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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