonplace, and the incidence and severity of cases are increasing. Domestic violence is predominantly husband against wife, and is found among younger couples in the context of a nuclear household when the husband returns home after drinking alcoholic beverages. The violence ranges from mild battering, to serial beatings requiring hospitalization, to a rare homicide. It appears that cases disproportionately involve young educated elite couples. For a population of fifteen thousand people, incidence is high. Public health

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officials estimate that every week in 1989 at least one woman sought emergency treatment at the hospital for injuries sustained during domestic violence.

What are some of the meanings of violence in Palau, both today and in the past? Can we posit a framework that incorporates both normative and abusive violence? In what ways may these meanings elucidate our understanding of violence in other Pacific societies and in our own American society? I believe we can identify factors that have contributed to increased domestic violence through a study of the historical meanings of violence in Palau; an analysis of the interrelation of the age, generation, gender, kin, and polity relationships of those involved; and attention to recent transformations in exchange and marriage systems. The Palauan case is also an important negative case that requires a reevaluation of American attempts to explain away domestic violence as reflective of the cultural devaluation and structural subordination of women in society, for Palauan women are highly valued and older women have a strong voice in economic and political decision-making processes, Rather, it may be the increased power of younger women in the new bi-gender worlds of education and wage employment that is partially at issue. Conversely, we may look to American studies to understand why battered Palauan women may choose to stay with their husbands. Finally, the reported increase in domestic violence correlates with the beginning of male consumption of alcoholic beverages in Palau. This raises the question of the role, if any, of drunkenness in violence and of Palauan patterns of alcoholic consumption and norms of drunken comportment that might contribute to such violence.

In Palau domestic violence is a hidden subject. While physical violence may occur both between spouses and by parents toward children, the two do not necessarily correlate. Because the matrix of behaviors and cultural explanations for violence within these two relationships differ, for this analysis I have chosen to focus only on the situation of physical spouse abuse. I have not included verbal abuse, although this is included in a Palauan categorization of wife abuse according to Kubary (1873:219). Verbal abuse is often part of physical abuse; however, this is much more difficult to reconstruct after the event and is double-edged, with participation by both spouses. Observation or interviews of both parties would be required for its inclusion, Violence in other intrafamilial relationships--between siblings, toward members of an older generation--is extremely rare and culturally proscribed. In contrast, some level of physical violence between husband and wife may today be tolerated. That by a husband against a wife may be characterized as disci-

pline. Violence by a wife against a husband also occurs, but most commonly such violence is joint (the wife fighting back, often with a weapon) rather than only by the wife toward the husband. By far the preponderance of cases involve violence by a husband against a wife, nearly all in association with the consumption of alcohol only by the husband.

Wife-beating appears to be increasing today despite the historically strong position of women in Palauan society, societal proscriptions against either verbal or physical abuse under penalty of severe monetary fines, and norms by which clan elders should intervene to protect the woman. Most contemporary cases involve successful, well-educated young men and women who hold middle- to high-level positions in the government or private sectors. The Palauan case appears to contradict several theoretical explanations for wife-beating: a feminist perspective that the violence is directly related to women's structural and marital subservience in a patriarchal society (Klein 1981; Morgan 1980, 1981, and 1982; Dobash and Dobash 1979), or more finely tuned analyses of power differentials due to social isolation of the woman and her powerlessness vis-à-vis her husband because of lack of employment outside the home, lack of independent financial base, lesser education, and exclusion from the family decision-making process (Straus and Hotaling 1980; Finkelhor et al. 1983; Pagelow 1984). This article is an initial attempt to consider some of the broader issues involved in spouse abuse in Palau, to identify variables on the individual and societal levels and situations that may contribute to spouse abuse, and to situate this analysis within the broader framework of cross-cultural studies of domestic violence and alcohol abuse while questioning certain explanatory paradigms.

I have chosen the subtheme of drunkenness because it is a common factor in all the current cases and is present in some cases of the previous generations. Although early data are limited, I believe there is support for contemporary Palauans' contention that wife-beating is much more common today than in the past and that this increase is linked to drinking. Some say spouse abuse only began during the Japanese administration of the islands, correlating the use of corporal punishment as a form of discipline during the Japanese administration of Palau with increased violence by husbands against wives and with its characterization as discipline, Another informant states that the increase is only because it was during the Japanese administration that Palauans really began drinking. In general, drunkenness triggers the acting out of aggression in Palau.[2] Alcohol's perceived disinhibitory function contributes to the fre-

quency and intensity of incidents today, for it provides a culturally acceptable "time-out" (MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969:89-90), or excuse for behavioral excesses. Alcohol's accepted value as an excuse interacts negatively with the invocation of culturally established controls against spouse abuse, for it becomes easier for the wife and family members to excuse a beating as merely the effects of drink and not truly a representation of the husband's attitude. As analyzed below, many of the stresses of economic and social change in Palau today are focused in the marital relationship. With the addition of alcohol, these stresses may be permitted expression through violence.

Ethnographic Background

The Palauans inhabit the westernmost of the Caroline Islands, predominantly high volcanic islands. According to linguistic and archaeological evidence the earliest Western Austronesian settlers arrived from island Southeast Asia (the Philippines, Sulawesi, and Halmahera) by about 1500 B.C. Palauan society developed in relative isolation and most navigation was limited to internal waters. Palau, however, did conduct important trade relationships with Yap, and local histories and early European records tell of sporadic interaction with island Southeast Asia and New Guinea. The population at the time of the first recorded European visit to Palau in 1783 was culturally homogeneous[3] and probably numbered about twenty thousand.

Gender was a basic organizing principle in Palauan society: membership in kin groups, forms of money, types of services, and basic foodstuffs were all categorized as male or female and flowed back and forth between groups in patterned male/female exchanges. While clan relationships were traced through both the mother's and father's sides, the kin system was predominantly matrilineal with the strongest ties through the mother *(ochell).* Members through the father *(ulechell)* were recognized but played different roles in clan affairs. Thus, other factors being equal, an individual's ties were stronger on his or her mother's side than on the father's side. Local land-holding clans regulated much of the daily labor of their members and affines under a gender-based division of labor. Palauan men provided the basic protein foods (male) and were responsible for reef and deep-sea fishing and the construction of homes, community buildings, and canoes. Women were the primary agriculturalists, providing the basic starch food (female), taro. Relations between men and women could best be characterized in

terms of complementary interdependence. The production of both men and women was equally valued and necessary to the smooth operation of the complex patterns of affinal exchange channeled primarily through siblings and their respective spouses. Commodities exchanged by kin and affinal groups included starch and protein foods, imported bead valuables ranked by type and exchange histories that were categorized as male money but worn only by women, and turtle and other shell currencies categorized as female money and exchanged between women.

Palau was highly stratified both politically and socially: by seniority within the family; by seniority, rank, and origin of the family unit within the clan; by rank of the clan; by rank of the hamlet and village of birth; and additionally by wealth (although wealth was controlled by the high clans). Both male and female members of high clans had personal and corporate power far surpassing that of low-clan individuals. The political system incorporated both male and female, each male title having its female counterpart. In the past, daily affairs were governed by the clans and by the chiefly councils of the village. The male council directed political affairs and village activities through male work clubs, which worked in association with paired female work clubs. Affairs of women were the primary concern of the women's council and clubs. The female clan elders selected both the male and female titleholders of the clan, choosing among the senior matrilineal *(ochell)* members except in exceptional cases. The female clan elders also had the power to remove an individual from office for cause, although such removal was rare. In several polities assassination was a normative means of removing the highest-ranking chief from office due to incompetence or loss of power, or perhaps jealousy. Such assassinations were contained within the polity and kin group; they were carried out by the successor to the title, and required the preapproval of the female elders and other chiefs of the polity and payment of substantial Palauan valuables.

Village-based clans were ranked: ideally there were ten clans per village, each controlling a male and female title of the male and female chiefly governing councils. Small villages joined to form larger villages, which in turn were organized into loosely linked confederations. Following apparently major and bloody battles of village and confederation consolidation, by the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century Palauan warfare was primarily symbolic. Victory was achieved through the collection of one enemy head or through the destruction of enemy property--the war canoes or community meeting-

houses--and war was governed by secret negotiations and agreements among the high chiefs of the confederations. Thus, in the past, destruction of property was a valid expression of interpolity conflict, an important symbolic victory over enemies.

Customary Law

Palauan customary law was homogeneous throughout the island group, with male transgressions the affair of the male councils and female transgressions that of the female council. The jurisdiction of the chiefly councils, however, was limited to the village. Infractions were reportedly rare (Kubary 1873:219). Rather than a top-down authoritative system of social control maintained through heavy sanctions, the strong customary code of behavior was internalized and the customary norms generally accepted and followed. Kubary reported only three infractions against customary law during his yearlong stay in Palau in 1873.

In case of infraction the clan elder of the transgressor would normally offer payment of a monetary fine to the chiefs prior to their judgment in hopes of obtaining a lesser penalty. The customary code was situational and structural in nature: the acceptability of violence was conditional upon geographical and social distance, relationship and rank of the person against whom it was expressed, and the ability of the transgressor's clan to make a monetary payment, rather than on a moral assessment of the act itself. Homicide and spouse abuse of a high-clan woman within the village were equally punishable by payment of a severe monetary fine. If the individual's clan could not pay a fine of valuables to the chiefs or the aggrieved parties or both, the transgressor's life was forfeit unless he could relocate to a neighboring village. The primary proscription was against killing an individual related by kinship or marriage, or who was of a polity related by migration histories.

Thus, traditionally only members of the high clans that controlled Palauan bead valuables could afford to give public expression to violence and aggression, for they were the only ones able to pay the severe monetary fines levied in cases of interpersonal violence within the community, Differential child socialization patterns by clan status specifically with regard to the violent expression of aggression and frustration are apparent to this day, and a preponderance of violence severe enough to be punished by current law is committed by members of high clans. High status and wealth continue to uphold power differentials; however, the sense of community today includes all Palauans.

Domestic Violence

Two European ethnographers who worked in Palau in the late 1800s reported both formal and informal protection for women against abuse by their husbands. Kubary recorded three principles of customary law related to women, the first of which prohibited a man from either physical abuse of his wife or from public verbal abuse. If the woman was of a high clan the penalty was a monetary fine equal to that assessed for homicide (Kubary 1873:219). According to Semper, a woman of lesser rank could take refuge from her husband in one of the men's clubhouses until he either paid the club a fine for her return or she chose a new husband of higher standing (1873:261). Both ethnographic accounts indicate that wife abuse occurred on apparently rare occasions (none of the three customary law infractions observed by Kubary in 1873 was spouse abuse).

Barnett's field notes from the late 1940s record only one instance in which he suspected wife-beating (n.d.:16); he obtained no verification as it was apparently a matter not to be discussed, but neither did there appear to be major injury.

Marital Relationships and Sexuality

Marriage was brittle in the past: it was common for both women and men to marry two or three times before settling into a stable marriage. In fact, such serial marriages--especially of beautiful and high-clan women--were encouraged by the clan elders as a means of bringing money into the clan (a Palauan valuable was paid by the husband's clan to the wife's maternal clan through her financial sponsor [*okdemaol,* maternal uncle] at the time of formal marriage and again at the birth of the first child). The public seal or recognition of marriage was the payment *(bus)* made by the husband's clan to the wife's maternal clan and the cooked food *(ngader)* given in return, This bride-wealth did not in any way represent payment for the woman, her labor, or her fertility, Rather, the series of payments made and the services the husband rendered to his wife's brother and her matrilineal clan members throughout the marriage insured that his wife and children, as *ochell* (through the mother) members of their clan, would have strong voices in clan decision making. A child essentially belonged to the maternal clan; payments to the mother's maternal clan at the time of birth served to filiate her child to its father and his clan during the father's lifetime. A man's

sister had the responsibility to provide his major financial support--for the construction of his house or his payments to the chiefly council should he take a title. She received money to fulfill these responsibilities from her husband (in turn, from his sisters and maternal clan members). The more financial support the man gave his wife to provide for her brother and clan, the higher her position within her clan, and the higher their children could rise.

In the past, marriage was strictly status endogamous, which resulted in intervillage marriages among the high clans of friendly villages in addition to an intravillage norm especially for the lower clans. A high-clan elder was permitted to have more than one formal wife if he could afford to maintain each suitably in a separate household. Residence was ideally virilocal but access to land, titles, and other resources influenced residential selection. Usually the young couple officially resided with the family of the husband, often in the natal village of the wife although not necessarily in the same hamlet. Until a man was a well-established clan elder he could not afford his own house but remained a part of his father's household. The men slept primarily in the men's clubs, the women in the domestic compound of the extended family.

The wife provided both domestic services and agricultural labor to provide the (female) starch foods for their table. The young women who married into the husband's extended household *(buch el sechal)* worked extremely hard under the supervision of the elder females of the household. A woman achieved individual power only through personal characteristics of leadership and competence, age, and service: the elder women directed labor and were in charge of the major life-stage ceremonies and exchanges of the clan, such as funerals and birth ceremonies. When a marriage terminated through death a final decision *(cheldecheduch)* determined how much in Palauan valuables or land or both would be paid by the husband's clan to the wife's maternal clan, depending upon both clan standing and the service and contributions by the wife to the husband's clan during the marriage (see Smith 1983: 292-307). After divorce the marriage severance payment *(olmesumech)* to the woman's financial sponsor followed similar guidelines but was affected by the circumstances of the dissolution of the marriage also.

Marriages were at times contracted to obtain a particular Palauan valuable as payment. A woman, however, was not a simple pawn of clan machinations; she could instigate or refuse marriage. Either the woman or the man could initiate divorce, with cause. The only circumstance under which the children would remain with their father following divorce was in the case of a known adulterous union by the wife.

Only after a long-established marriage between mature adults and the birth of several children were clan pressures exerted on a couple to maintain a marriage one partner wished to terminate.

A woman returned to her natal home during pregnancy and for an extended period after the child was born. One of the major cultural ceremonies of Palau is the *ngasech,* literally the "elevation" or public presentation of the woman after the birth of her first child. In the past the *ngasech* marked the passage of the woman into the stage of fertile motherhood and full wife/procreator; this ceremony far outshadowed marriage, which was a clan-level exchange of valuables from the husband's side and special foods from the wife's side. At the *ngasech* the husband's clan again presented her sponsor with a piece of Palauan money. The ceremony was once reserved for married women, but today each young mother is so honored.

There was no corresponding male life crisis or initiatory ceremony at puberty or early adulthood in Palau. In the past the young men were eased out of their families due to strong brother-sister avoidance mores that extended to cousins of the extended household. The young men gradually shifted their residence to their men's club, which was also a training center. A man spent a great deal of time in his club and could freely consort with women.

Prior to marriage a woman controlled her own sexuality. After puberty she was expected to solicit sex with wealthy chiefs in order to earn Palauan money. She could establish private liaisons. The men's clubhouses also incorporated a form of institutionalized concubinage, with several ranked categories of resident women. The highest category comprised groups of young women or perhaps a women's club including married women who chose to visit the clubhouse of a friendly neighboring village in order to earn Palauan money, property, or services, which the club paid to the women's chiefs and sponsors at the end of their sojourn. Because of the importance of status endogamy, each woman was paired with a man of similar social status and these liaisons of several months could result in the selection of a marriage partner. The spheres of activity of the village married women and the clubhouse women were kept separate. The wives brought food to the clubhouses for both their husbands and the women, and it was considered beneath the dignity of a wife to concern herself with the husband's clubhouse liaisons, although jealous outbursts between wives and lovers were never completely avoided. Life in the clubhouse was one of leisure and enjoyment in contrast to the hard agricultural work that occupied a wife. The women's club outings to a neighboring club were well

regarded and a husband could not stop his wife's participation-the only occasion after marriage when a woman was not expected to remain faithful to her husband.

Historical Transformations

During the past century the Spanish, German, and Japanese administrations banned the institutionalized concubinage of the men's clubs, which they understood according to Western concepts of prostitution. The clubs also represented a threat to colonial labor requirements, as they directed village labor, scheduling work parties and fining members who did not participate. The German administration systematically attempted to destroy the male clubs, taking over a major Koror clubhouse for its office and destroying others. The Japanese administration in turn attempted to restructure the clubs into work forces for the Japanese and to take over the chiefly governing systems for their own purposes, replacing recalcitrant chiefs with more cooperative "chiefs."

Foreign missionaries introduced Catholic and fundamentalist Protestant ethics of (church) monogamous marriage and proscriptions against divorce. Nonetheless divorce is still common today and, despite chiefly and legal proscriptions against polygamy since the 1950s, it is common for wealthy high-clan men to maintain mistresses as well as formal wives.

The Japanese introduced universal education to Palau-all Palauan children were required to attend Japanese school for three years and the better students received five years' education. The teacher was a strong authority figure and corporal punishment (striking the child with a hand or ruler) was common in the classroom; Palauans to this day speak of the strictness of Japanese teachers. Corporal punishment was also introduced for adult transgressions; men were beaten for infractions against the Japanese legal code. Such physical violence was considered abusive and outside the cultural norm. This was particularly the case for the cross-generational case of teachers striking children. While beating of adult males was considered abusive, it did fall within gender and generation norms discussed below, as well as status and power differentials that precluded direct Palauan action against the aggressors.

Palauans had no indigenous alcoholic beverage and in the first century of prolonged interaction with Westerners shunned such (Semper 1873:39). They first learned to produce alcoholic beverages from the Japanese, who took over the islands in 1914. In 1921, however, Japan's administration of the islands was recognized by the League of Nations,

which prohibited native consumption of intoxicating beverages. The regulations Japan promulgated in the mandated territory allowed alcoholic consumption only by individuals holding a permit from the chief administrator; in effect this supported elite, male consumption of alcohol. As administrative center of Japan's Pacific empire prior to the wartime buildup, Koror was home to over ten thousand Japanese (compared to a population of eight hundred local residents) and geisha houses lined one section of Koror nicknamed "Little Ginza." Palauans observed and learned Japanese styles of drunken comportment, including cultural acceptance of men's extreme drunkenness and a period of "time-out" when one was considered not fully accountable for one's words or actions (see Marshall 1979:44-46 for a discussion of Japanese models of drunken comportment in Micronesia). Aggression is not a part of Japanese drunken behavioral norms, which stress the opposite disinhibition to the display of affection. But these norms were modified to their cultural settings. Palauan drunken norms are not as violent as those of the neighboring island of Truk, where the introduction of alcohol coincided with the cessation of warfare (Marshall 1979:40). More important was the introduction of a "time-out" from responsibility for one's actions, which in the Palauan case came to mean responsibility for the verbal. and sometimes physical expression of anger and conflict normally closely contained in this small island society.

Palau Today

The complex status gradations of the past are for the most part collapsed today into a binary high-clan/low-clan distinction, high clans including the top four clans of each village.[4] Despite a general decline in the chiefly governing system after Palau embraced a Western democratic political structure, the chiefly titles, village rankings, and interrelationships retain their importance. Customary exchanges at times of life crisis or transition--death, birth, the taking of a title, construction of a home--continue to be channeled through siblings and their spouses, today inflated by the addition of American currency and Western foods,

Both men and women pursue higher education and are employed in wage labor, sometimes in addition to continued production of local foods. Men continue to fish, women to garden, although dryland gardens and more easily grown dryland taro, tapioca, and sweet potatoes are replacing the labor-intensive swamp taro.

Nearly two-thirds of the residents of the Republic of Palau live on the five-square-mile, densely populated island of Koror. Many of the

employed younger couples live in nuclear households, often in newly constructed residences paid for with clan support channeled through the dyadic relationships of brothers/sisters and their spouses. The other third of Palau's residents live in small, dispersed villages on the large volcanic island, Babeldaub, or on neighboring coral islands or atolls. Several thousand Palauans today reside abroad, almost all in the United States where youths travel to pursue higher education at both the secondary and college levels. The urbanization and transfer to nuclear households is recent: in 1947, 57 percent of the population still lived on Babeldaub and it was not until the influx of new American federal programs in the mid-1960s that the balance of the population shifted to Koror. Drawn by education, a modern way of life, and chances of earning money, nearly three-quarters of the resident young people between ages fifteen and twenty-nine live in Koror, while many of the Babeldaob villages are populated by the old and the young, the parents and sometimes the children of the younger generation resident in Koror. Many children grow up with parents and grandparents outside Koror, then move to Koror to attend high school. They are often unprepared for life there; their families do not understand all their difficulties or know how to provide help.

Today the principles and importance of kinship and status ranking remain intact. Age, rank, and wealth are honored and seniority continues to play a key role. Control of knowledge has always been valued, however, and higher education is an increasingly necessary component of a good position and respect. Just as in the traditional system wherein the male chiefs were responsible for the more visible issues of the community at large while females provided the economic underpinnings, today males predominate in elected and appointed office. National officials are elected, and the male village chiefs and councils retain degrees of local power dependent upon the constitutional form selected at each state level. The female councils are less active, although female titleholders are active and respected decision makers and continue to select the male titleholders and oversee birth and death ceremonies and clan exchanges. Both male and female clubs still exist, generally without a physical clubhouse and certainly without the full matrix of clubhouse behavior and institutionalized concubinage from the past. The contemporary versions of traditional clubs may assist in minor village projects or sponsor baseball clubs (a contemporary "warfare"), but wage employment has taken away the time members have to devote to the club, plus some of the incentive.

Both young men and women obtain higher education, and in 1979 a

slightly larger percentage of young women were studying abroad than young men (PCAA 1985: table 31). While there is still gender typing of both traditional and modern occupations, there are equal numbers of men and women in professional fields. Although some females are found in the highly regarded professions of doctor and lawyer and head government and nongovernment agencies and schools, for the most part little gender overlap occurs in occupational specialization except in the teaching profession (PCAA 1985: tables 19b, 22b). Both clan status and wealth aid in achieving both education and employment success, but are not exclusive requirements.

There are still strong gender- and status-specific behavioral modes taught to a child from the time of birth. Especially for the younger women, though, few normal activities are proscribed strictly by gender. Thus, while gender is an important determinant of behavior, complementarity still best characterizes relations between the sexes. Both men and women enjoy high status and active participation in decision making, moderated most strongly by their age and clan status in a highly stratified society and more recently by their wealth, level of education, and involvement in Western-introduced institutions. Clan status, age, position, and wealth outrank gender as determinants of socially appropriate behavior within the broad male and female norms of behavior.

After initial depopulation from deaths due to Western diseases and high levels of sterility at the turn of the century due to venereal diseases, the Palauan population is today reestablishing itself. By Western standards the population is exceedingly youthful: in 1980, 70 percent of the residents and 71 percent of all Palauans resident and abroad were under the age of thirty (PCAA 1985: tables 3 and 34). While young men continue to fish and women to farm, most of the educated younger set prefer employment in the government, which employs 46 percent of those economically active between the ages of fifteen and sixty-four (PCAA 1985: table 14b). The service-oriented private sector predominantly relies on the purchasing power of government wages; private wage levels are considerably lower. In Palau a man is not considered a mature adult until he demonstrates his stability and establishes his own home, career, and family--now perhaps in his thirties. Such processes require active clan support, although a high-paying job can allow increased independence. Younger individuals who return after schooling abroad generally cannot immediately obtain high government-sector positions even though their formal education may far surpass their superiors; in fact, they are suspected of supporting foreign ways and before advancement must prove they have not been unduly influenced but still follow

Palauan ways of acting. Thus there are inherent tensions in job performance and power relationships between generations.

Yet overall it is the younger generation that has access to the bulk of employment income, and there are many young families in which both parents work. Before the introduction of wage labor and foreign currencies, all clan moneys were retained by the elders (who still control Palauan bead valuables). Today, Western currencies are controlled by the wage earner rather than the elder.

Customary Exchanges

The finely tuned balance of the daily services of the wife to her husband's family and periodic payments to her maternal clan no longer continues. With migration to Koror and the formation of nuclear households most daily and mundane transfers have stopped. Today the services of the wives and payments of the husbands are concentrated in exchanges inflated by the addition of imported foods and currencies, heightening the role of younger couples.

The complex Palauan pattern of customary exchanges today serves to redistribute Western currency throughout the population, and in fact has been substantially modified and expanded to ensure such redistribution. For most exchanges Western currency has replaced the traditional bead valuables. Clan exchanges are scheduled every other weekend--the biweekly government and private payday--and include first-child ceremonies, parties to collect money for the construction of a new home, and the final discussions held after a divorce or death of a clan member. The strongest pressure to contribute is placed on the young married couple, both as the primary wage earners of the clan and because the Palauan exchange system is organized to transfer wealth from a woman's spouse (and his extended family).

Contemporary Marital Patterns and Stresses

Whereas in the past serial marriages were common, there is increased pressure today to maintain early marriages. Part of the pressure is from the church if the couple is religious. Part of the pressure relates to the number of children of the union--women today have their families while younger and some follow religious proscriptions against using contraceptives. Once several children are involved the clan will attempt to maintain the marriage and mediate problems rather than incur the monetary difficulties of paying back affinal exchanges, providing

divorce payments, and settling child-support and residence issues.[5] Child-support issues are further complicated today by the operation of both Palauan and American-influenced legal systems.[6] Also, young couples often make their own marriages rather than following the arranged marriages more common in the past, so there is a clan sentiment that they "made their own bed and will have to lie in it."

Many Palauan women today, especially those educated in the United States, object to the Palauan double standard that accepts a man's having a mistress, especially during his wife's pregnancy, while a woman is forbidden to take a lover. The traditional separation of wives and lovers (clubhouse attendants) is not maintained and both women may be in frequent contact in the workplace. Even more critical to male sexual jealousy is the involvement of many young women in the public worlds of school and employment where they interact frequently with non-kin in bi-gender situations. In the past the wives maintained primarily gender-segregated lives within the domestic compound and in the agricultural areas. While gender segregation still characterizes many daily interactions, given modern employment patterns and the complementary and equal status of Palauan men and women, both may enter into public spheres of activities with members of the opposite sex, and marital jealousy is common.

Since high-status government jobs are relatively scarce and there is a perceived shortage of eligible men,[7] young women may also prefer to retain a marriage despite its difficulties. More important, particularly among the educated young elite, is the strength of the affective tie between husband and wife. Both are exposed to Western ideals of romantic marriage and a love relationship between husband and wife uncharacteristic of traditional Palauan marriage norms. Often the couple married while abroad and formed close affective bonds as they resided in relative isolation from family units, struggling with the difficulties of education and raising a family abroad without the assistance of the extended family.

The pressures of large families, affinal exchanges, and the workplace today tend to focus on young husbands and wives. There is increased stress on couples in which both are educated and employed to support their clans through continued, large contributions to the customary exchanges. In the past contributions to the clans would have been made later in the marriage, once the couple and marriage were more firmly established. Additionally, the couples would have lived in an extended family compound where certain tensions and pressures would have been diffused by the presence or mediating actions of other family

members from the husband's or wife's sides. Today many young couples (and most of the battering cases) maintain nuclear households. While both spouses interact frequently and closely with their extended family members, those relatives are not present on a daily basis or during the times when violence is likely to occur, such as late in the evening when the man returns home after drinking.

The World of Alcohol and Aggression

Palau is unusual in the Pacific and much of the developing world in that both men and women may and do drink both in public and private. The only indigenous drug was betel nut, chewed by men and women of all ages and classes. When alcohol was first introduced and more generally accepted during the Japanese administration, it was first used by the elite and only by men. To be able to drink, to hold a great deal of liquor, is seen by many as an indication of strength, a quality highly valued in Palauan society. As an elite status marker, alcohol has now entered into traditional occasions as well and will routinely be offered during ceremonial exchanges and funerals. By the 1970s it became quite common and acceptable for women to drink in public and private. Women as well as men of all classes drink both in modern restaurants and dancing clubs as well as in more traditional settings. While extreme drunkenness is predominantly male, both sexes may be seen drunk in public and are equally tolerated. Except for houseparties attended primarily by couples because they center on financial exchanges, for the most part husbands and wives do not go out together. The possibilities for jealousy on both parts abound. (For a fuller description of the history of drinking in Palau, see Nero 1985.)

Palauans are considered an aggressive people in general by both Westerners and other Micronesian islanders. They are both verbally and physically quick and adept at action. There is a high level of general violence in the community, much of it associated with the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Violent incidents both in the home and outside often do not enter police records. Bar fights and stabbings are common; all medical personnel are on the alert every payday weekend since severe injuries due to accidents and aggression are routine. This violence is predominantly a young male phenomenon: in 1985, 75 percent of all emergency room admissions at the only hospital were alcohol related, 92 percent involving men between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine (Polloi 1988:42). Over a four-year period from 1985 to 1988 the prepon-

derance of all emergency-room patients was from this age group, mainly alcohol related (Polloi 1988:44).

Gender and Generational Norms of Violence

Most violence in Palau is within gender: men fight men (although it is considered unmanly for a man to fight another man over a woman), women fight women. Cross-gender violence is shameful, although it does occur. To a large extent violence is redirected against possessions: a woman will commonly vent her anger at her husband by destroying all the windows in his car or the windows of his mistress's house. Anger against an unrelated individual or family may be expressed through burning a building (after making certain that no one is inside), which carries over to the public buildings of another polity.

Normatively, violence occurs between individuals of the same age group. It is considered shameful to strike someone of an ascending or descending generation. The norms of respect and politeness that govern interclan relations strengthen sanctions against intergenerational conflict and especially the abuse of children. A man retains filiation with his children only through payments to his wife's maternal sponsor and continued support of the children. The children remain essentially members of the maternal kin group and may be removed from their father at any time for mistreatment. If, after a suitable period of time he wishes to reaffiliate with his children, a substantial offering *(meluluuch)* might be paid to the maternal clan and he must demonstrate continued proper behavior toward the children. It is primarily those children without strong maternal clan protection (who have entered into the family through lesser forms of adoption) or children of a wife's former marriages or liaisons who remain with her who are most at risk for verbal, affective, or physical abuse.

The age group of males twenty to thirty-nine years old, at high risk for excessive drinking and alcohol-related violence, is primarily involved in cases of domestic violence. Both age and alcohol consumption are contributory factors. It is nearly unheard-of for a young man to assault his girlfriend prior to marriage; the relationship would be quickly terminated and he might be liable to assault by her male relatives. Similarly, spouse abuse declines with age and increased marital stability. There are two nondrinking populations in Palau of religious groups that strongly forbid alcohol consumption--the Palauan Modekngei and the Seventh-day Adventists. While my data were admittedly

limited, none of the men represented were strong practitioners of either of these religions.

Stress and Violence

Farrington has outlined the importance of the level of stress on the individual in the expression of either instrumental or expressive violence in U.S. families and linked general stress to the expression of aggression within the family (1980). During the years of my research, from 1976 to 1989, the general level of stress in Palau has not only been high but has been constantly increasing. On the larger structural level a great deal of stress has resulted from the ongoing conflict between Palau and the United States (the administering authority since 1947 under a U.N. trusteeship). At first, the tension centered on the Palauan Constitution, which was finally established in 1980 after three referenda required by extreme U.S. pressure against several constitutional clauses. Later, tensions escalated and many Palauan families split in the intra-Palauan and Palauan-U.S. battles over the seven plebiscites on the future relationship to be established between Palau and the U.S. During this nine-year period the U.S. exerted both financial and political pressure on Palau to bow to U.S. demands. A high level of Palauan violence included the dynamiting of the president's office by striking workers in 1982, periods of civil unrest in which several individuals were killed, the assassination of the new republic's first president in 1985, and arson of a number of domestic and public buildings. During the summer of 1987, after two-thirds of all government workers were laid off for several months, the violence reached an all-time high. In an orchestrated series of attacks against opponents of the Compact of Free Association with the United States, the father of the opposition lawyer was killed, the Koror men's clubhouse was destroyed by fire, and a bomb was thrown at the house of a female elder (GAO 1989). While all these actions except one directed against a female elder fall within cultural norms, in Palau the general level of both stress and violent expression of aggression has been constantly on the rise.

Domestic Violence in Palau

After spending considerable time in Palau I began hearing rumors of contemporary cases of wife-beating, especially the more serious ones that had resulted in hospitalization. But a conspiracy of sympathetic silence surrounded the events and there was no discussion of cases from

the elder generation, Only in the private cooking areas might small groups of younger women discuss a recent beating they had heard about or talk in general of the difficulties of being married in Palau today. In public, a facade that the woman had accidently hurt herself was maintained and the topic not broached in conversations with either party or their close relatives, for wife-battering is shameful in Palau. It is a matter for clan, not public, discussion and settlement.

Due to certain circumstances of the field and research situation, my analysis is by necessity only a partial account of the matrix of behavior that surrounds and is used to explain domestic violence in Palau. First and foremost, this was not my primary research focus. As a single female anthropologist whose main research was on community issues, however, I had considerable involvement in many communities and developed close working relationships with members of government social-service agencies, For this article I rely on interviews with public health and social-service workers responsible for treating and counseling individuals who have been battered. Individual identities were not given or requested; only general characteristics were discussed. My participation in informal discussions about spouse abuse was for the most part limited to ones with women. It may be that a low level of physical abuse is tolerated today, and perhaps was in the past, and only extreme cases reach the level of female gossip as an indirect form of social control. Despite cross-gender interaction in contemporary school and working situations, many activities and topics are still strictly gender segregated. Spouse abuse is not a topic of normal conversation in Palau and is rarely discussed in cross-gender situations. I never observed a beating, a fact germane to its occurrence and frequency in Palau; the presence of certain family members and certainly of an outsider prevent its occurrence. I have only partial longitudinal data on the history of each spouse and their immediate family and clan members, and the extent to which they or other family members were victims/perpetrators of spouse or child abuse.

I have interview information concerning over thirty cases of spouse abuse spanning four generations that range in severity from isolated minor batteries to severe serial beatings. The types of assault include slapping with an open hand, striking with a closed fist, striking with wooden or metal objects, kicking, and the use of a gun. Some assaults were against pregnant women. In several instances the woman was also incarcerated within the home. In a few cases the beatings were generally considered contributory to the death of the spouse, and there was one homicide tried by the courts. In nearly all cases the man was the

physical aggressor. In the few cases when a woman responded in kind it was often with a weapon. Rare cases of female aggression occur. While data on whether or not alcohol was consumed in cases from previous generations are limited, today in nearly all cases of domestic violence (as well as other assaults) the aggressor has been drinking.

The close and extended clan members of the women, and in some cases the families of the men, will take action to try to prevent or end a beating if they are aware that it is in progress. Often they send a particular family member or respected friend whose presence is sufficient to stop the beating. Or in an extended family situation they might send the woman to another room and try to intercede with the husband. In most cases the battering stops later in the marriage, which may become stable and happy (following a pattern also documented in the United States by Fagan [1988]).

In more than half the battering cases the men and women are of high clans (a much higher proportion than the general population). For the cases of the present generation, all of the couples live in their own nuclear household, not in an extended family situation. In most the couple are considered formally married and have two or more children, although there are a few young couples who had one child but were never formally married and later separated. All those were the first marriages or children for the women and were generally the first marriages for the men. In nearly half the cases the men involved have either a brother or a father known to beat his wife. In one case domestic violence was previously unheard-of in the family, which has taken strong measures to try to stop the beating. This is the least severe case in intensity and frequency Of the women, in half the cases other female members of their household (sister, mother, or aunt) have been beaten.

A battered Palauan woman today has a number of options open to her. If she wishes to preserve the marriage she might speak with her husband's aunt. She might seek a respected friend for advice. If she wishes to get back at the husband she might tell her male relatives. For extreme revenge she might have sex with one of her husband's close relatives or friends. If she wishes to end the marriage she might take refuge with her close family or maternal uncle, who will protect her, often for an extended period. Then if the husband wishes to preserve the marriage he must offer a customary payment *(tngakireng)* to "push back the heart" and make restitution. Otherwise a divorce will occur, and an especially heavy termination payment *(olmesumech)* will be levied. As the power of the clans and the maternal uncle decreases in everyday affairs, a woman might today approach the court to obtain a peace

bond (formal promise by the husband to the court not to strike her during the six-month period of the bond, under penalty of a hundred-dollar fine). In one such case the agreed peace bond is against not only violence but also drunkenness; if the husband becomes drunk he can be apprehended by police as a preventive action.

Traditional sanctions are not simply a matter of the past. Today both traditional and statutory sanctions against spouse abuse apply and it is possible for an aggressor to be punished both traditionally and by the national government. In practice, however, neither form is generally invoked. The clans are not as strong today in governing their members' daily affairs, and a woman's financial sponsor has less control as she and the husband may hold greater economic power. Clan intervention is difficult unless the woman is willing to terminate the marriage. In most cases the government takes little or no action and the husband is never charged with assault. There are several reasons for this. First, affairs within the family are considered private. Furthermore, even if asked to investigate, the officers will likely be related to one party or the other and reluctant to pursue the case, Additionally, in most cases the woman later chooses to drop charges, so prosecution is hampered and only homicides tend to be pursued by the courts. One recent homicide involved the batterer, who was killed when his stepson intervened during a beating. The son was convicted of murder and sentenced to the full term provided by law despite public sentiment supporting his action. A jealous husband who killed his high-clan wife early in the American civil administration (which began in 1951) was punished according to both tradition and the courts: he was exiled from the state and incarcerated on another Micronesian island. In only one spouse abuse case, a near-homicide in which the woman was crippled, was the husband tried for assault: he was convicted of aggravated assault and is awaiting sentencing.

Intervention by either the state or the clan is difficult and much depends upon the woman's wishes, even in extreme cases. In at least one case involving serious serial beatings and hospitalizations, friends, clan elders, and state officers tried in vain to persuade the woman to separate from her husband but she chose to return to the marriage.

Relevance of American Battering Cycles

In such cases, Western studies of domestic violence may be informative. Walker's study of American battering cycles and patterns (1979) identifies three major phases in a repetitive battering cycle: an often extended

time when tension builds, the acute battering incident, then the reestablishment of extremely close emotional bonds and reconciliation. According to Walker, it is immediately after an acute battering incident that most women seek physical and emotional aid, and consider leaving the man. But the close relationship established between the batterer and battered is just then entering into the third phase of reconciliation, during which time the bonds between the two often strengthen to the point of overdependence. The two are calm after the relief of tension; the batterer changes--he becomes loving, dependable, and concerned. The woman remembers her original love for him, wanting to believe that this calm, caring man is the true man, while at the same time she may become protective of him, realizing how insecure he is. She pulls back from attempts to keep her separate from the man, and is willing to believe that there will be no more abusive incidents and to return to him. He in turn is convinced that he will never again strike her. Helpers become exasperated as the woman drops any charges against the batterer or refuses to testify against him or backs down from a separation or divorce (Walker 1979:62-68).

While the broad frameworks that support and maintain domestic violence vary widely between cultures, the description of the interpersonal processes of interaction between the couple and the explanation why attempts by family members to intervene after an acute attack are likely to fail appear to accurately describe many of the critical dynamics of the battering relationship in Palau as well as the United States.

Palauan Explanations for Wife-beating

In many cases Palauans are at a loss to explain why domestic violence occurs. Sometimes the man or his family are known to be generally violent, but this is often not the case. Some state that the man was drunk at the time, although whether this is intended as a description of his state or an explanation for his behavior is not completely clear, A few elders say it was learned from the Japanese, that there was no wife-beating before then. Others clearly attribute the beatings to excessive drinking.

On a deeper level of analysis, Palauan women identify sexual jealousy by the husband as one of the root causes of domestic violence. A man might be jealous because his wife speaks to other men in the workplace or perhaps because she goes out in the evening with her women friends. In most of these cases the woman was not involved in an adulterous liaison-but the husband was, defensive about his own actions. Women also discuss the extreme pressures on the young married couple today: constant pressure to contribute to clan monetary exchanges on behalf of

both the husband and wife, a desire to save money to build their own home or provide for their children's education despite clan pressures to spend their money on the clan. They discuss political pressures when the husband and wife find themselves on opposite sides of a key issue or supporting different candidates for office in the frequent Palauan elections. The wives discuss the pressures on women to accept their husbands' liaisons with other women, and many disapprove of the Palauan double standard. At the same time it is felt that a woman should be strong enough to be able to ignore her husband's liaisons. The wife may wish to "win out" against the other woman by remaining in the marriage. If her husband has a high position, the wife might prefer not to leave him as finding a new husband at the same or higher level might be difficult. In many cases the wife is protective of the husband and does not want to publicly shame him by leaving him or bringing out the fact that he is beating her. If he is normally a good husband and father and only violent when drunk, she has a built-in excuse to accept his behavior if there are other reasons why she wishes to retain the marriage or relationship.

The Role of Alcohol

Drunkenness is one of the few culturally accepted "times-out" in this small island society, a time when one is not held responsible for things said or done, a recognized excuse unless the action is too far outside the boundary of the acceptable. A common after-the-fact description/ascription of wife-beating is that the man was drunk. Alcohol may be used as both blame and excuse (Mosher 1983). Room has noted the high potential of alcohol as an instrument of domination: given alcohol's culturally perceived disinhibitory function, it provides a particularly useful explanation for both the husband and the wife. The man is relieved of responsibility--the beating is not normal but caused by an external agent, which offers a rationale for the woman to continue to live with her husband who is "normally" not a wife-beater (Room 1980). Room further notes that "the alcohol explanation is particularly useful . . . where the norms of domination are in flux--for instance, in periods of transition when the moral legitimacy of rules of domination from a previous era has been undermined. . . . Alcohol thus becomes an instrument to reinforce or reassert intimate domination particularly in a time of at least partial emancipation of the subservient from the dominant" (1980:5-6).

I believe that by extending this analysis in the Palauan situation to include situations in which the woman has entered the public arena (wage employment) and is in a position to interact in bi-gender situa-

tions with other men, we begin to reach an explanation of the phenomenon that accounts for the matrix including sexual jealousy, need for domination, and alcohol. Pernanen has further noted the interactive quality of alcohol use with marital discord and interpersonal violence: "Marital discord increases the probability of both alcohol use and interpersonal violence. The alcohol use further increases this probability through its direct effects" (1976:385). Even if marital discord were not a primary factor, it would be possible to replace the "marital discord" factor with job frustrations and feelings of general powerlessness on the part of the man. At a time of changing mores and high societal pressures, feelings of powerlessness by the man may increase his propensity for drinking, which in turn increases the probability that he will attempt to reestablish a feeling of power through intimate domination within the family.

In Palau, drinking is an accepted outlet for frustration Drinking is commonly done to the state of drunkenness and is directly associated with violence. In 1986 and 1987, assault and battery was the most common Palauan crime, nearly all involving a knife, and 95 percent involved the use of alcohol or drugs or both (Nakamura 1988:22). Returning to Palauan norms of intragender, intrageneration, and extrakin group violence, we can analyze these broad cases to structure norms of drunken violence. Most assaults conform to intragender and intragenerational norms, and many are reflective of political differences between protagonists, One category of assaults is considered tragic, however--assaults that breach such standards. These cases are generally associated with extreme drunkenness--cases wherein two young males, close friends or relatives, both drunk, suddenly erupt into a fight and one pulls a knife or gun and attacks the other. In these assaults among close friends and relatives overt expressions of anger, which would normally be contained in a state of sobriety and control, are reacted to with physical aggression, and while drunk there is an intensity of aggression inappropriate to the relationship. This suggests to me parallels to the similar breach of norms in cross-gender husband-wife aggression. Of divorce cases filed with the Palau Court in 1986 and 1987, 62 and 58 percent respectively were alcohol related (Polloi 1988: 39, based on Palau court records),

General Explanations for Domestic Violence

There are several levels of explanation of domestic violence. A structural explanation proposed by some feminists is that domestic violence is

due to women's general and marital subservience in a patriarchal society (Klein 1981; Morgan 1981, 1982; Dobash and Dobash 1979). The unstated inference is that if only the structural position of women in society was improved, wife-beating would disappear. Although Palau is not the "lost matriarchy" some writers continue to claim (McCrory 1988), the status of Palauan women both historically and in contemporary society is high. Unless one is willing to accept a facile explanation of the devolution of Palauan society toward a patriarchy under Western influence, the Palauan case wherein both men and women have high status and access to power easily refutes this perspective.

The next level of structural explanation holds that domestic violence is due to the power differential between men and women and the relative powerlessness of women who are inferior to their husbands in education and economic earning power and therefore dependent and unable to leave their husbands (Straus et al. 1980; Finkelhor et al. 1983; Pagelow 1984). The Palauan data also easily refute this explanation.

A third explanation holds that the social isolation of women permits the domestic violence, citing cases wherein most of the American battered women do not have close relationships outside the marriage. Once again the Palauan case refutes the explanation of social isolation since Palauan women are closely involved with their extended kin networks, However, the physical isolation of the nuclear household in the Palauan case does support the possibility of domestic violence. The couple today spends much more time alone together than they would have in the past, which was characterized by extended residential households and an active men's club institution. The elders whose very presence mediates against domestic violence, and who could intercede, are generally miles away from the scene of action. The couple may be surrounded by individuals whose social and kin distance precludes their intercession.

The most useful approach to explaining domestic violence in Palau seems to relate to the interaction of increased stress on the marriage relationship of today's young and the removal of inhibitions through drinking and physical isolation. While "household type is not a predictor of any form of violence" in societies in general (Levinson 1989:54), in cases of drunken violence in Palau only a kin member, usually older than the offender and of the opposite sex, is successful in intervening. In a nuclear household such a person is not present. Thus the nuclear household may be contributing to domestic violence in Palau. As suggested by Whitehurst (1974), the increased equality of women (in the case of Palau their increased equality in bi-gender public spheres) may lead to increased frustration, insecurity, and perhaps violence by the

man. And as Room noted (1980), it is particularly during times of transition in norms of domination that the connection of alcohol with increased violence may occur. The expression of violence may relate to the high level of stress in the family (Farrington 1980) or the society as a whole, The very tensions of the marriage and competing demands for monetary resources placed on both husband and wife by their kin groups may contribute to eruptions of both verbal and physical abuse between spouses.

Rather than looking for relative inequality and powerlessness of women as an explanation for domestic violence, in Palau it appears that part of the problem might be new stresses on young married couples and the position of power Palauan women do hold, not only within the family but outside it, and an attempt by some men to establish power over their wives through physical domination. Drinking reduces inhibitions that would normally prevent expression of intergender violence.

NOTES

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This analysis was initially made as an attempt to understand a troubling issue while I was a postdoctoral fellow at the Alcohol Research Group, University of California, Berkeley, with access to scientists of many academic disciplines, informed discussions of the complex interrelation of alcohol consumption and social problems, and an alcohol-research library of all major published and working papers (as background for the following analysis, see especially Morgan and Wermuth 1980; Klein 1982; Roizen 1975, 1981; Room 1974, 1976, 1980, 1981, 1984a, 1984b, 1985; Room and Collins 1983; Gelles 1974, 1979; Gelles and Cornell 1985). It was also spurred by Dorothy Counts, who organized an Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania symposium on Domestic Violence in Oceania. I hoped that some of the perspectives gained from other societies might be useful to Palauan public-health workers and individuals. Indeed, as researchers presented findings from a broad range of Pacific cultures, new perspectives and explanations were perceived. Yet I was hesitant to publish the work, especially since the topic is hidden within Palau and should in no way be considered representative of Palauan marriages. Several things helped change my mind. First is the national recognition in Palau of the extreme social, physical, and economic costs of excessive consumption of alcohol, as evidenced by governmental support for a 1988 National Drug Free Awareness Forum (Emesiochel 1988) and public education campaigns on state and hamlet levels, More persuasive was the support of public and private health-care and social-service providers in Palau, who urged the

importance of bringing the issue into the public forum, of sensitizing people to the issue so that they could start thinking about it. Underlying this concern is one public health worker's belief that the present frequency and intensity of domestic violence is not normative in Palauan culture and that as people start thinking about the issue they will find ways to do something about it.

1. Because the issue of domestic violence in Palau is sensitive, I collected anonymous epidemiological and case event/history data through interviews with health and social-service workers and did not interview either the males or females involved. The only cases specifically referred to in this article are two from public court records. While this method precludes some types of scientific analysis, I felt that with such a small population this approach was ethically necessary to protect the identity of individuals.

2. In September 1989 the islands of Yap and Palau became unintentionally "dry" for more than one week after existing supplies of beer (the predominant form of alcohol consumed) were exhausted and supply ships delayed. During this time the incidence of injuries and accidents in Palau declined to the point that the hospital wards were nearly empty,

3. The peoples of the islands of Sonsorol, Tobi, Merir, and Helen's Reef are today politically a part of the Republic of Palau but their cultural, historical, and linguistic links are to the Ulithi group in Yap.

4. There is variation by village. In most villages the top four clans are considered high; in yet others, due to historical circumstances, even lower-ranked clans may also be considered "high."

5. It is common for the first child to be adopted within the mother's or father's clan whether or not the marriage is strong, and in case of divorce one or two offspring might be absorbed within the maternal lineage, Once the children become older, however, successful adoption is harder as is absorbing three or more children.

6. Today, while membership reverts to the matriline after divorce and the children remain with the mother or her clan except in exceptional cases, the father may also be ordered to pay child support by the court.

7. In fact, the 1979-1980 census demonstrated that there are more resident men than women in nearly all age groups (PCAA: table 3). If a man does not hold a good job, however, he may not be considered seriously as a marriage partner.

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NEGOTIATIONS OF VIOLENCE IN THE MARSHALLESE HOUSEHOLD

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In parts of the Pacific the phrase "domestic violence" conjurs up images of male spouses thrashing their female counterparts into subservience, but the Marshall Islands present quite a different scenario. Indeed, violence is encountered there, but within the domestic sphere it is not necessarily initiated by males. Interpersonal abuse takes place between older and younger siblings and between cousins, it is initiated by females as well as males, and its very presence within the community and its families threatens solidarity to the degree it requires denial. With all these variations, violence within the household must be viewed holistically, as a part of daily life.

A knowledgeable man of about sixty patiently explained to me that violence is not found in local families; it takes place among foreigners only. Yet I had just witnessed a disturbing quarrel between a young couple. I knew that physical violence did occur and that threats of physical abuse were common. He insisted he was correct, however, and in time I came to understand something of the nuanced way he defined foreignness.

The two who had quarreled were married (though not formally wed in the church). They were of the same age and were cross-cousins, a sanctioned union if one traced through the proper family. Naively, I took them to be symbolically united, "one only" in local terms. Indeed, the two were part of one extended family unit and members of a small household that was attached to that larger whole. But these visible sig-

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nifiers of unity did not exhaust the relationship between the young couple. The two were also opposed--as male and female, as younger and older, as insider and outsider to the current residence situation--and these signifiers counterbalanced their sameness with foreignness.

The knowledgeable man attempted to tell me how foreignness could be used in contextually appropriate ways to understand the apparent contradictions between what people said and how they acted. Not only people from other lands or other atolls but also affines and those of different gender and age could be cast as "outsiders" when their actions violated the "codes for conduct" that should be used by group members to represent themselves (Schneider 1968:91-92). As more instances of violence became apparent, I began to understand how foreign violence was to an insider's status, and how otherness expanded and contracted to suit the needs of social control in a setting where improper action itself threatens the solidarity of close and continuous social alliances.

Types of Abuse

On Ujelang and Enewetak, the westernmost of the Marshall Islands, severe abuse is seldom seen, yet talk about violence and threats of abuse are a communal preoccupation. Indigenous terms of violence constitute the daily discourse of social control: *mani,* "strike, hit, beat," *kokurri,* "ruin, damage," *kōmman joraan,* "create harm or damage," even *maniman ñan mij,* "beat to death." Though seldom enforced, threats of inflicting damage are the means older siblings and upper-generation members use to control younger siblings and children. Husbands also use such threats to overtly sanction their wives and, significantly, female-inflicted magical damage is talked about in precisely parallel terms. Thus, violence has a physical form suited to young, warriorlike men and a magical form suited to old, clan-empowered women. Both forms of aggression are dangerous and typify the actions of foreigners. In fact, the physical violence of young men is rapidly contained by members of the extended family and community. Violence inflicted magically is even more threatening because its effects are more lethal and can be dealt with by only a few outsiders with the specialized knowledge to counteract the original magic.

While violence on Ujelang and Enewetak is attributed to others, in fact its roots are deeply anchored in local patterns of childrearing and socialization, Indeed, adults, particularly males, tease children into violence, a pretext for teaching the "natural" propensities of males and females, young and old. Most commonly, children are taught to throw

paving stones *(lā)* in the cookhouse (the floors of which are covered with these pebbles, each one to five centimeters in diameter). Antagonistic stone throwing is laughed at by men, particularly when young boys are the perpetrators, and a young boy's anger is greatly increased by the elders' response. As boys mature, they eventually give up throwing pebbles and adopt other forms of aggressive masculine pursuit. These activities--wrestling, fighting with fists and clubs, and throwing large rocks--are real threats that are appropriate for young male warriors. Adolescent males risk ridicule if they continue childish acts such as pebble throwing, acts that fail to display real physical prowess. Indeed, the one instance of recent suicide (which occurred in 1980) is said to have resulted from a mother's public criticism of her son for actions she considered childlike.

In contrast to males, maturing females are not expected to thwart social constraints but to live within them. Pebble throwing continues throughout adolescence. Not only is it an interactional strategy in sexual liaisons (a strategy also used by males that points to the confrontational nature of the encounters), but for young women, even women who have been married for a number of years, throwing pebbles in a more aggressive fashion signifies underlying frustration. Any man who is the target of the projectiles is apt to respond with the same laughter he uses for children. When this invokes the woman's further wrath, he edges backward into the barrage to grasp her wrists and convince her of the folly of the attack. Wrestling is used by older women, but mainly as a form of joking attack; only the most masculine of Enewetak women fight with their fists. Hurling objects is a woman's main mode of physical recourse--food, cookware, utensils, and a wide array of household items may be thrown by a man's irate spouse.

As a woman becomes an adult and progresses through her mature years, she relies on her tongue to fight her battles. While men are said to be physically strong *(di ben),* women become acid-tongued *(lej).* Vociferous vocalization draws one's neighbors to the scene, of course, and it is with the support of community members (most of whom are relatives) that a physically abusive husband is brought back under society's control. As a woman goes through life she also gains supernatural skills that are both internal and involve private incantations. Magical skills are often transferred from grandmother to granddaughter within the matriclan and are made efficacious by a mature woman's secret vocal incantations.[1] Evil magic is thought to cause the most violent forms of human suffering, and nearly all severe physical or psychological illnesses are believed to be magically induced. Death from natural

causes is almost an enigma, while *ekōbel* (magic) on the part of the living or the dead is the most likely cause, It is said that no Ujelang or Enewetak people control "bad magic," but magic is discussed as a source of danger in all marriages and interactions with outsiders. Many individuals also modify their dealings with fellow islanders to avoid (supposedly nonexistent) acts of sorcery.

Social and Cultural Contexts of Personal Abuse

Enewetak and Ujelang are part of the current-day Republic of the Marshall Islands, a group of atolls in the central Pacific that was granted independence from the United States in October 1986 under a Compact of Free Association with the United States. Enewetak people are renowned in the area as a tightly knit atoll group and see themselves as different from other Marshall Islanders. The population was reduced to around 140 during World War II (Carucci 1989:78) but has expanded rapidly in recent years. The group was exiled to Ujelang Atoll from 1948 until 1980 to allow the United States to conduct nuclear weapons tests, nuclear-related experiments, and missile tests on their atoll. They lived on Ujelang in isolation, with visits from a government supply vessel each two to five months. Since 1980, however, most Enewetak people have returned to their home atoll. Considerable contact is maintained with Majuro and a few other locations in the Marshalls and recent trust funds to compensate for nuclear-related damages have increased the rate at which outsiders marry into the community. In spite of the increasing rate of change, the group still considers itself to be tied together by a strong sense of community.

Relations within the community have always been governed by strong egalitarian ideas and, even though it is ruled by two chiefs, decision making rests with the group. At least since German times chieftainship has been inherited through males, but clan identity is inherited through females. Residence is ambilocal and a person selects which kin ties within one of twelve large bilateral extended families are to be stressed on the basis of residence and the amount of time spent with (and labor dedicated to) a branch of one of those families. Statuses based on age and gender are not very hierarchical, though an elder's position is respected by younger siblings and younger generations. To the degree that overt political affairs are taken as a measure, males dominate females. Rut females have greater access to the magical potency of the clan line than do males and important matters come under greater female control as men and women move through the life cycle and become ancestors (Carucci 1985).

During childhood, minor acts of violence are a matter of course within the household. Most childrearing is performed by older siblings, who seldom use positive reinforcement as a method of socialization. A mother's first warning phrase to deal with undesirable actions, *"nana"* (bad), is followed by *"Inaj mani iok"* (I will beat you), Older siblings use the same phrases in child care, but if the youngsters are tempted to follow through with punishments, adults discourage them from beating young children. Indeed, unless a child commits a serious offense, no punishment is forthcoming: threats of serious violence are followed by inaction. Moreover, when children physically punish younger siblings, adults reprimand the overseer, even in cases where the mischief would not be condoned. Not unlike the structural logic that places parent and child in a relationship of opposition and unites the child's generation with that of the grandparents, older sibling caretakers are admonished by adults who intercede on behalf of the lower ranked and less physically powerful children regardless of the moral justifiability of the punished youngsters' actions. This strategy teaches youngsters a great deal about what Radcliffe-Brown termed the solidarity of the sibling group (1952:66-68). On Ujelang, siblings should support one another against others regardless of the moral judgments about that sibling's character. Indeed, adult siblings may disagree; they may avoid one another, but they do not fight.

On Ujelang Atoll in the late 1970s residents claimed, "The people of Ujelang, we are all one family." While not everyone was part of the same household, the condensed village in the center of the main islet allowed all to participate in the household affairs of this extended group, From the early years of childhood until death, life was lived in this public arena. While residences on Enewetak had been dispersed over three islets prior to World War II, the community became more integrated in its years of exile on Ujelang and, once they returned to Enewetak, most folks complained that they really missed the condensed village arrangement. On Ujelang caring for one another, a core requirement for members of a family, was important in the community as well. On Enewetak being members of one family became an often-unrealized metaphor used to talk about group unity.

Puberty and the Discourse of Gender

Around puberty boys begin a period of unrestrained free license and exploration not unlike the *taure'are'a* time described by Levy for Tahiti (1968:190-208). During this time tensions increase between male cross-cousins, who have learned to protect the reputations of their sisters

against the slanderous stories of their opposite clan age-mates. A similar animosity, though expressed less overtly, develops between female cross-cousins, who are eager to protect their male siblings. The newly found antagonism focuses on tales of the sexual exploits of one's siblings. As children, sexual experimentation is coded as play. At puberty, however, the "play" becomes serious preoccupation and a new metaphor of war becomes equally prominent. These sexual battles (see Carucci 1980: chaps. 2-3) typify the relations between opposite clans, and the youths who formerly interacted as siblings (cross-cousins are considered a type of sibling) begin to recognize the sincerity of their internal opposition as cross-cousins. Sexual adventurism, though, is expected of pubescent males, who, in cultural terms, require sexual release to maintain their health and physical well-being, whereas females cannot be damaged by lack of sexual activity. Therefore, the stories that circulate about males are expected; the tales of female wanderings suggest wrongdoing since premarital sexual activity is coded as a sin in church doctrine and is not required to maintain a woman's good health. Aggressive pubescent males defend their female siblings' reputations, presuming the sexual tales about their sisters to be fabrications meant to boost their opposite clan age-mates' reputations and to incite their own wrath, Physical violence often erupts in these male cross-cousin controversies.

Disputes involving vocal and physical abuse commonly accompany this courtship period. Females, culturally restrained and focused on talk, vocally defend their brothers but do not come to blows in their behalf. Young males, cultural warriors who act rather than talk, force confrontations with their male cross-cousins, Their loud boasting often escalates into physical violence. These disputes take place in the village and usually in someone's household, but the parties to a dispute seldom live together (as McDowell points out for the Bun, elsewhere in this volume, the boundaries of the domestic and public arenas are not clearly separated in small-scale communities). Cross-cousin fights give youths reason to recognize why oppositions are coded in clan differences--distinctions that have not been very significant to them during childhood. (From the time a child is just a baby, adults joke with them about marriage, sex, and householding with their cross-cousins. In other respects, though, prepubescent cross-cousins treat and address one another as siblings.) Significantly, cross-cousin disputes occur between youngsters united by ties of siblingship and sexual identity who feel disappointed with and disowned by their cross-cousins. These ambivalent feelings are worked out in contradictory moments that counterpose the fights and verbal battles of cross-cousins with reconciliatory talk couched in terms

of siblingship (these statements gain emotional force by using respect forms [*le, li,* "male, female person"] singly, or in combination with older or younger sibling designators, as terms of address).

If we look solely at physical violence as Western analytic categories might dictate, we find the perpetrators to be young males facing the value oppositions that separate youths from mature men. Almost certainly seventeen to thirty-five years of age, these fellows are often inebriated, and either married and wishing they were not or unmarried and wishing they were. In other words, they closely approximate the category of which they are not a part at the same time they are distinct from it. The conditions for their symbolic displays of disaffection arise from this contradictory situation.

Ideal Marshallese males are single warriors who travel around winning physical battles with outside males and sexual battles with females (*torinae,* "war, battle," is commonly applied to both domains) (Carucci 1985). *Pojak,* "readiness," typifies a warrior's stance and irresistibility (a sort of machismo-imbued charisma) his demeanor. In the process of moving through the life cycle, however, males give up these ideal characteristics and are "domesticated"--brought within the female domain (village and household) where the responsibilities of providing for a family predominate (Carucci 1985). When performed successfully, these duties help men become village leaders. Leadership positions are valued, but they are limited in number and significantly "tamer" and less intriguing than the role of idyllic war hero. (The mythic heroes Juraan and Niinjuraan are the prototypical Enewetak warriors, invincible superhumans who died in a battle with hundreds of adversaries on a distant atoll. The karate hero Brujli [Bruce Lee] is a modern analogue [Carucci 1980:336-338].)

The young married male, who still possesses the attitude and physical form of the warrior prototype, seeks that which he has sacrificed through marriage. His aggressive, warriorlike actions are displaced onto the symbolic representative of his entrapment, his wife. And, if inebriated, society will forgive his sober self for these actions, since the drink, the prototypical shared male substance, has caused him to revert to his naturally aggressive, socially recalcitrant warrior form (cf. Marshall 1979:97; Carucci 1987a: 11).

Lahren: A Young Married Male

This is precisely the sort of performance embodied in the marital disagreement mentioned at the beginning of this article. The young, mar-

ried, cross-cousin pair were fighting over the husband's accusations that his attractive wife had had sexual intercourse with her recently pubescent cross-cousin, Indeed, she had joked with the young man about his sexual prowess, but such banter is commonplace on Ujelang and Enewetak. There was reason for jealousy but no evidence of an affair. More likely, the young husband's self-image was threatened by questions of his virility. The young couple had no children and, since neither partner to the union had previously borne children, reasons for their infertility were a topic of community discussion.

I did not witness the fight in its infancy but, as it escalated, Lahren and Luela[2] each accused the other of infidelity and each denied the accusations. Lahren insisted his wife was "crazy" and Luela countered that he was the crazy one (both were correct in the sense that "craziness" is used to describe many atypical and asocial states of being). Lahren threatened: "You really want damage (don't you). If you do not throw away that person (her supposed lover), I will beat you; (I will) 'beat you to death.' " The two resided with Luela's grandmother, who had adopted her. Surrounded by close kin, she confidently taunted: "Urr, urr! You are really crazy, aren't you? You think I am a pig or a dog perhaps (both killed as food). Come toward me and beat me." Stepping toward her, he lashed out but drew the blow short of her head as she cringed. Their grandfather hobbled toward them to chase them from his yard: "The two of you together are crazy. Both of you, go. Get out promptly."

They moved toward my house, and I went inside to leave them to their disagreement (and take notes on the content). Accusations and threats were repeated as I wrote. I glanced at them through the rungs on my entryway. "I will beat you," he yelled. Luela reached out to push him away. He shoved her toward my door (out of sight of the main house). Thunk! . . . Whap! He struck her with his right palm on the side of the head and with his left fist on her shoulder.

I leaped out of a large window, yelling: "Go, get off this land. The two of you fight at your own house. Why are the two of you fighting here?" I grabbed Lahren by the arm, upset at his assault on my sister's daughter and upset with his use of force on such a small adversary. Luela taunted him sarcastically: "He thinks he is really *muhtuh* (murder)."

Lahren changed his demeanor as he faced me, perhaps not knowing whether to respond to me as a classificatory father or as a white person. I could smell *yeej,* "yeast, homebrew," on his breath. "Why are the two of you fighting?" I repeated. His voice was calm as he started to ration-

alize his violence. As Luela's grandfather and several neighbors rushed to the scene, he claimed to have seen his wife making love with the cross-cousin. Luela, now with the support of relatives, contradicted him: "Uhh! There is a bad smell here. You are lying. Talk only, I have not (yet) laid hands on that guy."

". . . you see that she lies," he interrupted. "It was on the ocean side of Katioj' land parcel. They were battling (having sex) for a while *(irrei bwajjik).* Just like pigs or cats, in the middle of the bush . . ."

". . . he is lying. You really know how to lie!" Luela supported her defense by alternating the audiences to whom she addressed her claims.

The landowner was there. Others began arriving. "Why are the two of you trying to ruin the peacefulness of the white man?" My adoptive mother's husband, perhaps fearing my ideal images of peaceful Ujelang people would be shattered, wanted to isolate me from the conflict. He reconstructed my status as an outsider to the situation, and the accumulating crowd started to shuffle the pair off toward the main dwelling. I began shaking as the volatility of the situation and the protectiveness of my adoptive father overcame me. Lahren struggled with the older males trying to pacify him. He pushed them away as they attempted to surround him and bring him back within the social context of the household and the neighborhood *(taun).* He shouted insults at them, claiming that they believed his wife's lies. She taunted back, though not loudly, now surrounded by close kinspersons, mainly females. Lahren trundled off toward the windward end of the village, the location of his household of orientation. He spent one night there and another in a young men's hut with an unmarried sibling before returning to Luela's grandmother's house. Luela claimed that the night Lahren spent in the young men's hut he had sex with a young unmarried girl. It could be fodder for a future argument but was not mentioned when Lahren returned to the household.

Later on the day of the dispute, Luela's grandfather and an elder male from a neighboring land parcel came back to visit me. They supported Luela's version of the story (as one would expect, given kin linkages and residence patterns), but condemned her for joking with her cross-cousin. "She will create damage if she continues to sweet-talk *(likoto)* with that child." (The use of "child" here reconfirms their view of the situation as essentially harmless.) Lahren's actions, they claimed, were wrong *(bwōd)* because they would damage the marriage. "His thoughts are still those of a *lekau* (adolescent male). He thinks he is very strong *(di ben),* very manly (macho) *(lukuun emaan),* but he does not know how to care for his own family. . . . He goes on and (gets) drunk

for a while, walks around for a while, and then returns. And then, in his thoughts, he goes right ahead with his family" (facetiously: as if no damage had been done).

This fight represents a core sequence of this couple's ongoing attempt to define themselves as a legitimately married pair and yet hang onto the positively valued attributes of being single. If they were to have a child, it would push them into a more stably defined union, During the fight, Luela and Lahren interactively manipulated each other by claiming the high ground of the adult and by accusing the other of adolescent actions typical of their respective gender identities. Luela's cross-cousin joking is appropriate to an unmarried woman of her age but, in her husband's eyes, is unsuitable behavior for a married woman, evidence of adultery. During the fight, however, she behaved like the ideal married woman while Lahren, somewhat ironically, transformed himself into the irresponsible youth that he accuses her of being. Both are trapped between their desire to be treated as adults and the simultaneous attractions of a single existence, Throughout, the stability and confinement of marriage are opposed to the ideal life-style of a single person. Luela's joking is questioned in talk about her, but her female age-mates are expected to warn her of its dangers. Likewise, little social sanction is forthcoming for Lahren since alcohol is the transformative agent that allows his meanderings as a "single" macho male to become manifest.

Lekau: *Young Unmarried Males*

If these newlyweds have doubts about their married status, why should unmarried males, the living instantiations of ideal men, have equally ambivalent feelings about themselves?

One answer can be found in the contradictions that face maturing males in the Ujelang and Enewetak social order. Young pubescent males, fourteen to eighteen, often practice various aggressive routines--boasting, competing for the largest catch or most copra, drinking, arguing, and fighting on occasion. Seldom, however, are they seriously upset with anyone for very long, since the ambivalence that comes with an attempt to extend their ideal male position is not yet upon them. They are still learning various ways to portray themselves as *lekau.* As unmarried males become older, the disappearance of their cohort into marriage reminds them of the limited social options that they face. Moreover, irresistibility--an important signifier of the *lekau*'s attractiveness visible in physical skills and external characteristics (strength, smooth

and shiny bronzed skin, jet-black "green-highlighted" hair)--is difficult to maintain. As the population of single women in a young man's age bracket diminishes, it is harder to make one's attractiveness manifest. There are always males who are all too resistible, due to physical blemishes or performative quirks, but even the beautiful and sexually skilled may eventually face problems. Increasingly, mature young women become more interested in other types of attractiveness. They may, for example, favor a man with a large land inheritance over one who is physically enticing. Thus, a choice faces the male who pushes adolescence into adulthood: marry and sacrifice one's claim to the masculine persona in favor of a future position in the community hierarchy, or remain single and gradually give up the means to maintain one's symbolic claim to that ideal.

Most young males marry yet--like Lahren--take on the attributes of single young men when they become disillusioned with the confinement of their marriage. Almost inevitably this disillusionment occurs, since it takes years to become a respected elder in the community. In the interim, access to power is limited to regressions back to the idealized attractions of the single male warrior. Single males who enter a household and begin to cause trouble are always drunk. They may argue with anyone except the youngest and oldest members of the community, but if the disagreements escalate into fights they never involve cross-sex relatives of the same generation. If the defendant is a member of ego's own generation, it will be another male, usually an older brother or cousin. In other instances a drunk will attack members of the "plus one" generation, but, while classificatory mothers occasionally receive criticism and complaints, physical aggression is directed against other males only. Often, kinspersons with whom relationships are strictly governed by respect are apt to be attacked by an inebriated single male. A man who is in this state of "mindless disinhibition" (MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969; Marshall 1983:195-197) or *kadek im bwebwe,* "crazy drunk," is not held responsible for his actions since the wild, asocial self is the natural persona of uncontrolled male impulse brought out by alcohol (Carucci 1987a: 11). While close kin gather around to help contain the fighting during these liminal antistructural, or inverted structural, moments (cf. Turner 1969:96-97; Sahlins 1985:43), the *jinen aorek,* "special mother" (father's younger sister), may plead with the perpetrators of serious fights. Her wails, like those at a death, summon the well-socialized spirit of an inebriated young man and, with luck, reunite it with his body.

Mule Outsiders: The Case of Paisen

While the contradictory structural situation of males who are moving through the life cycle on Enewetak and Ujelang creates conditions under which unfulfilled images of one's self arise, the situation faced by in-married young males offers a special opportunity to gain perspective on these ambivalences. This group has all of the symbolic disadvantages of indigenous males who are newly married; additionally, they are without a resident kin network for support and with the added bias of not being *lukuun riānin,* "really a person of this island," In such cases, the actions of the young male are redefined in terms that distinguish "insider" from "outsider," As such, they are always seen as malevolent.

Paisen, a man of about thirty from Saipan, had lived on Ujelang for eight years. Originally a sailor, he--like several others--became enchanted with the friendly demeanor of Ujelang people and failed to board when his ship set sail. He was adopted by a childless Enewetak couple, was respected as a hard worker by Ujelang residents, and married a local woman. During the first months of my residence on Ujelang I spoke with Paisen often as he worked diligently on a sailing canoe with his father-in-law. At times, the majority of the work on the canoe was being done by Paisen. In addition to labor for his wife's extended family, he often went to his adopted parents' land and worked with them or brought goods back to them. Nearly everyone on Ujelang commented on Paisen's hard work, and many wished that he would have married into their family.

Paisen and his wife had four children, one recently born, and it was the infant over whom a controversy arose. Paisen's wife, an attractive woman in her late twenties, was renowned on the islet for her sexual activity, Men and women of different ages and from various families commented on her sexual occupations and, since the couple's bathhouse was not far from my residence, many males theorized that she would visit me and care for my obvious (to them) sexual needs. When I reminded them that she was married to Paisen, they would respond, *"Ejjekok tokjen. Lien lukuun teibol"* (It does not matter. This woman really screws [screws anything]). For months I listened to laudatory comments about Paisen and remarks similar to the above about his wife.

A dispute arose on a day when Paisen was drinking with several agemates on the ocean side of the islet. He came home to discover his baby daughter unattended near the fire in the cookhouse. Since neither his wife nor her younger sisters were around, he took the infant back to the

drinking circle. Somewhat later, Paisen's wife came to claim the child. Paisen left his friends and returned to the cookhouse, where he and his wife began to argue.[3] "He said she (his wife) is going to kill the child, It will die because she is out walking around, not watching the baby." LMC: What is she saying? "She is being mad for a while (i.e., without much cause). . . . There, you heard him, did you not? That man Paisen, he said if she does not stop sleeping around, the child will die anyway (since having sexual relations with a male other than the genitor could introduce foreign sperm that is believed to damage the child through its negative effects on her milk [Carucci 1980: 166-167]). You see, she is really bad. So misguided are her actions she cannot hide (them) from him. Yes, he is correct, . . . if she does not straighten out her path the whore *(teibol eo)*[4] will kill the baby." LMC: But what is she saying? "What can she say. She knows he is straight (correct). Iiooo! You see there, now they are really fighting."

We rushed outside at the sound of loud thumping in the neighboring cookhouse. Paisen had thrown some large pieces of coral at his wife and at least one of them struck her on the shoulder. As she ran from the cookhouse shrieking, her father began yelling at Paisen: "You are really crazy, are you? Leave this place. Just leave, for you are crazy. Are you thinking of killing my daughter? Do you not know the customs of this atoll? Go from this house. Return to your own island and do not think about coming back," Paisen lowered his voice and spoke to his father-in-law in a very deferential, logical manner (as Lahren had with me). Eventually he wandered off to the place where he had been drinking with his age-mates; he then spent several weeks with his adopted family.

When we returned to the cookhouse to review the afternoon's events, the assessment of Paisen had changed. "He is correct, her father. That man (Paisen) is very bad. In just a moment he would have killed his wife." LMC: But, it is as if you were saying she was wrong. "Yes, wrong she is. But him . . . the people of this atoll do not murder *(muhdaik)* their spouses, they do not throw rocks. In a moment she would have died."

Later, speaking with the same neighbor, I suggested that one might draw parallels between Paisen and Lahren. He disagreed. Even though both had been drinking and both abused their wives, for him the two incidents were different. Striking and throwing stones were not equatable, and rock throwing, like the use of knives and guns, was associated with outsiders. Even though there was an indigenous fear that such an event might happen on Ujelang, it never had (according to most). Others claimed that one man had been killed several years ago, but the fact

that most people denied a murder had ever taken place supports the indigenous idea of village harmony and peacefulness as opposed to outside disarray and murder. In the best circumstances, Paisen was proudly accepted as "one of us." Just as easily his actions could transform him into a foreigner very different from Ujelang people. In the above account this occurs at the moment "but him" is radically dissociated from "people of this atoll" who "do not murder spouses."

Females and Violence

Men are typically associated with violent acts that are rooted in inherent qualities that tie "maleness" to men's warrior status. Females, on the other hand, are associated with love and reconciliation, seemingly the antithesis of violence (Carucci 1980:159-160). Nonetheless, women use physical force to discipline children, adolescent girls engage in aggressive sexual play, and aging women use supernatural force to control the acts of others.

Mead noted six decades ago that child socialization in Samoa rests largely with children slightly older than their charges (1928:26-29). On Ujelang and Enewetak, even when a child is nursing its siblings are eager to play with it and take the baby for jaunts away from the mother's breast. They carry babies *jaja*--slung across the hip--at an age so young that they weave under the weight. As soon as weaning takes place, youngsters take over a good deal of child care. Mothers and fathers monitor the process but their role shifts to maintaining some harmony among the sibling set and the play set (which includes extended siblings and other age-mates in the neighborhood}. At either level, child-child or parent-child (including siblings' children), violence may be used.

Small boys and girls both provide child care, but by six or seven years of age girls predominate as boys are allowed to range far from home in an unconstrained fashion that follows them into marriage, Most admonitions of younger siblings begin with phrases like *nana,* "bad," and *kwon jaab kein ne,* "you (command form) do not (do) that of yours." When undesired actions continue, admonitions are repeated with added emphasis but no enforcement. Indeed, physical reactions are so slow in coming that I heard a Peace Corps volunteer with some exposure to Marshallese customs comment: "They do not learn how to obey because they go on and on without . . . ever *doing* something about it." Caretakers do move recalcitrant children away from undesired activities. When infants return to trouble, the overseers throw stones or con-

tinue scolding but do not take decisive action until damage has occurred.

Manita: A Young Caretaker

Manita, a young girl of five, is typical of caretakers I observed. She was placed in charge of overseeing Julita, her biological sister, an infant just over one year of age who could crawl efficiently and was almost able to walk. Her mother's older brother and I watched as we bagged copra in the distance, and her classificatory mother (mother's sister), Tutena, washed clothes about thirty yards away. Other members of the extended family monitored a game of checkers nearby.

Manita played with a cousin as she watched Julita crawl closer to the fire. Tutena's husband, kibitzing the game, warned his wife of the potential danger, telling her to "watch the children," and she turned and transmitted the message in a near-comic parody of her husband:

"Manita eeh!"

". . . Eeh?"

"Watch the child (there by you)."

"Inei (Yeah). *Nana* (Bad)," said Manita, continuing with her play.

The infant hesitated as she sat up and looked back at her older sibling. Within a few seconds she refocused on the pot of rice on the fire, Julita began to stand, leaning against the rim of an empty wash tub, then dropped to her knees to trek toward the fire. As she neared, Manita glanced toward her and yelled, "Bad, it is hot." The sequence continued until Julita began crying as she seized a stone heated by the coals. Her mother yelled, "Manita, I will beat you," and, without saying anything, the girl rushed over and placed Julita on her hip, walked her for a couple of minutes, and moved her near the play area. Fifteen minutes later, the sequence repeated itself. Julita was near the fire, Manita chastised her verbally. A few minutes later, she rebuked her again. Then Julita was screeching. She had reached for the rice pot to use it to stand up, pushed over the pot, and scalded herself in the still soupy mixture. Manita ran and dragged her from the fire, then spanked her arms: "Bad, it is hot, that thing by you." Tutena screamed at Manita and began to get up from her crouched washing position: "Manita. You are gone now. Are you crazy? I am really going to hit you now." As she approached, Manita left her sister screaming and began to run. Her mother scooped Julita onto her hip and started to chase the older sister. "Aah, whore *(kokañ)*. You are really crazy--throw the baby (away) and run. I will stone you" (picking up a handful of small stones and tossing

them at the child). No further comments were directed at Manita. Tutena returned to the work area and walked about consoling the infant. She tied a piece of cloth around her sister's child's arm and bounced her to get her to stop crying. She chastised Manita by informing her husband (and other listeners) of the girl's transgressions: "Now, do you see the badness of that girl. A real fucker *(teibol),* she is. Misbehaved *(ebōt).* She does not watch the child, and now she runs off in the middle of the bush. She knows nothing of custom."

Mothers who are prime caregivers occasionally swat lower generation members, whether they are true offspring, classificatory children, or children through adoption (co-parenthood), In this instance, however, Tutena simply threatened Manita since the girls only temporarily resided with the household. The most obnoxious *(lej)* mothers beat their children, ring their ears, or drag them by the hair. The latter acts are particularly demeaning since the head is the most highly ranked part of the body. From most women, however, children receive substantial verbal abuse and little physical punishment. This aligns with indigenous stereotypes that categorize outspoken and independent women as *lej,* "disagreeable, mean-tempered," in possession of *ekkōn̄ laun̄in,* "sharp mouths (tongues)."

The Violence of Malevolent Magic

Female-instigated violence, in other words, is rooted in thought and talk instead of action. While less obviously violent in its incipient form than the physical responses of males, when extended into the realm of magic it may be more volatile and dangerous. In indigenous terms malevolent magic and physical violence are equatable. Whereas the latter is associated with males, the former is controlled by females.

"The thoughts of that woman, so great is their damaged character, you could never weigh them." With such warnings, the dangers of an Ujelang woman's magic were brought to my attention by an upstanding male in the community. People generally state that malevolent magic, like other hostile behavior, is unknown on Ujelang Atoll. Bad magic is attributed to others, particularly to outsiders from south and east of Enewetak and Ujelang, Solomon Islanders, and New Guinea residents.[5] Nonetheless, I have records of many magically influenced local events and, in most instances, mature Ujelang women were involved.

Magic passes through matriclans and is often manipulated by women. A woman with strong magic either inherited the knowledge from clan elders or purchased it from a magical specialist in the Ralik or

Ratak chains of the Marshalls. Males may also purchase magical knowledge or even receive it from clan elders, but their magic also derives its strength from matrilineal sources. Male magic is often restricted to curing. Young girls likewise use magical knowledge for positive purposes, but as a woman ages "sometimes her thoughts are warped" and it is such women who use magic for manipulative purposes. These are the women who use psychopathic types of love magic and various forms of potentially lethal magic.

On Ujelang, evil magic is never conducted openly since such an act would contradict the contention that magic does not exist, *Ex post facto,* however, people discuss events that were magically caused.[6] Women are held responsible for magical harm, and, as pointed out earlier, the discursive forms used to talk about male physical abuse are also used to describe damage from sorcery. While the blows, destruction, and death threats of mature single men are dangerous, people fear older women's magic *(ekōbel)* far more. Not only are the effects of magic more lethal than physical aggression, but the ability to counteract supernatural damage is far less certain.

Conclusions

A cursory glance at interactions among Marshall Islanders might mislead one into drawing undue parallels with family violence in the West. Because physical aggression may well be directed against women by young men, one may infer that domestic violence is instigated by men and endured by women. A closer look, however, shows this interpretation to be simplistic and naive.

First of all, physically violent activities, while overt and stereotypitally male, typify role prototypes, not persons. Young women most frequently construct their identities using ideal female attributes, but there are also women with the "thoughts of men" who use physical abuse as a mechanism to communicate their chosen social self. Likewise, most men are active manipulators of the world who use physical force to communicate part of their warriorlike identity, but not all men adopt such aggressive personal styles. Identities, therefore, are actively constructed out of cultural signifiers that take on meaning in relation to prototypes of male and female sorts of discourses and practices (cf. Carucci 1980: chap, 2; Carucci 1985: 127-128; Carucci 1987b:21; Shore 1981:206-208; Strathern 1981:175-177; Strathern 1988).

Marshall Islands men and women, however, use these role prototypes to legitimately engage in different types of violence within the domestic

setting. Restricted abuses may be found in interactions between members of adjacent generations or among siblings, but the most dangerous violence, while not common, takes place between wives and husbands and between spouses and in-laws. Small acts of physical or psychological punishment among kin escalate to dangerous forms of abuse among non-kin. Accordingly, Ujelang men may physically "murder" (beat) their spouses, but women legitimately "beat their husbands to death" with magic.

At an ideological level, Ujelang people see both magical and physical violence of any sort as typical of outsiders. Certainly, solidarity, rooted in the ideology of the bilateral extended family but also applied to the entire island community, is the antithesis of violent interactions (Carucci 1980: chaps. 2-3), Severe violent acts are consistently attributed to outsiders: residents of New Guinea or the rest of the Marshall Islands use the most dangerous forms of magic; Trukese are particularly "murderous" because they fight with knives and machetes. Even within the community, the most violent actions are envisioned between spouses and in-laws-those who are outsiders living in a common domestic unit (Fortes 1943-1944). Thus, the violent acts of Paisen are recast into the movements of a foreigner and, at a different contextual level, those of Lahren are attributed to a member of a family who acts "unlike us."

Violent activities are also balanced throughout the life cycle. Ultimately, however, the overt aggressive acts of young men are less threatening than the internal, potentially lethal, magical aggressions of aging women. Physical acts are contained by the group who surround young men and restrain them, while magical acts remain threatening precisely because their parameters cannot be easily delimited and contained by everyday humans. Most importantly, both males and females have ways to express their discontent that line up with the shifting balance of power in the community. The male ideal type, the single roaming warrior, is ultimately replaced by a sedentary male who is always constrained by matrilines he does not control (see Carucci 1985:112-114; Kahn 1986:150); his active, physical aggression, easily controlled by the group, is a metonym of the ambivalent male position. In contrast, females, who initially lack the freedoms young men enjoy, gradually accumulate power within matrilines that expand with the successful transmission of the reproductive force women control. Their use of magical force--overtly passive, vocally incanted, and supernaturally inspired--increases with their own power and age.

To Ujelang residents, the violence of physical and magical forces are inevitable expressions of the inherent capacities of men and women.

While mortals may invert these natural forces for ritual purposes, in joking, or as an expression of personal style, they should not believe that, in so doing, they eliminate the distinctions. For earthly beings, there is only the hope of maintaining balance among them.

NOTES

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1. As indicated below, men also may use magic, but it is primarily used by women and derives its potency from matrilineal sources. As attributes of statuses, things like magical knowledge need not always be controlled by females to be associated with them.

2. In the following case studies, Lahren, Luela, and Paisen are pseudonyms for young Ujelang residents.

3. No one was in the cookhouse with Paisen and his wife, but this "blow-by-blow" summary of the essentials of the controversy was related to me by a neighbor as we overheard the argument from a nearby cookhouse. Only when the encounter became physically threatening did others (ourselves included) rush to the scene. I use "she" and "he," "her" and "him" in the translation for clarity. Marshallese make these distinctions on the basis of contextual cues, not lexical markers.

4. "Whore" fails to capture the nuances of *teibol* (literally, the fucker or the one who screws), since "whore" implies a profession and a stigma. In contrast, *teibol* is a common expression with few negative implications. Its counterpart, ***kokañ*** (literally, one who exchanges [barters for sex]), is another commonly used form that carries little stigma. As a term of reference, *teibol* may be used as a mild insult with someone who does nothing but pursue sexual encounters, but it is also used as a humorous term when addressing children, I have had age-mates (both male and female) and older men use it as a facetious form of address to joke with me. As a form of address, ***kokañ*** carries slightly more negative sentiment only because endowing sex with an exchange value depersonalizes it and compromises its communicative value in interpersonal relationships.

5. This is related to ethnohistorical notions of derivation, since Enewetak folks see their source as **Kabiliñ,** "the back side of Heaven (the Caroline Islands)," where beings are fierce and warlike but lack a knowledge of sorcery. From Enewetak, humans moved by earthly routes to Bikini, then to the Ralik and Ratak chains of the Marshalls and to Kiribati, where chiefs and others "later on" became empowered with potent magic. As I have noted elsewhere, Enewetak people see themselves as the source of Marshall Islands clans. Their precedence is used as a source of power over other Marshall Islands groups (who currently outnumber Enewetak people and look down on them). Even though they have been combined with Marshall Islanders in current political arrangements, Enewetak and Ujelang people see themselves as different from them and deserving a totally independent status (see Carucci n.d.). They use their separate chiefly lines as one indication of their histori-

cally rooted independence. (Other Marshall Islands groups contend they arrived through Ebon in the southern Ralik chain. While they have similar ideas about violence, aging, and gender, they have equally unique interpretations of the derivation and use of magical force.)

6. Most commonly consumers worry that food will be poisoned by women cooks, either by adding a dangerous substance to the fare or by chanting over the food while stirring it. Evil magic can also be infused into objects during other repetitive acts, especially when plates and baskets are woven (formerly clothing pounded or woven from local materials was also potentially dangerous) or when hair is braided. Potions and charms can also be manufactured that carry within them magical force. They gain their potency from incantations as well as from the proper combination of objects.

I have no evidence that women's use of magic actually inhibits men's use of physical force (the statistics for what might happen in the absence of magic are, obviously, unattainable). Indeed, in many senses the audiences and perpetrators do not overlap (young, physically violent males vs. old, supernaturally violent females). Nonetheless, both men and women commonly voice their fear of magical attack and, without doubt, these fears have substantial effects on how people act.

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TUNGARU CONJUGAL JEALOUSY AND SEXUAL MUTILATION

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Anthropologists and feminists have long been fascinated by sexual mutilation, including under this general term practices such as circumcision, subincision, clitoridectomy, infibulation, and defibulation (Morgan and Steinem 1980). But such operations should be seen as only a part of the range of practices subsumed under the term sexual mutilation. Feminists have noted that a much wider range of practices has been customarily employed to increase the sexual attractiveness of individuals, especially women, and to publicly display the wealth or status of the husband. This has included not only footbinding among the Chinese, but also ear piercing, eyebrow plucking, armpit shaving, wearing special adornment or clothing such as girdles and high-heeled shoes, cosmetic surgery, and hair curling among contemporary Western women (Dworkin 1974)--in short, all painful and disfiguring practices that are mandated by custom if a woman is to be attractive to men.

Anthropologists have considered sexual mutilations in the context of highly variable, culturally patterned definitions of beauty and sexual attractiveness, often functioning as important markers of the achievement of adult status, usually through successful performance in life-crisis rituals (van Gennep [1908] 1960; LaFontaine 1985). Feminists, on the other hand, have viewed sexual mutilations more inclusively as criminal acts that enslave women, ostensibly to a fetishistic male standard of beauty but ultimately to "describe in precise terms the relationship that an individual will have to her own body. They prescribe her mobility, spontaneity, posture, gait, the uses to which she can put her

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body. *They define precisely the dimensions of her physical freedom"* (Dworkin 1974:184-185; emphasis in original).

In this article I argue that the above conceptualizations of sexual mutilation remain inadequate. Here I suggest broadening the conceptual framework to include physical alterations designed to *reduce* the sexual attractiveness of women. By seeking a functional explanation for the use of a specific form of sexual mutilation, nose-biting among the Tungaru[1] of Micronesia, a structural cause of such mutilations as a form of domestic violence will be apparent. Examination of this extinct custom will demonstrate links with basic attitudes toward marriage, jealousy, and betrayal that influence current family life in Kiribati. The wider utility of this explanation of sexual mutilation will be explored in a cross-cultural survey of societies known to have practiced nose-biting.

Tungaru Society

Ancestors of the present population of the Republic of Kiribati settled the sixteen atolls and coral islands of the Gilbert group by A.D. 400 (Takayama 1985), and probably considerably earlier. Over the centuries they developed a distinctive social system adapted to the poor soils, limited land area, and intermittent droughts of the archipelago. The northernmost islands of the group, Makin and Butaritari, were drought free and highly productive, but moving southward the islands were progressively drier and less able to support staple crops such as taro and breadfruit. Residents of the southernmost islands were dependent almost exclusively upon pandanus and coconuts. Produce of lagoon and open ocean was usually plentiful but could become scarce in times of drought (Catala 1957) or inaccessible during rough weather, This level of environmental uncertainty led the Tungaru to adopt food storage strategies like fish farming (Catala 1957), storage of coconuts, and manufacture of pandanus preserves that keep in dried form for up to five years (A. Grimble 1933-1934). Despite these technologies and great skill in canoe building and sailing, the people found the environment harsh and uncertain, requiring constant attention to family size, resources, and political alliances in a game whose pawns were lands and women and whose principal moves were wars, marriages, and seductions. While the Tungaru may have originated in present-day Vanuatu (Blust 1984), they were in contact with their Micronesian neighbors to the north and west (Marshalls and Pohnpei) and with Polynesian societies to the south and east (Tuvalu and Samoa). This contact is reflected in elements of current language and culture in Kiribati.

Social Structure

Tungaru society centered on ambilineal extended families called *utu,* which occupied hamlets called *kainga.* Each hamlet consisted of a strip of land from lagoon to ocean beach. The kin group that occupied this estate was an independent economic and religious unit, represented in the district or island *maneaba,* meetinghouse, by the elders of the clan to which it belonged. The extended family was led by the eldest male of the oldest generation and by leaders of the warrior age-grade.

Except on the two northernmost islands (Makin and Butaritari, which had a stable, quasi-Marshallese, high chieftainship [Lambert 1966]) and the three islands of the central group (Abemama, Kuria, and Aranuka, which also had a stable dynasty of more recent vintage [Maude 1970]), factional warfare was endemic on the atolls and islands of the Gilbert archipelago. As Hainline-Underwood pointed out and Cordy has recently confirmed, a strong relationship existed between subsistence resources as measured by population density (Hainline-Underwood 1965) or population size (Cordy 1986) and the degree of social stratification that could be maintained within Micronesian polities, While the northern Gilberts were able to support up to four status levels, only on the wettest and most productive islands could stable dynasties emerge from contending factions. Instability, both ecological and political, was thus a pervasive reality for the Tungaru.

The only controls on warfare lay in the prestige of the current claimant to the high chieftainship in the northern group, and in the power of successful war leaders to hold their factions together in the southern group. Another check on warfare that existed on all islands except the two northernmost was the supernatural sanctions elders of the meetinghouse could bring to bear in enforcing a consensus judgment upon contending parties. Disputes over women or land seem to have been the primary causes of warfare, with land-hunger the ultimate motive. Traditional law provided for the payment of land or other forms of wealth in lieu of blood feud in such cases. So important was land that an offender might consent to be killed by the extended family of his victim rather than have his own extended family yield a piece of land. Or the perpetrator's extended family might decide to execute him themselves rather than pay. Included among offenses for which compensation in land or blood might be demanded were theft, murder, incest, and adultery (A. Grimble 1921; Maude [1963] 1977; Bate et al. 1979).

Although the descent system was cognatic (Goodenough 1955), recruitment of hamlet members tended to be patrilineally biased with

patrilocal postmarital residence (Maude [1963] 1977). However, a man who fell out with the members of his father's hamlet had the option of residing with the *kainga* of his maternal grandparents, adoptive grandparents, wife, or fictive siblings. Deciding where to reside usually took place at marriage, but the ambilineal nature of the kinship system and the chronic factional warfare made changes of mind a viable response to a dispute over the distribution of land, spoils of war, or women's sexual favors.

Marriage

Marriages were arranged by the leader of the hamlet for military or economic advantage. Modern informants say the most advantageous marriage was one contracted between two only children because their children could inherit all the land of four grandparents from four different families, whereas multiple siblings had to share an inheritance. The power of the hamlet leader also extended to the number of children the couple was allowed. If the family was already large or a drought was in progress, he might order a young wife to kill her infant at birth. Modern informants assert that she would always comply because of mama, "shame," and the possible *kamaraiia,* "cursing," of someone who failed to obey an elder's orders.

A woman was expected to be a virgin at marriage. This would be publicly acclaimed following deflowering on her wedding night when the groom's father's brothers smeared their faces with her blood (A. Grimble 1921). If she was found not to be a virgin she might be instantly divorced, beaten by both families, and sent home, often to be cast out or even killed by her outraged and shamed extended family. Girls of the highest status were prepared for marriage by months of residence in a darkened bleaching hut and instruction in traditional dances, many of which were extremely suggestive. Unmarried girls performed these dances in the *maneaba* wearing only short grass skirts that barely covered the genitals.[2]

Sexuality

Following marriage, a woman was expected to avoid contact with strange men. Longer skirts covered her thighs, considered a major erogenous zone. Her face was hidden in shadow beneath a poncholike cape made of woven pandanus (see Talu et al. 1979: ill. 10). She was expected to remain totally faithful to her husband except in the context

of culturally approved liaisons with her husband's classificatory brothers, *eiriki,*[3] or with his classificatory fathers, *tinaba*[4] (R. Grimble 1972; Maude [1963] 1977). It should be noted that these two types of relationships almost always took place within the extended family. They did not always involve sexual relations but, if sex was requested, modern informants state that the woman was expected to comply regardless of her personal feelings. *Tinaba* was seen as a way of doing honor to a senior member of the husband's kindred, who traditionally compensated the husband with a gift of land. According to one I-Kiribati physician, *eiriki* was seen as a way of delaying or preventing the birth of a second child or of protecting the health of mother and child during pregnancy by substituting one of her classificatory sisters in the husband's bed (but see R. Grimble 1972 for a conflicting interpretation).

Wife exchange, *te kamane kie,* and wife-swapping, *te bo kie,* could also be entered into, but only, informants hasten to point out, with the approval of a woman's husband. Nevertheless, one modern informant stated that wife-swapping was one strategy an adulterer could use to avoid jealous retribution: he would persuade his wife to comply and then go to the unwitting cuckold and ask him to swap wives. While the man to whom a woman was given in a wife exchange had to be a member of the husband's kindred, in wife-swapping he did not have to be, though it is likely he would have been a close ally or an *itaritari,* "fictive brother," of the husband.

Thus a Tungaru woman's sexuality was tightly controlled but not suppressed. In her father's hamlet a maiden was protected by the inviolability of the land to nonmembers, by her seclusion in the bleaching hut following her first menses, and by a classificatory grandmother who chaperoned her everywhere. So strong was this protection that a girl or woman encountered alone in the bush was assumed to be seeking a sexual encounter and was fair game for rape. A married woman had a wider range of sexual opportunities, but only in the context of traditional sexual courtesies between relatives and never on her own initiative. Otherwise she was expected to remain chaste and to avoid contact with strangers.

Young men were also likely to be virgins at marriage. From the age of five a boy was "set apart from his mother and sisters, forbidden the fellowship of all girls of his age, and obliged to sleep thereafter only beside boys and men" (R. Grimble 1972:73).[5] This continued during his childhood, adolescence, and years of seclusion on the ocean shore in preparation for his initiation through feats of strength and memorization of traditional lore and magic. Raving completed the trial by fire, *te kabueari,*

and the laceration of his scalp with a shark's tooth, *te ati-ni-kana,* that climaxed initiation into warrior status between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-eight, he was permitted to marry (A. Grimble 1921; Luomala 1980) and often did so immediately. He could then participate in sexual courtesies and take additional wives or chaste concubines, *tauanikai,* from among his wife's classificatory sisters. Sexual relations were also permitted outside the kin group with unmarried women called *nikiranroro.* These women, literally "the remnant of their generation," were "single women who were not virgins and married women who were not living with their husbands" (Onorio 1979:49). They were allowed to exchange their sexual favors for gifts but were not prostitutes in the Western sense.[6]

A man who seduced another man's wife, betrothed, or concubine could be killed immediately without fear of retribution from his kindred (Lundsgaarde 1968) or he might be forced to pay a land fine to the aggrieved husband and his kindred. A woman involved in an adulterous relationship was apt to be mutilated by her husband or future husband:[7] he would bite her nose off (Lundsgaarde 1968). Informants say this was intended to disfigure her *(kabainrangaki;* literally, "make despised") so she would no longer be sexually attractive.[8] The key motive for this kind of response is said to be *te koko,* "sexual jealousy," an extremely powerful emotion in Kiribati culture today and one whose power to explain violent or deviant behavior is widely invoked.

While jealousy is a natural emotion, it is not always under rational control and may become delusional or paranoid (Freud 1922). It has long been thought that control of jealousy is a prerequisite for social stability, Engels believed that "mutual toleration among the adult males, freedom from jealousy, was the first condition for the formation of those larger permanent groups in which alone animals could become men" ([1884] 1985:64-65). Among I-Kiribati, this emotion is thought to be so powerful that informants assert that a woman who continuously provoked her husband by immodest behavior would be subject to an escalating series of punishments with the full backing of custom. Should she fail to dress modestly, allow herself to be observed talking to another man, or leave the hamlet alone, he was likely to beat her. On the second offense he would beat her again, this time with her relatives cheering him on, for only by publicly supporting his actions could they avoid the shame of her immodesty. After this, if she failed to mend her ways he was likely to invite her to accompany him into the bush on the pretext of cultivating taro. Once he got her alone he would suddenly lunge forward and bite off her nose.

Discussion

Behavior now considered abusive domestic violence in Western societies was once considered appropriate in those same societies. The concept of domestic violence, therefore, refers to levels and kinds of violent behavior within the family that the society defines as inappropriate. In this sense, domestic violence in Western societies is a comparatively recent phenomenon, while in some non-Western societies it may fairly be said to be almost nonexistent. But if we set aside the personal values we attach to the term "domestic violence" and recognize the fact that many societies permit--even encourage--violence within the family under certain circumstances, it may be possible to understand why behavior that Western and other peoples have traditionally defined as abhorrent *outside* the family can be accepted *within.*

In the case of Tungaru nose-biting, sexual mutilation was a form of domestic violence that was culturally approved as a response to a woman's failure to conform to the control of her sexuality by her husband and the men of his extended family. The culture's almost universal practice of arranged marriage, including child betrothal, and the strong bias in sexual relations toward male pleasure and male control confirm modern informants' characterization of wives as the property of their husbands (see Karaiti 1975).

This sense of ownership combined with the extremely competitive struggle over land and prestige, both between and within kin groups, to produce a female role as pawns whose sexual favors could be exchanged for land and honor (through *tinaba)* or military loyalty (via wife exchange). Women's sexuality was part of the glue holding together social groups whose natural tendency, lacking powerful institutions of social control that crosscut kin lines, was fission and blood feud.[9] Loyalty to the hamlet was weaker than in unilineal societies because of the extensive options for affiliation available to individuals and the impermanence of any decision. Indeed, tales of traditional warfare are replete with women as go-betweens, mediators, betrayers, provokers, and even combatants (Batiara 1979; Pateman 1942). Given chronic factional warfare, the extreme bellicosity into which Tungaru men were socialized during the grueling initiation process, and the pervasive concern for avoiding shame, it is not surprising that the ultimate sanction--destroying attractiveness--was reserved for women who tried or seemed to be trying to control their own sexuality.[10] But it is likely that this sanction was actually inflicted rarely, the threat alone being enough to cause most Tungaru women to conform, as did most Sauk and Mesquakie women (Forsyth [c. 1826] 1912).

Nose-biting or nose-cutting has been practiced in a number of other cultures, usually as a punishment for actual adultery. Some of the societies that practiced nose-biting are the Apache (Reagan 1930), the Chevsurs (Weideger 1986), the Blackfeet (zu Wied 1976), the Mesquakie (Forsyth [c. 1826] 1912; Jones 1939) and the ancient Egyptians (Sameh 1964). In each case the intent was to destroy the woman's attractiveness in retaliation for unauthorized sexuality A number of these societies were extremely warlike, with a cult of masculinity that demanded female obedience and submission to a highly individualistic male who was vulnerable to betrayal due to the unpredictable fluctuations of military factions. The distribution of this custom can therefore be seen as part of "a widespread complex of male supremacist institutions among band and village societies" that "arose as a by-product of warfare, of the male monopoly over weapons, and of the use of sex for the nurturance of aggressive male personalities" (Harris 1977:57).

In the case of the Tungaru, the geographic distribution of chronic warfare on the one hand and stable chiefdoms and elite control on the other correspond exactly to the ability of the ecology to support social institutions that crosscut clans, as predicted by Hainline-Underwood (1965). Given the fluid nature of the social structure and the importance of women in reinforcing ties between related men, it is apparent why the Tungaru chose to control women through violence (beatings and nose-biting) or the threat of violence rather than immobilizing them as in Chinese footbinding, diminishing their sexual responsiveness through clitoridectomy or excision, or eliminating them as sexual beings through chastity belts, infibulation, or defibulation.

By controlling the notion of sexual attractiveness and a patriarchal dominance of the family that transmits these notions, men have been able to regulate sexuality as a potential source of conflict between men in societies where political unity is constantly threatened by factionalism. Sexual mutilation is then a solution to the structural problem of blood feud and shame in societies organized around the patriarchal extended family with few institutional means of avoiding blood feud. In the case of the now extinct custom of nose-biting, the threat of mutilation was used to control women's behavior since their intact sexuality was critical to male solidarity.

NOTES

1. Tungaru is the ancient name of the Gilbertese people of the present-day Republic of Kiribati, formerly the Gilbert Islands Colony (U.K.), The descriptions herein, while dependent upon the accounts of traditional culture related by modern I-Kiribati (Gilber-

tese), apply to the precontact residents of that archipelago and do not reflect the current social system unless specifically noted.

2. There is good reason to believe that before contact with Europeans, Tungaru maidens wore no clothes at all. This is evident in the illustration of the great *maneaba* at Utiroa, Tabiteuea, drawn by the artist of the Wilkes expedition in 1841 (see Wilkes 1845 or Talu et al. 1979). Stevenson reported that as recently as the 1860s "women went naked until marriage" ([1900] 1971:266)

3. *Eiriki* describes both a kinship relationship between siblings-in-law and a form of sexual courtesy in which a man had sexual access to his brothers' wives and to his wife's sisters. Likewise, a woman had sexual access to her sisters' husbands and her husband's brothers. See R. Grimble 1972 and Maude [1963]1977 for a fuller discussion.

4. *Tinaba* was a special relationship of respect, *karinerine,* between a young married woman and her husband's father's brothers. The most public manifestation of this relationship, at least on the island of Marakei, was the performance in the meetinghouse of a special dance by the young woman and the anointment of her husband's matri- or patriuncle (see Maude [1963] 1977 for a discussion of this point) with coconut oil. The woman was expected to comply with her husband's urging to enter into this relationship for fear of shaming her husband and as a way of expressing a core value in Tungaru society, *akoi,* "kindness" (Lawrence 1977).

5. The prospect that a boy might engage in homosexual activities while sleeping in the men's house, *uma ni mane,* that was a part of each hamlet cannot be totally discounted, but no evidence is available on this. Some modern I-Kiribati engage in gender roles known as *bina aine,* "a man having ways of a woman:' or *bina mane,* "a woman with manners of a man" (Sabatier 1971:66), which involve assuming the dress, mannerisms, and modal personalities associated with the opposite sex. Whether this includes sexual relationships I was unable to determine. Other I-Kiribati clearly regard these individuals as humorous but not as threatening or deviant. These two roles appear to be of considerable antiquity, being mentioned in Bingham's 1908 dictionary, but more research is needed to clarify the place of cross-dressers in Tungaru society.

6. Nikiranroro include widowed, divorced, and older never-married women-that is, currently unmarried women--and "dishonoured girl[s]" (Sabatier 1971:276) such as those who proved not to be virgins at marriage. As Sabatier points out, distinguishing the two meanings depends upon "context and way of speaking."

7. She might also be mutilated by the jealous wife of her paramour. Murdoch (1923) describes a 4- to 6-inch "scratching weapon" called *tebutu* used by women in such fights. The Bishop Museum in Honolulu exhibits a knuckle-duster used in similar situations, consisting of a woven band mounted with two large shark's teeth. In addition, Lundsgaarde (1968) reports that the jealous wife might bite off the nose of her rival, a practice to which Stevenson ([1900] 1971:238) also seems to allude.

8. As LaFontaine (1985: 116) has pointed out, in Freudian exegesis the nose is equivalent to the phallus. Perhaps by biting off her nose the husband is symbolically castrating the adulterous wife, who has illicitly assumed the male role by taking control of her own sexuality. Or alternately, perhaps the husband is castrating the lover--biting off the symbolic equivalent of the lover's penis--and so fending off the rival's attempts to appropriate his property without provoking open warfare (I am indebted to Judith Barker for this interpretation). Since this custom is extinct it is not possible to explore emic interpretations of such acts.

9. It should also be noted that sorcery (and the fear of it) was also a pervasive instrument of social control, one that modern informants say could even counteract the most powerful military forces.

10. Even in the case of *nikiranroro,* sexuality appears to have been at least partially under the control of men, These women seem to have lived under the protection of war leaders, *toka,* or hamlet heads who, during the early contact period, traded their sexual favors for tobacco and other goods. However, the possibility that this was a distortion of Tungaru culture due to contact cannot be discounted.

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FACTORS RELATING TO INFREQUENT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AMONG THE NAGOVISI

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Physical violence between spouses is infrequent among the Nagovisi of North Solomons Province (Bougainville), Papua New Guinea. A primarily ethnographic account of these matrilineal swidden farmers is offered in discussing this situation. I also will make cross-cultural comparisons when possible,

Although figures for a statistical survey are lacking, I can provide estimates of the frequency of various kinds of disputes, especially violent ones. Domestic violence was not a subject in which I had much interest during my fieldwork (due perhaps in part to its infrequent occurrence); I was much concerned, however, with kinship, family life, and conflict resolution. My sample consisted of several villages whose total population was about two hundred. I heard news about an additional three hundred or so people, whom I did not see regularly, but most of whom I personally recognized and whose genealogies I knew. During the two and a half years during which I lived in Pomalate village,[1] I recorded the occurrence of three episodes in which a husband assaulted his wife and one from a village nearby, to make a total of four.[2]

My impression is that incidents of physical assault between spouses are rare. I never witnessed violence between a husband and wife. I did see physical struggles between brother and sister, between female relatives, and between men. I also heard children crying as a result of being hit by a parent (but did not see the blows struck) or in the course of a

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tantrum that was part of the provocation for the parent to strike out. I also saw a number of arguments that involved shouting or verbal insult. Additionally, informants told me news of the day including any violent arguments in other villages. I also heard accounts of violent arguments that had taken place long ago. I no doubt missed hearing of some fights, but Nagovisi take a great interest in conflict and, since most of it leads to court resolution, it is widely discussed. It is unlikely that any occurrence of domestic violence would remain a secret (cf. Nero's article in this volume about Palau, where domestic violence is a family secret),

Form and Causes of Arguments between Husband and Wife

Since arguments do not usually involve personal physical violence, they more often take the form of verbal insult and property destruction.

Verbal Insult

Insulting another verbally seems to be a primary way of disputing. A serious insult leads to litigation. Usually a fine will be paid, just as for a physical injury. Although the amounts asked for insult are less than for injury, in a sense the two are considered, if not equivalent, at least in the same legal category. Women can compete very well with men in verbal sparring as they cannot in physical conflict; in fact, I have argued that talk (in general) is the source of women's efficacy (Nash 1987). In the past, insults might lead the offended party to retaliate with deadly force. Today this is not the case.

The following are two examples of the sort of insult that may pass between husband and wife. Louis gave tobacco to fellow villagers Joseph and Lucy.[3] When his wife, Claire, found out about it, she told Louis to go fuck the people he gave their tobacco to. He became upset; he cried, and went to the house next door. Claire paid him A$6 for the insult. In another case, Bernadette asked her husband, Francis, to clean up their toddler daughter's feces, He said he didn't have a shovel. She then said he should shovel it with his tongue. He got mad and went home to his sister. The sister demanded payment (which she received) for this insult, Bernadette was "dancing with anger" when she said this. Her husband was very lazy and many people felt that his behavior helped to cause the argument. Nevertheless, Bernadette was wrung to say such an insulting thing; consequently, it was appropriate for Francis's sister to ask for a fine.

Property Destruction

Informants claimed that both men and women might destroy property during arguments. My observations seemed to show this to be a particularly female expression of anger. The Nagovisi say that women destroy property because they cannot trounce their husbands and that husbands destroy property because they do not want to kill their wives.

Agnes chopped up her husband Simon's bag while we all watched. At the same time, she recited her grievances in a tense and angry voice. Because Simon had declared himself "married" to his newly widowed sister-in-law, Agnes claimed that Simon had only pretended to show sorrow for his brother and had been lusting after the dead man's wife for a long time, No one intervened.

People told me that Martha had destroyed a radio with an axe. The precipitating factor had been hearing a song on Radio Bougainville that her husband had composed; she construed the lyrics (which contained the line, "I've thrown all your letters away") as denying the fact that he routinely had sexual relations with her.

Anselm chopped up a strand of shell money one morning after discovering that his children had broken his walking stick. People felt, however, that this act needed interpretation: he was not really angry about the walking stick or at his children but instead at members of his clan for not having visited him during a recent sickness.

Causes

I have stated elsewhere that the triggering causes of arguments between Nagovisi spouses often seem to be trivial. Such causes include "surprise at the wife's having bought a new saucepan, the alleged withholding of tobacco from the husband, or nagging by the wife that her sick husband seek medical aid" (Nash 1974:65). Although male informants stated that "laziness" might be a reason for a man to hit his wife, in fact, failure to fulfill domestic duties did not appear to cause actual arguments I heard about. Some women who were a bit lazy were never hit or yelled at, and one who was not at all lazy was hit once by her husband, allegedly for not fixing his food quickly. In some cases, the discovery of a spouse's adultery may cause an argument; in other cases, it goes unacknowledged by husband and wife, even when it results in the conception of a child.[4] I don't recall arguments between husband and wife concerning bride-wealth amounts or pig prices (such disputes would

involve more than a married couple), or such matters as whether cocoa should be planted or not.

My field notes show that certain couples seem to go through difficult periods of nearly continual disagreement in which one or the other may resort to violence. Also, some individuals seem more ready to argue or to hit in argument. These people were fairly young, relatively recently married, and not accustomed to living with each other. One middle-aged man appeared to be having what I hesitantly call a mid-life crisis. Thus, the biographies of individuals and the circumstances of a marriage seem to have more explanatory value for disputes, especially violent ones, than do more proximate causes; this observation fits with the lack in Nagovisi of cultural patterns that use violence in arguments.

Cultural Factors Regarding the Consequences of Domestic Arguments and Their Resolution

The consequence of an argument between husband and wife may involve any or all of the following: physical separation or withdrawal from part of domestic life, court hearing, assessment and payment of fine, and reconciliation. Background information on cultural and social practices makes these alternatives intelligible.

The Nagovisi are matrilineal and uxorilocal. They are organized into moieties, clans, and named and unnamed lineages. They have become increasingly uxorilocal since the introduction of cocoa as a cash crop in the 1960s. Before that time, uxorilocality was the ideal but other forms of residence were tolerated and practiced more frequently than they are today. My survey in 1969/1970 showed 81 percent of all couples residing uxorilocally.

Villages are based, thus, on a core of matrilineally related women, usually comprising the female members of one or several named or unnamed lineages. Their imported husbands (and fathers) also are residents, as are unmarried males of the matrilineage. Households generally consist of the nuclear family, although it is not inappropriate fur unattached relatives (but not the wife's mother) to be included.

Due to the fact of uxorilocal residence, a man leaves his natal village at marriage to move into the village of a wife. Because most (71 percent) marriages are between people whose natal villages are less than two miles apart, men find it convenient to visit the homes of their sisters and parents. It is here that a man will return in the event of serious marital discord. In the event of serious disagreement between husband and

wife, either may act. Sometimes a wife will put her husband's belongings outside as a sign that he is to move back to his natal village. More often a husband will leave of his own accord.[5]

Once the husband has left, negotiation begins, the result of which is usually that the wife's kin will pay valuables to the husband's kin. Then the husband returns. Husbands can count on pretty much unqualified support and sympathy from their matrilineal kin. This is possible because most arguments between husband and wife are not clear-cut cases of wrongdoing on the part of one individual only but situations in which shortcomings of both spouses have figured. Another factor making for the partisanship of the husband's kin concerns the balances that should be maintained between affines (see below, p. 137).

Although uxorilocal residence may provide a solidarity group for women that protects them from spousal violence, it offers an important advantage for men, too. Men can take an escalating action that is not violent by moving to their natal villages. This is not seen as a defeat for men but instead shames wives. It dramatizes the intolerable state that a husband faces during this time of conflict.

Men may stay with their wives but cease to eat their wives' food if there is an argument. Usually one food item (for example, coconut) will be avoided until a fine has been paid to settle the dispute. The wife continues to cook her husband's food but is inconvenienced and reminded daily of the unresolved problem.

A favored method of resolution for nearly any kind of argument is to go to court. Wrongs can be righted through a system of fines, today paid in a combination of cash and shell valuables. Three kinds of wrongs always require such compensation: insult, injury--especially drawing blood, and death. Married couples do not give up their right to sue one another. In fact, the fines paid as a result of arguments are part of the continual adjustments--the evaluation of credits and debits--between husband and wife that go on during the course of a marriage. These adjustments end with the payment (or decision that payment is not required) of death dues after the demise of one of the partners (see Nash 1974 for a longer discussion of these phenomena).

Other Kinds of Violence

Levinson has recently argued that "wife-beating is part of a broader cultural pattern of violent relationships between persons who reside in the same community" (1989:45). I will consider now sexual violence toward women (rape and sexual assault), physical violence toward chil-

dren, and physical violence between women, between men, and between brother and sister. Among the Nagovisi such violence is also minimal.

Rape

In the course of filling out a questionnaire for the Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea in 1971, I made inquiries about rape. After much reflection, people recalled a single incident that had taken place ten miles away in the late 1940s: the rapist had been angry with a male relative of the victim. By and large, people could not quite imagine how rape would work; they said that the woman would cry out and people would come to her aid. Nagovisi women do not "change their minds" about mutually agreeable fornication to later allege rape.

To force a woman to copulate is not considered admirable in any sense. Rather, it meets disapproval or, more likely, is considered ridiculous given the probable consequences. A fieldwork incident may illustrate: a young married woman from the study area was traveling alone to visit relatives in a village about ten miles away. A teenage male from that village surprised her on the deserted track, indicating his intention to have sex relations with her. The woman slashed the man's shirt with her garden knife, thus repelling him, and proceeded unmolested on her way. This story was retold by men and women in my village with much amusement at the expense of the young man.

Treatment of Children

In Nagovisi, children under the age of five are not usually subject to corporal punishment. With one exception of redirected aggression, in which an unbalanced widow hit her eighteen-month-old son when her boyfriend told her he wouldn't marry her,[6] any hitting or slapping was directed at older children. This may be for doing something dangerous (for example, picking through the anthropologist's rubbish pit) as well as for disobedience. A struggle I witnessed between a teenage girl and her mother seems different because the daughter was the same size as her mother. In this incident, slaps were exchanged when the girl delayed coming home from church by four hours and did not bring the bread she was supposed to have purchased. The mother's brother came to the assistance of his sister, pulled his niece away, and denounced her.

When older children (ages six to twelve) have tantrums or fight with younger siblings, parents may strike them with their hands or nudge

them with feet if the child is lying on the ground. I saw or heard the screaming of an angry child once or twice.

Some kinds of physical aggression by very young children are ignored. For example, adults pay little attention to a toddler who beats them with a branch. The adult might move out of the way or duck while talking to someone else, but the child is not told to stop.

Children do not usually hit one another in play, even though they use knives and sticks as toys, Nor do I recall chasing and threats to hurt. Teasing and insults may cause damage to feelings, however: for example, one five-year-old boy burst into tears and went home after an older boy mentioned to the general amusement of a group of children that the five-year-old had had an erection on a previous occasion. The pattern of going home after an insult starts early.

Parents complain about their children's behavior: frequently heard are allegations that children are lazy and disobedient. For discipline, parents may lecture them on their shortcomings. In Nagovisi, younger children are frightened with warnings about ghosts, snakes, or white people to insure obedience. Informants said that one villager, a former policeman, had punished his son for truancy by the Papua New Guinea police punishment of *kalabus long san,* that is, being tied up in the sun. The child was probably between seven and nine when this happened, since he quit school after Form II. This is not an indigenous Nagovisi punishment and all who spoke of this were disapproving.

Parents in Nagovisi are condemned (by gossip) for being bad parents when their children "do not grow," that is, are short or thin (or perhaps merely unprepossessing in some way--for example, are subject to insect bites, have especially bad runny noses, or perhaps are just shy). Stunting a child's growth may be done by withholding the appropriate ceremonies in his or her honor, especially those for firstborns, or by not feeding enough. Although this does not quite fit Western notions of abuse because of the magical concepts involved, it might come closest to a Nagovisi idea of serious and socially disapproved neglect of children. One young widow with four children ranging in age from one to twelve appeared to be having trouble feeding her offspring. People would castigate her from time to time and suggest that she ought to remarry. Her very competent mother quite frequently fed and housed the two oldest children.

I should mention that Nagovisi seemed proud of "good" children, even when the children were not their own. People commented favorably upon children who were sturdy, straightforward in their manner, and mature for their age.

Fights between Women

Women sometimes had arguments with each other that involved name-calling. Women could also challenge other women to a competitive showing of shell valuables--which contained the potential for serious arguments. As mentioned above, mother and teenage daughter might fight physically. But most conflicts among women seemed to involve those of different named or unnamed lineages (*wetetenamo,* "one grandmother"; see Nash 1974).

I saw a fight between two women who are classificatory parallel cousins: Cecilia stabbed Helena in the head with a comb. The cause had to do with the alleged theft of the comb by Helena's children. Helena had also teased Cecilia, saying she didn't have Cecilia's comb but only an old, broken one. Helena's wound bled briskly for a while and there was much screaming and dramatic gesturing. This resulted in a long court hearing in which Cecilia was denounced. The first fine asked was large and Cecilia's mother refused to pay, Cecilia herself having no money. Finally they settled on a smaller amount.

Fights between Men

The fights I saw between men were often intergenerational shouting matches, sometimes aggravated by alcohol. Men were sometimes denounced by other men in angry voices but did not themselves get angry back, The causes were varied. Young men at odds with their fathers might tell them to "get out of our village and go back to your own [natal] place." In one instance a young man spit at his older sister's husband, but physical attacks were more typical of fighting by those under the influence of alcohol (see below). Young men in such a condition might attempt to assault their classificatory fathers, but their attempts were fairly ineffectual.

A Struggle between Brother and Sister

Brothers and sisters are not supposed to fight. They are responsible for one another's good behavior, however. Avoidance etiquette and uxorilocal residence make the expression of strong emotion between brothers and sisters infrequent. Nevertheless, I witnessed one incident, in which a widow and her uterine half-brother struggled publicly. The brother slapped her several times. She had been screaming in support of her lover and chopping holes in her house with a machete. An unrelated man also helped restrain this woman. Afterward, people said the

brother had acted as he had because he was "embarrassed" by his sister's behavior. It was said to have been the right thing to do and no one suggested that he pay any fine to her or she to him. It is important to stress that the struggle did not stem from a disagreement between the two.

Violence in the Past: Head-hunting and Initiation

Like other Solomon Islanders, the Nagovisi took trophy heads in the past during feuding, This practice ended around 1925 or so with Australian pacification. Old people still remembered the days of tribal fighting; their memories were unromantic.

According to informants, the taking of heads might be facilitated by the ingestion of a certain kind of magical powder called *piko,* which was made out of human bone (and other things) at cremations. The effect of *piko* was to turn a man into an angry killer with red eyes and great strength, a *pikonara.* A child who showed unusual belligerence was considered likely to grow up as a *pikonara.* Although valued in former times, this type of person has disappeared today, according to informants.

An old man in the next village was represented to me as having been a *pikonara* in his youth. Many stories of his truculence as an adolescent, his many stormy marriages, and his bravery and treachery in World War II were told, In his old age, there was no indication of anything pathological in his personality. On the contrary, he was one of the most intelligent and insightful people in the community. He managed his polygynous household peacefully. The Nagovisi explanation was that he had gotten old and was no longer a fighter.

There was no tradition of painful ordeals in adolescent initiation. A small, feast might be held for young men after their first killing (or in preparation for it--informants were not clear on this subject), but this was optional. Piercing of the nasal septum was remembered by one informant as very painful: when I asked him whether he had cried, he said, "Did I ever!" No ritual significance was attached to this act; it was optional and evidently cosmetic. Girls' initiation, properly done for the firstborn daughter on the occasion of her first menstruation, involved no painful acts.

Suicide

Suicide took place in the past and occurs today, sometimes in connection with unhappiness over the opposite sex. Protest suicide by young women in the past was directed not at cruel husbands but at parents for

forcing a marriage (cf. Counts 1980). This is why parents today, according to informants, do not seek to press unpopular candidates on their daughters. This kind of suicide was confined to the newlywed bride.

All recent local suicides and attempts I heard of were by men. Men might attempt suicide in reaction to adultery by their wives. Some people seem to have overreacted: one man killed himself from shame after having been discovered in adultery. Another man killed himself because he believed (erroneously) that he had killed his child. Sometimes the reasons were obscure and no motive for suicide could be offered, other than what amounts to hereditary insanity (that is, "his uncle was crazy, too" and such).

The Effect of Alcohol on Violence

It is not possible for me to to state what part alcohol might play today (1989) in arguments. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, only men drank and most alcohol was consumed at *pati,* all-night festivities with food and music. At that time, people thought drinking makes a person lose his strength and, therefore, fights after drinking were considered pointless or comic (cf. Nero's article in this volume, in which the ability to consume large amounts of alcohol is seen as strength). **A** sober woman could always evade a drunken man. Women stood together when a drunk was performing, Wives might shout ridicule at drunken husbands for acting foolishly (urinating in public, falling in the mud, dancing wildly, losing clothing, and so forth). Men did not appear to get angry at this. The only fighting was between men who were drunk; it was fairly ineffectual, except when bottles were used as weapons. Young men sometimes got angry at their fathers or other older men when drunk. Men did not seem generally angry at women or use drunkenness for an excuse to act on this anger.

One instance of domestic assault, however, took place when the husband was intoxicated. The next morning, when he was sober, he joked about the whole incident--including his own behavior (see note 2).

Comparison and Discussion

The Nagovisi differ from many other societies in that physical violence between married people is neither common nor tacitly condoned. Social behavior in the United States presents a marked contrast. According to Straus (1978), in America a marriage license is a hitting license. Violence between persons who are not related is readily litigable, whereas

many barriers stand in the way of a battered spouse who seeks legal redress, although the situation is slowly changing (Micklow 1988). The contrast here is that Nagovisi have legal redress in cases of domestic violence, while Americans often do not.

Mushanga, in an article on wife-bashing in East African societies, says that "women ask for it" (1977-1978). "Asking for it" consists of ridiculing men and talking back--thus causing the violence to escalate, sometimes to the point of murder. No one believes that women or men wish to be hit in Nagovisi. I do not recall anyone blaming the victim for having provoked violence.

Also, as others elsewhere in this volume have noted, fights in public or in houses with leaf walls draw the attention and intervention of others. People come to the aid of quarreling couples: they feel that they should interfere. In town, isolation makes it easier to act on violent impulses and to carry them out without interference from concerned relatives or neighbors (cf. Erchak 1984). I knew only one Nagovisi married couple living outside the home area; both were schoolteachers in Rigo, southeast of Port Moresby, and neither was violent. I heard secondhand of the suicide of a young Nagovisi woman married to a Siwai policeman domiciled in Port Moresby. The woman's uncle had complained to me about her irrational and emotional behavior years before this happened.

Two topics to which I have referred above--the influence of matriliny and its concomitants, and the subject of anger--require further discussion. I have described how matriliny-related social features of the Nagovisi, including uxorilocality, have made it possible for men to physically separate themselves from their wives and thus reduce the possibility of assault. Friedl (1975) has reviewed a whole list of reasons why relationships between husbands and wives are not as tense in matrilineal societies as they are in patrilineal ones: ultimately, many of these refer to the fact that the wife is not on trial in a matrilineal society, as she is in a patrilineal one. Nor does the husband in matrilineal societies assume the unenviable position of being a disloyal outsider. Rather, emotions are not so focused on the marriage tie but diffused among numerous relatives. Melanesian matriliny, further, has been profitably analyzed recently as involving a lifelong series of exchanges between affines in which balance is highly valued (Strathern 1984; Weiner 1976; Gregory 1982). In Nagovisi the idea of reciprocity of actions and material items strongly permeates social behavior (Nash 1987). There is an awareness, from childhood on, that both positive and negative behavior must be repaid.

Although anthropologists are now attempting studies of emotion (Rosaldo 1980; Lutz 1988), the understanding of anger still presents many difficulties. The Nagovisi considered anger to be motivating and energizing; it made possible men's great actions of warfare in pre-European times (Nash 1987). Anger in pre-European times was magically enhanced and the *pikonara* was recognized and valued, if also feared. In domestic relations as I observed them, however, anger was not much in evidence. Crying children were usually labeled "angry" rather than "sad" or "in pain,"' the crying in grief being considered a more adult behavior. I saw a series of steps in the expression of anger, where insult and property destruction (and, for men, withdrawal to the natal village) were enacted first as signs of anger. Social factors do not favor hitting, and thus it is in a breakdown or loss of control that the occasional instances of domestic violence take place.

The Nagovisi seem to take pride in their ability to control the expression of emotion. For example, one informant counseled the importance of keeping one's self-control in court: "You can't win if you are angry." People are concerned about having their outbursts mocked as a form of gossipy entertainment, as one woman's cries in labor were, to take another example. Women should be stoic, and the young woman's anguished descriptions of her pain during childbirth were repeated for weeks by her peers in amusement (see also Nash 1987). People often respond angrily not at the time of an offense but after thinking about it for a while. Thus, angry displays may be rather controlled, like Agnes's performance when she chopped up her husband's bag, described above.

In summary, domestic violence is rare among the Nagovisi. I would argue that the incidence of domestic violence cannot be zero, however, because some couples will go through difficult times during the course of a marriage and some individuals, by virtue of temperament, are simply provocative and more given to physical violence than others.

NOTES

Versions of this article were presented at the meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Chicago (1987) and at meetings of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania in Savannah (1988) and San Antonio (1989). I benefited from the presentations of other members of these sessions and especially from the comments of Dorothy Counts.

1. I was resident in Nagovisi for this time period intermittently between 1969 and 1973. Support was provided by the National Institute of Mental Health and the Australian National University.

2. The following are narratives of the four cases that involved spousal violence. All names are pseudonyms.

Simon gave Agnes a black eye because she nagged him to go to the aid post and get medicine for his illness, He paid her a fine. This couple, ages fifty-two and forty-five respectively, had had marital troubles for many months. They surfaced when Simon said he wanted to marry his dead brother's very attractive widow even before the funeral took place. Over the next year or so other problems developed--he said he wanted to quit his job as an aid-post orderly, leave Agnes, live polygynously, and so on. People were saying that he had gone crazy. Many court hearings were held and many arguments took place.

Bernard knocked Dorothy to the ground because she did not fix his rice fast enough. She was fixing some greens at the time, The couple had had a "shotgun" marriage at the instigation of the mission priest when Dorothy had become pregnant. Immediately after the church ceremony, Bernard had left to work on another part of the island. He returned briefly when his daughter was two years old, but stayed with his own mother. When his daughter was four and a half, he came back to stay and set up a household. At first the couple's relationship was stormy, with many disagreements and changes of residence. Gradually their relationship improved.

Louis hit Claire when he was drunk. Her father became angry and denounced Louis, who began demanding fines for what he said were his father-in-law's "insults." The next day, when he was sober, he laughed it off. No fines were paid. Louis was seventeen and his wife nineteen. They were newly married and still living in her parents' house. Claire was the dominant spouse, having inveigled Louis into marriage when his older brother, her first choice, did not respond to her proposals that they marry. Claire, although a sweet-faced and smiling woman, was well known for her sharp and obscene insults. Louis was aimless, too young to be married (incidently, Claire and Dorothy are sisters).

I heard about this case from informants. Margaret had a baby, and two days after she got back from the hospital, she and her husband resumed sexual relations. This is considered to be repulsive by most Nagovisi. Ultimately she became pregnant again. She also acquired a lover, and they had repeated intercourse. Intercourse with a pregnant woman is considered repulsive by most Nagovisi, too, Her husband finally got angry about this and threw her down a cliff. She suffered a miscarriage. She brought charges against him because of the injury, and people said this one would go to the patrol officer, rather than merely being settled in local court.

3. Again, all names are pseudonyms.

4. I should perhaps note that people who are aware of some misbehavior on the part of a spouse may "save" their angry reaction until they themselves have caused trouble, then cite the previous offense as a distraction from or mitigation of their own actions.

5. In the rare event of virilocal residence, the wife leaves.

6. This woman figures into a number of my anecdotes involving physical violence.

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WHY WAPE MEN DON'T BEAT THEIR WIVES: CONSTRAINTS TOWARD DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY IN A NEW GUINEA SOCIETY

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The West, as we know, is fascinated with violence. Western journalists, filmmakers, and anthropologists working in New Guinea have made the island famous for head-hunting, cannibalism, and male-female antagonism. The range of New Guinea societies, however, is great. While the gentler societies lack the riveting appeal of those that are more flamboyantly aggressive, they can be instructive. The Wape of Papua New Guinea's Sandaun (formerly West Sepik) Province are a case in point.

Like many other Melanesian peoples, the egalitarian Wape live in a mountainous tropical forest habitat in sedentary villages and are slash-and-burn horticulturalists. Marriage occurs through bride-wealth payments, polygyny is allowed but rare, postmarital residence is generally virilocal, and patrilineal clans are ideally exogamous while patrilineages are strictly so.[1] But the Wape differ from a number of the societies with whom they share these customs: Wape men do not beat their wives. This does not mean that conjugal relations are always harmonious, but it: is unusual for a man to slap his wife and I know of no instances where a woman suffered an injurious beating from her husband.

Because wife-beating is an accepted custom in many parts of Papua New Guinea and considered by the government to be a serious public health problem (Toft 1985), in this article I identify some of the factors

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or constraints that help explain the comparative tranquility of Wape domestic life. These constraints--located on various but intersecting sociocultural, psychological, historical, ecological, and physiological levels of analysis--are inextricably bound together in a complex circular relationship. Our present knowledge of this relationship does not warrant the postulating of constraints operating on one level as being more important than those on another, so the general tranquility of Wape domestic life cannot be explained by a simple "cause and effect" model favored by an experimental positivistic science. The explanatory model proposed here is an associational one, more descriptive than causal, whose very circularity is essential to the explanation.[2]

The data for this study, including a review of relevant court records, were collected during an eighteen-month field trip in 1970-1972 and brief revisits in 1982 and 1989. Although I have visited many of the villages of the approximately ten thousand Wape during my three trips to Wapeland, my view of Wape society and culture is as seen from Taute village, my principal fieldwork site.

Correlates of Wape Domestic Tranquility

Ethos and Emotions

The ethos of Wape society is markedly pacific. Although the society is not without its points of stress and the people not without passion concerning their personal relationships, the overall affective thrust of social life is to keep emotions, especially those that might lead to violence, under control. Even before Western contact, when enemy villages engaged in pay-back killings, the attacks might be years apart. Some Wape villages, on learning that the invading whites had banned warfare, abandoned the custom even before government patrols could intervene. During my fieldwork, I never saw a physical fight between men, between women, or even between children. The preferred Wape response to potential violence is conciliatory, not confrontational.[3] When dissension in village life does occur, as it inevitably does, quarrels tend to be defused before culminating in physical violence or, if someone does strike another, he or she does not strike back.

As a stranger to Wapeland, I had the first of several personal lessons in their gentle interaction style a few days after I moved into Taute village. When I shouted at a group of children crowding onto the raised and rotting veranda of our temporary house to get off, a man who had befriended me said reprovingly, "Speak gently!" The Wape perceive expatriates, especially men, as unpredictable and potentially bellicose.

To gain some control over expatriate emotions, villagers place magical ginger under the house ladder of a visiting patrol officer--and I imagine a visiting anthropologist as well--to soothe him as he climbs down into the village. Another time, when I rebuked a group of men during the building of our house for cutting down the ornamental shrubs that hid the outhouse, they simply turned and silently walked away.

Enculturating a resident anthropologist or Wape children is not always an easy task, but the methods are identical. Aggressive acts are met with disinterest, An enraged toddler is left alone to kick and scream on the ground until her or his reason returns. Children and anthropologists soon learn that public aggression is an embarrassing and nonrewarding activity. Consequently, the Wape restrain the expression of negative emotions toward others and are generally friendly in everyday village activities. Antipathy toward another is rarely expressed directly in public, though it may be expressed privately to a confidant.

Still, there are times when adults feel so personally transgressed and furious that they must do something more drastic than confiding their anger to a friend. Several alternatives are available. An offended person may gossip openly to others about the offense or, as everyone knows some sorcery, privately execute a punitive ritual. Or, for example, if a man's dog attacks and cripples a woman's piglet and the man makes no attempt to correct the wrong, in desperation she might go to his house and, standing outside, deliver a self-righteous harangue heard by all the neighbors while the transgressor and his family sit silently within. If the problem escalates, a meeting of the entire village is called by one of the concerned parties and anyone remotely involved with the problem should attend; not to go is to compromise one's integrity or innocence. Gathered on the front verandas of the houses surrounding the central plaza, men, women, and even children have their say until finally, perhaps several hours later, a consensus is reached.

I have stressed here the pacific ethos of Wape culture as well as indicated some of the actions resorted to when an individual's emotions must be expressed outwardly, namely gossiping, sorcery, haranguing, and public meetings. However, none of these actions--regardless of the degree of aggressive intent--usually involve direct physical violence. Later I will discuss two exceptions to this finding that document a darker side of Wape emotions.

The Gaze of the Ancestors

The Wape are not conciliatory solely because they have been socialized to believe that public anger is often unrewarding or humiliating. There

is a powerful sanctioning agent that helps to keep their behavior in check: the spirits of their dead ancestors. As Hollan has similarly observed for the Toraja of Indonesia, "fear of supernatural retribution and social disintegration motivate the control of anger and aggression" (1988:56). The Wape believe that at death an adult's spirit returns to lineage lands in the forest. The spirit is also believed to be a frequent visitor to the village, where it looks after its descendants by sending illness and bad luck to family enemies. There is a high incidence of illness in Wapeland, testimony enough to ancestral power.

One night while visiting on a neighbor's veranda, I idly inquired about a slight, unidentifiable sound and learned that it was my host's dead father benevolently signaling his presence. Ancestral spirits are believed to see and hear all. This strongly discourages arguments among villagers because a spirit may avenge a descendant by negatively influencing an opponent's hunting, gardening, or personal health. For this reason also, individuals will occasionally resort to Tok Pisin, the region's lingua franca, to express their anger publicly so the older ancestors who never learned it can't understand what is being said.

Frequent disagreements among family members or neighbors can jeopardize the welfare of the entire village. To appease the ancestors, a conciliatory ritual must be held where the opponents speak out, announcing that they are now friends and asking the spirits to desist in the punitive interventions.[4] A husband also knows that his wife's agnates as well as her classificatory mother's brothers are concerned about her welfare and, if he mistreats her, may resort to their ancestors or sorcery.

Gender Proximics

Another important factor pertaining to the absence of wife-beating is that Wape society, while acknowledging male-female differences in terms of dress and division of labor, is organized not to polarize gender differences but to deemphasize them. Husbands and wives use the same paths and sleep together in the same house with their children. Village boys and girls, including teenagers, play at ease with one another. The lightly constructed houses are close together so that aural privacy is at a minimum; even a modestly raised voice is heard by all the neighbors, who are also relatives. Menstruating mothers and daughters are not secluded in menstrual huts but remain at home where husbands, if they are not going hunting, continue to eat their wives' food. At puberty, boys begin to sleep separately in a village bachelors' house but still interact daily with their parents and siblings and usually take their meals with them at home. Nor are boys or youths secluded from their mothers

and sisters for initiation into manhood as in some New Guinea societies, where, often brutally, they are cleansed of female contamination in preparation for a warrior's career.

Female Status and Strategies

This is also a society where women and girls do not provide all of the child care. My tape-recorded interviews with male informants are punctuated with a baby-sitting father's asides to his restless toddler or the hungry cries of his infant. Fathers, as well as sons, take an active part in the care of infants and toddlers, especially when the mother is in the forest processing sago or collecting firewood.

This brings us to another important factor to explain why Wape husbands do not beat their wives: Wape women produce most of the food eaten, A typical meal consists of sago jelly with boiled greens--both the result of women's labor--and, with luck, a scrap of meat. While hunting is of great ritual and social importance to men, the introduction of the shotgun has seriously, and in some areas ruinously, depleted wild game.[5] Pigs, of which there are few, are killed primarily for ceremonial exchanges among kin. As monogamy, both in the known past and present, is the Wape norm, a husband is dependent upon a single wife to feed him.

Another point is that a young woman has considerable say in the choice of a husband, signaling a young man in whom she is interested by slipping him a small present of food or tobacco. If possible, women prefer to marry within their natal village and rarely marry into a village that is more than an hour or two walk from their father and brothers. Throughout a wife's marriage--divorce is unusual--she and her husband are in close contact with her agnatic kin through a continuing series of economic exchanges that necessitates back and forth visiting while her brothers hold special ritual sanctions over her children, members of her husband's lineage. By the same token, she is tied to her mother's lineage too, especially to her classificatory mother's brothers who, as already indicated, watch over her well-being and whose homes are available as a place of refuge. A woman who feels that her husband is abusive to her does not hesitate to move in with relatives, where she may stay for a week or more until they return with her to her husband's house, In no case may he seek her return. In the meantime, he becomes dependent on his agnates' wives to feed him or must find his own food. Neither choice is a pleasant one.

The women of a hamlet, or at least the one in which I lived, develop strong solidarity bonds, something I only learned through observation.

In the unlikely event that a couple becomes so angry during a quarrel that they begin to shout at each other, women of the hamlet, a few sometimes armed with large sticks, descend upon the house and stand around it until the woman joins them outside.

A factor that relates to the interaction style of women is that they usually do not act in ways to further provoke or escalate a husband's anger toward them but are able to terminate his abuse with a very dangerous and ritualized action. While both Wape men and women are highly sensitive to personal shaming, when a wife is deeply humiliated or shamed by her husband's behavior toward her, she usually does not return the insult but instead attempts suicide. While female suicide attempts are not uncommon in Papua New Guinea, in most communities they appear to be more frequently precipitated by a husband's brutal beatings, as among the Gainj (Johnson 1981) and Kaliai (Counts 1980), than by his shaming words.

Three young wives of our small hamlet unsuccessfully attempted suicide while I lived there by drinking poison made from the root of the deadly derris vine. Interestingly, in each case the woman lived in a household with her husband and one of his parents. In two of the cases a precipitating event was criticism by her husband for not supplying enough food for the family.

There are no reliable suicide statistics for Wape society. But, on the basis of my own data and that of Dr. Lynette Wark Murray (pers. com., 1988), the experienced missionary physician who patrolled Wapeland during my initial fieldwork, suicide attempts by unhappy wives, although hushed up by the community, do occur and follow a definite cultural pattern.[6] Because an in-marrying wife's suicide is deeply stigmatizing to the husband's lineage, a woman who survives a suicide attempt finds herself the center of solicitous community attention. It is a desperate way to "get even" with an overly critical or abusive husband but, in the cases I observed, most effective, with the added compensation that it generated a favorable change in his domestic demeanor.

Although Wape men do not often commit suicide (I heard of only one case), there is a corresponding dark side to men's behavior. While in the field I observed two instances (Mitchell 1987:197-203) and learned of several others where a man, said to be temporarily possessed by a wandering ghost, attempted to attack fellow villagers with his bow and arrows (cf. Langness 1965). These amok attacks occur only to men and are episodic, often with long periods of lucidity between them. A man so possessed is considered "crazy" by other villagers and is not held completely responsible for his actions. Although the target of a man's attack

is socially diffuse with the opportunity to direct part of his aggression toward his wife, he never does.

Diet and Drugs

While the use of drugs, including alcohol, alone cannot make wife-beaters out of husbands, it should be noted that the Wape do not have easy access to alcohol, as is true in some parts of Papua New Guinea where wife-beating is culturally accepted. The addictive substances that are available to the Wape, namely tobacco and betel nut, are not gender differentiated: men and women alike are heavy users of both.

Severe protein and caloric deficiency are characteristic of the Wape diet and may, in a highly generalized way, be related to their pacific temperament and domestic tranquility. Sago is notoriously low in nutrients and the mountain-dwelling Wape, unlike most sago eaters who live on the coast or along large rivers, cannot obtain adequate protein from fish. Wape soils are poor and, although sago is supplemented with seasonal garden produce, gardens are small, unfenced, and poorly cultivated. Medical studies of growth and development indicate the birth weight of the Wape infant is one of the lowest reported in the world and subsequent growth in height and weight is slow, with the onset of secondary sex characteristics correspondingly delayed (Wark and Malcolm 1969). For example, a girl's first menstrual period occurs at a mean age of 18.4 years. There also is a progressive and marked loss of weight with age in both male and female adults. Many villagers suffer from chronic upper respiratory infections and malaria is holoendemic and uncontrolled. Recent studies indicate that the health problems of the Wape are still severe (Pumuye 1985; Division of Health Department of West Sepik 1986).

Christian Mores and Government Law

Finally, we must consider the influence of the Catholic and Protestant missionaries and local government officials in respect to the absence of wife-beating in Wapeland. All Wape villages are under the influence of either Christian Brethren or Franciscan missionaries while, more recently, an indigenous fundamentalist church, New Guinea Revival, has also gathered considerable support. All of these churches are strong advocates of a harmonious family life and marital amity. The laws of the country further support these values, and government and health officials distribute literature and lecture to villagers about them. But, as

we already have seen, "domestic peace" is not a new idea to the Wape people. The importance of the churches" and state's moral rhetoric and sanctions regarding domestic life is not one of innovation but the reinforcement on another level of contemporary Wape society's own tradition of domestic tranquility.

Conclusions

To answer the question of why Wape men don't beat their wives in a country where wife-beating is a major public health problem, I have noted and discussed some of the implicated constraints. These can be summarized as follows:

- A pacific and conciliatory cultural ethos supported by churches and the state
- Non-polarization of gender differences
- Punitive intervention by watchful ancestral spirits
- Women instrumental in selecting their husbands
- Monogamy
- Married couples domiciled among watchful relatives
- Wives as principal food providers
- Near-absence of alcohol
- Nutritionally deficient diet
- Solidarity bonds among hamlet women
- Threat of a wife's suicide if her husband shames her
- Women's agnates and classificatory mother's brothers responsive to their welfare

None of these constraints alone can explain the relatively tranquil nature of Wape domestic life. When viewed as an interrelated cluster, though, they help us understand the absence of wife-beating. If a society has very poor nutrition, a pacific conciliatory ethos, low access to alcohol, watchful and succoring neighbors and relatives, vengeful ancestors, husbands dependent on a single wife for sustenance, nonpolarization of the sexes, and the threat of a wife's suicide if shamed by her husband, it is difficult to conceive of a marital relationship progressing to a state where a wife is being beaten.

However, this inquiry into the absence of Wape wife-beating has uncovered another form of Wape domestic violence--attempted suicide by females--with a cultural scenario of its own. In desperation, wives humiliated by their husbands "beat up" on themselves and, indirectly, their spouses by attempting to poison themselves. The difference is that attempted suicide, unlike being beaten, is a self-empowering act of rectitude, an aggressive action against one's person that, if one survives,

may reshape a damaged husband-wife relationship more equitably. To Wape men, the possibility of a wife's attempted suicide is a sobering symbol for the limits of oppression. To women, it is a desperate act fraught with peril, an act some know is worth the risk.

NOTES

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1. For a fuller account of Wape society see Mitchell 1973, 1978a, 1978b, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, and 1990.

2. I wish to emphasize that the explanation offered here is culture-specific. For example, the domestic placidity documented for the Dugum Dani in Irian Jaya by Heider (1979:78-84) or, in this volume, for the Nagovisi in the Solomon Islands by Jill Nash cannot be explained by the same constraints discussed here. For an exploratory attempt to rank factors in a "multiple correlate" model on the reverse problem of wife-beating and family violence, see Burgess and Draper 1989.

3. On the basis of my 1982 and 1989 observations and information gleaned from villagers as well as government officials and health workers who deal directly with the people, this conciliatory characteristic of Wape domestic life has not changed since my 1970-1972 fieldwork.

4. Because the two shotguns in Taute village were owned collectively by hamlet members, poor hunting was usually explained in terms of ancestral revenge for village dissension. For a detailed discussion of the relationship of hunting, ancestral spirits, and village arguments see Mitchell 1973 and 1987 (167-187).

5. During my 1989 visit, however, I was told that wild game is gradually reappearing, due to the current prohibition against firearms because of disorder in other parts of the province.

6. See Mitchell 1987 (204-208) for ethnographic details regarding the ritualized aspects of Wape wives' suicide attempts.

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BEATEN WIFE, SUICIDAL WOMAN: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN KALIAI, WEST NEW BRITAIN

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> I don't understand women. Three of them have drunk poison in less than three weeks. If anyone says the slightest cross word to a woman or if there is even a trivial disagreement, she may kill herself. Men don't behave in this way. Only women!
>
> --Male informant

> When a man just keeps beating a woman, when he won't let her explain or hear what she has to say, that's the kind of treatment that causes a woman to kill herself.
>
> --Female informant

These statements, recorded during conversations with my Lusi-Kaliai consultants while conducting research in West New Britain between July and October of 1985, illustrate a largely unrecognized phenomenon: the relationship between wife-beating and suicide by women, Little research has been done on the possible connection between the abuse of wives and female suicide either in North American society or cross-culturally, and few analyses have been published on spousal violence in non-Western societies.[1]

Certainly options other than suicide are available to beaten wives, and fortunately women who are beaten do not usually kill themselves, either in West New Britain or in general (Masamura 1979). It does, however, often seem to be the case that female suicides were beaten

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shortly before their deaths and that suicide was their response to the despair, anger, or shame they experienced as a result of the violence, In North America, for instance, researchers working with battered women have found a high incidence of suicide attempts among them (Jacobson and Portuges 1978:223; Back, Post, and Darcy 1982; Pagelow 1984:318; Stephens 1985). A working paper on spouse abuse prepared as a background document for the U.S. Surgeon General reports research findings that between 35 and 40 percent of battered women attempt suicide (Stark and Flitcraft 1985). Their evidence suggests that abuse may be the most important provocation yet identified for female suicide attempts.

This essay has two foci. I look first at ethnographic evidence for Papua New Guinea that suggests women there who attempt or commit suicide often do so after they have been beaten. Then I examine the options that are available to abused Kaliai women and argue that suicide in Kaliai is a strategy that permits a woman to retaliate against violent treatment and the opprobrium concomitant with it, even though her retaliation is necessarily exercised indirectly and requires that others act on her behalf after her death.

Suicide and the Beaten Woman in Papua New Guinea

In Papua New Guinea, domestic violence seems to be an expected aspect of family life, while suicide is accepted in many societies as a solution to personal problems or as a reasonable response to being shamed.[2] Pataki-Schweizer notes that suicide occurs widely in Papua New Guinea, more frequently among females than males, with "interpersonal conflict, often between spouses" being a major precipitant (1985:142).

There are a number of possible responses available to a New Guinean woman who is abused by her husband. She may leave him and seek refuge with family or friends (true in urban areas such as Port Moresby as well as in rural areas like Kove, Lakalai, Molima, Hagen), although Strathern reports that Hagen women may be turned back by their brothers with the injunction, "See what happens; if your husband really draws your blood, then you can come home" (1972:252). Beaten wives may fight back, as Strathern reports for the Hageners (1972) and Chowning reports for the Lakalai, Molima, and Sengseng (1985). The offending husband may be required to pay compensation to his wife (Kove [Chowning 1985]) or to her relatives (Hagen [Strathern 1972]), he may be taken to the village committee (Tolai [Bradley 1985]) or to

court by his wife or her kin (Kainantu [Westermark 1985]; Kove [Chowning 1985]), or he may be publicly reproved by the hamlet big-man (Kove, Lakalai [Chowning 1985]).

Finally, women may commit suicide. Although I focus in this essay on women as the victims of spousal violence, men who suffer mistreatment from their wives may also attempt suicide as a result. There are Melanesian societies in which men commit suicide more often than do women--for example, Bimin-Kuskusmin (Poole 1985), Dobu (Fortune 1932), and Lakalai (Chowning 1958; Valentine 1963). These men frequently kill themselves because they have been shamed by verbal abuse. Chowning reports that a Lakalai woman may drive her husband to suicide by verbal abuse (pers. com. 1986), particularly if she exploits male shame about anal functions, a shame that women do not share. I know of only one Kaliai case (discussed below) in which a man attempted to poison himself following an attack by his wife. Everyone with whom I discussed this episode agreed that he was motivated by shame at his public humiliation rather than by the attack itself or injuries suffered as a result of it. The relationship between these phenomena--male suicide and verbal abuse--is a topic that deserves detailed investigation, but I will not attempt to deal with it here.

There are a number of reasons why Papua New Guinea women respond to violent treatment by committing suicide. They kill themselves because of a desire for vengeance, out of shame at being beaten, in reaction to the humiliation of being publicly insulted (see the article by Mitchell elsewhere in this volume), or because they interpret mistreatment by their husbands as indicating loss of affection.

Among the Gainj, for example, only married women kill themselves and in every case recorded "a woman killed herself either after a fight with another woman in which her husband championed the other woman's cause, or after public physical abuse from her husband" (Johnson 1981:326). According to Johnson, a woman's suicide threats may cause her husband to make concessions to her privately. He cannot do so publicly without acknowledging her power over him, a situation that a Gainj man would find intolerable. "Indeed," says Johnson, "the standard public response of men to a woman's threat of suicide is, 'there's a rope nearby' " (1981:333).

According to Healey, among the Maring of Papua New Guinea only the women commit suicide. The major context in which it occurs "is after severe, and physically violent, domestic arguments" (Healey 1979: 95). In three of six cases he analyzed, women killed not only themselves but also their daughters after violent arguments with their husbands:

> Destruction of a child in suicide is particularly vengeful, for not only is the husband deprived of a wife, but also of children who can care for him in his old age, and who will forge new affinal alliances for him. Further, he must provide the customary death-payments for both wife and child to the woman's agnates, and face the anger and possible vengeance of his affines by physical attack or witchcraft. (Healey 1979:96)

According to Chowning, Kove women of West New Britain believe that their husbands may be fond of them despite the fact that they beat them. Therefore, a Kove woman seems likely to kill herself only when she associates an "excessive" beating with her husband's loss of affection for her and his preference for another woman (Chowning 1985:82).

Accusations of adultery were the most frequent cause of suicide among the women of Manam Island, according to Wedgwood, who reported that they were likely to respond by hanging themselves or jumping off a precipice (1937:420). Wedgwood's informants described a suicide this way: "she first decorates herself and then kills herself. Another woman told me that when a man has accused and beaten his wife for adultery, she will leave the imprint of her hand in the ashes of the fire and then go quietly away into the bush and hang herself" (1937: 420-421).

Manam women also commit suicide for reasons other than being accused of adultery. One Manam woman killed herself because she was beaten by her parents-in-law, while another who was beaten and thrown to the ground by her husband suffered "such shame that she [was] led to destroy herself." Wedgwood concludes, "It seems that in Manam suicide is the recognized way whereby a woman (but not a man) can escape from intolerable shame" (1937:420-421).

Wife-beating is a common part of marriage in Kaliai. As I will discuss in detail later, suicide is almost always committed by women and frequently follows an episode of domestic violence in which the woman was beaten by her husband. Before discussing suicide in Kaliai I must first provide context by describing briefly the Kaliai social order, the role women play in Kaliai society, and the attitude expressed by people toward violence in general and wife-beating in particular.

The People of Kaliai

Since 1966, David Counts and I have been conducting anthropological field research among the Lusi-speaking people of the Kaliai electoral

district of West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea. The Lusi-Kaliai live in five villages, populations 75 to 317, located along the northwest coast of West New Britain. The bulk of our fieldwork has been centered in Kandoka, the largest of these villages. The people are slash-and-burn horticulturists whose systems of descent and residence are normatively patrilineal and virilocal. There is no ranked hierarchy and no formally inherited office among the Lusi-Kaliai, but people are not equal. Power differences exist on the basis of age, sex, and birth order. A firstborn male has a power advantage over women and younger men, and a man ordinarily has authority over his wife, daughters, and other female relatives--especially younger ones. His ability to use this advantage, however, is restricted by a number of conditions, including: idiosyncratic differences in personality and character that, combined with birth order and relative age, may permit a strong-willed woman to issue orders to her younger male siblings; supernatural sanctions against the abuse of power; local and provincial courts that a weaker person may call on in a dispute; the willingness of an abused person's kin to support and defend her; and the possibility of suicide.

Although Lusi-Kaliai norms stress the authority and dominance of men, women are not oppressed. They are not isolated from the rest of society, even during menstruation or after childbirth when their body fluids are considered to be contaminating and dangerous to health, their own included. Women (even unmarried girls) own property and have control over the pandanus mats they weave and the money they earn from copra they prepare from their palms. Mixed-sex groups of children play and attend school together and live together in a household with their parents until boys undergo a ceremony of penile superincision and move into the men's house, where they live until marriage.

Marriage

Bride-wealth is given at marriage. Marriages are ideally arranged by parents, but this is done successfully only with the approval of the young couple. I know of a few cases in which a girl's father unsuccessfully attempted to force her to marry against her will, but it is much more common for a couple's parents to negotiate the details of marriage payment after the bride and groom have already made their choice and often after the woman is pregnant.

After marriage a Lusi-Kaliai woman is in an ambiguous situation, She remains a member of her own kin group with all the duties and

obligations of kin-group membership if she resides nearby. She expects, for example, to be called on by her kinsmen to contribute wealth on their behalf at ceremonial exchanges. Postmarital residence, however, is ideally virilocal and a woman may move many hours'--or even days'--journey from her relatives. In this case she may contribute little to the needs of her kinsmen, prompting some people to argue that the fruit of a married woman's labor will inevitably benefit only her husband's kin group where her interests and those of her children lie, For this reason, they say, a family is foolish to spend its resources to educate girls past the elementary level. People also use this rationale to support the contention that married women should not have inheritance rights in the property of their patrikin group--specifically, that married women should not have the right to inherit and make copra from the coconut palms planted by their parents. This issue--an important one because copra is the major cash crop and, therefore, the most important source of money in Kaliai--has been the subject of public dispute and is one on which people divide according to their interest in each particular case rather than their gender. In the one case I know of, in which a married woman whose inheritance rights were challenged threatened to take the dispute to government officials for settlement, the matter was settled informally in her favor without her going to court (David Counts and Dorothy Counts 1974).

If a couple is married only by custom and not by Roman Catholic ceremony, divorce by mutual consent is not difficult. The couple stop living together and the woman returns to her home community if she has been residing away. If the couple has no children, then the groom's family attempts to negotiate for a return of some of the bride-wealth gifts. If, however, there are children they remain with their father after they are weaned.

There seems to be no circumstance under either custom or provincial law in which a divorced woman can claim custody of her children. If, for instance, a married man takes a lover or brings home a second wife, his actions do not constitute grounds whereby his first wife may divorce him and maintain custody of their children. Conversely, if she has an affair, moves in with another man, or leaves her husband because he has taken a second wife, he has the right both to divorce her and to keep their children. This fact--that a woman who leaves her husband also loses rights over her children--limits the option of a mother of dependent children to end a violent marriage, especially if her natal home is a long distance from her husband's residence.

Female Production

Although the Lusi-Kaliai assign tasks on the basis of gender, sexual specialization of labor in daily subsistence activities is a pragmatic organizing principle and not a matter of doctrine. Very few jobs that the people of one gender do could not, in an emergency, be done by the other. For example, the single task that is definitive of Lusi-Kaliai womanhood is the cooking of food. A woman's primary responsibility is to feed the men and children who are dependent on her; this is so important that people maintain that a woman's tie to her children is created by her nurturance of them rather than by her sharing vital substance with them or bearing them. Persons wishing to adopt a child must first feed that child by bringing preferred foods to its pregnant mother. Later, after it is weaned, its birth mother gently encourages the child to move into its adoptive household by instructing it to "Go ask your mother for food" when it is hungry (Dorothy Counts and David Counts 1983; Counts 1985). A woman's failure to cook for husband or children is legitimate cause for her husband to beat her. Nevertheless, men know how to prepare food and some are ready and willing to do so, As one woman explained, "If I'm working in the garden and he knows I'll come home late and tired, he has the meal ready when I return."

Women also play a vital role in producing the wealth items that are essential both in the internal system of distribution and exchange and in the external system of trade. Although they receive no public recognition for their contributions, and men often deny any knowledge of their activities, the work of women is critical for the conduct of any ceremony. Three items--pigs, shell money, and pandanas mats--are required for distribution at marriage, when a father affiliates his children to his patrikin group, and for mortuary distributions, as well as for external trade. Women are primarily responsible for raising pigs, they do most of the manufacture of the fine shell beads that are strung and distributed as shell currency, and they are the sole producers of pandanas mats. Without the cooperation of women there would be no wealth to distribute.

Violence in the Society

I do not want to give the erroneous impression that domestic violence is an everyday occurrence for most Lusi-Kaliai families, or that the village resembles a battleground. Laughter and cooperation are more charac-

teristic of village life than are anger and strife, Nevertheless, family violence is not an uncommon aspect of community life: parents strike children, co-wives fight, and wives and husbands hit one another. These episodes do not often result in physical injury or bloodshed, for others usually intervene to prevent serious harm. While rare, occasionally a woman attacks her husband, and in some circumstances a women's violent behavior is considered to be legitimate. She is justified in physically attacking her husband if he violates her marital rights by having an adulterous affair or if he brings home a second wife. In this situation women usually attack with weapons--axes, bush knives, or boards. An angry wife brandishing a weapon may knock her husband unconscious or cause him to flee the village in fear for his life. When this occurs, the sympathy of both men and women seems to be with the wife while the man is an object of ridicule. Such men are said to have asked for, and to roundly deserve, the treatment they receive. The one attempted suicide by a male for which I have data followed an episode in which his wife chased him out of the village with an axe after he announced his intention to take as a second wife a woman with whom he had been conducting an affair and who was pregnant with his child. Friends found him weeping and preparing fish poison to drink and escorted him back to the village. He did not marry the second woman.

It is much more common for husbands to strike their wives. My consultants generalize that "some" husbands beat their wives frequently while "all" men hit their wives occasionally. This is a normative rather than a statistical statement, for in fact some men are not violent. Women married to these gentle men say their husbands are exceptional and consider themselves to be fortunate that their men do not strike them even when they have reason to do so.

Just as public opinion supports violent anger (but not desertion) by a woman whose husband has taken a new sexual partner, both women and men uphold the right of a husband to hit his wife for cause. The justifications are similar to those discussed by the Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea (Toft 1985). He has the right (even the duty) to hit her if she flirts with other men or commits adultery; if she fails to meet her domestic obligations; if she draws blood in punishing his children; if she behaves in a way that publicly shames or insults him or his kin; if she fails to assist him in meeting his ceremonial obligations; if she fights with her co-wives. I have heard women comment that a man who failed to punish his wife for carelessness in her domestic chores was himself responsible for the disheveled state of their household because he did not strike her for neglecting her duties.

Although both women and men accept wife-beating in principle and feel strongly that others should not interfere in marital conflict, there is a point beyond which the violence ceases to be acceptable and becomes abusive. No absolute "rule of thumb" defines abuse. Rather, it is contextually defined in each case according to the perceived offense of the wife, the severity of punishment imposed by the husband, and the willingness of her kin to provide support. Response to a beating provides the best indication of when punishment has become abuse. Abuse has occurred when the wife's kin support her effort to take the matter outside the domestic realm for redress or when others (usually, but not always, her relatives) interfere on her behalf. A woman's relatives will likely intervene if her husband publicly exposes her genitals, kicks her as though she were a dog, draws blood, strikes her with a weapon larger than a small stick, or prolongs the beating. Others, even his kin, may try to stop a beating if they fear it is potentially maiming or life-threatening. Regardless of the severity of the punishment, however, a major factor in their decision to interfere is whether others consider the wife to be guilty of the offense for which she is beaten. In one case, for instance, the relatives of a woman whose husband attempted to kill her with an axe for suspected adultery agreed with his assessment of her behavior. Consequently, they not only failed to intervene on her behalf but refused her requests for help in leaving the community.

Alternatives Available to Beaten Women

A number of strategies are available to a woman who considers herself to have been unjustly or excessively beaten. Many require the support of her family; all have serious limitations.

She may fight back. This option is rarely chosen: by responding with violence a woman risks losing the support of her own relatives and, consequently, she may receive more severe punishment or public shaming in return. One woman who struck back at her husband was knocked unconscious by him and later was publicly enjoined by masked spirit-beings from retaliating in the future. Her husband explained that he had called for the ceremony because he feared that the next time he would lose control and kill her. She responded by attempting suicide following her next beating. Her action apparently influenced her husbands behavior: although she continued fighting with her co-wife, her husband did not again publicly shame her and herefrained from beating her again for more than a year.

A woman who is severely or unjustly beaten may passively accept the

punishment. Her kin may then feel anger or pity for her plight and physically attack her husband, shame him, or demand compensation. If her relatives do not intervene, she may leave her husband and either return to her own kin or, as a last resort, take a lover or second husband. This option has two shortcomings. First, her relatives may not be willing to accept her back because they are reluctant to return the bride-price or because they fear retribution by her husband. Second, if she takes a lover she will likely lose her family's support and she will lose custody of her children, a cost that many women are unwilling to bear.

She may take the dispute to the public arena and charge her husband before court officials. While a few women take this option, it is an alternative that has limited chance of success. As Chowning observes, "local government councillors and other village officials almost all strike their own wives and so are reluctant to prosecute other men except when exceptional brutality is involved" (1985:88). Bradley's observation that Tolai women "do not usually attempt court action unless they have sympathetic support from their fathers or male relatives'" (1985:55) is also true for the Lusi-Kaliai. If the woman's action is successful the man will be fined, jailed, or both. This costs his family scarce cash resources and deprives them of his labor. If a wife lacks her kinsmen's support, she and her children may thus suffer real hardship. Also, she faces reprisal from an angry husband and, perhaps, criticism from her family and neighbors as well.

A woman may expose her husband to menstrual blood contamination in order to cause respiratory illness or death, or she may collect his hair, cigarette butts, or other "dirty" for use in sorcery. Although women attributed a number of illnesses and deaths to either menstrual contamination or sorcery, and they assured me that these are options if a woman cannot tolerate further beatings, none admitted to using either alternative herself.

She may commit suicide. My study found a high proportion of the completed suicides (five of twelve) occurred shortly after the woman had been beaten by her husband (Counts 1987, 1988). Fortunately, most beaten wives do not commit suicide and a woman's decision to kill herself is a complex one in which the beating is only one component, The second quotation beginning this essay was made by my consultant when we were discussing a severe beating that we had both witnessed. In my informant's opinion, the way in which a woman is beaten can result in her suicide. A woman who is beaten unjustly and who is struck repeatedly when she attempts to speak has *ailolo sasi* (literally, "a bad stomach"; self-pity), a condition that is a mixture of anger, shame, and

despair. This condition, if it is not relieved either by more gentle treatment from her husband or support by her relatives, may result in a woman's suicide,

Although the two attempted Kaliai suicides already described were preceded by spousal violence, they were apparently not motivated by the severity of the abuse. Rather they were said to be precipitated by feelings of shame, anger, frustration, and a determination to change the spouse's unacceptable behavior.

The vignettes below are brief accounts of suicides that followed episodes of wife-beating. Once again, violence was only one in a complex of factors that led to the death.

Sharon

In 1979 Sharon, the pregnant mother of eight children, drank a bottle of household bleach after a violent: quarrel with Paul, her husband. Sharon's death was sudden and did not follow the Kaliai rules of suicide (see below, p. 164). She gave no warning, made no advance preparations, and made no accusations of culpability as she died. As a result her death was anomalous and a subject of controversy. Most villagers concluded that her suicide was precipitated by her feelings of guilt and shame over her ongoing affair with her husband's classificatory brother, a relationship that, in Kaliai, is analogous to incest.[3] The people who interpreted her death in this way thought Sharon's husband was justified in beating her and did not consider him to be responsible for her suicide. Others, however, held him to be culpable, and a few even suspected him of forcing her to drink the bleach and argued that he was guilty of homicide. Although Paul paid compensation to her parents, Sharon's grieving father was convinced of her husband's culpability and reportedly engaged a sorcerer to kill him. Shortly after Paul died in 1984, his kinsmen convened a public moot where the sorcerer admitted responsibility for the death.

Tomas

Sometimes the person to commit suicide following an episode of wife-beating is not the woman. The death of Tomas occurred many years ago and was related to me in 1966 by his then-elderly son. The suicide was precipitated by an episode of domestic violence in which Tomas beat one of his wives for fighting with the other. The male relatives of the beaten wife publicly rebuked Tomas for the beating, thereby shaming

him. Tomas distributed pigs to them and then drank rotenone fish poison in the presence of his wives and children. The abused wife's kin were held culpable for Tomas's suicide and paid compensation to his relatives. Tomas's descendants attribute his death to a combination of shame at being publicly berated by his in-laws and sorcery that results in suicidal depression.

Galiki

Galiki, a woman from a distant village, married Akono and bore him several children. Akono was absent from the village for long periods, and although Galiki's behavior was reported to be irreproachable, he nevertheless believed that she was conducting an affair during his absence. The weekend before her death the two fought constantly. On Monday, after a trip to the gardens to gather food, Galiki was sitting in her cookhouse preparing sweet potatoes for her children's supper. Suddenly she left the house crying, "Help me! I'm dying." She staggered into the village and fell unconscious. People attempted to force her to drink sweetened milk and tossed her in a hunting net, hoping to cause her to vomit the poison she was believed to have taken, but she never regained consciousness and was soon dead. The nurse from the Kaliai Health Centre examined Galiki's body and listed her death as suicide. All my consultants agree to the above outline of events. Other circumstances surrounding her death are, however, controversial and a matter of interpretation. The various explanations are as follows:

1. Akono's close relatives and affines, including witnesses to Galiki's last words, either did not comment on the beatings or maintained that the conflict between the two was mutual and that neither party was blameless. They stressed that Galiki's death was a suicide and that her dying words were that she had consumed poison--either rotenone fish poison or household bleach mixed with rotenone. They said that she had made statements the previous day indicating she was planning to kill herself, but that no one had realized the significance of her remarks until too late. They attributed no culpability for her death but rather suggested it demonstrated the instability and unpredictability of women. The first quotation with which I began this essay is from a statement made by one of these informants.

2. Persons distantly related to Akono agreed that Galiki had taken poison, but they disagreed whether she had taken rotenone, bleach, an overdose of chloroquine phosphate tablets, or a mixture of the chemicals. Some people emphasized the brutality of the beatings Galiki suf-

fered before her death; among other things Akono dragged her through their compound exposing her genitals to her male affines, threw her down the steps of their house to the ground, and tried to drown her. These people recounted that Akono's abuse of Galiki was so severe and humiliating that a number of people--including neighbors, Akono's own relatives, and village officials--attempted to intervene on Galiki's behalf, even though they were not her kin. Akono rejected their efforts and drove them away either with threats or by shaming them--suggesting, for example, that his brothers wished to interfere because they lusted after Galiki. One woman commented that she and other women had gone to mourn Galiki only briefly because they were offended by Akono's display of grief: " 'Why are you crying?' we asked ourselves. 'You killed her!' " This same woman also related that shortly after Galiki's death her ghost was seen in another village asking for paper so she could write a letter to Akono and his new wife. When I asked if Akono was intending to marry again, my informant responded that she did not know (implying that Galiki's ghost did), and added that Akono must be planning to remarry or he would not have abused Galiki so. My consultants interpreted the ghost's message as an unambiguous statement by Galiki that Akono was culpable for her suicide.

3. Persons not related to Akono disagreed with the interpretation of suicide. In their opinion, Galiki died as a result of the beatings. They emphasized the brutality of Akono's abuse of her and noted that the odor of neither bleach nor fish poison (both strong and unmistakable smells) was on Galiki's breath at the time of her death. They recounted that as she was tossed in the net Galiki bled profusely from her nose and mouth, and observed that her skin was black all over. Further, when the village women dressed her body for burial they found that it was covered with welts, bruises, and open cuts. These physical manifestations, they concluded, were inconsistent with the instances of death by poison that they had previously witnessed but were those of a person who had been beaten until she suffered fatal injuries. They charged that no one but Akono's close relatives had actually heard Galiki say that she had drunk poison; others had reported that after her initial cry, "Help me! I'm dying," she was unable to speak and that she could only point to her abdomen before losing consciousness. They suspected that Akono's kin conspired to say that Galiki died of drinking poison to protect him from legal prosecution.

Two points must be clarified here. First, Akono accepted culpability for Galiki's suicide and began making reparation payments to her relatives shortly after her death. Second, although traditional norms do not

make a significant distinction between physical homicide and the culpable death that occurs when a person is driven to kill herself (being "killed with talk" is the way it is often expressed), the Papua New Guinea legal code does. Culpability for suicide is not recognized as a criminal offense by national law. Homicide is. Although he accepted responsibility for his wife's suicide and made compensation to her kin for it, Akono was not charged in the courts with homicide and he did not face the penalty of long imprisonment that the state would exact if he were found guilty. Villagers certainly recognize that Akono has suffered the lesser of the two penalties and many of those who are not his close relatives are not satisfied that he has been held culpable for the correct offense.

Suicide and Revenge

Why do some Kaliai respond to abuse by inflicting fatal violence on themselves? The answer is complex, but the decision to kill oneself seems to be triggered by a number of factors that include the violence suffered, intolerable shame that results either from the violence or from the controversy of which the violence is a part, and a desire for revenge that the sufferer is unable to exact in any other way.

In my earlier research on suicide among the Lusi-Kaliai, I have interpreted it as a culturally recognized act that permits politically powerless persons to affect the behavior of the more powerful members of their society, or at least allows them revenge on those who have made their lives intolerable (Counts 1980, 1984, 1987, 1988; Dorothy Counts and David Counts 1983, 1984). Suicide provides an abused wife with a means for vengeance because she knows that if she follows the rules for committing suicide, she can expect her surviving kin to seek revenge, the payment of compensation from the persons who drove her to her death, or both. The rules governing a meaningful suicide are implicit in the myths, legends, and folk tales of Kaliai and are communicated at story-telling and gossip sessions, where people discuss past suicides and evaluate the consequences. These rules are as follows:

1. A person who intends to kill herself should warn others of her intent (by destroying her personal possessions, for example) rather than performing the act impulsively or in secret.
2. She should dress herself in her finest clothing.
3. She should kill herself in the presence of others or where they will be certain to find her body.
4. She should communicate to others the identity of the individual(s)

responsible for her death. She may, for instance, address a letter to the guilty party telling him of her death or she may call his name as she drinks poison. This message is so important for a meaningful suicide that, as we have seen in the case study of Galiki, it may even be communicated by the suicide's ghost.

Galiki's death was an ambiguous one, for she did not follow these rules for suicide." Specifically, she did not prepare for her death by destroying her property and dressing in her finery. Instead she was apparently engaged in an ordinary household task when she, impulsively, quit her work and drank poison. Also, she left no clear message assigning culpability for her death. There were reportedly aspects of her behavior that are consistent with a culturally patterned and meaningful suicide. These include her (ignored) statement indicating her intent to kill herself made the day before her death, her words that she had consumed poison, and the appearance of her ghost to give a message to Akono, thereby pointing to his guilt. Unfortunately, these acts were not widely witnessed and their reality is controversial. Because the manner of Galiki's death was ambiguous, people could not agree on how to interpret it and remain divided as to whether she killed herself or died as a result of the beatings.

If a suicidal person follows the rules, she can reasonably expect her kin and friends to consider her to be the victim of homicide and, even if they were indifferent to her suffering before her death, to quickly coalesce into a grieving group anxious to see justice done. If they do not avenge her death, her survivors expect to see her ghost wandering near the edge of the village at dusk, reminding them that they have not done their duty. Following a suicide, the person held culpable for the death is potentially in physical danger, for the suicide's kin may either physically attack him or engage a sorcerer to kill him. At the very least he must expect to pay a large compensation to the survivors, and even then he lives in fear that the angry, grieving relatives may contract for his death by sorcery. As Paul's fate demonstrates, that fear is not an unreasonable one.

Conclusion

While wife-beating is part of family life in Kaliai, a fine line separates acceptable punishment from abusive violence that either maims or kills or that causes the woman intolerable shame. A woman who suffers abuse of this sort may respond in one of a number of ways. She may engage in self-help and reciprocate either with violence of her own or

by placing menstrual blood in her husband's food in the hope of making him fatally ill, Both these options carry considerable risk for the woman. If she can expect sympathy and support from her relatives and if they live nearby, she may ask for their intervention, go home to her family, or take her husband to court. Or she may kill herself. For the Lusi-Kaliai of West New Britain, suicide is an institutionalized and culturally recognized alternative for those who are abused, shamed and powerless, permitting them to shift the burden of humiliation from themselves to their tormentors and enjoy some measure of vengeance against those who drove them to the act.

As Levinson has observed, growing evidence indicates that family violence may directly cause other types of violence (1989:50-51). Specifically, data cited in this article show that wife-beating may be followed by suicide, which in turn may be followed by retribution against those held culpable for the death--thereby extending domestic conflict into the public domain where it must be dealt with by the society as a whole.

NOTES

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1. There are brief notes on this topic by Erchak (1984) and Gibbs (1984) in *Current Anthropology;* a cross-cultural analysis of wife-beating, using data from ethnographies by women who used women as primary informants, is also available (Campbell 1986); comparative articles by Masamura (1979), Lester (1980), and Levinson (1983,1988); and most recently a volume by Levinson (1989), who uses data on ninety societies from the Human Relations Area Files to test theories of domestic violence.

2. See Epstein 1984 for an insightful discussion of the effects of shame in Melanesia.

3. This death and the sexual tabu broken by Sharon are described more fully in David Counts and Dorothy Counts 1983-1984, Dorothy Counts and David Counts 1984, and in Counts 1988.

4. Galiki was an outsider in her husbands village, being from a distant village and a different language group. It may be that her failure to follow the Kaliai rules of suicide was due to ignorance or because the rules of her culture were different.

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PERSON, ASSERTION, AND MARRIAGE: ON THE NATURE OF HOUSEHOLD VIOLENCE IN BUN

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The people of Bun, a small village on the Yuat River in East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea, are assertive and volatile. Violence is not infrequent: it occurs between men, between women, and between women and men, between generations of adults as well as between adults and children. To understand violence within the household, it is necessary to examine a complex interaction of several factors and not search for any simple cause-and-effect relationship. It is not simply that, for example, frustration generates aggression, or that increasing stress is displaced into the nuclear family, or that warriors must be generally aggressive if the society is to survive. Although all of these may be contributory, searching for one simple cause for a complex phenomenon is inadequate.

Nor is it possible to seek causes on only one analytical level: ideological, social, and affective factors are all relevant. Specifically, the meaning and incidence of household violence[1] cannot be understood without examining the indigenous conception of person (a cultural structuring), ethos and affect (psychological factors), and social process itself (kinship, power, and politics). The first section of this article describes the Bun ethos in general, touching on the precolonial period but stressing contemporary society. Ethos and affect--emotional and psychological predispositions and tendencies that relate directly to worldview and to the production of violence--are treated. The second section describes Bun views of the world with a particular focus on the structuring of the

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person, for the process whereby personhood is achieved is seminal in the generation of violence. In the final section, the incidence of household violence is examined and examples analyzed.

One introductory note is necessary: it is always important to know how cultural constructions and categories help shape and form events as well as how events can be interpreted and given meaning by those cultural structures. It is important, for example, to know how the Bun themselves conceive of violence, what connotations such a concept might have for them, indeed if they have such a category at all. Although I do not subscribe to the excessively relativistic doctrine that we cannot impose our category of violence on another society but must follow the indigenous one, it is essential to be aware of the dangers of subtle ethnocentrism when analyzing any phenomenon, especially an emotion-laden one such as domestic violence. It is too easy to fall back on to our own cultural theories of causality--particularly the old frustration-aggression hypothesis (Dollard et al. 1939) and the like-and not examine what is before us.[2]

On Violence and Ethos

The Yuat River is a swift-flowing tributary of the Sepik that descends from the Jimi region of the Highlands. In its upper and middle reaches, where Bun is located, it flows through tropical rainforest interspersed with sago swamp and marshy grassland. The land is adequate for swidden gardens to yield a variety of crops; the main staples of sago and fish are plentiful. Some hunting is also still successful.

The Bun inhabit a single, small village (Bun) directly upriver from the people Mead (1963) described as the Mundugumor (today known as the Biwat). In many ways the two are very similar. Although the Run traditionally had matrilineal descent while the Mundugumor were patrilineal, descent as a social organizational principle was muted in both places while the process of exchange was prominent (see Mead 1963; McDowell 1976, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1984a, 1985, 1987, n.d.). Both peoples practiced brother-sister exchange marriage, vested significant amounts of interest in a special ritual relationship that involved feasting, and incorporated kin into exchange relationships that continued down generations. Many ritual foci were similar, for example, on initiation and on long-yam fertility. Leadership was achieved: men demonstrated their strength through ritual knowledge, successful manipulation of dyadic exchange relations, and fierceness in warfare.

Perhaps the most striking similarity between the Bun and Mundugu-

mor is what Bateson (1936) labeled ethos: the emotional tone and tenor of a society, Mead described both. Mundugumor women and men as assertive, violent, volatile people, quick to anger. She noted that the Mundugumor also had a great capacity for joy and generosity as well as other traits Westerners might interpret as positive, but it was the violence, particularly in the context of childrearing, that she emphasized.[3]

If one acknowledges the joyful side along with the more aggressive one, then the Bun ethos is very similar to their downriver neighbors. Both women and men tend to be assertive, volatile, and quick to defend themselves.[4] Strength is a major value and virtue, and one of the most obvious ways to demonstrate strength is through physical violence. There are other ways, such as sponsoring large and successful feasts, maintaining order in one's own orbit of influence, provisioning one's family well, demonstrating wisdom, and, traditionally, ritual power. Physical violence, however, plays an important role in self assertion. It is a typical reaction to insult and frustration, an outgrowth of anger; it is a natural response to challenges to one's strength. Although some ritual challenges exist that allow an individual to demonstrate strength, to be called weak or inferior provokes anger, which often escalates from verbal abuse to physical violence. While people expect violence to be controlled when directed at those of one's own community, they perceive anger and violence as natural and normal.[5]

The expression of anger through physical aggression is a theme in Bun socialization. Children learn that violence is frequently the proper response when those in one's environment challenge or frustrate, I witnessed a five-year-old boy steal a cigar from his three-year-old sister, who whacked him over the head with a machete. The parents punished only the boy because he had stolen what did not belong to him. Children's play groups are characterized by squabbling that often escalates to violence, and older siblings hit younger siblings who are in their care with regularity. Parents often punish children by hitting them, throwing things at them, lashing out in various ways, almost always in anger.

What is known about Bun before colonialism indicates that physical violence was pervasive before 1920, especially in the arena of intervillage relations.[6] Warfare was conducted between villages; alliances were unstable and precarious. Treachery and stealth were admired, and the aim of a raid was to kill as many enemy as possible without losing any of one's own people. There was no attempt here to achieve balance, nor does it seem that there were norms, rules, or values that acted as sanctions against excessive violence. A counterbalancing strength on the part of an enemy was perhaps the major braking mechanism that muted vio-

lence. The most daring men, the most astute and courageous and successful in warfare, were also the most admired.

Intervillage warfare ceased long ago at the insistence of pre-World War I colonial administrators, and relations between villages are currently peaceful, Violence between villages today is usually the result of a quarrel between individuals and their associated kin. Only occasionally are disputes between villages phrased as between communities, and because of the threat of externally imposed sanctions, rarely do these disputes today escalate into physical violence.

On Person and Violence

Violence within the community is caused by essentially the same things today as before colonialism: challenges to, and the need to assert, one's strength and autonomy. Autonomy and control are issues faced by people everywhere, but they seem to be especially significant ones in Melanesia.[7] Elsewhere I have described how the need to assert personal autonomy is a central cultural and psychological issue in Bun: one must prove one's autonomy while simultaneously participating in social relations that always impair one's desired freedom (McDowell 1978a, 1980, 1984b). The Bun solve this dilemma by basing all internal relations on balanced and symmetrical exchange. Autonomy is preserved by not allowing another to control or to be superior; one remains equal and unindebted. If one escapes being controlled by another, avenges insults and avoids shame, and responds to challenges with self-assertion, then he or she achieves personhood. The term *barajik,* which I translate as "human being," encompasses these notions. A *barajik* is one who manages to remain equal and relatively uncontrolled while still participating in social relations.[8]

This conception of person is significantly different from the Western one, which stresses individualism and an acting or core and separate self. Several ethnographers note that Melanesian persons are defined far more relationally and less "individualistically" than Western ones (see, for example, Clay 1986; Gewertz 1984; Read 1955; see also Bellah et al. 1985 for a description of the Western perspective and Burridge 1979 for a contrasting view). A *barajik* is one who handles the delicate balance between autonomy and sociability by executing transactions that allow for both a relational and autonomous self. There exists a slight gender difference in the attainment of personhood: although both women and men must strike a balance between autonomy and relatedness, men stress autonomy more than women (McDowell 1984a). Few Bun fail

completely to achieve personhood, but occasionally someone does. These are people who fall into the familiar category of "rubbish person." It is important to note that much of the process is relative--some people clearly achieve fuller personhood than others or are content to rest with questionable achievement.

One must, in order to accomplish personhood, transact in three separate modes. First, sharing with close kin is required (while, of course, expecting that they share back). In this domain, affect, closeness, and relational ties are emphasized. But to be a person, it is also necessary to transact in two more modes of formal exchange. The first is that of *kamain,* a distant kin tie ritually transformed into an exchange relationship of both material and intangible goods. *Kamain* exchanges must be balanced and equal; if one fails to keep up, shame and a denial of personhood are inevitable. Finally, one must participate in marital exchanges of people, that is, of siblings. Ideally all marriages occur by brother-sister exchange, a transaction in which equality and balance are guaranteed, and the vast majority of marriages are conceived as if they were between brother-sister pairs of classificatory cross-cousins, If a man does not have a sister, he is at a distinct disadvantage, but there are ways in which he can marry anyway (McDowell 1978b). A deeper problem confronts the man who has a sister but somehow loses her, either to his male kin (to execute their marriages) or to a husband who does not reciprocate with a wife for him. In these cases, the challenge to equity runs deep indeed.

Almost all of the violence I witnessed or learned about relates to this tension of being embedded yet autonomous. Although most violence pertains to the realm of marriage exchange (described below), there were other instances, but these too had to do with challenges to strength and being human. I noted only one land dispute. It escalated into physical violence because the two sides had a history of marital disputes and because the insults that began it were ones that challenged people's ability to assert themselves. The physical violence that results from a failure to share food, too, has to do with strength. But refusing to share is rare, for it is an assertion of nonhumanity. Theft is complex because its meaning is situationally defined and interpreted. In cases in which the thief is clearly not a person of strength, stealing can be interpreted as an act of weakness, an inability to produce for oneself. But theft can also convey the message that the rightful owner is of little consequence and nothing to fear. Rather than perceiving a thief as a weak producer, or someone who does not reciprocate as a debtor, the Bun sometimes see his or her activities as assertions of strength, as accusations that the victim is not

worthy of reciprocal relations. People are not foolish: no one steals from the strong, only from the weak.

Honor and shame become central themes when disparaging remarks by another about one's self or one's ancestors are really assertions that one has failed to achieve personhood and is therefore deficient. An old man complained that his daughter had been taken in by another kinsman; she stayed with the younger relative, helped him and was helped by him, and the old man felt abandoned. His anger increased as he began to hurl serious insults at the other man. The younger man tried to ignore him and treat him as a comical figure until the insults became too serious to ignore, and he challenged the old man by questioning the strength of his ancestors. The old man attacked, first with a club and later with a canoe paddle, and in the ensuing scuffle was punched and knocked to the ground. Informants agreed that his shame had forced him to attack; he needed to prove his strength to regain his sense of self and expunge the shame of the challenge.

Clearly this, process--of asserting one's self, achieving personhood by remaining at least equal, maintaining one's autonomy, and avoiding control by others (while simultaneously trying to control them)--is a political process that is deeply intertwined with the acquisition of power. It played a significant role in the traditional political system in which individual men achieved status by maintaining their strength and controlling others in exchanging and feasting as well as in warfare and ritual, The arena in which one demonstrated strength was wider in traditional society, including warfare and intervillage raiding; the arena in which it is manifested today has shrunk. One can, indeed must, demonstrate the ability to maintain equity in the context of the *kamain* relationship. Because formality and respect characterize the tie, it is not appropriate to win too much--the ideal is equity, and people who violate that ideal by trying to outdo their *kamain* are accused of trying to shame these relations, a serious breach of manners and violation of appropriate kin behavior. The relationship between cross-cousins allows for somewhat more leeway. These relatives frequently provoke one another into a series of competitive feasts in which the goal is to provide so much that the others cannot possibly reciprocate (see, for example, McDowell 1982). Business is providing a new means of asserting strength: if one proves one's strength by accumulating money to buy things (such as outboard motors), then one demonstrates strength superior to others. But by far the most significant contemporary arena for proving strength, and in which one's strength is most frequently challenged, is that concerning marital exchange.

On Social and Political Process

Bun ethos, socialization, and personhood help to explain the prevalence of violence, but its pattern must be understood in the sociopolitical context of marriage. Marriage provides the crucible out of which most interpersonal violence between adults emerges. It is within the process of attracting sexual partners and arranging marriages that much of the assertion of self takes place today, and it is within this context that people are frequently frustrated and challenged by others.

Arranging the ideal marriage is enormously complex (see McDowell 1978b for details of some especially complicated cases) and requires detailed planning and a lot of luck. Rarely do plans work smoothly, for the simple reason that seldom are there classificatory cross-cousins of the appropriate age and sex who are *willing* to marry the partner stipulated for them. Although both men and women phrase these exchanges as if brothers exchanged their passive and yielding sisters, the reality is that women rarely marry men they do not like. (Women and men both perceive that, like Collier's [1974] troublemakers, these are idiosyncratic actions of obstreperous women rather than a pattern of resistance to male authority [see McDowell 1984a].) Women assert their autonomy by refusing to marry men to whom their brothers and fathers try to send them and frequently by insisting that they marry men of their own choosing. Men, on the other hand, demonstrate their power when they can by executing what they believe to be appropriate exchanges. The process is made even more complex by the fact that men try to attract hopefully unreciprocated women to them, foiling other men's plans by enticing women who are not appropriate; by so doing they assert their power to attract and control.[9] Maintaining a marriage and maintaining power over one's wife, or maintaining autonomy from one's husband or choosing one's own husband, are serious aspects of marriage that, when individuals' power and autonomy are threatened, can generate interpersonal violence.

Marriage exchanges are then essentially political processes: they involve ways of manifesting and demonstrating personal power. Disputes about these transactions are not located in either a domestic or public sphere because the spheres, although they do exist (see McDowell 1984a), are not clearly differentiated. In fact, it is precisely the process of arranging marriages that provides the most significant overlap of the public and domestic. Marriages are the foundation of domestic life, but their arrangement involves public and very political process.

Violence in Bun, as elsewhere, is not random: it clusters around four

related relationships within which power issues and assertions of self are deeply significant: (1) husband/wife, (2) co-wife/co-wife, (3) sister/brother, and (4) affines or potential affines. The first two relationships are relatively straightforward; understanding the dynamics of the second two is more problematic. Teasing these four out from the larger context in which they occur allows for more careful attention to each, but marriage is a process that involves all of these people, for they are embedded together in a single complex.

Physical violence between husband and wife is commonplace. In just over fourteen months of fieldwork, I recorded thirty incidents of physical violence between spouses, and I am certain many more cases never came to my attention (the total population of the village during this time was approximately 220). Some couples did not fight physically at all during this period, but at least sixteen did. One couple accounted for six of the incidents, two couples fought four times, one couple fought three times, five couples fought twice, and seven couples fought physically only once during this period. The severity of the physical violence varied; in some instances, a person was only struck once and not physically harmed, but in other cases serious physical damage resulted. One woman's ribs were broken, another woman was badly battered, and in one case a man's collarbone was broken. The woman who fought with her husband on at least six separate occasions had obvious cuts and bruises several times.[10]

Although people usually say that a quarrel between husband and wife is their own business, bystanders and kin may interfere for two very different reasons. One is simply that although physical beatings are acceptable, there are limits--excessive damage to another person is not tolerated, and in anger people may go too far. Onlookers usually try to remove weapons to prevent permanent injury or death. The *kamain* relationship can also be relevant here: one should not quarrel with one's spouse in the presence of a *kamain*--to do so induces shame. If the violence is excessive, the *kamain* can take serious action to end it by causing more shame. He or she can throw a net bag between the participants in the quarrel, and they are obligated to cease fighting until they present the *kamain* with a feast.

There is a second reason people interfere in a quarrel between wife and husband, one that intensifies and spreads the physical violence rather than curtails it. People use the occasion of their female relatives' being beaten by their husbands to further quarrels with these men. For example, a man might hit his wife because she did not cook, but then her brother--angry at the husband because of the original marriage

exchange or for an entirely different reason--would, under the pretext of helping his sister, attack the husband. In this way, seemingly constrained domestic quarrels ramify and become larger political events. One such incident occurred prior to my fieldwork. A man wanted to acquire a second wife (his deceased son's wife) and his first wife was furious, not only because he wanted another wife, but because he wanted his own daughter-in-law. He beat her but she was aided quickly by her brother and classificatory son, both of whom had old scores to settle with the husband. In another case, again one I did not witness, a man hit his wife because no food was ready. Her brother, who had opposed their marriage, decided to help his sister, joined the fray to protect her, and hit the husband. Later the husband and his brother went into the bush with this wife's brother, and a tree fell on the wife's brother and killed him. No charges were ever brought, but many people speculated that anger had remained and that he had been murdered by his brothers-in-law.

Although women usually end up the physical victims when they quarrel violently with men, in two cases it was the husband who sustained serious injuries. Women do not always passively accept their husbands' beatings--sometimes, especially if they are very angry or feel that they have a chance to come out ahead, they fight back, and sometimes women initiate the physical aspects of a dispute. In one incident, people were pulling a canoe out of the forest to the shore when the rattan broke, and women who were helping all fell down. One husband made fun of his wife. She became angry about being ridiculed and insulted him and would not cook his dinner. When he tried to calm her down, she stuck a machete into his wrist. Another couple had very dramatic confrontations. In one incident, the husband began to beat his wife, but she grabbed an axe; informants believed that she would have killed him if she had not been prevented. On two occasions, this woman initiated the quarrel and hit her husband, even going after him with a spear. The Bun say that men beat their wives with their hands and feet and that women tend to make use of weapons to defend themselves and to harm their husbands. This perception seems to hold true, but in the case of this axe- and spear-wielding woman, the husband once became so exasperated that he grabbed a piece of oil palm and bashed her over the head with it.

The reasons wives and husbands quarrel are diverse, but all have to do with power issues--who controls whom in the relationship. This may be a truism for violence between spouses of all cultures at some level, but it is in the forefront in Bun. Women often resist new mar-

riages by staying away from their husbands and refusing to behave in general as wives should, and men frequently respond by beating them. One man's marriage had been arranged years before my arrival, and his sister was firmly married to his future wife's brother; he was waiting for this marked bride to mature. He did not wait patiently and, before she was old enough to marry, he had an affair with her mother in an on-again, off-again relationship for about two years; it only ended as the bride gained maturity and the marriage seemed imminent. The bride's mother was disgruntled about the end of the affair and wanted to marry the man herself despite the fact that he was a generation younger and her daughter's marked husband. The bride was young, shy, and easily influenced by her mother, who told her that he would not be a good husband for her and she should resist the plans that had been made for her marriage. Soon after I arrived, the news broke that the impending bride had slept with an attractive and unattached young man. In the ensuing argument, she was badly beaten by her brothers and her young lover was slapped around as well. He paid compensation to her intended husband and the affair ended; it was not clear whether the young man was not seriously interested in marriage with her or if she was not strong enough to forcefully resist the marriage road arranged for her. It was clear that she did not want to marry her marked husband. Helped by her mother's urgings, she resisted passively for months. Because she would not behave as a wife--neither as a sexual nor domestic partner--her husband became angry and frustrated. He beat his own mother, who insulted him about the situation, and tried to seduce his wife's sister but was caught and had to pay compensation. He was urged by various people to persist in his bond with the recalcitrant bride and did so, but at a high cost to her: I recorded four separate occasions on which he beat her for not behaving as she should. She had no support from relatives, other than her trouble-making mother, and eventually gave in. (Note here that although I use this case to examine husband-wife violence, it could also serve as an example of brother-sister violence, adultery, and even mother-adult son violence.)

Men's stated reason for hitting their wives is frequently that the wife did not prepare food or did not work, the implication being that she was off doing what she wanted to do rather than what her husband thought she should be doing. In the case of the husband with the broken collar-hone, the ostensible reason his wife hit him with a log was that he wanted to play cards while she wanted him to help in the garden. On two occasions, husbands complained that their wives were not adequately caring for children and deserved to be beaten for that reason.

Sexual and other sorts of jealousy, however, are probably the most important causes of violence between spouses. A husband's belief that his wife may be committing adultery often goads him into violence against her. Women get angry and jealous of co-wives and potential co-wives (and their husbands' adulteries). When they do so, they insult their husbands and provoke, if not initiate, the violence. The woman who had broken ribs as the result of a kick from her husband had accused him in obscene and insulting terms of spending all his money on women while he was away working; she knew that such an insult would provoke him--and only regretted that he responded so fast that she did not have a chance to defend herself. When a man indicates that he may be getting a co-wife (especially if he is having an affair with an eligible woman), wives complain, refuse to cooperate, and generally make their displeasure clear. They often initiate or provoke violence and make life so miserable that the men give up on their polygynous plans.

Another significant way in which women fight back against the potential acquisition of additional wives is by taking lovers of their own and eventually causing such disruption that divorce is the only solution. They know that beatings will occur in the process, but some seem willing to pay that price, The root of one complex case was a woman's unwillingness to accept a particular co-wife. She made her displeasure known, and her husband avoided the conflict by signing on as a coastal plantation worker for two years. When he returned, his new wife was still waiting for him, but his first wife was having an affair with another man and seemed fairly committed to him.[11] The husband was furious and demanded that she return to him and that he be paid compensation. During the first of several village moots to discuss the case, the wife was severely beaten by her brothers for her behavior; one of these brothers had used her to execute his own marriage and feared that a divorce would undo it, The adultery-committing couple paid compensation and it appeared that the wife returned to her husband, but she was obviously dissatisfied with the outcome. She continued to meet with her lover despite all attempts to keep them apart. The woman was beaten severely by her husband, while her lover was struck by both her husband and his own mother's brother. After her pregnancy was announced, the husband beat the lover in front of the latter's own relatives, who did nothing to protect him. He also tried to beat the wife again, muttering that he would kill her this time, but was prevented from doing so by bystanders. The participants recognized an impasse and took the case to the colonial court in Angoram.[12]

Women do not like to share husbands and do whatever they can to

prevent their husbands from acquiring additional wives. One man was having an affair with an older woman, and he was clearly thinking about marrying her. His second wife, favored and beautiful, was deeply resentful and expressed her resentment frequently by insulting him, refusing to cook, and being obstinant in various ways (and was beaten by her husband for it; this is the couple who fought at least six times). After one particularly nasty beating, she became enraged and attacked her husband's lover with an axe, nearly fracturing her skull. The husband abandoned thoughts of acquiring a third wife.

Disputes between husband and wife and between co-wives are ethnographically commonplace. The pivotal importance of brother-sister exchange marriage and individuals' attempts to assert themselves within the context of such marriage exchanges generate two additional dyads in which violence is prevalent in Bun: between brother and sister and between affines (or potential affines).

If executed properly, a brother-sister exchange marriage results in two married couples, closely connected to one another. Ideally such affines cooperate and support one another in disputes. When the marriages are executed smoothly and with little acrimony, good relations usually are the rule. However, few marriages are arranged and carried out with no trouble; in fact, despite the public ideology that men arrange marriages for themselves and their sons and their sisters' sons, the reality is that these exchanges are, as often as not, conflict-ridden. And because of these conflicts, the relations among the major participants are acrimonious and sometimes violent.

The brother-sister tie is supposed to be a close one, and in general it is.[13] The tie is especially close with the sibling with whom one participated in a marriage exchange, A woman gives food to such a brother regularly and without question; a man provides meat to his marked sister, often over the protests of his wife. But brother-sister pairs often clash violently about arranging marriages. Most typically, the brother (with his senior male kin) works out a marriage road for himself and his sister without consulting her; when she hears of the plans and learns the identity of her intended husband, she balks and refuses to marry accordingly. She can make her intentions known simply by announcing her refusal. If her relatives ignore her wishes and go ahead with the marriages, she simply refuses to behave like a wife. Not infrequently she already has a lover she prefers to marry; if so, she makes this affair known publicly and by so doing forces her relatives to deal with her desires in the public arena of a village moot. If she is strong enough--accepting the beatings given to her primarily by her brothers--then her

will usually prevails.[14] Some women, however, are not strong enough and acquiesce to the demands of their relatives.

Brothers beat their sisters for other reasons, but most have to do with marriage. Violence associated with adultery is best interpreted in this context because adultery indicates a desire for divorce and the threat to the earlier arranged marriages, not just a violation or theft of rights of sexual access. Thus some women who commit adultery are beaten by their brothers as well as their husbands. Of the six cases of brother-sister violence that occurred during the period of my fieldwork, four were concerned with arranging initial marriages and two with the threat of adultery to already-existing marriages. Moots are held ostensibly to settle such disputes, but anger flares and violence erupts. I never saw a woman try to fight back in this context, but informants told me of other cases in which women did defend themselves. Men assert their desires and attempt to control their sisters; women resist control and assert their autonomy in choosing a spouse or terminating a marriage.

Men try to assert themselves in the marriage context in an additional way: they attempt to attract women without laying the necessary groundwork for an exchange. They engage in sexual affairs in the hope that they can acquire a wife (or additional wives), and sometimes they are successful. But their attempted seductions of women have a price: the woman's brothers resent what they perceive to be theft of their rights to the woman, and their resentment erupts in physical violence. Even if marriages are eventually arranged, conflict and animosity remain because seductions are interpreted as sister stealing. Sisters are beaten, but so also are their lovers despite the fact that lovers transform into affines with some regularity. It seems appropriate, then, to include certain kinds of violence between affines or potential affines here as well.

Most such violence occurs between men, as in cases of brothers beating their sisters' lovers. But not all is between men--sometimes women get involved in attempts to protect what they perceive to be their siblings' rights. Two brothers from another village married in Bun and brought sisters to exchange for their wives. One of these sisters ended up in an incorrect marriage, and, what was even worse, when her husband died she married her deceased husband's father. Her brothers were furious with her and especially with her second husband, but they were unable to do anything about it. They brought another sister to the village to replace the one who had gone astray, and her intended husband waited for her to mature. When it was discovered that she was having an affair with the son of the man who had stolen their other sister, the

brothers were again furious. They beat the young man, but he was defended by his brothers; the conflict ramified through a larger network as others joined the fray to support a relative. Women participated in this fight as well: both of the wives of the in-married brothers, who were in fact sisters, feared that their brother was going to be done out of a wife by the same people who had cheated him before. One of the wives attacked the young man's mother for hiding him and his actions from public view; the other attacked the young woman, their brother's potential wife.

Summary

Violence among kin in Bun must be understood as a part of the process by which the Bun define themselves and achieve personhood. When personhood is threatened, when autonomy is in jeopardy, or when accusations of inferiority and therefore inhumanity are made, then one must assert oneself and thereby demonstrate humanity. Establishing and situating the self as a person is culturally meaningful, but it is also the foundation of political process and the generation of power over others. Physical violence is directed at those who frustrate, who challenge, who evade, who attempt to control, and as such it is an inherent part of the political process as well. Because arranging and maintaining marriages are the central ways in which autonomy is achieved but also threatened, more violence occurs in this context than in any other contemporary arena.

NOTES

I did fieldwork in Bun for approximately thirteen months in 1972-1973 and six weeks in 1977. I made two brief visits during 1981. I would like to thank the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and Franklin and Marshall College for financial support for these research periods,

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1. I use the phrase "household violence" here to avoid the more common expression "domestic violence." In Bun, the domestic and public realms are not clearly delineated, and in fact this kind of violence straddles the line between these two potential domains. See the discussion below about arranging marriages for examples.

2. Not being careful can result in erroneous analyses. For example, in a recent article the historian Denoon notes the rise of domestic violence in contemporary Papua New Guinea,

and he ponders on its cause(s): "it seems permissible to speculate that there is a knot of problems inherited from the past, exacerbated during the twentieth century, constituting the most diffuse social tension confronting Papua New Guinea society. How might we account for reluctance or rebelliousness against household authority on such a scale as to provoke such persistent violence?" (1987:59). One cannot disagree with the speculation that there may be "a knot of problems" from the past made worse by contemporary events or that domestic violence may be the most "diffuse social tension" in this polity today. But the second sentence implies that to understand domestic violence, one should look to see what makes the *victims* do such things! Why indeed do women rebel and force their husbands to beat them? (Denoon has some suggestions, all of which relate to excessive stress on, and the lack of alternative outlets for, women in contemporary Papua New Guinea [1987:59-60].) Blaming the victim is a Western ideological twist that only excuses analysts from looking at more difficult and complex relationships and directs attention away from too many contributing factors. Although blaming women and children for rebelling may also be an indigenous male perspective, a far more encompassing and comprehensive understanding (in other societies as well as our own) is needed.

3. For a discussion of Mead's work on the Mundugumor and an evaluation of it, see McDowell n.d.

4. That there is little or no contrast in gender ethos or, to use Mead's (1963) old terminology, "temperament," does not mean that there are no contrasts in gender ideology, nor does it imply that male and female roles are the same. See McDowell 1984a for a discussion of gender in Bun that relates directly to some of the issues discussed here.

5. Angry adults frequently displace their anger onto material objects, smashing an object rather than a person. One man enraged by his wife, for example, destroyed his own canoe, one she had used to cross the river. When asked why people destroy their own possessions, informants reply simply that they were angry. Anger was the reason, not someone else's behavior (see Schieffelin 1976:135 for similarities among the Kaluli).

6. Much excellent work is currently being done about Melanesian violence in general. See especially Knauft 1985, but also Hallpike 1977.

7. For an excellent discussion of how autonomy and interdependence relate in a New Ireland society, see Clay 1986; for a now-classic ethnography concerning these issues, see Reay 1959.

8. Unfortunately, I failed to understand the entire process of achieving personhood while in the field and cannot answer some significant questions about it. For example, when does a growing child begin the process? Are children nonpersons or does another category, perhaps yet-to-be person, exist? Parents begin exchanges in the names of their children . . . what if they fail to do so? Many such questions remain.

9. See Weiner 1988 for a contrasting way in which power and sexuality can be related.

10. On one occasion, I feared so much for this woman that I interfered in the quarrel. It should also be noted here that these diagnoses are mine, not informed medical opinions.

11. This case was enormously complicated by the fact that the woman's husband was a classificatory father to her lover.

12. What happened in court surprised even close participants. When asked what he wanted to do, the husband replied that he did not want his first wife back--he only

wanted compensation. His first and second wives, recognizing that they had a common goal in facilitating the first's divorce (the new co-wife did not want to be a co-wife to anyone), formed an alliance and together shamed him in front of a variety of people by asking him, "Why have you made all of this necessary? You're just sexually excited all the time--you only think of female genitals." The ensuing shame, the knowledge that he had little chance in the face of an alliance between the two, and the fear that in reality the colonial court usually favored the woman made him back down and relinquish his claims on his first wife. The divorce was executed and compensation paid to the husband, and the lovers were free to marry.

13. The brother-sister relationship seems to assume central significance in a variety of Pacific contexts. See, for example, Marshall 1983, particularly the chapters in that volume by Smith and Goodale.

14. Fathers are also participants in these beatings; father-daughter violence, however, seems less common and perhaps should be conceived as a subset here. Fathers bluster and shout more than they seem to beat their daughters.

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SPARE THE ROD AND SPOIL THE WOMAN? FAMILY VIOLENCE IN ABELAM SOCIETY

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This article addresses the question of differing cultural definitions of terms such as "violence" and "spouse abuse" by examining the nature of family "violence" in Abelam society. Among the Abelam, it is not uncommon for men to punish women physically. These men may be husbands, elder brothers, fathers, or other close relatives, When beatings are not too severe or too frequent, this behavior is socially approved by uninvolved persons of both sexes. Abelam men regard such physical punishment in much the same spirit as Americans regard child discipline. They believe that occasional beatings are sometimes "necessary" in order to socialize women properly, Women tolerate occasional beatings, particularly when they admit fault. If they feel unjustly accused, however, women may defend themselves, sometimes employing counterviolence. Cases of "pure husband beating" are very rare, however. Nearly all Abelam family "violence" involves behavior that is considered to be discipline of wives by husbands or of sisters by elder brothers.

In American society, I believe it is considered culturally appropriate to discipline children with occasional physical punishment. A slap across the behind, following several verbal warnings, would probably not be considered child "abuse." Indeed, I have seen the public physical punishment of children in supermarkets, shopping malls, and so forth on numerous occasions, Only when such discipline becomes too severe or too frequent is it culturally defined as "abuse." On the other hand, it is probably never considered "justified' in American society for a hus-

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band to strike his wife, and I believe all such incidents would be considered "abusive."

In Abelam society, these patterns seem to be almost reversed. I am sure that Abelam would regard many (if not most) Americans as being physically abusive towards their children (see Korbin 1981 and 1987 for differing cultural standards of child "abuse"). Abelam rarely if ever strike their own children. Withholding food is a much more common punishment, often accompanied by a matter-of-fact statement of cause and effect: "Well, you didn't do your share of the work, so you don't get your share of the food."

However, just as most American families sustain a level of physical child "abuse" considered inappropriate by Abelam standards, most Abelam marriages sustain occasional physical punishment of wives that would be judged "abusive" by American standards. Such discipline of women by their male relatives is the focus of this essay. In the following pages, I will provide an overview of Abelam family violence. By analyzing a series of representative cases, I examine the nature, frequency, and social context of family violence against women in Abelam society.

Ethnographic Background

The Abelam are non-Austronesian speakers living in the foothills of the Prince Alexander Mountains in East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. They are a horticultural group, densely populating lowlands and subsisting mostly on yams, taro, sweet potatoes and sago supplemented by pork, small game, and various garden products. The focus of this study is the Samukundi dialect group, comprising about ten thousand of the roughly sixty thousand Abelam. The Samukundi inhabit the northernmost part of Abelam territory, extending well into the Prince Alexander Mountains. Neligum village, the research site, is in the extreme north of Samukundi territory. Neligum has experienced the population explosion characteristic of the entire Abelam tribe since contact; its population has doubled in the fifteen years in which I have worked there. Yet there is still adequate land in the virgin forest to the north. Thus Neligum has not experienced the severe land shortages and concomitant land disputes that plague other Abelam populations.

The Abelam are nominally patrilineal and patrilocal; more than 80 percent of married couples live near the husband's family. Marriages are generally contracted between partners in different sections of the same village or from neighboring villages, so women are never far from their natal homes. Another pattern relevant to the present discussion is the tendency of Abelam to visit frequently with friends and relatives and to

sleep where they visit. In a time allocation study in which I visited people in the evening and nighttime hours (Scaglion 1986a), people were frequently not found sleeping at home. Thus, when family violence erupts or is expected, family members can avoid confrontations temporarily simply by visiting away from home for a few days.

The Case Sample

I began my research in Neligum in 1974, about a year after a local court was established at Maprik, the subdistrict headquarters. In this still-colonial period the introduced court was almost never used voluntarily by Abelam and, with a few exceptions (Scaglion 1976), conflict management was carried on much as it had been since European contact. Conducting a study of conflict management in Neligum, I remained in residence throughout calendar year 1975 and used the case method (Black and Metzger 1965; Epstein 1967; Frake 1969; Gulliver 1969) to collect a sixty-five-case sample of the conflict cases that occurred in that year. These cases were recorded in detail on specially designed forms and included relevant data concerning the relationships between litigants, history of the dispute, nature of previous disputes, and so forth. Taken together, these cases constitute the total of all incidents that the people themselves defined as "trouble cases." For the Abelam, trouble cases are incidents that cause sufficient disruption in village harmony to result in remedy action. For this analysis, it is important to realize that mild, disciplinary beating of wives by husbands is socially sanctioned and *not* considered "trouble." Thus, this sample underrepresents the actual incidence of what Americans might view as family violence. In all of the spousal abuse cases in this sample, at least some persons considered the beatings sufficiently severe, frequent, or unjustified to constitute abuse by Abelam standards.

In 1977, village courts were introduced in the area. This changed the basic process of conflict management by integrating traditional and introduced remedy agents (Scaglion 1979, 1985). Since then, more extensive exposure to Western social patterns, especially through schooling, has altered the nature of Abelam family life. Therefore, quantitative data on the frequency of various types of conflict presented here are from the sixty-five trouble cases recorded in 1975 (analyzed in Scaglion 1976). This sample of all the conflicts involving the 553 Neligum residents in that year illustrates fairly "traditional" patterns. Cases reported in this article are also taken from this sample. To assess more recent social changes at the conclusion of the article, I have relied on cases that I observed after 1975, either in village courts or in the village itself.

The Nature of Family Violence

The 1975 sample of sixty-five cases shows that what Westerners today consider family violence was not uncommon in traditional Abelam society. Fifteen of these cases (23.1 percent of all disputes) involved physical violence between immediate family members. These cases, broken down by structural relationship between disputants, are detailed in Table 1.

In another sample of 101 cases collected during 1974-1976, mainly "memory" cases from the precontact and early colonial era, twenty-two (21.8 percent) involved violence between immediate family members. These displayed much the same pattern as seen in Table 1.

In the category of spousal violence, the overwhelming number of 1975 cases involve male physical abuse of women (82 percent). The others involve attacks on husbands by armed wives, angered because of sexual jealousies. The physical violence against women is undoubtedly a long-standing pattern. I once noticed a three-inch-long scar on the back of my Abelam grandmother's head. When I asked her about it, she explained that she got it many years ago, when she was a newly married woman, before she had had children. This was "when people were still using the stone axes and knives." Her husband thought she had been seeing another man. When he accused her, she denied it. They quarreled, and he cut her with a bamboo knife. This incident closely resembles cases collected in 1975 (see below).

Spousal Violence

My impression is that for most Abelam couples the level of spousal violence is rather low. The husband might slap the wife mildly with an

TABLE 1. **Nature of Abelam Family Violence**

Relationship between Disputants	Number of Cases	Percentage
spouses	11	64.7
Siblings	3	17.6
Close intergenerational	2	11.8
Co-wives	1	5.9
Total	17[a]	100.0

Source: Based on Scaglion 1976.

[a]Exceeds number of individual cases (15) because some cases involved two types of violence.

open hand or deliver a single blow with a piece of firewood on rather rare occasions, perhaps once every few years. Newly married couples usually experience a period of adjustment in which a mutually tolerable level of spousal violence is established. By mutually tolerable violence, I do not mean to suggest that women are always satisfied with their situations. However, most women regard a certain amount of physical violence as an unfortunate part of married life. When I interviewed women about past beatings, particularly if the beatings were very mild, women often said that they were extremely angry at the time but later realized that they had been 'wrong and so they could accept the situation without much bitterness. If the level of physical violence against a woman is sufficiently low and infrequent that she does not regard her husband as "abusive," I consider the violence "tolerable" to the couple.

There are, however, a few men who seem unusually abusive by nature, particularly during their younger years. Their marriages tend to be short-lived, not surviving the adjustment period. There are also couples who seem to sustain a rather high, recurring level of violence throughout their married years that is not "mutually tolerable." The following three cases illustrate fairly typical patterns of spousal violence that cause trouble in the village.

A Newly Married Young Couple. Wiseke,[1] a young man of nineteen, went to a yam festival at a neighboring village on 22 August 1975. These festivals take place following nearly six months of ritual sexual abstinence, and a great deal of courtship and sexual behavior takes place during the late night hours. Wiseke had not told his relatively new (second) wife, Kurepak, twenty-one, that he was going. He stayed overnight, returning home late the next morning.

When he finally returned, Kurepak yelled at him. He became angry, beat her unconscious with his fists, and walked off. Her in-laws tended her and sent for her father, Sambisany. Her injuries were so severe that her father feared she would die. As he tended her, one of *his* classificatory fathers (the young woman's grandfather), having heard of the trouble, arrived at the scene. He was so angered at the extent of Kurepak's injuries that he borrowed a spear and set out in search of Wiseke, vowing to kill him. Wiseke had hidden himself well, though, and was not to be found.

Wiseke laid low for about a week, and Kurepak eventually recovered. Her father suggested that she divorce Wiseke, but she refused. He was an extremely good-looking young man and she didn't want to leave him. As a second wife, she knew that her leaving temporarily would be

a bad strategy; it would give her co-wife a chance to "strengthen" her hold on him and to "poison his mind" against her. She determined to return to her husband.

However, her father and family had been opposed to the marriage from the beginning. It seems that Sambisany, her father, had married Wiseke's aunt as a second wife and shortly afterward his first wife, Kurepak's mother, had died. He suggested that sorcery by Wiseke's kin group had been the cause,

When he couldn't convince his daughter to leave Wiseke, Sambisany lectured her, saying, "I didn't want you to marry him in the first place but you wouldn't listen and went to live with him anyway. They killed your mother and now they'll kill you. Well, that's your affair but Wiseke hasn't paid bride-price yet. I'll send word to him to pay. Then if he wants to kill you it's his business." After this was done, Sambisany calmed his classificatory father down. In any case, the woman's grandfather had ceased looking for Wiseke when it was obvious that she would recover.

Subsequent Developments: This couple divorced a few years later. Wiseke has shown himself to be an incorrigible womanizer who has never settled down. He has had a number of wives and girlfriends, and displayed a pattern of physical abuse of women that is definitely not socially approved. However, when his wives have been unwilling to leave him, their male relatives have given limited support.

A Middle-Aged Couple. Saatkwak, a forty-eight-year-old married man with three children, had been having an affair with Leves, a fifty-year-old widow with one child. He began referring to her as his "second wife," although she didn't live with him or cook for him. Since Abelam marriages often begin as rather de facto affairs, cohabitation and sharing food are commonly regarded as signs that a couple is actually married.

Manyge, a woman of forty-six who had been married to Saatkwak for many years, became angry that he was referring to Leves as a second wife, although she had previously been ignoring their affair. On Monday, 5 May 1975, she confronted him about it. She became angry and began scolding him in public. He became angry, picked up a piece of firewood, and hit her over the head with it. It was not the first time he had physically abused her. He hit her about the head several times as she attempted to protect herself with her arms, whereupon she ran away.

Later that afternoon she went to the hamlet of a big-man, Waama, the principal mediator for her and her husband's ceremonial group.

Because he was busy, he asked her to wait for another time to have the case heard. But she was still angry and wanted to press her case immediately. He suggested she go to see the local government councillor. She went, but he was not home, and she determined to take the case to the local court. She lodged her complaint with the police, who told her to bring her husband in. She approached the big-man, Waama, again and he helped her bring her husband to the police station later that week. By this time she had cooled down, however, and refused to press charges.

When the three returned together to the village, she became afraid of possible reprisals by her husband and ran away again. She stayed for a few days with a female friend who lived in a different ceremonial group within the same village. Then she went to stay with her brother in her neighboring natal village.

On May 12, Saatkwak went to her brother's house to bring her back. The brother did not seem to want to take sides in the dispute, and Manyge agreed to return to Neligum with her husband. Later that day, though, when Saatkwak left for another neighboring village to help carry ritual objects for a ceremony, Manyge returned to her brother's house.

On May 17, Manyge voluntarily decided to return once again to her home. When she arrived, her husband was away attending a yam festival in a neighboring village. He arrived home very late and there was no incident that night. Nevertheless, the big-man, Waama, feared more trouble. Knowing of this couple's history of marital problems and that the husband frequently struck the wife, he suggested to several of the husbands male relatives that they keep an eye on him. If he became physically abusive (without cause) they were instructed to beat *him.*

Five months later the couple argued again, and Saatkwak struck Manyge in the face with his open hand. Waama was sent for to arbitrate. Manyge was accusing her husband of being involved with yet another woman, but this time apparently without good reason. After trying unsuccessfully to calm both parties, Waama left, telling them that he was sick of this behavior and that it was now their own affair.

Subsequent Developments: This couple has continued to have problems over the past fifteen years but are still together. The husband continues to beat or strike his wife frequently during their quarrels. By emic standards his actions are right on the borderline of abuse. Some people describe him as abusive; others feel that he is justified. Many people consider the wife to be hot-headed and feel that she often precipitates their fights.

Another Middle-Aged Couple. In the wave of cargo-cult beliefs immediately preceding independence, people became convinced that another country was coming to "boss" Papua New Guinea (Scaglion 1983). Awungele, a forty-eight-year-old married man, cut a great deal of bamboo to build a rest house for the new "country." But after hearing a lot of conflicting stories about what would actually happen at independence, he thought better of it. Maknambinje, a woman of fifty who had married Wano, fifty-two, after his first wife died, was having an affair with this man Awungele. Realizing that he had much extra bamboo, she approached her own husband about building a cookhouse for her and mentioned that their neighbor, Awungele, had extra bamboo. The husband approached Awungele and they agreed to build the house together.

After the frame was erected, Wano and Maknambinje had a fight. Wano had frequently threatened his wife with a piece of firewood or a bush knife and had beaten her over relatively minor matters. On this particular occasion, he slapped her across the side of the face and told her to build her own cookhouse. After this, Awungele, the lover, finished the house alone. This angered the husband.

The case festered for a few months. Finally, at a village meeting on 10 November 1975, it was discussed. Awungele denied knowing that the husband had refused to build the house. He claimed that he had had some spare time and just did it. Public opinion seemed to run against him. Most people believed that Maknambinje had convinced him to complete the house after her husband had refused.

After Awungele told his side of the story, the husband Wano, in the sarcastic style characteristic of such situations, said, "Ah, her husband is dead, and so you put up a cook house for her." Wano had previously tried to convince his wife to move to a different part of the village, since he suspected her affair with Awungele. Now, at the village meeting, he repeated his request that they move. She replied that she wished to remain in their present location until she died. He said, "Oh, I see, you two would like to marry. All right, you two can stay together and I'll leave."

But several of the big-men who were mediating the dispute said no, that wasn't right, a woman should go with her husband. After hearing all this, Awungele said he didn't want to hear any more of this talk and denied having an affair with Maknambinje.

While no definite "orders" were given and no particular decisions reached, exhortations were made for the couple to stay together, and it was more or less understood that this would happen.

Subsequent Developments: The married couple resided in separate hamlets for a time, but eventually they came together again. The problems were never really resolved. The pattern of wife-beating continued on a sporadic basis. The woman is now deceased.

The above cases demonstrate the usual patterns of Abelam family violence. In the first case, a young man seriously abused his wife. This is most common in the early years of marriage. If the husband does not moderate his beatings to a socially acceptable level the wife usually leaves him, temporarily at first and then permanently as the marriage ultimately breaks up, as happened in this instance. In other cases, newly married spouses fight but get together again after a cooling-off period, and the level of violence progressively declines. Still other couples display recurring patterns of spouse abuse serious enough to cause trouble but which seem to be tolerable enough for the marriage to remain intact. The above cases also show that sexual jealousies are common causes of family violence and that polygynous marriages can cause severe problems until adjustments are made.

When women are severely abused they are not always physically passive, as were the women in the previous cases. Some women use violence to defend themselves. Others attack their husbands with a weapon. Again, this sort of behavior is most common in the early stages of marriages when couples are making adjustments. Just as some men seem particularly prone to spouse abuse, some "hot-blooded" women (as they are called by the Abelam) seem particularly prone to turning weapons against their spouses. The following is a typical case. Sexual jealousy is again the ultimate cause.

A Wife Attacks Her Husband. Paal, a twenty-eight-year-old man, had two wives. He shot a wallaby on 19 September 1975 and hung it up in his house. His second wife, Sapasalik, a young woman to whom he had been married for only a few months, took it down and prepared to cook it. His first wife, Nyangilak, to whom he had been married for many years and with whom he had three children, did not approve of the second wife. She told her co-wife to leave the wallaby alone, that it belonged to her. The second wife said that she was hungry and that she intended to cook it. The two began to fight. They grabbed at one another's clothing and hair and slapped each other. The husband intervened, pulling the two apart, but did not take sides. The wallaby remained uncooked.

A few days later, on September 22, Paal shot an opossum and gave it

to his first wife to cook. When it was nearly ready to eat, he began to worry about a possible quarrel concerning its distribution, so he asked his second wife to help him cut some *pitpit* (wild sugarcane) in the bush. The second wife refused, saying that she wanted to stay and eat the opossum. When he grabbed her arm to pull her along with him, she slashed him with her machete, resulting in a deep cut along the side of his wrist.

The first wife then came to the husband's aid. She grabbed her co-wife's hair and pulled her to the ground. Then she began beating her with fists. A bystander, a neighbor and friend of the husband, pulled the two women apart and calmed everyone.

Subsequent Developments: After a year or two of adjustment, this family seems to have solved its problems. Nyangilak appears to have accepted her co-wife and Paal has remained married to both women for the past fifteen years. Sapasalik has had three children, and there has been little if any family violence in the past decade.

Brother-Sister and Father-Daughter Violence

Cases of spousal abuse and retaliation are the most common types of Abelam family violence. However, brothers disciplining sisters and, less frequently, fathers or other close male relatives disciplining daughters are not uncommon. The above cases show that abused wives frequently seek shelter with their male relatives for a time, most frequently with their brothers. Brothers have a responsibility to provide a home for their sisters whenever they are in need. They also have an interest in their sisters' upbringing. Violence between brothers and sisters generally involves elder brothers beating their younger sisters. The cause might be sexual behavior with inappropriate persons or at inappropriate times, failing to do their share of work, failing to meet family obligations, or similar unseemly behavior. The following is a typical case.

A Brother and His Sisters. On Friday night, 27 November 1975, a dance was held at Bainyik, where there is a vocational school and an agricultural research station. November is well into the ceremonial-yam growing season and taboos against all sexual activity are in effect. Abelam believe that sex stunts the growth of ceremonial yams.

The next morning Gumde, a young man twenty-one years old but nevertheless the senior active male of his lineage, noticed that his two sisters, Jejemu and Yaave, had not returned home the night before. A

few years previously, several young men from the village, including Gumde, had suspected their sisters of attending these dances, waited for them along the road after one such event, and beat them. They were concerned about possible sexual relationships and indirect pollution (see Scaglion 1986b), which would damage their yam crop.

That morning, when Gumde went to his garden, he saw Jejemu sitting in front of the garden house. When she saw him coming she ran away, hoping he hadn't noticed her. This confirmed his suspicions that she had attended the dance. He took a shortcut back to the main part of the village and caught her. He cut a switch and beat her with it, mostly trying to hit her buttocks. Then he slapped her several times with his open hand as he yelled.

She ran into the house, crying, as he stood outside, continuing to yell at her: What did she think she was doing? This was yam season and he didn't want her running around. He was sick of this sort of behavior. A small crowd began to gather, including a few of the girl's other male relatives, who supported her brother.

After a while, the brother left to cut timber in the bush. When he returned to the village that afternoon, he found the younger sister and the above scene was repeated. The two girls spent the rest of the afternoon sulking in the house.

Subsequent Developments: Neither of these two sisters has married over the years, which is unusual. They remain under the brother's protection, however, and he helps support them economically. (He also supports the older sister's two children. The younger sister has no children.) This demonstrates the vested interest brothers have in their sisters' activities. Sisters always have a home with their brothers, throughout life if they never marry.

I have never seen or heard of a level of physical violence in brother-sister cases that exceeds the levels of social tolerance. In a few instances there is social disapproval of the causes of these beatings, however. People sometimes feel that brothers are too strict or are mistaken in their suspicions. In such cases, sisters may feel that their punishments were unjust and may seek shelter with friends for a time, while community gossip or comments cause their brothers to rethink their own actions.

Just as sisters are sometimes dependent on their brothers, the reverse is also true. In later life, sisters feed their brothers whenever the brothers' wives are in the menstrual huts, particularly when they are living close by. When sisters have married into a nearby village, they look

after their brothers whenever the brothers visit the "new" village for ritual occasions, which are fairly common. They may also look after their brothers' friends at these times.

In addition to these practical considerations of mutual support and interdependence between brother and sister, there is usually a great deal of love and respect in such relationships. These factors act in concert to keep violence at a low level. Nevertheless, it is a level that probably exceeds Western standards.

Because of the lifelong ties between brothers and sisters, brothers are the male relatives who most commonly discipline unmarried women. But not all young women have brothers and many have brothers who are very young. In such cases, a father or the closest adult male relative will take responsibility for disciplining a woman. The following case involves an uncle who acted in lieu of a brother.

An Older Male Relative and a Young Female. Simon was a young man from a Sepik River culture linguistically related to the Abelam. He had come to visit friends in Neligum village and had stayed for some time. After about a month, he began living with a young woman from the village in a trial marriage. Neither he nor his hosts had asked the young woman's relatives for permission. Furthermore, although he claimed to be single, discreet inquiries by a village elder with Sepik River connections revealed that Simon already had two wives. The discovery of this deception precipitated a conflict case in which it was decided that the young woman would break off the relationship and go back to live with her own family. While conventions of hospitality did not permit driving Simon out of the village, village elders were angry and some began to watch him closely.

A neighboring village was planning to hold a *singsing* (ceremony) to dedicate a new *haus tambaran* (ceremonial house) on 25 April 1975, and Simon decided to attend. That afternoon Nyayala, a forty-two-year-old man, overheard another young woman, Baambil, seventeen, making plans to secretly meet Simon at the ceremony. Nyayala was the girl's *wau* (mother's brother). In fact, their relationship was especially close in that Nyayala and Baambil's father had married through sister exchange. Although Nyayala was angry he said nothing. Since his brother-in-law (the girl's actual father) was away and the young woman had no brothers, he decided to handle the matter himself. He went to his brother's hamlet, which was located adjacent to a path along which the girl would have to travel in order to attend the ceremony. About 7:30 P.M. he saw Simon pass by on his way to the *singsing,*

and about ten minutes later he saw Baambil approaching along the same route.

He called out to her, and, when she came close to him, he grabbed her arm. He then began to drag her through the center of the village back to her parents' house, periodically hitting her buttocks with a switch he had cut. The whole way he berated her: Hadn't she learned anything from the other girl's experience? She should stay home and help her parents. She shouldn't be running off all the time chasing after young men. While the beating was undoubtedly painful, the young woman seemed to be even more upset by the public humiliation: the next day she wore a cloth over her head to "hide her shame."

Subsequent Developments: Soon after this incident, the young woman married a man from a neighboring village. The marriage seems to have been a happy one and the couple has remained together for many years. No further incidents of physical violence between the woman and her uncle have occurred.

Discussion

An understanding of the Abelam attitudes toward brother-sister and father-daughter violence sheds light on cultural attitudes toward spousal violence. Abelam men believe that many women, and particularly young women, are inclined to be somewhat "lazy" and "wayward." Whereas children are not fully developed human beings and do not always understand the consequences of their actions, Abelam believe that females who have had their first-menstruation ceremony are adults and should act accordingly. When they do not, their actions reflect badly on their entire families. In such cases, a close male relative must take responsibility for protecting the family reputation by disciplining the woman.

In many traditional Abelam marriages, more common in the past than now, the husband was considerably older than the wife. This was particularly true when the woman was a second or third wife. In such cases, particularly during the early stages of marriage, the husband acted more like a father or elder brother in disciplining his young wife. When spouses are more closely matched in age the logic is not so clear, but Abelam men nevertheless seem to feel that much of the responsibility for "necessary" discipline of a young woman falls to her husband after marriage. In principle, traditional Abelam women also subscribe to these notions.

Traditional Abelam women have a great deal of power in formulat-

ing cultural standards of physical abuse, however. If a man punishes his wife (or sister or daughter) sufficiently frequently or severely to be culturally defined as abusive, village women can censure him by collectively withholding services. His own mother and sisters can and will refuse to cook for him, making the same sort of matter-of-fact statement of cause and effect that they use to discipline children: "Well, you beat your wife for no reason, so don't expect help from me." Male friends and relatives can also withhold support from a wife-beater, and a battered woman can always seek shelter with friends or relatives. In this manner, cultural standards of acceptable family violence are collectively set. Abelam women acting in concert have enormous power here, for men depend on them for a variety of things because of the sexual division of labor and the complementarity of the sexes (Scaglion 1986b).

Of course, social change in Abelam society has been pronounced in the past decade as most of the younger generation have received some schooling and considerable exposure to Western culture. Abelam family structure more closely approximates European patterns nowadays. In the past, polygynous marriages were more common than they are now. The first census of Neligum village that I have been able to locate is from 1957. It shows that 11.8 percent of all marriages were polygynous. My own data from Upper Neligum show that 10.0 percent of all marriages in 1975 were polygynous, compared with only 4.8 percent in 1987. Thus the creation of new polygynous unions, once a considerable cause of sexual jealousy, is declining, and spouses tend to be closer in age. Still, adultery or suspected adultery remains the major cause of contemporary domestic strife.

My intuitive opinion is that the frequency of spousal violence has increased in recent years. Young women are now much more likely to strike their husbands over matters (other than sexual jealousies) that traditionally they would have accepted or over new forms of behavior of which they do not approve. Indeed, I witnessed two such incidents during my last field trip, Both occurred in relatively new marriages. One involved a wife angry over her husbands playing cards rather than tending to domestic duties, the other involved an argument over bride-price. In the bride-price case the husband retaliated by also hitting the wife; in the card-playing case he did not. Nevertheless, fifteen or twenty years ago it would have been rare for a woman to strike her husband first.

The Abelam have become a much more mobile population in the past twenty years. Once there was little access to vehicular transportation and people remained close to home due to fears of tribal warfare and

sorcery. Today, young men and women travel considerable distances for school, work, or recreation. In a small, face-to-face society sexual encounters are difficult to hide and suspicions are usually well grounded. In contemporary Abelam society, however, young married people are often suspicious of spousal adultery, frequently without proof. Whereas a guilty wife, recognizing fault, would be likely to accept a mild beating or severe tongue-lashing, an unjustly accused wife is more likely to return like for like, escalating the severity of spousal violence. In new-style marriages today, women are more likely to engage in both offensive and defensive physical violence against husbands than previously.

Now as in the past, Abelam marriages seem to be characterized by a fairly low level of violence after the initial adjustment period of several years. In contrast to the changing nature of spousal violence patterns, there has not been much change in the nature or relatively low level of brother-sister violence. However, I would still argue that all forms of family violence against women discussed in this article continue to be sustained at levels that would be considered abusive by American standards. Abelam regard a certain level of physical violence against women as culturally acceptable. Nevertheless, Abelam women who feel that they are being physically abused can always seek shelter in their natal homes or with friends, where they receive both physical and moral support, These are options not always open to their American counterparts.

NOTES

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1. This name is a pseudonym, as are all the names of Abelam disputants mentioned in this article. The pseudonyms used are all names of bird species in the Abelam language. These are commonly used as personal names.

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CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE IN GENDE SOCIETY: OLDER PERSONS AS VICTIMS, TROUBLEMAKERS, AND PERPETRATORS

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A familiar sight in Papua New Guinea's towns are aging, sometimes decrepit panhandlers and bottle collectors, Less visible are elderly hospital patients with apparently no close relatives to attend to their needs (Christine Bradley, pers. com., 1989) and older persons who have been dumped in town to be looked after--or not--by migrant kinsmen. The reaction of many Papua New Guineans to this apparent neglect is that such unfortunates should be sent back to the village where "there would be no shortage of people to care for" them *(Times* 1986a). More sinister is the belief that since the "*wantok* system safeguards against begging" all beggars are con artists in search of an easy way to make money (see *Times* 1986b).

Such beliefs, of course, have less to do with reality than with the believers' cherished image of themselves and their society. In field trips to several less-developed rural areas in Papua New Guinea, I have, for example, witnessed numerous instances of neglect and even physical and emotional abuse of the elderly. Not uncommon was the sight of poorly nourished and sometimes seriously ill older men and women working all day on steep hillside gardens or walking long distances with heavy loads on their backs. Equally disturbing were cases where old men and women were living alone in isolated garden houses to escape accusations of sorcery or the harassment and ridicule of other villagers.

While perhaps few families neglect their elderly in such fashion, the

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situation of Papua New Guinea's elderly is not as good as it could or should be. In this article, I examine one aspect of the situation: the existence of intergenerational conflict and its relation to economic inequality. Drawing on my research among the Gende people, I present cases in which older men and women are victims, instigators, or perpetrators of conflict with and between younger family members. I also show that an understanding of intergenerational conflict is pertinent to an understanding of wife-beating and other domestic problems in Papua New Guinea. Although there are other sources of conflict in Gende relations, I focus almost entirely on inequality and unequal exchange relations since these were the underlying causes of the most severe and enduring conflicts I witnessed or heard about. Finally, I introduce a cross-cultural perspective and, using the available economic and demographic data, argue that intergenerational conflict is likely to intensify in Papua New Guinea as the number of older persons grows and the impact of increasing economic inequality makes itself felt in a social and cultural context that is more demanding and less supportive of its elderly than is commonly believed by most Papua New Guineans.

The Gende

The Gende homeland is in the Bismarck Mountains in southern Madang Province. There, on steep hillsides or in well-watered ravines, the Gende cultivate large sweet potato gardens and gardens planted with taro, bananas, sugarcane, and other food crops. From the surrounding forest the Gende collect many wild plants and animals, including several species of bird of paradise, the plumes of which are items of self-decoration and exchange.

Gende settlement patterns reflect their use of swidden horticulture, the importance of close kin relations, and the cessation of tribal fighting in the 1930s. In the past, the Gende lived in small hamlets located within the separate territories of named clan sections. Today, they live in villages of several hundred or more persons, although kin divisions remain evident in the pattern of house clusters. For convenience and as a place to escape tensions in the village, most households also build smaller bush houses near their main gardens.

The division of labor in a village is based primarily on sex. Men hunt, build houses and fences, and clear areas of forest and secondary growth for new gardens while women do most of the gardening, raise pigs, and, with some assistance from other household members, attend to domestic chores such as tending small children and cooking. Age is relevant in

that young children and very old persons are normally not expected to do the heaviest tasks of clearing garden land or carrying heavy loads of firewood or food. However, depending on the degree of stress a household may experience as a result of outstanding exchange debts, a high number of dependents, or other such pressures, even very elderly household members may be called upon to engage in productive tasks.

As much as half the food a woman grows is fed to pigs. Among the Gende, pigs are highly valued items of exchange and, along with money and other valuables, are used to fulfill obligations to kin, affines, and other exchange partners, or invested in prestige-making events such as the competitive pig feasts known as *poi nomu.* A convenient starting point from which to describe Gende exchange patterns is marriage, since marriage initiates a host of exchanges between kin groups at the same time as it signals a shift in the flow of goods and services between parents and children.

The first major exchange associated with marriage is the payment of bride-price to persons who have contributed in some significant way to the bride's upbringing and education. Traditionally, a young man contributed little to his intended wife's bride-price, relying on parents and other supporters to make the major contribution, A second set of payments owed to the wife's family is child-wealth, a payment that validates a man's claims over his children. Most couples try to fulfill this obligation themselves. However, since a failure to pay child-wealth within a year or two of a child's birth may result in the loss of that child to its mother's group, a man's relatives may pay a substantial portion of the child-wealth for some or all of his children. Other exchanges involving a wife's kin are contributions to the death-payment parties of a woman's parents and brothers, and payments made on behalf of an aging or deceased wife for her past contributions to her husband's group as wife, mother, and daughter-in-law. Since death payments are linked with inheritance or transfer of land rights, they will be treated in greater detail below.

Given the exigencies of the exchange system, young men and women often require the support of older persons long after reaching physical maturity and having children of their own. It is expected, of course, that early on the young will begin to reciprocate the assistance they are or will be receiving by helping their parents in ways such as babysitting, collecting firewood and water, clearing new gardens, and weeding. Reciprocation, however, starts in earnest when newly married couples begin making gardens and raising pigs of their own. The first debt to be repaid is the bride-price. If a woman's bride-price has been large, it

may take many years to pay off this debt--called *tupoi*--to a husband's parents and any other persons who contributed. Since both bride-prices and *tupoi* are often converted into buying a bride for a woman's brother or making large contributions to major pig feasts, the sooner these debts are paid the happier everyone is. The respect a couple enjoys as result of having "made" *tupoi* is increased if they then go on to invest in the child-wealth payments, initiation ceremonies, and marriages of their own and others' children. Such investments are also a way of banking surplus production until it is needed to host a pig feast or death-payment party and are commonly regarded as a form of old-age security.

The explicit ends of the Gende's large-scale pig exchanges, the *poi nomu,* are to demonstrate the hosts' industry and strength, to make women happy by giving large amounts of pork to their relatives or in-laws, and to improve relations between the living and the dead by dedicating the souls of slain pigs to deceased kin and affines. Major pig feasts are also showgrounds for aspiring big-men to demonstrate their generosity and superiority over lesser men by being the largest contributors to the festivities. A big-man's contributions may be ten or more times as great as those of any other man; his success depends on his ability to manage his exchange relations in such a way that debts owed to him--*tupoi,* bride-prices, compensation for his contribution to a nephew's initiation ceremony, and so forth--are paid in time to be used at the pig feast (see Zimmer 1985).

An important element of a major pig feast is the death-payment party, *kwiagi.* While *kwiagi* may be held at any time, most are held in the weeks immediately preceding a pig feast in order to settle unpaid debts associated with recently dead clan members or in-married women. Normally, the flow of goods is from the deceased's children to their mother's brothers or father's mother's people. When a group is planning a pig feast, it is important that outstanding death payments be paid lest its success be endangered by supernatural intervention or the ill will of the intended recipients.

Kwiagi are also associated with the transfer of land rights held by the deceased before his or her death. A family that is unable to pay off its *kwiagi* debts prior to a major pig feast must rely on others to do so. Such help may be in the form of a loan or outright purchase of the land rights. In recent years, some of the more affluent migrants and their village kin have extended their land holdings in both their own and their mothers' or wives' clan territories by contributing large sums of cash to others' *kwiagi.* In some cases their assistance has been unwanted, the children of the deceased landowner being forced into a position where

they have to lease the land in question from the new owners with little likelihood that they will ever be able to afford to recover the lost land rights by repaying their "helpers."

Exchange and Intergenerational Conflict

Even a brief discussion of the Gende exchange system reveals numerous stress points in relations between the generations.

The relationship with perhaps the most potential for conflict is that between father and son. Sons rely on fathers for land and bride-price support. They also expect that their fathers will side with them in disputes involving other persons. In one case I observed, a twelve-year-old boy threw rocks at his father and other family members when his mother ignored his right to be served food before his sisters and younger brothers, and his demands that his mother be punished for her insult went unmet by his father. The boy accused the father of caring too much for his wives. He also complained that he himself would never be able to marry since his father was already in his fifties and had long since spent the bride-prices of his oldest daughters as well as the *tupoi* payments arising out of investments in the marriages of other men's sons on achieving his own political ambitions.

In fact, young men can and do receive bride-price support from persons other than their fathers. However, while such outside support may ease tensions between a father and son, it may also result in intense bitterness on the part of the father, who feels he is losing his son to another man. Since fathers expect sons to be their main support in later years, a son's divided loyalties may become a source of irritation, nagging, and recriminations. When a son tires of his father's demands for attention or a father becomes enraged by his son's indifference, the bitterness may turn to violence. On most such occasions, the violence is brief, with a young man shoving his father aside or accidentally injuring him while fending off the older man's blows. While there have been instances of a father's or son's assault on the other ending in death, sustained physical violence between parents and children is rare. Anger is more often expressed in less direct ways such as the destruction of property or assault on a third party. For example, in one case I witnessed, an aggrieved son set fire to the home his father had built for him and left the village for his wife's place. In another case, an old man killed one of his daughter-in-law's pigs after his son refused to give him the pig for exchange purposes.

A second relationship subject to conflict, with potential for even

greater violence because it involves more persons, is that between a man and his father-in-law. Disputes over bride-price, for example, pull in all sorts of aggrieved parties, such as disappointed brothers-in-law who may pressure their fathers and sisters to end marriages that have failed to bring in bride-prices large enough for them to acquire brides of their own. The last of the major tribal fights in the Gende area was precipitated by the insufficient payment of bride-price and death-payment debts. When the offending clan was driven off its land, the fight escalated to include most Gende clans. Fifty years later, bad feelings remain between relatives of battle casualties and members of the opposing sides.

A more recent clash between in-laws began when an older man attacked his son-in-law for refusing to pay an overdue child-wealth payment. The man then accused his son-in-law's father of paying an inadequate bride-price for his daughter and struck the other man several times. When the man died a month later from unrelated causes, his relatives nonetheless demanded compensation for his "murder." Although the complexities of this case are too detailed to relate here, it is illustrative to add that the conflict spread and the daughter's marriage ended after a number of violent episodes between herself, her husband, and those of her in-laws who were living with the couple in town.

Acts of violence involving women and older men are less common than physical aggression among men or between husbands and wives, Conflicts may arise over a young woman's refusal to comply with her father's choice of marriage partner or a father-in-law's demands that a young bride do more than her share of the productive labor. But it is unusual for a woman to strike an older man and almost as rare for a man to hit his daughters or sons' wives. More often, an angry or resentful young woman will run away from home, refuse to work, or threaten to commit suicide. For their part, men profess reluctance to use physical force against young women because of their fear of women's sorcery and the fact that when they are elderly it is their daughters and daughters-in-law who will most probably attend to their care.

Older women's behavior towards their children and grandchildren is for the most part nurturant and supportive, with women willing to work long hours to raise their sons' bride-price pigs or--in an urban context--tending their daughters' children while the daughters work outside the home. In return, younger persons often speak lovingly of their mothers and may be extremely protective of their mother's interests to the extent of taking her side in clashes with other members of their own patrilineal kin group. Men often take advantage of this close-

ness by using their wives as go-betweens in conflicts between themselves and their children. Conflicts do arise, of course, especially when a mother feels unappreciated or places excessive demands on her children's time and resources.

Relations between women and their daughters-in-law are less amicable, especially when they come from different clans. Until a daughter-in-law fulfills her *tupoi* obligation, she has little say over how her production is used and the pigs she raises may go to fulfill obligations her husband has to his mother's clan. Even after a woman has gained control over her own production, her husband may take advantage of the opposing interests of his wife and mother to advance his own interests, thereby aggravating tensions between the women.

In one particular case, an elderly widow was being pressured by her brothers to contribute a large number of pigs to their pig feast. Although the woman had been relying on her son to help her, he instead used his wives' pigs to fulfill other obligations and to establish a name for himself during his own clan's pig feast. Sorely disappointed, the woman took up residence in her brothers' village. Soon after, the son received word that his mother was deathly ill as a result of his failure to help her. Fearing trouble with his mother's relatives, the son sent several men to retrieve her. Carried home on a litter, the old woman did indeed look close to death. Amid much wailing and expressions of grief, the son begged his mother's forgiveness for giving in to his "wives' pressures" to give their pigs to their own relatives. The son's three wives were obsequious to their mother-in-law, who rallied rather suddenly after she and her brothers were given pork to eat and promises of several pigs from men indebted to her son. In the end, relations were restored between mother and son but the son's wives grumbled constantly for more than a week about the old woman's "trick" and their being blamed for the incident.

Finally, mention should be made of conflicts between older men and women. Such conflicts draw in younger persons who feel obligated or that it is in their interests to defend one or the other of the disputants. A case in point was a women who became violently jealous when her husband had an affair with a much younger woman, bringing her to the village to live in the old couple's home. When insults failed to drive the young intruder away, the older woman turned on her husband, striking him in public and calling him a "dog man" who chases after women indiscriminately. The older man persisted in having his way, however, until an unmarried son returned home on a visit and angrily reminded his father that he should be helping his mother raise bride-price pigs for

himself and not expect her to pay bride-price for a co-wife who was, according to the son, little more than a prostitute. The father struck his son for this insult but was persuaded to give up the younger woman when the son threatened to turn his back on him.

A Society under Stress

Since contact by German missionaries in 1932, many changes in Gende lives have exacerbated intergenerational tensions. Mission interference with traditional marriage practices resulted in a decrease in polygynous marriages and suffering on the part of abandoned wives and their children. Many young men have refused to take part in male initiation ceremonies in spite of old men's warnings that to renounce the past is to destroy Gende society. And with the cessation of tribal fighting, the men's houses have lost much of their significance and the solidarity of older and younger male clan members has been breached.

More far-reaching effects, however, have come about as a result of economic change. In the 1930s men and boys began leaving their villages to work on coastal plantations or to attend mission schools. Male migration increased after World War II as men sought work on coffee plantations and construction projects in the highland valleys and new towns to the south of the Gende's territory. Although many migrants returned home after a few years' absence, others were joined by their wives, or married women near their places of employment. One outcome of this more permanent migration for the migrants' relatives was the loss of productive labor and an imbalance in exchange payments. Since wages were low, migrants' exchange debts often accumulated to the point where angry relatives threatened to break off relations if the migrants or their wives did not return home. For some villagers, the situation was serious enough that they actually did disinherit their migrant children, giving bride-price support and land rights to those village youths or migrants who were quick to recognize opportunity.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the Gende struggled to develop their region and to educate their children for an urban job market that increasingly offered highly paid positions for qualified Papua New Guineans. Beginning in the early sixties, much effort went into building a road intended to link the Gende to the outside world, villagers planted many thousands of coffee trees, overseas companies began a search for valuable minerals, and parents helped build a boarding school for grades one through six at the Catholic mission in Bundi. In some cases, profits from coffee growing and wages from a mining camp near Yan-

dera village helped balance the loss of payments from less successful migrants. However, the unpredictability of work at the mining camp and the fact the most of its employees came from one village introduced new inequalities into the region and problems for workers who--on a wave of prosperity in the seventies--had entered into new exchange relations they could not maintain during subsequent periods of unemployment. In the seventies, as the first high school and university graduates began sending home generous remittances, the relatives of less successful migrants and unemployed school-leavers were less able to maintain balanced exchange relations with more fortunate villagers.

When I began my Gende research in 1982 the road was unfinished, little work had been available at the mining camp for several years, coffee income was negligible, and the primary source of cash for most village households was remittances from the more than 25 percent of the population who had migrated out of the area (see Zimmer 1985). Income differences were extreme, with some village households having fifty times as much cash per individual member as other households. This inequality manifested itself in differences in prestige, land rights, bride-price support, and much more. Inequality, moreover, was no respecter of age.

One of the most poignant effects of inequality on the elderly was that hard work most of their lives did not guarantee they could retire from garden work or active participation in exchange competitions. Older persons whose migrant children gave them little or no support struggled to compensate for their children's shortcomings: men and women in their late sixties and seventies were maintaining a workload suited to much younger individuals (Zimmer 1987). Even villagers who had risen in status or standard of living as a result of their children's generosity suffered the envy and harassment of their less successful children and other villagers. How inequality among offspring can affect their relations with parents is illustrated in the following example.

Widowed for several years and no longer involved in subsistence gardening, Francis (not his real name) led a comfortable existence being cared for by his unmarried daughter and youngest son and receiving much attention and support from his other three sons and their wives. Toward the end of 1982, however, Francis's relations with two of his sons became strained when he failed to contribute a substantial sum of cash to his deceased wife's death payments. The expected source of the cash was a migrant son whom Francis visited in Port Moresby just prior to an important pig feast. When Francis returned home, village rumor had it that his son had given him K 1,000 (approx. US$1,350 in 1982).

Francis did nothing to dispel these rumors but declared that he intended to invest the money in a profitable beer-drinking club. In spite of many arguments, his sons in the village were forced to pay off their mother's death payments without his help, using pigs intended for other purposes in order to avoid losing land to a wealthier clan member. When Francis began clearing a piece of land for his club, his sons refused to help and ordered their wives to stop feeding him. In the end, Francis never did build his club, his children have several times accused him of sorcery in failed attempts to receive compensation, and it is apparent that Francis's town-dwelling son did not give him a large sum of money and that the old man felt compelled by his situation to pretend otherwise.

Equally serious in its effects on family relations is the high cost of today's bride-prices. As poorer families have attempted to increase income by demanding higher bride-prices for their daughters or abandoning their sons in favor of giving support to more-promising youths with well-paid jobs, the numbers of bachelors and women married to non-Gende husbands have increased dramatically (Zimmer 1988). In 1982, for example, my census of Yandera village's resident and absentee populations showed that only thirty-seven of the sixty-seven young men between the ages of twenty-four and thirty-five were married and that most of the married were living in town (twenty-three of thirty-seven). With no guarantee that they will ever contract a socially legitimate marriage, many young men experience great anxiety over their prospects and a sense of alienation from their elders. Expressing this frustration in angry outbursts and accusations of greed and uncaring behavior against their parents, young men with uncertain futures are a volatile component of both village and town.

Convincing others to raise a large bride-price is only the beginning of a young man's troubles. Bride-price supporters must be repaid and couples who are slow in doing so may be denied access to garden land as well as other forms of support. Although the possibility of dispossession and ostracism from the village may be less threatening to affluent townsmen, the following example illustrates how risky it is for any young person to ignore the expectations of his or her elders (cf. Zimmer 1985, 1988).

In 1982, a former mechanic who had been away from the village for thirteen years returned to Yandera with the expectation that he and his second wife could plant gardens and coffee trees on land his deceased father had set aside for him long before. Unfortunately, an older relative was already using the land. The younger man appealed to his father's brothers for help, but they were indebted to the intruder--a

local big-man--and unwilling to evict him. Because the young man had not kept up with his exchange commitments during his long absence, other villagers were unsympathetic to his plight. Frustrated, the young man went to the big-man's gardens and pulled out some newly planted sweet potatoes. When his act of aggression was discovered, a fight broke out between the two men, with both hitting and shoving one another. After several such altercations, the younger man finally acquiesced when his wife was "allowed" by the big-man to make gardens on a portion of the disputed land. Until the road was completed in 1986 and the young man became the driver of a truck owned by one of the big-man's daughters, he and his wife were forced to adopt a submissive attitude in their dealings with other villagers to remain in the village.

In this instance, the conflict ended without directly involving the younger man's wife. This is rarely the case, however, in arguments between migrants and their supporters, for a woman's in-laws are usually ready enough to suspect her of turning their son's thoughts away from them or spoiling his chances of success through some act of sorcery. While in-laws generally refrain from using physical force against their sons' wives, in one reported incident in town a man struck his daughter-in-law when she claimed she could not feed him because her husband spent all his money on drinking and prostitutes.

More often, women become victims of violence (and sometimes perpetrators) when parental agitation goads a beleaguered husband into striking his wife (Zimmer 1988). On a recent visit to a new cardamom project near Bundi, I was told of one young wife whose marriage foundered following a final violent episode with her husband in which she gave as good as she received in the way of blows and insults. The cause of the battle was the young woman's refusal to sleep with her husband, a denial allegedly encouraged by her mother as a means of pressuring the young husband to pay an overdue installment of the bride-price. The expected bride-price was an unusually high one for the Gende--over K 7,000 as well as pigs and other valuables--a fact related to the couple's employment at the cardamom plantation.

While parental interference can incite conflicts between husbands and wives, undue harassment or greed on the part of parents or in-laws can also result in their abandonment and neglect by aggrieved children. Today's young women, feeling themselves to be overworked and facing long years of raising pigs or working at paid employment to repay bride-price, sometimes attempt to fulfill their dreams of a better life by running away and contracting de facto relationships with similarly minded young men. Such actions can be devastating for aging parents.

For example, in a case that took place in town, the parents of a runaway wife were left with the prospect of paying back most of her large bride-price. Since the mother was unemployed and the father had just lost his job and was too old to have much chance of finding another, they had to rely on others to help settle the debt. In a heated meeting of the two families, the old couple tried to evade returning any of the bride-price by accusing their daughter's in-laws of driving her away with their constant complaints and nagging. Unable to turn the case in their favor, the old couple ended up giving away land rights in their home village to some of their financial backers, thereby reducing their option of returning to the village to live out the remainder of their lives.

Intergenerational Conflict in Cross-Cultural Perspective

In *Ages in Conflict,* Nancy Foner argues that in those nonindustrial societies where they exist, structured age inequalities are a primary source of intergenerational conflict. In such societies, the advantages that come with old age include control over material resources and the marriage arrangements of younger men and women, the acquisition of special knowledge and mystical powers, and the adoption of ritual roles and other positions of prestige and authority (Foner 1984:30-38). Where such privileges are rigidly maintained without regard to the desires and ambitions of younger persons or the declining capabilities of the elderly, intergenerational relations may deteriorate to the point where the elderly are abandoned or even killed by their children or other dependents.

By contrast, in many Papua New Guinean societies inequality is less structural than achieved and growing old confers few, if any, special privileges (see Counts and Counts 1985). Moreover, to achieve high status older men and women require the help of younger persons, help that must be carefully marshaled through the timely and often long-term support of younger persons' interests (see Berndt and Lawrence 1971). While interdependence and mutual self-interest undoubtedly favor the suppression of some tension, they can also be a source of great frustration when the expected support is not forthcoming. The resulting sense of injury may, as the examples in this article have demonstrated, precipitate open conflict (cf. Warry 1987:233-234, 200-201), the severence of relations (Brown 1970), and even sickness (A. Strathern 1968; M. Strathern 1968).

In reviewing the effects of change, Foner notes that the elderly are losing their privileges as the young question old values and obtain new

and often economically independent positions in the larger socioeconomic systems in which their parents' world is but a segment. Although the elderly retain a measure of influence over temporary migrants through their control of land rights and political dominance in the village, traditional sanctions are ineffective when the young can find support and pursue their interests outside the context of village and family ties (Foner 1984:224-231).

In Papua New Guinea, where the politically ambitious must curry the favor of the rural majority and marriage payments continue to rise, the young cannot so readily ignore their elders. Regardless of newly acquired values, a young man wanting to run for political office or marry the woman of his choice must rely on his network of kin relations for support. This ongoing dependence can create tensions as parents pressure their sons and daughters-in-law to pay back substantial brideprice investments (Rosi and Zimmer 1988) and husbands treat expensive wives as property and subject them to stringent and often arbitrary regulations on their behavior (Kivung, Doiwa, and Cox 1985; Toft 1985).

At the same time, cash income inequalities within local communities have widened the gap between rich and poor households, leaving increasing numbers of parents in a position where they are unable to give as much support to their children as they might wish. Indeed, except where cash cropping provides older men and women with alternative cash incomes, parents may rely on migrant children for the necessary cash for both major exchange payments and store-bought food and household items.

In Gulf Province, where out-migration is as high as 60 percent and local sources of income are limited, the elderly are especially dependent on the success and generosity of their children. In *Left Behind in the Village,* Louise Morauta reports on the grim situation of one old couple who were not receiving remittances from their migrant children:

> Household 1 consisted for most of the time of an elderly couple. Unable to make sago any more, and without a canoe (for fishing), their strategy was to live in and eat from a relatively large garden although their subsistence production was below average. . . they had only one son, an unproductive although adult ne'er-do-well often absent in his wife's village and all but one of their daughters was married in town and not remitting home. Their one daughter resident in Kukipi was left a widow with eight dependent children at the end of 1978. She frequently ate meals with the old couple during the survey. The

> old man and his wife thus had no kinsmen on whom to call in the village and no resources with which to set up relationships of mutual support with others. Other villagers were well aware of their plight and were sorry for them, but through the whole of my 1979 study nobody stepped in to help them either substantially or regularly. Among the 39 income survey households I can identify a total of eight in such circumstances, one fifth of the total population of households. (1984:89)

That such neglect--or its spectre--might breed animosity and tension between parents and their children goes without saying.

The Statistics of Neglect

Although there is increasing anthropological interest in aging and the elderly in the Pacific (see Counts and Counts 1985 and articles by Donner, Rubinstein, and Zimmer in Rubinstein 1987a), national governments have been slow to investigate the problems and special circumstances of their older citizens. In Papua New Guinea, for example, there is a paucity of data on the incomes and living conditions of older men and women. Nevertheless, the 1980 *National Population Census* (Papua New Guinea 1988) does include citizen population and percentage distribution tables by age, residence sector, sex, education, and economic activity. In the context of the processes I have outlined here, I would like to speculate upon what these statistics may mean about the situation of the elderly in Papua New Guinea.

The first point I wish to make is that although the proportion of older persons in Papua New Guinea is low (see Table l), in 1980 there were more than 400,000 Papua New Guineans over the age of forty-four who, if anything like the Gende, were busy trying to maintain their exchange relations on a par or competing with others for secure land rights, prestige, and the old-age security of extensive networks of well-placed and generous supporters.

Given differences in education and income-earning capacity among both older and younger persons, some of the 400,000 may not have been doing too well. For example, in 1980, 19,009 men and women over the age of forty-four were living in towns throughout Papua New Guinea. Of these, only 129 had completed high school and only slightly more than 10 percent had more than five years of regular schooling (see Table 2). By contrast, over 50 percent of the urban population between the ages of twenty and forty-four had completed sixth grade or higher and

TABLE 1. **PNG Citizen Population by Age, Sector, and Sex: 1980**

Age	Persons		Males		Females	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All Sectors						
Total	2,978,057[a]	100.0	1,557,067	100.0	1,420,980	100.0
0 - 9	898,929	30.1	467,882	30.1	431,047	30.3
10-19	687,342	23.1	370,353	23.8	316,988	22.3
20-29	471,672	15.8	245,894	15.8	225,769	15.9
30-39	354,865	11.9	179,450	11.6	175,415	12.3
40-44	145,265	4.9	74,544	4.8	70,721	5.0
45-49	113,504	3.8	58,567	3.8	54,937	3.9
50-54	113,181	3.8	58,253	3.7	54,928	3.9
55-59	84,005	2.8	43,112	2.8	40,893	2.9
60-64	63,016	2.1	33,816	2.2	29,200	2.1
65-69	26,949	0.9	14,448	0.9	12,501	0.9
70-74	13,249	0.4	7,505	0.5	5,744	0.4
75+	6,080	0.2	3,243	0.2	2,837	0.2
Rural Village Sector						
Total	2,439,728	100.0	1,235,350	100.0	1,204,378	100.0
0-9	744,204	30.5	385,944	31.3	358,260	29.7
10-19	547,137	22.4	284,257	23.0	262,880	21.8
20-29	332,738	13.7	159,913	13.0	172,825	14.3
30-39	294,304	12.0	140,140	11.3	154,164	12.8
40-44	129,873	5.3	64,256	5.2	65,617	5.4
45-49	102,629	4.2	51,543	4.2	51,086	4.2
50-54	105,501	4.3	53,250	4.3	52,251	4.3
55-59	79,079	3.2	40,022	3.2	39,057	3.2
60-64	60,274	2.5	32,174	2.6	28,100	2.3
65-69	25,719	1.1	13,742	1.1	11,977	1.0
70-74	12,654	0.5	7,142	0.6	5,512	0.5
75+	5,616	0.2	2,967	0.2	2,649	0.2
Rural Non-Village Sector[b]						
Total	172,782	100.0	109,525	100.0	63,257[c]	100.0
0 - 9	44,546	25.8	23,607	21.6	20,939	33.1
10-19	49,806	28.4	32,391	29.6	17,415	27.6
20-29	43,115	25.0	29,408	26.9	13,707	21.7
30-39	20,461	11.8	14,092	12.9	6,369	10.1
40-44	5,351	3.1	3,684	3.4	1,667	2.6
45-49	3,850	2.2	2,595	2.4	1,255	2.0
50-54	2,616	1.5	1,791	1.6	825	1.3
55-59	1,610	0.9	1,063	1.0	547	0.9
60-64	871	0.5	542	0.5	329	0.5
65-69	306	0.2	184	0.2	122	0.2
70-74	153	0.1	103	0.1	32	0.1
75+	97	0.1	65	0.1	32	0.1

TABLE 1. **Continued**

Age	Persons Number	Persons %	Males Number	Males %	Females Number	Females %
Urban Sector						
Total	365,547	100.0	212,202	100.0	153,345	100.0
0-9	110,179	30.1	58,331	27.4	51,848	33.9
10-19	90,399	24.7	53,706	25.3	36,693	23.9
20-29	95,819	26.2	56,582	26.6	39,237	25.5
30-39	40,100	10.9	25,218	11.9	14,882	9.7
40-44	10,041	2.7	6,604	3.1	3,437	2.2
45-49	7,025	1.9	4,429	2.1	2,596	1.7
50-54	5,064	1.4	3,212	1.5	1,852	1.2
55-59	3,316	0.9	2,027	1.0	1,289	0.8
60-64	1,871	0.5	1,100	0.5	771	0.5
65-69	924	0.3	552	0.2	402	0.3
70-74	442	0.1	260	0.1	182	0.1
75+	367	0.1	211	0.1	156	0.1

Source: Adapted from Papua New Guinea 1988:30-31. Age groups in the original are given in five-year cohorts; here younger age groups have been collapsed into ten-year cohorts to save space.

Note: Totals may not sum 100%, due to rounding.

[a] Sum indicated is inconsistent with data by sex.

[b] Includes plantations, mining compounds, rural administration posts, and so forth.

[c] Sum indicated is inconsistent with data by age groups.

almost five thousand had completed twelve years of regular schooling (Papua New Guinea 1988:54). Thus, although a quarter of the over-forty-four age group were working for wages (Papua New Guinea 1988: 84), it seems likely that the younger and better-educated would have had a virtual monopoly over the better-paying jobs and that most persons over forty-four were at least partly dependent on their children or other young persons for their welfare.

Since not all younger migrants to the towns are employed or earning high enough wages to provide more than the basic necessities of life, it would also seem likely that some or even many urban households--including older members--are unable to maintain their exchange relations at competitive levels. This is certainly the case for many Gende migrants (Zimmer 1985) and an analysis of the 1973/1974 Papua New Guinea Urban Household Survey recognized a small but not insignificant category of migrants who had either lost the option of living in the rural sector or faced the prospect of a difficult position in village society

TABLE 2. **PNG Citizen Population 45 Years Old and Over, by Highest Grade Completed, Sector, and Sex: 1980**

		Highest Grade Completed					
	Total	None	1-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	12
All Sectors							
Persons	419,984	396,425	17,139	4,697	1,007	525	191
Males	218,944	202,989	10,878	3,557	887	467	166
Females	201,040	193,436	6,261	1,140	120	58	25
Rural Village Sector							
Persons	391,472	375,050	12,500	3,054	601	235	32
Males	200,840	189,997	7,832	2,238	530	214	29
Females	190,632	185,053	4,668	816	71	21	3
Rural Non-Village Sector							
Persons	9,503	8,055	933	334	88	63	30
Males	6,343	5,212	706	267	83	52	27
Females	3,160	2,843	227	67	5	11	3
Urban Sector							
Persons	19,009	13,320	3,706	1,309	318	227	129
Males	11,761	7,780	2,340	1,052	274	201	114
Females	7,248	5,540	1,366	257	44	26	15

Source: Adapted from Papua New Guinea 1988:51-54. In the original, separate totals are given for each grade achieved.

as a result of low income and a failure to exchange gifts with their home villages (Garnaut, Wright, and Curtain 1977:64-74). Whether this situation resulted in violent conflicts between parents and children was not reported. But when the consequences of not fulfilling one's exchange obligations include dispossession of land rights or loss of status, the situation suggests a widespread potential for intergenerational conflict.

The situation of the rural elderly may be even more severe, especially when they have no close kin living in the village or sending home remittances (see Morauta 1984 and Zimmer 1987). In 1980, approximately 18 percent of Papua New Guinea's citizens were living outside villages while less than 7 percent of those citizens over the age of forty-four were similarly located (Table 1). Even more significant, in terms of the possibility of older men and women being left behind in the village to fend for themselves, is the wide variation in absenteeism rates at the provincial, district, and subdistrict levels and the near absence of young adults in some areas of Papua New Guinea. For example, in Malalaua Dis-

trict, Gulf Province, over 60 percent of those ages eighteen to forty-five are absent from their home villages while only 30 percent of those over age forty-five are absent (Papua New Guinea 1982:121). Similarly, in Mumeng District, Morobe Province, over 50 percent of the young adults are living elsewhere while close to 70 percent of the older population remain in the villages (Papua New Guinea 1983:197).

In localities where older persons have opportunities to raise cash crops and earn money of their own, children's absenteeism may be less of a problem. However, not all older persons own sufficient land or are physically able to look after cash crops and, even in more developed areas, the rising costs of exchange obligations may eat up whatever the elderly may gain from independent cash-earning ventures. For reasons including ambition, lack of support, and inflation, many older persons in Papua New Guinea continue working well into their sixties and seventies. According to census data, in 1980 half of the rural village population over age sixty-four were engaged in subsistence and cash-earning activities (Papua New Guinea 1988:80).

Conclusion

Economic inequality and exchange pressures have contributed to intergenerational conflict among the Gende people. Since most Papua New Guinean societies are similar to the Gende in the use of reciprocal and competitive exchange as a mediator of social relations and status, I suggest that the generally lesser economic opportunities of the elderly in Papua New Guinea may reduce their capacity to successfully manage transactions involving their close relationships and ongoing security. As a consequence, intergenerational conflict may be more widespread than is commonly supposed.

Moreover, with less education and fewer health-care services than their urban counterparts, and the belief of many Papua New Guineans that the village is an ideal place for older persons, Papua New Guinea's rural elderly may be a particularly vulnerable segment of the population. For example, while estimates now place 96 percent of the rural population within two hours' walk of a primary health-care center (Aitken 1987:26), the focus of most rural medical centers is on maternal and child care and the treatment of common diseases and injuries, not on the special health-care needs of the elderly (see Stratigos and Hughes 1987). Struggling to meet the demands of traditional exchange systems with perhaps little or no support and burdened with overwork and sickness, many older men and women may be leading lives of quiet, or as this article suggests, not-so-quiet desperation.

Although at present the elderly are very much a minority--and perhaps a depressed one--in Papua New Guinea, future generations of older men and women are likely to be more of a political and social force. Better educated and larger in numbers, they may lobby for greater privileges and more reliable forms of social security. In the meantime, the belief that the young are necessarily benign caretakers of the elderly ignores such situations as I have outlined here and it would seem imperative that the national government consider the elderly as a special case deserving of more-informed social policy and support.

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN OCEANIA: CONCLUSION

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> Look, gentlemen, we've all done it. . . . but I will not stand for it any longer. We've got to stop beating our wives.
>
> --Police Commissioner David Tasion to a gathering of provincial police commanders, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea (quoted in *Victoria Times Colonist* [B.C., Can.], 19 Feb. 1987; see also *Pacific Islands Monthly* 1987:8)

Domestic violence, particularly wife-beating, is prevalent in the South Pacific. In Papua New Guinea, for example, researchers from the Law Reform Commission found that 73 percent of the adult women murdered between 1979 and 1982 were killed by their husbands, while almost all homicides committed by women during that time were murders of their husbands in retaliation for long-term violent mistreatment (LRC 1987:4). The commission also found that a majority of the rural adults sampled (66.5 percent of the men and 56.5 percent of the women) consider beatings to be an acceptable, normal part of married life (Toft and Bonnell 1985:43). The frequency of wife-beating varies from province to province in Papua New Guinea. It is most pervasive in Simbu and Western Highlands, where 97 and 100 percent respectively of surveyed women said they had been beaten by their husbands, and least widespread in Oro and West New Britain, where the figures were 49 and 53 percent respectively (LRC 1987:2). Nevertheless, as the open-

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ing quotation demonstrates, people assume that all men--even police officers sworn to uphold the peace--beat their wives.

If domestic violence is an accepted part of family life in many Pacific societies, how can we explain its infrequency in others? One explanation is offered by Heider, who argues that in spite of incessant warfare the Grand Valley Dani of Irian Jaya's central highlands are nonaggressive, noncompetitive people who cope with conflict by withdrawing from it (1979:86-87). According to Heider, Dani pacifism is related to their low level of sexual energy. He finds that the calm, gentle ambience of interpersonal household relationships is consistent with low sexuality (Heider 1979:81).

Another explanation refers to the way children are socialized. People in some Pacific societies discipline their children without force and teach them to be nonviolent. In her study of behavior and consciousness among the Ifaluk of the West Caroline Islands of Micronesia, Lutz observes that while parents highly value obedience,

> children are believed to obey *when* and *because* they listen and understand language. . . . It is assumed that correct behavior naturally and inevitably follows from understanding, which should follow from listening. . . . Physical punishment does not play a prominent role, either in the ethnohistory of learning or in practice. Lecturing is preferred to spanking, in line with the important roles given speaking and listening. It is said that children who are hit, rather than spoken to, may 'go crazy'. Physical punishment may be a source of great embarrassment to parents when they engage in it, as gentleness in all matters is highly valued. Children are also said to learn by the examples given through socialization techniques. Those who are hit, and who are not spoken to politely, will grow up to be short-tempered and will not know how to engage in 'good speech', or polite talk. There is also some fear expressed that children who are hit and shouted at may aggress against their parents in return, or possibly even kill themselves. (1985:61)

In this special issue of *Pacific Studies,* Mitchell and Nash describe two Papua New Guinea societies (the Wape of the Sandaun and the Nagovisi of North Solomons Province) where violence is uncommon. Mitchell attributes Wape pacifism to a combination of cultural attributes. Wape ethos prefers conciliation to confrontation and values gentleness and nonaggressiveness in personal interactions; gender differences are not

emphasized and are not a basis for social polarization; men are dependent on their wives for food; women actively participate in selecting their mates, retain close ties with their kin, and form bonds with the other women of their hamlet; alcohol is not available; ancestor spirits are believed to punish acts of aggression; insulted or humiliated women may attempt suicide; the Wape diet is nutritionally deficient and may contribute to their pacific temperament and domestic tranquility; and, finally, missionaries and government officials support traditional Wape values of peaceful interaction.

Like the Wape, the matrilineal and uxorilocal Nagovisi do not condone physical violence between spouses, and other forms of violence such as rape and the corporal punishment of children are rare. Children learn to go home rather than respond aggressively if insulted. Although anger is valued under certain circumstances--it enabled men to perform great feats during warfare in precontact times--those who are unable to control their rage are publicly mocked and are the source of gossipy entertainment. Rather than respond to insults or domestic strife with violence, Nagovisi men either go to court and demand compensation for injury or withdraw from confrontation and return to the homes of their female relatives, where they expect to receive support. A woman is embarrassed by her husband's leaving after an argument and by having to negotiate for his return.

Forms of Violence: Legitimate versus Illegitimate

There is no cross-cultural consensus as to when domestic violence crosses the boundary to become illegitimate, abusive, or deviant. "Abuse" or "battering" are political, not scientific, terms, and there is no agreement on whose definition should be used. Should it be the victim's? The aggressor's? That of some outside agency such as the police or the courts? The offender may argue that a beating, which a victim or a judge might consider brutal, is necessary to discipline a wife or child.

One way to distinguish legitimate from illegitimate violence is offered by sociologists who emphasize the importance of local values in determining what is deviant behavior and define it according to the response it elicits from others (Becker 1966; Lemert 1967). Becker stresses that society creates deviance because it establishes the rules against which behavior is judged. He says "deviance is *not* a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender' " (Becker 1966:9). If others intervene to stop the violence, or if the victim or the victim's rep-

resentatives successfully call on outsiders--police or government officials, kinsmen, bystanders--for support, the violence is deviant. According to this approach, illegitimate violence is defined by the mores of the society and the response of its members, not by the values of another culture.

Identification of abusive violence is a complex problem. The peoples of many Pacific societies consider violence that spills blood, maims, or kills to be unacceptable. The peoples of the East Sepik and of Mount Hagen in Papua New Guinea stress whether blood is spilled in determining if violence against a woman is assault requiring the payment of compensation to her relatives (LRC 1986:149; Strathern 1972:248). The Kove of West New Britain regard stabbing, burning, or mutilation to be excessive violence (Chowning 1985:78). In this volume, Counts reports that the Lusi-Kaliai evaluate each case on its own merits according to a number of criteria, and Korbin notes that in Hawai'i's Ko'u Hoaloha community people do not refer to rigid rules in determining whether the punishment of a child has exceeded acceptable standards but consider the behavior and age of the child and the history of interaction between the parties as well as the severity of the punishment.

There is a wide range of violent behavior that Pacific peoples consider to be acceptable between family members. In Papua New Guinea, for instance, children may be disciplined by methods that vary from verbal correction in Morobe Province (LRC 1986:124) to the Enga practice of suspending a "really nasty" child from the ceiling and building a strong fire under him (LRC 1986:74).[1] It is unclear whether any adult Enga consider such punishment to be excessively severe or abusive.

This lack of clarity highlights the difficulty of defining abuse. In a patrilineal society, where a man is ultimately responsible for his wife and children and has final authority over them, outsiders might well be reluctant to interfere in a man's punishment of his family, even if it is potentially maiming or life-threatening. If our definition of abuse requires that the victim seek assistance or that outsiders intervene, we may conclude that, although stronger family members injure or kill weaker ones, there is by definition no illegitimate or abusive family violence because no one interferes.

In this volume both Korbin and Scaglion emphasize the culturally specific nature of abuse. Korbin notes that Ko'u Hoalohans consider some childrearing practices accepted as normal by most North Americans to be abusive, while Scaglion argues that North American and Abelam notions of mistreatment are reversed.[2] Abelam do not often

strike their children and condemn adults who do, but condone a man's occasionally disciplining his wife by slapping her with his open hand or by striking her over the head with a piece of firewood. Marital violence that is abusive results in "trouble cases," which disrupt village harmony and are sometimes taken to court.

Holmes also emphasizes the relative nature of abuse when he asserts that the live burial of the old, as it was practiced in precolonial Samoa, "was an honor and not an act of cruelty, allowing an old and ailing chief an honorable way out of life, amid the acclaim of his family and community." He argues, "Matters of custom and their relationship to the valuation and treatment of the aged are complex and can easily be misunderstood by those who have a different value system" (Holmes 1983:100).

Identifying the Victim

Gelles identifies at least three types of family violence: volcanic violence that arises out of stress and frustration, protective-reactive violence committed in self-defense or in defense of others such as children, and alcohol-related violence (1974). He finds a relationship between the type of violence and the gender of the violent person, and suggests that protective-reactive violence is most often committed by females while alcohol-related violence is mostly male initiated.

There may be a problem identifying who is likely to be the aggressor and who the victim of family violence. Pagelow argues that all types of family violence have one common feature: the bigger, stronger persons with the most access to resources are the ones who impose their wills on the smaller, weaker ones without resources (1984:75). "The common patterns are not merely for the more powerful to abuse the less powerful but for the most powerful to abuse the least. . . . Abuse tends to gravitate to the relationships of *greatest power differential,"* Finkelhor comments (1983:17-18). These generalizations may be too simple though, for, as Scaglion persuasively argues in this volume, when the power imbalance between two people is profound the stronger party may have no need to resort to violence. Thus Abelam adults do not beat their children, because there is no doubt that parents are in control; force is unnecessary. When the balance of power is less salient, as between husbands and wives, then people use violence to maintain their advantage.

We turn now to the question of who is likely to be the victim of violence in Pacific families.

Husbands as Victims

In both North America and Oceania, women hit their husbands. Violence is done to men, but does this mean that they are victims of abuse? In a personal communication, Korbin observes that there is a debate between (1) those who maintain that wives and husbands are equally violent to each other and that although women are usually the ones who are injured, research should address the issue of "mutual combat" (see Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980; Steinmetz and Lucca 1988) and (2) those who argue that since women are usually the ones to be seriously hurt, a mutual-combat perspective draws attention away from the crucial issue that women are the ones who are victimized (see Walker 1984). Researchers focusing on female potential for violence note that women are most likely to abuse children and to commit infanticide (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980; Steinmetz and Lucca 1988), but also recognize that fathers may abuse their children more severely than do mothers in similar situations (Steinmetz and Lucca 1988:241). In her essay here, Lateef stresses that Indo-Fijian girls are more fearful of physical violence from their fathers, even though their mothers also beat them.

In the United States about the same number of wives kill their husbands as husbands kill wives, but the *type* of violence involved is different: the wife is seven times more likely to kill her spouse in self-defense (Gelles 1979:139). Similarly, in Papua New Guinea, the grounds given by both sexes for a wife's hitting her husband is self-defense (Toft and Bonnell 1985:86; LRC 1987:2). Gelles's distinction between types of violence is useful here, for when Pacific women attack their husbands their violence is usually a protective-reactive response to physical aggression initiated by the man. In Papua New Guinea, "the main victims of domestic violence are women, often with their children. In other words, must domestic violence is 'wife-beating' " (LRC 1987:2).

Children as Victims

Pacific peoples consider a wide range of punishment to be legitimate in training children, but they also identify behavior that exceeds permissible discipline and that is, therefore, abusive (see Korbin 1987).

In her article in this volume on child abuse among the Ko'u Hoalohans of Hawai'i, Korbin reports that their appraisal of whether a child has been mistreated depends on a combination of factors including the severity of the punishment in light of the child's misbehavior, where on

the body the child is struck (for example, any blow to the top of the head is unacceptable), and the age of the child. She suggests that child abuse may be uncontrolled parental *rage* rather than parental *discipline* out of control, a suggestion that is supported by Aucoin's study of indigenous Fijians, reported herein. They consider the use of physical violence against children to be acceptable if it is a reprimand rather than a display of uncontrolled anger. For Fijians abusive violence is "without cause or need and beyond restraint" (p. 33) and justifies the use of force by others who intervene to protect the victim.

In some Pacific societies the physical punishment of children by parents is an obligation of parenthood. Failure to provide this punishment may be interpreted as evidence of indifference. For example, Gerber says that in Samoa when a father beats his child the punishment is understood as a sign of his love and is not considered to be abuse. This reasoning was explained to her as follows:

> Fathers and children are closely identified, and the behavior of children reflects almost directly on the reputation of the parent. . . . Because of this close identification, fathers stand to be shamed if their children misbehave. They must therefore teach them right from wrong, but children, especially young children, learn only with the incentive of pain, Concerned fathers, who worry about their children's capacity to shame them and wish to make their children good people, therefore beat them. This logic is so compelling that several informants told me that if their fathers failed to beat them, they would be sad, since it would be a proof of paternal indifference. (Gerber 1985:131)

In traditional rural Polynesian society, according to the Ritchies, child abuse was "virtually absent" (1981:193). They attribute this to the open and democratic political system in which gossip and mutual surveillance were important social sanctions, to gender roles that ensured that men engaged in child care and thereby doubled the chance of good nurturance for children, and to the status system. "Child abuse," say the Ritchies, "is unlikely in any social system that requires one to give respect to people of high status who are continually present" (1981: 193). These people intervene if they judge that parental punishment is likely to become abuse, and they also require parents to administer discipline when it is needed.

The situation is different in the modern urban context. The Ritchies cite a 1972 New Zealand Department of Social Welfare document that

says reported incidents of abuse of Maori children are six times that of children of European ancestry, while the reported abuse of children of other Pacific Island peoples resident in New Zealand is nine times greater (1981:194).[3] What has happened to change the Polynesian profile from one of no child maltreatment to one of high abuse? The answer, the Ritchies believe, is that traditional Polynesian patterns of stress management, multiple parenting, and public responsibility break down in an urban environment. In the city a lonely and isolated mother is shut up in an overcrowded house with too many children who have no place to escape. In contrast, in the village many people were on hand to provide attention, comfort, and individual treatment. It is, the Ritchies note, "a different matter when one person has to give a lot and give it all the time" (1981:197). These circumstances plus "large families, poor living conditions, an intolerable degree of isolation, marital instability, strain, and alcohol--all compound in a generation to create the preconditions of child abuse" (Ritchie and Ritchie 1981:200).

Langness argues that although practices such as infanticide, mutilation of children, forced homosexuality, the sale of infants for both sacrifice and marriage, and the strenuous initiation of children were widespread in aboriginal New Guinea, "child abuse, from the natives' point of view, was probably no more common than is cannibalism, from our point of view" (1981: 14). While North Americans would consider initiation practices to be abusive, they are not idiosyncratic maltreatment and New Guineans do not consider them to be cruel or excessive. Indeed, they may believe the practices to be essential if children are to grow up as healthy and normal adults (Langness 1981:21). On the rare occasions when parents are brutal to children, others intervene and frequently shame the abusive adult. Because "traditional New Guineans were known to be exceptionally violence-prone," Langness considers the infrequency of child abuse to be remarkable and worthy of explanation (1981:26). The cultural and social factors he regards as significant include the following:

1. Infanticide, abortion, and adoption of children are commonly accepted, so there are no unwanted children.

2. Because child raising is a public activity, no adult is left to care for children alone and without help.

3. Many New Guineans consider children younger than seven or eight years old to be unable to reason. Attempts to impose formal discipline on them are pointless and beneath an adult's dignity.

4. Because New Guineans believe in the sanctity of the person, "no one in New Guinea would presume to order anyone else about or

assume that even if he did so the other would obey" (Langness 1981:27). (Although Langness says that this respect for individuality extends to relations between adults and children, the evidence amassed by the Papua New Guinea Law Reform Commission suggests that it is often not accorded to women.)

5. The slower pace of life plus cultural outlets (such as initiation ceremonies) for pent-up resentment toward disobedient children lessen the possibility that frustration, rage, and hostility will erupt in brutal individual abuse of the young.

Langness notes that although initiation ceremonies may have "elements of sadism and revenge" even by local standards, they are not necessarily illegitimate. He distinguishes between socially approved punishment and idiosyncratic brutality, saying:

> Yet to be "abused" by your own group acting collectively in accordance with all past tradition, and to hear that tradition and the necessity for it explained to you simultaneously, are quite different from being idiosyncratically abused by a disturbed and frustrated parent or stepparent. . . . The ability to endure the pain and degradation of abuse within the context of New Guinea initiations is a necessity if one is to become an accepted, knowledgeable, and valued member of the adult community. (Langness 1981:29)

Langness's observations are relevant to the problem of formulating a cross-culturally valid definition of child abuse. Finkelhor and Korbin argue that traditional practices involving pain and suffering should be separated from idiosyncratic types of maltreatment and propose a definition of child abuse that stresses harm resulting "from human action that is proscribed, proximate, and preventable" (1988:4).

The pain suffered by rural Pacific children as a result of traditional, group-approved ceremonies is not abusive by these terms. However, children living in urban areas and caught in rapid social and cultural change do suffer idiosyncratic maltreatment, as the Ritchies note for New Zealand and the Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea observes for the urban environment of Port Moresby. There, attitudes that encourage violence against adult women lead to the mistreatment of children as well. The Community Medicine Department of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Papua New Guinea, found that the victims in 47 percent of sexual assault and rape cases in urban Papua New Guinea were girls fifteen years old or less (Wohlfart and Riley 1985,

cited in LRC 1987:6). Also, according to the commission, children are often injured or killed as a consequence of violence between their parents (LRC 1987:5).

The Elderly as Victims

Another category of people who are often the victims of family violence are the elderly, especially frail old people with a physical or mental disability who are powerless and dependent on others (Pagelow 1984:360). In the Pacific there are two types of behavior toward the elderly that may be abusive: gerontocide and the mistreatment (including neglect) of the childless elderly.

Pacific peoples sometimes define the senescent to be, in fact, dying and either hasten death or bury them alive. The Marind-anim sometimes bury alive helpless and senile parents (Van Baa1 1966), while the Asmat occasionally leave old, infirm people who are near death untended in a corner of the hut until death occurs (Van Arsdale 1981: 116). Holmes reports that in precolonial Samoa an old, infirm chief who thought he was dying might request to be buried alive (1983:100). His burial, carried out as part of his funeral ceremony, was accompanied by feasting and was an honorable death. Glascock comments that a common pattern in Third World societies is for the decrepit elderly to be supported until they become a burden, at which time they are defined as socially dead and consequently forsaken, abandoned, or killed (1982: 53). In research into the motives for gerontocide Maxwell, Silverman, and Maxwell find a correlation between it and "contempt," which they define as "the sum of complaints made against the elderly as explanations for treating them poorly" (1982:70). The extent to which actual physical violence is a part of gerontocide is unclear, as is whether the people who practice it consider it abusive. Gerontocide may well be a cultural practice that, although considered by Western standards to be abusive, is legitimate in the societies where it is found.

The plight of the childless elderly is reported to be especially grim. Nydegger says of them: "Without personal resources and in the absence of institutionalized aid, their position is generally wretched, even in societies professing reverence for the aged" (1983:28). Rubinstein (1987) confirms that Nydegger's statement seems to be accurate for premodern as well as modern societies, but notes that almost nothing has been reported about the treatment and needs of the childless elderly in developing countries. In her study of the Gende, Zimmer does provide a

detailed account of the treatment of the childless elderly in a Pacific society. Zimmer says:

> Childless elderly who are only minimally involved in the affairs of their community are particularly vulnerable to the degradations and insults accompanying the status of "rubbish person." Judged by others to be selfish and/or worthless persons, childless elderly may suffer isolation and shame, and in some cases outright physical abuse. Objects of suspicion and dislike, they may be shunned by others as being greedy, inhuman monsters and sorcerers who plot their neighbors' destruction. . . . As the years take their toll or they are struck by illness, few if any persons feel obligated to care for them or to sacrifice pigs in order to restore their strength. When they die, their death is unimportant and unattended. (1987:66)

As Zimmer documents in her essay in this volume, stress arising from the demands of the exchange system is a source of intergenerational conflict and may contribute to abuse of the elderly. Old men reproach their sons whom they perceive as being indifferent to their needs, and young men quarrel with their fathers-in-law over the size and terms of payment of bride-wealth and child-wealth. These conflicts may lead to violence and ultimately to physical abuse or neglect of the elderly.

Why Does Domestic Violence Occur?

The primary causes of wife-beating in Oceania seem to be sexual jealousy-including disputes over adultery and polygyny--followed by failure to meet obligations--specifically the wife's failure to perform her marital or domestic duties to the satisfaction of her husband. Arguments about money and a wife's failure to respect her husband follow as causes of marital strife (Toft and Bonnell 1985:50, 84-86; Toft 1986:13).

There are no simple reasons why domestic violence is common in some societies and not others, but there are a number of perspectives that attempt to explain the causes. I will now consider how the following four general approaches apply to the presence or absence of domestic violence in Pacific societies.

1. People are socialized to consider violence as an appropriate (or inappropriate) response to stress, anger, or frustration.

2. Domestic violence is associated with the position of women. In

assessing the status of women in a society we must consider male attitudes toward women, whether men exercise control over women, and whether women have political equality with men.

3. A society's patterns of social organization--particularly marriage rules and postmarital residence--may bear on whether domestic violence is common there.

4. Modernization and rapid social change may be responsible for change in the frequency of domestic violence.

The Culture of Violence

One explanation is that domestic violence is a response to frustration and stress that is learned in a cyclical culture of violence. Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz observe that violence begets violence; in any given year, one-fourth of Americans who grew up in homes where they were beaten and where parents hit each other use physical force on their own mates or seriously injure their children (1980:122). One-tenth of those men seriously assault their wives. Children growing up in this environment learn three lessons: (1) the people who love you are the people who hit you and you hit the people you love, (2) it is morally right to hit other members of your family, and (3) violence is permissible if you are frustrated and under stress (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980:102-104).

Some recent research has challenged the idea that violent behavior is transmitted from one generation to the next (Starr 1982; O'Leary and Curley 1986; O'Leary 1988), and one scholar argues that adults who are abused children may grow up to work to eliminate violence (McGuire 1983, cited in Starr 1988: 129).

The findings of the Papua New Guinea Law Reform Commission support the hypothesis that the formative experience of violence for most people is in the home. A commission report says "violent homes tend to breed violent adults, and these help to create a violent society in which people (particularly men) turn to violence as a way of solving their problems instead of using peaceful and lawful means" (LRC 1987:5).

The data presented in this volume further support that hypothesis. Societies where conciliation, gentleness, and self-control are valued--such as the Wape and the Nagovisi--have little or no family violence. In contrast, in societies where warfare was prevalent and violence is an acceptable expression of anger, domestic violence also seems to be common. For example, Ujelang children are socialized to express anger through violence, factional warfare was endemic among the Tungaru of

the Gilbert Islands, while Palauans, who are known as an aggressive people, have a high level of community violence. Among the Bun of East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea, physical violence was pervasive before colonialism. In her essay, McDowell reports that the Bun value assertiveness and strength; physical violence is an important aspect of self-assertion; anger is considered to be a natural and appropriate response to insult, frustration, or challenge; and children are socialized to express anger through physical aggression. Family violence is commonplace among the Bun, and domestic quarrels often ramify into political events involving many members of the community.

The Status of Women: Male Control of Females

As Lateef discusses at length in her essay, male control of females may be maintained by ideology as well as by violence. She argues that traditional Indo-Fijian values demand that women submit to male control, stress female inequality in both public and domestic domains, and emphasize that women require male protection from their sexual impulsiveness and vulnerability. This ethos is so powerful that often force is not required to control women. When it is, it may be imposed by women (mothers or mothers-in-law) who act as agents of male relatives. In spite of the combination of ideology and violence, however, Lateef stresses that young Indo-Fijian women are not "pathetic" victims. They are quick to articulate their grievances, express discontent, secretly break rules or engage in behavior that they know will result in beatings if they are caught, and even risk further violence by fighting back in defiance of male authority.

The custom of giving bride-wealth may contribute to wife-beating. In societies where bride-wealth legitimizes men's control over women or promotes the attitude that they are the property of their husbands, male dominance in family relationships is more likely to lead to wife-bashing. Both women and men condone this violence, considering it an aspect of marital sexual relations (see Bradley 1985:36-37; Strathern 1985:4-5; LRC 1987:13).

In the Highlands, Gelber observes, women are controlled by physical violence:

> Brutality toward women can be extreme and is not a rare occurrence. Rape and gang rape, undertaken either in a spirit of "fun" or of retaliation and control, or sometimes gratuitously, are commonplaces in the Highlands. An angry man

> may focus his attack on a woman by cutting, burning, or otherwise mutilating her genital and reproductive organs: often these attacks result in the woman's death. These acts occur with such frequency as to indicate a cultural pattern, not simply the isolated excesses of a psychotic, as perhaps in our own society. (1986:25)

According to the Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea, the major obstacle to providing protection for women is a set of cultural attitudes--"prejudices and misconceptions"--about the role of women in marriage. These attitudes--shared by women and men alike, including the officials who have the responsibility of offering support and assistance to abused women--are as follows:

> (i) that bride-price gives a man the right to bash his wife;
> (ii) that men are superior to women, and women must therefore obey them;
> (iii) that no-one can interfere between husband and wife;
> (iv) that wife-beating is customary in many parts of Papua New Guinea, and therefore it must be legal;
> (v) that a man can do whatever he likes inside his own home;
> (vi) that if a woman is bashed, she must have done something to deserve it;
> (vii) that if a woman really minded about being bashed, she would leave the man or prosecute him,
>
> (LRC 1987:13-14)

Strathern observes that the cultural acceptance of male aggressive violence is based on a tautological set of assumptions, for, as she observes, New Guineans often assume that male dominance is a fact, that men will express domination through violence and, therefore, that male violence is legitimated by the domination of men over women (1985:4).

A Question of Gender Equality

In some Pacific societies a condition of political near-equality exists between women and men. In this volume the Bun (McDowell), the Palauans (Nero), the Nagovisi (Nash), and the Wape (Mitchell) are examples of these societies. Note that in two of them (the Wape and the Nagovisi) domestic violence is minimal while in the others it may be

severe. McDowell argues that family violence is the result, at least in part, of the struggle by Bun women to retain their autonomy and to resist efforts by their brothers and husbands to control them. The focus of Nero's article is to explain why severe wife-beating occurs in Palau despite the high status of women and the complementary roles of women and men in economic, social, and political life.

Josephides argues that among the Kewa of Papua New Guinea the marital situation is inherently violent because it is founded on an unequal relationship between husband and wife that is sustained by physical force and by the threat of violence or "symbolic violence" (1985:102). The threat of violence is implicit in references Kewa men make to the politically weak and dependent position of women and in grisly tales of the results of female disobedience. The cultural practices that define symbolic violence support the inferiority of women because they undermine the control Kewa women have over the products of their own labor and reproductive activity and limit their ability to achieve any advantage in the political arena.

Other scholars have argued that the political inequality of Pacific women is highlighted by the practice of men communicating with other men by their treatment of women (Gelber 1986:86). Strathern reports that a man who is ashamed to express his anger to his in-laws directly may berate his wife instead (1972:130), while Koch notes that the relatives of a woman who is beaten by her husband for no obvious reason may interpret the beating as his request for a pig (1968: 104). In the Central Highlands of Papua New Guinea a young man who violates the rules of female avoidance in effect during his betrothal is considered to have offended his age-mates, who may retaliate by killing the girl he expects to marry (Read 1954:23).

In some Papua New Guinea societies female political and economic inequality is accompanied by male fear of and antagonism toward women, These emotions are rooted in the widespread belief that copulation is harmful to a man's physical and mental well-being and that any contact with a menstruating woman will "sicken a man and cause persistent vomiting, turn his blood black, corrupt his vital juices so that his skin darkens as his flesh wastes, permanently dull his wits, and eventually lead to a slow decline and death" (Meggitt 1964:207). The consequences for women of this fear is described by Jigede in her discussion of marriage in the Eastern Highlands. She notes that customarily there were taboos on sexual relations during pregnancy, after birth, through the period of breast-feeding, and during menstruation. If these restrictions were violated as a result of a woman's carelessness, her husband would be "embarrassed" and would, consequently, "spear his wife to

death" (Jigede 1986106). In this society women are still required to obey their husbands and "any disobedience by the women in doing required tasks would lead to them being beaten" (Jigede 1986:113).

Social Factors

Patterns of social organization may have an bearing on whether family violence is common in a particular society. Modjeska observes that the extent of male authority over women may be related to marriage rules. Where rules of local exogamy are weak, as among the Telefolmin, women own their own crops and widows may become wealthy and respected (Modjeska 1982:66). In contrast, in societies where local endogamy and child betrothal occur, these practices assure male control and undermine female independence, while the custom of bride-wealth payments may separate women from rights in their children. For example, the Tungaru practiced both child betrothal and arranged marriage and had, as well, a bias toward male control and pleasure.

As Aucoin's essay illustrates, marriage rules may serve to control the level of marital violence. This is the case among indigenous Fijians, whose ideal marriage is between cross-cousins--who are structurally equal. If a husband beats his cross-cousin wife, she will likely seek refuge with her brothers. Her husband must then initiate reconciliation and abase himself before his affines by publicly apologizing and giving wealth items to them as well as to her before she will return to his home. The support of the wife's relatives and the shame suffered by the husband in this encounter help control family violence.

Other possible explanations for the persistence of family violence focus on social structure and residence patterns. It is less common, for example, to find abused children where people reside together in extended families. The presence of many caretakers and respected elders controls parental rage. In contrast, where families are isolated in single family units, neither parents nor children have alternatives when tempers flare. All of the cases of wife-battering among the Palauan couples analyzed in Nero's essay were between couples who lived in their own nuclear households rather than in an extended-family situation.

Those who focus on residence patterns suggest that women are more likely to be in a subordinate position, and therefore more vulnerable to violent aggression, in patrilineal societies with virilocal residence than in matrilineal societies where women reside with or near their own kin and thus have a haven to escape male wrath (Brown 1997). It is especially important to ask how far a woman in a patrilineal and virilocal society moves from her natal home, for, as Scaglion observes, an Abe-

lam woman who lives only a couple of hours' walk from her father and brothers has ready access to support should her husband abuse her. In contrast, as illustrated in the article by Counts, a woman whose kin are several days distant may be without help even when abuse becomes life-threatening.

Uxorilocal residence may benefit husbands as well as wives in marital conflicts. It may, for instance, enable a man to deal with a domestic dispute nonviolently by moving back to his natal village. Nash's essay describes the embarrassment of a Nagovisi woman who must negotiate with her husband's kin and perhaps pay valuables to them before he will return to her home.

The Nagovisi contrast with virilocal Fijians, who insist that a man negotiate with his wife's kin if he abuses her. In both cases the spouse who lives near his or her relatives is shamed by the mate's desertion, the dispute is escalated by the partner who goes home, and the resident spouse must apologize and pay compensation before the offended mate is willing to return.

The emphasis on residence is critical, for rules of descent are not in themselves predictive of women's status, family relations, or cultural ethos. Women in matrilineal societies do not necessarily fare better than women in patrilineal ones. Consider, for instance, that in earlier days women among the matrilineal Tolai of East New Britain who discovered male secrets or came too near to the male cult's ceremonial places were killed (Bradley 1985:34). Wife-beating is reported among the Tolai (Bradley 1985) and among the matrilineal people of Milne Bay Province as well (Simulabai 1986), while it is rare among the patrilineal Dani (Heider 1979) and Wape (Mitchell, in this volume) as well as among the matrilineal Nagovisi. While social structure and residence rules may provide part of the explanation for why domestic violence is common in some societies and rare in others, we should recall Bradley's warning that it "must be remembered that matrilineality is a method for reckoning descent, not a system for giving power or status to women. Motherhood was respected but women were nevertheless second-class citizens" (1985:34).

Modernization and Rapid Social Change

Finally, one effect of modernization and urbanization may be an increase in domestic violence. In this volume, Scaglion's data forecast that modernization may bring this change. In 18 percent of the "trouble cases" of spousal violence among the Abelam of Papua New Guinea, the wife attacked her husband because of sexual jealousy. Scaglion argues

that there is an increase in spousal violence because educated, mobile young Abelam women are less tolerant of abuse, adultery, gambling, and neglect on the part of their husbands and more willing to fight back or even to strike the first blow than were women a generation ago. Similarly, Lateef finds that modern working Indo-Fijian women may refuse to accept male control unconditionally and may assert their right to argue with their husbands.

The relationship between change and wife-beating has also been pointed out by Au Doko, a Papua New Guinea woman who is active in women's organizations there. In an interview on 18 June 1989 she observed:

> Women now have been educated and take up jobs with the government or with the private sector and that gives them an independence. As well they can think for themselves and speak for themselves. This conflicts with our traditions, Our traditional way has been that men are always the head of the family and are supposed to make decisions. Publicly women never spoke. Women now find that they can speak. . . . But wife beating really is a problem of the educated woman. She is being constantly beaten by her husband, especially in the city. This again shows that as women become educated they know themselves and they know what is their right in the family and they also earn their own living and this gives the men a lot of insecurity. (SPPF 1989:3-5)

In their study of child abuse among urban Maoris, the Ritchies note a number of factors that may result in increased violence toward children and the elderly (1981). These include isolation of the nuclear family, emigration of people in their prime from rural villages to urban centers in search of wage labor, increased need for cash and the associated loss of economic self-sufficiency, and emphasis on personal acquisition and achievement rather than on social accountability and community responsibility for dependent children and old people.

Papua New Guinea citizens themselves hold modernization responsible for a perceived increase in domestic violence. They focus on factors such as gambling, the introduction of money, alcohol consumption, unstable marriages resulting from young people's selecting their own mates rather than following the custom of arranged marriages, and tensions related to modern politics, especially during elections (LRC 1986). One PNG student researcher concentrated on the cash economy as a source of marital problems:

> Another effect of the cash economy on marriage is that men are over-working their wives, using them as a means of production in the economic life of the family. It is always the women who work in the garden and produce surplus food for selling at local markets. It is always the women who work in coffee gardens and harvest the coffee beans and it is always the women who care for pigs, feed them, take them around to the pasturing grounds and bring them back in the afternoon. The fortune and the benefits for all this hard work go to the men. The men get the cash from the women and either spend it on beer, gamble with it or spend it on worthless items like cigarettes and betel nut. (Jigede 1986:108)

We should give special attention to the consumption of alcohol. Pacific people perceive it to be a major cause of domestic violence. In urban Papua New Guinea over 70 percent of low-income women rate it first, while among the elite both men and women place it at the top of the list (Toft 1986:12-13). Au Doko also considers alcohol to be a prime factor in wife-beating:

> The use of alcohol . . . is a social problem because . . . the men drink and sometimes the women have less money given to them. When the women ask questions about where the money goes, and why does he spend his time drinking, the women are bashed just to shut them up. The result is a lot of financial abuse and emotional abuse when women speak up for their rights. Women find it very hard to tolerate this situation. (SPPF 1989:4)

Although alcohol is seen as only a secondary source of family strife in rural Papua New Guinea, researchers attribute its minor role there to its scarcity outside of the towns and predict that "with improved access, primarily through the introduction of village taverns, alcohol will become a greater factor in marriage problems and domestic violence" (Toft and Bonnell 1985:87). Students participating in the Law Reform Commission's study of marriage and domestic violence report that the consumption of alcohol is seen as one reason for the increase in domestic violence in Milne Bay, Western Highlands, Simbu, Eastern Highlands, Madang, Manus, West New Britain, and North Solomons provinces (LRC 1986:18 82, 94, 113, 137, 173, 184, 194).

Nero emphasizes that alcohol use is associated with *all* the contemporary cases of Palauan wife-beating for which she has data. Palauans

perceive that wife-battering is more common today than in the past and attribute its increase to drinking. While drunkenness does not, in Nero's opinion, *cause* domestic violence, it is an important factor in its occurrence. She argues that increased stress resulting from rapid change, the culturally perceived disinhibitory function of alcohol, plus sexual jealousy and the sexual double standard combine to create a matrix in which wife-battering increases as men attempt to establish power over their wives through physical domination.

Although the influence of alcohol is frequently mentioned as a cause of domestic violence, the relationship between alcohol consumption and domestic violence is complex. Gelles cites North American research supporting the existence of an association between alcohol and violence and concluding that people who drink tend to abuse weaker family members. "However," he observes, "the causal relationship implied here between drink and violence tends to disappear when you investigate whether people believe they will or will not be held responsible for their actions when drunk" (Gelles 1979:173).

Gelles's point is supported by MacAndrew and Edgerton, who conclude that drunken comportment is learned behavior determined by the society's expectation of the state of drunkenness (1969:165). In the same vein, Marshall observes that while a state of inebriation may give aggressive young Trukese men a wider latitude of permitted behavior, the rules that govern social performance do not disappear entirely and people who break them may expect swift and violent retaliation (1979: 122). There are, for example, limits on whom a drunk may attack. "Children and the elderly are absolutely off limits," says Marshall, and although drunks may attack women, they seldom do so. "Drunks may chase women, say bad things to them, threaten and frighten them, but they may not beat them up with impunity. Any drunk who violates this proscription may expect swift retaliation from the woman's male kinsmen" (Marshall 1979:122). Chowning also expresses reservations about the effect of alcohol use on domestic violence and notes that sober Kove men hit their wives with such frequency that it is unclear that drinking makes their behavior worse (1982:373).

Options for Victims of Domestic Violence

Alternatives are available for the victims of domestic violence. Abused wives and children who live near their kin or in multiparent societies can call on co-resident family and friends for help. Or they can leave home and find refuge with sympathetic kinsmen if they have relatives willing to shelter them. As the essays by Nash and Aucoin demonstrate,

the option of returning to one's natal home may provide an extremely effective, nonviolent strategy for an offended or abused spouse--either wife or husband. However, the option of seeking refuge away from home may not be available to the decrepit elderly.

Another alternative is defensive violence. Women and older children can fight back in "protective-reactive violence" (Gelles 1974; Hauser 1982), and sometimes they do. The malevolent magic practiced by Ujelang women can be considered an alternative form of defensive violence for, as Carucci argues in this volume, the Ujelang fear of sorcery serves to control physical abuse.

Victims can bring the aggressor to court. Most of the solutions recommended by the Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea focus on legal changes intended to extend the protection of the law to women, and in some situations court protection does seem effective, particularly for abused wives. In a study of family disputes and village courts in the Agarabi area of the Eastern Highlands, Westermark reports that marital problems, including assault, are the most frequent family issue in Agarabi courts and that the most frequent complainants are women (1985). Magistrates have been severe with male defendants in marital violence cases and no longer tolerate husbands' use of physical abuse to punish their wives.

Some observers reason that a women who takes a domestic dispute to court may have little chance of success. It is not just the police who beat their wives. As Chowning observes, "local government councillors and other village officials almost all strike their own wives and so are reluctant to prosecute other men except when exceptional brutality is involved" (1985:88). Reay goes further in her criticism of the usefulness of the court system for women of the Highlands:

> The Village Court . . . is an all-male institution run by and for men. Women are constant casualties. Pathologically brutal husbands keep their victims trapped by getting them dragged before the Village Magistrates. The women's agnates refuse to take them back for fear of losing the bride-price that has been promised or already given, The situation of the bride-price is crucial for the magistrates. They do not recognize chronic brutality as pathological and they simply recommend that a woman so treated should not return to her agnates but should go to the Village Magistrate or Peace Officer of her husband's community and seek a little compensation. This is cold comfort for a woman whose husband beats her up every time he comes home drunk and sometimes holds a gun to her head or a

> bushknife to her throat. . . . Men, who are often so careful to spare one another's feelings, treat women as if they were not sentient beings at all. (1987:77)

Another difficulty that Pacific women face in attempting to take a grievance into the public arena is that incidents of family violence are often considered to be domestic disputes appropriate for public consideration only if they are redefined as conflicts between men.

> In spite of the success of introduced courts and other agents for affording a forum in which women can air their grievances, it seems that *men* do not see the public forum of courts as appropriate for their own 'domestic' problems. Whereas men may litigate with a range of male social others, they are likely to get into conflict only with women with whom they have some specific tie, so that conflicts with women may be subsumed under relationships of kinship or affinity. . . . When men are faced with such difficulties in their relations with wives or female kin they tend to do one of two things: (a) They may turn it into a 'political' conflict, that is, interpret the relationship with the woman . . . in terms of relationships with other men . . . or (b) they may try to solve the matter in an immediate way by asserting their 'control' over the woman, so that their perspective 'wins'. Violence is a means to this end. (Strathern 1985:12)

Scaglion and Whittingham offer a different perspective on this same phenomenon. They observe that a court dispute between husband and wife may appear to be a conflict between two men because a man may plead before the court on behalf of his female relative or because marital disputes often engage the kin of both spouses. Therefore, a domestic squabble can escalate into an assault case between male in-laws (Scaglion and Whittingham 1985:124). They note that by removing their grievances from the male-dominated village milieu and taking them to other arenas, Papua New Guinea women seem to be achieving "some measure of legal equality" (Scaglion and Whittingham 1985:132).

One shortcoming of the court option in Papua New Guinea is that it usually requires the sympathetic backing of a woman's male relatives (Bradley 1985:55). This support is essential for several reasons. First, if a woman's action is successful her husband will be fined or jailed or both. This punishment costs his family scarce cash resources and

deprives them of his labor. If she lacks her kinsmen's support, she and her children may suffer real hardship. Second, as Tua (1986) notes, even if she is successful the woman faces retribution from an angry husband and, perhaps, criticism from her family and neighbors as well.

Before 1985 Papua New Guinea women rarely used either local or district courts, and when they did their success rate was not high. This situation is apparently changing. In a 1989 personal communication Bradley reports that as a result of leaflets distributed by the Women and Law Committee giving step-by-step instructions for how a woman can take her own case through the courts, more women seem to be using local and district courts and doing so more successfully. Bradley feels that this is because magistrates are more confident about what to do in wife-assault cases and when wives apply for "good behaviour bonds" against abusive husbands. The Village Courts Secretariat also sends leaflets to village court magistrates, who tend to move away from custom and render judgments more in line with government law as they become more familiar with it. Although there is no mechanism for enforcing these noncustomary judgments, it does appear that the court system in Papua New Guinea is becoming more receptive to the needs of women. As Scaglion and Whittingham observe, the village courts may provide the best forum for dispute management available to abused women (1985:132).

A final option for the victim of brutal domestic violence is to commit suicide. There is evidence from North America, South America, Africa, and the Pacific that domestic violence and suicide are related in a complex and significant way (Counts 1987). Indeed, one group of researchers has concluded that abuse may be the single most important motivation for North American female suicide attempts yet identified (Stark and Flitcraft 1985:22). In this volume, Mitchell notes that Wape women who are deeply offended by their husbands may attempt suicide and Counts focuses on the circumstances under which abused Lusi-Kaliai women choose the option of suicide.

Why Has Domestic Violence Been Ignored by Anthropologists?

Why, as noted in the introduction to this volume, have so many anthropologists either ignored domestic violence entirely or given it only summary treatment--perhaps a few sentences or paragraphs embedded in a discussion of some other subject?

There are several reasons. One is that we have only recently become

aware of domestic violence as a problem in Western society. Furthermore, we have become aware of different aspects of the problem at different times. As Pagelow notes, child abuse was "discovered" in the 1960s, wife-beating in the 1970s, and abuse of the aged or "granny bashing" in the 1980s (1984:363). Clearly we anthropologists are not ahead of our time.

Another explanation derives from the anthropologist's dilemma discussed in the introduction. We respect the right of Pacific peoples to hold values different from our own and are reluctant to point out in our hosts behavior that is unacceptable and embarrassing in ourselves. Expressions of this reluctance range from an unwillingness to "exploit" our hosts' hospitality by exposing their dark side to a concern that publication on the topic will result in denial of permission to return for further field research. These are certainly legitimate concerns, but it is appropriate to respond that while we must not apply our own values and pass judgment on behavior that is not seen as deviant or abusive by the majority of the people of a community, many Pacific people do perceive domestic violence to be a problem. As Nero discovered when she took her essay back to her Palauan community for discussion, our hosts may welcome the opportunity to acknowledge publicly that a problem exists so the search to find a solution can begin.

The recognition that domestic violence is a problem occurs at all levels in the Pacific, from the individual to the national government. For example, on the national level the Papua New Guinea Law Reform Commission's *Interim Report on Domestic Violence* includes several pages pointing out reasons why domestic violence is a cause for public concern (LRC 1987:4-7). At the level of individual awareness, consider a few lines from a poem entitled "Belting-belting" by Hilda Arova, published in *The Times of Papua New Guinea* (31 July 1981, 17).[4]

> Belting! Belting.
> Why belting me all the time,
> What have I done wrong to you?
> I have done no wrong to you.
> I'm innocent.
> I have got nothing to do with you,
> drunken bastard!
>
> Beltings! Beltings.
> All the time beltings.

When will I be happy?
I deserve it.
I married the wrong man!

There are good reasons why anthropologists should discuss and write about domestic violence. In-depth research in a variety of societies can illuminate similarities and differences in the causes of and responses to domestic violence. It can provide information about societies such as the Wape, the Dani, and the Nagovisi where family disputes are settled nonviolently and intimate interpersonal relations are not marked by aggression or the forcible control of the weak by the more powerful. And research can inform us how other people have attempted to cope with the problems of anger, frustration, stress, and inequality. Perhaps, for example, there are societies where women or the elderly have united to resist abuse; if so, the courts and family-service workers in North America and South Pacific nations alike might be better able to help victims of violence if they knew how this response was organized and whether it worked. Possibly some countries have found a way to make their court systems more responsive to and protective of powerless people who are abused by the stronger members of their families. If so, this information could be extremely valuable to those seeking to bring about legal reform. If, through research, we know the variety of ways societies have developed of coping with stress and the effects of rapid modernization and urbanization, perhaps this information will suggest alternatives for those societies that consider the pattern of domestic violence a problem and desire to change.

NOTES

1. Although many methodological problems mar the research on which this book on marriage in Papua New Guinea is based, and it often raises more tantalizing questions than it answers, it does contain much of value. Research was conducted in assigned villages for a period of four weeks by male and female students from the Diploma of Social Development program of the Administrative College of Papua New Guinea (LRC 1986:1). The reports are based on eyewitness accounts, interviews, court records, case studies, and on the impressions of the students, providing insight into their attitudes and expectations as well as some information about the villages they studied.

2. Other researchers observe that North Americans have a high tolerance for physical aggression against *both* children and spouses (see, for instance, Starr 1988; Margolin, Sibner, and Gleberman 1988; Steinmetz and Lucca 1988; as well as other chapters in Van Hasselt et al. 1988)

3. The key here may be that abuse is *reported* among Maori and other Pacific Islanders by social workers who are more likely to look for it among these people than among the Pakeha.

4. My thanks to Mac Marshall for sending me a copy of this poem.

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BOOK REVIEW FORUM

David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact.* Pp. xvii, 149, index. Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai'i, 1989. US$10.95 paper.

Review: TERRY L. HUNT
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David Stannard's book *Before the Horror* is a critical look at the important historical issue of the size of Hawai'i's population at the time of European contact. Stannard raises serious doubts concerning the validity of conventional population estimates and builds a plausible account for a substantially larger Hawaiian population that suffered catastrophic collapse brought on by diseases that came with European contact. This work follows research elsewhere (for example, Crosby 1972; Dobyns 1983; Ramenofsky 1987) that has revealed early underestimations of population and the realization that catastrophic demographic collapse occurred in many cases.

In my review I will first summarize the main points of Stannard's work and then turn to a critical discussion of some of the theoretical and substantive archaeological issues central to his argument. I will conclude by outlining the role of archaeological research in Hawai'i to resolve population questions on empirical grounds, rather than by speculation and debate.

Summary

Stannard begins by pointing out that all estimates and attempts to make reestimates of Hawai'i's precontact population are based on the obser-

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vations of Lieutenant James King. King made an original population estimate of 500,000, but later revised it to 400,000. King's estimate was based on visits to Kealakekua, Kona (Hawai'i island), and Waimea, Kaua'i, together with some assumptions about the distribution of population that he used to extrapolate archipelago-wide numbers. Other early writers were not as systematic or explicit as King in their attempts at estimation.

Robert Schmitt has reviewed the early sources and attempted his own precensal estimates. Schmitt lowered King's numbers by 150,000 to 200,000 to estimate a Hawaiian population of 200,000 minimum to 250,000 maximum. Stannard argues that the early accounts, which Schmitt cites in revising King's archipelago-wide estimate, are unreliable and lacking in evidence. Indeed, Schmitt concedes that "none of these precensal estimates is very convincing" as methodology "remains unstated, and even where described it is questionable" (quoted in Stannard, p. 4). Stannard concludes that all efforts to *reduce* King's early estimate are sorely lacking in evidentiary or even logical support (p. 14), and that King's estimate of 400,000 appears to be too low.

Stannard critically evaluates four assumptions King used to extrapolate from his observations to an archipelago-wide population estimate. From time ashore at Kealakekua Ray, King's assumptions include: (1) that there were approximately 800 persons per coastal mile; (2) that this density pertained to all inhabited coastlines of the islands; (3) that about a quarter of all coasts were uninhabited; and (4) only coasts were occupied, there were no inland settlements. Examining each of these assumptions in turn, Stannard uses multiple lines of argument and any available evidence to show that King's 400,000 was a serious underestimation of the actual figure.

First, Stannard questions the validity of house counts (ranging from 370 to 1,300 at Kealakekua according to different individuals) and the number of persons (six, eight, or more?) per house used to arrive at local or regional population figures. Second, Stannard points out that Kealakekua and Waimea (Kaua'i) are leeward areas with less rainfall and consequently lower population densities than windward zones, which held greater agricultural potential. Third, the notion that a quarter of all island coastlines were uninhabited is disputed with historical evidence for settlements in the most marginal conditions, as well as the fact that Hawai'i island, with vast zones of barren lava flows, is in marked contrast to the lands available for settlement on the remaining islands of the chain. Fourth, Stannard points to historical and archaeological sources to counter King's claim that interior areas were entirely unoccupied.

Following his critique, Stannard alters King's all-island population projections by correcting coastline mileage; using Samwell's slightly higher house count for Kealakekua; and assuming eight, instead of six, persons per house to come up with a range from 478,000 to 658,000 (p. 29). When only one-tenth of the coasts, rather than a quarter, are assumed to have been uninhabited, the all-island figures rise to a range of 574,000 to 789,000. Finally, if inland populations are added to comprise 10 percent of the total, the all-island projection is as high as 635,000 to 875,000 (p. 30). Stannard argues that these are extremely conservative adjustments, making an overall estimate of not less than 800,000 a likely figure for Hawaiian population in 1778. Importantly, Stannard points out that "while it is true that any estimate of the entire archipelago's population based on extrapolation from a first-hand count of a single small area is fraught with risk, it is in fact the procedure that has undergirded every previous estimate from King to Schmitt" (p. 31). Stannard attempts to take the population issue further than previous analyses by proposing to test these larger estimates against prehistoric growth rates, the Hawaiian Islands' carrying capacity, and the degree of catastrophic population collapse.

In terms of the potential for prehistoric growth rates, Stannard suggests that initial colonization of the Hawaiian Islands occurred by the first century A.D. This colonizing group, by conjecture, could have been about one hundred, with approximately equal numbers of men and women. Drawing on the demographic models of Norma McArthur and her colleagues, Stannard proposes a conservative 0.9 percent growth rate for the first three hundred years of Hawaiian settlement, and then a rate of 0.52 percent per annum for the remainder of prehistory. Such a demographic model would result in well over 800,000 people by 1778. In short, Stannard shows that conservative demographic models can account for figures much greater than he is claiming for Hawai'i at the time of European contact.

Since demographic models alone provide numbers well in excess of those expected on other grounds, Stannard turns to what he recognizes as the messy problems of carrying capacity. Instead of an unreasonable attempt to establish a carrying-capacity estimate for Hawai'i, Stannard uses empirical-inductive population densities (based on several comparative cases) as a kind of surrogate (in place of an empirical-deductive estimate). Stannard suggests an overall population density of 130 to 150 per square mile for the islands. Such a density would have meant that on the basis of agriculture alone, "Hawai'i easily could have fed over a million people with less than two percent of the land being put into combined dry-land and wet-land taro production" (p. 41).

A third approach to reconstructing possible population numbers is to work backward from census data (postcollapse numbers) to precontact values using comparative cases of depopulation that resulted from European contact. Stannard draws on numerous cases worldwide (which indicate population collapse commonly on the order of 90 percent or more within the early periods of European contact) and establishes an empirical population decline trajectory based on the low average of the cases surveyed. He compares the low average from surveyed cases to trajectories based on King's and Schmitt's estimates (p. 51, fig. 4), revealing that at least Schmitt's values for Hawai'i would be quite unusual in light of comparative cases, that is, yielding a remarkably low population decline. Stannard proposes a population collapse trajectory for Hawai'i based on 800,000 people in 1778. His proposed trajectory for Hawai'i is identical to the low average (from his comparative data) for cases known worldwide, with depopulation as high as 50 percent in first twenty-five years of contact.

Stannard anticipates some likely objections to the argument put forth. He first addresses the notion that natural population growth was limited (controlled) by warfare, infanticide, abortion, sacrificial killings, and limited health measures (p. 60). Stannard argues that none of these factors effectively reduced the population projections proposed. Furthermore, he cites physical anthropological (osteological) and ethnohistorical sources as evidence in support of his claims. Second, he also disputes suggestions made by archaeologists Hommon and Kirch that resource depletion led to a decline in Hawaiian population prior to European contact. Third, Stannard argues that there exists no credible evidence for the pre-European presence of diseases such as syphilis, tuberculosis, and other serious infections.

The last portion of the book is critical commentary by two well-known historical demographers in Hawai'i, Eleanor Nordyke and Robert Schmitt. Stannard replies to their comments as well.

Discussion

From an archaeologist's perspective, the substantive problems I see in Stannard's work are minor, First, some will object to a Polynesian settlement date early in the Christian era, pointing instead to colonization of the islands around A.D. 500 or 600. Stannard is correct in looking to earlier settlement, as several radiocarbon dates earlier than A.D. 500 are known from Hawai'i and O'ahu islands. Furthermore, there are at least fifty radiocarbon dates from seven islands (corresponding to where most

research has been done) that are earlier than A.D. 1000 in median age (Hunt and Holsen n.d.). The widespread distribution of sites dating to the first millennium A.D. suggests not only early settlement but also the population expansion that Stannard postulates.

Second, while inland settlements are known ethnohistorically and archaeologically, it remains unclear whether all settlements--inland and coastal--were occupied permanently and simultaneously. In some cases, inland settlement was associated with intensive dryland cultivation but appears to have been only temporary in nature (for example, Lapakahi and Waimea [Kohala]). In other cases, inland settlements may have been permanent while coastal areas were used on a temporary (seasonal?) basis (such as southern Ka'ū). Census-taking approaches in archaeology that count sites interpreted as dwellings risk an overestimation in settings where a dispersed settlement pattern was based on movement of individuals for specialized activities. This problem, however, has little bearing on Stannard's argument, as he keeps to a conservative 10 percent in his extrapolations.

A third substantive problem, albeit minor, is that Stannard argues that Waimea (Kaua'i) and Kealakekua are surrounded by "a huge and notoriously dry landscape" (p. 17) and that production and thus population in windward areas would be much greater. This claim oversimplifies certain facts. Waimea, while receiving relatively low rainfall, is situated along the Waimea River. This abundant water source provided a means for irrigated agriculture using ditches (for example, the famous Menehune Ditch) to feed pondfields of wetland taro. At Kealakekua rainfall increases dramatically within the first few miles inland from the coast, which allowed massive dryland field systems (known archaeologically) with cultivation of not only taro but also breadfruit, banana, and the highly productive sweet potato. The simplified contrast between windward and leeward detracts from Stannard's more generally correct assertion.

Finally, Stannard must rely on undoubtedly poor population estimates from cases surveyed worldwide (most in the Americas and the Pacific) to establish rates of depopulation. Many of these studies are flawed by the same kind of errors Stannard exposes in the Hawaiian case. Nonetheless, a survey of many cases may yield generalized patterns that are valid in spite of errors in individual cases.

In terms of theoretical problems, I see two. One supports Stannard's argument and one perhaps confounds it. First, while Stannard recognizes the complexity of estimating carrying capacity, he overlooks a factor that could prove important to prehistoric Hawai'i. Liebeg's Law of

the Minimum states that population is constrained not by *average* resource availability but by the *lowest* availability of *critical* resources. Thus, the average is simply an abstraction, whereas the lowest point in fluctuations of resources is the reality members of populations were faced with. Consequently, population densities may reflect either an "optimum" or some other point in a continually fluctuating value. The causes of famine in Hawai'i could be further examined as they may reflect resource fluctuations that limited population size (Schmitt 1970). It should be noted, though, that Hawai'i seems less prone to catastrophic losses from hurricanes and droughts than some parts of the Pacific (Currey 1980).

Also in theoretical terms, those critics such as Nordyke who suggest that populations hold their numbers in check through infanticide, warfare, abortion, and sacrifice must accept outdated functionalist notions based on the fallacy of misplaced teleology (Richerson 1977). These arguments assume that the population, not individuals, is the source of goal-directed behavior. People, including those of our society, do not kill their offspring, go to war, or have abortions in response to population pressure. This would be equivalent to arguing that today's urban traffic problems (giving individuals the impression of overpopulation) lead to infanticide or other individual sacrifices to reduce population size. Instead, occurrences of infanticide, abortion, and so forth relate to strategies to *increase,* not decrease, long-term reproductive success (see, for example, Dickemann 1979). Moreover, others have shown that conventional notions of population regulation are nothing more than functionalist myths (Bates and Lees 1979). Thus, Stannard is correct in his assertions that these practices (common or not) in Hawai'i had little effect on population size.

I must add that the commentary that concludes Stannard's book did little to discredit his claims. Nordyke's appeal to authority (reputation) is not how historical or scientific questions are resolved. Rather, this appeal signals the difficulty of evaluating the problem on empirical or even theoretical grounds, Nordyke's comments on archaeology are incorrect, and those on environment (ancient food and water supplies) appear naive. Schmitt's comments serve to reiterate the problems of interpreting the incomplete and error-prone early (precensal) estimates.

Conclusion

Stannard has clearly uncovered the many problems with conventional population estimates and indeed establishes the *plausibility* of substan-

tially greater numbers for the precontact Hawaiian population. He has revealed the inconsistencies and contradictions of the early historical sources that have, it seems, enjoyed undue trust. He shows, in his first chapter, that attempts from King to Schmitt to estimate precensal Hawaiian population are fraught with error and unwarranted assumptions. In his critique, Stannard brings us to the conclusion--disquieting to some--that Hawaiian population at European contact simply cannot be deduced or extrapolated from the limited observations made by early visitors. We will never know prehistoric or precensal population values from the historical sources. In short, Stannard has shown us that the issues of population in Hawai'i can be best resolved by archaeological research.

Addressing questions of population growth, size, and collapse through archaeology in Hawai'i will not be easy or accomplished quickly. Many of the aspects of archaeological research that Stannard mentions will continue to shed light on the issues that pertain to population. I see five aspects of archaeological research contributing to a better understanding of prehistoric Hawaiian population (see Kirch 1985 for a general review):

1. A date for initial colonization of Hawai'i will become better known through continued field research together with efforts to adequately date excavated sites. Too often archaeologists have been satisfied with single radiocarbon determinations for entire sites, even entire regions. These single dates are difficult to evaluate, Field research in Hawai'i will undoubtedly yield more sites dating to the first few centuries A.D. A systematic field study (including geomorphological considerations) would probably dramatically increase our chances of finding such sites, as it has elsewhere in the Pacific Islands.

2. Paleoenvironmental studies of climatic changes, agricultural systems, and human-induced changes that increased or degraded productivity will be important in evaluating questions of population trends over the course of prehistory. Impressive work has already been done examining, for example, plant remains, land snails, and sediments to study patterns of deforestation (historic and prehistoric), agriculture (technology, variability, expansion, and intensification), and geomorphological changes.

3. Continued settlement-pattern studies analyzed at regional scales will help to clarify the nature of prehistoric settlement and the associated population. Unfortunately, contract archaeology has often been confined to isolated parcels of land. Research that includes analysis and synthesis over larger areas will prove informative.

4. Continued osteological (physical anthropological) analysis of prehistoric human skeletal remains is the primary means to address questions of precontact diet and nutrition, health, pathologies and disease, life expectancy, and fertility. These are essential components to understanding (in more than theoretical or speculative terms) the paleodemographic variables critical to Stannard's argument. Ignoring this important source of evidence will leave many questions Stannard raises unanswered, indeed unanswerable.

5. Archaeological research particularly focused on the question of the degree of population collapse--that is, changes detectable in the Hawaiian archaeological record from just prior to 1778 to the late 1800s --following the innovative work by Ramenofsky (1987) in North American archaeological case studies will undoubtedly prove rewarding. Given the problems that Stannard discusses for Hawai'i, the archaeology of population changes with European contact may be the key to putting a plausible argument on more solid ground.

In sum, Stannard has revealed the flaws in early population estimates and has argued the plausibility of a much larger Hawaiian population than conventional estimates allow. Stannard's attempts to use models of growth rates, carrying capacity, and depopulation trajectories are also only plausible arguments (although I see his argument as more plausible than those he criticizes). From an archaeologist's point of view, we should be able to do better than plausible arguments in spite of the shortcomings of the ethnohistorical sources on population counts. Obtaining more certain answers about population in the past is possible given the empirical nature of the archaeological record, even though it will require asking questions about population in different terms.

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Review: ANN F. RAMENOFSKY
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By developing a new and substantially higher estimate of native Hawaiians at the time of European contact, David Stannard has made an important contribution to the paleodemography of Hawaii and opened a new avenue of research in the Pacific that can be pursued for years to come.

Although I view Stannard's estimate of 800,000 Hawaiians in 1778 as plausible, I am reluctant to accept it, My hesitancy is not a function of the size of the estimate. Instead, my concerns are related to the number of assumptions required to build and justify the new value. The weight of assumptions coupled with tautological reasoning raise suspicions about the estimate itself.

Although science is a way of knowing, it is not free of bias. Science is an intellectual enterprise composed of ideas and phenomena. Scientists use their biases in the form of assumptions and hypotheses to evaluate the fit between the world of ideas and the world of the senses. The lack of fit between ideas and empirical phenomena pushes researchers to

refine their ideas. Within this framework it is crucial not only to separate ideas from phenomena, but to have multiple, independent tests for the confirmation or rejection of ideas.

Viewing Stannard's work from the perspective of science exposes its fundamental difficulties, Paleodemographic reconstructions are most successful within an interdisciplinary framework. There, lines of evidence drawn from different disciplines can be used to confirm, reject, or modify assumptions and estimates. Rarely is such an approach taken. Instead, paleodemographic reconstructions usually depend on the researcher's assumptions regarding the nature of earlier estimates. If these estimates are seen as conservative, then adjustments upward must be made. If initial estimates are assumed to be inflated, then adjustments downward are required. Initial assumptions make such reconstructions speculative and controversial.

Stannard's basic assumption in *Before the Horror* is that all previous estimates have been too conservative. Moreover, these estimates have become smaller with time. In 1778, Lieutenant James King of the *Discovery* estimated 400,000 native Hawaiians; Robert Schmitt, current state statistician of Hawaii, recommended no more than 250,000 people. Because Schmitt assumed that King's estimate was inflated, he reduced the total by nearly 50 percent. To derive a new total population count of 800,000, Stannard also modifies King's assumptions.

First, King did not visit all the islands; he projected his total estimate for all islands from populations in certain areas, especially Kealakekua Bay. According to Stannard, the estimate for Kealakekua Bay was conservative. Contemporaries of King counted more houses and, therefore, more people in Kealakekua Bay. Second, King assumed that the density of people in the region was comparable to all inhabited coastlines of Hawaii; 75 percent of all coasts were inhabited. Finally, King assumed that inland areas were vacant.

To obtain a higher estimate for Kealakekua Bay, Stannard accepts the higher house counts of the region as accurate; he then uses King's conversion factor of six people per house to obtain an estimate for Kealakekua Bay. In projecting outward from this baseline, Stannard draws a distinction between leeward and windward districts. Kealakekua Bay is located on the leeward side of Hawaii island and, historically, leeward districts had larger territories than windward districts. Stannard assumes windward districts supported higher population densities because of access to fresh water and sophisticated irrigation technologies. To justify this assumption, Stannard employs Dobyns's "principle of military parity" (1983) developed from the Timucua test case in Flor-

ida. Dobyns argued that populations in adjacent regions must have supported a comparable number of warriors to maintain a military balance of power. Using historical documents and archaeological surveys as support, Stannard assumes that 90 percent of all coastlines and most inland areas were inhabited.

Stannard's disagreement with King's demographic assumptions needs examination. Although the modifications of King's assumptions are consistent with Stannard's bias in favor of more people, the question is whether or not the new assumptions are correct. Are the higher house counts for Kealakekua Bay more likely? If boundaries between leeward and windward districts were established after the decimation that Stannard describes, do they pertain to 1778? Does Dobyns's principle of military parity strengthen the leeward-windward assumption? Dobyns's principle is, in fact, an assumption that was not tested in the Timucua case. Dobyns simply adopted the ratio of warriors as 35 percent of total population from Cook and Simpson's research in Central Mexico (1983: 174-189). He assumed the ratio held for the Timucua. Finally, what percentage of the coasts were inhabited? Why not 87 percent or 95 percent?

The only means of evaluating the accuracy of Stannard's assumptions is to use independent evidence to test each. Although Stannard is clearly aware of the need for independent evidence, he does not test his initial assumptions. Instead, he attempts to justify his estimate in two ways. First, he continually asserts that his assumptions and mathematical manipulations lead to a minimal estimate. In fact, he challenges researchers who support lower estimates to justify their claims: "it is now incumbent on those who would hold this position to demonstrate--*in specific scholarly detail*--precisely how it came to be less than what all evidence suggests is a minimum" (pp. 80, 142).

Second, Stannard uses other lines of evidence to corroborate his population value of 800,000, including growth rates of the founding Hawaiian population, the carrying capacity of Hawaiian environments, the timing of population decline, and the health of the precontact populations. The problem is that each justification involves additional assumptions as difficult to support as those initially employed. Moreover, in each justification Stannard chooses the estimate that is most similar to his own. Consequently, no test is truly independent. A brief example will demonstrate this problem.

Stannard's growth model for the islands assumes that the Hawaiian population was gradually increasing until European contact. The model he chooses is the worst case scenario developed by McArthur,

Saunders, and Tweedie (1976) in a simulation study of Pacific island peopling and growth. Because the size of Hawaii's founding population is not known, Stannard adopts conventional wisdom; he assumes that approximately 100 people with an equal sex ratio settled Hawaii. He then assumes an initial growth rate of 0.9 percent for the first three hundred years of colonization; this growth rate drops to 0.52 percent during the next 1,270 years. According to Stannard, these values are all extremely conservative, but they result in a total island population of more than one million by 1778.

Simulations are useful exercises for generating testable hypotheses that can be employed to evaluate assumptions. Stannard, however, is not generating hypotheses. He is confirming his estimate of precontact population size. Although mutual confirmation of population size through historical documents and computer stimulations may create a plausible estimate, the methodological structure is tautological. Moreover, plausibility is not the business of science. We need to know whether or not the estimate is in the right ballpark. Evaluating assumptions that produced the estimate against independent bodies of data is the most direct method of making such an assessment.

Because the archaeological record is a record of people, it could be used to provide the independent evidence crucial for rejection or confirmation. Moreover, one archaeologist (Kirch 1984) has projected a population growth curve for all of Hawaii that relies on archaeological house counts from western Hawaii. According to Kirch, native Hawaiians had a logistical growth curve. Population increased slowly until A.D. 1200. From that point until A.D. 1600, there was a steep increase followed by a decline that began approximately one hundred years before European contact.

Despite the use of independent data, Kirch's model is no more correct than Stannard's. It is flawed by two assumptions that bias the shape of his house-count curve. Kirch assumes that preservation of habitations is constant through time. Thus, houses from the earliest period of settlement are just as well preserved as those from A.D. 1600. Yet it is an archaeological truism that preservation varies with age. The best-preserved record is typically the most recent. Consequently, it could be argued that Kirch's curve reflects preservation, not population.

In addition, Kirch assumes that the duration of occupation of houses between temporal periods is constant. If duration varied temporally, then periods where occupation is shorter will have more houses (and more people) than periods where occupation is longer. Quite simply, a family who relocates ten times in ten years will leave a house record that

is ten times as large as a family who remains in the same habitation for a decade. Without controlling for duration of occupation (Ramenofsky 1987), house-count curves cannot be accepted as curves of population growth.

The example of Kirch's model of population growth demonstrates that independent evidence does not guarantee that conclusions are correct. All science operates from assumptions, and these must subjected to careful scrutiny. Although Stannard's and Kirch's models have contradictory conclusions about growth rates and timing of native decline, each could be treated as a hypothesis and evaluated against archaeological and historical records. Under appropriate assumptions, archaeological data could determine whether Stannard's or Kirch's model of population growth is correct. History and archaeology could independently confirm or reject the timing of the decline.

Although I have exposed a number of fundamental problems underlying Stannard's estimate, several aspects of his scholarship deserve high praise. Many of the arguments against conventional assumptions of low estimates are logically powerful. Schmitt, for instance, uses current agricultural classification of soils to argue that the Hawaiian land base could not have supported 800,000 people. Stannard counters that contemporary classifications of soils are based on contemporary crop requirements. Traditional taro cultivation thrived on soils that currently have the worst agricultural rating.

There are other reasons for my excitement about the book. To date, most research on the demographic and cultural consequences of European contact has focused on the Americas (Cook 1981; Crosby 1972; Dobyns 1966, 1983; Ramenofsky 1987). With the exception of Crosby's overview of European contact in New Zealand (1986), no one working in the Pacific has seriously investigated the question of disease introduction and resulting demographic catastrophe (Ramenofsky 1989 has a brief discussion of the point). Yet such an investigation in the Pacific region is clearly important for several reasons.

First, because islands have definite spatial boundaries, they have been viewed, since the mid-nineteenth century, as laboratories of evolutionary processes. Yet historical analysis of the behavior of introduced pathogens among island populations has been largely overlooked (see Black 1966 for an exception). As Stannard's work suggests, the data that can be gleaned from historical research read like textbook examples of epidemics. As Stannard notes, within seven years of Cook's landing, venereal disease had spread to Maui, an island not visited by Cook.

In addition, European contact with Hawaiians is two centuries later

than with Native Americans. During that time, Europeans became skilled demographers and developed the germ theory of disease. Both developments have implications for the reliability of initial estimates and for tracking the nature of introduced diseases. Cook, for instance, understood the etiology of smallpox. He required that the crew of the *Discovery* be immunized against or recovered from the disease (Beaglehole 1967). Not surprisingly, Stannard does not list smallpox as, a major killer of native Hawaiians.

Because the documentary record of Hawaii is more complete, the temporal conjunction between disease introduction and the demographic catastrophe cannot be ignored. It must be integrated into historical studies of Hawaiians, and that integration has implications for world studies of biological and cultural termination of native peoples at European contact, Although anthropologists readily admit that native peoples died from introduced disease, they either underestimate the magnitude of the decline or they assume that the disaster postdated initial documentation and settlement. Stannard's analysis is successful in demonstrating that neither approach is supportable in the Hawaiian case. Despite a better understanding of disease processes, pathogens still spread to native Hawaiians, causing a maximum decline of 80 percent in the first fifty years of contact. The catastrophic winnowing of native peoples was not limited to the Americas.

In summary, although the number of untested assumptions makes me skeptical of Stannard's estimate, his paleodemographic research is crucial for developing a research topic with implications beyond the particular case. I support Stannard's efforts and am hopeful that researchers in demography, anthropology, archaeology, and history will respond to the challenges presented in this work.

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Review: FRANCIS L. BLACK

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David Stannard has presented a detailed reevaluation of the generally accepted assumptions about the "precontact" population of Hawaii. He concludes that the population before Cook's arrival was not about 250,000, as commonly assumed, but at least threefold higher. No really new data are available, and the revised estimate is based on extrapolation from very small samples or weak hypotheses. But these, too, were the bases of the earlier assumptions, and the Hawaiian data are not inferior to data used for like calculations of the effects of the post-Columbian epidemics on other newly contacted populations [l]. Stannard has approached the problem from multiple directions, and these several lines of reasoning converge to form a surprisingly strong impetus for revision. The effect is enhanced, because, with agreement of the several arguments, the overall probability is the product, not the sum, of the parts. This effect is reminiscent of the combination of many weak forces at an antigen-antibody interface to form one of nature's strongest bonds.

Stannard uses four principal lines of argument in *Before the Horror:* (a) Lieutenant James King's original estimate was low because it was

based on a section of coastline that offered less than optimal conditions and made several unwarranted assumptions about other parts of the islands; (b) unrestricted population growth from the time of first settlement to Cook's arrival would give a larger population than previously recognized; (c) the islands had the potential to support a large population, and archaeological evidence of settlement on unfavored areas indicates that much of this potential was indeed utilized; and (d) extrapolation of the number of survivors, at the time of the first census, back to the time of contact indicates a large initial population.

I have no special competence to evaluate points a or c and will leave these to others. My area of expertise is the effects of infectious disease on isolated populations and my firsthand experience is mostly with South American Indian tribes. In the South American rain forest many discrete population groups remained unaffected by direct contact with the cosmopolitan world until the second half of this century, and it has been my privilege to study several of them shortly after contact became regular. These tribes are isolated from one another as securely as the island populations of the Pacific, and like the Pacific populations each can be treated as a demographic entity. Modern-day Hawaiians may be shocked by the comparison, but the climate of the Amazon is not very different from that of Hawaii. The Amazon is warmer, but temperatures over 100°F are rare. In areas of even moderate elevation, nights are cool. Rainfall is no greater than on the windward sides of the islands and comes mostly in the afternoon.

Human Population Growth Potential

Is Stannard justified in concluding that, in the absence of population restraints due to limited resources, a founding population of a hundred persons would be expected to grow to 800,000 by 1778? In reaching this conclusion Stannard uses relatively new evidence that the initial settlement occurred before A.D. 100. Eleanor Nordyke, in a critical commentary appended to Stannard's main essay, contests this date and adheres to that of A.D. 300 given by Kirch [2]. Rouse, in a separate study that integrates data from the whole history of Polynesian migration, gives the date of settlement as A.D. 600 [3]. To attain the 8,000-fold increase postulated by Stannard, the Hawaiian population would have to grow 15 percent per twenty-seven-year generation [4] on Stannard's schedule, or 23 percent according to Rouse. Recently (1980 to 1985) the whole world grew at a rate equivalent to 36 percent per twenty-seven

years [5]. Clearly, the growth Stannard postulates is possible, regardless of which date is correct.

The potential for population growth is actually much greater, as can be illustrated by a South American example. Protasio Frikel studied the Xikrin Indians of Brazil in the early 1960s [6], and we were able to follow their population changes with some regularity from 1970 to 1981. The Xikrin are a northern branch of the same cultural group as the Cayapo, who are described--over-simplistically--by Stannard as having been exterminated by disease through contact with one priest (p. 47). There was warfare between the Xikrin and Neo-Brazilians throughout the first half of the present century. The effect of this was ultimately serious, but in the early part of the period, the acquisition of steel tools may have provided demographic compensation for battle losses by facilitating the clearing of gardens. Poliomyelitis, and possibly hepatitis A [7], were introduced to the tribe by contact with contaminated water during this period. However, the worst was to come when, in 1963, the Xikrin moved their village to a place from which they could engage in peaceful trade with the outside world. Half their number died in the next two years. The survivors moved back to the hinterland and delegated their trade to a succession of priests, and then to the Brazilian Indian service, FUNAI. Complete isolation was not restored, but the frequency of epidemics declined and the Indians were able to continue getting machetes and shotguns, During the next seventeen years the population increased threefold, a rate equivalent to 500 percent per generation (Figure 1). Shotguns undoubtedly played a role in making this growth possible, but shells were scarce, and most hunting continued to be with clubs or bow and arrow. A key factor in this growth was the fact that only the young had survived the early sixties. In 1964 only three of the eighty-six survivors were over thirty years of age and only twenty-one were under ten. It was a group of people entering their most productive years. So, too, may have been the initial settlers of Hawaii.

Nordyke argues that populations grow according to an S-shaped curve and that rates of growth such as those discussed above could not be maintained (p. 110). The S-shaped curve, however, comes from bacteriology, where a time interval equivalent to several log phase generations is needed for full activation of growth, and depletion of nutrients puts the top on the S. There is no scale inherent to the S and the duration of the log phase depends on the ratio between size of initial inoculum and amount of medium. The growth of a human population has no appreciable lag phase and the log phase need end only when the

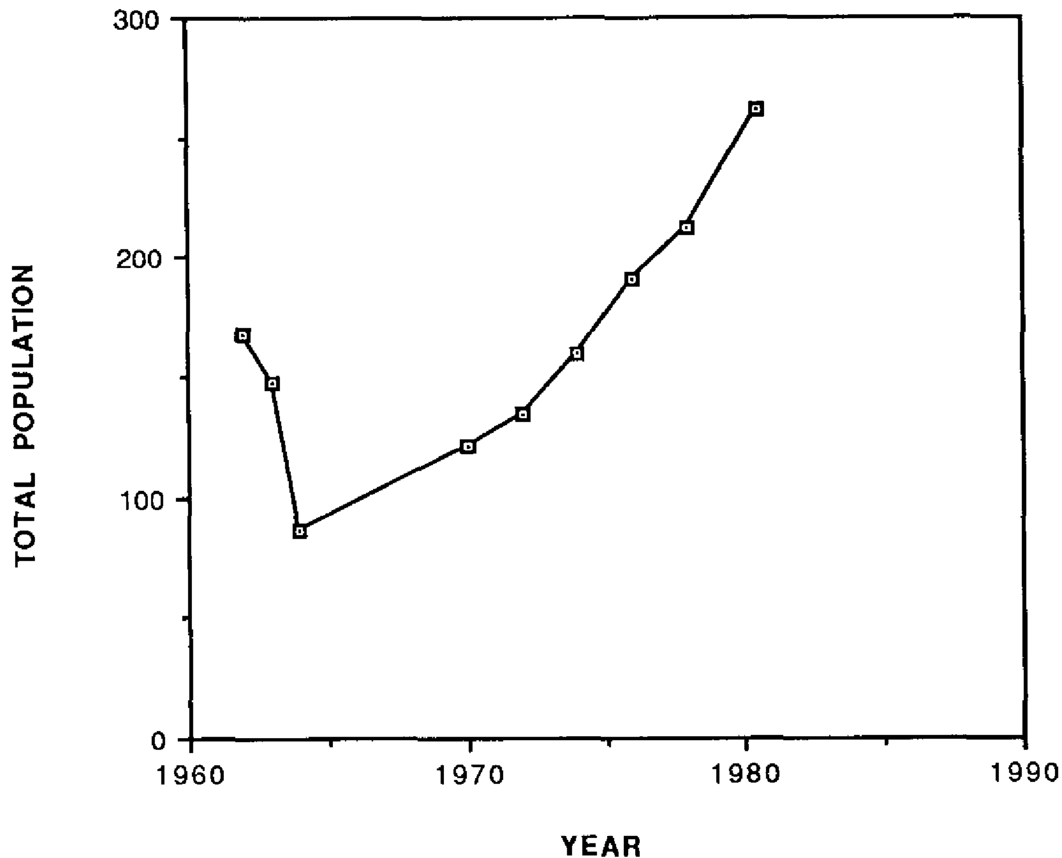

FIGURE 1. **Population changes in the Xikrin tribe of Brazil.**

resources become limiting. The Xikrin growth curve illustrated in Figure 1 failed to maintain a logarithmic rate in the latter periods of observation, and less quantitative data from subsequent years indicate that, while the tribe continues to grow rapidly, the increase does not continue to be logarithmic. The reason for the reduction in the rate of increase becomes apparent when one notes that in the years covered by the chart the proportion of women in their childbearing years decreased from 23.3 percent to 12.6 percent of the population, through dilution and aging. A time scale covering several generations would have permitted averaging out these ages changes. The curve would then show a less rapid initiation, but the logarithmic rate of increase might continue much longer.

Diseases That May Have Depleted the Hawaiian Population

Before examining the potential of disease to cause the population loss postulated by Stannard, it is necessary to determine what diseases may

have been involved. Only the diseases of the first fifty years need concern us, because the rest is documented. The range of possible diseases can be considerably narrowed on general principles.

First, certain infections seem to accompany humans everywhere they go and probably predated Cook's arrival [8]. These are diseases caused by agents that are continuously carried, and continually released, over long periods of time by anybody who has been infected. Selective forces favor strains that do not incapacitate the host, and these agents cause diseases that may be annoying but are seldom dangerous. The most important are probably the intestinal worms: ascaris, hookworm, and the like. Children become infected at an early age and, until they are toilet trained, it is very difficult to keep the worms from spreading in a society without diapers or hard floors. Filariasis may also have been present, Various semisaprophytic bacteria such as *Staphylococcus aureus,* some of the *Streptococci,* and *Escherichia coli* must have been present, but would do little harm to the young and healthy. Tuberculosis, leprosy, and yaws might fall in this class but seem, in fact, not to have been sufficiently persistent to have been carried all the way through the Polynesian migrations, Some viral infections would have been present. The herpes group are prominent here, including EBV, the cause of infectious mononucleosis. EBV, however, rarely causes disease when infection occurs early in life, and early infection is always the pattern in less developed societies. Occasionally chickenpox virus, another member of the Herpesvirus group, has been left behind in the formation of Amazonian tribes [9], but, because it erupts in older people as shingles, it may have been carried to Hawaii with the original settlers, Hepatitis B was probably present. It may lead to liver cancer when infection occurs very early in life but, for reasons that are not clear, in Polynesia [10] and Amazonia [11] it usually infects in later childhood when it causes neither cancer nor serious liver disease. Members of the wart virus family, including the venereal strains that cause cervical cancer, may have been present; if so, these particular strains would have exacted a significant toll. In general, the diseases brought to Hawaii by the original settlers were mild or had their main effect late in life. None would have occurred in epidemic waves.

Another class of diseases that must have occurred in Hawaii before Cook's arrival are the zoonoses. These diseases of animals that may spill over into humans, however, were probably rare because of the limited Hawaiian fauna. Many insect-transmitted diseases would not have been present because of the absence of appropriate mosquito vectors and of small mammalian hosts. Certain bacterial diseases--plague, tularemia,

and brucellosis--would also have been excluded for lack of the primary host. Trichinosis and tapeworm could have been brought in with the settlers' pigs, but it seems that porcine tapeworm, at least, was often left behind in serial migrations [12]. Possibly the most important diseases in this class would have been the parasitic infections acquired from fish, capillariasis and anasakidiasis, but these are seldom common enough to be a major problem. It is easy to believe that the Hawaiian population was in excellent health when contact was made, as stated by several early sources whom Stannard cites (p. 60).

Apart from the preexisting diseases, we can eliminate from consideration a large group of diseases that spread quickly through small human populations and would not have persisted in Cook's crew on the long sea voyages from England to Polynesia and from Tahiti to Hawaii. It is not possible that Cook brought influenza with him from England, as Stannard suggests (p. 70). The influenza cycle lasts at most one week in a human and, in the cramped quarters of an eighteenth-century ship, there would not have been more than three cycles. It took Cook seventy-four weeks to complete the trip from England to Hawaii. Some of these diseases may already have been seeded in Tahiti and reintroduced to the crew at that point, but it still took six weeks for the voyage from there to Hawaii and this is too long for influenza or the parainfluenza viruses to have been maintained. Most of the viruses that cause common colds would not have persisted six weeks. Measles, rubella, and mumps could have been carried that far, but the crew, having grown up in England, would have been immune to these viruses.

A fourth category of disease can be eliminated because we know that epidemics affecting all age groups occurred after the first census. Measles (1848) [13], and smallpox (1853) [14], two of the most dangerous diseases, are in this category. It would have been possible for smallpox to have been carried in on Cook's ship in the form of infected scabs, but the likelihood of scabs initiating infection is low. Apparently the introduction of these two diseases awaited the initiation of a shipping connection with California.

Finally, there are the diseases that were excluded during the precontact period by an inappropriate environment or lack of intermediate hosts. There can have been little environmental change during the era of very occasional contact and these diseases would have remained excluded during the period that concerns us here. I would eliminate the typhuses and plague from consideration on this basis. Cholera causes large epidemics only where it is spread by large bodies of fresh water, and is likely, at most, to have become sporadic. Cholera was not easily carried over long distances prior to emergence of the eltor strain in the

1960s and it is improbable that it was introduced by the initial contacts.

This still leaves a great variety of diseases that might have been brought to Hawaii for the first time by early European explorers. Most prominent, as Stannard indicates, are tuberculosis and the venereal diseases gonorrhea and syphilis. These diseases, and also venereal *Chlamydia,* would not have caused drastic immediate depopulation but rather loss of fecundity and slow death. Other newly introduced diseases would have had more pronounced, but not necessarily more serious, consequences. Diphtheria is often carried for long periods by immune persons and might easily have been imported. New pathogenic enterobacteria, causes of diarrhea and dysentery, were probably introduced early. Typhoid seems the most probable chief factor in the ***ʻōkuʻu*** [15]. Many types of pneumococci were probably new to the islands, as were also hemolytic streptococci, including the causes of scarlet fever and of streptococcal sore throat and rheumatic fever. The *Meningococci* and *Hemophillis influenza b,* important causes of meningitis, were probably new and could have survived the voyage. Most types of enteroviruses (there are more than a hundred) are unlikely to have been carried through the serial Polynesian migrations and many, including the polioviruses and hepatitis A, would have been brought by early Caucasian visitors.

Reasons for High Mortality Rates

If the first European explorers brought only a limited, albeit long, list of diseases with them to Hawaii, one may well point out that the Europeans of that time lived and thrived in the presence of a nearly unlimited list of diseases. How could the restricted set of diseases cause the postulated havoc among the Hawaiians? Stannard amply demonstrates that the Hawaiian population losses were not unusual in newly contacted populations. Robert Schmitt, a statistician, cites instances in which other newly contacted populations were less affected in a critique printed in part 2 of *Before the Horror,* but this does not change the generality of high mortality rates in isolated populations after contact with cosmopolitan cultures. Although Stannard's backward extrapolation postulates that the numbers that died prior to 1828 were greater than after that date, he does not claim that the *rate* was higher in the earlier period. His smoothed curve suggests that half the remaining population was lost in each of the first three twenty-five-year periods. Although several important diseases played no role in the first two periods, others were probably better tolerated in the third.

Why then did these people die? The implied assumption is that New World people were genetically inferior. Yet the Polynesians had been separated from the main body of the human species on the Southeast Asian mainland for only 120 generations [3]. With the complex interdependence of human genetic traits, little evolution can proceed that fast. In spite of extensive studies, no widespread deficiency of the immune system has been found either in Polynesian survivors or in populations of New Guinea or the Amazon. If the original populations were genetically heterogeneous with respect to resistance to infectious disease, as Dobyns [I] seems to imply, we might not see defects in the Hawaiian survivors, but we should have found them in the other populations. The others remained sufficiently isolated when studied that adverse traits could not have been eliminated by post-contact selection. Antibody titers to a wide variety of viral and bacterial infections are at at least normal levels in the Amazonians, and their white cell functions were in no way unusual for populations heavily infected with helminthic parasites. We did find that Amerinds who had had no prior experience with measles virus reacted to attenuated vaccine virus with more fever and slightly higher titers than measles-experienced populations [16], but an alternative explanation for that is offered below.

Four mechanisms can be suggested as explanations of the Hawaiian mortality, which must have been high no matter which value is accepted for the precontact population. All may be important. First, although it is unlikely that unusual human genes caused the debacle, it is possible that the pathogens were unusually virulent. A bacterium can go through 120 generations in two days and, with their simpler metabolism, microorganisms are freer to change. The production of large numbers of progeny is obviously an advantage to a microorganism, but this is likely to kill the host and reduce chances of spread. In virgin soil new hosts are plentiful and evolution tends to increase pathogenicity.

Second, the combined impact of multiple infections introduced by one group of visitors is greater than that of the same diseases singly. When a parainfluenza infection coincided with administration of measles vaccine in the Tirio Indians, the fevers were much more threatening than when the vaccine was experienced alone [17]. Parainfluenza normally causes only a common cold in adults. Several viral and parasitic diseases have a direct suppressive effect on the immune system, giving a combined action that is not just additive, but synergistic.

Third, when a new infection enters a population, everyone is susceptible, nearly everybody gets sick at once, and the social structure breaks down. Nobody remains well enough to carry on the simple service tasks such as hauling water and stoking fires. A sense of doom pervades, and

people simply curl up in their sleeping places and wait to die. Neel et al. observed a virgin soil epidemic of measles among the Yanamama Indians in 1968 and have written emphatically on this point [18]. Even basic nursing care can make a big difference in the survival rate, as evidenced by the change in mortality in Brazil's Xingu Park when help arrived during their first experience with measles [19].

The last factor, the effect of inbreeding, is less widely recognized. If a hundred settlers came to Hawaii from Tahiti, they were probably a highly interrelated group and carried much fewer than the two hundred potential germ lines. Similar genetic bottlenecks must have occurred in the migration from Samoa to the Marquesas and the serial migrations that led the Polynesians to Samoa [3]. The net effect is that the whole population was derived from very few progenitors. This is most evident in the HLA system. Taking just the Class I genes, there are three different loci, each with twenty to thirty alleles in cosmopolitan populations. Every person has two genes at each locus, so the possible number of different genetic constitutions is about twenty-five to the sixth power, or twenty-four million. A linked set of half of each parent's repertoire, a haplotype, is passed to every child. In cosmopolitan societies, the chance that a child will get identical haplotypes from both parents is extremely low. In Polynesia [20], and in the South American tribes [21], only four or five different alleles have been retained at each locus and these tend to occur repeatedly in just a few sets. The result is that in these societies children often get only half the usual number of HLA antigens [22]. Those who have the reduced complement survive less well. It is not certain that the disadvantage is mediated by reduced resistance to infectious diseases, but the HLA antigens are an essential part of the immune defense. The effect of inbreeding due to population bottlenecks is not confined to the HLA system and homozygosity at other genetic sites also reduces resistance. Even when precontact Hawaiian marriage partners were not closely related in an immediate way, they were related through so many lines of descent that their genetic similarity approached that of siblings. The measles vaccine virus given to Amerinds may have multiplied more freely because of similarly reduced resistance; production of larger amounts of virus would have caused the higher fever. The Amerind, and original Polynesian, genes are not inferior; there are just too few different genes.

Summary

I stated at the outset that the coincidence of Stannard's several lines of inquiry gives strength to his conclusion, Only two of these lines have

been evaluated here, but both stand up well. Whether or not Stannard's estimate of the population of Hawaii deserves to be accepted as a preferred hypothesis depends on whether his other lines of analysis also withstand independent evaluation. The general reevaluation of the effects of contact between Europeans and New World populations led by Dobyns is based on evidence that is no better than this, and it too depends on internal consistency for creditability. If the other components of Stannard's work are confirmed, his study will be one of the strongest elements in the broader revision. The horror is that, if Stannard is right, half a million people died as a result of our culture's incursion without our even being aware.

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Review: LYNETTE CRUZ AND J. KALANI ENGLISH
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A question readers might well ask about David Stannard's *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawaiʻi on the Eve of Western Contact* is, What difference dues this latest accumulation of population facts and conjectures make? For a younger generation of Native Hawaiians such as ourselves,[1] who are exploring the balance between academic discourse and cultural self-identity, it makes an important difference.

Stannard revises the population of Hawaiʻi at the time of Cook's arrival upward to 800,000 or more. Had his revision resulted in a lower figure, more in keeping with the currently accepted 350,000 to 400,000 estimates, presumably the academic community would embrace his findings, perhaps making minor adjustments and revisions of their own

work to be in accordance with his. However, as Stannard's results drastically raise the estimate of Hawai'i's population before contact (or prior to the *haoles'* arrival, as Stannard puts it), current writers--for example, demographers Eleanor Nordyke and Robert Schmitt and columnist/author Bob Krauss--have chosen to debate the issue. To be sure, this helps sell the book, but more importantly, the controversy raises questions regarding accepted perspectives of Hawaiian history. This book thus has broader political implications. It gives us, a new generation of potential Hawaiian scholars, an opportunity to explore various "myths" regarding our past. For Hawaiians, history is not simply a fact of the past but an ongoing process in the present--a point Borofsky (1987) emphasizes is true for other Polynesian islands as well.

Emerging Reflections

Does it matter that Stannard's population analysis differs so greatly from both Nordyke's and Schmitt's? Will the doubling or tripling of the accepted numbers at the time of contact make a difference? The reality is, it matters, and on many levels. Hawaiians died in tremendous numbers between Cook's arrival and the time of the first missionary census. Much of the decline was caused by introduced diseases from the West. Both Nordyke and Schmitt treat this reality with studied detachment--the numbers dehumanize; Hawaiians become statistics, Stannard approaches the subject differently. He allows contemporary Hawaiians to consider the "horror" of decimation in a way that parallels how modern Jews reflect on the Holocaust. The decimation of the Hawaiian populace following Cook's arrival deserves recognition and demands moral responsibility, however distasteful that may be to Western scholars. Hawaiians did not commit mass suicide, nor did they die en masse accidentally. Diseases were irresponsibly introduced and the Hawaiians succumbed in large numbers.

We believe a "historical colonialism" has taken place in regard to our history. By this we mean that not only were we as a people colonized, but so too was our history. Hawaiian history became for Hawaiians both artifact and artifice--written in a Western format attuned to the Western ear and to a Western sense of propriety. Hawaiians thus look back at a history made by others. Can Hawaiian history written by non-Hawaiians ever be a completely "true" reflection of the Hawaiian past, when it has no relevancy to the present-day Hawaiians?

Today, Hawaiian history is a contrivance, worked and reworked, lay-

ered and selectively stripped for the purpose of justifying political and economic dominance of foreigners, past and present. Irene Silverblatt's discussion of the Inca's demise parallels the situation in Hawai'i. Her comments on Spanish imposition of alien structures on Andean society (which led to its disintegration) could just as well be applied to Western imposition of alien structures on Hawaiian society.

> The economy of Spain, oriented toward the emerging market economy of Europe, saw in its new world colonies the opportunity to accumulate great wealth. The political institutions imposed on the colonies worked to ensure that these colonizing aims were met. The ideological underpinnings of these institutions embodied an evaluation of the universe--of the quality of the relationship between society and natives, and between social groups--that was foreign to the Andean peoples being colonized. Buttressed by a worldview in which nature and humanity were becoming increasingly defined in relationship to their market value, colonial secular and religious authorities attacked the social foundations of Andean culture that were incompatible with colonial enterprise. (Silverblatt 1988: 182-183)

Hawai'i's "colonized history" offers Hawaiians very little in contrast to what it offers others. Whereas economic gain and upward mobility became passwords to success for immigrants, for Hawaiians--who experienced near-total cultural destruction from the time of Cook's arrival onward--"colonized" history has become the main alternative to no history. Greg Dening recognizes this loss of native histories in referring to the Enata (native Marquesans) and the Aoe (Westerners) in *Islands and Beaches.*

> Dispossession has extended far beyond the appropriation of their Land and the rooting up of their living culture. Who Enata were, what they did, how they made their islands, now do not belong to them. Their past is not merely dead in the Land. All knowledge of it has been transferred across the beach. The past now only exists by virtue of the fact that Enata's material artefacts and Aoe's transcription of Enata's culture on to paper are preserved in museums, archives and libraries around the world. The culture of the old only lives in so far as it has become part of Aoe's culture. (Dening 1980:271)

Most histories of Hawai'i have been approached from a Western perspective, implicitly using the West as a standard for analysis. They are histories perceived within a Western context focused on Western concerns, The idea that the population at the time of Western contact could not have exceeded 400,000 implies a view of ancient Hawaiians as "primitive" and lacking in technology (despite Marion Kelly's work disputing such claims [1989]). Likewise, the indigenous historian who uses oral history and genealogies for historical reference is dismissed for relying on undocumented sources (for example, Kame'eleihiwa 1987). Our point is that there is more to Hawaiian history than has been presented to date. Where various Western writers have seen disease, poverty, and ignorance, we perceive generosity traded for disease, land traded for poverty, and oral traditions traded for a written colonized history.

Stannard's work affords Hawaiians something rarely available to us in the past: a choice in forming our own history. Western historians, of which Stannard is one, construct and reconstruct native histories. Stannard's position is somewhat special in that he presents an anti-Western, anti-establishment view. One may question his motives, but to Hawaiians the why of his actions is relatively unimportant in this context. What is significant is that a Western scholar, established and respected, has focused on the possibility that historians made errors in their reconstructions. Whereas we as Hawaiians were once limited, historically, to a population size of somewhat less than a half million at Cook's arrival (according to Nordyke 1977, Schmitt 1978, Andrew Lind 1955, and others), Stannard introduces the possibility, perhaps even probability, that twice that number may have been present. If this is so, then we may reasonably question data presented by other Western historians who specialize in making Hawaiian history.

Where errors in our history can be shown to exist, Hawaiians can choose to accept versions that give us greater control over our lives. This is freedom in the Western sense--the right to choose our own destiny by building on our own past. The right to choose a history not geared to Western concepts is a worthy objective and the first step toward decolonization.

Historically, Hawai'i has been classified with the other forty-nine states in terms of a standardized history aimed at attaining statehood. American historians recounting the history of the individual states present the evolution of events in such a way that emphasis is placed on those that led to annexation. In the case of Hawai'i, as Gavan Daws intentionally notes in *Shoal of Time,* Hawaiian history begins "At dawn on January 18, 1778" with Cook's first sighting of the Hawaiian Islands

(1968: 1). By 1898 we were "brought in" officially through annexation and two years later given the vote, In 1959, statehood turned second-class Hawaiian citizens into "first-class" Americans, culminating 181 years of reconstructed history. Essentially, this is a way of myth-creating for the purpose of political consolidation. Hawaiian history has been organized in the context of this political myth. What is important for those in power is that the myth support current political "realities." What Stannard has done is challenge both the "reality" and the myth that supports it. In so doing, he also challenges the current underlying structures of Hawaiian history and provides an opening for alternative, more Hawaiian-oriented perspectives.

Ua pau.

NOTE

1. We define "Native Hawaiian" as any person whose ancestors resided in Hawai'i prior to 1778, the accepted date for initial Western contact.

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Response: DAVID E. STANNARD

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It is a rare pleasure to have the opportunity to respond to such thoughtful, serious reviews. I shall reply to them in the order in which they appear.

Hunt's review provides the most detailed summary of *Before the Horror,* a summary with which I have only the most minimal points of contention. He incorrectly notes, for example, that my initial increase of King's population estimate to a range of 478,000 to 658,000 is founded on my acceptance of a higher Kealakekua house count and household-size estimate than that put forward by King. That is true only of the high end of the range; the lower figure of 478,000 accepts all of King's conditions and corrects only for the actual coastal mileage of the then-inhabited islands (p. 28). Similarly, on another small point, Hunt contends that my discussion of the relatively arid nature of Waimea on Kaua'i and Kealakekua on Hawai'i "oversimplifies" certain facts; what he fails to note is that his "correction" of this alleged oversimplification was anticipated and discussed by me in the book (p. 17).

These, however, are points of almost no significance to the overall search for the best estimate of Hawai'i's pre-1778 population size. Among the issues raised by Hunt that *are* of significance, both to my estimate and to future work on the question, is, first, his assertion that the "plausibility" of a thesis is insufficient for it to be accepted, and, second, his contention that the best future estimates will have to be

founded on archaeological research and "the empirical nature of the archaeological record." Hunt, of course, is an archaeologist--as is Ramenofsky, who makes much the same point, and as is Patrick Kirch, who concludes his own review of *Before the Horror* on a similar note (Kirch 1990).

Taking the second of these matters first, I disagree with its implied disciplinary chauvinism. While archaeological work no doubt is essential to research in this field, it is far from sufficient. Analysis of historical material also is vitally important, not only for what its "empirical record" tells us of detailed human observations at the moment of Western impact and in the immediately succeeding decades, but also for its documentation of later nonarchaeological observations that can generate retrospective hypotheses. For example, although I mention several times in *Before the Horror* the likely impact of disease-induced infertility as a factor in the post-1778 depopulation of Hawai'i--the projected rate of depopulation itself, as Hunt acknowledges, being an important component in any estimate of the pre-1778 population--it is only in subsequent work in historical archives that I have been able to demonstrate empirically that infertility and subfecundity were the *key* elements in that depopulation. This has significant methodological implications not only for Hawai'i and Pacific population estimates but also for estimates of the pre-Columbian populations of the Americas (Stannard 1989). And archaeology was not a part of this research.

History, moreover, is but one of the additional disciplines that must be combined with archaeology if we are to continue to advance in this field. As Francis Black's review in this forum shows, no good estimate can be expected from scholarship that ignores research in epidemiology. In addition, comparative demographic analysis is crucial, as is work in a variety of other allied disciplines.

As for Hunt's (and Ramenofsky's) comment that "plausibility" is insufficient for a retrospective population estimate to be generally accepted by the scholarly community, I would of course agree--while disagreeing with the implication that my account is *only* plausible. On the contrary, it is the most plausible *and* the most empirically grounded study of the subject conducted to date. What needs to be recognized here is that research in this field requires the widest possible effort at data collection from a number of disciplines along with the application of both deduction and induction, and that it is on the basis of induction that our ultimate generalizations will have to be formed. Given the severely limited body of direct and unambiguous evidence with which we have to work, we need to be very careful to maximize our scrutiny of

what philosopher of science Rudolph Carnap has called "total evidence" at the same time that we must be highly sensitive to the plausibility of our final argument. To ignore the plausibility criterion--Ramenofsky goes so far as to say that "plausibility is not the business of science"--is to place us in the position of someone discovering a large footprint in the snow of an Oregon forest and declaring that--in the absence of any other data--the footprint was just as likely to have been caused by Bigfoot as by a bear. A comparable implausibility, although one not commonly recognized, is the conventional idea that Hawai'i, with the most hierarchically structured polity in East Polynesia, could also have had (excepting New Zealand) the lowest population density in the region--as it would have had with a population of half a million or less.

Ironically, moreover, it is precisely the ignoring of plausibility (along with consideration of only a severely restricted body of data) that has led to so many beautiful archaeological hypotheses dying in the grip of an ugly fact or a homely bit of logic. An example of this that is particularly germane to the present discussion is the notorious (in Hawai'i) *pre*-1778 population decline thesis advanced in the early 1980s by archaeologists Robert Hommon and Patrick Kirch (see Hommon 1980 and Kirch 1982). As I demonstrate in *Before the Horror* (pp. 66-69), this idea (which now appears in the guise of conventional wisdom in a number of textbooks--for example, Bellwood 1987:98) is shockingly at odds with a wealth of comparative data from such disciplines as history, physical anthropology, cultural anthropology, and nutritional science. As such, it is flagrantly implausible to the point of impossibility--and now, it appears, belatedly is being backed away from, even by its principal proponents (for example, Kirch 1985:288). An earlier concern for collateral evidence along with the plausibility criterion would have prevented it from entering the pages of the introductory texts that presently are misinforming a generation of students.

Indeed, even as I write, another narrowly constructed and blatantly implausible population growth theory for pre-1778 Hawai'i is making the archaeological and public rounds. Adopting the "cold fusion"' technique of announcing research results without accompanying detailed documentation, two archaeologists from Honolulu's Bishop Museum and Hawai'i Pacific College, Tom Dye and Eric Komori, have garnered local headlines with their reported discovery that the population of Hawai'i at the time of Western contact was only 100,000 to 150,000 (Borg 1989). Although a detailed critique of Dye and Komori's work is impossible since, even today--more than six months after their an-

nouncement of findings in mid-October of 1989--they have not produced the evidence underpinning their analysis, it appears that they have constructed a 1,500-year population growth model based entirely on a study of habitation-site radiocarbon dates on file at the Bishop Museum. The resulting 0.27 percent annual growth rate (based on their systematic analysis of these unsystematically gathered data) is so low that the founding population probably would not have survived the first years of settlement (cf. McArthur, Saunders, and Tweedie 1976:317-318), and if it did, they freely acknowledge (personal communication) it would have grown to an absurdly small size by 1778.

Using their estimated date of first settlement and conventional estimates for the size of that settlement, Dye and Komori's growth rate produces fewer than 6,000 Hawaiians at the time of Western contact--less than half the number that were counted swimming around Cook's ships at Kealakekua Bay alone, and about the same number of people per square mile as currently inhabit the vast, frozen tundra of Alaska. Of course, one way to make such a wildly low growth rate result in a more realistic end-point population size is to *begin* with a large population. So, Dye and Komori have invented out of thin air, with not one piece of supporting evidence, a massive, indeed invasion-like Polynesian settlement of Hawai'i, with continued back-and-forth sailing--in waters that effectively were unnavigable between Hawai'i and the Marquesas (Finney 1967: 155-161)--during the earliest centuries of colonization. Even then, their resulting 1778 population estimate is as low or lower than it is known to have been half a century later--which is, in light of all the historical evidence of a massive post-1778 population collapse, simply impossible.

Clearly, there are major problems with Dye and Komori's habitation-site data and with their applied methodology, as is evident in part from the utter implausibility of their conclusions. Rather than facing these facts, however, they have preferred to invent auxiliary hypotheses that have no empirical or logical underpinning in a futile effort to shore up the ramshackle edifice that is collapsing all around them. Unfortunately, this is a procedure that is all too typical.

In sum, while I share Hunt and Ramenofsky's advice that plausibility is an *insufficient* criterion in judging a thesis, I would submit that it is a *necessary* criterion--and that their own discipline provides good evidence to that effect, littered as it is with the carcasses of once--bright ideas that ignored the plausibility question. My point here is not to single out archaeology for criticism (other disciplines have similar problems and archaeological research certainly is essential to progress in the

field under discussion), but I raise the issue merely to illustrate the need for an interdisciplinary thickening of analyses as we proceed into the future with this very difficult but very important subject.

Finally, regarding Hunt's review, he makes the noteworthy point of introducing Liebeg's Law of the Minimum: that population size is constrained by the lowest, not the average, availability of critical resources. This will indeed have significance for estimating the pre-1778 population of Hawai'i when and if we ever have complete, detailed, and credible data on the islands' minimum and average levels of pre-1778 resource availability. Such data will not be available in the near future, however, because (as I point out in *Before the Horror,* p. 38) the necessary compilation and analysis will require a thorough survey of climates; soils; topography; types of agriculture, aquaculture, and fishing; caloric requirements of the population--and more. As of now we do nut even have an adequate survey of the amount of land that was being cultivated prior to 1778, so I was limited in my carrying-capacity discussion to population-density comparisons of hypothesized populations in Hawai'i with known densities in other, less productive and less intensely cultivated, environments. Thus, while Hunt's point here is relevant to analyses that may take place in the distant future, it has no material bearing on the present discussion. His remark that the existence of Liebeg's law "perhaps confounds" my argument is, therefore, simply incorrect.

In addition to raising Hunt's "plausible" versus "empirical" dichotomy (which, in this case, I obviously think is a bit of a red herring), Ramenofsky chides me in her review for what she believes is my "tautological reasoning." Unless I am missing something, her support for this allegation is threefold: first, she claims that I began my project with a "bias" in favor of a conclusion that the pre-1778 population was higher than previously believed; second, my several lines of varying methodological inquiry supposedly converge in agreement with my original "bias"; and third, those several lines of inquiry are each said to contain certain assumptions for which there is little empirical support. We need to take these one at a time.

First, let me confess that I did indeed begin this endeavor with a hypothesis, not a bias--rather, a then-unverified suspicion--that the pre-1778 population of Hawai'i was higher than what the conventional wisdom claimed. I would have had to have been an ignoramus in this general field of inquiry to have begun with any other hypothesis, since there is hardly a case on record in which a modern analysis of an indigenous people's population magnitude at the time of Western contact did

not conclude that it was higher than previously believed. Indeed, Ramenofsky's own superb research lends powerful support to the idea that such conclusions are the rule of contemporary work in this area (Ramenofsky 1987). For that matter, her own words in the present review nicely distill the matter: "Although anthropologists readily admit that native peoples died from introduced disease, they either underestimate the magnitude of the decline or they assume that the disaster postdated initial documentation and settlement." This does not mean that higher population estimates are an absolute and invariable rule but merely that their dominant pattern provides the ground for the best-supported initial hypothesis. Certainly there is nothing "tautological" in this procedure.

Perhaps, then, it is the claimed convergence of my different lines of inquiry--the historical record, the potential carrying capacity of the islands, the likely population growth and decline rates, and so on--that troubles Ramenofsky. What makes for tautology, however, is not whether independent lines of inquiry converge in mutual support of a hypothesis (that is called confirmation), but whether those lines of inquiry are logically tainted by a preliminary design and framing of the inquiries that guarantees in advance ultimate confirmation among them.

Is this what I did in *Before the Horror?* Clearly the answer is no. In the first place, every independent line of inquiry was pursued--independently--to its most conservative possible conclusion, as Black in part confirms in his review, and as Ramenofsky at one point acknowledges in correctly noting that the pre-1778 population growth model I used was "the worst case scenario developed by McArthur, Saunders, and Tweedie (1976) in a simulation study of Pacific island peopling and growth." In the second place, the conclusions of these separate lines of inquiry do not converge: they point to a range of population from about 800,000 to about 1,500,000--from which I selected the most conservative overall number to put forward as the most likely and most supportable estimate. (Not surprisingly, some anthropologists and historians specializing in demographic reconstruction have since written to me to say they find my conclusions too conservative.)

Finally, there is the fact that all these independent lines of inquiry contain some elements that are empirically unverified or unverifiable, such as the specific pre-1778 population growth scenario--which, of course, can never be known with precision. Surely, though, Ramenofsky must realize that it is routine in many areas of science (although I do not consider this work, or most of archaeology for that matter, to be sci-

ence) to conduct analyses of empirically undetectable phenomena. Quarks, gluons, and other elements of quantum chromodynamic theory, for example, are unobservable themselves, but--like all subatomic particles--their existence acquires empirical significance from the fact that they, along with other subsidiary assumptions, can *generate* empirically verifiable theories.

My connecting this realm of science with the problem presently under discussion is only metaphorical, to be sure, but the point is that it is perfectly respectable--and hardly tautological--to construct separate, though mutually relevant, lines of inquiry, each of which is founded on a combination of empirical data and both deductive and inductive logic. Indeed, it is a thoroughly unoriginal truism to observe that the combination of deduction and induction is the heart of the scientific method. Without deduction and induction--because the empirical data on such matters as the pre-1778 population growth rate in Hawai'i are so thin--we would have to stand foolishly mute on a subject about which much other evidence, of various sorts, abounds.

Where, then, is the tautology? Could it be buried somewhere in my challenge to prospective critics, if they wish to be taken seriously, "to demonstrate--*in specific scholarly detail*" (pp. 80, 142) precisely how their final estimate is superior to mine? I cannot imagine that it is located here, since that makes no sense at all, although clearly this too seems to trouble Ramenofsky. Certainly, however, as someone who evidently is concerned with the correctness of scientific procedure, she recognizes here a simple assertion of the scientific axiom that it requires a superior theory--not merely potshots at subsidiary portions of an existing theory--to overturn a fully advanced theoretical argument. (Not incidentally, I must add that I inserted this remark in the book only because of my awareness of the abysmally poor quality of previous population estimates for pre-1778 Hawai'i--the same estimates on which archaeologists and other scholars, as well as the general public, have routinely relied--and in anticipation of the sort of intellectually anarchic critique that can be expected from certain of those quarters.)

Well, I give up. I just cannot locate in Ramenofsky's review or in my work evidence supportive of her general points of criticism. And it is impossible to discuss in detail a general critique that contains no substantive core. That then takes us to her narrower and more specific points of focus.

1. Like Hunt, Ramenofsky misstates my handling of the differing house counts at Kealakekua Bay in 1779, although, as noted earlier with Hunt, this is a trivial matter either way.

2. Ramenofsky makes much of my supposed "employment" of Henry Dobyns's "principle of military parity" in discussing my findings regarding differential population densities in Hawai'i's leeward and windward political districts, concluding that Dobyns's principle remains untested, and thereby presumably undermining my argument at that point. The reader of these reviews, who has not also read the book, cannot tell, however, that I do not "employ" Dobyns's thesis, but rather *mention* it in passing in a single phrase that is one part of a single sentence (p. 22). Although I think Dobyns has a point of some interest here, it is a point that is thoroughly incidental to my overall argument regarding the matter in question.

3. On this same question of population densities varying from district to district, Ramenofsky asks: "If boundaries between leeward and windward districts were established after the decimation that Stannard describes, do they pertain to 1778?" Good question--or at least it would be a good question if it were not known to every archaeologist, anthropologist, and historian working on Hawaiian materials that the districts under discussion were *not* established after 1778, but that they long predated Western contact.

4. In *Before the Horror* I argue that King's guess that a quarter of all Hawai'i's island coastlines were uninhabited was a gross (though understandable) exaggeration (pp. 23-25). In fact, it appears that almost no coastal locales were uninhabited--that, according to both archaeological and historical data, even the most inhospitable coastline areas contained village populations. Still, to be conservative, I built into my estimate an assumption that perhaps 10 percent of the coastlines were uninhabited, thereby leaving about 90 percent inhabited. Ramenofsky's comment is: "Why not 87 percent or 95 percent?" Why not indeed? With a modest estimated inland population of 10 percent of the total (a figure that Hunt, for instance, agrees is conservative), an 87 percent instead of 90 percent level of coastal habitation would reduce my overall archipelagic population estimate by about 2.9 percent--an insignificant amount in the context of the round numbers we are forced to work with because of the absence of detailed data. Moreover, to repeat, it is probable that more, rather than less, than 90 percent of the coastal areas were inhabited. In sum, since precision is clearly impossible on matters of this sort, Ramenofsky's rejoinder here is no more than a quibble.

I do not wish to appear unduly harsh in this reply, either to Hunt's or to Ramenofsky's critique, particularly since I am an admirer of their work and I appreciate their generally favorable comments on my study.

On the other hand, I believe it is quite apparent, under scrutiny, that those specific points of theirs that I have discussed in the preceding pages are either ill-considered or off the mark. Moreover, when all the dust has settled on such matters as the structure of question framing and empiricism versus plausibility, it will be instructive to notice that neither Runt nor Ramenofsky challenges my population estimate in any *substantive* way.

This then takes us to Black's review. Interestingly, approaching the problem "from multiple directions"--precisely what Ramenofsky seems to have identified as "tautological reasoning" on my part--Black sees as "several lines of reasoning converg[ing] to form a surprisingly strong impetus for revision" in that "the overall probability is the product, not the sum, of the parts." I couldn't have said it better myself.

While there is almost nothing in Black's review with which I flatly disagree--including his remark that my description of the Cayapo example is over-simplistic; it was, after all, only a single-sentence reference in a straightforward list of two dozen examples of introduced disease disasters--there is a great deal in his contribution that deserves discussion. His comment that influenza could not have been introduced to Hawai'i by Cook's crews because of its relatively short cycle requires particular attention.

First, we must begin with the fact that Cook's ships apparently introduced *some* new respiratory disease to Hawai'i that, in the words of assistant surgeon William Ellis, caused a general outbreak of "coughs and colds" and at least some death from "a violent griping or colic" (Ellis 1782: 151). Since, as I note in the book (pp. 77-78), there is no good evidence of tuberculosis existing in Hawai'i prior to Western contact--and since Cook's ships, like most of England at the time, were infested with the disease--my primary assessment was that the symptoms described by Ellis were the beginnings of a tuberculosis outbreak. The British did not remain in Hawai'i long enough to witness the major consequences of the diseases they had carried to the islands, but tuberculosis was certainly one of them, and it has long been known to cause raging epidemics with 50 to 60 percent mortality rates in virgin soil populations (see, for example, Dubos 1965:173; Cook 1973:500). The question, then, was not whether tuberculosis was loosed upon the Hawaiians in 1778 and 1779--clearly it was, and with catastrophic effect --but whether *other* respiratory infections also were introduced.

In addition to tuberculosis, another possible culprit that I did not mention but that Black does is diphtheria, which caused major loss of

life among American Indians on a number of occasions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Dobyns 1983: 19-20) and that William McNeill classes with influenza, smallpox, measles, and bubonic plague in its shocking demographic impact in past centuries (McNeill 1976: 145). Dengue is still another possibility that might occur to some because its initial recorded appearance in several locations throughout the world coincided chronologically with Cook's arrival in Hawai'i; however, dengue is transmitted by specific mosquito vectors that would have to have been present in the ships' water supplies, and mosquitoes of any type are not recorded as being present in Hawai'i until the 1820s (Culliney 1988:271-272). So, in the absence of new evidence, dengue would have to be ruled out.

That leaves influenza. Clearly, conventional theory regarding the spread of the influenza virus as a person-to-person transferral via the respiratory route, with a twenty-four- to seventy-two-hour incubation period, supports Black's conclusion that it could not have been carried to Hawai'i by Cook's ships. However, conventional theory has a very hard time explaining certain anomalies that have existed in the medical literature for over a century. Among these are isolated outbreaks of influenza, particularly among ships that have been at sea for extended periods. August Hirsch, in his classic *Handbook of Geographical and Historical Pathology,* described the phenomenon.

> Among isolated outbreaks of the disease, the often observed epidemics on board ship are especially interesting. In several cases of the kind [enumerated by Hirsch, but excised here in the interests of space] the crews were attacked, and that too just as suddenly and without warning as when influenza appears on land, while the ships were lying in port or cruising off the coast, no trace of the disease having shown itself either before or after in the same region ashore. . . . In other and still more interesting cases, the disease has appeared, at a time when it was generally prevalent on land, among the crews of ships on the high seas *which had not previously communicated with an infected shore;* and those outbreaks befell at the same time as the outbreaks of influenza on the coasts nearest to the position of the ships. (Hirsch 1883:19-20; emphasis added)

There are various possible explanations for these occurrences. They range from the idea that the sailors (and those in other isolated areas)

may have been "pre-seeded" with a low-level and perhaps unnoticed virus at an earlier date that burst forth when triggered by a weather change (Pyle and Patterson 1984: 182-83) to the notion that the disease was carried by animals on board the ships (Guerra 1985, 1988). Neither of these seems likely in the Hawai'i case, but a third hypothesis does at least deserve scrutiny. As I note in *Before the Horror* (pp. 74-75), recent research by highly regarded British and Soviet epidemiologists suggests that most cases of influenza are spread by symptomless individuals who contract influenza a year or more earlier and become carriers of the disease; an unknown stimulus, probably associated with climate change during the so-called flu seasons, causes the virus to emerge from the carriers and spread to those in contact with them (Hope-Simpson and Golubev 1987).

Although at this time the Hope-Simpson/Golubev thesis remains a distinctly minority view, the research is continuing and bears watching if only because of an intriguing--albeit possibly coincidental--combination of facts: first, a flu epidemic was in progress in England during the months immediately preceding Cook's departure on the voyage that would take him to Hawai'i (Creighton 1894: 359-361); and second, Cook's ships arrived in Hawai'i and deposited some serious respiratory illness or illnesses, in both 1778 and 1779, during what would come to be Hawai'i's flu season--thus, at just the time when contagion among his ships' crew members would have been active.

Space does not permit full discussion here of several other important matters raised by Black, including the psychological impact of mass death, with its consequent undermining of what is colloquially called the will to live. Black cites J. V. Neel and others on this phenomenon among twentieth-century Yanamama, but very similar descriptions exist regarding early nineteenth-century Hawaiians: as one traveler observed of Hawai'i's native people in 1837, "When they get ill, they immediately give themselves up, and in those cases seldom recovered" (Hinds 1968: 123). Further, Black's comment on the literal homogeneity of the Hawaiian population at the time of Western contact and during most of the era of the great population collapse, with its likely effect on societywide susceptibility to introduced disease, is extremely important and requires much more detailed exploration. On the one hand, like many long-isolated indigenous peoples Hawaiians do show evidence of homogeneity in their limited range of blood-types (Morton et al. 1967: 24-34; Mourant 1983:105-107). On the other hand, the very existence of genetic bottlenecks remains a highly controversial subject on several levels, particularly when founding populations number in the scores or

hundreds, as was likely the case with the first successful Polynesian settlers in Hawai'i.

On the above two issues, moreover, I would offer some words of caution: we need to tread very carefully here to avoid the appearance of blaming the victim. In his brief discussion of the genetic question, Black quite prudently and rightly stresses that homogeneity does not suggest inferiority--any more, I would add, than the unusual genetic susceptibility of East European Jews to Tay-Sachs disease, or blacks to sickle-cell anemia, or melanin-deficient Caucasians to skin cancer (among many examples) suggests inferiority among those groups. Removed from their scientific context and placed in the popular realm, however, such subjects potentially lend themselves to racist exploitation.

To summarize my response to Black's review: first, I agree with almost all of it, largely, I confess, because he is in every particular supportive of my overall population estimate; and second, I appreciate it because it goes beyond critical discussion of historical demography and initiates important lines of inquiry relevant to a larger medical history of the Hawaiian people and other peoples of the Pacific. More than a review, then, it is itself a positive contribution to a rich, complex, and--to Hawaiians and to those concerned with their ongoing historical experience--essential research project that has only recently begun.

The review by Cruz and English raises a sensitive issue beyond its contents, an issue that needs to be addressed directly. Both Cruz and English are native Hawaiians, and both are also students at the University of Hawai'i; the other three reviewers are non-Hawaiian, and all of them are highly accomplished scholars in their various professional fields, Two unfortunate impressions are created by this situation: first, that there are no native Hawaiian scholars with sufficient professional credentials or competence to review *Before the Horror;* and second, that Cruz and English were selected by the editor of this forum in a gesture of ethnic tokenism, I can assure readers that the first of these possible impressions is wrong: there are any number of highly qualified Hawaiians in both history and medicine (some of whom provided crucial information and advice to me in the writing of the book) who could have been called upon to produce a critical review of the work. If it was the desire of the editor that a Hawaiian voice should be heard in this forum, why were none of the available professionals asked to provide it? As to the issue of tokenism, the forum editor assures me that such was not his intent. But what *would* you call it if, to borrow a parallel example, a book review editor was to select as five forum reviewers for a book on, say, slavery in America, three accomplished white scholars and two

black graduate students, ignoring in the process a host of accomplished black scholars? Come to think of it, tokenism may be the wrong word after all.

In any case, although Cruz and English do not address any of the technical aspects of *Before the Horror* in their review, their comments do connect with the book's closing words on the larger political context of discussion on this subject. Some of their observations, however, seem obvious or problematic or undeveloped. For example, they say: "For Hawaiians, history is not simply a fact of the past but an ongoing process in the present--a point Borofsky (1987) emphasizes is true for other Polynesian islands as well." They (and Borofsky) might better have replaced "other Polynesian islands" with "all humanity." As John Dewey observed more than fifty years ago: "History cannot escape its own process. It will, therefore, always be rewritten. As the new present arises, the past is the past of a different present" (Dewey 1938:239). Dewey, of course, largely was repackaging here Benedetto Croce's famous dictum, written two decades earlier, that all history is contemporary history. And the notion was hardly original with Croce.

Later, Cruz and English ask rhetorically: "Can Hawaiian history written by non-Hawaiians ever be a completely 'true' reflection of the Hawaiian past, when it has no relevancy to present-day Hawaiians?" As with all rhetorical interrogatories, the authors seem to think the answer obvious, so they pursue it no further. But while the question undeniably is important (and its relativism quite distinct from the matter of temporal perspective mentioned in the preceding paragraph), it is far from answered merely by the asking. In fact, although apparently unrecognized by Cruz and English, their singular rhetorical query here contains several complex and difficult epistemological issues. The meaning of the word "true" with regard to history, for instance, is not apparent on its face; and the privileged cultural perspective of the native historian may well be a reality, at least in certain cases, but it is not a self-evident reality that can be blithely assumed. Neither is the notion unchallengeable that the only "true" histories (whatever that may mean) are "reIevant" (another ambiguous word) to the current concerns of the people being studied. Nor, still further, is it necessarily true, as these reviewers imply, that "Hawaiian history written by non-Hawaiians . . . has no relevancy to present-day Hawaiians." The fact that such histories may sometimes be dumb or hateful or racist does not, as a matter of course, make them "irrelevant" to contemporary Hawaiians; on the contrary, unfortunately, dumb and hateful and racist behavior by non-Hawaiians that is directed at Hawaiians is all *too* relevant a reality today, both in

and out of the world of scholarship. In sum, there are intricate and formidable scholarly concerns (including the matter of whether relevancy is relevant} beneath what Cruz and English in their review have reduced to a slogan, concerns that need to be analyzed and argued, not merely asserted.

Finally, after gratuitously saying that my "motives" for writing *Before the Horror* may be open to "question" (a statement that has no mooring in anything else they say, and thus is incomprehensible as to either intent or meaning), Cruz and English express excitement that works such as mine "free" Hawaiians "in the Western sense" (1) to "choose" their history. I certainly hope my book has no such effect, which is why I so insistently asserted in its pages (to the annoyance of Ramenofsky and no doubt others) that those holding a contrary view of this subject have an obligation "to demonstrate--*in specific scholarly detail* " the supporting evidence *for* their contrary view. Of course, in a trivial sense anyone is free to "choose" to believe anything; but as a responsible participant in the world of scholarship, one is *not* free to decide, to take an exaggerated example, that creatures from another galaxy built the pyramids of Egypt--just because someone may have written a book (even one with footnotes) arguing that such was the case. Indeed, it was disagreement over much more serious epistemological and evidentiary matters that was the central issue in my exchange earlier with Hunt and especially Ramenofsky. Whatever level of resolution ultimately results from such encounters, it will be founded, as in those exchanges, on disciplined debate and careful judgment, not on "freedom of choice."

As graduate students during a time when it has become fashionable for scholars in some disciplines, especially anthropology, to delight in exercises about people "inventing" their histories, Cruz and English appear to have fallen victim to the most superficial understanding of this form of analysis. Moreover, they end up parading themselves as examples of the most insidious rendition of such "invention"--the rendition that trivializes native views of the past as unsubstantiated and "freely chosen" fictions that eventually are unmasked by omniscient Western scholars (for example, Linnekin 1983; Keesing 1989). This version of what was once, in an earlier and philosophically more serious form, known as "constructionist" history (Meiland 1965) is, in a literal sense, a perversion--a turning to error--of the equally serious "invention of culture" idea advanced by Roy Wagner (1975), and applied by others with equivalent emphasis to Western cultural traditions (for example, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Hawaiians like Cruz and

English will not liberate themselves from the clutches of neocolonial historiography simply by declaring themselves "free to choose." Such a statement merely supports the allegations of those who claim that native views of the past are pipe dreams.

There are other problems with this review, such as the authors' inversion of causality in their assertion that the "Spanish imposition of alien structures on Andean society . . . led to its disintegration," when it is well known--and even cited in *Before the Horror* (p. 46)--that Andean society lost about 93 percent of its population within the century following Western contact. Thus, the "imposition of alien structures" was possible only long *after* that population collapse had been set in motion.

These matters aside, Cruz and English do at least have a keen if undisciplined sense that much that passes for history in many parts of the globe, but particularly in areas that still feel the weight of a colonial past and perhaps a neocolonial present, is little more than political myth. And, as I contend in a piece that Cruz and English cite in their bibliography but not in their text, the minimizing of precolonial indigenous population size in locales that have fallen under outside domination is almost always the first building block in the construction of the colonizers' self-justifying political mythology (Stannard 1988). As one noted historian has put it, low population estimates in such circumstances often serve as historical "rationalization for the invasion and conquest of unoffending peoples" by acting to "smother retroactive moral scruples" that might otherwise emerge (Jennings 1976:15).

Once again, then, it is worth reminding ourselves of the highly charged political atmosphere that surrounds this subject. Nearly twenty-five years ago, when many anthropologists and historians still believed that the pre-Columbian population of the entire western hemisphere totaled less than 9 million persons, Henry F. Dobyns began his famous reassessment of that estimate--a reassessment that concluded with a new population estimate of between 90 and 112 million--by noting that "the idea that social scientists hold of the size of the aboriginal population of the Americas directly affects their interpretation of New World civilizations and cultures" (1966:395). A decade later, Francis Jennings observed that the reverse of Dobyns's comment was equally true.

> The idea that scholars hold of New World cultures directly affects their interpretation of the size of aboriginal populations. Proponents of the concept of savagery stipulate, among other things, that large populations are impossible in savage societies.

> It follows that if aboriginal populations can be shown to have been large, they could not have been savage. A logical approach may thus be made into the whole question of the nature of aboriginal society and culture through the gate of numbers. (Jennings 1976:16)

Today, no informed scholars any longer believe that the population of the Americas in 1492 was less than 9 million. Debate continues as to the best possible estimate, but it is debate largely between those who now suggest a figure well above 112 million (Dobyns 1983) and those who put the number at between 50 and 75 million (Denevan 1976:289-292; Thornton 1987:25). In short, the range of debate is between estimates that are six to sixteen times the conventional estimate of only twenty-five years ago. By comparison, my estimate for Hawai'i's pre-1778 population is only two to three times what has long been the popular belief. Future scholars, I suspect, will find my estimate to be conservative, but not before a good deal of academic blood has been spilled in politically-motivated efforts to preserve the conventional wisdom. It is thus a credit to this journal and to its selected reviewers that this lengthy exchange has been conducted at so serious and thoughtful a level and without descent into the world of diatribe that so often characterizes discussion on this subject.

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